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ROYAL DANISH DEFENCE COLLEGE

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CAMBODIA

PHILIPPINE

REGIONAL STABILITY AND LESSON LEARNED IN REGIONAL PEACE BUILDING

22-23 Oct, 2014
NDU, Islamabad

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Publication by:

Defence Studies Branch, ISSRA
National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad
Email: dirdsissra@ndu.edu.pk

Editors:

Talat Shabbir
Saeed Aziz
Afifa Kiran
Siffat Ali

Graphic & Design by:

Graphics Link
email: graphicslink.111@gmail.com

Composed by:

Azam Khan

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**NDU-RDDC
Post Seminar Report**



**22-23 Oct, 2014
NDU, Islamabad**

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Foreword

Post US-NATO drawdown that has now been formally declared and formation of unity government in Afghanistan raised opportunities and challenges. Peace and stability in the region shall continue to be hard task in foreseeable future and would require stakeholders to take cognizance of it with a view to reach an amicable way out of the political disarray. The political dispensation emerging out of unity government, security structure and economic health of the Afghanistan is far from being satisfactory and merits a wholesome solution. Militancy and internal unrest compound the problems further. Political stability and peace in Afghanistan are of immense importance to all neighboring regional countries that are directly affected by the unrest. It is therefore, imperative to view regional peace and stability situation in view of evolving dynamics in and around Afghanistan.

It was therefore, heartening to witness NDU and RDDC timely collaborating on this critical issue and organizing an international seminar titled '**Regional Stability and Lessons Learned in Regional Peace Building**' on 22-23 October 2014 at NDU Campus, Islamabad. I extend my profound gratitude and felicitations to RDDC Representative, Colonel Hans Christian Envlode and his team for their cooperation with NDU to organize this Seminar. We greatly value their participation in the Seminar as well as the constructive and candid views, which they expressed during exhaustive academic sessions. I also compliment DG ISSRA, Major General Noel I. Khokhar, Lt Col Talat Shabbir and their team for an excellent execution of all activities related to the Seminar.

I am sure, the findings and insightful deliberations, which have been composed in this report, will help the policymakers and all stakeholders to re-look on the regional peace and evolve policies and programmes which should bring about peace and normalcy in Afghanistan and the region that is long overdue.

Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal
President NDU



The nature and the manifestations of conflicts in this region are very complex and require pragmatic, comprehensive, multi-faceted approach. Taking cognizance of the modern world trends such as renunciation of war, peaceful settlement of disputes and economic development, Pakistan has always played a positive role in regional stability and peace. Regional players, besides others in the international community should come of age to promote peace and stability in Afghanistan so as to effectively deal with the post draw down situation. All endeavors should be focused on enabling the Afghan people to stand on their feet and reassure the outside world regarding their capacity to steer the process of governance and development. At this critical juncture, it is important to lessen foreign interference that resulted in disorder and work in harmony with the Afghan people's aspirations. Conflict or peace in Afghanistan has an impact on the neighborhood so it is important that all stakeholders in the region contribute towards ending the conflict and building structures of peace building. Needless to mention, a peaceful and stable Afghanistan holds the promise of progress for the region.

It was in this backdrop that NDU and RDDC came together and decided to organize an International Seminar on 22-23 October 2014 at NDU Campus in Islamabad. The Seminar aimed at analyzing the existing situation in Afghanistan and emerging scenarios in a purely academic fashion, so that appropriate findings and recommendations could be formulated for the benefit of all stakeholders. It was, indeed, an extremely fruitful exercise, in which not only highly reputed academics from all neighboring countries, CARs and NATO countries participated, but they also came up with very frank and candid views about various aspects of Afghan imbroglio. The report in hand contains invaluable input, which emerged from exhaustive deliberations spanning two days. I am sure, the report will help all stakeholders to re-visit their policy papers, in order to ensure that all possible measures are taken to bring about peace and normalcy in this region. I extend my profound felicitations to RDDC Representative, Colonel Hans Christian Envolde and his team and Lt Col Talat Shabbir and his team on successful conduct of the Seminar and compilation of this report.

Major General Noel I. Khokhar
DG ISSRA

Executive Summary

In South Asia, there are inter-state conflicts and territorial disputes, where conflict resolution and peace building often have different dynamics. However, what is common in both kinds of situations, intra or inter-state, is the need to address the core issues, or the root causes of conflict. This is the fundamental lesson of peace building. Building and sustaining peace, without resolving the underlying problems and disputes is hard to come by. The glaring examples are Palestine in the Middle East and Jammu and Kashmir in South Asia. Foreign interventions resulting in occupations and failure to address the basis of an issue have always impeded peace initiatives. World's peace building experience hinges on finding ways to good governance, development and addressing humanitarian challenges and in order to consolidate the gains on the security, one needs to be cautious of delay or failure to act at the right time can imperil the entire peace building project.

NATO's drawdown in Afghanistan in 2014

marks the termination of an over-decade long war. Apprehensions, however, about Afghan political and security structures post 2014 are perceived to be frail and have the possibility of becoming inadequate to address the likely threats. Similarly, the Afghan economy is heavily dependent on foreign donations and defense related investments. The economy will sustain if the donor's pledges are honored and foreign aid keeps flowing unabated. The forces of resistance, despite a protracted war spreading over more than a decade, remain intact. The internal cohesion, political stability and evolution of robust relations with neighboring countries in the same way remain indescribable. Pakistan, being the most affected neighbor for the last three decades and victim of continued violence in Afghanistan, has legitimate concerns. The year 2014 that ended with NATO drawdown will not only impact course of subsequent developments in Afghanistan but also South Asian peace and security situation in the years to come.

A two days international seminar on 'Regional Stability and Lessons Learned in Regional Peace Building' was organized at





National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad. The international event was organized by Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis, (ISSRA), NDU with collaboration of Royal Danish Defence College (RDDC). A large number of participants including delegates from various countries attended the proceedings of the seminar. During the seminar, speakers stressed on the need to evolve a mechanism that would help realize the dream of regional peace building with particular reference to Afghanistan.

The seminar was attended by eminent speakers from across the world with diverse expertise and experiences. The first day proceedings were deliberated by Prof. Gregory Gleason, Professor William Maley, Ambassador Arif Kamal, Dr. Suba Chandran and Dr. Yunas Samad whereas Dr. Maliha Lodhi and Ambassador Rustam Shah chaired the sessions on the first day. On the second day of seminar, Mr. Hameed Hakimi, Mr. Mahdi Munadi, Dr. Qian Xuemei, Dr. Kayhan Barzegar, Dr. Annemarie Peen Rodt, Dr. Peter Viggo Jakobsen, Ms. Shahida Aman, and Lt Gen (Retired) Masood Aslam

carried out deliberations whereas Prof. Gregory Gleason and Professor Sten Rynning chaired the sessions on the second day. The scholars, academics, intellectuals, policy-making institutions and think tanks in Pakistan showed avid fondness in the Seminar and thronged all sessions, particularly the opening and closing sessions.





While addressing the opening session, the President NDU, Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal welcomed the Chief Guest, Mr. Sartaj Aziz, the distinguished delegates from various countries and participants who came all the way to take part in this seminar. He also dilated upon the significance of the seminar and appreciated this timely discourse in view of the situation in Afghanistan. Earlier, Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal, President NDU, highlighted the importance and scope of the Seminar. He said that the importance of this seminar is to generate academic discussion on regional stability and peace building. Mr. Sartaj Aziz, Advisor to Prime Minister on National Security and Foreign Affairs and Mr. Tariq Fatemi, Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs were the chief guests in the opening and closing session of the seminar respectively. Both the high ranking government officials stressed that a peaceful and stable Afghanistan is a must for the peace and prosperity of Pakistan. Pakistan being an important stake holder in the region has its role in regional stability and peace building that cannot be ignored. The

summary of findings and recommendations of the Seminar are given in the succeeding paragraphs.

Findings and Recommendations

There was almost unanimity of views among all scholars, who participated in the Seminar, about the following findings and recommendations:-

- It is imperative for reconciliation in Afghanistan to succeed and the root cause of the conflict be identified and addressed dealing with the consequences rather than the fundamental issue which warrant attention and resolution. Pakistan, since it has huge stakes in peace in Afghanistan, must play a proactive role in pursuing reconciliation endeavors that are aimed at ending the conflict in Afghanistan.
- The termination of US-NATO mission in Afghanistan encompasses political, economic and security transitions. Though the security transition seems to be well planned and executed in time, but the

other two seem to be shrouded in haze. It is, therefore, vital that an equal importance should be given to all three transitions and a clear road-map about post 2014 Afghanistan should not only be drawn but also shared with all stakeholders.

- Ethnicity should be utilized as a tool for resolving ethnic conflicts and should not be treated as source of conflict. For that matter, ethnicity should be employed for mutual cooperation, peace and stability. Peace building in Afghanistan is a process that requires all the regional actors to play an effective role. Therefore, it is really important to build up a narrative that plays a constructive role in peace building or conflict resolution processes. Dealing with an extremely complex situation in the region, marked with interlocking interests is of course thorny but solution can be found if regional players display generosity and political acumen for the peace and stability. This can in turn work

in the interest of all the regional countries.

- The region needs to connect and open up, especially, to economic and various other opportunities. It is important to recognize diversity of the region and develop an approach to modernity and openness. All the countries in the region should come to a comprehensive solution to wholesome connectivity.
- Within the capitals of all regional countries, there is an emphasis on power-sharing. Extra-regional arrangements by involving countries from outside the region in multinational discussions of security means that you allow them a voice and a stake in the security policies of the region. But then you can allow a few favorites with possibilities of more conflicts. This arrangement is not likely to make political control any easier. That leaves us with a complex situation that needs to be paid attention by stakeholders.



Day-1
Chapter I
Inaugural Session

Chapter-I

Inaugural Session



Introduction

The opening session of the joint Seminar titled 'Regional Stability and Lessons Learned in Regional Peace Building' was held on 22 October 2014. The session started with remarks by Colonel Hans Christian Enevold special representative of Royal Danish Defense College (RDDC), welcome remarks by Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal, President NDU followed by the Inaugural Address of the Chief Guest, Mr. Sartaj Aziz, Advisor to the Prime minister of Pakistan on National Security and Foreign Affairs. The opening session set the pace for subsequent four thematic sessions spanning two days. A summary of speeches made in opening sessions are appended below.

Remarks by Colonel Hans Christian Enevold

Colonel Hans Christian Enevold began his remarks by thanking Pakistan's National Defence

University on organizing the two days Seminar. He said such bilateral activities would contribute to strengthening relationship between the educational and defence institutions of Pakistan and Denmark. One of the objectives of this conference was intensification of relationships and he hoped the next two days would achieve this objective. The gist of his speech is as follows:

- Cooperation and dialogue is a key stone and first step to achieve successful peace building and stability in this region. The academic program of this conference has been developed in order to address the present and future problems by learning the lessons of the past. One of the lessons that can be remembered best from the military history is the theoretical definition of war; that war is simply a continuation of politics by other means. Though this is probably the very essence of war, but how does it lead to peace building? The world has entered an era of

globalization where even small conflicts impact the international community. This calls for cooperative solution and academic innovation. So even if politicians and diplomats are responsible for peace building, it has to be done on an enlightened basis. Only then the political work of diplomacy really succeeds and only then sustained regional peace building process can be achieved.

- In Afghanistan, the international community together with partners in the region has faced the complexity of peace building more than a decade now. For Denmark, this has resulted in the longest military engagement and deployment of troops in modern history that also relate to variety of failures and successes in relation to the ISAF missions.
- Work of peace building and reconciliation has only just begun and the best way to pursue a positive development is to bring people together to share ideas and viewpoints. One does not necessarily need to agree on anything or everything but one can agree on listening to each other. From the very beginning of planning of this conference the Royal Danish Defence College had an ambition of an inclusive conference embracing diversity, disagreement and even conflicts between states represented. This forum of diversity needs to share viewpoints and seize opportunity to build and improve network across border and across opinions.
- It is expected that all participants and speakers will use the output of the deliberations in their future work and a set of policy recommendations to national governments and to the international institutions in relation to peace building in the Central and South Asian region will be drafted in order to improve and strengthen further international



cooperation in this area. Though all are aware of the fact that security policy relies on the ability and willingness to compromise from trust, information and transfer of knowledge across borders and conflicts. It also hoped that this conference is a step in that direction and on behalf of Royal Danish Defence College.

Welcome Remarks by President NDU

In his formal welcome remarks, President NDU, Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal, while thanking the participants and speakers from across the world emphasized that 'this academic endeavor is dedicated to shared quest for regional stability and peace building and this deliberative process is expected to unfold potential policy options for the regional as well international stake holders.' He hoped that seminar would provide an impetus for constructive approach to the discussion focusing on finding way forward in regional peace building. The gist of the President NDU's speech is as follows:

- The conflict prone world is facing a question as to how can we overcome diverse problems of the states, regions and the world and forge economically as



well as politically sustainable solutions to the problems. The nature and the manifestations of conflicts in this region are very complex thus, it is imperative that we take comprehensive, multi-faceted approach towards the issues. We all understand that instability and armed conflicts not only shadow the affected state but also adversely impact the region, therefore working together to build and reinforce strategic trust for peace, cooperation and prosperity in the region is our shared interest. Taking cognizance of issues, such as renunciation of war, peaceful settlement of disputes and economic development, Pakistan has been forthcoming in playing a positive role in regional peace and stability.

- It is also important for regional players to help promote peace and stability in Afghanistan so as to effectively deal with the post drawdown situation. All endeavors are required to be focused on enabling the Afghan people to stand on feet and reassure their capacity to steer the

process of governance and development at this critical juncture. Undoubtedly, Afghanistan is in search of a better future, so are we in the neighborhood. At this point in time, there are important lesson that we can learn from history. Firstly, foreign interference only offers a recipe for disorder so the upcoming process of draw downs from the arena should be in sync with Afghan people's aspiration of their own independence. Secondly, conflict or peace in Afghanistan has profound impact on the neighborhood so





all stakeholders required to play their respective roles in building a credible structure of peace. Thirdly, a peaceful and stable Afghanistan, friendly to all, holds the promise of peace and progress in trans-regional setting.

- Consequently, the current setting calls for greater reflection and deeper analysis of various aspects relevant to peace and security for the region with reference to Afghanistan. Tangible conclusions and recommendations focusing a larger canvas factored into policy formulation process will be constructive and beneficial for regional peace building.

Chief Guest, Mr.Sartaj Aziz's Inaugural Address

Mr.Sartaj Aziz, the adviser to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on foreign affairs, expressed his gratitude to NDU for assembling distinguished speakers and participants from Afghanistan, Australia, China, Denmark, Germany, Iran, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States and Pakistan in this very important seminar. He thanked the President NDU General Javed Iqbal and the Royal Defence Danish College for the

opportunity for him to share his thoughts on such a relevant, important and timely subject. The gist of his speech is as follows:

- As individuals, one often finds himself at crossroads, forced to make choices right or wrong. In individual cases, the impact of choices has a limited bearing, but on the global level crossroads come in decades when a fundamental choice is to be made. In recent history world wars I and II, end of cold war, terrorist attack of 9/11, the invasion of Iraq, are the instances where the world was at the crossroads. The choices made at those profound moments in history have left indelible marks. The consequences of the decisions taken at those critical junctures have not only reshaped the world order but also immeasurably impacted human kind and its well-being. No matter how you analyze each incidence, it is clear that the right choices strengthen world peace and wrong choices increased danger in the world we are living. Some of those dangers continue to harm us even today.
- To illustrate for example the positive dimension the evolution of European Union is a classic example of economic



development and regional integration built on the experiment of peace building. Hardly the fire and smoke of the Second World War had dissipated the desire to create a regional organization found expression in European Coal and Steel Community in 1950. This community was formed with a view to rationalize and limit the production and stock pile of coal

and steel so as to reduce the incidence of war. Such was keenness to end wars by building peace. Ever since EU has been expanding, progressing, achieving technological advancement and prospering for the common benefit of its members. Having freed itself from the scourge of war EU in partnership with United States across the pacific still remains focused on peace keeping, peacemaking and peace building.

- Another outstanding example of peace building is ASEAN, the Asian economic network of regional integration and stability. ASEAN members prior to come together to form the organization, were mired in interstate as well as intrastate conflicts. In their common drive towards achieving economic prosperity, the ASEAN states involve mechanism and strategies for conflict management and building sustainable peace. The ASEAN way has become a renowned approach in regional peace building.
- The world has just seen another crossroad today. There is growing integration cutting across continents as well as





countries in regional setup, illustrated by these fine examples of European Union, ASEAN, OECD and also Nordic states, which have also been coming together in search of peace and prosperity. Never in human history was the world so closely integrated and interdependent as it is now, owing to the technological advancements that have contracted the world into a global village. Evidence is overwhelming that this level of development and integration was fostered by efforts of visionary leaders to resolve conflicts and attain stability. On the other hand the outlook in Africa, the Middle East and the situation is South Asia and to some extent central Asia point to the developments in opposite direction. Recurring conflicts proliferation of traditional and nontraditional threats to security and mushrooming of state and non state actors are obstacles for stability and integration.

- Meanwhile historical baggage of territorial and political disputes, many

with roots in the colonial eras continue to shape the environment and keep these regions conflict owned and undermine efforts for stability and peace building. Economic development and integration are therefore the obvious causalities of the state of affairs. Going to larger canvas Asian continent has gained immense significance, particularly from the rise of China and resurgence of Russia. Asia's potential as consumer market of more than half of the world population, huge reservoir of human capital, the continent's territorial waters carrying more than two fifth of global trade of oil and mercantile and persistent global economic crisis have generated considerable international interests in Asia. The continent therefore is seen as an engine for global economic growth in the 21st century.

- Yet this prospect for Asia is not without obstacles. Clashing interests have already started to give rise to economic, political and territorial rivalries and shaping up new realities and strategies, but we have

to overcome the obstacles and build common objectives. Peace in South has been undermined by non-resolution of the Kashmir issue and the relationship between India and Pakistan has hampered the immense promise and potential of SAARC. More than 30 years of conflict and instability in Afghanistan have brought two generations of Afghan off their rights to development and decent living, kept the region in turmoil and prevented the realization of Afghanistan potential as a land bridge as well as slope of vast energy resources from Central Asia.

- The fundamental lesson we draw from foregoing is, make the right choices at the right time. The choice between war and peace is simple and clear to all but beyond that, how to reduce and remove tensions, achieve and sustain peace, build medium and long term stability and reinforce it with economic development is where the process gets a little hazy. Our cumulative

experience shows that conflict management is not only expensive, it often works partially. There is much greater value in efforts for conferring prevention and conflict resolution. Furthermore stable peace cannot be built without addressing the root causes of conflicts and longstanding disputes. And post conflict stability cannot be sustained for a long time unless all the legitimate stakeholders are on board and real reconciliation takes place.

- Wherever the peace process has worked, it is because the larger country in the groups has shown magnanimity and accommodative attitude to their smaller neighbors and partners so that they do not feel threatened. Unless this indication of leadership of vision is available the efforts of regional integration will remain half-hearted. In all this history of our region shows that the United Nations can play a facilitative role and it has both the requisite legal framework (Chapter 6 in





peaceful settlement of disputes) and the necessary mechanism including the Secretary General as good offices for preventive diplomacy and for conflict resolution. Key countries from the region and from the international community at large can usefully contribute to this process. Let me state that cooperation and dialogue are key to regional peace and stability and effective peace building. Legitimate interests and security concerns of all states have to be taken care of. This is an important lesson from peace building; we have to go for win-win outcomes. Peace building is also best done when there is national and regional ownership. Positive role and constructive policies of global powers where they have interest are also essential and contribute to enabling environment for peace building and regional cooperation.

- A strong, stable and prosperous Pakistan with a strategic location in the various sub

regions of Asia is critical for regional integration and socio-economic development. As the 5th largest country and the virtue of geo strategic placement in international relations with land lock corridors and rich resources of Central Asia and the world, it has a significant role as a bridge. Accordingly Pakistan has reached out India for assumption of dialogue and resolution of all issues including the core dispute of Jammu and Kashmir. Our approach is reflected in our constructive engagement with Afghanistan and our support for inclusive Afghan led and Afghan owned reconciliation process. Pakistan is also keen to contribute to a negotiated solution of the Iranian nuclear issue. We are convinced that success of such efforts would pave the way for sustainable peace in the entire region.

Day-1
Chapter II
Session I
Learning in Peace Process

Chapter-II

Session-I

Learning in Peace Process



Introduction

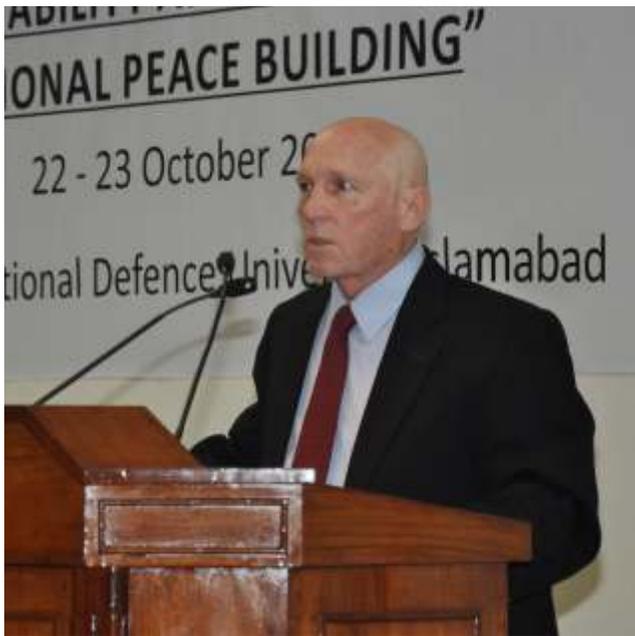
At the outset of session-1, the moderator Dr. Maliha Lodhi, Political Scientist and Diplomat introduced the participants to the audience. The session was geared up to ponder upon the “Learning in Peace Processes”. It was participated by a galaxy of intellectuals from various countries including Australia and USA. The key speakers of the session included Professor Gregory Gleason of Marshall Center, Professor William Maley from Australian National University and Ambassador Arif Kamal from ISSRA, NDU, Pakistan. Finally after a candid interactive session, the moderator gave her wrap-up remarks.

Professor Gregory Gleason

Professor Gregory Gleason referred to

Clausewitz saying that war is the continuation of politics by other means. But no one believes that politics will come to an end. The whole world has common interest in breaking the self-perpetuated reasons of violence. Self-perpetuated dynamic of war is difficult to break. He stated that he would discuss Tajikistan Peace and reconciliation efforts which were signed in 1990 to draw some inferences for Afghanistan. There is something which one can learn from Tajikistan agreement but the text itself is not sufficed for resolving the situation in Afghanistan. The lesson is more abstract and general as it refers to the process. The steps that go in the war are different from the steps that go out of the war.

Afghanistan is witnessing a highly complicated situation. There are numerous reasons of the ongoing conflict. For every war,



there can be abundant reasons but there can be few reasons for ending the war. There are in fact three parts which lead to coming out of a war namely; victory and capitulation; exhaustion; and game. Victory and capitulation means that one party has got victory while the other party has vanquished. Exhaustion means that both the warring parties have exhausted themselves. On the other hand, game means stalemate; which also sometime represent a balance between the belligerent forces. The belligerent parties do not consider it as a balance. If one applies to these theoretical assumptions on Afghanistan, one comes to know that war in Afghanistan is in stalemate. Some scholars consider the stalemate as negative, but it has also some positive points. This present era is known as Asian Century and a lot of transformation is going on in Asia. Although, China is the major beneficiary of this transformation but it will also change the situation in Afghanistan. This will replace Taliban and they will become irrelevant. The world has witnessed the same in case of USSR which collapsed because of inherent internal issues.

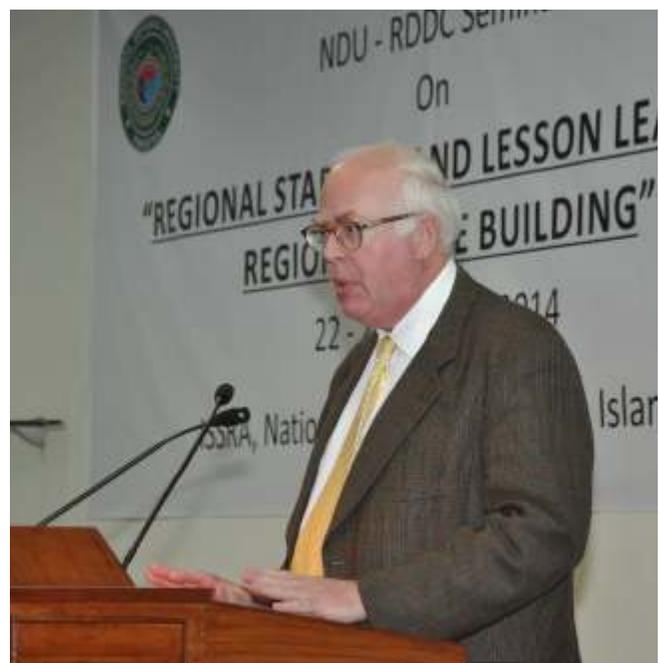
Tajikistan is divided between northern part and southern part with different ethnic groups and internal power struggle. An armed conflict started but it was stopped by Track I diplomacy. The surge of Taliban in Afghanistan motivated both the

parties in Tajikistan to sign an agreement. Therefore, a power sharing agreement was signed with the opposition in Tajikistan. This solution can also be used in Afghanistan to make Taliban irrelevant. Since the USA itself is exception with regard to its political, military, economic, cultural and social power therefore the USA is applying exceptionalism in Afghanistan. Hence, the US will continue to remain involved in Afghanistan.

Professor William Maley

It is difficult to pursue the objectives of peace making or of peace building if there does not exist any level of trust between the different parties. History suggests that a regional agreement between the antagonistic parties is often the easy process and its implementation arose vast range of complex challenges. This can be seen in the different agreements within Afghanistan between various groups. Therefore implementation of peace building is enormously important. Trust is much more related to the predictability of the behavior of the particular actors than it is to moral attributes. An actor can be trustworthy if it acts in a particular way. In this way, trust is very important for peace building.

It is unwise to state national interests or the commitments which cannot be guaranteed. The





states while negotiating face two major problems; they have limited capacity to fulfill the commitments and secondly the non-state actors who have not been accustomed to the norms of commitment while negotiating. Of course, with the state one can have certain expectations, but non-state actors emerge without norms and they add to the complications.

Difficulties of the state are related to the sovereignty. There are two types of sovereignty; juridical and empirical. It is quite possible that a state have high level of juridical sovereignty but with a low level of empirical sovereignty which means that the capacity to control its territory is very limited. In this case, level of predictability and trust also become low because such state has no control to fulfill the certain expectations. In this scenario, non-state actors can also exploit the negotiation process. This situation gets more complicated when the survival of the government depends upon non legitimate forces.

18th and 19th century history of Afghanistan is poor guide to the present complexities of

Afghanistan. Since 2001, Afghanistan is exposed to the forces of globalization. Now there is a new generation of Afghans who has been brought up in entirely different social settings. Phenomenon as TV, FM radios and mobiles have transformed the Afghan society which has made the Taliban agenda peripheral in today's settings. The importance of this social transformation cannot be underestimated. Globalization is more important than foreign aid and presence of extra regional forces which are the facilitators of the transformation. It has also changed the psychology of people. People of Afghanistan think that return of Taliban is difficult and most of the studies suggest that support of Taliban is low but it does not mean that Taliban are no more a problem. While dealing with Taliban, important question is whether Afghan government has capacity to deal with the issue.

Taliban's terrorist acts are posing serious challenges for the region and particularly for Pakistan. Pakistan has the major challenge regarding penetration of militant groups in FATA.



It also poses a question of sovereignty. According to Westphalian interpretation, the sovereign state must exercise control over all of its territory but the situation in FATA is contrary to this definition which is a serious challenge for Pakistan. Afghanistan has not done very well in state building since 2001 as the bureaucratic structure under Karzai government was inclined towards patronage. This system was not addressing the problems of common people. The overall structure of the state is fragile and the risk is fairly great. Nonetheless, there are also some opportunities in the emerging environment of Afghanistan. One important thing that Afghanistan is required to do is to forge cooperation with neighboring countries within a wider region and the new President Ashraf Ghani is aware of the situation.

The role of China and Central Asian Republics (CARs) is also important in bringing stability in Afghanistan. There is also possibility of packets of instability in Fergana Valley because of the autocratic regimes in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. In this regard, China is supposed to position itself for supporting the mechanisms of building stability in the region. China has excellent relations with Pakistan therefore a constructive engagement of China and Pakistan is important with reasonable support of different actors.

Ambassador Arif Kamal

The notion of composite dialogue is

acronymic. It symbolizes structured dialogue in the India-Pakistan normalization process. The process has been marked by interruptions and absence of a steady progress, since its inception in 2004. The pace and direction of composite dialogue rests upon the dynamics of India-Pakistan relations that ought to be viewed first.

In the post 1970s view, Pakistan and India are certainly unequal in what is described as "aggregate capabilities". Yet they remain poised as competitors. More recently, India is seen as an emerging regional power while Pakistan is increasingly engaged in domestic questions. The concept of 'balance of power' hinges on nuclearization, whatever it entails and potential that may exist in Sino-Pakistan partnership. The post- 9/11 compulsions have indeed brought about a climatic change. The US factor has been in full play in influencing the elite's and policy direction in South Asia. India has been encouraged to take pro-active role in the region. Terrorism is seen and defined from the prism of uni-polarity. Distinction between terrorism and national resistance has been blurred.

Kashmir situation remains in flux. There is no encouragement from the International community to address the core issue. The increasing Indian unilateralism is reflected in the treatment of Chenab waters and construction of Dams on other river systems. The posture is the





forerunner of tomorrow.

The idea of a structured dialogue process germinated first at the Foreign Secretary level interaction in the late 1990s. It is further prompted by search for a framework that allows discussion on various contentious issues while retaining relevance of Kashmir as an unresolved issue. Contentious issues segregated by type and degree of their complexities. The composite dialogue process as known from 2004, has eight agenda items including peace and security including CBMs, Jammu and Kashmir, Siachen, Sir-Creek, Wullar barrage, terrorism and drugs trafficking, economic and commercial cooperation, and promotion of friendly exchanges. First four rounds of the Composite Dialogue were completed in 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007. The fifth round commenced in July 2008 and later stalled in Nov in the backdrop of Bombay attacks. The round was resumed in April 2010 only to be stalled in Jan 2013, following LoC incidents. A resumption was scheduled in 2014 but stalled once again, amid

Indian reservations on Pakistani High Commissioner's pre-dialogue meetings with Kashmiri leaders.

The advent of new administrations in Islamabad and Delhi were seen as a 'ray of hope' to resume the dialogue process. The hopes were pegged on the possibility to a re-enact Vajpayee-Sharif warmth in the Modi era. Initially, the two Prime Ministers' exchanged positive signals while Pakistani Prime Minister participated in Modi's inauguration. However, India used the pretext of Pakistan's pre- dialogue consultations with Hurriat so as to cancel the Foreign Secretary level meeting. The hiatus continued with wide-spread escalation on the Line of Control. At present, Indian position seems to exclude any significant engagement with Pakistan on the core issue of Jammu & Kashmir. Conversely, judged by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's speech at UNGA, Pakistan is flagging the centrality of Kashmir issue with particular reference to Kashmir's right of self determination. The inability to make a forward

move on Kashmir remains a major impediment. No doubt the problem is central to India-Pakistan dynamics. The role of Pakistani defence establishment vis-à-vis policies relevant to security dimensions has been pronounced. They seek sufficient guarantees against Indian interference as a regional hegemonic power. India blames Pakistani defence establishment for obstructing the forward move. Ironically, however thoughts on out-of-box solution were first articulated by a President with military background. The Indian elite is overwhelmed by a 'major power syndrome' dismissive of Pakistan and equating themselves with rising China. The burden of history remains very much pronounced in the actual behavior patterns of the elites. Psychological barriers remain high. The trust deficit also leads to inability to display political will for a way forward. An overemphasis on bilateralism has overcast the primacy of Kashmiri people as the principal party.

The Indian leadership has not displayed vision for tomorrow and a benign attitude for the neighborhood that comes with a rising power. However, hopes relate to the flip side of the coin and on a belated realization in the direction. Prospects of further advance also relate though marginally to third party interests to facilitate progress. India and Pakistan should agree to engage Kashmiri people in a triangular dialogue. Last but not the least, closer interaction and mobilization of civil societies can perhaps enhance the political will.

Interactive Session

During the interactive session, numerous questions arose regarding Taliban becoming irrelevant, reconciliation and requirement for peace, role of regional players, role of the USA, presidential elections in Afghanistan, framework of going out of the war and cooperation. The tide of globalization is also helping Taliban as it has provided means of communication to the Taliban. But their capacity to use these mediums of communication is much limited. On financial side,

they are much weaker than the state. Also, there is an overwhelming skepticism among the masses about Taliban. There is no generalized support for them in the society and the common people are positioning themselves against Taliban. They have become a syndicate using ideology but they will be replaced and track I diplomacy is crucial in this regard.

A lot of troubles are still present and economic opportunities in the country will change the future scenario. The negotiation process started in late 1980s in Afghanistan for Geneva Accord and at that time the communist regime was not interested in negotiations. A disposition to involve in negotiation is different to the disposition in negotiation. Taliban's interest in negotiation is yet to be checked. Pakistan would like to see the reconciliation because this is the only way out of armed conflict. Meanwhile, Pakistan is also opposed to taking Kabul with military power and does not consider Taliban as its strategic asset.

Role of regional players is very important for bringing peace in Afghanistan. Pakistan, China and Iran are the important players in this game and therefore any peace effort should involve all the regional stakeholders for any future arrangement. The US is an important player as far as the future of Afghanistan is concerned. It is involved in building state institutions and enhancing the state capacity in order to cope up the future challenges.



Day-1
Chapter III
Session II
Integration in Regional Reconciliation

Chapter-III

Session-II

Integration in Regional Reconciliation

Introduction

The session-II was moderated by former Ambassador Rustam Shah and included the guest speakers like Dr. Suba Chandran from India and Dr. Yunas Sarmad from University of Bradford, UK. The session was all about “Integration in Regional Stability”. After a candid session, the moderator concluded and gave his wrap-up remarks.

Remarks by Moderator, Ambassador Rustum Shah Mohmand

The end of cold war ushered in huge

optimism regarding sustained global peace and stability. However, it was soon discovered that the bipolar world was in fact in many ways serving as a barrier for global conflicts. This is true because of the tremendous balancing between Soviet Union and the United States, which kept the third world countries safe from unilateral adventurism.

As for today, there has been enough instability and unrest in various countries including Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan and even the Xinjiang region of China. There seems to be no light at the end of the tunnel. In this regard, the unfortunate dimension of this problem is the ethnic conflict and sectarian divide in the Middle East. Hence, the countries are being split on sectarianism and ethnic lines.

Nonetheless, in order to facilitate a reconciliation process especially in Afghanistan, the first thing is to recognize the root cause of the conflict along with analyzing the ground realities. This is also very critical for Pakistan, as none other country would gain and suffer as much from





Afghanistan's instability as Pakistan. Other countries may have concerns, Pakistan have stakes due to volatility in tribal areas and subsequent military operation underway recently. Normalcy in this regard is possible only after the withdrawal of troops and restoration of the tribal balance and institutions.

On the other hand, winning the support of locals in tribal areas is extremely important for Pakistan. This is only possible if the trust deficit is dealt with and the policies of the government reflect the aspirations of the people. However, if the people begin to suspect that the government had other intentions and there is no rationale behind a certain policy and there is no clear objective strategy than there will be polarization. If the support of people is lost, policies do not work.

Hence, the idea is to recognize the ground realities, isolate, who are not on board, win the support of majority of the people, and create a level of trust, so that in the atmosphere of trust one could begin negotiations. Furthermore, while all channels are kept open, the Government should deal firmly with the ones who are not prepared to come on board under any circumstances. This should be the framework within which one should be operating.

Dr. Suba Chandran

As far as the Indian perspective about the way forward in Afghanistan is concerned, there are questions about it. What is the kind of way forward? What is in it for India, opportunities to be achieved? The lessons learnt are that the solutions have to come from Afghanistan. Pakistan has genuine concerns with or in Afghanistan and understands that conflict and violence within the region is not the solution and there is a strong need





for a comprehensive strategy.

In this regard, the international community has also played both negative and positive role. It is the dawn of the Asian century and the region needs to benefit from it collectively. However, the reality shows that still seriousness needs to be injected amongst the regional States to formulate effective policies for the larger benefit. Things are already changing in the form of regional energy projects and gas pipelines. However, every policy would require a collective boost.

Dr. Yunas Samad

There are many actors involved in Afghanistan, each having different agendas and some trying to simply make sense out of the process. However the key is that, after the withdrawal of US troops, Afghanistan should not become chaotic. Of course, if there is any crisis or chaos, its spillover effect will also be faced in Pakistan. Though, there have been some attempts of reconciliation and reintegration at the grass root level in Afghanistan but the problem is the Taliban psyche. Taliban think that there is no use of talking to the Americans as eventually they will leave the country. Pakistan also has some red lines and concerns. Indian influence in Afghanistan is

clearly of concern for Pakistan. The Indian influence in Afghanistan is growing and that is problem for Pakistan and it adds to suspicions when it comes to Balochistan insurgency.

Nonetheless, India and Pakistan are locked in a kind of classic security dilemma, which emits reaction to every action. In this regard, India may not put its eggs in one basket and enhance relations with countries other than the US, including Iran and Russia. There are numerous convergences between these States and Pakistan should be



mindful of the changing regional scenario and formation of new axis in the region.

Interactive Session

In the interactive discussions the participants were keen in deliberating upon various points like root causes of the problem in Afghanistan and its historic perspective, Hashish production, India's role in Afghanistan and India's perception of Pakistan.

Firstly, as far as the historic perspective is concerned, whatever happened in Afghanistan, the blame was put on Pakistan. In this regard, the political uncertainty of Taliban infused instability in the country and also on neighboring Pakistan. The root cause of the problems in Afghanistan also relate to lack of development in the country. However, it is only possible if peaceful and conducive environment is induced in the country.

Secondly, according to certain estimation, under the coalition forces led by the US, Hashish is grown from about 10,000 to 24,000 hectors of

Afghanistan. Hence, its production is from about 1500 to 3000 tons in Afghanistan. Opium is grown over 1000 to 125,000 hectors, and the total annual production is 6000 tons. However, it would not be wrong to believe at this point that, drug production is a regional phenomenon and has become a problem for the all regional countries. The countries, therefore, should pool their resources to deal with this menace.

Thirdly, the biggest concern for Pakistan is about the role of India in Afghanistan. Although every country has the right to develop interests of their own in some other country but it should not be at the stake of the interests of other countries. There are two perspectives on how India perceives Pakistan. It does not have a considerable change in Pakistan's policy and it views Pakistan with a developing civil society and emerging middle class. Hence, there is no uniform way of viewing and understanding Pakistan at the domestic level of India.



Day-2
Chapter IV
Session III
Regional Peace Building and Reconciliation

Chapter-IV

Session-III

Regional Peace Building and Reconciliation



Introduction

'Regional Peace Building and Reconciliation' was an important session of the seminar. The session was chaired by Professor Gregory Gleason from USA. Professor Sten Rynning from University of Southern Denmark, Mr. Hameed Hakimi a Research Development Advisor from Afghanistan, Dr. Qian Xuemei from School of International Studies Peking University China, Dr. Kayhan Barzegar from Institute of Middle East Strategic Studies, Iran and Mr. Mahdi Munadi a Research Fellow at Center for Strategic Studies, Kabul carried out deliberations during the session. The brief summaries of their speeches, highlighting the most important areas including interactive session are presented in the succeeding paragraphs.

Professor Sten Rynning

Sten Rynning said that with a view to discuss regional order it is very crucial to know the nature of the region and work with it. The approach of international community in past has been stereotype. NATO has been in combat operations for last six to eight years. Iraq war diverted attention in 2003 and there was lack of coordination between international community on Afghanistan issue. However in 2008 international community realized that Afghanistan is not battleground of any specific faction but it is battleground of Asia. Since then the international community developed the sense of comprehensive approach towards Afghanistan that consists of civil military improvement as well as bringing in more stakeholders that can play role in the region.



Afghanistan was a challenging issue for Obama Administration in 2008 and thus led to formulation of Afghanistan-Pakistan policy in 2009. This led to appointment of Richard Holbrooke as special Representative for this region. Though it did not solve everything but it certainly had history of diplomacy and effort by US and NATO. And now, there is a termination of combat mission in Afghanistan. The international community's effort and engagement in the region is also on decline and it is because the combat mission is closing. The effort will not stop but it certainly would not remain on the level where it

used to be.

The prospect of an outside balancer coming in to balance relations in the region is now gone, it will not be an outsider to solve regional affairs. For instance US could have been a balancer but it will certainly no longer try to be the regional balancer. Thus focus should be on how regional peace can be achieved by regional means. There are two options on the table for regional stability. First is hegemony, where you have concentration of power that then becomes the mechanism for ordering political relations. And second is dispersal of power, in other words one can call it balance of power. Neither option is easy nor hegemonic model might work because it is very difficult to apply in this region. Minimum requirements for hegemonic stability are:

- Existence of central power with material capacity to govern. Ideas and values that will give direction and legitimacy to the exercise of power.
- Power is not an order. It is the capacity to do things; order involves the orderly interaction of several players.
- U.S has power, ideas that do not mean you, will have sixty to seventy years Hegemonic stability.





Preconditions for durable hegemony are:

- U.S ideas should have ideological approach in European societies. So the ideas had to resonate among the client states, meaning American ideas had to appeal to significant groups in Europe.
- There had to be considerable degree of institutional convergence. Institutional convergence is required to create the balance to communicate the purpose. For instance, Europe utilized the money of Marshall Plan but the same Marshall Plan did not have same results in Russia in 1990 because it lacked institutional channelizing of money.

Looking at things in perspective of South Asia, first of all South Asia has no history of organized pluralism. Instead there was always the struggle for hegemony. Once there were Mughals and then the British. Experience in this region is of concentration of power. Even today in the map of South Asia, there is concentration of power i.e. India, centrally placed big country. There is no unifying ideology, or a liberal consensus that appeals to domestic constituencies in all countries in South Asia. Linking borders and geographic

closeness increases the friction and thus hegemonic model is not applicable, even considering the historic hegemonic trend in the region. On the other hand idea of balance of power through economy and markets is time tested by globalization.

He said that first thing to ensure was the security, that if a country is sure that its neighbor will not create conflicts they can then engage into peaceful and diplomatic means of establishing relations. If this trust is missing then it becomes the situation of raw power and immaturity. For a balance of power in region, principles of restraint and currency and not influx are required.

It is important to solidify authority, each one of you separately worked with constitutional order in your countries. United States will not likely intervene in the balance maintaining. China on the other hand is at central position in future policies of US which means China is seen as a future power. It is not easy to develop principles of rule. Principles of restraint would be a desirable solution to maintain the balance in South Asia. There are no shortcuts to the peace and stability which has two important pillars, principles of restraint and domestic authority.

Mr. Hameed Hakimi

Mr. Hameed Hakimi said peace building efforts in the South Asian region cannot be successful unless the ethnic intricacies are understood and catered for. However, the key question here is that how peace building can be effective with a legacy of ethnic wars, ethnic hostilities, and ethnic intolerance? In this regard, the 'reconciliation' must be incorporated into peace building efforts in order to achieve post-conflict development in ethnically divided societies.

Over the years, through military and insurgency, Pashtuns concentrated areas have seen violence and brutality. There is no precise data about the Pashtuns population. It however, is a complex set of population divided in approximately 60 clans and about 400 sub-clans. Nevertheless, it is oft repeated that Pashtuns are the majority in Afghanistan and form 16 percent population in Pakistan. 65 percent of young people in Afghanistan are below 25 years and 50 percent of them are Pashtuns. Most of the Pashtuns belong to Sunni sect of Islam and lay emphasis on family and social values. However, in the foreseeable future, using ethnic politics as a tool of conflict



resolution will be difficult; yet, ethnicity will continue to play a role in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In this context, the ways forward may include: improving people to people contacts; increasing healthcare and educational services; and using the social media to educate and bring harmony amongst the masses. In addition, Pakistan and Afghanistan can start joint projects to provide opportunities for education, employment and healthcare. Increasing trade relations as





Afghanistan imports most of its goods from Pakistan and volume of trade of Afghanistan is the largest with Pakistan. Last but not the least, both governments need to come to an agreement that one will not use proxies against the other. In closed societies like Afghanistan and Pakistan, it is not possible to completely separate the Pashtuns; best solution is to work on the transformation of hostile relationships into more positive and constructive ones. In this regard, integrating reconciliation into political, economic, social, infrastructural and other levels of peace building can help address the causes and consequences of ethnic conflict, in particular the legacy of ethnic animosities and intolerance.

Dr. Marcus Mohlin

Dr. Mohlin quoted famous poet Rumi 'Do not be satisfied with the stories that come before you, unfold your own myth. The issue is that Pakistan has been caught up in certain descriptions or narratives, it affects peace process and it needs be away from such destabilizing and defining narratives the power of the narrative must not be underestimated. They are stories we make up about our reality to make sense of it. He who

controls the narrative, controls politics and maybe even more powerful, he controls the future. Unfortunately, many of us are trapped in contemporary narratives and believe they are the reality whereas there are in fact many different narratives, each as real as the other.

The term 'Af-Pak' was invented by Richard Holbrooke and used within US foreign policy circles to denote Afghanistan and Pakistan as a single theater of operations. Following sharp criticism from Pakistan, condemning the





comparison of their country with Afghanistan, the US Government stopped using the term already in 2010, but it has since won worldwide usage and remains “out there” and is still in use to designate the region.

The current or contemporary dominating narrative of Pakistan at global arena is quite negative and concerns a Pakistan that is under severe stress, both from the outside and from within and is faced with multitude of issues. In total it paints the picture of a conflict ridden country with a very gloomy future. There are however many different narratives working. One can become master of his own narratives by creating them. Essentially, and in this specific setting, Pakistan needs to first distance itself from the contemporary narrative in which Pakistan is a prisoner, and take control of the narrative of its own country. By separating itself from this narrative it is possible to generate a powerful story that can connect Pakistanis with each other and across generations.

Dr. Qian Xuemei

Dr Qian gave her thank you note to NDU for inviting her to this conference. She started her speech with existence of various perspectives in China for regional peace building. She dilated on the reality of regional peace and China's role in the future. China has focus on Afghanistan and

identifies several problems that are puzzle of social, political and historical problems. These problems can be identified in four groups.

- Inherent problems within country and society. Such as less development and economy and even prevailing poverty, social discrimination, bad relations with neighbors and the region.
- Great power politics. Many conflicts of this region were left by the great power politics, particularly cold war era. Therefore to a larger extent we are paying the debt of the history. We are making up for the mistakes.
- International disputes, conflicts and wars which created and left negative stereotypes, hostility and mistrust among neighbors.
- Transnational non state actors such as refugees, drugs, extremism and terrorism are challenging the traditional sovereignty. They are making the regional stability more vulnerable.

These problems are interacting, enhancing and interlinked with each other, which handicaps peacemaking efforts. China has proposed some suggestions for Afghanistan to make effort to address those problems, to bring peace in the region. First, try to eradicate enemies to achieve peace. But no war can wipe out the enemy. To





imagine the peace without the enemy and stability without any opponents is utopian. Peace and stability are good for the world but some people would like to seek for something better in conflicts and turmoil. China does not believe in this war approach. China has put an end to such efforts. It has refused to join ISAF and then military intervention in Afghanistan despite the pressure from the US and UK.

Secondly, existing efforts are done by external actors. Of course in this globalized world there is real external actor. Still geographical elements do exist and even globalization has been transformed into globalization in practice. It is not irrational to identify regional countries from external ones. In this sense we may find that peace building efforts of the past decade have been put forward by external actors. The Afghan peace process up till now has not been led by Afghan people. It is beyond doubt that USA and NATO have paid a huge cost in making the regional peace and with their help Afghanistan has made considerable progress in many fields. But the key point is that external actors had their own interests, priorities and strategic ends, which are not

compatible with this region. It is too natural that external countries will not always take the local needs as their real concerns and priority in decision making. Therefore some policies could be beneficial for some countries but they might be counterproductive for regional peace and stability.

Thirdly, absence of mutual trust among the principle actors exists. Lack of mutual trust has led international community in to difficulties. China's role in Afghanistan is insignificant comparing with other countries that does not match its economic size and geographical relations with Afghanistan. It is aid at international level that China should be more involved, more active and more responsible but some signs contradict this because there are some countries that might not be happy if China becomes more assertive in Central and South Asia. China wants peace and stability in the region that is why it has enhanced its diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. Some Chinese analysts call this relation as common destiny. Besides China has economic interests that can be achieved through peace and stability in region. China will be a big economic opportunity for the region.

Dr. Kayhan Barzegar

Dr. Kayhan gave his point of view on security and stability in the region that he says is being regionalized. If one looks at the situation in the region, one will see war in 2001, war in 2003, Gaza in 2006, some violent developments in 2008, 2009, 2011 and now in 2014 with the Iraqi development. The regional actors are overwhelmed by the role of foreign actors. The sign of political deal is being strengthened. There are three reasons. Firstly, strengthen the connection between interstate conflict and terrorism, secondly, the complication of regional geopolitical rivalry between the states and the role of foreign actors and have been challenged.

There is connection between intrastate conflict and terrorism or violence in this region. In the cause of war and crises these states have been connected through the issue of terrorism and it has shaped a new kind of intrastate conflict which is very dangerous because the nature of new terrorism and extremism is anti-national state does not recognize political border. The result is that the nation states have been challenged and the visions between ethnic groups and religious minorities and groups are being increased. Here we see the role of ISIL in Iraq for instance. There is new kind of Shia and Sunni rivalry in Iran and the Arab world. The result is the interconnectivity between the domestic politics, dynamic and the role of masses in shaping the issues of foreign policy. We see this kind of connectivity and this has been very obvious. The second issue is the complexity of geopolitical rivalry between the states; of course this comes from their own narratives of their own geopolitical interests, and ideological values.

The states are trying to go in their own independent way and doing politics. They have some commonalities in certain characteristics keeping the territorial activity in the region, battling terrorism and avoiding wars. The result is that the states are becoming more powerful in the light of rivalry cooperation and that is why Iraqi conflicts have a lot of lessons. The third issue is role of foreign actors is being challenged. There is a



frustration in the efficiency of the role and efforts of foreign actors; it again goes to the complexity of the regional politics. For example, in Iraq, the role of America led political transformation is obvious, but at the same time it caused a lot of ethnic and societal division between the different political factions in Iraq. The result is that the regional actors in the states are staying away. Saudi Arabia is the most obvious and close allies of U.S. We see from 2001 Saudi Arabia has established its own regional policy, Turkey is following its own regional policies. Of course, Pakistan and Iran have their own course to follow. The best solution would be to connect between regionalism and globalization. And there must be a kind of multilateral diplomacy with the initiative of regional countries. Instead of thinking to deal with the regional states issues and interests of foreign actors, we need to develop regional cooperation with the support of foreign actors.

Mr. Mahdi Munadi

In Afghanistan, a threefold view exists that it is a radicalized country, an energy resource and a security-oriented region. That sets the perceptions of Afghans for their country's significance in the region. The region in Afghanistan's immediate



neighborhood is witnessing a wave of radicalization. Despite being landlocked, Afghanistan is rich in minerals and energy resources along with the gateway to Central Asian energy resources. Additionally, long wars have made Afghanistan a security oriented state. Moreover, the play of traditional Power-Politics in Afghanistan's region has overshadowed other aspects of life, such as: economic cooperation, development opportunities, political integrations and cultural interactions.

At this time, Afghanistan that has become



the center of conflict can rather be a strategic centre for cooperation between different competing powers. Proposals for cooperation include diplomatic approach, strategic cooperation and regional consensus in defining and combating terrorism. Diplomatic approach in the region may have two faces and they are conflicts and Cooperation. The facts in the region necessitate marginalizing conflicts and giving priorities to long term opportunities through cooperation. With regards to strategic cooperation, Afghanistan's strategic location can play double role in inter-regional and intra-regional cooperation running horizontally and vertically.

There is also a need to establish a consensus amongst the regional states in defining and combating terrorism. Lack of a proper definition and a common strategy toward radical groups on one side and focusing national interest on the other is considered as important objective.

Interactive Session

The interactive session during the first half of the third session focused on shifting NATO's strategies, Pakistan-India relations and transit trade, failure to bring stability in Afghanistan and

Afghanistan-Pakistan cooperation. There has been a shift in NATO's combat engagement strategies from a profound engagement to crisis management. It seems that NATO has learnt lessons from Lybian experience. Therefore, it will now become threat focused. There have been efforts to build peace between India and Pakistan and to create integration in the region through trade. But unfortunately, enhancing trade does not solve the fundamental problems such as Kashmir and Siachin between India and Pakistan. Such issues have kept the two nations separated for decades. People of Pakistan want peace with India but the underlying realities are different. It should be clear that India seeks to settle all its problems with Pakistan in its own interest. If major political problems are not resolved between nations to the satisfaction of the two countries, measures as trade, transit facilities and Silk Route would be of no use.

A major reason for the failure to bring a stable strong government in Afghanistan relates to the fact that previously superpowers have been trying to impose a solution on Afghanistan. This

stands true in case of so called 'bringing peace' because, bringing peace also presupposes engagement and states also seek interests in engagement. But, now is the high time to let the Afghans decide for themselves. Moreover, policy of regime change adopted by the US has also failed and is destabilizing. Regarding indirect interference of other countries from Afghanistan into Pakistan is a legitimate concern of Pakistan. Unfortunately, this cannot be stopped without stability and concurrence of the governments in Kabul and Islamabad. In this regard, there could be an agreement between the two not to use proxies against other.

China will continue to support Afghanistan and will try to have strategic relations with Afghanistan. China will invest its expertise in mineral field to Afghanistan i.e. trade, technology, HR and training. As regards Iran, it would have multilateral diplomacy to get close in the region, the Iranian Nuke policy is safe and secure, there is peaceful usage of nuclear energy and Iran is also cooperating with IAEA.



Day-2
Chapter V
Session IV
Western Involvement After 2014

Chapter-V

Session-IV

Western Involvement After 2014



Introduction

The session marked the most crucial part of the two-day long deliberations, as its primary focus was to evolving situation in Afghanistan and “Western Involvement after 2014”. Consequently, all the relevant aspects for different scenarios were laid threadbare before the audience by speakers including Dr. Annemarie Peen Rodt from Roskilde University Center, Dr. Peter Viggo Jackbson from Denmark, Ms. Shahida Aman from University of Peshawar and Lt Gen (Retired) Masood Aslam. The session was chaired by Professor Sten Rynning of Denmark. A lengthy session in which participants from different countries contributed by giving their own view points. The gist of proceedings is given below.

Dr. Annemarie Peen Rodt

Dr. Annemarie Peen Rodt said she had to discuss as if European Union is indeed a useful model? For this one needs to remember the context as the Europe of today is very different from the Europe of 1200 years ago. The context and the difficulty of the European wars, is really where we need to start it. Europe had huge challenges, religion wars, revolutions, nationalist movements. Europe had issues of terrorism but they were crushed violently. Europe had ethnic and race conflicts and they were major source of unrest. They had a history of long protracted conflicts, often deadly which some time swept the region and beyond.

At the end of these last two particular vicious wars which were started by Europe, a new



peace project was started in Europe which is today's European Union (EU)? EU has changed Europe a lot, in radical ways, in terms of building a sustainable peace. The idea was definitely building peace through regional integration that is why there is EU today to build peace in Europe. The idea of the founding fathers of EU was to make war more difficult and peace more attractive and it worked. It is a huge achievement that the leaders of Germany and France holding hands in the battle field where they had been fighting not so long ago.

European idea of stabilization through integration was expanding and the union got enlarged in size and stability. At the end of cold war the idea was to integrate east and west of Europe. The biggest achievement of Europe was its enlargement toward the east in 2004. But at the same time EU has failed massively, in terms of peace in the East which was the case of former Yugoslavia. Provision of peace there couldn't be made possible and the world was to witness massacres, ethnic cleansing and concentration camps. There is a common European security policy and they are bold enough to say to the Americans that this is a European problem and it needs a European solution.

Many things in Europe were achieved through association which led us to integration. One should do the wars of words but not the politics of violence and it definitely needs a lot of patience. Through association we bring integration but sometimes it may bring some problems as are the cases of Ukraine or Georgia. When EU won Noble prize, the president of EU said that war between Germany & France is today unthinkable and it is self-evident. Yes, there are challenges, some internal some external to EU but again next year we will be celebrating sixty years of peace among the member states. So there are some



lessons for other regions in particular south Asia but certainly it will be hard to use them as things are too much complicated. It is not just to copy and paste but definitely it is workable to get impressions from EU that could help this region building peace and prosperity.

Dr. Peter Viggo Jakobsen

Dr. Peter Viggo Jakobsen began his presentation by saying there is no need to differentiate between US and NATO, because NATO definitely means the United States. If US hadn't decided to come to Afghanistan, NATO countries would have not come to this region. The only reason for NATO coming here was to please the United States. It was also for some countries like Germany and others to avoid Iraq and fight a good war in Afghanistan. The name of the game for the NATO with exception of US in Afghanistan is basically 'Limbo'.

We went to Afghanistan because of 9/11 and if Osama Bin Laden was not residing in Afghanistan and instead he was in Somalia, we would have gone to Somalia. We had no great designs for the region or to expand American empire. We went there to find Bin Laden and get rid of Al-Qaida. It was like avenging 9/11. But it proved unexpectedly long war. If we look at the



commitments made during the most recent NATO conference in Wales and if you ask the diplomats and military officers who are involved in all these things behind the scene, they will tell you that the funding to ANA and other developments projects for Afghanistan will continue till 2017 and they are very firm on that. There are also some long term commitments to be engaged in this region but those funds are not yet allocated. And there are



also some countries including the big ones who may give good reasons for not extending the aid and assistance once they are back at home.

If security situation does not improve, there might be a reason for the NATO to stay longer. Political factor is also important as to see how the power-brokers in Kabul will play their role? The third thing is the pressure from the US on NATO countries, and it was certain that if US had not put pressure on NATO countries, they would have gone long before, except UK which has its own interests in the region. Afghan government has two years to demonstrate that the security situation and good governance is improved in the country, it is possible that many donors will stay away from Afghanistan in terms of continuing funds to Afghanistan and we know that implications will be worst especially for Pakistan.

Ms. Shahida Aman

Ms. Shahida Aman's presentation explores three major questions. Firstly, what is the concept of leadership among the Pashtuns? Secondly, how militancy in Bara, Khyber Agency is impacting the traditional institutions of governance, including Maliks, Mashars, the Jirgahs and traditions of Pakhtunwali? And thirdly, what processes are fundamental to such transformations and what is the legitimacy basis of militant and alternate leadership?

Conflict has resulted in a clear diminution in the leadership roles and responsibilities of Maliks and Mashars in Bara, Khyber Agency, which in turn has affected other traditional structures of governance, including Jirga and the traditions of Pakhtunwali. There are at least three interconnected processes that are transforming leadership roles among the tribal Pakhtuns: state's encapsulation of FATA through reforms and security forces intervention; transnational movement of trade, growth of black markets and emergence of new elites; and conflict, war and state failure in Afghanistan and its implications for Pakistan, including current militancy as one of its offshoots. A complex intermingling of religion,



culture and tribal support creates a legitimacy basis for the militant leadership of Lashkar-e-Islam, the militant outfit of Khyber Agency.

Broadly speaking two categories of Pakhtun leadership may be identified: Chiefs and Saints. 'Chiefs' includes Khans, Maliks, Mashars and Nawabs. The institution of Malikship was created by the British for controlling the local Pakhtun tribes through grant of concessions and favor. 'Saints' include Mian, Syed, Pir and Mullah undertake arbitration among conflicting parties, religious blessings for rituals, educate tribesmen about religious obligations and lead prayers in Mosques.

There are certain socio-cultural and economic traits of the Pakhtun tribal order that make the institution of leadership inherently volatile. The character of tribal order and its egalitarianism ensures that the position of the leader is first among the equals. Diminution in leadership qualities of distributing patronage resources, providing security, or resolving disputes, there is no a priori reason to support such a leader indefinitely. Subsistence based agrarian economy discourages growth of either sharp class distinctions or a hierarchical mode of leadership. The basis for intra-tribe or sub-tribe alliances is largely interest based, rather than descend or

ideology.

The principal of cousin jealousy or agnatic rivalry called 'Tarburwali' in Pakhto/ hostility over material possession of land between father's brothers sons or the Tarbur. Today, Bara Tehsil is home to the militant movement Lashkar-e- Islam (LI), headed by Mangal Bagh, an Afridi from the Sepah Khel, which professes Deobandi school of Sunni Islam and is engaged since 2005 in a violent armed struggle with the Barelvis led by the militant outfit, Ansar-ul-Islam (AI). Following are some facts and figures.

- Extremely violent- casualty figures for 2012 exceeded 1200.
- 360 schools are either destroyed or closed in Khyber Agency.
- Highest number of Polio cases last year.
- IDPs crisis-September 2009 to March 2013, around a hundred thousand people fled Bara and Tirah valley.
- Since 2008, several operations undertaken to flush out the militants.
- Bara Tehsil especially its Bazaar area (main commercial hub) had been under curfew.
- Maliks and Masharan killed, injured, kidnapped since 2005. Some figures cite 300.

Melmastia or hospitality has been affected by the declining economic fortunes of not only the Masharan, but also ordinary tribesmen. Panah, which provided an offender shelter under Pakhtun customs, has also received a serious setback because the Maliks fear outsiders to be either terrorists or khudkush bombers. Badal' was undergoing change as revenge or retribution under current difficult conditions could be afforded only by tribesmen who could bear the expenses related to the economic and social downside of the revenge game. Paradoxically, Badal will renew once peace is established as the tribesmen will try avenging the death of their kinsmen by killing the sympathizers of the militant outfits.

The conflict in Afghanistan and Pakistan's involvement in it gave a new lease to religious categories of leadership, especially, muftis, pirs and Mullah. Proliferation of Madrassahs, mostly Deobandi ones has produced a large number of religiously educated Mullahs, who were no longer property less clients of Khans or Maliks manning their hujra (men's house mosques), but competed for influence with the traditional Maliks and Mashars.

This category has provided leadership to the militant outfits of both Lashkar-e-Islam and Ansar-



ul-Islam in the beginning phase of their conflict (2006-2008). Mangal Bagh the current head of LI is not an alim or a pir in the traditional sense of the term, but bases his leadership legitimacy on the power of Shariah implementation.

Why such militant groups have been able to gather following can be explained by extolling the nature of seminary lineage groups. For a Pakhtun, 'there is no a priori reason why a man should attach himself with any particular leader, therefore, the more peripheral members of a group may have some commitment to another leader, or to the two categories of chief and saint.' Militant leadership is providing incentives, high payment for rendering of services and protection of militant's life and property. Economically disadvantaged youth join it because of poverty issues.

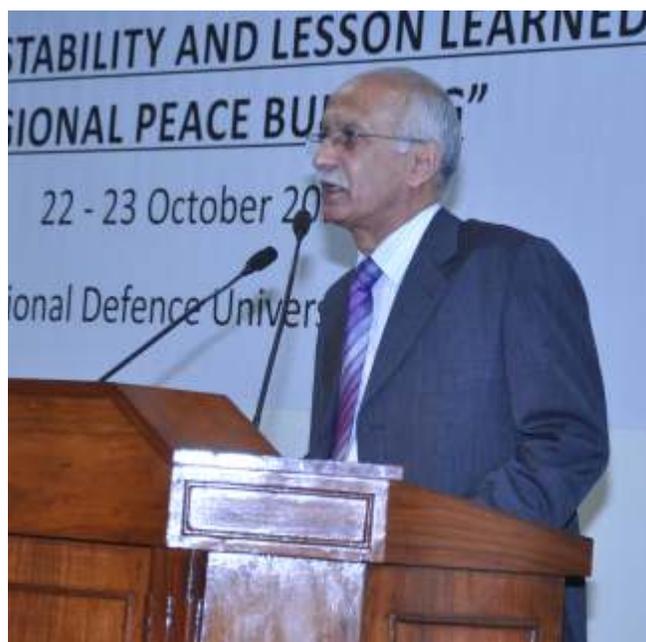
The leadership proved its utilitarian side by providing services to the locals by ferrying patients to hospitals in their cars even at night time, controlling criminality in the area by strictly punishing the offenders, dispensing quick justice, and seeking support in the name of Jihad and other religious services.

Lieutenant General (Retired) Masood Aslam

The peculiar geo-political environment of landlocked Afghanistan has turned into a battle ground for the world powers in quest of controlling heart of Asia as commonly referred to great game. Resultantly, the region which was earlier the cradle of civilization is today remained totally ramped and without basic civic necessities. The future of Afghanistan and its immediate near neighbors is closely bound. No country in the world can get more stability as Pakistan and similarly Pakistan would lose more if instability continues in Afghanistan. Constructive engagements between Afghanistan and its neighbors are therefore essential to the regional stability. Now there is a national unity government in Kabul as the result of recent elections which took almost five months to finalize the things. However, this is a landmark achievement. The bilateral

security agreement (BSA) has been signed and the major drawdown is in the progress. All political elements less the Taliban resistant groups are the stakeholders in the power. The world is closely monitoring this transition.

The ground realities of Afghanistan can be gauged with the help of five variables; readiness of Afghan Security Forces; success of political system; role of the US; role of regional actors; and economic viability of Afghanistan with reduced fiscal support. The future of Afghanistan seems full of skepticism because Kabul is facing complex challenges. The US itself is engaged in reordering its priorities due to rapidly changing environment of the Arab world. Viewed in the backdrop of worldwide continued economic recession, the US may decide to rely on proxies again and a distant handling of the situation in pursuit of its changed objectives in this region. Therefore the role of China, Iran and Russia has not fully been reckoning with furthering regional stability both in economic and security fields. China is likely to be a major game changer in the region. The US support to bolster India is a bulwark against China's domination of the region has serious ramifications and it can again usher a new great game in the 21st century. The breakdown of Indo-Pak peace process and rising escalation of tensions along with the Line of Control are not good for the



regional stability. It will even reverse the gains made in Afghanistan.

While, the world may look transitions in Afghanistan with anxiety, the region needs to be focused on opportunities and imperatives for Central and South Asia to further stability in the region. The major issue for the regional stability is how Afghanistan will cop up with the situation after the US drawdown in post 2014. Afghanistan is witnessing security, political, economic and regional transitions. All these transitions are intertwined and dependent upon the success of each. The political transition has achieved a landmark with the formation of a unity government but it is early to predict its performance as one entity. However the next phase is initiation of a dialogue with the resistant groups. The political transition can only complete when the war ends by political means and an all-inclusive political order. The fate of power sharing formula between the opposing political groups is unpredictable. The end of the US war in Afghanistan doesn't mean end of war in Afghanistan.

The security transition besides depending upon the Afghan security forces is directly linked to the success of unity government. If this coalition fails, it may expose the security forces to the risks of fracture or even melt down. The long term internal stability depends upon the ending of internal

conflict and bringing upon a genuine reconciliation. The economic transition is full of challenges while all the economic activity of the country is linked with the stable political and security environment. The drawdown will have serious effects on the economic transition. While the aids will begin to dwindle, the country will face serious economic recession because of grass reduction of economic activity generated by the presence of large coalition forces. Unemployment will rise which may trigger the brain drain of the youth looking for better opportunities abroad. This will have an adverse effect in building state institution. A successful economic transition demands assured continued support essential to at least meet the country's security needs for a reasonable period of time. Vast natural resources of the country will have to be operationalized on a fast track to generate funds for a stagnant economy.

Afghanistan's internal political dynamics will also depend upon the role of the regional countries. Trust deficits and historical baggage have to be overcome. All the regional countries have to build upon the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The challenges of turmoil have to be overcome in order to exploit the new avenues of cooperation. Everything is boiling down to the success of





Afghan political government. If it is able to build the political national consensus, this will help in establishing greater viability of state institutions and political government will be in a position to eradicate the menace of corruption. Economic self-reliance has to be the top priority of the government and it is only possible when politics of all-inclusive is ushered. The region has also to move beyond the zero sum game to find a regional framework.

Some immediate steps are needed in this regard. There is a need to forge a regional consensus for the future of Afghanistan. The time for regional hegemon is over and all countries have to give up their hedging strategies. India and Pakistan has to seriously embark upon a meaningful dialogue on the future of Afghanistan. Iran and China have to be on board in all discussions and dialogues. Reservations and fears of both the countries have to meet by all means. The regional countries need to be provided with enough support and space to build a consensus on exploiting the opportunities available for economic cooperation for development of the region. All regional forums like SAARC, SCO must be utilized to overcome the trust deficit among neighboring countries. Wars and Conflict will

never enhance peace and stability. Therefore a long term all-inclusive strategy is the need of hour.

Interactive Session

Four questions were asked by the audiences which were directed towards EU as a model for Asia, ANA, FATA being ignored by the state vis-à-vis development, Pashtuns and tribalism. To the question about EU as model for Asia Dr. Annemarie replied that definitely Europe is different from Asia in many ways but the ancient hatred and religious divide in Asia can be overcome as we did in Europe. But it needs vision and guts and definitely time to make it possible. Peter Viggo while answering a question on ANA future said that he doesn't see ANA as an independent variable but rather dependent on the Afghan power-brokers, so it will very much depend on the political leadership in Kabul. If they stand united serving their country, ANA will remain a viable force otherwise not. To questions asked about FATA, Dr. Shahida replied that FATA is a diverse place, so is the conflict there. Development depends primarily on security situation.

Day-2
Chapter VI
Session V
Wrap-Up Session



Ambassador Rustam Shah Mohmand

It is imperative for reconciliation in Afghanistan to succeed and the root cause of the conflict be identified and addressed because otherwise, most of the times we would be dealing with the implications rather than the fundamental issue which warrants attention and resolution. Pakistan, since it has such huge stakes involved, must play a proactive role in pursuing reconciliation endeavors that are aimed at ending the conflict in Afghanistan. At the moment, some people hold the perception that perhaps Pakistan is not, for a variety of reasons, playing the role that history has mandated it to play in a situation like the one prevailing in Afghanistan.

In any case, the US drawdown or withdrawal of a large number of forces should be seen as an opportunity for settlement of conflict in Afghanistan. At the same time, Pakistan and India should enter into a dialogue and take each other into confidence on their roles in Afghanistan so that they do not enter into a proxy war on the soil of a nation which is already devastated; and needs help in reconstruction and rehabilitation.

Interdependence amongst countries like China, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia, in sectors like trade and energy security, is vital for peace in the region because interdependence would connect them in a way that would promote political cohesion and political integration, leading in turn, to broader



avenues for dealing with conflicts in the region, like those between China and India, India and Pakistan, Pakistan and Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran etc. Trade, investment and creation of energy corridors linking Gawadar , Afghanistan, China and central Asia, should be a priority goal for policymakers in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

A persistent theme discussed time and again in the conference was that of China's more active role in finding ways for ending conflict and promoting peace and harmony in Afghanistan. China, being a global power and enjoying good relations with both Afghanistan and Pakistan, should be encouraged to play a role in peacemaking in Afghanistan.

For a durable peace in Afghanistan, it is indispensable that the conflict ends by mainstreaming the resistance because any scheme of things, formula or solution that does not deal with the resistance would not be durable or long-lasting. However, this should be based on the principles as outlined below:

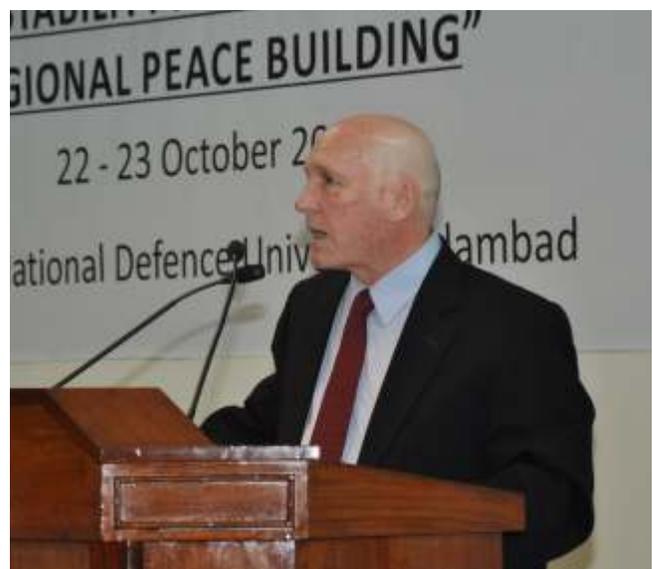
- There would be no foreign militants in Afghanistan.

- Pluralism would be accepted and pursued as an important goal to be achieved.
- Mechanisms will be established to bring into existence a multi-ethnic, broad-based government that reflects the aspirations of the people of the country.
- All foreign forces will leave the country as soon as an agreement is reached on the establishment of a broad-based multi ethnic government in Afghanistan.

Prof Gregory Gleason

Power does not mean order always; power exists sometimes in the absence of order. The solution or the way forward, therefore, for the U.S. and ISAF, after withdrawal from Afghanistan, lies in the balance of power and the conditions for it exclude the application of a 'hegemonic' resolution to the problem. Three specific options can be looked into in terms of balance of power including seeking utility of maximizing balance of power, having a satisfying sense of balance of power or seeking a convergence of interests by diplomacy, duly guided by a culture of restraint.

In this regard, ethnicity should be utilized as a *tool* for resolving ethnic conflicts rather than treating it as a *source* of conflict. For that matter, ethnicity should be employed for mutual cooperation. Peace building is in fact, a process. An

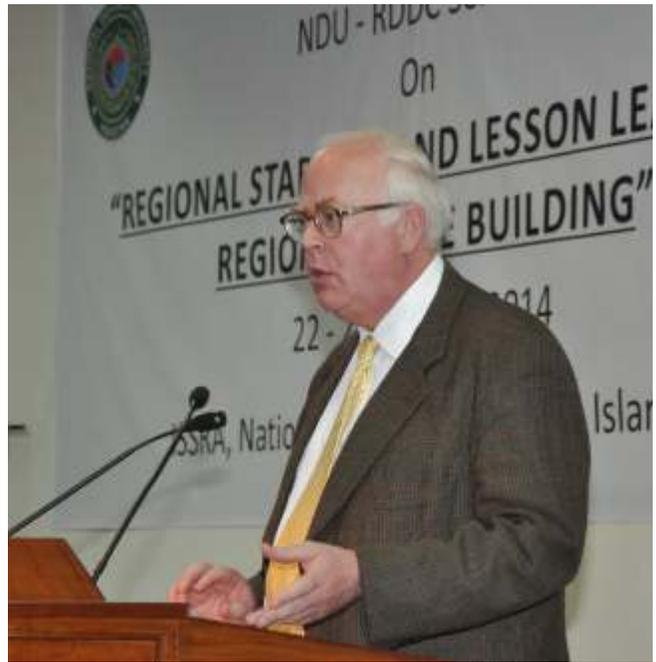


idea of narratives was stressed upon, particularly for Pakistan and the regional actors, who should play an effective role in developing and shaping the narratives which are otherwise, sometimes developed from outside and sometimes almost accidentally are pushed by other agendas. Therefore, it is really important to build up a narrative that plays a constructive role in peace building or conflict resolution process. The time for starting it, is of utmost importance and for that matter, shaping the future means shaping your present and working for your present.

Prof William Maley

We are dealing with an extremely complex situation in this region, marked with interlocking interests. Therefore, a search for finding a magic bullet solution is not going to be fruitful. A number of ideas that can underpin the way to move forward in the line of interests of these particular regional states are:

- The first relates with the process of diplomacy, track 1 and track 2, which can be the foundation for creative progress in some respects. Some of the conditions can be improved by the track 1 and some problems can be more efficiently



- addressed by track 2 diplomacy.
- Not all the issues that afflict the countries in the region are having Zero-sum character. There may be ways in which the issues can be reframed in order to have a new constructive approach towards them and finding opportunities for their constructive solutions. This may include the framing of the narratives and also the giving of attention to other substantive strategies for finding options for





- resolutions to put forward.

Now is the crucial time. It is not the time to wait, sit back and see what happens. In history, there were times when it was the only viable option but now the problems can spin out of control on occasions. There are too many actors pursuing their own interests some shared economic and political interests__ but still some goodwill from the actors from outside exists, although which may dissipate if the situation in hand gets out strikingly. So, this is really the time to address these issues in the middle of this complexity but with a degree of creativity.

Professor Sten Rynning

To sum up, there is a need for a greater scope for grass-roots politics. Enlargement has helped to solidify and anchor the process of achieving stability through integration. US-NATO withdrawal will open up opportunities to defy politics' bases in the region. The leaders from this country, local and international all leaders, should take their time because the stakes are so high.

The region needs to open up, especially, to economic opportunities. All the versions of enlargement are potentially politically friendly because they all apply laws of political control. Obviously when you recognize diversity and that, there is no big view or national path to modernity,



we allow the regions within a country to develop their own approach to modernity and then, the center within a country can really enjoy some influence.

Likewise within the capitals of all countries, there is an emphasis on power-sharing but the problem with power is that you can have some of it but the prospects of having all of it are always diminishing. Extra-regional enlargement by involving other countries from outside the region in multinational discussions of security means that you allow them a voice and a stake in the security policies of the region but then you have to allow all of them, and not just a few favorites in, because then you reproduce another conflict. But at the same time, it is not going to make political control any easier. That leaves us with a complex menu of enlargement but all the versions of enlargement are necessary. There was also an emphasis on urgency. If there is money and political will for a US-NATO engagement up until 2017, from that point on, it could be a game-changer. This also leaves us with a high pressure with a short time horizon.

By way of conclusion, as a subtext, one could sense that leaders of this country, local and national leaders should take their time because the stakes are so high that you cannot afford to get it wrong. It is better to build a solid foundation than to be in a hot pursuit of media eyes, frantic media eyes in political scene that chase you to think that you are in control but in fact, the agenda is defined by the media pundits and journalists. That is not the way to go for the region because you will soon experience loss of political control. There is a need for political crafting, creation of a space within which the political forces can take control of long term developments.

DGISSRA

It is well-known that all countries have interests which are advanced in particular global and regional settings and in our region, these are marked by the drawdown in 2014 and final culmination in 2017. It is also marked by

developments in Ukraine, ME and elsewhere for different well-known reasons. The domestic environments of all countries around Afghanistan are also changing, reshaping and evolving. Afghanistan is no more the Afghanistan of five years ago. New government is in place there which is looking forward to deliver results in the near future. It is now for the regional countries to look at the regional environment and think how they can take role in shaping the regional environment to their respective and collective advantage. The option of cooperation seems most viable. Cooperation between regional countries with a focus to bring change can occur in a number of areas. But the foremost would be a cooperation to converge on issues so as to find solutions to those issues in time. This should be done with a spirit of cooperation which comes with a required level of accommodation by adjusting to each others' viewpoints and interests.

A Policy of continuation of the policies is likely to continue till the time you seriously engage in the process of bringing about change. Dr. Maleeha Lodhi had said earlier that the peace process is a process; it would only start through engagement; thus underscoring the importance of India and Pakistan for converging and cooperating with each other and starting this process through already established framework of composite dialogue or if India wants to engage on



Afghanistan on bilateral level. There was a heart of Asia process coming up in China and NDU along with NESAs had conducted a seminar on heart of Asia last year. Another international conference in February is going to be arranged by ISSRA, NDU on Asia at the crossroads that will help create understanding of regional issues.

Closing Remarks by Col Hans Christian Enevold

Col Hans Christian Enevold began his closing remarks by thanking President NDU, guest speakers and participants for conduct of a successful and fruitful conference. He said “I am just a soldier, meaning that my profession is ultimately fighting wars. But as a soldier, I also have to face consequences of war and I am fully aware that putting my life on line is an integrating part of my job. As everybody else I want to do my job as good as possible, meaning either I have to win the war or even better, prevent the war. We have heard that war seldom has one winner or one loser. The reality is way more complex and we have to assure that everybody including the soldiers fighting wars understand that fact. Only then everybody will be able to contribute in stability and peace building. This conference has contributed to understanding not only between borders and interests but also between the uniformed and non uniformed participants. From the start of December until January 2016, I will be in my battle dress and serve a new assignment in ISAF in Afghanistan. There in Kabul, I will be head of what NATO defines as transparency, accountability and oversight. As we have heard several times in this conference that corruption and hidden agendas will continue to be a major challenge to regional peace building”.

“I realize the challenge that I will be facing in Afghanistan. I will take up my future assignment with more optimism about peace building after this conference. The roads to peace building are not easily found but as long as we have a common will to create the path that leads to peace building, optimism and then hopefully



sustainable stability within reach. My path, the military path is only one of many and this conference has proven that there are other paths present. Path like dialogue, respect, common understanding despite disagreements, common interests despite conflict areas are there. They are altogether necessary tools to shape the future for more peace and stability both in Afghanistan and Central Asia region as a whole. This will not be easy, but there is also a saying that, “Where there is will, there is a way”. I hope one of the outcomes of this conference is that we agree on that there is a will to make this region a more peaceful place.”

“In conclusion let me say I am not that naïve to say that all wars can be solved through dialogue alone but I am convinced that peace and peace building cannot be achieved without dialogue. If the dialogue we have had in last two days has paved way for peace building for international community along with states, this conference has served the purpose. I hope that every one of us that include soldiers, historians, diplomats, researchers leave with the feeling that we have made new connections. We may leave with inspiration, knowledge and common understanding. We may even leave with a more optimistic narrative. In the near future, I promise you there will be drafted a report on the initial analysis of this conference. It will be produced and forwarded to each of you. Hopefully this will not only lead to further cooperation between RDDC



and NDU but also among many other institutions represented here today. I thank President NDU and DG ISSRA and specially the staff leading this conference. It's not easy to organize such a conference and NDU has done a fantastic job for welcoming us and making all this possible. You are truly being a perfect host. I hope that RDDC can return the favor at some time in the future. It has truly been a privilege to be a part of this process and cooperation. My final remark goes to all the speakers and participants and I thank you for your time and your contributions. Even the best planned conference cannot succeed without competent speakers and moderators and of course an active and competent audience."

Closing Remarks by President NDU

President NDU said that the seminar was an endeavor to bring all the regional bring regional stakeholders having diverse backgrounds, exclusive expertise and rich experiences of in their respective fields, on a platform with a single purpose of enhancing understanding of the dynamics of region for building peace and security. This intellectual exercise has immensely increased understanding of the situation in the region, particularly in Afghanistan. The deliberations have amply focused on strategies and prospects for the security, economic and

political transitions. The debates generated during the sessions and the perspectives, concerns and recommendations coming from various regional and international stakeholders were of immense value. He also shared Pakistani perspective on various issues:-

Indisputably, international assistance is crucial in building the foundations for the creation of lasting peace. Emerging lessons from international experience suggest that bringing the diverse perspectives together adds value to analysis, strategy development and programming, and can enhance the effectiveness of national and international efforts towards stability and regional peace building. Post draw down from Afghanistan raises questions about the role of neighboring countries in the Afghan conflict. To avoid a possible political vacuum leading to a dangerous power struggle by regional actors, an arrangement has to be worked out based on constructive cooperation between Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, China and Central Asian neighbors.

Pakistan wants peace and stability in the region as a cornerstone of its strategic policy. We are cognizant of the fact that instability in Afghanistan would have an immediate negative impact on internal security and stability of Pakistan. Owing to porous borders, Afghanistan and Pakistan are faced with the challenges of drug trafficking, gun running and militancy. Pakistan



and Afghanistan are working together to address these problems and Islamabad maintains its commitment to ensuring peace and stability in Afghanistan. Pakistan stands committed to capacity building of Afghan institutions, by offering help in the reconciliation process and various other areas of mutual interest and benefit. Islamabad has been a part of many international meetings and discussions that were held to shape Afghanistan's political and economic future.

At the end, President NDU conveyed his wishes and commended the team of ISSRA and RDDC, Denmark who have jointly made this event a great success. He thanked to most valued guests who came from across the world and their representatives who joined this seminar from their Embassies from Islamabad and all Pakistani participants who spared time from their busy schedules and honored this occasion. He extended a very hearty vote of thanks to all speakers and participants who shared their valuable findings, opinions and recommendations. He also extended his gratitude and thanks to honorable Chief Guest Mr. Tariq Fatemi, Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs for sparing his time and gracing this occasion.

Closing address by Advisor to Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Tariq Fatemi

Many of the recommendations emanating

from the deliberations hold great value and relevance for policy makers, as it would feed into the Government's priority on peace, stability and development in the region, anchored in our policy of friendly and peaceful neighborhood. This was most forcefully articulated by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at the UN General Assembly last month, when he stated:

“In South Asia, our people have missed opportunities for prosperity because of unresolved conflicts. We have a choice today: continue with the status quo or to seize the moment to resolve all outstanding issues and free up our shared energies for cooperation. To take this course of high statesmanship, we need more, not less, dialogue and diplomacy. We need to respect each other's rights and sensibilities. We must have relationships based on equality, mutual respect and transparency”.

This statement is a veritable framework for regional peace and stability. Cooperation, trust, conflict resolution, and mutually beneficial relationships are its pillars. Coming back to the theme of this Seminar, let me stress that peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace building are part of a continuum and therefore, these three processes cannot be separated. And as per current practice, peace building applies to post-conflict situations, when the first two stages of peacemaking and peacekeeping have run their course. But what does peace building – a term used widely in varying contexts – mean. At the UN, peace building is mostly related to peace consolidation efforts in post-conflict situations, or in countries emerging from internal conflict, or what we call “complex crisis”. The idea is that these crises have multidimensional underlying problems – political, peace and security, development, humanitarian – which need to be addressed in a comprehensive manner. Many situations in Africa, and in our immediate neighborhood, fit that classification.

One obvious lesson in peace building is that where the underlying problems have not been addressed, the risk of recurrence or relapse into

conflict is great. Mere absence of war does not mean peace, may I stress. Policies of major regional and global powers have an impact on regional dynamics, and can have either a positive or a negative influence on regional peace and stability. Western policies in the Middle East, especially on the Palestinian question, for example are generally perceived as unhelpful for conflict resolution, or the peace process. Similarly, great power interests in Syria and Ukraine are a major impediment to peace building. In the context of Afghanistan, the major powers could have used their long presence and engagement with that country, to promote genuine regional cooperation that would have also addressed the concerns of the neighboring countries. However, this could not be done. With Pakistan, over these years, there was a policy ranging from cooperation to confrontation and often lack of mutual trust, despite being a major non-NATO ally and a frontline state in the counter-terrorism campaign. Iran, on the other hand, was subjected to sanctions, with consequences even for regional initiatives for trade and development, as evidenced from the failure to move forward on the Gas Pipeline Project.

Seminar participants may already have touched upon the emergence of the European

Union. That this should happen in a region which was the scene of the biggest conflict in the last century makes it the most remarkable peace building experiment in post-war period. The key take-away from the European model is: first work on the economic cooperation and then move on to political integration. Our conversation about postwar Europe would not however, be complete, without mentioning the Marshall Plan. The United States gave assistance of nearly \$ 160 billion in current dollar terms, to war-torn Europe and its shattered economies. This aid was appropriately called the European Recovery Program (RPM). But this also proves the point that for effective peace building, post-conflict scenarios must have institutions that would cater to regional governance, promote regional economic cooperation, and foster cultural exchanges and dialogue. Absent these conditions, regional stability will remain elusive.

Against this backdrop, let me move to Afghanistan, where peace building will be successful, if the three ongoing transitions – political, security and economic – are completed effectively. There are strong expectations that the recent political process, which has brought President Ashraf Ghani and Chief Executive





Abdullah Abdullah to the helm, would now be steered to a peace and reconciliation process. When we say an Afghan-led and Afghan-owned reconciliation process, this is not a platitude, but an essential condition for creating a genuine coalition of all stakeholders. The security transition is vital. The US/NATO troops remaining on the Afghanistan soil, post-drawdown, should rightly focus on their three-point mission – train, assist and advice – to build the capacity of the Afghan security forces.

These are important tasks, as the international military coalition should not leave a vacuum behind – especially an economic vacuum. The most important objectives include continued support to Afghan economy and infrastructure, as well as investment in education, health and empowerment of women. We will have to go a step further. Conscious and resolute efforts need to be made to support regional economic integration, by launching and completing TAPI and CASA-1000, and promoting economic, trade and transportation corridors. Finally, it is our strong desire that Afghanistan should become a metaphor for cooperation, not an arena for strategic competition. Distant, outer-ring neighbors should not attempt to displace Afghanistan's immediate neighbors. Such policies

will not work. Conflicts, whether internal or interstate, and their consequences seldom remain isolated geographically. Quite often, entire sub-regions or regions are affected. That is why regional approach is so important for peace.

Ever since the meeting between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Premier Li Keqiang of China in May 2013 in Islamabad, both countries have been engaged in intensive consultations, to formulate policies to promote large scale economic cooperation in critical sectors of the economy. The most important element of this would be the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the contours of which are being determined. Its scale would be transformative and massive. It envisages connecting the Chinese city of Kashgar with Gwadar by motorway, bringing in industries from China and establishing them along the motorway, thus benefiting FATA, KP and Baluchistan. It is also considering building the Lahore-Multan-Sukhar-Karachi Motor way that would bring prosperity to Southern Punjab, and interior Sindh. Power projects in KP, Sindh and Punjab which would add some 10,000 MW to the national grid, are also being finalized. The Prime Minister envisions that these connectivity projects would connect China with Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Gulf and even expand to India, at some

stage. In this manner, two billion people living in the region, which means nearly one third of the world's population, would benefit from this unprecedented economic cooperation. Some project agreements would be signed during the Prime Minister's visit to China next month.

Violent extremism, terrorism and sectarianism have had a deadly impact on both our economy and polity, and at times have severely challenged our national security. Our current counter-terrorism operation Zarb-e-Azab has dealt a serious blow to the terrorists' command and control structures and networks. Let me here pay a warm tribute to our brave armed forces and martyrs, for the sacrifices they have given. We know that the fight is not over, because the enemy is sinister, devious and dangerous. Our macroeconomic fundamentals and indicators are sound. Our growth trajectory is poised to move upward. But for that, we need internal and regional stability, democratic continuity, domestic investment in small, medium-sized manufacturing, strengthening of services industry, and sizeable flows of foreign direct investment.

To establish a correlation between regional stability and peace building, I would suggest that first we need to keep in mind that peace building in our part of the world has not yet begun. It should be preceded by the unfinished work of

peacemaking. In this context, there are four priorities that I would like to suggest. First, India should work with Pakistan for a genuine rapprochement, by resolving the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. At least, a process for doing so should be in place. Second, efforts should get under way to promote national reconciliation in Afghanistan. That would lead to the emergence of a stronger and more unified Afghan nation. Third, the Western Alliance, led by the US, should continue to provide necessary economic assistance to Afghanistan, to help it recover from the depredations of prolonged wars and strife. And fourth, energies of the multilateral and regional groupings such as the OIC, SAARC, ECO and SCO, should be used to construct concentric circles and overlapping corridors to build regional connectivity and cooperation.

To sum up, how can we ensure effective and durable regional peace and stability? One, promote bilateral and regional cooperation, and a shared interest in peace and development. Two, prioritize conflict prevention and resolution and this objective can be achieved through dialogue and engagement, confidence building measures, genuine, inclusive and result oriented peace processes within specific time frames. Three, appropriate support of international and regional organizations and four, constructive engagement and support of the regional and global players.









