



REPORT

MARGALLA DIALOGUE 2019

PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

in

South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMECA)

Partners in Peace Developing Together



An Initiative of
Islamabad Policy Research Institute



SAMECA

SOUTH ASIA, MIDDLE EAST, CENTRAL ASIA

*Partners in Peace
Developing Together*



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Opinions expressed in the various sessions of the Margalla Dialogue 2019 are those of the speakers and do not necessarily reflect views of the Institute.

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Annex 1: Margalla Dialogue 2019 Program

ISLAMABAD POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE (IPRI)

SHAPING POLICY AND PERCEPTIONS

The Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) is a premier independent and non-partisan think-tank undertaking policy-level research in international studies; security and defence; governance, economy and technology; and sociocultural and environmental issues as they relate to Pakistan.

Founded in 1999, IPRI exemplifies two decades of rigorous and timely analysis of crucial strategic agendas and intergovernmental processes that influence national and regional policy corridors.

Vision

To be Pakistan's leading multidisciplinary think-tank with a global outreach.

Mission

To undertake quality research on important issues of national interest in order to influence policy formulation, promote public debate and shape perceptions.

Research Domains

IPRI's core research domains include:

- a. Security and Defence
- b. International Studies
- c. Governance, Economy & Technology
- d. Sociocultural & Environmental Studies

Research Regions

IPRI's geographical focus is on the following regions:

- a. South Asia
- b. Middle East and Africa
- c. Central Asia/Eurasia
- d. Asia-Pacific
- e. US and EU

Activities

Recognised for their objectivity and policy relevance, IPRI's publications offer current, up-to-date and high quality research in the form of authoritative journals (IPRI Journal; and Journal of Current Affairs), books, policy papers (Research Policy and Insight Series) and monographs (IPRI Papers) available on all of our social media platforms; and available for free download from the institutional website.

The Institute's events vary from its Ambassador Lecture Series to the National Dialogue Series, Media Workshops/Special Roundtables on current global and national affairs to international conferences that attract renowned change agents, academics and policy-makers from all over the world.

In order to foster goodwill and North-South and South-South communication of cultures and ideas, IPRI also supports academic exchange programs between regional and international researchers and think-tanks with whom the Institute has developed partnerships and affiliations over the past two decades.

FOREWORD

I am pleased to share the detailed proceedings of Pakistan's first Track 1.5 "Margalla Dialogue on Peace and Development in South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMECA)", which took place in the capital city of Islamabad from 13-14 November 2019.

In this flagship event, the Islamabad Policy Research Institute hosted delegates from 14 countries with the desire to provide a platform to stimulate academic/policy discussions on issues related to peace and development in the SAMECA region.

IPRI plans to hold the Dialogue annually to enable intellectual interaction leading to policy prescriptions on issues that concern the security and prosperity of Pakistan and these three emerging regions.

I hope you enjoy reading this report, which aims to capture the main activities, achievements and outputs of the Dialogue. By compiling this overview of the main topics discussed by the delegates, we shed light on how we can move towards a comprehensive and pragmatic regional response to the peace and development challenges facing the SAMECA region.

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI(M)
President IPRI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Margalla Dialogue 2019 was a co-creation of development experts, academics, civil society and policy leaders, among others from South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia and beyond and from many sectors including foreign policy, economic development, financial, environmental, technology and more. IPRI is grateful to all who collaborated, instigated, partnered, and contributed their time, energy, ideas, funds, and solutions.

This report was prepared by a team led by Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique and Dr Talat Farooq. The team members included Khurram Abbas, Omar Farooq Khan, Waleed Yawer, and Maheen Ahmad. The report also benefitted from Ambassador (R) Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry's advice on the recommendations section.

Transcription support was provided by Maheen Ahmad, Zeeshan Jawed and Shafqat Aziz. The manuscript was edited by Sarah Siddiq Aneel who also oversaw production of the report. Badr Expo Solutions designed the SAMECA map. They also did the typesetting and designing.

During conceptualization of the Margalla Dialogue 2019, IPRI received comments and inputs from Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, Brig. (R) Mehboob Qadir, Dr Talat Farooq and Sarah Siddiq Aneel on the concept note and session summaries. Also acknowledged are Brig. (R) Mehboob Qadir, Brig. (R) Naveed Ali, Nawaz Khan, Khurram Abbas, Gulshan Bibi, Omar Farooq Khan, and Waleed Yawer. Media liaison and Protocol arrangements were overseen by M. Firas Shams and Khalid Chandio respectively. Zeuz Media designed the promotional/branding material and video production, while the Badr Expo Solutions team was responsible for on-site event presentation, audio-video production, photography and online streaming.

IPRI is also grateful to the think tanks, ministries and the local and international scholarly community that supported us during the Dialogue and became part of this incredible event. Thank you for your dedication to peace and development in South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia.

Moving forward, we hope that this power of collaboration and insight moves us toward a more peaceful world — together.

Until We Meet Again, Thank You.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A two-day Margalla Dialogue on “Peace and Development in South Asia, Middle East, and Central Asia (SAMECA)” was organized by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute from 13-14 November 2019 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad, Pakistan. Dr Arif Alvi, President Islamic Republic of Pakistan inaugurated the Margalla Dialogue. Dr Alvi also launched IPRI’s anthology based on essays, thought pieces and research papers about Pakistan titled “The Kaleidoscope That is Pakistan” at the inaugural. The Concluding Session was presided over by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr Imran Khan.

The Dialogue comprised of four plenary and one parallel session, in addition to the inaugural and concluding sessions.

25 papers were presented by leading international and national scholars representing 14 different countries including Pakistan, United States of America, Russia, China, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Germany, Turkey, Romania and Nepal.

The Dialogue was attended by more than 250 delegates. More than 58 print and electronic media, including international agencies covered the full two-day event.

This report is divided into five sections. Section one provides a brief background of why the need for such a Dialogue was felt and how it was conceptualized within the Islamabad Policy Research Institute. The second section includes summary proceedings of the Margalla Dialogue, while sections three and four provide the key takeaways of the various sessions, followed by major recommendations proffered by the eminent speakers and participants during the two days, respectively. The subsequent section offers details about the collaborative book project which was initiated, published and launched under the ambit of the Dialogue.

BACKGROUND

BACKGROUND

The rapidly transforming global geopolitical landscape has been in a state of flux for quite some time. A number of states across the globe mired in broiling conflicts are yearning for as yet elusive peace and prosperity. The contemporary milieu characterised by interdependence and real time connectivity, implies that the negative fallout spills over far beyond the territories of the afflicted states. The exponential expansion of a range of contentious issues and lackluster performance of organisational structures in place, to deal with these contemporary challenges, has exacerbated the problem even further. The void has been filled to an extent by a series of “dialogues” and “forums” that have emerged recently, providing cognizable platforms for consultations and collaboration. Such undertakings have enabled the policymakers, scholars and practitioners to deliberate freely and candidly about important political, military, developmental and social issues to seek feasible solutions. The dialogues are particularly useful for resolving shared issues such as climate change, food and water scarcity, countering violent extremism, cyber and hybrid threats etc. The diversity of attendees and broadening of agendas has allowed these forums to venture into both hard core consultations and backdoor deliberations.

Why Initiate the Margalla Dialogue in Pakistan? Why Focus on Peace and Development?

With so many Dialogues currently taking place, why was there a need for one in Pakistan?

Pakistan is strategically located on the confluence of three important regions of the world – South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia. It is a natural bridge and a pivot of this triad.

The region has a huge geostrategic and geopolitical significance evincing great interest/influence from regional and extra-regional players alike. The countries here have their due share of volatility and conflicts that include Kashmir and Afghanistan which have lingered on for decades causing large-scale sufferings and impeding economic progress. Furthermore, the SAMECA region is also confronted with the spectre of terrorism/violent extremism, ethno-religious disputes, drugs, human trafficking, energy and water security, and climate change.

At the same time, SAMECA, being immensely resource-rich offers immeasurable avenues of economic cooperation and sustained growth. Mega projects like Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI), Central Asia-South Asia (CASA-1000) power project, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) that connect the region through trade/rail/road/ networks and corridors can radically transform its socioeconomic outlook.

The future of nearly 2.4 billion people is inextricably linked to robust Peace and sustained Development. SAMECA arguably holds the key to a prosperous and peaceful world in the Twenty-first Century.

Given the emerging scenario, a need was being felt to institutionalize a Comprehensive Regional Response to the peace and development challenges facing the SAMECA region by working out plausible solutions. Identification of frameworks, strategies, plans etc. through discussions with constituent countries and other relevant stakeholders can be mutually beneficial for shared prosperity.

In more ways than one, the 2019 Margalla Dialogue achieved what it set out to do. It:

1. Provided a platform to enable and stimulate academic/policy discussions on issues related peace and development related to the SAMECA region.
2. Explored avenues of economic collaboration and intra-regional connectivity and the role Pakistan can play.
3. Identified and deliberated on emerging technological transformations and their social and security implications on the region.
4. Garnered understanding of different perspectives about the drivers and dynamics of conflict in order to towards conflict prevention, resolution and peace-building for inclusive security of the SAMECA region.
5. Offered networking opportunities to decision-makers in government institutions, scholars, representatives of multilateral forums and the business sector of various countries in order to create better understanding about questions affecting the world in general and Pakistan in particular.



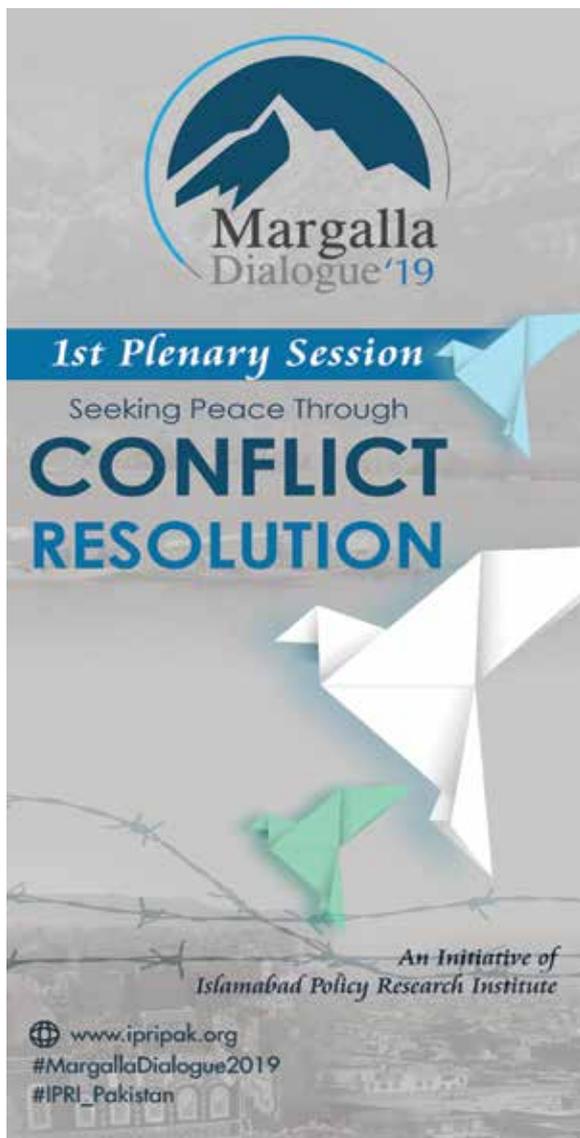
OVERVIEW

THEMES OF MARGALLA DIALOGUE



Divided into five sessions, the Margalla Dialogue 2019 focused on the following themes:

Seeking Peace Through Conflict Resolution



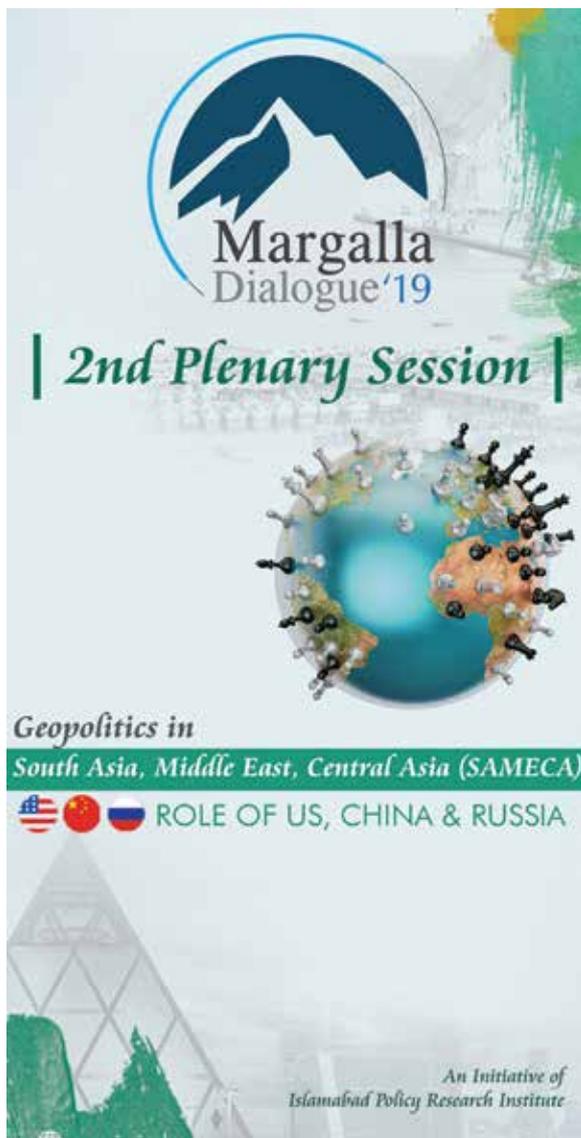
One of the major challenges faced in the contemporary era is peaceful resolution of conflicts. This problem is often exacerbated by the sheer complexity that characterises modern day conflicts and ensuing transnational fallout in a globalised world. While, there are numerous hotspots around the globe yet the South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMECA) region remains afflicted with a number of simmering disputes. Therefore, Peace and Stability remains elusive resulting in huge human sufferings, particularly during the last two decades.

The first Plenary Session of the Margalla Dialogue focused on resolution of three ongoing conflicts i.e., the Kashmir dispute (the oldest and the most tragic); Afghan imbroglio; and the war in Yemen. International efforts to seek an early end to these conflicts have yielded little worthwhile results. Prosperity of the region is intrinsically linked to their just and legit settlement.

Geopolitics in

South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMECA):

Role of US, China and Russia



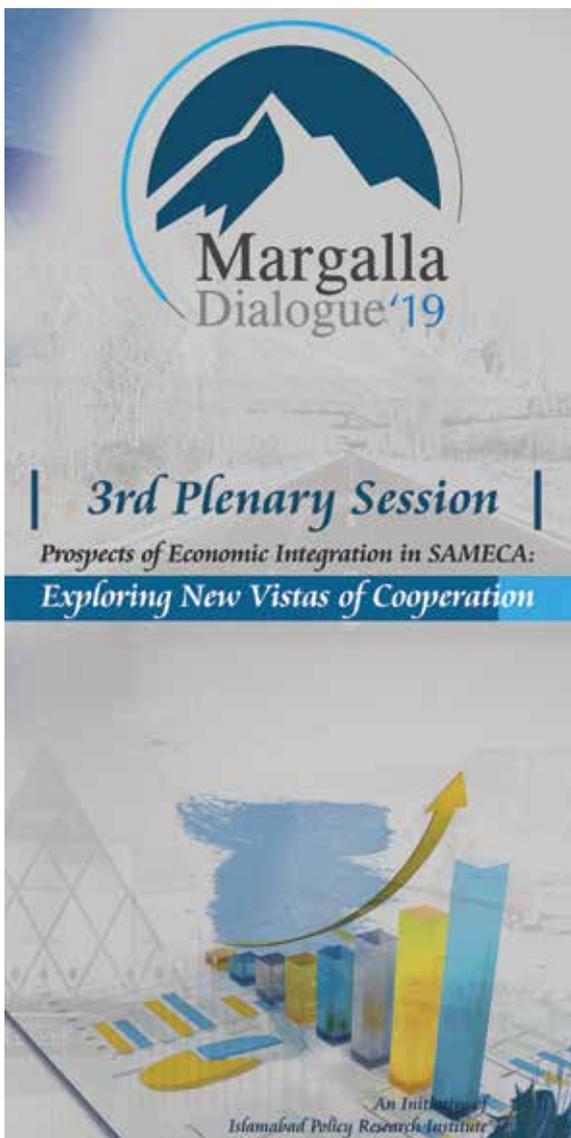
The gradual emergence of a polycentric world in the Twenty-first Century and a power transition from West to East is reflected in the rise of China and a resurgent Russia. Beijing and Moscow have growing interests in South and Central Asia and the Middle East. These regions are beset with multiple internal and external problems, while also offering opportunities for economic cooperation.

The rise of China, in the US-led international system, seems to have triggered competition between the two with implications for SAMECA.

At the same time, Russia's role in addressing security and economic issues in South Asia and the Middle East reflects Moscow's increasing pivot to Asia. A possible China-Russia partnership could impact the US-led Western world order. Conversely though, Moscow and Beijing may indeed be striving for influence in SAMECA, an opportunity that Washington could manipulate to its advantage. Can any of these scenarios lead to great power competition/conflict in SAMECA? On the other hand, could there be a peaceful approach towards SAMECA based on shared interests of the three powerful states and regional countries? How does Pakistan deal with the emerging challenges and the role it can play to promote peace in the region?

Prospects of Economic Integration in SAMECA: Exploring New Vistas of Cooperation

The South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia (SAMECA) region with its 2.3 billion people boasting a combined GDP of approximately USD 7 trillion offers bright economic prospects. Historical interconnectivity and people-to-people contact between SAMECA are part of our collective recorded histories.

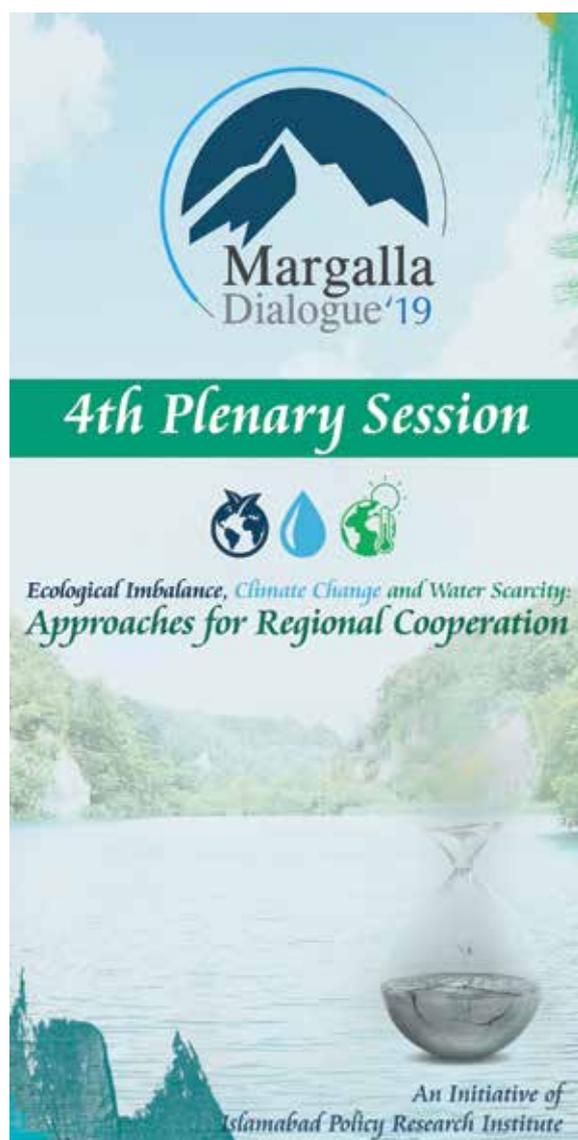


From the voyages of greatest medieval Muslim traveller Ibn Battuta to the legendary adventures of Italian explorer Marco Polo – both of whom explored the famed Silk Route to visit Central Asia, China and the subcontinent and also traversed overland to the Middle East. The political and social connections in these regions are strong and persistent. Regionalism is, therefore, not new here. The Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), are a few examples of politico-economic cooperation that were conceived during the Cold War era. Regional integration has been one of the primary objectives of these organisations. Indeed, economists agree that regional cooperation and integration will allow the SAMECA states to benefit from international investment, technology transfer and trading opportunities.

Meanwhile, with the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and its flagship China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the region has unprecedented possibility to further economic integration. Under the aegis of such initiatives, all regional countries stand to gain from more efficient use of capital and labour, distribution of goods and services across borders and increased Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). There is a need to study the type and nature of economic, sociocultural, and political relations between states of these regions.

This Plenary Session tried to address how regional initiatives can complement integration in ensuring economic growth and prosperity; and the commonalities that can be harnessed to achieve the goal of regional cooperation.

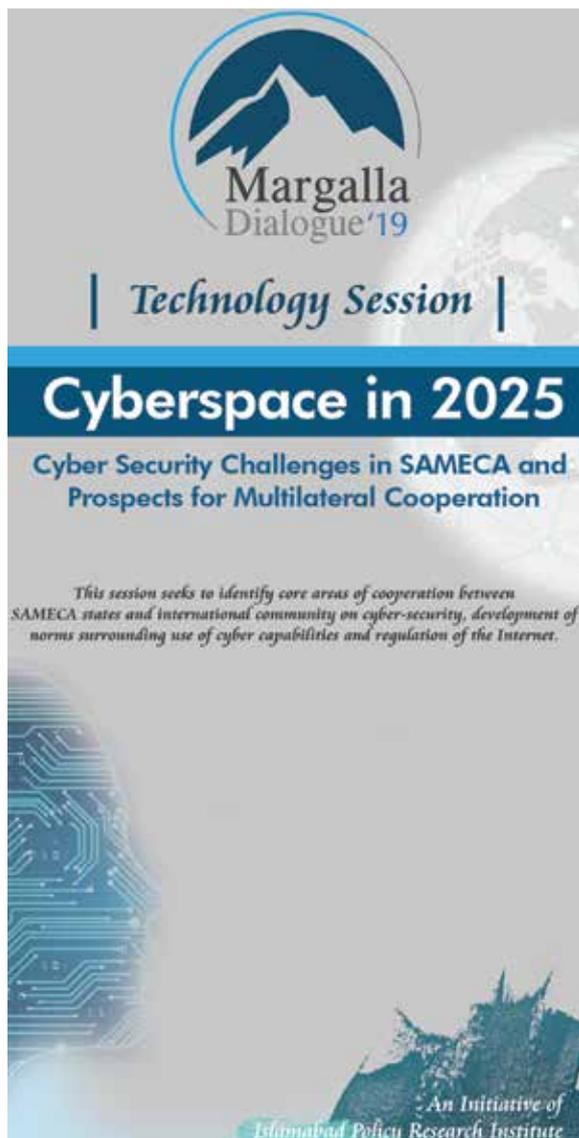
Ecological Imbalance, Climate Change and Water Scarcity: Approaches for Regional Cooperation



Climate change and environmental issues pose one of the most formidable challenges faced by the world. Adverse effects such as rising emissions and sea level; melting glaciers; risk of flooding; and ever-changing weather patterns are indeed global in expanse and unprecedented in scale. Recent research indicates that the impact of climate change is nowhere more evident than across the vast stretches of SAMECA. The disruption of natural ecosystems has the potential to cause reduction in availability of resources, such as soil and fresh water, not to mention lower yields of crops. Inevitably, economic downturn, social unrest and possible conflicts over access/control of natural resources could ensue, if the repercussions of ecological imbalance and environmental degradation are not mitigated and managed properly.

This Plenary Session sought to assess the potential impact of climate change on SAMECA states, with a special focus on water security. The aim was to identify threats to its ecosystem, evaluate possible technological and institutional solutions, and suggest pragmatic measures aimed at regional cooperation so as to forestall conflicts in an already chaotic region.

Cyberspace in 2025: Cyber Security Challenges in SAMECA and Prospects for Multilateral Cooperation



The emerging landscape of cyberspace is faced with a plethora of challenges and opportunities. The cyber realm has played a catalytic role in bringing about connectivity by virtue of different platforms such as social media, websites, email services, Internet banking and financial services, etc. Dividends of the cyber domain are promising for the economic, social, political, governance and communication sectors. Simultaneously, the fast-paced digital world, with rapid tech advancements, has also resulted in the manifestation of malicious and grave threats to systems connected with this domain. Some networks in cyberspace are associated with multinational corporations, while others are connected to national (security) infrastructures and assets.

Risk of large-scale cyber threats to corporate networks and critical state infrastructure, such as electricity grids, power plants, nuclear facilities, aviation, shipping operations, health and financial systems need to be addressed with forward-thinking policies.

This session sought to identify core areas of cooperation between SAMECA states and the international community on cyber security, development of norms surrounding use of cyber capabilities and regulation of the Internet.



SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

This section summarizes the proceedings of the 2019 Margalla Dialogue. It consolidates the Dialogue's agenda, opening and closing remarks, keynote speeches, papers and brief profiles of the participants.

Inaugural Session

Chief Guest

H.E. Dr Arif Alvi, President, Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Welcome Remarks

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI (M)
President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Pakistan

Keynote Address

Dr Moeed Yousaf, then-Chairperson, Strategic Policy Planning Cell, National Security Division, Prime Minister's Office, Government of Pakistan

Keynote Address

Mr Daniel F. Runde, Senior Vice President, Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), USA

Special Guest

Ambassador Sohail Mehmood, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), Government of Pakistan

In his **Welcome Remarks**, President IPRI said that nearly 2.3 billion people who inhabit the SAMECA region continue to long for enduring peace and stability while marred by simmering conflicts and disputes. He elaborated that interventions by extra-regional powers; self-professed regional hegemons' obduracy; wars by proxies; and violent non-state actors have only made resolution of conflicts and attainment of peace a pipe dream. He further added that in South Asia, the Jammu and Kashmir dispute has mutated into a complex and protracted conflict destabilizing the whole region. He stressed that the prospect of lasting peace and development in South Asia depends on the resolution of all outstanding issues, especially that of Jammu and Kashmir, between the two nuclear-armed neighbors of South Asia. Besides, the devastating war in Afghanistan has massively undermined peace and stability, while Middle East too remains embroiled in armed conflicts and internal strife. The SAMECA region also faces a plethora of non-traditional challenges like climate change and environmental degradation, he added.



Ambassador Vice Admiral (Retd.) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, President Islamabad Policy Research Institute joined Pakistan Navy in 1978. He retired as Vice Chief of Naval Staff in 2017. He has served as Pakistan's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Permanent Representative at the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Vice Admiral Khan Hasham holds a Masters in Joint Warfare and War Studies from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and MS in Operations Research from Naval Post-Graduate School, Monterey, US. He did his MPhil in Public Policy and Strategic Security Management from the National Defence University, Pakistan. He joined Islamabad Policy Research Institute in March 2019.

The SAMECA region, with a combined GDP of over USD six trillion and the largest deposits of natural resources, has the potential of becoming an engine of growth for the global economy. However, the region lags behind in human development indicators. It is for this reason that forums like the Margalla Dialogue are useful for countries to stimulate cooperation and find solutions to joint problems.

He hoped that the Dialogue would not only facilitate people-to-people contact, but also provide policymakers a platform to generate better understanding of the issues that affect SAMECA, and to collectively seek practical solutions. Ambassador Hasham acknowledged that people of Pakistan have historic, religious,

cultural and ancestral links with Central Asia and Middle East and emphasized that the country's future lies in integration with these regions. With recent developments in SAMECA, Pakistan has the potential to be a pivot for peace and development in the region, he added.

Pakistan has a unique opportunity of becoming a “melting pot” where great power synergies can converge, turning the country into a conduit for regional and global cooperation. We should avoid becoming a staging ground for great power rivalry and competition.



Dr Moeed Yusuf is Special Advisor to the Prime Minister and then-Chairman of the Strategic Policy Planning Cell, National Security Division, Prime Minister's Office. He holds a PhD from Boston University and his research focuses on security and development issues of South Asia.



Mr Daniel F. Runde is the Senior Vice President and Director of the Project on Prosperity and Development at Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington DC. Mr Runde is also the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid (ACVFA) and has also served as Director of the Office of Global Development Alliances (GDA) at the US Agency for International Development (USAID). He is a global thought leader and is an ardent supporter of a free and prosperous world.

Dr Yusuf said that South Asia is the least integrated region of the world. Pakistan sits at the geographical confluence of India, Afghanistan and Iran along with China at the intersection of three of the most active nodes of great power competition in Asia Pacific, Middle East and Central Asia. He acknowledged that Pakistan has recently adopted the “melting pot” approach as reflected in the opening of the Kartarpur Corridor; facilitation of United States-Taliban peace negotiations; and the Prime Minister’s mediation to mitigate regional tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia. He rejected the impression that CPEC is military or strategic initiative. Rather, it is an economic project for optimizing investment opportunities and economic dividends for the region. He found it unfortunate that the world still sees Pakistan through a security lens, a label he felt was imposed in the backdrop of the post-9/11 situation. He stressed that it is time for a global shift in conversation on Pakistan from a security-centric dynamic to that of being an economic hub for regional integration. On Kashmir, he argued that economic interests of powerful countries are dictating policy on the conflict. The international community needs to help resolve the J&K conflict to ensure regional peace.

Delivering his ***Keynote Address***, Mr Runde said that the US-Pakistan relationship suffers from mutual distrust and acknowledged that Pakistan has enormous economic potential and the US needs to see the country not only through a security lens, rather as a place of immense opportunity. Stressing the need for a revision in its approach, he suggested that the relationship should not be based on convergent interests in Afghanistan only because eventually, the US is going to have a smaller footprint in the country. Therefore, the two erstwhile allies must apply a different set of premises to rebuild their relations. He stressed the need for extensive people-to-people contact and economic cooperation.

The US also needs to create a larger civilian community which is genuinely interested in an economically vibrant Pakistan, beyond the military and intelligence communities.



Dr Arif Alvi was sworn in as the 13th President of Islamic Republic of Pakistan on 9 September 2018. He was born in 1949 and completed his early education in Karachi. He did his Bachelor of Dental Surgery (BDS) from De' Montmorency College of Dentistry, Lahore. He completed his Masters of Science in the field of Prosthodontics from University of Michigan (1975) and in Orthodontics from University of Pacific, San Francisco (1982).

In his **Inaugural Address**, Dr Alvi pointed out that the prospects of lasting peace and stability depend on looking beyond security-centric disputes, and stressed how much the people of Kashmir are suffering a humanitarian crisis. Dr Alvi said that despite UNSC resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir, there is no progress to date.

of Islamophobia, money laundering and Kashmir. Dr Alvi pointed out that the opening of the Kartarpur Corridor is a demonstration of Pakistan's efforts to maintain regional peace. He cautioned that the Indian Supreme Court's verdict on the Babri Mosque could spawn frustration among Muslims and other Indian minorities.

Pakistan will continue its international outreach to multilateral organizations, international media, civil societies and world parliaments to get support on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. The international community should help resolve the Kashmir issue by adopting a rule-based approach to the dispute.

Appreciating Pakistan's efforts for regional peace, Dr Alvi recalled Prime Minister Imran Khan's first speech after assuming office, in which a message of peace was conveyed to all neighbouring countries, including India. The Prime Minister, in his speech at the UNGA, again raised the issues

During the Inaugural Session, IPRI's book titled ***The Kaleidoscope That Is Pakistan*** about Pakistan was also launched by the President of Pakistan.

Plenary Session I

Seeking Peace through Conflict Resolution

Part I

Chair

*Sardar Masood Khan, President,
Azad Jammu and Kashmir*

Moderator

*Dr Maria Sultan, Director General,
South Asia Strategic Stability Institute (SASSI), Pakistan*

Session Speakers

Pakistan-India Relations and Regional Stability: Kashmir Issue

*Dr Mohammad Faisal, DG, South Asia and SAARC & Spokesperson,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), GoP*

Jammu & Kashmir Dispute: Legal Perspective

*Mr Ahmer Bilal Soofi, President,
Research Society of International Law (RSIL), Pakistan*

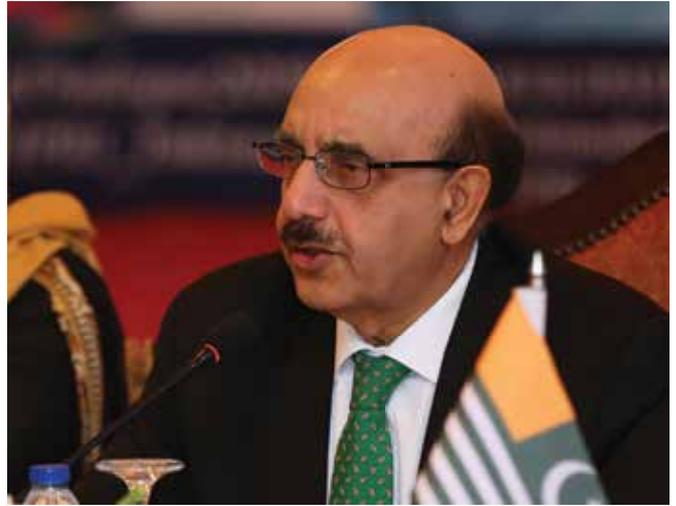
Waiting to Disappear:

An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir

Ms Mishaal Hussein Mullick, Chairperson, Peace and Culture Organization, Pakistan

War between Pakistan and India can lead to a nuclear exchange with dire consequences. Therefore, this drift towards war has to be avoided and India should be restrained by the international community.

Sardar Masood Khan expressed the view that the current international order has lost its rule-based character. He said that powerful countries are not always held accountable for violating international law. He said that India took a series of steps on August 5, 2019 by abrogating article 370 and 35A. India has also used lawfare and engaged financial institutions to pressurize Pakistan. He stressed that the peace-loving nations of the world should collectively raise their voice in support of Kashmiri peoples' struggle for their right of self-determination and the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute in line with UNSC resolutions.



Sardar Masood Khan is the current and 27th President of Azad State of Jammu and Kashmir. He has also served as Pakistan's Ambassador to the People's Republic of China (2008-12). Before assuming the office of the President Azad Jammu and Kashmir, he served as Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan.



Dr Mohammad Faisal was then-Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan. He currently serves as Pakistan's Ambassador to Germany. Dr Faisal has also served as the Director General of South Asia and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

Dr Faisal spoke on ***Pakistan-India Relations and Regional Stability: Kashmir Issue***. He highlighted that India considers expansion of its regional influence as a prerequisite for becoming a global power.

Talking about the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A by the Indian government, Dr Faisal pointed out that India is facing international scrutiny, after its illegal occupation of the Jammu and Kashmir territory and human rights violations. In this context, he identified opinion articles that appeared in foreign press as well as condemnations by

Secretary General of United Nations, United Nations High Commissioners for Human Rights, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. He argued that such developments cast aspersions on India's secular image. He opined that human rights atrocities in Jammu and Kashmir are an extension of India's larger policy of suppressing minorities. The Ayodhya verdict testifies to institutionalized discrimination in the BJP government. Dr Faisal reminded the audience that the dispute of Kashmir is not dead and requires a negotiated settlement.

Indian aspirations have contributed to a security dilemma in South Asia which has negatively impacted regional peace, especially by resorting to the extreme right-wing Hindutva ideology. Any miscalculation between the two nuclear powers of South Asia can have catastrophic consequences.

Mr Soofi spoke on **Jammu & Kashmir Dispute: Legal Perspective**. He discussed the legal status of the post August 5, 2019 situation in occupied Jammu & Kashmir. He argued that the abrogation of articles 370 and 35A violate international law, bilateral treaties as well as the Indian Constitution. He identified that Indian annexation of Jammu and Kashmir territory is classified as occupation, which is an illegitimate action under International Law, which prohibits the occupant states from annexing any contested territory unilaterally. He further added that the scrapping of articles 370 and 35A has revoked the special status of Jammu and Kashmir. Mr Soofi called out to the international community to facilitate conflict resolution in keeping with UNSC resolutions and P-5 commitments of 1998. He pointed out that the Indian government has failed to safeguard the constitutional rights of its religious minorities. Although India is a signatory to UN conventions on minority rights, the minorities in India experience marginalization and exclusion.



Mr Ahmer Bilal Soofi is the President of Research Society of International Law (RSIL). He has also served as Pakistan's former Federal Law Minister. Mr Soofi holds an LLM in international law from the University of Cambridge, UK. Mr Soofi has also been member of the Advisory Committee to the United Nations Human Rights Council

The Jammu and Kashmir dispute and rights of religious minorities in India should be analyzed through the legal lens of International Law of Occupation that can provide a new legal framework for the protection of human rights.

Ms Mullick gave a presentation on **Waiting to Disappear: An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir**. She shared the grievances of the people of Kashmir and said that India's forceful and illegal occupation of Jammu and Kashmir has exposed the Kashmiris to Indian aggression and abuse of their basic human rights. She stated that Jammu and Kashmir dispute is not only territorial but also ideological and humanitarian. She lamented that persistent curfew in Jammu and Kashmir has created acute shortage of essential items, including food and medicines. Ms Mullick raised concerns that the world has abandoned the people of Kashmir, and highlighted how the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Area Act; Jammu & Kashmir Public Safety Act; Terrorist Disruptive Activities Act (TADA); Armed Forces Special Power Act; and Prevention of Terrorism Act, provide complete immunity to the Indian occupation forces in Jammu and Kashmir.



Ms Mishaal Hussein Mullick is the Chairperson of the Peace and Culture Organization, Pakistan. She is a peace advocate and has stood up for right of self-determination of people of Kashmir.

She appealed to the world conscience to take note of the plight of the Kashmiris under Indian occupation.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is applicable to all human beings, which gives them the right to a dignified and free life. Unfortunately, this Charter has been violated by the BJP government and its predecessors.

Question/Answer Session

When asked whether, Pakistan's diplomatic efforts will suffice in responding to the Indian abrogation of Article 370, Dr Faisal responded that he disagrees with the view that Pakistan's diplomatic efforts are failing. More than 50 countries have supported Pakistan's statement in the Human Rights Council (HRC) and repeated statements are being issued by the Chairman of the HRC. Not to mention, Angela Merkel was sitting in Delhi when she spoke of the gravity of the Kashmir issue. He reminded the audience that the struggle in Jammu & Kashmir is a process and not consequential of an event. In the aftermath of the August 5 abrogation, every step that India has taken has been a setback. While recognizing that the situation unfolding in Jammu & Kashmir is very dangerous, he called for international support to avert escalation between the two nuclear armed neighbours.



Plenary Session I

Seeking Peace through Conflict Resolution

Part II

Chair

*Ambassador (R) Asif Durrani,
Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Iran and UAE*

Moderator

*Lt Gen (R) Dr Muhammad Zahid Latif, HI (M), Secretary, Ministry of Defence Production,
Government of Pakistan*

Session Speakers

Intra-Afghan Dialogue: An International Dynamic

*Ms Fawzia Koofi, Former Member of Parliament and Chairperson Movement of Change for
Afghanistan, Afghanistan*

Resolution of Yemen Crisis: UN Initiative

Dr Andreea Stoian Karadeli, Peace Mediator at EU and NATO, Romania

Saudi Perspective on Regional Security

Dr Mohammed S. Al Sulami, Chairman, RASANAHA, Saudi Arabia

Discussant

Dr Syed Farooq Hasnat, Professor, Forman Christian College University, Pakistan



Ms Fawzia Koofi is the Chairperson of the political party “Movement of Change for Afghanistan”. She is a veteran Afghan parliamentary lawmaker and the first female in the Afghan parliament to be elected as the Second Deputy Speaker. She is a strong advocate for democracy and women rights. She has supported the “Back To School” campaign for Afghan women. Ms Koofi has also worked with UNICEF (United Nations Children Fund) as a Child Protection Officer.

Ms Koofi shared her views on ***Intra-Afghan Dialogue: An International Dynamic***. Acknowledging that the world has increasingly become more divided than ever before, Ms Koofi expressed the desire for a more prosperous and peaceful world, particularly in South Asia. Countries in the region, principally Afghanistan and Pakistan, have been hit the hardest by the instability stemming from the former. She recognized that there has been considerable progress in securing peace for Afghanistan - most stakeholders have reached a consensus that a peace settlement with the Taliban is the best option to move forward. This is an option that may not have been plausible a decade earlier.

A lasting resolution to the Afghanistan conflict is essential for the Afghan people, most of whom have spent their entire lives in war. The year 2019 was the deadliest year for the Afghan citizens.

Having said this, Ms Koofi was apprehensive that there was a lack of direction in exactly what political settlement would be reached, should an agreement be signed with the Taliban. In her view, there is deep mistrust between the stakeholders of the intra-Afghan dialogue. The Afghanistan government would support a pluralistic democracy, granting everyone the right and space to participate in a democracy. Perhaps, this is not the settlement the Taliban would propose.

The fundamental problem is that there is no Afghan ownership in the peace process. To counter this, there should be discussions between the government and the Taliban. Whilst the Taliban have been engaged by the US for negotiations and peaceful settlement, they should also simultaneously engage in peace negotiations with the government of Afghanistan.

Emphasizing that Afghanistan has enormous potential for investment, she expressed the hope that all stakeholders revisit their strategies towards the country and ultimately reshape the narrative.



Dr Andreea Stoian Karadeli is a Peace Mediator at EU and NATO, Romania. Dr Karadeli is a graduate from Exeter University (Devon) UK. She has done her PhD in 'National Security and Intelligence' from MV (Mihai Viteazul) National Intelligence Academy, Romania. Her research focus is on evolution of religiously inspired terrorism, conflict resolution, intercultural communication, face reading techniques and profiling.

Dr Karadeli spoke on the **Resolution of Yemen Crisis: UN Initiative**, and took a bipartisan approach to the conflict making clear from the onset that blaming either party was only going to exacerbate matters and take the dialogue away from conflict resolution. She referred to the UN's role in the conflict as one that is necessary. Describing why there is a need to intervene, she cited the death toll to have risen to a quarter of a million in Yemen.

The international community needs to recognize the gravity of the situation and jointly frame a solution and ensure that plight of the suffering Yemeni citizens is addressed. It is important for world leaders to resolve the conflict through the lens of humanitarian law.

Dr Sulami spoke on the **Saudi Perspective on Regional Security** and addressed various geopolitical concerns facing Saudi Arabia. His presentation focused not only on economic prospects for cooperation in the region, but also on the perceived threat from Iran and the regional proxies it supports. Appreciating Pakistan's role in mediating the conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran, he said that the issue at hand could be resolved peacefully, provided all stakeholders reach a consensus. Furthermore, he was quick to point out that historically, sectarianism was not as serious a problem as it has turned out to be in the contemporary era. He reminisced how in the 1960s and 1970s, diverse Muslim communities co-existed peacefully.



Dr Muhammad S. Al Sulami is founder and Chairman of Rasanah International Institute for Iranian Studies. Dr Sulami received his PhD from Leiden University, Netherlands. He is an expert in Iranian affairs with focus on Iranian identity, nationalism and Arab-Iran relations.

Economic development in the region would require cooperation between regional countries, including parties mired in conflict.

He spoke of Saudi Arabia's "Vision 2030" which would extend economic diplomacy from Egypt to the shores of Gwadar. He reassured the participants of the Dialogue that the country had not forgone nor forgotten its Islamic principles. In fact, Saudi Arabia would strive to uphold its traditional values while trying to make strides in science and technology, he said.

Question/Answer Session

Questions centred on conflict resolution and the role that countries in the region can play in achieving peace. Iranian Ambassador Javad Kachoueian spoke of Iran's role in the Yemen conflict, identifying the various nodes of conflict and aspiring to a cooperative resolution of the issue. Dr Sulami, in his reply was persistent in his narrative that Saudi Arabia is cognizant of the rights of the various ethnicities involved in the conflict, as long as they do not take up arms against the Kingdom or aspire to form a "state within a state". Reflecting on the various contemporary cross-border conflicts, he reaffirmed that ultimately, peace in Yemen would mean peace in Saudi Arabia. He was supportive of a negotiated settlement. Addressing a question about the Taliban's inclusion in the democratic process, Ms Fawzia Koofi reiterated that Afghanistan should not be seen through the 'conflict-ridden' lens but as a multiethnic society progressing democratically. The participation of groups representing various ethnicities in the recent elections, for example Hizb-e-Islami, is a testament to the sustenance of the ongoing democratic process in Afghanistan, she stressed.



Plenary Session II

Geopolitics in South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMECA): Role of the US, China and Russia

Chair

Senator Syed Shibli Faraz, Leader of the House, Senate of Pakistan

Moderator

Professor Dr Syed Rifaat Hussain, HoD, Department of Government and Public Policy, National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Pakistan

Session Speakers

Articulation of US Foreign Policy in SAMECA Region and Its Challenges

Professor Emeritus Dr Marvin G. Weinbaum, Director, Afghanistan and Pakistan Program, Middle East Institute (MEI), USA

Russia's Refocus on South and Central Asia: Perspective and Perceptions

Dr Sergei Ermakov, Head of Research, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS), Russia

Regional Dynamics and Outlook: China and Its SAMECA Neighbourhood

Dr Li JingFeng, Director, Regional Studies and Strategies Research Center, Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences (SASS), China

Great Power Politics in Central Asia: Competing Visions or Complementary Interests?

Ms Lidiya Parkhomchik, Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Kazakhstan

Pakistan's Quest for Cooperation and Strategic Stability in Changing Geopolitical Environment in SAMECA Region

Dr Huma Baqai, Associate Dean, Social Sciences and Liberal Arts, Institute of Business Administration (IBA), Pakistan

Discussant

Dr Talat Farooq, Senior Consultant, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan



Senator Syed Shibli Faraz is the Leader of the House, Senate of Pakistan. Senator Faraz did his LLB from Law College, Peshawar, Pakistan, and received his MA International Relations from University de Los Andes, Colombia, USA. Senator Faraz is Chairperson of “Strategic Plan Oversight Committee”; “Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges”; “Committee Commerce and Textile”; and the “Senate Finance Committee”.

Senator Faraz remarked that the rapid advancements in global politics have led to the reshaping of national and international institutions, shrinking of boundaries and questions about state sovereignty. As hyper-nationalism gains ground globally, political instability in SAMECA is regarded as a key hurdle in the pathway of development. He opined that geopolitics is becoming complex in SAMECA and great powers’ rivalry is contributing to it. As sub-regions, Central Asia with all its resources, remains an attraction for global and regional powers. President Trump’s idea of withdrawing US forces from Afghanistan has created space for Russia and China to spread their influence across the continent. Meanwhile, the US looks at the region from an entirely different perspective.

Russia and China are more interested in the stability of Central Asia which remains a crucial challenge in the execution of their foreign policy objectives. South Asian countries are also keen to connect with Central Asian markets, but this cannot be achieved without peace in Afghanistan. Under such a situation, the role of regional organizations such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is pivotal.

The Senator was of the view that religious fragmentation, proxy warfare, great power intervention and rise of nationalism are the key features of Middle East geopolitics. While the Saudi Arabia-Iran stand-off remains a concern for regional stability, Iraq, Syria, Yemen and Lebanon remain key conflict hotspots. Amidst all these issues, inter-state differences must be resolved amicably. He concluded that regional economic growth and social progress can be ensured through peaceful co-existence only.

Dr Marvin G. Weinbaum is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Director of Afghanistan and Pakistan Studies at the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C., USA. He served as analyst for Pakistan and Afghanistan in the US Department of State’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1999-2003), and has been a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace (1996-97). Dr Weinbaum is the author/editor of six books, including “South Asia Approaches the Millennium: Reexamining National Security” (1995), and “Afghanistan and Pakistan: Resistance and Reconstruction” (1994).



Dr Weinbaum spoke on **Articulation of the US Foreign Policy in SAMECA Region and its Challenges**. He argued that the current US foreign policy and the challenges it poses must be analyzed and understood in view of Donald Trump's election as the US President. Trump's foreign policy is a deviation from classic US foreign policy whose basic focus used to be on building strong consensus among stakeholders in addressing issues, whereas political differences were always placed aside. He pointed out that dynamics have changed in the last three years. An overturn of policies has become evident and foreign policy has increasingly become nationalistic. Dr Weinbaum opined that Trump's foreign policy approach is clearly reflected in SAMECA. He has been withdrawing from international obligations and global engagements. Consequently, the problems of Afghanistan and the Middle East have been left to China, Russia and Turkey to deal with.

The US has not lost the battle of influence under President Trump but surrendered it. The unpredictability in US global policies has started to become visible in recent years. The US withdrawal from the Iranian Nuclear Deal is a case in point which further fueled regional tensions, given that it was a step taken to ensure de-escalation in the past.

Although there is a narrative prevalent that the US will never leave Afghanistan completely, it lacks both the capacity and political will to stay. Given current circumstances, he remarked that continued US presence in South Asia and the Middle East, may not continue under the Trump administration. He viewed the Presidential

election of 2020 to be critical. The electoral results could either lead to readjustment of policies and prospective formulation of a new alliance system or the continuation of the current trends. Either way, the Professor underscored that presidential elections in 2020 will have an impact on SAMECA.



Dr Sergey Ermakov is the Head of Research at the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS), Moscow. His areas of interest are European security, the role of military power and violent extremism. He has also worked at the Institute of the USA and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Dr Sergey Ermakov spoke on **Russia's Refocus on South and Central Asia: Perspectives and Perceptions**. He argued that Russian foreign policy cannot be explained in simplistic terms, given the complexity of the international environment. The world is going through fundamental changes in which new economic power centers are emerging. Threats from non-state actors are challenging regional stability.

Dr Ermakov referred to Russian support for the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) - an institution that ensures the free movement of goods, capital and workforce aimed at promoting regional integration. Russia also supports the idea of collective regional security; development of regional and global organizations; and consolidation of partnerships with Central Asian countries, aspiring to strengthen and develop SCO member states. He concluded that Russia supports initiatives of regional connectivity such as the BRI and aims to put forward the idea of greater politico-economic cooperation in the East Asian region.

Russia's foreign policy is non-confrontational and adheres to international law, especially the law of state sovereignty. Moscow's priorities are focused on building multilateral partnerships; maintaining regional integration; ensuring political dialogue; and extending economic and human cooperation, especially in dealing with threats such as terrorism.



Dr Li JingFeng is the Director of Regional Studies and Strategic Research Center, Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences (SASS), China. His research interests focus on Sino-Pakistan relations and his publications include “Gwadar – the Balance in Transformation” (June 2017); “Kashgar of China Opens to Pakistan” (April 2018); and “Comparative Study on the Belt and Road Initiative among Chinese Provinces” (November 2017).

The goals of China’s Central Asian foreign policy are to continue to consolidate its northwest border defense; combat terrorism; ensure the security of energy supplies and transportation; enhance mutual political trust; create a stable environment in the north west; and utilize geoeconomic advantages.

South Asia will, undoubtedly, remain a key part of China’s BRI that will succeed by employing the tools of public diplomacy, economic corridors and the security of the Indian Ocean. Therefore, South Asia has a very important geographical value. In the medium and long-term, the strategic concern of China about South Asia is bound to increase. China and Pakistan share an all-weather strategic and time-tested partnership. The CPEC project will continue to be the focus of cooperation between the two countries.

Dr JingFeng said that China and the Middle East have actively carried out cooperation under the principle of mutual benefit and have achieved great results in politics, economy and culture. Overall, China wants to see peace and stability in the Middle East. Central Asian countries are rich in resources and are strategically located as a gateway to the West. Therefore, Central Asia is an indispensable part of the BRI.

All this will lead to regional integration. In conclusion, he opined that China will adhere to its opening-up policy and continue to establish its image as a trusted partner in the SAMECA region. At the same time, CARs should explore new ideas and new models of bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Dr JingFeng spoke on ***Regional Dynamics and Outlook: China and its SAMECA Neighbourhood***. He said that cooperation, mutual benefit, taking a proactive approach and a focus on development issues are the main facets of China’s diplomacy in the SAMECA region. This region is important to Beijing primarily because of:

- Strategic extension of China’s neighbourhood diplomacy;
- Oil reserves in the Middle East and energy resources of Central Asia;
- SAMECA is a potentially large market for China’s exports and imports;
- SAMECA countries are political resources that China must rely on for its peaceful development.

Ms Lidiya Parkhomchik gave a presentation on **Great Power Politics in Central Asia: Competing Visions or Complementary Interests?** According to her, it is well recognized that the Great Game in Central Asia flows in a timeless fashion. However, in modern conditions it is becoming increasingly difficult to delineate spheres of influence in the region. As a result, uncertainty and periodic rebalancing of power among the major players have become a new normal.



Ms Lidiya Parkhomchik is Director of the Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Kazakhstan (under the Foundation of the First President of RK- Elbasy). Ms Parkhomchik is a graduate of Abylai Khan Kazakh University of International Relations and World Languages Almaty. Her areas of interest include the Caspian region, energy, transportation, regional cooperation and security. She has published more than 30 scientific papers.

The region's sizable energy reserves have led to a race by a number of countries to secure energy flows towards international markets. There is also a realization to consider Central Asia as a transport hub where West meets East. A great deal of significance in constructing transcontinental roads is attached to Central Asia and the Caucasus, operating as a pair.

While commenting on energy prospects in Central Asia, Ms Parkhomchik said that Russia uses a majority of energy export routes through this territory. Until recently, there was no other option to transport oil and gas resources from here to international markets except via Russia. The Central Asia-China gas pipeline and the Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline have diversified regional energy routes. However, the lion's share of hydrocarbons is still transported via Russia.

Beijing is keen to ensure favorable trade conditions for energy resources, which is one of the pillars of its strategy in Central Asia. It is likely that Russia and China can cooperate and work towards regional integration in this area.

Since Vladimir Putin returned to power in 2012, Russia has engaged in a broad, and surprisingly effective campaign to expand its global reach. Moscow has relied on a wide array of diplomatic, military, trade and energy tools to influence decision-makers in Central Asia. Moreover, after sanctions were imposed in 2014, which actually gave way to economic recession, it was essential for Moscow to both gain loyalty of its Central Asian partners, as well as to strengthen political partnership, despite the situation in Crimea. Therefore, she argued that, it is necessary to keep in mind that China's interests in Central Asia are not narrowed by the security component. The region is becoming a crucial part of China's strategy of expanding economic power over Eurasia.

At its peak, US presence in the region reformatted its security agenda, paying greater attention to Afghanistan. As a result, focus of the US strategy in the region has shifted from oil and gas reserves to security issues.



Dr Huma Baqai is the Associate Dean Faculty of Business Administration and Associate Professor of Social Sciences and Liberal Arts at the Institute of Business Administration (IBA), Karachi, Pakistan. Dr Baqai is also visiting faculty at Air War College, National Institute of Management, Karachi, Pakistan. She is a member to the Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan and is also a part of Track-II diplomacy between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Dr Baqai delivered a talk on ***Pakistan's Quest for Cooperation and Strategic Stability in Changing Geopolitical Environment in SAMECA Region***. According to her, the Twenty-first Century is experiencing a paradigm shift from strategic alliances to regional integration and economic cooperation among states around the world.

Moreover, the conceptual model is replicated in initiatives like the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC). Dr Baqai was of the view that alternatives are almost always a positive development. However, for now, it seems coalitions are emerging, based on the old adage that "my enemy's enemy is my friend". She argued that the world is experiencing a criss-cross of geopolitics and geoeconomics. On the geopolitical front, the core elements are space, territoriality, and power; and on the economic front, there are resources, capital, technology, information and services.

Contemporary times have witnessed a rediscovery of regions as an important source of competitive advantage in a globalized political economy. In this regard, the Twenty-first Century is driven by multiple sets of political economic forces where the spatial cluster and specialization thrust, initiated by China, is far reaching. It is being adopted by Eurasia and Africa and has both intra- and inter-regional dimensions.

In this context, four major factors make up the contemporary geopolitical environment in SAMECA: China's rise as the second largest economy in the world; Russia's return to South Asia; US desire to rebalance Asia, specifically SAMECA because it views China and Russia as competitors in the Western security architecture; and Pakistan remaining a pivot state. She highlighted that Russia has also returned to South Asia and the emerging Russia-China nexus is a Twenty-first Century reality. However, Russia's "Return to South Asia" involves strengthening India's military capabilities through the export of air and naval defense systems. In return, Moscow has opened doors for India in Central Asia. Russia is also a part of the Indian-controlled port of Iran's Chabahar. However, Moscow's third order is not hostile or confrontational for now.

Geoeconomics, along with geopolitics, has resulted in the re-shaping of wealth and power poles, creating a new Cold War scenario where old enemies have become new economic allies and hard power alone is becoming futile. At the same time, there is enhanced regionalism.

Dr Baqai also pointed out that Obama’s US “pivot” or “rebalancing” with respect to Asia has been strengthened by Trump’s “free and open Indo-Pacific.” Therefore, competition in SAMECA has created diverse security challenges, including energy security, piracy, and military posturing as well as diverse opportunities. Chinese investments under the BRI have heightened the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf’s strategic value. The US’ “free and open Indo-Pacific” has also been a contributing factor, elevating concern over Indian Ocean security as Washington, with New Delhi’s support, is trying to curtail Chinese and Russian influence everywhere.

Question/Answer Session

There was a question about the future of the dollar as the primary trading currency in a region that

has been heavily sanctioned by the US, and a possible resort to alternative currencies to fill that void created as a consequence of the sanctions. Answering in great detail, Mr Yaseen Anwar, former State Bank Governor, stated that though China is rising at growth rate of 6 per cent, it will not be able to take over the US as the strongest economy in 2020 as economists have predicted. However, if current economic trends continue and predictions of an American slowdown come true, China will be able to overcome US’ economic prowess. Simultaneously, the effect on currencies and trading will follow a similar pattern. For now, despite sanctions, the dollar will remain the primary trading currency, but it ought to be a worry for the US because countries, specifically in the Asia-Pacific, have begun using alternatives, such as the RMB, for trading.



Plenary Session III

Prospects of Economic Integration in SAMECA: Exploring New Vistas of Cooperation

Chair

Mr Makhdoom Khusro Bakhtiar, then-Federal Minister for Planning, Development and Reform, Government of Pakistan

Moderator

*Mr Haroon Sharif, former Chairman,
Board of Investment, Government of Pakistan*

Keynote Address

Dr Abdul Hafeez Shaikh, Advisor to Prime Minister of Pakistan on Finance, Revenue and Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan

Session Speakers

Potential of Pakistan as a Trade and Energy Hub in SAMECA Region

Mr Yaseen Anwar, Senior Advisor ICBC, Singapore; and former Governor, State Bank of Pakistan

China's BRI: Reviving Connectivity and Crafting Growing Transregional Linkages in SAMECA Region

Dr Wang ZhengXu, Professor, School of International Relations and Public Affairs (SIRPA), Fudan University, China

Energy Connectivity: Role for Central Asia

Mr Leonid Savin, Founder and Chief Editor, Journal of Eurasian Affairs, Russia

Iranian Perspective on Regional Trade and Transportation Initiatives

Ambassador Javad Kachoueian, Former Ambassador of Iran to Ireland, Iran

Discussant

Mr Yao Jing, Ambassador of People's Republic of China to Pakistan



Makhdoom Khusro Bakhtiar is Federal Minister for National Food Security and Research. He served as the Federal Minister of Planning, Development and Reform; a post he held till November 2019. He is also former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. He has been a member of the National Assembly since August, 2018. Mr Bakhtiar received his LLB (Hons.) degree from the London School of Economics (1994) and Political Science and Bar-at-Law Degree from Lincoln's Inn (1995), United Kingdom.

No country can prosper in isolation. In a modern system, states have to work together to develop channels and infrastructure, especially as SAMECA has immense resource potential.

He added that connectivity initiatives must be backed by development and banking institutions of the region such as ADB, AIIB and NDB to satisfy the financial, research and development needs of states in a viable manner. He concluded that in order to harness development momentum for SAMECA, there is a need to build a partnership with the Association of the South East Asian Nations.

In his **Keynote Address**, Dr Shaikh raised a fundamental question as to why one region performs better than others across economic, political and social indicators. He stated the following to be the key lessons of development drawn from history: adoption of a people-centric and regional integration approach and inclusion of the private sector. He added that in order to see economic revival in Pakistan, there is a need to have practical conversations about the issue and injection of viable policies and rules in the development process. The region currently faces poor connectivity framework due to lack of relevant infrastructure and policies. The fundamental basis of people-to-people contact is missing and their interaction and movement restricted. More so, in a globalized environment, in addition to having serious image issues, Pakistan has few friendly faces who can help it during troubled times.



Dr Abdul Hafeez Shaikh is Advisor to the Prime Minister on Finance, Revenue, and Economic Affairs. Dr Shaikh has also served as the Federal Minister for Privatization and Investment. He is an economist of international repute with over 30 years experience in economic policymaking, management and implementation. He holds a PhD in Economics from Boston University, USA. He has authored many publications including a book on Argentina. He was awarded Pakistan's "Man of the Year" in 2004 by the business community. Dr Shaikh has also worked with Harvard University and The World Bank.

In Pakistan, there is a dire need to learn from relevant international experiences with dedicated focus on finding solutions to the issues of economic downturn. Pakistan, at the moment, needs to initiate feasible projects with the potential to attract investments from across the globe. Besides, there is a need to set forth such policies which could help investors invest and carry out business effectively and smoothly.

He stressed that the government needs to allow people to benefit from a business regime which is not obstructive.

Regionally, Pakistan must adopt and strive towards a policy of peaceful co-existence. The country has been striving to sustain a policy of a peaceful neighbourhood by facilitating talks in Afghanistan and mediating between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

In order to support a regional integration approach, the government has been easing its visa policies; establishing currency swaps; liberalizing the foreign investment regime; and introducing incentives for exporters such as exemption from taxes.

He also suggested that dialogues like Margalla Dialogue are meaningful in bridging gaps. However, concerted efforts are required to bring people of the region closer in the years to come.

Mr Yaseen Anwar spoke on ***Potential of Pakistan as a Trade and Energy Hub in SAMECA Region.*** He highlighted that economic uncertainties do not bode well for financial markets. Currently, intra-institutional polarization in the US and political uncertainty in the UK has led to difficulties in maintaining steady governance levels and financial capabilities with growing threats like trade wars, implementation of sanctions and trade tariffs. Amidst global economic shakedowns and recessions, regions such as ASEAN, though not as tightly knit as the EU, need to focus on conducive measures for intra-regional trade if they are to establish themselves as viable economic hubs. SAMECA as a region can learn from such success stories across the globe by focusing on common attributes of stimulating growth and improving individual buying capacity.



Mr Yaseen Anwar is former Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan. Previously, he worked with JP Morgan Chase, Bank of America, and Merrill Lynch in London, New York, Paris and Egypt. He has served on the Boards of prestigious institutions, including as Chairman of Eco Trade Development Bank, Turkey; US Pakistan Economic Council; United National Bank Ltd; and has been a member of the Council of Foreign Relations & others. Currently, he is serving as the Senior Advisor to Industrial and Commercial Bank of China in Singapore. He is also serving on the Advisory Boards of International Monetary Institute (IMI) of Renmin University, Beijing; and the Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum (OMFIF), UK.

China's BRI is a project which gives access to capital needed for connectivity and engages countries which have never been able to attract investors in the past, assuming them to be unexplored future engines of growth. BRI has the capacity of lessening financial gaps and lifting economies with potential which previously had issues inclusive of, but not exclusive to, lack of availability of infrastructure and energy crises.

Mr Anwar pointed out that gradually, the focus is shifting to the ASEAN region with increased infrastructure and business activities. Pakistan, given its location can be a pivot of the SAMECA region and establish an economic repute, strengthening its robust banking network and digitalisation of payment systems. With Gwadar providing a southern extension to CPEC, corridors like China-Central Asia-West Asia and Eurasian Land Bridge can help establish a northern link of the pilot project. China should further set forth long-term objectives and projects for newly established multilateral institutions like AIIB and NDB in order to give them a regional outlook, at the least, he advised.

Pakistan ought to shore up its corporate debt market, both as competition to the banking sector aimed at economic growth as well as an insurance policy in case of economic crises. Pakistan was not as badly hit by the economic recession of 2008 as the more frontline manufacturing states were, but building on the bond market will insulate it considerably from any such shocks in the future.

Dr Wang ZhengXu spoke on **China's BRI: Reviving Connectivity and Crafting Growing Transregional Linkages in SAMECA Region.**

He stated that Chinese official policies focus on peace, development, collaboration, and win-win principles. The emphasis of these policies is on maintaining relations with global and regional powers, policy of good neighborhood and a world community of shared destiny.

He added that amidst the debate on the emerging world order, the US has not recognized China as a partner, rather sees it as a strategic competitor. Throwing light upon BRI and CPEC in general, he said that the respective initiatives focus on economic integration, creation of growth in recipient/partner countries, mutual development and shared identities. He added that SAMECA as a region can be connected through CPEC and another extension of China-Central Asia link.

Chinese approach has not been about seeking hegemony but to ensure active multilateralism, neoliberalism and constructivism in policymaking.



Dr Wang ZhengXu is a 1000-Talent Distinguished Professor at the Department of Politics at Fudan University, China. Professor ZhengXu holds a PhD in Political Science from University of Michigan, USA. His current research projects include democratic values of Chinese citizens, political reforms and politics of governance in China. His publications have appeared in various international journals, including but not limited to International Review of Sociology, Contemporary Politics, Asian Journal of Public Opinion Research, and others.



Mr Leonid Savin is Founder and Chief Editor of Journal of Eurasian Affairs. He is a geopolitical analyst, and head of the administration of the "Eurasian Movement." Mr Savin has authored numerous books on geopolitics, conflicts and international political philosophy published in Russia, Ukraine, Spain, Serbia and Iran.

Mr Savin shared his views on **Energy Connectivity and Role for Central Asia.** He outlined how in today's era, geopolitics revolves around the energy sector which has become an important objective of state security. Given the importance of this sector, its transformation and development within the SAMECA region is required. However, he regarded Afghanistan as a weak link in the energy security of the region. Afghanistan is important for its location but the conflict there proves to be an impediment to regional integration. He gave the examples of TAPI and CASA-1000 which have the potential to transform this region but have not seen concrete materialization because of security issues. He concluded that Russia, together with China, supports the idea of integration of sub-regions of Asia with Europe, as well as looking for alternative sources of traditional or conventional energy.



Ambassador Kachoueian spoke on **Iranian Perspective on Regional Trade and Transportation Initiatives**. He said that Iran supports regional cooperation and aims to strengthen partnerships through creation of trade and transport routes.

He outlined how Iran serves as a node given its location (as a transit between Asia and Europe) and access to Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. The Ambassador pointed out that Iran supports development of corridors in its North-South and East-West to ensure maximum use of water bodies for trade purposes. The Iranian foreign policy believes in peace, stability and development by reinforcing the concept of good neighbourly relations. There is a need to harness regional coalitions based purely on shared economic goals. The emphasis must be on building comprehensive engagement in terms of trade and connectivity, he concluded.

Ambassador Javad Kachoueian has served in two distinct assignments as the Senior Assistant and Advisor to Minister for Foreign Affairs. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Javad served as the Director of Center for Euro-America Studies. He has also served as Iran's Ambassador to Ireland, Finland and Non-Resident Ambassador to Estonia. He was also Iran's Charge d'affaires to Norway. He holds an MA in International Law and BA in Political and Diplomatic Relations.

In the sub-regions of West, Central and South Asia, Iran seeks to build strong financial and energy cooperation by focusing on establishing a regional banking system, currency swaps and pipeline projects.

As moderator of the session, Mr Sharif discussed that economic diplomacy and new economic geography have become global buzzwords. However, he emphasized that given massive economic challenges, Pakistan needs to implement viable policies to usher in an economic revival. He added that as global leadership aspires to see a transition from poverty and conflict to stability and shared prosperity, practical plans to make the most of new economic paradigms are unclear. He also questioned the role of Pakistan's leadership in this entire situation given that the country not only has a strategic location but also the potential to grow.

Deliberating on the potential of SAMECA, he added that this region has a population of 700 million and is ideally the new emerging market of the world with great human capital and resource potential. He argued that given current growth and welfare markers, Pakistan would be able to reach the levels China and Malaysia have today by 2047. However, he added that there is a need to do better in terms of reforms and implementation of better policies.



Mr Haroon Sharif served as the Minister of State and Chairman of Pakistan's Board of Investment in 2018-19. He remained an active member of the Cabinet's Economic Coordination Committee and the Committee on Privatization. He was Pakistan's Lead Representative for Industrial Cooperation in the Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Mr Sharif is a well-known global expert of economic policy, international development, economic diplomacy and financial markets and served as the Regional Advisor to the World Bank Group for promoting economic cooperation in South and Central Asia.

The role of private sector and initiatives of regional connectivity are the primary and key drivers of economic transition and management. This era marks the beginning of a shift in power and control centers.

Question/Answer Session

corridors tied to Central Asia, if any low intensity or sub-conventional conflict were to break out in the region. The Ambassador was of the view that interconnectivity depends on three factors: security, peace and development. “We need common neighbourhood policies among countries”, he emphasized. He cited an example from Iran’s own experience. “In the month of October, Iran and Iraq announced a one-week visa policy. In this period, more than three million Iranians went to Iraq and returned, and in a single day, 2,000 trucks crossed the border.” Ambassador Kachoueian suggested that the European Union model should be followed wherein nations devise a common neighbourhood policy.

Ambassador Javad Kachoueian was asked about how Iran would protect its infrastructure and connectivity



Plenary Session IV

Ecological Imbalance, Climate Change and Water Scarcity: Approaches for Regional Cooperation

Chair

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI (M), President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan

Moderator

Ambassador (R) Shafqat Kakakhel, Chairperson, Board of Governors, Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Pakistan

Session Speakers

Transboundary Water Management: Pakistan-India and Pakistan-Afghanistan

Dr Pervaiz Amir, Head, Global Water Partnership (GWP), Pakistan

Mitigation of Ecological Degradation in South Asia: Towards An Inclusive Regional Approach

Dr Rehana Siddiqui, Former Director, Centre for Environmental Economics and Climate Change, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Pakistan

Climate Change Hotspots in South Asia: Glacier Loss and Way Forward

Dr Netra P. Timsina, Chairperson Board of Directors, Southasia Institute of Advanced Studies (SIAS), Nepal

Discussant

Dr Imran Saqib Khalid, Research Fellow, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Pakistan



Dr Pervaiz Amir is an economist trained at Michigan State University with advanced training in environmental economics from the Harvard University, USA. He has worked in different capacities with notable international bodies such as the World Bank, British Council, USAID, IUCN and the World Commission on Dams. He has also served as Expert Member Water of the Prime Minister's Task Force on Climate Change. He has also undertaken dozens of research studies on climate change and water security on behalf of the government and international institutions.

The Indus Waters Treaty needs major revisions because contemporary issues, such as climate change, are beyond its mandate.

While there is a need to establish a water treaty between Pakistan and Afghanistan on governance of the Kabul River, current understanding of the subject is affected by technical, socioeconomic, legal challenges and limitations.

Dr Siddiqui delivered a presentation on ***Mitigation of Ecological Degradation in South Asia: Towards An Inclusive Regional Approach.*** She was of the opinion that environmental decisions, based on data analysis can be systematic and can yield better results. However, data gaps and methodological limitations hamper movement in this direction. Therefore, policy targets should be clearly set and efforts should be made at the local, provincial, national, regional and global levels to achieve these targets. According to her, major environmental concerns in South Asia include water pollution and water scarcity, air pollution, solid and hazardous waste management, soil degradation, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, atmospheric changes and hazards related to climate change. She asserted that environmental problems include more pressing issues of poverty and socioeconomic needs. Attitudes, substance, intensity and timing of environmental policies vary across nations. Social value given to environmental problems vary and as a result so do policy alternatives, across countries. Moreover, societies may differ in their views on what is an "acceptable" level of environmental quality.

Dr Amir gave a presentation on ***Transboundary Water Management: Pakistan-India and Pakistan-Afghanistan.*** According to him, transboundary issues between Pakistan-India and Pakistan-Afghanistan are taking a turn as climate change is challenging water arrangements and development imperatives. Commenting on the resolution mechanism in the region, he said that there are delays in furnishing prior information regarding climate change-related issues. Moreover, non-compliance with design of infrastructure (storage, interference); unproductive discussions at Commission and secretary levels; unilateral startup - no obligation for prior resolution; data issues; and trust deficit are other key issues in this transboundary relationship.

On Pakistan-Afghanistan transboundary water issues, he said that the Kabul River Basin is a shared lifeline for both Afghanistan and the north-western regions of Pakistan. Its centrality for the two countries makes it an extremely important shared resource. Therefore, joint development and management of Kabul River waters is a decisive factor in achieving regional economic growth, food security, alleviating poverty, energy security, and providing a safe and stable supply of water.



Dr Rehana Siddiqui is former Director at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad. Dr Siddiqui's areas of specialization include Economic Growth, Environmental Economics, Human Resource Development, and Applied Econometrics. Dr Siddiqui holds a PhD (Economics) from Columbia University, USA. She has published over sixty research papers, and co-authored four books including, "Gender and Empower-Evidence from Pakistan" and "Technology-Based Industrial Vision and Strategy for Pakistan's Socio-Economic Development."

All South Asian countries should ensure efficient water use and conservation by building reservoirs; effectively maintain existing water resources; recycle and reuse water and reduce wastage to avoid scarcity; ensure availability of safe drinking water to the population to meet SDGs; develop effective monitoring systems; and implementation of standards related to water pollution.

Dr Timsina shared his views on ***Climate Change Hotspots in South Asia: Glacier Loss and Way Forward***. According to him, the snow, ice and other forms of water source (Cryosphere) are major sources of fresh water supply in South Asia, Hindu Kush and the Himalayan regions. The current phenomena and projected changes in the Cryosphere present a scenario that will affect the availability of water and stream flows over time across the region, with upstream and downstream impacts. Moreover, he said that glaciers have thinned, retreated, and lost mass since the 1970s in the Himalayas. Studies have found that glacier volumes are projected to decline by up to 90 per cent through the Twenty-first Century in response to decreased snowfall, increased snowline elevations, and longer melt seasons. The degradation of Himalayan snow and permafrost will weaken some high mountain slopes and peaks, cause local changes in hydrology, and threaten transportation infrastructure.



Dr Netra P. Timsina is Chairperson and Senior Research Fellow at the South Asia Institute of Advanced Studies (SIAS), Nepal. He is extensively engaged on the climate change debate, particularly with the discourse of climate justice for the common people. He is a member of the Climate Change Council of Nepal. He holds a PhD degree from the University of Reading, UK in Political Economy of Natural Resource Management and also teaches public policy courses in universities in Nepal as an adjunct professor.

If the present trend of rising temperature and melting of glaciers continues, it will worsen the ecology and economy of the region, resulting in a human crisis in the near future.

Dr Timsina informed that rivers which are heavily reliant on glacial runoff such as the Indus are particularly vulnerable. So, although mountainous communities are suffering from glacial disappearance, those downstream are currently less affected because rainfall makes a larger contribution to rivers such as the Ganges as they descend into populated basins.

In the past few decades, continuous impact on the Himalayas and mountains in South Asia in the form of development interventions have caused large-scale impacts on the ecology of the region. Climate change is expected to further accelerate the adverse impacts on these regions.

He stressed that there is a need to assess the ecological limits of development so that interventions are designed around the ecological-carrying capacity. He asserted that various stakeholders ranging from local communities, to academic institutions, civil society organizations, government bodies and policy-makers need to work in a cooperative manner to make their regions climate-friendly. The present trend of climate change demands changes in lifestyle, production and consumption (economy), use of natural resources (ecology) and use of technology.

Technology Session

Cyberspace in 2025:

Cyber Security Challenges in SAMECA and Prospects for Multilateral Cooperation

Chair

Mr Fawad Ahmed Chaudhry, Federal Minister for Science and Technology, Government of Pakistan

Moderator

Mr Ammar Jaffri, Director General, Center of Information Technology (CIT), Pakistan

Session Speakers

Contours of Cyber Security for Pakistan: Roadmap for Legislative, Institutional and Technical Framework

Mr Obaid Ul Haq, Chief Executive Officer, Tech Avenue, Pakistan

Overarching Framework for Global and Interregional Cyber Security Cooperation in SAMECA Region

Prof Dr Bilal Sambur, Professor, Yildirim Beyazit University, Turkey

Role of Dialogue and Mediation in Promoting Trust and Stability in Cyberspace: Implications for the SAMECA Region

Dr Richard Wilcox, Senior Advisor, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Switzerland

Role of Cross-Domain Technologies in Compounding and Mitigating Cyber Security threats

Dr Zahri Bin Yunos, Chief Operating Officer, CyberSecurity Malaysia, Malaysia

Discussants

- *Dr Khurram Khurshid, Head of Department, Department of Electrical Engineering, Institute of Space Technology, Pakistan*
- *Dr Majid Khan, Assistant Professor, Department of Applied Mathematics and Statistics, Institute of Space Technology, Pakistan*



Mr Fawad Ahmed Chaudhry served as the Special Assistant to Prime Minister from 2012 to 2013. In the Federal Cabinet, he was assigned the portfolio of Minister for Information and Broadcasting; which he assumed charge of on August 20, 2018 till April 2019. He currently serves as the Federal Minister for Science and Technology.

Mr Chaudhry stated that technology has played a key role in a diverse range of global events. He shared that Pakistan's Cyber Security Policy was completed in March 2019 and is presently with the Ministry of Information and Technology. He offered to have any policy recommendations from members to be passed on to the Ministry. He apprised the participants of Pakistan's data management successes of the past, most notably NADRA's machine-readable passport technology in 2001, which was the first of its kind in the world at the time. He stressed that two key areas demand focus in the present cyber discourse:

- 1. How nations can enable those deprived of communication to use the Internet?**
- 2. How nations can prevent misuse of the Internet in their own cyberspace?**



Dr Bilal Sambur graduated from the Faculty of Divinity at Ankara University, Turkey. He completed his PhD from the Department of Theology at the University of Birmingham, UK. He is currently working as Professor of Psychology at the University of Yildirim Beyazit, Ankara, Turkey.

Dr Bilal Sambur spoke on **Overarching Framework for Global and Inter-regional Cybersecurity Cooperation in SAMECA Region**. He built his address around the identification of cyber threats, and shared that once cyber threats are located, they usually demand a conventional response (such as a militaristic course of action). To broaden the effect of this largely unilateral approach, he suggested that nations relinquish their pursuit of "state security" in cyber space. This is a futile exercise, he argued, because no actor (regardless of how powerfully equipped in cyber technology) can be completely secure in the cyber space environment.

He opined that the biggest obstacle to information sharing between SAMECA countries – and global powers in general – is that many nations simply refuse to share it. This is based on the narrative that the information is too classified and sensitive. If nations refuse to budge from these positions, state-control in cyber space would render any regional engagement effort futile, he concluded.

Notions of state dominance easily hinder cooperation in the cyber domain with the first casualty being state-to-state interaction. The idea of cyber cooperation in SAMECA must be conceptualized along the lines of free and open engagement. The absence of clearly defined national borders in cyber space (such as the explicitly defined national air spaces, sea boundaries) makes cyber overlaps and transgressions inevitable.

Mr Haq outlined that the preservation of confidentiality, integrity and availability of information in cyber security is a crucial consideration for any regional effort. He based his case on the understanding that nations at best can protect the information itself, but efforts to preserve its confidentiality, integrity and availability are a daunting and often untenable task. Mr Haq further added that a common misconception surrounding cyber space discourse is that everything is “technology-centric”. While in reality, it depends on “people” and “processes” too. With regard to the former, there has to be a genuine awareness exercise to protect people’s online rights. A similar awareness drive must also reflect the laws and ethics concerning people, as technology itself cannot be the medium of cyber dictation. He deliberated that technology’s relationship to people – and their concerns – drives cyber space momentum. When talking about processes, he underlined that there is no national or regional search mechanism to further threat management. This, in its essence, reflects a lack of integration among countries.



Mr Obaid-ul-Haq serves as Chairman of the Board, and CEO of Tech Avenue. Prior to founding Tech Avenue, he was Vice President of Afiniti, an Artificial Intelligence company. He received his BS in Computers from NUST, Pakistan; and MS in Computer Science from the George Washington University, USA.

He argued that though the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2016 was implemented, the absence of critical laws and regulations such as IT audits, deny a comprehensive vision from taking root, especially in Pakistan.

The biggest concern in the realm of cyber processes, is the absence of a governance framework, a national vision or policy, backed by actionable implementation strategies.



Dr Richard Wilcox served as founding Director General of the African Union’s African Risk Capacity (ARC) agency from February 2013 to September 2015. Prior to this, Dr Wilcox held positions of Representative of the United Nations Secretary General to Serbia (2008), Political Director for the UN in Iraq (2007), and Director of UN affairs on the US National Security Council staff (2000-01). He also worked at the UN World Food Programme (WFP) as Chief of Interagency Coordination and Director of Business Planning. Dr Wilcox holds a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA.

Dr Richard Wilcox spoke on ***The Role of Dialogue and Mediation in Promoting Trust and Stability in Cyberspace: Implications for the SAMECA Region.*** Looking at cyber security from a cyber conflict lens, he argued how instruments of cyber warfare serve as non-lethal alternatives to kinetic weapons. Dr Wilcox cited President Donald Trump’s example, and how he chose to target Iran through cyber weaponry instead of kinetic means, because the US did not want to be the cause of civilian casualties or go to war with Iran.

Features and aspects of cyber weaponry include their remote usage, and the ability of having fingerprints disguised. They could also be readily obfuscated - a case in point being the attacks which UK attributed to Iran, later found to be false flag operations.

In order for countries to develop a united front against mutual cyber threats, it was important to establish a point of contact on the other side of the border through consistent communication channels. From a strategic perspective, nations are faced with three choices in dealing with cyber threats: Defense, Deterrence, and Tit-for-Tat.

Under the defense option, the idea is to protect one's own systems regardless of what tactics the opponent is likely to employ. In cyber space, he mentioned, this simply does not work. One reason is that the "attack surface" for cyber threats continues to expand rapidly. The second option is deterrence, which is often employed because defense yields limited utility. For instance, if a country's electricity grid was to be attacked, countries should be able to underline "clear red lines" such as the days and length of an attack. Because these red lines cannot be determined readily, deterrence is also a complicated option. The third choice, tit-for-tat, calls for a proportional or calculated exchange – geared towards either a decisive end to cyber threats or an escalation. In escalatory terms, the aim would be to ensure that the opponent's cyberattacks are met with a proportionate response. Maintaining proportion is heavily contingent upon regular communication channels and high correspondence with the opponent, which is often a mirage.

Nations should document the norms of appropriate behaviour in cyber space, primarily by agreeing on Mutually Tolerated Vulnerabilities. These refer to the acceptance of certain vulnerabilities between countries, which if exceeding a set threshold, indicate escalation.

Dr Wilcox argued that cyber conflict was a real challenge in SAMECA, given cyberattack developments in both Iran and China, and how Pakistan and India – without having seen cyber threats in tangible form, have demonstrated great potential for it.



Dr Zahri bin Yunos is the Chief Operating Officer of CyberSecurity Malaysia. Dr Yunos was a central figure in establishment of the OIC Computer Emergency Response Team (OIC-CERT). He holds a PhD in Information Security from the Universiti Teknikal Malaysia Melaka, Malaysia.

Dr Zahri bin Yunos spoke about ***the Role of Cross-Domain Technologies in Compounding and Mitigating Cyber Security Threats.*** He began his topic by discussing different types of cyber threats and developments. He mentioned that from 2010 to 2019, a series of cyber security incidents took place in the region, and vulnerabilities in critical infrastructure increased by 40 per cent in 2018. Among these vulnerabilities lay government agencies and educational facilities. He cautioned participants and fellow speakers about the term "APT - Advanced Persistent Threats." Stressing their importance, he stated that it was a type of threat which existed within one's systems and networks, but the type one could not easily detect. Dr Yunos drew on Malaysia's

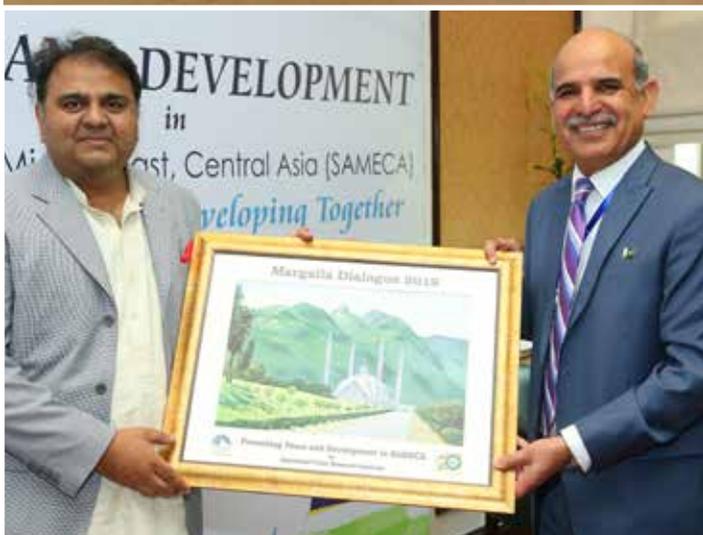
experiences and strategies in combating these types of threats. He cited the Malaysia National Cyber Security Policy, where the focus was to protect the country's critical national infrastructure, present within a larger ecosystem. He said that the policy considered "critical infrastructure" as one which when impacted, could immediately affect Malaysia's security, economic strength, national image, etc. He shared how his company has been developing an application which can monitor an organization's active exposure to malware in which detection is followed by notification, quarantining, and recovery. Based on this template, Dr Yunos explained how CyberSecurity Malaysia conducted a pilot project of an organization for two months. Some very crucial findings emerged from this exercise. He said that CyberSecurity Malaysia discovered malware such as proxies within the organization's system capable of accessing organizational information and sending it to whichever external source the malware is programmed to respond to.

The onus is on nations and governments to prioritize rigorous detection methodologies to successfully detect key malwares. If detection processes are very lax, there will definitely be threatening malware present within the system – largely undetermined.

Question/Answer Session

South Asia vis-à-vis India and Pakistan. He stated that his greatest worry in the Indo-Pak bilateral relationship was of false flags and misunderstandings, given the adversarial nature of the relationship. He mentioned the complex nature of certain cyber threats, such as APTs, which if attributed to either India or Pakistan, could ramp up escalatory potential.

Dr Richard Wilcox was asked to share his views regarding specific cyber conflicts in



Concluding Session

Chief Guest

H.E. Mr Imran Khan, Prime Minister, Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Overview of Margalla Dialogue 2019

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI (M) President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Pakistan

Summary of Takeaways & Recommendations of Margalla Dialogue 2019

Ambassador (R) Aizaz Chaudhry, Member, Board of Governors, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Pakistan

Address by the Chief Guest



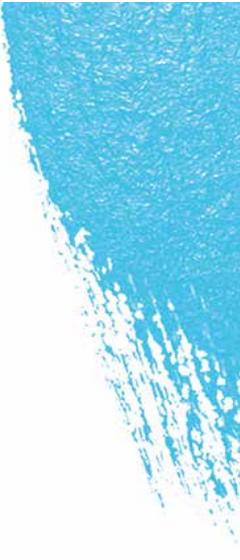
Prime Minister Imran Khan, when addressing the Concluding Session of the Margalla Dialogue, lauded the efforts of IPRI in convening the Dialogue, a necessary forum for academics and policy-makers to not only exchange ideas but also share Pakistan's narrative. He expressed the desire for Pakistan to actively promote its point-of-view with the rest of the world, which he felt, was ultimately the purpose of such dialogues. Acknowledging that Pakistan has suffered enormously from the instability stemming from the war in Afghanistan, he recognized that the former has learned considerable lessons in the past decades and has shifted its foreign policy accordingly.

Additionally, the desire is that Pakistan should continue to play a conciliatory role in resolving conflicts around the world. In this regard, the Prime Minister wished that Pakistan should remain meaningfully engaged in finding a peaceful political settlement in Afghanistan and in mediation efforts between Saudi Arabia and Iran.

Pakistan ought to make a conscientious effort to not get involved as a frontline state for other countries nor become the staging ground for conflicts and wars. Instead, Pakistan's policy objective should be to stabilize itself internally and become a more prosperous and attractive country for both investment and tourism.



The Prime Minister further expressed solidarity with the people of Occupied Jammu & Kashmir, who have been subjected to gross human rights atrocities by India. He said that Pakistan has tried to extend dialogue with India for the greater cause of peace and stability in South Asia, but India has not reciprocated. He was of the view that both nations could cooperate in tackling global issues together, like poverty and climate change. China has been a more responsible power in the region and Prime Minister Imran Khan appreciated Chinese assistance in Pakistan's growth, expansion and the improvement of R&D.



MAJOR TAKEAWAYS



INAUGURAL SESSION

The Inaugural Session was presided over by the President of Pakistan and included Welcome Remarks by President of IPRI; Special Remarks by Dr Moeed Yousaf, then-Chairperson, Strategic Policy Planning Cell, National Security Division, Prime Minister's Office, Government of Pakistan; and Keynote Address by Mr Daniel F. Runde, Senior Vice President, Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), USA. The session underscored that:

- a) There exist three major nodes of power competition in the contemporary world – one, US-China competition in which India is part of the American Indo-Pacific strategy to countervail Beijing; two, US-Russia rivalry as unfolding in Central Asia, especially Afghanistan; three, great power competition in the Middle East, especially Iran. Pakistan is in a unique geographical position whereby it sits in the middle of these three nodes.
- b) Productive synergies of regional and global powers can converge to make Pakistan a conduit for regional cooperation and global connectivity.
- c) Pakistan, in keeping with its past practice, can, to its detriment, allow itself to be used as a mere staging ground for great power rivalry. Or, shift its foreign policy goals towards the “melting pot” option. The latter, has been happening at a slow and steady pace reflected in:
 - i Continued support and demand for negotiated settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute despite Indian intransigence.
 - ii Recognition of its convergent interests with the US in finding peace in Afghanistan, and playing a major role in facilitating the US-Afghan peace process.
 - iii Efforts to mediate between Iran and Saudi Arabia to enable the two regional powers to work together for negotiated settlement of their differences.
- d) The West's narrative about Pakistan remains a security-centric one. For its part, Pakistan is actively undertaking efforts to shift the conversation from a security-centric one to economic diplomacy and integration. However, the world needs to understand that Prime Minister Modi's unilateral abrogation of Article 370 and 35A in Occupied Jammu & Kashmir; India's vested anti-Pakistan interests in Afghanistan; and its hegemonic designs in the region are examples of the obstacles that Pakistan faces in becoming a “melting pot.”

- e) Pakistan should be enabled to get to the point where it becomes a transit and trade hub of the region. This will have positive regional and global consequences as illustrated by the China-Pakistan cooperation on CPEC, which is fundamentally about economic integration. It offers Pakistan a viable platform to increase investment to an optimal level so that economic dividends can be seen domestically through employment opportunities and socio-economic uplift of the masses.

Plenary Session I

Seeking Peace through Conflict Resolution

Although the region is afflicted with a number of ongoing conflicts, the session deliberated on the Kashmir dispute; conflict in Afghanistan and the Yemen crisis. Major inferences from the discussion are as under:

a. Kashmir

- 1) India-Pakistan rivalry is a major obstacle to peace and development in South Asia. The key issue that needs resolution is the Jammu & Kashmir dispute which is not only territorial but also humanitarian. The abrogation of Article 370 and 35A is in violation of United Nations resolutions, several bilateral treaties as well as the Indian Constitution and has short and long-term legal consequences.
- 2) The international community is not doing enough to condemn India for its actions of August 5, 2019, largely because of its economic interests in the huge Indian market. Failure to do so can lead to rage within the Muslim Diaspora across the world, and become a source of violence at the regional and global level.
- 3) The gross mistreatment of minorities in India, as a state policy, is alarming.

b. Afghanistan & Yemen

- 1) War or peace in Afghanistan entails larger regional and global consequences, and the fallout is not localized.
- 2) The Afghans are cautiously optimistic about the ongoing peace process in Afghanistan but wary of the lack of domestic consensus on a power-sharing arrangement. Of particular concern are Taliban's views on social issues, and the Afghans would like to have clarity on the matter. The current ambiguity is exacerbating distrust between the Taliban and the Afghan leadership on the one hand, and between the people and government on the other.
- 3) Majority of the Afghan people desire pluralistic democracy where all stakeholders, including the Taliban, can participate in governance.
- 4) Multilateral consensus is missing due to a general lack of trust between regional countries and the extra-regional parties involved. The resulting uncertainty and misperceptions undermine the ongoing peace process.
- 5) In the absence of an intra-Afghan dialogue, Afghan ownership of the peace process is missing. Afghan society is not being given the importance they deserve even though they will be directly affected by any peace deal. Both Afghanistan and Pakistan have paid a heavy price of war. Peace in Afghanistan will translate into massive investments and economic opportunities at the regional level and beyond, of which Pakistan can also be a beneficiary.

- 6) Interventions by extra-regional powers in SAMECA have complicated ongoing regional competition for hegemony. The rapidly changing nature of warfare has added to strategic complexity, which is being witnessed in Yemen and other combat zones in the Middle East.
- 7) Implementation of UN-led peace initiatives can help resolve the Yemen crisis which, along with Syria and Iraq, reflects the post-Arab Spring regional division into two rival blocs.
- 8) Saudi Arabia's foreign policy emerges from principles of regional connectivity and economic integration. It is open to a negotiated settlement of its differences with Iran.

Plenary Session II

Geopolitics in South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMECA): Role of the US, China and Russia

The session focused on discussing the role of major powers in the SAMECA region:

a. United States

- 1) President Donald Trump's ambivalent foreign policy is a deviation from classic US foreign policy and this is reflected in his approach towards SAMECA countries. US withdrawal from key multilateral commitments and a preference for strategic retrenchment and regional disengagement emerge from Trump's tendency towards isolationism. At the same time, the frequent willingness to use hard power is indicative of reinforcing US hegemony, while being oblivious to power limitations. Consequently, this fuels regional tensions besides hurting US credibility as an ally. Furthermore, Trump's ultra-nationalism has encouraged anti-migrant far-rightist elements in Europe and other places, including India, with far-reaching consequences for the SAMECA region.
- 2) US Elections in 2020 will either usher in an era of readjustment of US foreign policy or the deepening of current trends. Either way, the election result will have a deep impact on SAMECA.

b. Great Power Competition

- 1) The decision to withdraw US forces from Afghanistan and Syria has created space for Russia and China to step in and engage more closely with SAMECA. This is a crucial development as a rising China and a resurgent Russia could cooperate closely through an economic balance of power to challenge the US-led liberal world order, and to offset American regional presence. Conversely, the two states can become hostile competitors in the race for regional hegemony. At the same time, the US may opt for cooperation with China, Russia and SAMECA given shared security and economic goals.
- 2) The US' focus has shifted from economic to security interests in Central Asia. It is a complex and open-ended question as to whether in the future, great power competition in this region will be cooperative or conflictual.

- 3) In the Twenty-first Century, regions are coming together and shifting from strategic alliances to regionalism. There is a paradigm shift from geopolitics to geoeconomics in the new Cold War involving great powers, which is primarily unfolding on sea rather than on land. The Indian Ocean and the South China Sea will play a significant role in the future strategies of regional and external powers.
- 4) Saudi Arabia's foreign policy emerges from principles of regional connectivity and economic integration. It is open to a negotiated settlement of its differences with Iran.

c. Russia

- 1) Russia's foreign policy cannot be explained in binary terms within the current highly complex international environment since it is driven by national interests and objectives such as good neighbourly relations; and, adherence to the principles of sovereignty under International Law and the UN Charter. Moscow aims to promote multilateralism and economic interdependence, and supports joint efforts to establish structures of regional collaboration. This is visible in:
 - 2) Russia's refocus on South and Central Asia is aimed at creating geoeconomic space for SAMECA which is important for Pakistan. Despite its historical links and close defense relations with New Delhi, Moscow wants to improve bilateral relations with Islamabad. This is being reflected in enhanced economic and military cooperation. This shows that Moscow's third order is not inspired by hostility, and instead emerges from a multipolar, rule-based framework.

d. China

- 1) China's foreign policy focus is on development and governance. South Asia is important for the BRI in terms of connectivity between economic corridors and security of the Indian Ocean. As part of BRI, CPEC will continue to be the focus of economic cooperation between China and Pakistan. Both partners realize that a stable Pakistan is indispensable for regional integration, and Islamabad recognizes the importance of third-party engagement with CPEC. China is open to other countries joining the BRI and CPEC, including India.
- 2) China is an initiator of the changing geopolitical environment in SAMECA, and Pakistan remains the pivot state for Beijing. China-Pakistan nexus is growing and is likely to remain cooperative. However, it can become competitive as India-US nexus has consequences for Pakistan and China. Pakistan can serve as a conflict resolver and the pivot of China's rule-based connectivity.
- 3) Moscow is a reliable neighbour and partner of Central Asia and is spearheading the Eurasian integration project. In comparison, China is a newcomer with interest in EEU and geoeconomics. It is likely that Beijing's growing influence may be balanced by Moscow. At the same time, the two can cooperate as their rivalry is limited, and they have convergent security interests in Central Asia.

Plenary Session III

Prospects of Economic Integration in SAMECA: Exploring New Vistas of Cooperation

The session deliberated upon various ways and means to economically integrate the SAMECA region:

- 1) Despite cooperation between Pakistan and China, there is a mismatch between the two partners' development and growth indicators. However, if economic reforms and correct policies are rigorously implemented, Pakistan has potential to achieve the prosperity levels of China and Malaysia by 2047.
- 2) Under CPEC, Pakistan's SEZs (once fully functional) will enhance the country's productive industrial capacity, and provide a major impetus for economic and social development as cultural integration opens up new tourism opportunities.
- 3) The global financial crisis of 2008 highlighted the role of private debt markets. In addition to providing competition to the banking sector, a private debt market can act as a "spare tire."
- 4) The bond market can pick up the slack from the banking market, acting as a financial inhibitor between savings and investors.
- 5) More than government, it is the private sector that has a key role in economic and financial development. The collective resources of multilateral institutions are capable of filling financial gaps to alleviate the concerns of risk-averse private sector participants.
- 6) In order to develop, countries need to concentrate on the well-being of their people by focusing on education, health and enhancement of technical capabilities.
- 7) To bring prosperity to their people, countries need to connect more effectively. In this regard, financial multinational organizations are ready to lend money for development provided the policy regime is attractive for anyone looking for an opportunity.
- 8) At the regional level, SAMECA's financial as well as research and development needs, can be satisfied by regional development and banking institutions such as the Asian Development Bank, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and New Development Bank (NDB).
- 9) At present, trade within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries comprises approximately 25 per cent of their total trade. On the other hand, the European Community (ECC) and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) comprise 63 per cent. Similarly, trade between Central Asia and South Asia is less than 5 per cent,

whereas East Asia is 35 per cent and the EU is close to 60 per cent. However, the contemporary era with its focus on New Economic Geography and trade corridors marks the beginning of a paradigm shift in power and control centers. Economic corridors are the best way to promote regional and global interconnectivity.

- 10) The importance of Central Asia, under BRI centers on two of the six economic corridors that are under construction: the China-Central Asia-West Asia -Economic Corridor and the Eurasia land bridge, could merge and connect with the northern route of CPEC and enter China. Landlocked countries would have access to the Gwadar Port, opening a wider corridor to the Middle East and vice versa.
- 11) Energy and great power competition have historically affected the geopolitics of Central Asia, and continue to do so. Transformation of the energy sector, in the Twentieth Century, has been the most technologically rapid. Security is directly related to energy politics. Integrated projects such as CASA 1000, which could provide high voltage power transmission from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan to Pakistan and Afghanistan, cannot become fully functional without peace in the latter.
- 12) In an era of trade corridors and regional clusters, China has emerged as a social constructivist power that believes in the power of ideas, norms and identity. It is practicing neoliberal ideas of connectivity and regional integration. Beijing believes that good governance comes from development. Once, economic vibrancy has been established, other issues such as human rights can be tackled. In achieving this goal, “government” is a solution and not the problem.

Plenary Session IV

Ecological Imbalance, Climate Change and Water Scarcity: Approaches for Regional Cooperation

The session discussed various non-traditional security challenges and the approaches for regional cooperation to mitigate them collectively:

- 1) SAMECA economies are largely dependent on agriculture and natural resources and are affected by volatile climate change-induced phenomena. The negative impact of global warming can seriously undermine food sources leading to dislocation, mass migration and conflict.
- 2) Pakistan has several issues over water with India and Afghanistan: Whereas Pakistan does not have a treaty with the latter, the Indus Waters Treaty is under threat since the real contention with India is over water, not Kashmir. The entire issue of transboundary water (management) revolves around the word “reciprocity.”

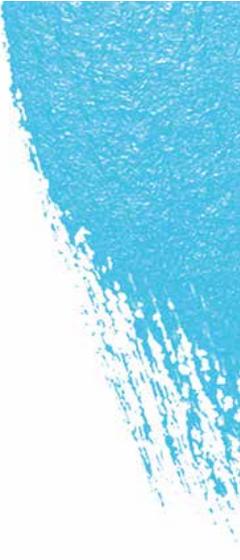
- 3) The ecological vulnerability varies with gender.
- 4) At the global level, countries, including Pakistan, have to meet the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Technology Session

Cyberspace in 2025: Cyber Security Challenges in SAMECA and Prospects for Multilateral Cooperation

The session discussed emerging challenges emanating from cyber threats and discussed various means of multilateral cooperation:

- 1) The absence of clearly defined borders in cyber space (such as explicitly defined air spaces, sea boundaries) makes cyber overlaps and transgressions inevitable.
- 2) The biggest obstacle to cyber-related information sharing between SAMECA countries – and global powers in general – is that many nations simply refuse to share it on the pretext that it is too classified and sensitive. This can lead to increasing state-control in cyber space, rendering regional engagement efforts futile.
- 3) A common misconception surrounding cyber space discourse is that everything is technology-centric. In fact, it crucially depends on “people” and “processes.” For instance, promotion of cyber space awareness that furthers the protection of people’s rights is a need of the hour.
- 4) Although the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, 2016 was implemented, the absence of critical laws and regulations such as IT audits hamper the development of a comprehensive national cyber security vision in Pakistan.
- 5) Cyber technologies can also serve as non-lethal alternatives to kinetic weapons. President Donald Trump’s example illustrates how he chose to target Iran through cyber weaponry, because the US did not want to induce civilian casualties nor go to actual war.
- 6) Cyber weaponry features include remote usage, and the ability to disguise fingerprints. These instruments can also be readily obfuscated.
- 7) Pakistan lacks a national aggregation model in its cyber security framework. The absence of this mechanism allows any traffic coming from the Internet from being subject to further distribution – this critically undermines government regulatory controls.



RECOMMENDATIONS



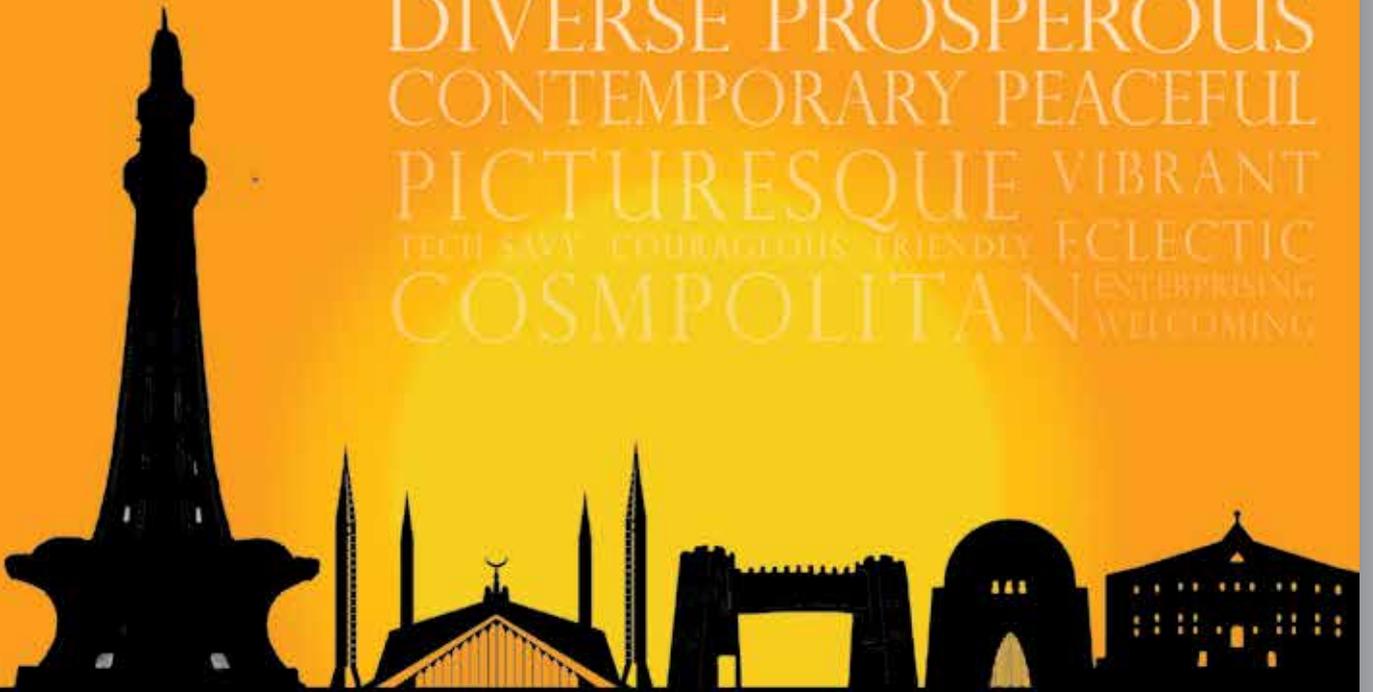
RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of views expressed by the speakers, discussions and analysis during the 2019 Margalla Dialogue, the following recommendations need serious consideration, not just by policy-makers within Pakistan, but also those in neighbouring South Asian, Central Asian and Middle East countries:

1. Margalla Dialogue 2019 is a useful vehicle for policy makers to benefit from research-based inputs and independent ideas. The Dialogue, therefore, must continue as an annual event.
2. Pakistan's strategic location in the new economic geography must be leveraged by making economic diplomacy, ease of doing business, creating congenial investment climate and following a people-centered approach as the top priority of the Government. Private sector must be enabled to play a central role for economic revival. Suggestions were made to introduce Schengen style visa regime in SAMECA.
3. Pakistan's bilateral cooperation with China has benefitted both countries. Both countries are now collaborating for industrialization and socio-economic development in Pakistan. Special efforts are needed for economic zones and making CPEC true corridor of commerce and transit trade. Gwadar's full development must also be expedited.
4. Pakistan's relations with Russia are warming up. Efforts are needed to make tangible economic cooperation with Russia and Central Asia.
5. With the US and China's competition intensifying, 'Thucydides Trap' must be avoided. Pakistan has had a long relationship with the US. Pakistan's relations with China and the US are not a zero-sum game. Pakistan was and should remain a bridge between the two countries. Pakistan and the US are already working closely to secure peace in Afghanistan. Further, Pakistan and US can also engage in deeper economic cooperation.

6. Peace with Modi's India is difficult, but remains a desirable goal for peace in South Asia. Pakistan's pitch for peace initiatives is welcomed. The resolution of Kashmir dispute is central to securing a lasting peace in South Asia. Suggestions were made to focus on the humanitarian and legal dimensions to convince the international community to play its part.
7. Peace in Afghanistan is in the best interest of Pakistan and the three regions of SAMECA. In the past one year, Pakistan has played a commendable role to facilitate peace talks in Afghanistan. That effort must continue.
8. Iran is a neighbor with deep historical and cultural ties with the people of Pakistan. Saudi Arabia too is a close friend of Pakistan. Pakistan must continue to offer its good offices for talks between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan must also caution the US and other parties that any outbreak of hostilities in the region will spell disaster for all countries of SAMECA as well as for rest of the world.
9. Cyber security has emerged as an important challenge. Pakistan must undertake legislation for national cyber security policy in order to establish a framework for internal management and external engagement. We also need technical capacity to deal with cyber space as the threat is real and urgent.
10. Special attention may also be paid to climate change impacts and water security issues. Pakistan is a vulnerable country on both counts.
11. Pakistan's youth bulge is a strength or could be a huge liability if it is not trained in usable skills. Nearly all success stories owe their rise to developed human resource. SAMECA has plenty of opportunities to learn from each other. Think tanks like IPRI could focus their studies on human resource development in Pakistan.

RESILIENT PROGRESSIVE
RESOURCEFUL CREATIVE
CONFIDENT
DIVERSE PROSPEROUS
CONTEMPORARY PEACEFUL
PICTURESQUE VIBRANT
TECH SAVY COURAGEOUS FRIENDLY ECLECTIC
COSMOPOLITAN ENTERPRISING
WELCOMING



THE KALEIDOSCOPE THAT IS

Pakistan



BOOK LAUNCH

During the Inaugural Session, IPRI's book titled *The Kaleidoscope That Is Pakistan* was also launched by the President of Pakistan Dr Arif Alvi. The book was also presented to the Prime Minister Mr Imran Khan. The Kaleidoscope That Is Pakistan is a unique collaborative book project about Pakistan. Following an open call for essays, thought pieces and policy perspectives from all over Pakistan, 13 thematic articles were chosen for publication. Submissions were sent not only by Pakistanis and foreign scholars based in the country, but also by expatriates living and working abroad. The authors, which include stalwarts in their field and young budding scholars and practitioners, offer innovative and thought-provoking ideas to revisit and challenge conventional themes like diplomacy & international relations; nuclear & hybrid warfare; governance & economy and water security & climate change issues of Pakistan.

Rethinking Diplomacy and Politics of Power: Making Peace Last

1. Rethinking Diplomacy in South Asia: Restraint, Caution & Negotiation
Ambassador (R) Shahid Masroor Gul Kiani
2. India's Kashmir Lawfare: Pakistan & Change in Narrative
Hassan Aslam Shad
3. Foreign Policy of Major Powers in South Asia and Beyond: Strategic Concerns for Pakistan
Namra Naseer
4. Pakistan/Pakistani in a Foreigner's Eyes: Changing Perceptions
Shazia Nawaz

Nuclear and Hybrid Warfare: Important Lessons

5. India's Shift from a 'No First Use' Nuclear Doctrine: Implications for Regional Stability
Dr Adil Sultan
6. A New of Era Hybrid Warfare: Present and Future Trends
Zeeshan Zaighum & Dr Farasat Rasool

Getting Governance and Economics Right

7. Pakistan in a Neoliberal World: Reflections on Ideology and Political Economy
Dr Massimo Ramaoli
8. Economic Governance and Pakistan
Dr Kamal Monnoo
9. Democracy in Pakistan: A Dynamic Work-In-Progress
Javed Jabbar
10. Universal Healthcare and Financial Equity: Inside Pakistan's Sehat Sahulat Program
Hannan R. Hussain

Climate Change and Water Security: Potential Solutions

11. A Potential Contribution of Text Mining: Comparative Analysis of Water Policies of Pakistan and India
Dr Faheem Aslam
12. Rainwater Harvesting: Viable Solution for Water Security in Rural and Mountainous Areas of Pakistan
Dr Inayatullah Jan
13. Climate Financing Potential in Energy Sector: Towards A Carbon Neutral Pakistan
M. Imran Khan, Aliya Naz & Fatima Athar



MEDIA HIGHLIGHTS & PHOTO GALLERY



ISLAMABAD: President Arif Alvi addressing the inaugural session of the two-day Margalla Dialogue on 'Peace and Development in South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia' on Wednesday. Mr Alvi said that the dream of peace and security could not be realised until countries looked beyond vested interests and resolved their conflicts on the principles of humanity.—APP



PM Nawaz Sharif addressing the Margalla Dialogue on Thursday.—APP

World must stop India before it's too late, says PM

Pak-India friendly ties revived vital for regional peace

By Chir Waheed Hashmi
ISLAMABAD: Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said that the revival of friendly relations between India and Pakistan was vital for peace in South Asia. He said that the two countries should work together to resolve their differences and build a peaceful and prosperous region. He also said that the Margalla Dialogue was a significant step towards this goal.



Panel of speakers at the Margalla Dialogue.

جنگ

اسلام آباد: وزیر اعظم نے کہا ہے کہ دنیا کو ہندوستان سے پہلے ہندوستان کو روکنا چاہیے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ ہندوستان کی جارحانہ پالیسی نے جنوبی ایشیا میں امن و امان کو متاثر کیا ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ پاکستان اور بھارت کے درمیان تعلقات کو بہتر بنانا اور خطے میں امن کو بحال کرنا ہندوستان کے خلاف ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ دنیا کو ہندوستان سے پہلے ہندوستان کو روکنا چاہیے۔

Impression of India failing, Pakistan gaining wrong...

Continued from Page 1
along the Lease of Control (LoC).
Sardar Masood was speaking as a chief guest on the inaugural session of 2-day Pioneer Initiative on 'Peace and Development in South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMDEA). Partners in 'Peace Developing Together' organised by Islamabad Policy Research Institute here Wednesday. The initiative is intended to be Track 1.5. Maria Sultan, Director-General, South Asia Strategic Stability Institute, acted as the moderator. Diplomats from China, Malaysia and Turkey, the only three countries that supported Pakistan at UNO, also attended.
He said that third parties and UNO should at least recognise that there is a conflict in South Asia as only then effort can be made to solve it. He said that UN regime in India is not active. He said that what left for us is to only outreach to our constituency in both parts of Kashmir, Pakistan, our diaspora and world communities at large. He said what is wrong is rising trend of exclusiveness of world powers. India can get away with after murder like world powers are doing.
Sardar Masood said that in Pakistan, one got the impression that India is failing and we are gaining. He called it a wrong feeling. He said India will also take steps after decision on Ayodhya. He said that India has targeted Pakistan and also Muslim minority in India. How it can be a success for Pakistan, he asked. Ahmed Bilal Soofi, President, Research Society of International Law, said that Ayodhya judgment will have political cost for BJP government. He said Indian action on Aug 5 violates international law as well as Indian Constitution. He said that we should not wait for reaction of international community. He lamented that there is violation of well documented human rights in the valley.
Mishaal Hussain, Mullick, Chairperson, Peace and Cultural Organisation, and wife of Kashmir leader Yasin Mullick, said that her husband is the only one kept in death cell and being tortured. Referring to last year's 'Ayodhya resolution' of a UN body, she said that UN has not forgotten Kashmir. She said that from Security Council resolutions, to Shimla Accord, India backed out from all agreements it signed. She said that the world should listen to the voice of Kashmiris.
She referred to half widows and half mothers who don't know where their husbands and children are. She stressed practical steps and not just passing resolutions in seminars. She said that if UN resolutions are not the option, then war is the only option which country of the nation should try to prevent.
Maria Sultan said that Kashmir is a black spot in Indo-Pak relations. Faizullah Koofi, former MP and Chairperson, Movement of Change for Afghanistan, Sohail Mahmood, Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Lt Gen (ret) Zahid Latif, Secretary, Ministry of Defence Production, also spoke on the occasion.



Panel of speakers at the Margalla Dialogue.

اسلام آباد: وزیر اعظم نے کہا ہے کہ دنیا کو ہندوستان سے پہلے ہندوستان کو روکنا چاہیے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ ہندوستان کی جارحانہ پالیسی نے جنوبی ایشیا میں امن و امان کو متاثر کیا ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ پاکستان اور بھارت کے درمیان تعلقات کو بہتر بنانا اور خطے میں امن کو بحال کرنا ہندوستان کے خلاف ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ دنیا کو ہندوستان سے پہلے ہندوستان کو روکنا چاہیے۔



Group photo of participants at the Margalla Dialogue.

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Panel of speakers at the Margalla Dialogue.

Margalla Dialogue

REGIONAL POLITICS

Khan Hasham Bin Saddique
The writer is an Ambassador, former Vice Admiral, and retired Vice Admiral. He is a President Islamabad Policy Research Institute. A leading policy think tank based in Islamabad.

SAMECA offers considerable potential of economic cooperation to eradicate issues like poverty, unemployment and radicalization in the region.

Our world has seen several wars and conflicts in last few years. These conflicts have resulted in massive destruction that has resulted into massive humanitarian crisis. Pakistan is one of the many countries that has borne the brunt of the ongoing regional and international conflicts. The war in Afghanistan has affected Pakistan directly and indirectly. It has caused much harm to regional peace and stability. But that is not the only conflict that is keeping South Asia unstable. The humanitarian crisis in Kashmir has the tendency to become one of the flash points in South Asia. To address these conflicts and other areas in which cooperation among states has become indispensable, Margalla Dialogue is being arranged by Islamabad Policy Research Institute in Islamabad. The Dialogue will be a pioneer flagship initiative. Track 1.5 is planned to be held annually in Pakistan. The event will cover areas of peace and development within the region of South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia. With focus on Pakistan-related issues.

Dialogues worldwide are held to address issues of critical importance. Shengri is Dialogue, Manana Dialogue, International Security Forum are to name a few. The idea of holding such dialogues is to bring forth the solutions to critical issues and to generate an intellectual and informed discussion. Margalla Dialogue is one such initiative. Dialogue primarily aims to invite top policy makers, multifarious leading experts, to discuss a wide range of issues relevant to peace and development.

Pakistan's involvement is primarily due to its geographic location at the convergence of the three important regions, South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia (SAMECA). Sameca faces problems, such as border and territorial disputes, social unrest caused by mismanagement of ethnic/linguistic

and religious identities, refugees and internally displaced populations, cross-border networks of militants, drug and small arms proliferation, energy and water crises, and conventional arms buildup, etc. These challenges tend to spill over across the territorial boundaries of an individual country and affect the overall region.

SAMECA offers considerable potential of economic cooperation to eradicate issues like poverty, unemployment and radicalization in the region. Some of the mega economic projects like Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI), Central Asia-South Asia power project (CASA-1000), Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline, rail and road corridors connecting these regions could not materialize due to deteriorating interstate relations. The SAMECA possesses great geo-strategic and geopolitical significance. It forms and includes the Eurasian heart land within which Pakistan is a natural bridge and a linkage corridor, therefore a major player. Pakistan forms the core of this triad and the mega developmental projects may not flourish without Pakistan's involvement.

There is a growing need to institutionalize a comprehensive regional programme to the peace and developmental challenges facing the SAMECA region by working out plausible solutions and identifying the methods that help to eradicate or mitigate such issues through. Pakistan's point of view on various peace and development issues within the region ought to be highlighted through candid exchange of views with other regional countries, for which the Margalla Dialogue will provide a platform in a hospitable environment.

To discuss important and shared regional issues, to generate a high quality credible debate on subjects under discussion, with a view to recommendations and educate

wider audience through extensive projection of Pakistan's well deliberated regional and international policies. The Dialogue will be a pioneer flagship initiative. Track 1.5 is planned to be held annually in Pakistan. The event will cover areas of peace and development within the region of South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia. With focus on Pakistan-related issues.

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Diplomatic processes over Kashmir not being supported by India: AJK president

Says India has taken a series of steps by annexing, bifurcating and colonising the disputed territory of JOK.

ISLAMABAD
The Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) President, Ghulam Nabi Wani, said on Monday that the Indian government's diplomatic processes over Kashmir are not being supported by India. He said that India has taken a series of steps by annexing, bifurcating and colonising the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir (JOK).

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The current and past rulers of Kashmir are being pushed to the wall and the resulting anger in the people of Kashmir may lead to armed insurrection for defending themselves," he said.

The President said that he will continue our international relations to multilateral organisations, international forums, regional and global forums and coordinate support for the free and fair process of Kashmir. He said that the UN Security Council, the UN Commission on Human Rights, the UN Human Rights Council and the UN General Assembly have been invited to convene a session on Kashmir. He said that the UN Security Council, the UN Commission on Human Rights, the UN Human Rights Council and the UN General Assembly have been invited to convene a session on Kashmir.

MARGALLA DIALOGUE CALLS FOR COMPREHENSIVE RESPONSE TO CHALLENGES IN SAMECA REGION

President Aijaz says dream of peace in world has not been realised since countries are unable to look beyond the lens of vested interests

ISLAMABAD
President Aijaz Ahmad said on Monday that the world has not been able to realise its dream of peace because countries are unable to look beyond the lens of vested interests. He said that the Margalla Dialogue will provide a platform for a comprehensive response to the challenges in the SAMECA region.

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8 | THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2019



Masood: Kashmiris want their freedom and right to self-determination. They will not bow down in front of India's aggression

AIJK
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TRIBUNE
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PM seeks world role to defuse S Asia tension
Says Modi regime pursuing ideology of hate in region

ISLAMABAD
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Federal Minister for Planning Makhdoom Khuroo Bakhtiar

Opportunities exist in every sector: Shaikh

PM aide insists private sector has vital role to play in country's development

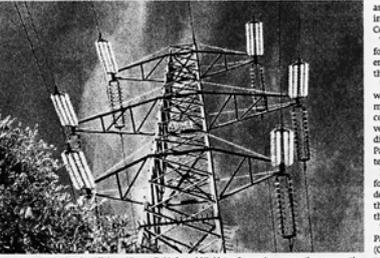
ISLAMABAD
The government is investing in human resources which will lead the country towards sustainable economic growth, said Adviser to Prime Minister on Finance Dr Abdul Hakeem Shaikh.

Addressing a conference titled "Margalla Dialogue" on Thursday, the adviser stressed that no country could achieve high development goals until it equipped its people with modern skills and technology to enhance their capability and help them contribute to the development of the country.

The adviser was the new that education, skills and tendency towards innovation and modern education played a vital role in the development of a society.

He stressed that the private sector had to play an important role in development and prosperity of the country while the government could only provide it support and opportunities.

Shaikh said around two billion in development funds were available for the private sector and the Asian



REGIONAL TIES: Planning Minister Khuroo Bakhtiar said Pakistan focused on promoting cooperation in the energy sector at the regional level.

Planning Minister Makhdoom Khuroo Bakhtiar said on Monday that Pakistan is focusing on promoting economic growth and development in the region. He said that the Margalla Dialogue will provide a platform for a comprehensive response to the challenges in the SAMECA region.

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Infrastructural connectivity to spur economic integration in SAMECA

Need to keep their people and the development of their states and equality as the focus of their efforts. He also pointed out that the country achieved development and prosperity only and the only way to bring prosperity to all our people is to work together with others in the region.

OUR STAFF REPORTER ISLAMABAD
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Pakistan heading towards industrial development: Khusro Bakhtiar



Science, technology sector budget to be increased substantially: Fawad Chaudhry



The goal of Iran's foreign policy is to strengthen regional integration

Infrastructural connectivity to spur economic integration in SAMECA: Minister



Science, Technology Sector Budget to Be Increased Substantially: Fawad Chaudhry

War against terrorism proved disaster for Pakistan, says Imran Khan



Pakistan to be bridge-builder now, not ally in any foreign war: PM

People, partnerships, private sector key to development, prosperity, says Dr Hafeez Shaikh



No one understands the direction in which India is heading: PM Imran Khan

Joint ventures with private sector imperative to ensure economic development: Dr. Hafeez



Diplomatic processes in over Kashmir not being supported by India: Masood Khan

Pakistan to continue playing role to ensure regional peace: PM

Margalla Dialogue 2-War On Terror Was Disaster To Pakistan-Now We Will Be Bridge & Reconciliator Only -Imran Khan







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PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

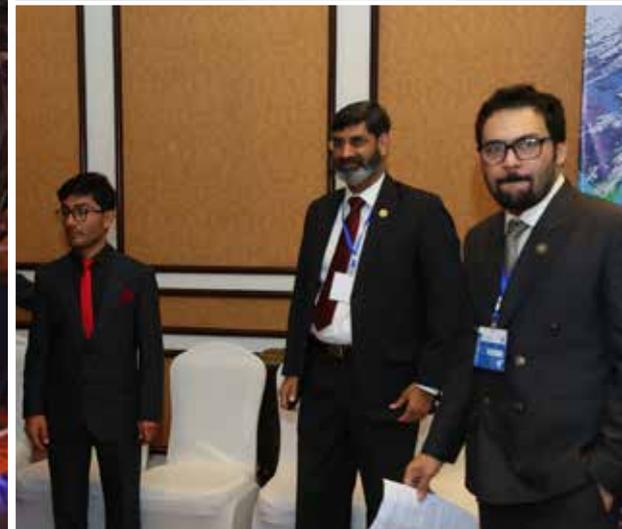
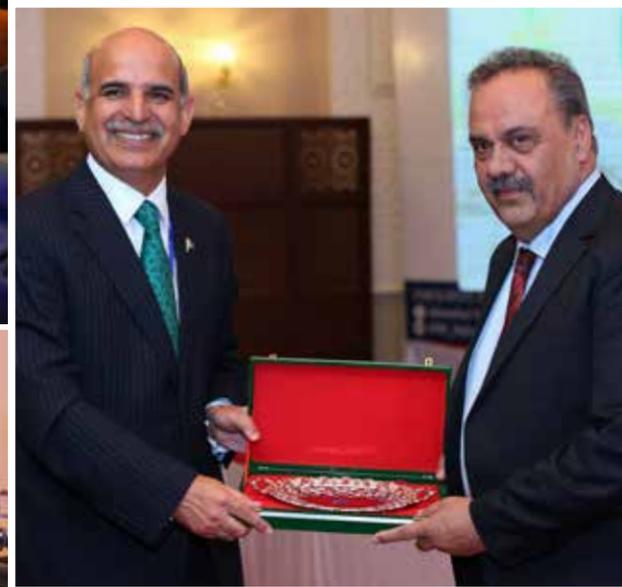
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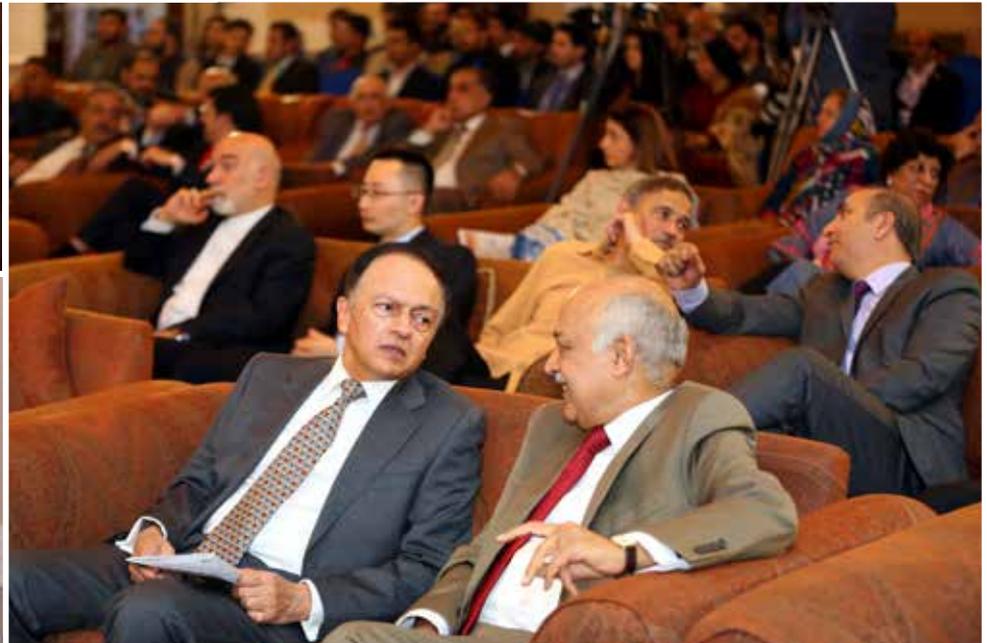
South Asia, Middle East, Centra Asia (SAMECA)

Partners in Peace Developing Together

13 November 2019









ANNEXURE

PROGRAM

Day 1: Wednesday, 13 November 2019

INAUGURAL SESSION

0900-0925 hrs	Reception of Guests
0930 hrs	Arrival of the Chief Guest
	H.E. Dr Arif Alvi, President, Islamic Republic of Pakistan
0930-0935 hrs	National Anthem of Pakistan and Recitation from Holy Quran
0935-0940 hrs	Welcome Remarks
	Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI (M) President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Pakistan
0940-0955 hrs	Keynote Address
	Dr Moeed Yusuf, then-Chairperson, Strategic Policy Planning Cell, National Security Division, Prime Minister's Office, Government of Pakistan
0955-1015 hrs	Keynote Address
	Mr Daniel F. Runde, Senior Vice President, Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), USA
	Special Guest
	Ambassador Sohail Mehmood, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), Government of Pakistan
	Presentation of Book and Mementos
1020-1035 hrs	Address by the Chief Guest
	H.E. Dr Arif Alvi, President, Islamic Republic of Pakistan
1035-1040 hrs	Group Photograph
1040-1100 hrs	Refreshments

PLENARY SESSION I

SEEKING PEACE THROUGH CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Part I

Chair	Sardar Masood Khan, President, Azad Jammu and Kashmir
Moderator	Dr Maria Sultan, Director General, South Asia Strategic Stability Institute (SASSI), Pakistan
Session Speakers	
1105-1120 hrs	Pakistan-India Relations and Regional Stability: Kashmir Issue Dr Mohammad Faisal, DG, South Asia and SAARC & Spokesperson, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), Government of Pakistan
1120-1130 hrs	Jammu & Kashmir Dispute: Legal Perspective Mr Ahmer Bilal Soofi, President, Research Society of International Law (RSIL), Pakistan
1130-1145 hrs	Waiting to Disappear: An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir Ms Mishaal Hussein Mullick, Chairperson, Peace and Culture Organization, Pakistan
1145-1205 hrs	Discussion

Part 2

Chair	Ambassador (R) Asif Durrani, Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Iran and UAE
Moderator	Lt Gen (R) Dr Muhammad Zahid Latif, HI (M), Secretary, Ministry of Defence Production, Government of Pakistan
Session Speakers	
1215-1230 hrs	Intra-Afghan Dialogue: An International Dynamic Ms Fawzia Koofi, Former Member of Parliament and Chairperson Movement of Change for Afghanistan, Afghanistan
1230-1240 hrs	Resolution of Yemen Crisis: UN Initiative Dr Andreea Stoian Karadeli, Peace Mediator at EU and NATO, Romania
1240-1250 hrs	Saudi Perspective on Regional Security Dr Mohammed S. Al Sulami, Chairman, RASANAHA, Saudi Arabia
Discussant	Dr Syed Farooq Hasnat, Professor, Forman Christian College University, Pakistan
1250-1315 hrs	Discussion
1315-1330 hrs	Remarks by the Moderator
1330-1335 hrs	Presentation of Mementos and Group Photograph
1335-1430 hrs	Lunch & Prayer Break

PLENARY SESSION II

GEOPOLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA, MIDDLE EAST, CENTRAL ASIA (SAMECA): ROLE OF US, CHINA AND RUSSIA

Chair	Senator Syed Shibli Faraz, Leader of the House, Senate of Pakistan
Moderator	Professor Dr Syed Rifaat Hussain, HoD, Department of Government and Public Policy, National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Pakistan
Session Speakers	
1435-1450 hrs	Articulation of US Foreign Policy in SAMECA Region and Its Challenges
	Professor Emeritus Dr Marvin G. Weinbaum, Director, Afghanistan and Pakistan Program, Middle East Institute (MEI), USA
1450-1505 hrs	Russia's Refocus on South and Central Asia: Perspective and Perceptions
	Dr Sergei Ermakov, Head of Research, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS), Russia
1505-1520 hrs	Regional Dynamics and Outlook: China and Its SAMECA Neighbourhood
	Dr Li JingFeng, Director, Regional Studies and Strategies Research Center, Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences (SASS), China
1520-1535 hrs	Great Power Politics in Central Asia: Competing Visions or Complementary Interests?
	Ms Lidiya Parkhomchik, Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Kazakhstan
1535-1550 hrs	Pakistan's Quest for Cooperation and Strategic Stability in Changing Geopolitical Environment in SAMECA Region
	Dr Huma Baqai, Associate Dean, Social Sciences and Liberal Arts, Institute of Business Administration (IBA), Pakistan
Discussant	Dr Talat Farooq, Senior Consultant, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan
1550-1615 hrs	Discussion
1615-1625 hrs	Remarks by the Chair
1625-1630 hrs	Presentation of Mementos and Group Photograph
	Lunch & Prayer Break

PLENARY SESSION III

PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN SAMECA: EXPLORING NEW VISTAS OF COOPERATION

Chair	Mr Makhdoom Khusro Bakhtiar, then-Federal Minister for Planning, Development and Reform, Government of Pakistan
Moderator	Mr Haroon Sharif, Former Chairman, Board of Investment, Government of Pakistan
1005-1025 hrs	Keynote Address
	Dr Abdul Hafeez Shaikh, Advisor to Prime Minister of Pakistan on Finance, Revenue and Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan
Session Speakers	
1025-1040 hrs	Potential of Pakistan as a Trade and Energy Hub in SAMECA Region
	Mr Yaseen Anwar, Senior Advisor ICBC, Singapore; and former Governor, State Bank of Pakistan
1040-1055 hrs	China's BRI: Reviving Connectivity and Crafting Growing Transregional Linkages in SAMECA Region
	Dr Wang ZhengXu, Professor, School of International Relations and Public Affairs (SIRPA), Fudan University, China
1055-1110 hrs	Energy Connectivity: Role for Central Asia
	Mr Leonid Savin, Founder and Chief Editor, Journal of Eurasian Affairs, Russia
1110-1125 hrs	Iranian Perspective on Regional Trade and Transportation Initiatives
	Ambassador Javad Kachoueian, Former Ambassador of Iran to Ireland, Iran
Discussant	Mr Yao Jing, Ambassador of People's Republic of China to Pakistan
1125-1200 hrs	Discussion
1200-1210 hrs	Remarks by the Chair
1210-1220 hrs	Presentation of Mementos and Group Photograph
1220-1330 hrs	Lunch & Prayer Break

TECHNOLOGY SESSION

CYBERSPACE IN 2025: CYBER SECURITY CHALLENGES IN SAMECA AND PROSPECTS FOR MULTILATERAL COOPERATION

Chair	Mr Fawad Ahmed Chaudhry, Federal Minister for Science and Technology, Government of Pakistan
Moderator	Mr Ammar Jaffri, Director General, Center of Information Technology (CIT), Pakistan
Session Speakers	
1005-1025 hrs	Contours of Cyber Security for Pakistan: Roadmap for Legislative, Institutional and Technical Framework Mr Obaid Ul Haq, Chief Executive Officer, Tech Avenue, Pakistan
1025-1045 hrs	Overarching Framework for Global and Interregional Cyber Security Cooperation in SAMECA Region Prof Dr Bilal Sambur, Professor, Yildirim Beyazit University, Turkey
1045-1100 hrs	Role of Dialogue and Mediation in Promoting Trust and Stability in Cyberspace: Implications for the SAMECA Region Dr Richard Wilcox, Senior Advisor, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Switzerland
1100- 1115 hrs	Role of Cross-Domain Technologies in Compounding and Mitigating Cyber Security threats Dr Zahri Bin Yunos, Chief Operating Officer, CyberSecurity Malaysia, Malaysia
Discussants	Dr Khurram Khurshid, Head of Department, Department of Electrical Engineering, Institute of Space Technology, Pakistan Dr Majid Khan, Assistant Professor, Department of Applied Mathematics and Statistics, Institute of Space Technology, Pakistan Dr Tughral Yamin, Associate Dean, Centre of International Peace & Stability, National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Pakistan
1115-1155 hrs	Discussion
1155-1210 hrs	Remarks by the Chair
1210-1220 hrs	Presentation of Mementos and Group Photograph
1220-1330 hrs	Lunch & Prayer Break

PLENARY SESSION IV

ECOLOGICAL IMBALANCE, CLIMATE CHANGE AND WATER SCARCITY: APPROACHES FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION

Chair	Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI (M), President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan
Moderator	Ambassador (R) Shafqat Kakakhel, Chairperson, Board of Governors, Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Pakistan
Session Speakers	
1335-1350 hrs	Transboundary Water Management: Pakistan-India and Pakistan-Afghanistan
	Dr Pervaiz Amir, Head, Global Water Partnership (GWP), Pakistan
1350-1410 hrs	Mitigation of Ecological Degradation in South Asia: Towards An Inclusive Regional Approach
	Dr Rehana Siddiqui, Former Director, Centre for Environmental Economics and Climate Change, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Pakistan
1410-1425 hrs	Climate Change Hotspots in South Asia: Glacier Loss and Way Forward
	Dr Netra P. Timsina, Chairperson Board of Directors, Southasia Institute of Advanced Studies (SIAS), Nepal
Discussants	Dr Imran Saqib Khalid, Research Fellow, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Pakistan
1425-1500 hrs	Discussion
1500-1510 hrs	Remarks by the Chair
1510-1520 hrs	Presentation of Mementos and Group Photograph

CONCLUDING SESSION

1530-1550 hrs	Reception of Guests
1630 hrs	Arrival of the Chief Guest
	H.E. Mr Imran Khan, Prime Minister, Islamic Republic of Pakistan
1630-1635 hrs	National Anthem of Pakistan and Recitation from Holy Quran
1635-1640 hrs	Overview of Margalla Dialogue 2019
	Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI (M) President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Pakistan
1640-1655 hrs	Summary of Takeaways & Recommendations of Margalla Dialogue 2019
	Ambassador (R) Aizaz Chaudhry, Member, Board of Governors, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Pakistan
1655-1700 hrs	Address by the Chief Guest
	H.E. Mr Imran Khan, Prime Minister, Islamic Republic of Pakistan
1700-1720 hrs	Presentation of Book & Group Photograph
	Refreshments



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