



**IPRI**  
Building Consensus



**Islamabad Policy  
Research Institute**



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December 2013

## ONE-DAY CONFERENCE

# Post-US Withdrawal from Afghanistan: Internal and External Dimensions

On December 18, 2013 IPRI organised a one-day conference on “Post-US Withdrawal from Afghanistan: Internal and External Dimensions” at IPRI premises. The conference was part of IPRI's intellectual activities to facilitate and promote scholarly discourse on subjects of national, regional and international strategic significance impacting Pakistan. Since the ensuing post US withdrawal instability in Afghanistan could adversely impact security situation of Pakistan, IPRI thought it necessary to arrange this conference to discuss the subject and suggest plausible policy recommendations for policy makers in Pakistan. General (R) Talat Masood; Professor Dr. Naheed Zia Khan, Dean, Faculty of Law, Commerce & Management and Administrative Sciences, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi; and Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai, Resident Editor, The News International participated in the conference as speakers. Ambassador Fauzia Nasreen, member IPRI BOG chaired the session.

The conference was attended by IPRI scholars, representatives of other think tanks, academicians, opinion makers, diplomats, representative of the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs and members of the civil society in Islamabad. The speakers delivered informative presentations which were followed by a lively question-answer session covering salient aspects of the subject.



Ambassador (R) Sohail Amin, President IPRI delivered the welcome address and vote of thanks. The major conclusions of the conference are summarized below:

- Signing of US-Afghanistan Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA), the capabilities of the Afghan Security Forces to handle the

security situation, economic stability and the central question of holding free and fair Presidential elections in April 2014 are the major challenges being faced by Afghanistan.

- The BSA will be ultimately signed. The US was not likely to vacate its nine strategic bases. These bases were huge and, at least 10,000 troops would remain there. Retention of these bases would give the US leverage against China, Iran, CARs, and for energy transport. The 10,000 troops would not be stationed to deal with the Taliban but to protect the urban areas, and Kabul.
- As the troops' withdrawal neared, the chances of peace process were getting reduced. Permanent stationing of US troops would mean a permanent war in Afghanistan.
- Stability in Afghanistan is a strategic imperative for Pakistan because instability in Afghanistan would adversely affect Pakistan. In this context Pakistan needed to focus on its border management.

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## December Highlights

- December 2:  
**IPRI Review Meeting**  
“New Communication Technologies and Social Mobilization”
- December 18:  
**One-day Seminar**  
“Post US Withdrawal from Afghanistan: Internal and External Dimensions”

## IPRI REVIEW MEETING

### New Communication Technologies and Social/Political Mobilization

Ms. Maria Syed, ARO IPRI gave a presentation on “New Communication Technologies and Social/Political Mobilization” in a meeting of IPRI scholars on December 2, 2013.

She explored whether new communication technology played a decisive role, a causal role or just acted as an instrument in facilitating the process of social and political mobilization.

She said that technology has contributed in making communication easier and faster. The social media helps people communicate, participate and exchange. It has greatly altered the way people connect, interact and collaborate with each other. Text, images and videos are instantly exchanged through social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and Flickr etc.

Collaboration, power decentralization, and



dynamic content are among the core features of this technology. It is also beyond the reach of the

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## Visit of Chinese Embassy Diplomats

A delegation from Chinese embassy in Islamabad led by Mr. Zhanglijun visited IPRI on December 11, 2013 to discuss situation in Afghanistan and development of Gwadar Port. The visiting



delegation comprised of Mr. Zhanglijun, Director of Political Office; Mr. Li Jianbo, Attaché, Political Office; and Ms. Shengran WU, Attaché, Political Office.

The salient points of discussion were as under:

- In Afghanistan, the US was moving swiftly to conclude Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) with Afghan government. Afghan Loya Jirga has already endorsed BSA allowing some US troops to stay in the country beyond 2014, but President Hamid Karzai was not ready to sign it. However, there were chances that he might sign the agreement, if he got desirable quid pro quo.
- Under the BSA, about 10-15 thousand US troops would be allowed to stay in Afghanistan after 2014. The US would retain nine military bases. Moreover, US civilians or armed forces in civilian clothes would also remain in Afghanistan as trainers. But this would not happen if BSA is not signed.
- On the request of Afghan government, Pakistan has released a number of Afghan Taliban to facilitate Afghan national

reconciliation process.

- Afghan National Army (ANA) had its capacity limitations.
- Presidential election would be a crucial factor in deciding the future of the country.
- The US should complete the Afghan peace process before exit, and arrange gradual withdrawal of troops.
- Regarding Gwadar Port, some positive developments, such as holding of peaceful local bodies elections, have taken place in Balochistan. Things are moving in positive direction. Pakistani Prime Minister has announced that 2,000-kilometres road and rail link connecting Chinese city Kashgar to Gwadar Port in Pakistan would be constructed on priority.
- Explaining the infrastructure in place at Gwadar Port, it was noted that the Port had three multi-purpose berths, each 200 meters long. It also had a Roll-on - Roll-off berth and a 100 meter long service berth. A 4.7 kilometres long approach channel with 206 metres width is also in place. The Port can handle 50,000 DWT (Dead Weight Tonnes) bulk carriers. However, the building of road infrastructure was behind schedule.
- The Port holds significant value for China in the context of economic corridor. Three Chinese companies were involved in the management and construction of Gwadar Port. Extension of Gwadar Airport was also under way.

### Chinese Journalist Visit's IPRI

Mr. Zhou Rong, Chief Correspondent of Chinese *Guang Ming* daily in Pakistan visited IPRI on December 10, 2013 for exchange of views on "China-Afghanistan Relations Post-2014," "China-Pakistan Relations" and the "Impact of the US Withdrawal from Afghanistan on the Region". The discussion focused on



important aspects of these subjects of strategic importance.

## JICA Macroeconomic Review Mission's Visit

JICA Macroeconomic Review Mission visited IPRI and had a discussion with IPRI scholars regarding current political, economic and security situation. The discussion was held on December 12, 2013 at IPRI conference room. JICA team included: Mr. Yamabe Taku, Senior Advisor to the Director General, JICA; Mr. Yuto Kenematsu, Economist, Credit Risk Analysis Division, JICA; and, Mr. Ken Kato, Senior Representative, JICA, Pakistan office.

The visiting delegation wanted to gauge the impact of the economic policy of the government and to analyze the law and order situation in Pakistan. The JICA team was also keen to know about Pakistan's relationship with its neighbours especially post 2014 situation. Following were the salient points of discussion:

- As the new government has majority in the Parliament, it is free from pressures that a typical coalition government generally faces. Except for the Punjab, other provinces



have coalition governments but a clash between any provincial government and the federal government is unlikely.

- Government is in the process of devising national security policy and law and order situation has also been discussed in the Parliament a number of times and a consensus has developed to address extremism and militancy issues.

- Government is taking immediate measures to increase the tax base and the results will start becoming visible in due course. Steps for levying agricultural tax are also being taken.

- On the Afghan post-US withdrawal scenario and its impact on Pakistan, it was highlighted that Pakistan has deployed more than 150,000 troops on border with Afghanistan at huge financial cost.

- Pakistan is interested in resuming the dialogue process with India but New Delhi

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## IPRI Scholars' Publications in December

- "Quaid-i-Azam on Character Building and Education," by Dr. Noor ul Haq, Senior Research Fellow at IPRI, was published in *Frontier Post*, December 25, 2013, <http://www.thefrontierpost.com/article/63935/Quaid-e-Azam-on-character-building-and-education/>
- "Bharti Aazaim or Mula Abdul Qadar," by Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow at IPRI, was published in *Daily Pakistan*, December 16, 2013
- "Ye Aman Ki Yalgar," by Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow at IPRI, was published in *Sada-e-ghanar*, December 31, 2013, <http://www.sadaecharanar.com/epapper/?page=cGFnZS00&dt=MTItMzEtMjAxMw==>
- "SAARC: Prosperity Through Economic Ties," by Col. (R) Muhammad Hanif, Research Fellow at IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, December 12, 2013, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=226586>
- "Pak-India Ties and Progress on Kashmir", by Col. (R) Muhammad Hanif, Research Fellow at IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, December 31, 2013, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=228625>
- "Divisive Politics of Bangladesh," by Air Cdr Khalid Iqbal, Consultant at IPRI, was published in *The Nation*, December 16, 2013, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/16-Dec-2013/divisive-politics-of-bangladesh>
- "Kashmir Needs Comprehensive Solution," by Air Cdr Khalid Iqbal, Consultant at IPRI, was published in *Pakistan Observer*, December 11, 2013, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=226471>
- "Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline: Cost-Benefit Analysis," by Mr. Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow at IPRI and Ms. Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research Officer at IPRI, was published in the *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 20, Issue - 2, 2013, 161:178, [http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/Iran%20-%20Pakistan%20gas%20-%20Munir\\_VOLUME20\\_2\\_13.pdf](http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/Iran%20-%20Pakistan%20gas%20-%20Munir_VOLUME20_2_13.pdf)
- "Building Consensus against Drones," by Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research Officer at IPRI, was published in *Pakistan Observer*, December 24, 2013, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=227771>
- "Iran Nuclear Deal and Prospects for Regional Stability," by Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research Officer at IPRI, was published in *Daily Times*, December 15, 2013, [http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2013%5C12%5C15%5Cstory\\_15-12-2013\\_pg3\\_6](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2013%5C12%5C15%5Cstory_15-12-2013_pg3_6)
- "Iran-US Nuclear Deal," by Aymen Ijaz, Assistant Documentation Officer IPRI, was published in *Pakistan Observer*, December 19, 2013, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=227327>

## Post-US Withdrawal from Afghanistan: Internal and External Dimensions

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- Pakistan's consistent policy of supporting Afghan owned, Afghan led and Afghan driven peace process based on reconciliation of all ethnic groups in Afghanistan is pragmatic and should be pursued vigorously.
- Afghanistan as well as Pakistan should enhance their trade, culture, and commercial relations since both countries needed energy corridors and rail links to connect Central Asian Republics (CARs) with SAARC countries.
- Afghan economy was intertwined with the economy of Pakistan. After US withdrawal, Pakistan should remain vigilant of the adverse effects on the economy of Afghanistan as it can negatively impact on the economy of Pakistan.

## IPRI Participation in a Seminar on the Sudan

President IPRI delivered a paper on the subject 'Division of Sudan and Implications for Sudan, African Region and Muslim World' at a Seminar organized by the Muslim Institute in Islamabad on December 31, 2013. Senator Raja Zafar ul Haq, Chairman PML (N), Leader of the House in the Senate and Secretary General Motamar Al-Islami chaired the session and also delivered concluding remarks. Other speakers were Lt. Gen (R) Hamid Gul, former Director General, Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), Mr. Elshafie Ahmad Mohammad, Ambassador of Sudan and Mr. Walid Abu Ali, Ambassador of Palestine.

President IPRI described various elements of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed by northern and southern Sudanese leaders in 2005 and the referendum held in South Sudan which paved the way for the creation of South



Sudan as an independent state in July 2011. The problems that later cropped up between Sudan and South Sudan and the steps taken by both sides to resolve those were also explained.

President IPRI said that Pakistan is maintaining close and cordial relations with the Sudan for decades. Pakistan supported all relevant resolutions and statements of the UN Security Council on the situation in Sudan and South Sudan and sought

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## JICA Macroeconomic Review Mission's Visit

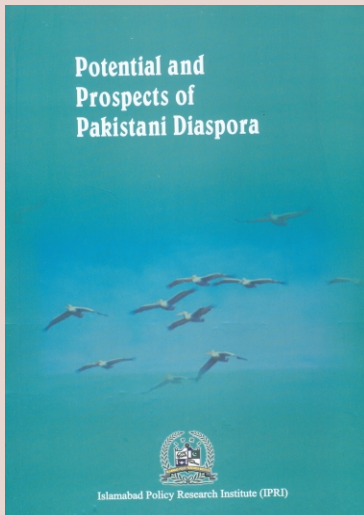
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has not responded due to its ongoing election process. It is hoped that the new government in New Delhi would get engaged with Pakistan constructively.

- Drone attacks not only challenge Pakistan's sovereignty but also cause civilian casualties and collateral damage.
- In 2011, Pak-US relations were at the lowest ebb. But these are improving now and it is hoped that these will normalize soon when sensitivities and concerns of Pakistan are addressed by the US.
- Pakistan has brotherly relations with Central Asian states and it desires to develop itself as a trade and energy corridor for these countries as Gwadar Port presents the cheapest and shortest route for them to access the sea. Pakistan also wants the materialization of TAPI pipeline and CASA 1000 projects but situation in Afghanistan was a big impediment.

## IPRI BOOK

### Potential and Prospects of Pakistani Diaspora



IPRI has published a new book titled *Potential and Prospects of Pakistani Diaspora* based on presentations and papers presented in the international conference organised by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute on 14-15, November 2012. The conference was held in collaboration with Hanns Seidel Foundation to highlight and discuss various aspects of Pakistani diaspora. This conference was part of the series of such moots organised every year by IPRI to build and sustain regular interaction with expert Pakistani and foreign scholars and intellectuals to get valuable inputs on issues of national and international significance.

The main objective of the conference was to project the potential the Pakistani diaspora has for the development of their homeland and assistance in meeting the foreign policy objectives of Pakistan. Prominent scholars and academicians from inland and abroad, policy analysts and the then Minister for Overseas Pakistanis, Mr. Farooq Sattar, participated in the conference and shared their thoughts.

The volume covers all dimensions relevant to diaspora which mainly include perceptions, perspectives, experiences, circular migration, political refuge, migrant's rights and Pakistani diaspora communities, different models of diaspora management, role of remittances, anthropological perspective of migration and vision for overseas Pakistanis 2050.

The book is a source of well-researched material on migration for scholars and readers interested in this phenomenon.

Soft copy of the book is available on IPRI website.

## New Communication Technologies and Social/Political Mobilization

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Government censorship.

Social networking is playing a role in mobilization of masses. Hitherto politically inactive, discontented, and dissatisfied people are increasingly becoming mobilized; a phenomenon that has been observed around the world. Arab Spring, Indignados Movement in Spain, and Blackberry Riots in London are prime examples of social mobilization through new communication technologies.

Despite the emphasis on the centrality of social media in political activation in Arab Spring and elsewhere, its causal relationship has been contested. Describing these developments as Twitter or Facebook Revolution has been criticized being overly 'techno-deterministic' and 'techno-utopian'. But the critics admit that there is no denying of the role of social media in initiating these developments.

The mobilization of people became possible through interaction of old and new media. As the social media joined the mainstream media, the connectivity of people enhanced and contributed to collective action. Social media thus has become a prime tool in provoking political dissent and facilitating political and social mobilization. However, it does not play a causal role to these uprisings, riots and protests. Moreover, along with common people, governments across the world are also making efficient use of these technologies.

Describing Pakistani digital context, Ms. Syed noted that there are now 30 million internet users in Pakistan. Internet penetration in the country has reached 16 percent while broadband subscribers have more than doubled in the last two years. Around 15 million of internet users browse the web using their mobile phones. However, the number of social media users remains limited. In a population of 180 million, there are 10.6 million Facebook users, 2 million Twitter users, and 1.2 million LinkedIn users. The use of internet was seen noticeably this year during general elections in Pakistan in May 2013. Ms. Maria warned that social media could also be used in a negative manner.

It was recommended that social media should be used to spread awareness for causes of nation-building. It should also be used to raise funds for social causes such as relief services in the aftermath of a calamity. Governments also need to monitor and prevent hate speech and extremist propaganda on social media. Technological answers to this challenge are available which should be utilized.

## IPRI Participation in a Seminar on the Sudan

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sought advancement on the resolution of all outstanding issues under Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005 and African Union High Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP). Pakistan considers these agreements as important steps towards establishing good neighbourly relations as well as durable peace in the region.

Close ties between Pakistan and the Sudan are not limited to governments only but people to people relations are ever growing bringing them very near.

Pakistan continues to extend technical assistance to Sudan in the field of education. Our universities and colleges of professional education are extremely popular among Sudanese students. Pakistan's private sector investment in Sudan in the field of agriculture has been productive for the Pakistani companies. Hundreds of Pakistani troops and police personnel are stationed in Darfur under the United Nations African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID).

## January 2014 Schedule

- January 6: IPRI Review Meeting "Security and Development in Balochistan"
- January 20: IPRI Review Meeting "Increasing Role of Media"
- January 30: One-day Conference: "Revisit Kashmir Policy"

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