Inside the Issue

One-Day National Conference
Insecurity in the Middle East: Implications for Pakistan

A one-day conference titled “Insecurity in the Middle East: Implications for Pakistan” was organized by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) on October 17, 2017 at the IPRI conference hall, Islamabad. The conference was chaired by Ambassador Inamul Haque, Former Foreign Minister, Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Chairman, IPRI Board of Governors (BOGs).

The conference discussed in detail the volatile security situation in the Middle East region, the challenges for Pakistan and how to get to grips with them.

Ambassador (R) Abdul Basit, President IPRI, in his welcome address said that the situation in the Middle East had both geo-strategic and geo-economic factors at play. A large number of Pakistani diaspora lives in the Middle Eastern countries and the remittances received contribute significantly to the country’s economy. Thereby, whether it is Yemen, Syria or East and abet Israeli hegemony.

The US policy is to forcefully change the regimes, reinforce civil unrest, and control the oil resources of the region. The so-called policy of nation-building is achieved through the brutal use of force and loss of life. The slogans of human rights and democracy are being employed to provoke the benighted people of the region. He stated that the US coercive policy against Iraq in the aftermath of 9/11, pursued under the garb of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), only led to the destruction of the country.

He said that the world is a silent spectator to US aggression unleashed against Iraq, Libya and Syria-the secular authoritarian states-and continues to stay aloof while Yemen is being destroyed.

Discussing the situation in Syria, he said preparations for the conflict must have included the staging of the uprising in 2011 against Bashar al-Assad, as the precursor to and the reason for his regime’s removal. The US and Western countries have provided weapons, training, money and safe havens to the Syrian rebels, including the Syrian National Council, the Syrian National Coalition. The US intention has never been to promote democracy and tolerance, but extremist religious narratives and regimes.

He remarked that the US and its allies are above criticism, but if some other country steps in to help the regime survive, they are accused of blatant interference in the internal affairs.

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of that country. The so-called Arab Spring was a flash in the pan, exploited by the US and the West to overthrow regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen, and unleashed the ongoing civil conflict in Syria. He concluded that Pakistan must not take sides in any intra-Islamic dispute and especially in intra-Arab disputes and wars.

Middle East Crisis and Pakistan's Foreign Policy Challenges

Dr Nazir Hussain discussed Middle Eastern Crisis and Pakistan's Foreign Policy Challenges. Speaking on the topic, Dr Hussain said that historically, Middle East has never been at peace. The ongoing crisis in the Middle East and the tumultuous situation is an extension of the past rifts. Since the 1920s, the intra-Arab rivalries had dominated the regional politics. Traditionally, the three major powers in the Middle East had been Egypt, Iraq, and Iran. However, element of sectarianism further complicated the politico-religious conflicts. Shia-Sunni strife is still being employed by the political players in pursuance of their vested interests, which in actual is the power politics.

The majority of the Arab countries have never had stable political institutions. The weak state structures have made the Arab world vulnerable to the outside influence. This discord and discontent within the Arab world is being exploited by extra regional players. In this entire scenario, the Muslim world is at loss, where the Arab Spring has turned into Arab Winter.

Regarding Pakistan's relations with the Middle Eastern countries

Dr Nazir viewed the late Prime Minister Zulfiquar Ali Bhutto's Middle East policy as instrumental in uniting the Muslims.

The 1998 nuclear explosion of Pakistan was welcomed by Saudi Arabia, the Saudi government gave 80,000 barrels of oil free of cost to Pakistan. The division within the Pakistani population over Saudi Arabia and Iran was also mentioned; half of the country's population was pro-Saudi, while the other half was pro-Iran. These developments portray Pakistan's interests in the Middle Eastern politics.

Current geopolitical dynamics are challenging for Pakistan as it needs to strike a balance in its relations with Saudi Arabia and Iran. Since our economy benefits from the remittances sent by Pakistani diaspora in the Gulf, Pakistan cannot ignore its Muslim neighbors. Therefore, Pakistan needs to warm up its cold ties with its immediate neighbor besides maintaining its amiable relations with Saudi Arabia.

Safeguarding Pakistan's Interests in the Middle East: A Way Forward

Dr Ejaz Shafi Gilani spoke on "Safeguarding Pakistan's Interests in the Middle East: A Way Forward." An overview of population, trade, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and military expenditure of the 22 economies of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region revealed that with its 400 million population and higher per capita income, MENA's US$ 4 trillion economy had been spending US$ 118 million on defense, and receiving US$ 136 billion in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Also, Pakistan has 1.9 million workers in Saudi Arabia, while the UAE is home to 1.2 million, and Oman, Kuwait, Qatar, and Bahrain nearly 0.7 million Pakistani workers, which was nearly 50 percent of the total workers abroad. The 63 percent of remittances to Pakistan's national exchequer come from Saudi Arabia (29 percent), UAE (22 percent), and other GCC countries (12 percent). Contrary to popular perception, Saudi Arabian and the UAE's FDI to Pakistan has reduced dramatically over the years and has now been overtaken by China.

As a way forward, it was suggested that Pakistan with its second largest Muslim population, the largest Army, and its unique position can play a pivotal role in bridging the trust deficit in the Muslim world in general, and in the Middle East in particular, in order to remove all the barriers which hinder economic and political development in the region.

Major Recommendations

- Since the existing situation in the Middle East has geo-politico-economic factors at play, these factors should thoroughly be deliberated by Pakistan.
- Pakistan should redefine its security interests in the Middle East region. The existing policy of looking at the regional politics from the prism of religious Shia-Sunni divide and post-colonial heritages requires a pragmatic shift. Other than focusing on the Saudi Arabia-Iran binary-cum-rivalry, efforts should be undertaken to build new partnerships.
- Given Pakistan's relations with the countries in the Middle East, specifically, Iran and Saudi Arabia, it needs to tread carefully while formulating its policies of either joining US-Israel-Arab camp or Iran. Also, in view of the divergent objectives of the

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British Delegation Visits IPRI

A two-member British delegation including Mr Keith Allen Bennett, China and North Korea Expert and Mr Mushtaq Lasharie, Councilor of The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, London, UK visited IPRI on 30 October 2017 to have an interactive session with IPRI scholars on CPEC and its regional impact.

While briefing the delegation on “Construction of CPEC: Prospects for Pakistan and the Region” Mr Khurram Abbas from IPRI emphasized the potential role of CPEC in regional integration and economic empowerment. The robust road infrastructure and energy projects envisaged under CPEC will attract foreign investment and increase economic inter-dependencies, thereby, bringing in peace and stability in the region.

Mr Keith Bennett said that the UK government, despite being US ally, supported the economic corridor and would like collaboration on this venture. Regarding the US policy towards Pakistan and burgeoning pressure on Pakistan to “do more”, he said, it was primarily to distract world’s attention from the US failures in Afghan war.

On China’s economic growth, he said that the rising middle class in the country along with the advancement in the energy sectors and artificial intelligence are reflective of the country’s march towards progress. Mr Mushtaq Lasharie said analogies are being drawn between the CPEC and the British East India Company with a singular aim of reinforcing and exploiting resentment among the locals. Historically, China has not been an occupying force. The coercive tactics employed by some regional and global actors will not work against Pakistan – a sovereign nuclear power state.

Ambassador (R) Abdul Basit, President IPRI, while discussing the internal and external environment of Pakistan, said that the elements opposed to Pakistan’s progress, are trying to impede CPEC. However, Pakistan is determined to pursue the project no matter what.

The following recommendations emerged from the discussion:
- Informative sessions/talks/seminars should be held on CPEC in the UK, with the aim to create awareness about CPEC, introduce the project to foreigners and attract investment.
- The Pakistani diaspora in the UK needs to be mobilized for investment purposes through a comprehensive strategy.

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION FOR IPRI JOURNAL

Beginning with Vol. XVII (1) 2017, the IPRI Journal will be indexed and abstracted in the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI).

The Journal has been recognized by Clarivate Analytics (formerly the IP & Science business of Thomson Reuters) for coverage in its academic products and services.
IPRI Delegation

A four-member delegation from IPRI visited China (October 22-30, 2017) to participate in discussions on latest developments regarding the ongoing CPEC projects; dynamics of Pakistan’s politics and security situation and its impact on CPEC; Pakistan’s relations with South Asian neighbors and major powers and their impact on CPEC; and current security situation in Afghanistan. The delegation led by Dr Fazal-ur-Rahman, Non-Resident Consultant, IPRI, included Mr Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow, Mr Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Research Officer and Ms Maryam Nazir, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

The delegation had discussions with China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), China Institute of International Studies (CIIS), China Center for Contemporary World Studies (CCWWS), Center for South Asian Studies, Peking University (PKU-CSAS) and Xi’an International Studies University (XISU).

IPRI-CICIR Interaction

In an interactive session at the Institute of South & Southeast Asian & Oceanian Studies, CICIR, IPRI scholars spoke on following themes:

1. Dynamics of Pakistan’s Politics and Security Situation and its Impact on CPEC - Muhammad Nawaz Khan  
2. Latest Developments of CPEC Projects - Muhammad Munir
3. Pakistan’s Relations with its South Asian Neighbors and Major Powers and its Implications on CPEC - Dr Fazal-ur-Rahman

It was discussed that CPEC has been institutionalized since the initiative has become a top priority on Pakistan Government’s national agenda. Overall improved security situation of the country has positively impacted the implementation of CPEC.

Discussing latest developments of CPEC projects, it was shared that work on CPEC had entered its third year, with substantive progress on most of the CPEC projects. The volume of investment also increased to US$62 billion from the initial amount of US$46 billion.

Reviewing Pakistan’s relations with South Asian neighbors and major powers and their implications on CPEC, Dr Fazal-ur-Rahman said that nearly all the South Asian states and their relations with each other are facing tension and hostility. The multi-lateral cooperation among regional states is very much dependent on the kind of relations Pakistan and India share at a particular period. In current geo-political dynamics of South Asia, India has emerged as a linchpin for the US in the form of closer cooperation. The primary reasons behind such cooperation are aimed at undermining the relationship between Pakistan and China and the outcome of Belt and Road initiative.

On Afghan peace process, it was reiterated that Pakistan has always been forthcoming in resolving the Afghan issue. Undue emphasis on the use of force would likely create more problems in achieving reconciliation in Afghanistan. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid whimsical and self-serving approaches. The focus of all reconciliation efforts should be on achieving peace in Afghanistan through sustained dialogue.

Prof. Fu Xiaoqiang, Director, Institute of Security and Arms Control Studies and Center for Counter-terrorism Studies, CICIR and Mr. Wang Shida, Assistant Director, stressed for increased maritime cooperation between China and Pakistan, by quoting the successful example of JF-17 Thunder. It was recommended that Pakistan should take full advantage of its strategic location and develop capabilities accordingly.

IPRI-CIIS Interaction

During IPRI Delegation’s visit to CIIS and exchange of views, Dr Lan Jianxue, Associate Research Fellow, CIIS said that developments such as the new US policy towards South Asia with the prospective scope of giving India a greater role in the region and the changing nature of relationship between South Asian countries, are very important. Although President Trump has given a policy regarding South Asia which proposes a larger role for India, but this policy lacks a clear vision and a roadmap.

Regarding Indian response to the US policy, it was said that on one hand, India is happy with the larger role in the region but at the same time, it has refused to send troops to Afghanistan. On China’s bilateral relations with India, it was shared that with increasing Indian aggression and stubbornness in foreign policy, the relations faced a setback in the last few years.
Visits China

IPRI-CCCWS Interaction
At the CCCWS, the delegation was warmly received by Dr. Wang Liyong, Deputy Director General. Dr. Fazal-ur-Rahman congratulated Dr. Liyong on successful convening of the 19th National Congress by the Chinese leadership. He said that Pakistan is appreciative of the fact that the leadership has achieved the goals which were outlined in the last National Congress.

While discussing the challenges impeding the development of CPEC, Dr. Liyong said that few years ago, security was considered to be a problem in Pakistan but it must be appreciated how the country had dealt with the issue in these years and established a task force for CPEC. However, presence of ISIS in Afghanistan and Indian support to anti-state actors in Pakistan are a cause of concern.

IPRI-PU Interaction
During the visit to the Center for South Asian Studies, Peking University, it was stressed that increased cooperation is required between China and Pakistan at the level of academia and think tanks in order to have research, brief discussions and exchange programmes.

Regarding recent developments in South Asia, it was said that US policies in the region were imparting new dimensions and dynamics to the domain of international relations. However, such cooperation specifically with India would impart an imbalance in the region. The recent US policy for South Asia seems to engage Pakistan on two fronts i.e. counter-terrorism and Afghanistan. However, Pakistan has not succumbed to the pressure asserted by the new US administration. Similarly, with the failure of Quadrilateral Consultation Group (QCG) process, dialogues and negotiations with Taliban are becoming tough.

Regarding Pakistan’s security, PU scholars voiced their concerns about militancy in the country and its root causes and strategies to deal with it in future.

IPRI-XISU Interaction
Both sides reiterated the importance of mutual cooperation and trust between Pakistan and China, specifically after the initiation of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and CPEC. It was shared that significant changes in global and regional environment pose various challenges to the future of Pakistan-China relations, for which both countries need to strategize on measures and remedies to tackle them.

Conclusion
People-to-people contacts are the backbone of enhanced and strengthened bilateral relations. However, the security and political situation are a major cause of concern for the various Chinese scholars and think tanks. It was reiterated that China aims to have an all-inclusive development in Pakistan and is eager to see a peaceful and progressing country. However, the need to counter the negative propaganda was stressed time and again to ensure smooth and steady implementation of CPEC.
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Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS): A Threat to Pakistan?
Muhammad Nawaz Khan
The author looks at the extremist organization Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and its impacts on South Asia. It provides detailed insight about why ISIS would not become an organized operational threat for Pakistan, and suggests ways to overcome its inspirational role that could become a matter of concern for the country.

Realignment: The UK-China Nexus and What It Means for Pakistan and CPEC
Muhammad Zarrar Saeed
This article explores the myriad opportunities and challenges that present themselves to Pakistan as the UK-China partnership unfolds and elucidates on how policymakers can position themselves to ensure that the coming years allow Pakistan to secure its interests whilst deepening ties with both countries.

Analysis of Determinants for CPEC’s Success and Failure: Emerging Challenges and Lessons for Pakistan
Maryam Nazir
While China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is considered to be a well-thought and well-crafted initiative, the author evaluates its possible dividends for Pakistan and scope of regional cooperation. The essence of any Economic Corridor remains unfulfilled if it fails to engage regional neighbors, in this case India, Iran and Afghanistan in the obvious presence of deep-rooted conflicts, fragile security issues and strategic interests. Growing energy and communication infrastructural needs in the region can also enable a confluence of differing national interests into mutually beneficial grounds of cooperation.

Pakistan-India Relations under Prime Minister Modi’s Government (2014-16)
Ayman Iqaz
The paper provides detailed analysis of Pak-India relations under Modi, covering political, security, economic and socio-cultural aspects. India’s belligerent attitude is discussed in the light of Modi's rigid and hawkish personality and by elaborating the factors that impact bilateral relations. It concludes by highlighting future prospects for this relationship.

The Kashmir Dispute and Perceptions of Pakistan’s Youth: An Empirical Analysis
Khurram Abbas
This study aims to understand and highlight the perceptions of Pakistan’s educated youth about the Kashmir dispute by analyzing responses taken from university students in March and April 2016 in a quantitative survey. The paper is not only an attempt to gauge the emotional and intellectual attachment of Pakistan’s young generation to the Kashmir issue, it also tries to perceive the level of their understanding about the dispute, participation in terms of advocacy and their ideas related to its solution.

An Overview of Pakistan’s Security Situation after Operation Zarb-e-Azb
Saman Zulfiqar
This paper presents a comparison of pre- and post-Zarb-e-Azb security situation, which shows that Pakistan’s security has considerably improved. Underscoring the success of the Operation, the study also identifies future challenges and recommends that initiating reforms in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and introducing effective border management with Afghanistan can change the region from being a security risk to an economic strength for the country and its neighboring regions as well.

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Regional players, Pakistan should not take sides in any intra-Islamic conflict and especially not in intra-Arab disputes and wars.
• Over the years, Pakistan’s inclination towards the Arab world, in particular, Saudi Arabia witnessed an upward trend. On the other hand, Pakistan was not able to maintain high level diplomatic ties with Iran. The lack of warmth in Iran-Pakistan ties has been a weakness of the country’s foreign policy. Both Saudi Arabia and Iran are important countries, the former due to economic stakes, and the latter due to geographical proximity. Therefore, a balanced approach by Pakistan is needed.

Conclusion
The conference concluded on the note that Pakistan’s decade-old approach to the Middle East shaped by competing religious and post-colonial heritages needs to be revisited given the rise of new power poles in the Middle East, and focus on a more structured, firmer policy. Finally, Pakistan needs to re-evaluate and redefine its security interests and develop partners in the Middle East beyond Riyadh and Tehran, treading cautiously, without taking sides.
Pakistan’s Vision East Asia: Challenges and Opportunities

Ambassador (R) Shahid MG Kiani visited IPRI on October 19, 2017 to deliver a talk on “Pakistan’s Vision East Asia: Challenges and Opportunities.” It was pointed out that Pakistan’s “Vision East Asia Policy,” devised in 2003 to connect with East Asian economies, is losing its vigour in comparison to India’s robust “Act East Policy”. It was recommended that Pakistan, in order to build ties with the Southeast Asian economic giants, needed pro-active diplomatic manoeuvring backed by strong political will.

Southeast Asia: Economic Dynamics
The Southeast Asian countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Myanmar, Vietnam, Philippines, Cambodia, Laos and Timor-Leste) are well-integrated economically. The region’s economic vehicle, i.e., Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), established in August 1967, has transformed the region into an economic powerhouse. It has an estimated Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of over US $2.4 trillion. The organization through various arrangements including Observer Status, Sectoral Dialogue Partner (SDP), Full Dialogue Partner (FDP), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN+3 (China, Japan and South Korea), and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) carries out trade with outside players. This extra-regional interaction indicates ASEAN’s outward approach.

Pakistan’s Vision East Asia Policy
Pakistan’s Vision East Asia policy, developed in 2003, aimed at strengthening trade/investment ties with ASEAN region. However, the policy still needs to be pursued vigorously, to achieve greater economic cooperation with these states. Although Pakistan has attained SDP status with ASEAN, the SDP status does not entitle participation in important East Asia Summits.

In addition, Pakistan has Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Malaysia and Mutual Recognition Agreement with Indonesia. Pakistan also offers scholarships in education to students of ASEAN countries. Under the ASEAN-Pakistan Cooperation Fund (APCF), workshops/training courses are being organized. However, to win over the support of ASEAN members to attain FDP status, Pakistan needs to engage the regional countries politically as well as economically. Moreover, the Heads of Mission in ASEAN states should have meetings on a regular basis for enhanced regional cooperation. Former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Shaukat Aziz visited Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand and Singapore in May 2005 followed by a meeting of Pakistani Envoys in Jakarta convened by former Foreign Minister, Shah Mehmood Qureshi in 2010. Since then there have been no high level visits from Pakistan’s side.

Ambassador Kiani said that Pakistan supports China over its stance on the maritime disputes in South China Sea. However, it has to balance this posture by keeping close contacts with other ASEAN claimants. In this regard, an ASEAN Desk with focus on ASEAN-Pakistan relations needs to be made in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA).

India’s Ties with East Asian States
In comparison to Pakistan’s “Vision East Asia Policy”, which was formulated in 2003, India initiated “Look East Policy” in 1991 with the main focus on cultivating economic interaction with the ASEAN countries. The policy has been pursued vigorously by successive Indian governments. Therefore, India does not only enjoy FDP status with ASEAN, it is also a member of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and regularly participates in ASEAN Summits. Prime Minister Modi has renamed India’s “Look East Policy” as “Act East Asia Policy”, signaling India’s growing interest in the region.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi has visited Myanmar, Japan, Australia, Singapore, South Korea, Fiji and China. He attended the 14th ASEAN-India Summit at Vientiane, Lao People’s Democratic Republic in September, 2016.

India has an FTA with ASEAN, since 2009, therefore, India-ASEAN trade is around US$ 77.4 billion (2013). Indian ingress in ASEAN region, other than economic gains is aimed at downplaying China’s influence.

Recommendations
To break the impasse in Pakistan-East Asia relations, enhanced bilateral interaction, high level exchange with ASEAN countries, Japan, South Korea and Oceania (Australia, New Zealand) need to be planned. The Heads of Mission in ASEAN states should have meetings on a regular basis. Students, professionals and artists should be sent to ASEAN states to enhance people-to-people contacts. The Buddhist sites in Pakistan, too, can be a source of attraction for the East Asian countries.

Economic cooperation and efforts to sign FTA with Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Brunei, Philippines should be pursued. With enhanced economic ties with the ASEAN states, Pakistan can mould their opinion in its favour and garner their support to win FDP status.

Pakistan diaspora living in ASEAN countries and local entrepreneurs need to be mobilized to attract investment for Pakistan.

Conclusion
Southeast Asia’s strategic significance coupled with the region’s economic progress makes the region an attractive site for global players. Pakistan, being well aware of the region’s economic prowess launched the “Vision East Asia” policy to establish trade links with East Asian economic heavy weights. Over the years, Pakistan’s Vision East Asia policy has not been able to make inroads in the region. The lack of political will along with the deteriorating economic condition make Pakistan a less important political player. In order to exploit the economic potential of ASEAN, Pakistan needs to revisit its policy, look towards the region with vigour and through intensive diplomatic activity, build deeper political and economic ties.
Call for Papers
IPRI Journal Summer 2018

Interested researchers are invited to submit scholarly manuscripts (5000-8000 words) and current book reviews (1000 words) for consideration for the IPRI Journal, Summer 2018 Issue (ISSN 1684-9787/eISSN 1684-9809) on areas such as international relations, geopolitics, diplomacy, security, political economy, conflict and governance. Submissions should not be previously published nor currently under consideration for publication elsewhere.

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