The Islamabad Policy Research Institute organized a one-day Panel Discussion on "Dynamics of Contemporary Middle East: Role of Pakistan" on 13 March 2019.

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham Bin Saddique, President of IPRI in his welcome address said that due to US President Trump’s hands-off policy in the Middle East and rise of multipolarity, there is ‘rebalancing of power’ in the region with states on one side, and non-state actors, on the other. Moreover, it has been a region of turmoil since the 1980s, and until now, remains in flux. He stated that while the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) exists, its role has not been effective. On Pakistan’s relations with the Middle East states, he said that it has traditionally enjoyed cordial relations with most of the countries, particularly in political and security cooperation. “We need to have a more robust and diverse relationship with the region that focuses on developing sociocultural ties as well as economic collaboration. Under the current government, Pakistan’s relations with the Middle East are set to scale new heights.”

Professor Dr Nazir Hussain from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad underscored that presently the Middle East is facing an inescapable security challenge due to its internal instability. At the regional level, Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen have become failed states in wake of the Arab Spring. In addition, influence of the Islamic State (IS) has threatened the region’s political order. He lamented the dearth of academic research on the Middle East in Pakistan despite its acute importance for the latter.

Ambassador (R) Javed Hafeez opined that Pakistan needs to be cognizant that the Middle East is of vital significance because it is located on three important commercial sea lanes: Hormuz, Gulf of Aden and the
Dynamics of Contemporary Middle East: Role of Pakistan

Terrorism Coalition (IMCTC) is a neutral platform meant to protect Muslim countries from all forms of terrorism and should be seen as such.

- Pakistan’s relations with Saudi Arabia are not at the cost of its ties with Iran.
- Pakistan’s reservations about India’s role in the Middle East should be looked at pragmatically by regional countries.

Future Policy Directions

The following policy recommendations were brought forth in the discussion:

- Pakistan needs to create specialized research desk on the Middle East in the Foreign Office. Moreover, the existing quantity and quality of research on the region needs to be improved.
- Due to Pakistan’s geostrategic and economic compulsions, it would be difficult for the country to maintain neutrality between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Therefore, it should adopt a ‘balanced approach’ in its foreign policy discourse.
- Pakistan should work to counter the influence of India and Israel through practical quid pro quo diplomacy.
- Pakistani labour, mainly considered unskilled, is experiencing difficulties such as non-payment of salaries; expiry of visas; non-renewal of identity cards/residence permits for expatriates; and exploitation at the hands of employers and contractors in the Gulf. In this regard, the government should invest more in vocational training.

Continued from p. 1

Suez Canal. He advised that while Pakistan may be eager to mediate in Middle Eastern affairs, first, it needs to be invited by the parties involved; second, the mediator needs to be seen as completely neutral; third, a mediator needs to be strong, with peace within and without. ‘Since Pakistan does not fulfill the criteria of mediation, it should not impose itself in Middle Eastern affairs,’ he recommended.

“Pakistan should rebrand itself as a country that is not only militarily powerful, but is a hub of knowledge, an emerging market producing quality agricultural as well as industrial finished goods at competitive rates, and as a peaceful and harmonious tourist destination.”

defered price; as a provider of cheap unskilled labor; and source of a readily available military force that can be used as cannon fodder.

Ambassador (R) Zamir Akram, who was session moderator, in his concluding remarks said that through regime change and preemption, the strategic interests of the United States including security of Israel, free flow of oil and access to important regional commercial hubs and sea lanes, have been secured. However, Iran’s nuclear ambitions are still viewed as a threat.

The following important points were raised in the Q/A session:

- In addition to Pakistan, other countries should also play their role in mediation between Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and Saudi Arabia and Iran.
- The Islamic Military Counter

Professor Dr Tughral Yamin from the National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Islamabad highlighted that Pakistan has diplomatic, political and security interests in the Middle East, which are largely based on defense, counterterrorism, narcotics control, investment and infrastructure cooperation. He pointed out that in 2019, about 184,000 Pakistani pilgrims will perform Hajj-5000 more than 2018. However, the overall volume of foreign remittances from the Gulf is on the decline. Prof. Yamin highlighted that Pakistan should not be viewed merely as a poor nation forever seeking aid and oil on
Pakistan-Austria Roundtable
Afghanistan and Regional Security

A Special Pakistan-Austria Roundtable on 'Afghanistan and Regional Stability' was held at IPRI on 28 March 2019. The roundtable, moderated by Ambassador (R) Fauzia Nasreen, included eminent diplomats who served in Afghanistan, Austria and Saudi Arabia as well as academics and defense analysts.

Giving his welcome address, Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham Bin Saddique said that since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, the country has witnessed unprecedented violence which has considerably weakened the state and society. This instability has remained a major source of concern for the international community, particularly Pakistan.

"Pakistan’s viewpoint on Afghanistan is clear: we want an intra-Afghan dialogue which involves all segments of society. It is only through building an intra-Afghan consensus that the beleaguered country can finally be ushered into an era of peace and stability."

Dr Syed Adnan Ali Shah Bukhari, Senior Consultant at IPRI shared that the power struggle between state and anti-state actors in Afghanistan has intensified with the country’s militant landscape becoming more complex. He was of the view that while the Taliban movement is fractured, there is multiplication of terrorist groups in the territory. On the issue of current negotiations between the United States (US) and Taliban, he opined that 'Any deal will not be a simple walkover, rather full of implementation challenges.'

In his keynote address, Dr Werner Fasslabend, President of the Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy, offered a strategic analysis of the Afghan situation from the Austrian and European Union perspective.

"Being a landlocked country will continue to define the course of Afghanistan’s inner politics as well as the movement and decisions of global powers and regional powers around it."

Speaking of the current situation, he said that the US understands the central function of Afghanistan and will not give it up completely without maintaining a foothold there. He pointed out that for China, Afghanistan has a strategic function that goes far beyond other countries because it is a gateway towards East and West Asia. Dr Fasslabend further shared that Europe does not have an immediate geopolitical interest in Afghanistan and only wants to see peace in the region. ‘What the country lacks most is a common agenda accepted by internal and external powers. For Afghanistan, the main challenge remains; whether this region will be a region of divide or cooperation,’ he concluded.

Brig. Walter Feichtinger, Head, Institute for Peace-Keeping and Conflict Management at the National Defence Academy and Dr Peter Halder, President, Universal Peace Federation, Austria Chapter were also part of the 3-member delegation.

Ambassador (R) Fauzia Nasreen shared that while terrorism remains a major threat for all countries, instead of handling it in a way that leads to confrontation, it should be tackled in a way that leads to cooperation.

Ambassador (R) Umar Khan Ali Sherzai was of the view that the best thing would be to let problems in the country be solved by the Afghans themselves however they want so that the world is able to see once and for all, what the Afghan population truly want in their land.

Ambassador (R) Ali Sarwar Naqvi called for more people-to-people contact between Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as more interaction between civil society and academia to build trust and friendship.

Lt. Gen (R) Talat Masood stressed that India’s role in Afghanistan needs to change. ‘Pakistan will not have such concerns about the New Delhi-Kabul relationship if it does not have any negative repercussions and impacts for Pakistan, especially the use of Afghan soil against us,’ he remarked.

Ambassador (R) Muhammad Ayaz Wazir opined that the negotiators in the present peace process with the Taliban need to be mindful not to make this process another Geneva Accord.

Ambassador (R) Syed Abrar Hussain highlighted that intra-Afghan dialogue, which is vital to peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, is missing from the peace process. Without intra-Afghan dialogue, nothing can be achieved, he concluded.

Policy Implications

• The current peace talks between the US and Taliban need to be more transparent, inclusive and open.
• An intra-Afghan dialogue is important and should be promoted in a way that the Afghan government does not feel excluded and Taliban are also a part of the process.
• Any solution for bringing peace and stability in Afghanistan needs to have the support of the Afghan people who have suffered more than anyone else in the decades of war and instability.
One-Day Media Workshop

Hybrid Warfare and Pakistan’s Readiness: Time for National

IPRI organized a one-day Media Workshop titled ‘Hybrid Warfare and Pakistan’s Readiness: Time for National Narrative Construct and Strategic Foresight’ on 27 March 2019, in order to discuss and train media persons on the challenges of hybrid warfare faced by the country and the role media can play to overcome them.

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham Bin Saddique, President of IPRI commended the ‘outstanding manner in which Pakistan handled the Pulwama episode. State organs, including the media, acquitted themselves very well to protect the national interests and project the national narrative during a highly charged and explosive situation’, he said. Discussing the role of soft power, he said it is much more pronounced but the rapid flow of information through social networking sites has led to over-securitization of society where everything is being labeled as fifth generation warfare. Ambassador Saddique cautioned that adversaries of Pakistan are ‘openly eyeing to undermine the grand strategic project of CPEC and exploit some of our internal fissures to achieve their nefarious designs.’

“Our security strategy ought to synergize all elements of national power i.e. political, diplomatic, informational, military and soft power tools both in defensive and offensive realm.”

Mr Fawad Hussain Chaudhry, Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting in his keynote address said that hybrid warfare is the most important issue in today’s globalized, Internet-centric world, where countries like the US are also grappling with its widespread impact.

“Hybrid warfare is just another name for age-old adage of propaganda war. But now more so than in the past, kinetic warfare has become secondary and hybrid warfare has become centrestage.”

Referring to the Pulwama episode, he said that ‘for the first time, Pakistan outclassed India because the government and ISPR made coordinated efforts to push the message of peace, while India talked of war. India was globally isolated given such coordinated efforts by Pakistan.’

The Minister stressed that in order to meet the challenges of this century, the government plans to bring international media back to the country so that they can see and analyze for themselves that Pakistan is an open state and not a security state. In addition, the importance of modernizing and bringing reforms in state media to win the battle against hybrid warfare threats, cannot be denied, he concluded.

In the session moderated by Ambassador (R) Fauzia Nasreen, Dr Farhan Hanif Siddiqui, Associate Professor from the Quaid-i-Azam University said that it is important to understand how decision-making elites perceive, define and respond to hybrid threats and fifth generation warfare. ‘Ethnic social, sectarian, ideological faultlines exist in the country that stand to be exploited by outside powers.’ This calls for a balance between a securitization narrative focused on threats and enemies; and opportunities related to political, economic and social development of Pakistan, he recommended.

Mr Ahmad Nazir Warraich, advocate and expert in international law discussed the issue of legal challenges in countering hybrid threats in Pakistan. He emphasized the importance of enforcement of relevant laws; hiring competent law officers on merit; and reforming the criminal and civil procedure codes for better case management to nip any evil designs against the state.

Lieutenant General (R) Khalid Naeem Lodhi, Former Defense Secretary recommended placing Joint Services Head Quarters under the Prime Minister reinforced by civilian/military and specialized resources such as the National Security Advisor and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee being responsible for planning, organizing and executing future strategies to counter fifth generation warfare threats.

Mr Shahzad Nawaz, filmmaker and media specialist called for more focus on a ‘forward narrative’ rather than counter narrative in tackling the challenges of hybrid and fifth generation warfare. He said that the government, think tanks
Narrative Construct and Strategic Foresight

and media should adopt inclusive, holistic and linear strategies in order to reclaim Pakistan’s culture, and consolidate one’s history. He stressed the importance of media regulations & accreditation; and revisiting education curriculum according to the needs of the contemporary times.

Policy Recommendations

The following recommendations were brought forth in the workshop:

a. In recent years, hybrid warfare has emerged as a real challenge, especially for developing states. The emphasis must be on making Pakistan an open state, instead of a security state, which can benefit from opportunities in its near and far neighborhood. Besides rebranding its image, focus should be on collaborating with international media and helping them establish their enterprises in Pakistan.

b. Media reforms must be introduced. Media houses through the use of agenda-setting should work on selective issues based on national causes.

c. Since hybrid warfare remains the most current form of modern day contestation among states, its antidote lies in creating awareness. Besides, introducing reforms in relevant sectors, legal expertise must be developed to deal with its overall threat perception.

d. In developing countries, socioeconomic disparities and disharmony has made any adversary’s job easier to fight beyond borders. Efforts must be made to cater to the demands and needs of the public and invest in improving developmental indices through education and economic opportunities.

e. Pakistan needs to strengthen its economic identity. This aspect includes developing an ‘Economic Civil Service’ and tackling socioeconomic discrepancies. The country needs to develop expertise in the field of economics and produce specialists who can fight and lobby for its national interests at global forums.

Highlights from Discussion

Pulwama was a case of ‘territorial integrity’ instead of ‘airspace integrity’ for Pakistan, yet it shed away from going to the UN and making this argument. Although we claim that we were successful, this is an example of Pakistan’s inability to project or construct a counter media narrative.

- Dr Syed Rifaat Hussain, National University of Sciences and Technology

Instead of opting for a reactionary approach, Pakistan must adopt the policy of ’looking forward’. For this, it requires massive investment and a sovereign economy, which unfortunately is lacking.

- Dr Yaqar Ahmed, Sustainable Development Policy Institute

Unfortunately the media industry is market-driven; and media channels in Pakistan do not have a collective narrative. We need a master narrative and sub-narratives that all channels follow.

- Mr Mirza Masood Baig, PTV World

While Pakistan remained busy in fighting the War on Terror, it was portrayed by its enemies as the epicenter of terrorism. Therefore, in order to tackle hybrid threats, we should adopt a holistic media strategy.

- Ms Fereeha Idrees, Abb Talk News

Hybrid warfare includes changing mindsets and perceptions not through traditional means, but through modern warfare techniques. Since Pakistan is vulnerable socioeconomically, this weakness has been exploited by its adversaries.

- Dr Muhammad Khan, International Islamic University

The primary focus should be to assess the effects of hybrid warfare on individuals’ behavior, which requires empirical quantification of data. In this regard, the economic loss to the state can be utilized as empirical and quantifiable data to then transform social behaviors accordingly.

- Dr Ahmad Ijaz Malik, Quaid-i-Azam University

International Law has been used as a tool of hybrid warfare and also as a shield against it. Unfortunately, Pakistan is not fully prepared to counter the legal maneuvers being actively perpetrated against it both overtly and covertly. In legal terms, this is called ‘law fair’ or the weaponization of law. International law is an area where Pakistan needs to deploy its full assets to deal with cases in international courts.

- Mr Jamal Aziz, Research Society of International Law
To Intervene or Not to Intervene: Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention in Myanmar

Dr. Imran Syed

Dr. Syed examines the Rohingya crisis from a lens of global ethics and International Relations. Since a solution to this crisis does not seem to be coming from inside the borders of Myanmar, he discusses the possibility of international intervention on humanitarian grounds by examining the interests of intervening states and those of people of the intervened state.

https://doi.org/10.31945/iprij.190105

Exceptionalism in US Foreign Policy: A Case Study of ISIS

Syed Sabir Muhammad and Muhammad Ali Baig

The article aims to understand basic tenets of US exceptionalism and intervening variables which led the country to fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.

https://doi.org/10.31945/iprij.190106

‘Whole-of-Nation’ Approach and its Impacts: Case of the 2009 Swat Crisis in Pakistan

Major General Syed Naeem Ahmad

The violent upheaval which brought the Taliban to power in Swat and surrounding areas was a watershed moment in Pakistan’s history. For those familiar with the country’s political complexities, the swiftness with which the state responded was unique since all divisions and chasms subsided in favor of a unified ‘whole-of-nation’ approach comprising of the government, military, civil administration, political parties and the people. The author argues that this approach led to a unity of effort which effected victory.

https://doi.org/10.31945/iprij.190107

The E-edition of IPRI Journal is available for free download at:
In-House Discussion

Nuclear Energy, Climate Change and Sustainable Development

Mr Adeel Mukhtar Mirza, Assistant Research Officer at IPRI, delivered an in-house presentation on ‘Nuclear Energy, Climate Change and Sustainable Development’ on 12 March 2019. He discussed how climate change has become a major security threat to humans and their surroundings at large; and unless significant efforts are made to mitigate it, earth systems and human societies will remain severely vulnerable. In this context, nuclear energy can help in achieving targets of the Paris Agreement aimed at mitigating climate change through significant reduction of Greenhouse Gases.

On the role of energy in sustainable development, the research scholar highlighted that energy security is essential for socioeconomic development of Pakistan; and that Nuclear Power Plants (NPPs) produce virtually no GHG emissions or air pollutants during their operation and comparatively very low emissions over their entire life cycle.

“An expanded civilian nuclear energy sector would enable Pakistan to fulfill various international commitments related to environmental protection, such as the 2016 Paris Agreement.”

Mr Mukhtar was of the view that while Pakistan has been criticized in the past for failing to do more to advance the objectives of the Paris Agreement, Islamabad’s push for sustainable nuclear energy demonstrates its commitment to reducing carbon emissions. Being a developing economy with a large energy deficit, international cooperation in the shape of funding for nuclear power and the transfer of clean energy technologies, could assist Pakistan in further meeting international climate standards.

He further stressed that while Pakistan should continue to pursue various forms of renewable energy, nuclear power offers unique benefits. Apart from being an inexhaustible supply of clean energy, NPPs are often a more consistent source of power.

He informed that besides the C-4 plant, four of the country’s NPPs contribute 1,030 megawatts of clean energy to the national grid. Two additional plants (the K-2 and K-3) are also under construction in Karachi and expected to come online in 2020 and 2021, respectively.

However, Mr Mukhtar warned that despite these benefits, the development of Pakistan’s nuclear energy sector does not come without challenges. The potential for environmental catastrophes, particularly in earthquake-prone parts of the country, and international concerns related to Pakistan’s diversion of civil nuclear energy to its nuclear weapons program threaten to undermine this crucial source of power for the economy. He was optimistic that there are indications that Pakistan is prepared to manage the effects of a potential nuclear accident and to assuage international concerns regarding diversion.

“Given that Pakistan was recently named the seventh most vulnerable country to climate change, safely developing a consistent source of energy independent of climate conditions is a wise strategy in addressing Pakistan’s energy shortfall.”

Future Policy Directions

Mr Mukhtar made the following recommendations:

- Given the severity of its energy crisis, Pakistan has an inherent interest in pursuing safe and efficient forms of civil nuclear energy and should continue investment in this sector.
- International investors should financially contribute to the growth of Pakistan’s nuclear energy sector.
- Civil nuclear power represents a clean and effective option to close Pakistan’s energy deficit and meet the international community’s ambitious goal of lowering global temperatures by two degrees in the next 30 years.

Upcoming One-Day Seminar

Islamabad Policy Research Institute

One-Day IPRI Seminar

Evolving Regional Dynamics and Future of Pakistan-Russia Relations

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Regional Rapport

Khurram Abbas, Assistant Research Officer
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Daily Times

Usama Nizamani, Junior Consultant
“Lessons from Pakistan-India 2019 Crisis”
The Nation

Book Reviews
Anna Ejaz Rafi, Assistant Research Officer
- The Tragedy of US Foreign Policy by Walter A. McDougall, Daily Times

Khurram Abbas, Assistant Research Officer

Research Papers
Adeel Mukhtar Mirza, Assistant Research Officer

Institutional Collaboration:
IPRI and Rasanah Ink MOU

The Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) and the Riyadh-based think tank Rasanah (International Institute for Iranian Studies) inked a formal Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on 26 March 2019 in Islamabad. Dr Mohammad Al Sulami, President of Rasanah (IIS), signed the MOU on behalf of his institute, while Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Saddique signed on behalf of IPRI.

Speaking on the occasion, President IPRI said that despite close cooperation between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia in various sectors, academic cooperation remains limited and needs to be enhanced. He underscored that the MoU was a milestone in the right direction; and shared that the recent visit of Crown Prince Muhammad Bin Salman to Pakistan had improved economic ties between the two countries. Dr Sulami appreciated IPRI’s efforts for improving Pakistan-Saudi ties. He also lauded IPRI’s research work and encouraged scholars to write for the Saudi think tank. He shared that the Rasanah website is currently available in Arabic, English and Persian; with plans to add the Urdu language as well. He highlighted that Pakistan-Saudi relations are unique, tied in religious and cultural bonds. Saudi Arabia attaches importance to Pakistan’s economic well-being and security, and is interested in strengthening the country’s economic base, he stressed.

Under this MOU, both think tanks have agreed to promote collaboration in research and organizing joint events in order to understand perspectives from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia regarding the immediate and broader region. The MoU will also extend cooperation between the two in joint publications and facilitating the exchange of scholars and academic ideas.

Call for Papers_IPRI Journal

The biannual IPRI Journal welcomes original high-quality papers/studies, review articles and book reviews which debate contemporary international relations issues and ideas of academic relevance.

Important Dates
- For the Winter issue: End of September
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