

TWO DAY CONFERENCE:

## **Pakistan Afghanistan Relations & Regional Stability Scenario**



March 2012, Islamabad



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## The Conference

With a long history of cultural and ethnic linkages, it is an undeniable fact that Pakistan Afghanistan relations must be strengthened for long term stability and prosperity for the sake of regional peace and progress. This objective is being achieved through political and diplomatic channels, but there is still much room for informal exchange between the peoples of the two countries, in order to promote societal cooperation and to reinforce the historical bonds of friendship and mutual respect.

In this vein, Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme (CAMP) held a Two Day Conference on 'Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations and the Regional Stability Scenario' at Islamabad on 27-28 March 2012. The Conference was held under the banner of CAMP's Communities for Change (CFC) Project, and builds on the lessons learned and the relationships developed at the 'Af-Pak Civil Society Forum' in December 2011; a collaborative effort between CAMP and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS).

The objective of this Conference was to bring together the civil society of Pakistan and Afghanistan – including the media, former diplomats, human rights' activists and others – to discuss common issues in an effort to document and highlight perspectives from both sides. It is hoped that the Conference will serve as an attempt to clear the air and promote social and cultural interaction amongst the civil society and help pave the way in strengthening Pak-Afghan relations for the future.

## The Organisers

CAMP has been collaborating with the Department of Defence and Strategic Studies (DSS) at Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU) for various events, including round table discussions and seminars since 2010. The collaboration with the QAU has not made the debate on FATA issues academic, but also given young people from all over Pakistan the opportunity to learn more about FATA and engage in discussion on various issues affecting the tribal region and the rest of Pakistan.

### Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP)

**Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme (CAMP)** is a national non-profit and non-governmental organisation established and registered in May 2002. It works with some of the most underprivileged communities in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP); responding to emergencies, improving access to quality health and education, creating livelihood opportunities and working closely with communities and government departments to promote human rights, peace and security.

### Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS), Quaid-e-Azam University

**The Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS), Quaid-e-Azam University**, was established in September 1980, with the dual aim of sponsoring academic studies in the field of strategic studies and promoting a culture of research amongst a mix of military and civilian students who will be trained in critical discourse development and policy analysis. Since its founding, the DSS has made a significant contribution in the development of a community of experts equipped with requisite academic knowledge and analytical ability to evaluate national, regional and international strategic environment, policies and security dynamics.

# Day 1:

## The Opening:

**Mr. Naveed Ahmad Shinwari**

**Chief Executive, Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme**

Mr. Naveed Ahmad Shinwari began his address by thanking his team at CAMP and the DSS Department, QAU for its collaborative efforts in successfully arranging the Conference in Islamabad. He then went on to thank and welcome our Afghan colleagues – composed of parliamentarians, engineers, human and women’s rights activists, and other professionals – who agreed to take time out from their own schedules and participate in this event. And lastly, he thanked the audience, comprised of a variety of Pakistani civil society representatives, donors, media, students, activists, academia, and other professionals, for their presence and participation in this two day event.

Mr. Shinwari went on to say that the two day conference was a culmination of the lessons learnt from the Af-Pak Civil Society Forum held in December 2011, with the collaboration of the Konrad Adeneuer Stiftung (KAS), which will be working on future cross border initiatives as well. The aim of this Conference, thus, was to reinforce such civil society interactions which would hopefully translate to the State level as well. He reinforced the purpose of the Conference by emphasising that such events will help remove past bitterness between the two countries and seek to promote mutual trust and respect.

He noted that the civil societies of both Pakistan and Afghanistan are vibrant and active and have effectively made their presence known throughout the world. This is evidenced by recent turn of events on both sides of the Durand Line: in Pakistan, the lawyers’ movement helped restore the judiciary, and in Afghanistan, the Afghan civil society has been actively involved in decision making by the government. And while it is true that both countries face numerous challenges, it is the civil society on both sides that will prove to be the major determinants of change in times to come.

## Keynote Address:

**Mr. Ahmad Fahim Hakim**

**Deputy Chair, Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)**

Mr. Hakim was extremely appreciative of CAMP and DSS, Quaid-e-Azam University for holding this Conference in Islamabad in an attempt to promote dialogue and constructive interaction between the civil societies of Pakistan and Afghanistan. He also wished all his

Pakistani counterparts facilitations on the 72<sup>nd</sup> Pakistan Day while emphasising that the underlying message of this day, which symbolises democracy, integrity, and independence should be remembered and cherished by generations to come.

Mr. Hakim said that each of his past visits to Pakistan have been extremely pleasant and memorable because of the hospitality of the hosts, and welcomed such initiatives from the civil societies of both sides as evidence of the strong will of the peoples of Pakistan and Afghanistan to work towards regional stability and peace. He lauded the passage of the National Commission for Human Rights Bill 2012 as an achievement in advocating human rights in Pakistan; he iterated that the world must now acknowledge the country as portraying a responsible state which held all its institutions, such as the armed forces and intelligence agencies accountable to the elected representatives of the people. He also appreciated the passage of the National Commission on Status of Women Bill 2012 into law, which represents a significant development towards gender equality, recognising the Commission as an independent and autonomous body charged with protecting the social, economic, political, and legal rights of women.

In relation to regional cooperation, Mr. Hakim expressed his disappointment in relation to the current forums, especially the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), which, despite having great potential, has not managed to achieve much since its inception in 1985. He pointed out that even though much time has been wasted in making empty promises for the future, it is not too late to make changes; the SAARC forums are capable of paving the way for structural changes, revising government policies, regional security, and eventually peace and regional stability. He emphasised that it is our responsibility to bring about change now to prevent our future generations being labelled as fundamentalists, extremists, or fanatics. He reminded the audience that everyone must act now to disassociate ourselves with perceptions of terrorism, militancy, and extremism which are attached to us regularly throughout the world.

In the Mr. Hakim reiterated that the civil societies of both countries are responsible as agents of change and therefore must act to remove misconceptions and stereotypical perceptions of people of Pakistan and Afghanistan, and prove to the world that we are indeed peace loving people who want to progress towards peace and prosperity. In the end, he expressed his hope that initiatives like the Two Day Conference will function as a vital trust building measure and an incentive for people to people dialogue between Pakistanis and Afghans.

## Session 1:

### Pakistan Afghanistan Relations: Issues and Impediments

#### Session Chair:

**Mr. Naveed Ahmad Shinwari,**

**Chief Executive, Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP)**

#### Speakers:

**Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand**

**Former Ambassador**

Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand began by thanking CAMP in collaboration with DSS for holding this event and giving the civil society on both sides of the border the opportunity to interact and exchange views on different issues. Mr. Mohmand began his speech by a historical analysis of relations between the two countries, and iterated that because of geographical proximity as well as historical and cultural links, Pakistan and Afghanistan are 'natural allies' and therefore should work more closely to improve strategic relations.

He recognised that both countries were going through a difficult period; poverty, lack of capacity building, weak democratic institutions, and economic instability to name a few. However, he went on to note that both countries had a lot of potential and would do well to help each other out; specifically Pakistan is now in a better position to aid Afghanistan in education, border management, trade, and trade. There is also a lot of potential for both countries because both Pakistan and Afghanistan have ample natural resources waiting to be explored, especially in mining.

One major problem is that 90% of all worldwide drugs can be traced back to Afghanistan, which goes to show that narcotics is a big problem for the neighbouring countries as well; Mr. Mohmand quoted figures relating to the number of heroin addicts in Iran being over 1.2 million, and traced it to the opium growing areas of the region.

In relation to geostrategic politics, Mr. Mohmand said it would be wise for the government to recognise the significance of Pakistan as 'energy corridor' into Central Asia, and also to realise the role of India in this context. Pakistan can also explore the opportunity to serve as a transit route for South Asia, particularly India, which would prove extremely beneficial in economic terms for all regional actors involved, including Afghanistan.



Mr. Naveed Ahmad Shinwari, Chief Executive CAMP



Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand, Former Ambassador



Ms. Mahbooba Seraj, Director, Soraya Mashal Consulting



Mr. Eng. Hakim Gul Ahmadi, Director, Engineering Services for Afghanistan Reconstruction (ESAR)

Mr. Mohmand was of the view that there is a possibility for the US led NATO forces to remain in Afghanistan beyond the current withdrawal date, 2014, and a very real chance that the present conflict will continue for a longer period. That said, he noted that the only chance of peace for Afghanistan is through internal solutions that only the Afghans themselves can formulate, given that they are the ones who are being affected and the only ones who are most familiar with their problems.

In the end, Mr. Mohmand concluded his speech by reiterating that a prolonged and drawn out conflict in Afghanistan would only weaken regional stability, and threaten institutional structures both inside and outside the country. Solutions must be formulated immediately by analysing the lessons learnt of the past 10 years of conflict to bring peace and stability in the region.

### **Mr. Eng. Hakim Gul Ahmadi**

#### **Director, Engineering Services for Afghanistan Reconstruction (ESAR)**

Mr. Eng. Hakim Gul Ahmadi was of the opinion that Pakistan and Afghanistan are inseparable entities joined together by centuries of historical, cultural and geographical ties. Therefore, it is important to explore the numerous possibilities that this relationship presents and to look for solutions to the problems hampering it. While he acknowledged that there are many challenges in arriving at acceptable solutions, the fundamental approach towards solving problems must be one of cooperation, not confrontation.

Mr. Ahmadi pointed out that by working together, we can display the same strength as during the Soviet invasion of 1979, and the same spirit of cooperation is needed now to tackle problems such as unemployment, lack of amenities and public services, weak governance, and other. Issues like terrorism and extremism are hindering the progress of both countries, and they are precisely because of past failures.

Mr. Ahmadi was of the opinion that these issues can be classified into four categories; namely, internal issues (poverty), bilateral issues (Pakistan Afghanistan border management), regional (Pakistan Afghanistan India matrix) and international issues (US relations with regional players) all of which must be dealt with separately and seriously.

The main hurdle to regional stability and progress was the lack of trust between the two nations, which must be overcome if serious attempts are to be made in improving relations. The solution Mr. Ahmadi suggested was for the policy of Pakistan for Afghanistan to include the Afghans themselves in the process and to reinforce bilateral relations as trust or confidence building mechanisms to help remove misunderstandings and misperceptions. This can be further attempted by jointly improving security and transparency through regular negotiations between the governments as well as exchanges between the civil societies of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

### **Ms. Mahbooba Seraj**

#### **Director, Soraya Mashal Consulting**

All said and done, Ms. Mahbooba Seraj was of the opinion that it is now time to look at the situation from a global perspective; neither Pakistan nor Afghanistan can survive in a vacuum, so it is important to adopt a positive regional policy that will reinforce bilateral

relations between the two countries and also strengthen regional stability and security. She iterated that since all traditional approaches have been exhausted, it is now time to think out of the box and look to alternative solutions to remedy the situation.

The potential for trade between Pakistan and Afghanistan is immense and must be explored for the economic benefit of both countries. She also questioned why the Silk Route cannot be employed again for trade between Afghanistan and other countries in the region, such as China and beyond. Also, exchange of students and teachers can provide the much needed impetus for more cultural association in an attempt to remove the prevalent mistrust.

Ms. Seraj added that both countries possess immense reserves of natural resources, and they must be utilised giving both economic advantages and working to remove mistrust and misperceptions. Referring to India's investment in Afghanistan and the perceived threat it poses to Pakistan, she stated that Indian presence is extremely exaggerated and it should be looked at from an economic perspective rather than analysing it from the point of view of conspiracy theorists who suspect foul play. Instead, this should be seen as an opportunity to improve relations between all three countries, Pakistan, Afghanistan and India through, for example, a 'trialogue', which can go a long way in demonstrating sincerity and trust to the parties themselves as well as to the regional and international players.



### Question & Answer Session

**Q:** Heroin and drug addiction is a real problem relating to weak border management and practical measures need to be taken to address this problem. What are your suggestions in this regard?



**A:** Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand: It is a very serious problem but what comes to mind as the most important factor is effective border control, specifically on Pakistan's side, to control illegal flow of both cargo and humans. At present, there are seven different security agencies handling the borders at Chaman and Torkham, so that is bound to create confusion and discrepancies.

**Q:** Where does the Pakistan India relationship fit into regional politics in the context of the current insurgency in Afghanistan? There seems to be a contradiction relating to the 'genuine engagement' of Pakistan and India, despite there being no dialogue between international communities and regional actors?

**A:** Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand: The US is not laying all its cards on the table, so it is difficult to determine its exact intention for Afghanistan, or indeed the whole region for the future. As a result, there are only speculations thus far, including: watching China, Pakistan's nuclear resources, reaching into Central Asia, amongst others. The US is currently building its biggest overseas mission in Kabul, Afghanistan costing over US \$800 million, and according to some estimates each deployed soldier costs US \$1 million per year to maintain in Afghanistan. But having said that, the US and the international community must play its role in aiding cross border management between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the Government of Pakistan should facilitate more visas, trade, and transit, even with India after granting it Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to improve relations and help remove mistrust.

**Q:** What are the essential trust building measures that can help remove Pakistan's insecurity about Indo-Afghan ties? And how can the US play its role?

**A:** Mr. Hakim Gul Ahmadi: We must start from small steps and "say what we do and do what we say" to enable trust building. One example is the Afghan Pak Trade Agreement which must be pursued vigorously and implemented to prove that we are serious about progress.

**Q:** The topic of regional stability for this Conference is a very significant one. Please give your comments on the region's stability in light of the prevailing security environment in South East Asia.

**A:** Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand: Given all the prevailing problems, the Government of Pakistan must look into the future since we are faced with problems on both the Eastern and Western borders. Salvation lies only in normalisation; current trade between Pakistan and India is less than 2 million and it is in our best interests to normalise ties with India and by doing so create goodwill in Afghanistan for us as well.

**Q:** What will be the Pak-Afghan relations scenario post 2014, given that is the current date for withdrawal of the US led NATO forces from Afghanistan?

**A:** Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand: Even though the withdrawal date has been given, it is highly likely that the US led NATO forces will remain in Afghanistan post 2014. One reason that their stay may be prolonged is that the Afghan infrastructure is very weak at present; the Afghan army currently stands at 300,000 only, and the most surprising aspect is that the total revenue of the country is just US \$1 billion. Thus it is not practical

***We must “say what we do and do what we say” to enable trust building.***

- Mr. Eng Hakim Gul  
Ahmadi

***There must be a peaceful transition and handing over of power to the Afghan authorities if and when the US led NATO forces withdraw, but before that all the prominent political parties and groups must come to some sort of power sharing agreement..***

-Mr. Rustam Shah  
Mohmand

for the US led NATO troops to just walk out completely, and even the regional actors, especially India, favour the status quo, and would prefer the situation to remain as it is. Realistically speaking, it would be difficult for Afghanistan to survive on its own given its weak economy and infrastructure, but having said that, the presence of foreign troops is constantly destabilising the region. As a result, there must be a peaceful transition and handing over of power to the Afghan authorities if and when the US led NATO forces withdraw, but before that all the prominent political parties and groups must come to some sort of power sharing agreement for such a process, and strive together to protect the unity and integrity of all Afghan groups, including Tajiks, Pushtuns, Hazara, and others.

**Q:** We have heard all international perspectives and opinions about the conflict and regional stability, but what is the Afghan perspective?

**A:** Ms. Mahbooba Seraj: The biggest fear of any Afghan is that the country will go back to the situation in 1992; the most important institution to all Afghans is the Constitution, the Rule of Law under which Afghan women, who form about 50% of the total population in the country, have equality – they will never want to go back to the time where they were deprived of their freedom and rights under the Taliban rule. The rights of women, which they have worked so hard to achieve, will be lost if Afghanistan were to lose its Constitution, and go back to 1992.

**Q:** The current regional scenario can be viewed as three main triangular relationships: Pak-Iran-Afghan, Pak-US-Afghan, and Pak-Central Asia-Afghan triangles. What kind of instruments can be employed to create a positive impact in these relationships? And what benefit can be derived from these agreements?

**A:** Ms. Mahbooba Seraj: The best possible way to create a positive impact on these triangular relationships is through implementing any agreements or MOUs between any of these countries. Civil society can play an influential role to persuade their respective governments to follow through with any regional agreements or instruments to further enhance stability and develop mutual trust and respect. As far as the benefits derived from these triangular agreements goes, they serve as proof of regional strength and cooperation between the regional players. More importantly, they also reflect upon the role of civil society as a “social conscience”, which will exist only if it plays its required role; it has begun to show its importance as a pressure group and watchdog all over the world and proven handy in facilitating changes. Thus, we should learn from others and work harder to play our role as responsible civil societies of Pakistan and Afghanistan for future progress.

Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand: There are numerous regional agreements but little follow up on them; unfortunately, we are “long on instruments, but short on substance”. This is the cause of all the prevalent conflict and mistrust

which serve as barriers to regional progress.

Mr. Hakim Gul Ahmadi: These triangular agreements have advantages which are twofold: regionally, they serve as evidence of strong ties between local players and benefit the actors involved, and internationally they show the presence of regional cooperation and good relations between neighbours, which is crucial for our region in particular. Civil society can play its role in demonstrating good ties as well as raising the voice of common people and provide social, economic, and political motivation for others.

**Q:** What are the threats perceived by Pakistan in relation to the growing Indian presence in Afghanistan? And should the US led NATO forces stay in Afghanistan beyond 2014 or leave as promised?

**A:** Mr. Rustom Shah Mohmand: The perception that India is using Afghan soil for supporting the insurgency in Balochistan has been denied by everyone involved; frankly speaking, it is not the policy of India to destabilise Pakistan via Afghanistan. And in relation to the withdrawal of US led NATO forces from Afghanistan, it seems that despite some obvious disadvantages, there have been many benefits bestowed upon the locals; unemployment has come down to 35%, new roads, schools, health facilities, and universities have been built, and there are yet numerous areas of potential that are being explored due to foreign presence, significantly power generation. But having said that, the fighting continues, and the region is becoming increasingly destabilised because of the presence of coalition forces. We must “address the root cause instead of treating the symptoms”; new options need to be explored because after 10 years, peace in Afghanistan remains an illusion, and now questions are being raised – even by those who favoured the invasion initially – as to the validity of the “War on Terror”. Afghanistan, as an independent state, is free to make its own choices and decisions, just like any other state in the world, and it must be allowed let it do so without any undue external interference.

## **Concluding Remarks**

**By Session Chair: Mr. Naveed Ahmad Shinwari**

In conclusion, the suggestions and recommendations made by the speakers carry much weight, and as they have iterated, that there are numerous avenues to be explored such as cross border trade, potential of a large percentage of youth, capacity building of institutions in Afghanistan, usage of immense reserves of natural resources, and most importantly, keeping up the movement of civil society on both sides of the Durand Line. That, in the opinion of all the speakers, is the vital missing link; the more the civil societies of Pakistan and Afghanistan interact, the more the chance of removing misconceptions, mistrust and establishing a positive direction for future relations.

## Session 2:

### Pakistan Afghanistan Relations: Enhancing Security Cooperation

#### Session Chair:

**Mr. Arif Ayub**

**Former Ambassador**

#### Speakers:

**Mrs. Hossai Wardak**

**Deputy Director, Gender Equality Platform, Equality for Peace and Democracy (EPD)**

Mrs Hossai Wardak was of the opinion that despite many promises and, in some cases, agreements for the future, there has been little progress; this situation is far from satisfactory because so much time and effort has been expended but to no avail. There is a desperate need for interaction at all state levels, including civil society. The governments do interact but due to bureaucratic procedures, any progress is stalled and takes a lot of time to translate to the grassroots level. Mrs. Wardak emphasised that this is the time for us, as representatives of Pakistani and Afghan civil societies, to get together; we must take the initiative, instead of waiting for the governments to move forward.

She shared her experience of working in Azerbaijan, and the perceptions there that have kept the locals chained in the past. During her visits to local schools there, she noticed a peculiar practice as part of children's curriculum; they were shown pictures of destruction and suffering brought about in the conflict with Armenia, breeding hate in an entire generation that is growing up knowing about violent conflict. She was of the opinion that this is a serious handicap because they are living in their past and not moving forward; we should not follow this example, and instead look to our future.

She warned that 'time is clicking' and slowly running out; as responsible and effective members of civil society, we must act now to work towards a better future for the generations to come.

**Dr. Ijaz Khan**

**Chairperson, Department of International Relations, University of Peshawar**

Dr. Ijaz Khan analysed the situation from the perspective of Pakistan's strategic



Mr. Arif Ayub, Former Ambassador



Mrs. Hossai Wardak, Deputy Director, Gender Equality Platform, EPD



Dr. Ijaz Khan, Chairperson, Department of IR, University of Peshawar



Mr. Khalid Aziz, Chairman RIPOPT

and Afghan policy in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. Dr Khan started by outlining Pakistan Afghanistan security relations in terms of state, territory, and military presence, and then moved on to the importance of Afghanistan in Pakistan's security calculus and foreign policy. He recognised that Pakistan's regional foreign policy has remained Indo-centric because traditionally India has always been viewed as a threat to Pakistan's security. But there are also other real hurdles like the historical contention with Afghanistan concerning the Durand Line, with the added pressure of its closeness with India.

Traditionally, Afghanistan has shown interest in the Pashtun communities of Pakistan but has generally pursued a non alignment foreign policy. Pakistan's preference of certain groups in Afghanistan in the 1980s and afterwards has caused widespread mistrust and thus created tensions; Pakistan has been blamed for both its "actions and inaction" which are said to contribute to instability in the region. He opined that the main concerns for Afghanistan at the moment are reconstruction, national reconciliation, getting rid of foreign interference, and Pakistan's ineffectiveness in use of its territory to facilitate the Afghans.

In relation to the post 2014 scenario, Dr Khan stated that the declaration of withdrawal of coalition forces from Afghanistan has accentuated the interplay of various interests in Afghanistan, including for Pakistan. However, thus far, he emphasised, that Pakistan has failed to create any goodwill in Afghanistan because of its support to specific groups only. Added to this is the widely publicised maltreatment of Afghan 'refugees' in Pakistan by the local authorities such as the police and other law enforcement agencies.

In order to take the first step as a trust building measure, Dr. Khan advised that Pakistan must stop demanding Afghanistan to curb its relations with other states, especially India, and, more importantly, "give up having favourites within the political divide of Afghanistan". The policies adopted should be ones which have mutual interdependence and trust as the end result instead of dictation and aggressiveness. On the other hand, Afghanistan must also try for internal cohesion and also pursue new policy of engagement with other states – and become a "meeting point for outsiders" in consonance with its geostrategic position and importance.

He emphasised that both countries must realise now that the traditional paradigms of security and security relations, both are in dire need of promoting their economic, political and social interests to each other and to the world. The best possible way of doing so would be by increasing people to people contact and the use of alternative and innovative diplomatic means alongside the formal traditional ones.

### **Mr. Khalid Aziz**

#### **Chairman, Regional Institute of Policy, Research & Training (RIPORT)**

Mr Khalid Aziz analysed regional security in South Asia in the post 2014 context, while stating that Afghanistan, India and Pakistan are the major players to watch out for in the future. He was of the opinion that regional security in South Asia has become a "proverbial camel in the tent", as it has been the subject of repeated discourse and debate all over the world. According to Mr. Aziz, there are three goals that must be achieved until or before 2014, when the US led NATO forces will withdraw from Afghanistan, which are: the established of an empowered, stable government in Pakistan; mechanisms to improve

regional security after the US withdrawal; and, strengthening of business, economic, diplomatic, and security ties between the aforementioned three players.

In relation to the establishment of an empowered, stable, government in Pakistan, the Principles of Policy embedded in Article 40 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan; that is, strengthening bonds with the Muslim world and promoting international peace. Furthermore, this goal can be achieved by adoption of policies that promote international security, ending support to proxy organisations, use the government influence with Taliban to bring them to the negotiating table and break all links with them, good governance, Rule of Law, developing effective counter terrorism legislation and implementing it at the grass root level, reform FATA policies and increase government control there. In addition to these, it is also essential for the Government of Pakistan to improve border control and management at the Durand Line, take prompt action against international crime syndicates based in its territorial jurisdiction to win the trust of Afghans, and most importantly, establish a joint Pak-Afghan consultative group to illustrate its seriousness in addressing common issues.

Mr Aziz recommended that improving regional security will only be possible if all major players, including Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, China, and Russia, under United Nations auspices, if necessary, arrive at an agreement for stabilising the security environment in the region. He was also of the opinion that there is a need for some convergence on foreign policy between all these regional actors to aid in establishing a regional security structure. This can be made possible in Afghanistan, for example by involving weaker parties in the process, which encourages minority ethnicities to participate in peace building; embark upon joint business ventures in areas like mineral exploration, oil and gas pipeline projects to enable both Afghanistan and Pakistan to serve as 'energy corridors'. He also opined that President Karzai, after serving his current term, should step down after the next elections, and ensure a fair and impartial transition of power to others.

Concerning the third goal, establishment of economic, business, diplomatic and security links between Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India, Mr Aziz was of the view that the first step should be towards removing the inherent mistrust between Pakistan and India. To this end, he was of the opinion that the two countries must first resolve their own disputes, especially fresh water disputes and any other political/territorial clashes before moving on to regional security.

Economic linkages can be strengthened by a relaxation of policy for businessman and economic commodities crossing the borders of all three countries; this is already begun in motion in relation to Pakistan and India and talks are underway to this end. In addition, joint business corporations can be established in order to further enhance regional economic cooperation. Also, the role of SAARC can come into play to promote cultural exchanges in sports and educational activities for all three players.

Mr. Aziz concluded his speech by stating that the above stated goals were not impossible to achieve given that all the actors involved adopted a "prudent realism" approach, and worked towards the greater good; for themselves as well as for regional stability and progress.



### Question & Answer Session

**Q:** How can there be an improvement in regional security in light of the prevalent security environment in South and South East Asia?

**A:** Mrs. Hossai Wardak: Civil society can play its role in monitoring and evaluation of governments and also promote mechanisms through forums such as an Indo-Pak Friendship Forum extending to Pak-Afghan relations as well. It is important for civil society, alongside the diplomatic government initiatives, to work towards ensuring peace, stability and security in the region.

Mr. Ijaz Khan: We are expecting a much anticipated Pak-Afghan strategic treaty, and such an initiative can contribute towards establishing security in the region. Afghanistan should also move away from its traditionally strict non alignment policy, and open its doors to the world; only by realising its past mistakes can Afghanistan move forward and prevent economic and political collapse.

Mr. Khalid Aziz: He disagreed with Mr. Khan and opined that the most important step would be to first involve all ethnicities in the peace building and conflict resolution processes in Afghanistan. He also called for the United Nations to intervene and take the lead in resolving the conflict there to facilitate regional stability and security both inside and outside Afghan territory. Peace can only be achieved through security and all the regional players must also be involved in enabling Afghanistan to be secure and return to a state of peace. The Afghans who want to leave and resettle abroad must also be facilitated by the West and other countries.

**Q:** Given that Pakistan is a 'succession state' of the British Raj, and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) has been termed a 'buffer area' in light of its history

and strategic importance, it is important for resolution of the contested Durand Line before Pak-Afghan relations can progress.

**A:** Mr. Khalid Aziz: In contemporary times, there is no reason to term FATA a 'buffer area' any more for either Pakistan or Afghanistan. It is as much a part of Pakistan as the rest of the territories; given that the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 has been extended to FATA, the same should be done in relation to the jurisdiction of the High Court and Supreme Court of Pakistan.

Mr. Ijaz Khan: Resolution of the Durand Line issue is a political matter; if it were to be deemed invalid today, it would vanish from sight tomorrow and cease to exist anymore.

Mrs. Hossai Wardak: Both Pakistan and Afghanistan must resolve this and all other issues if there is to be any real progress in stability and security in the region. It is important to move forward instead of picking through history to solve old matters; the Durand Line issue can be dealt with later, right now, there are much more important matters to be dealt with.

**Q:** Without a doubt, there is an atmosphere of deep mistrust and suspicion in Pak-Afghan relations. One solution is to remove it through building permanent structures to handle such problems. However, there is much fear even inside Afghanistan in relation to many issues; problems should be resolved through dialogue between warring ethnicities, such as the Pashtuns and Tajiks, with parallel talks between the US and Taliban.

**A:** Mrs. Hossai Wardak: That is a good suggestion and a starting point for two ethnicities to enter dialogue, however, it is important to distinguish whether it is the political parties or the ethnical groups in general who should be invited to talk.

Mr. Ijaz Khan: Ethnical problems are a worldwide phenomenon and not just limited to Afghan groups; every society has its own mechanisms to deal with such problems and no doubt it has been and will be dealt with by the Afghans internally themselves.

Comments from audience – Mr. Fahim Hakim: Human rights must be upheld for all regardless of their status. The social fabric of societies has transformed over time due to the rise of civil society, youth groups, and creation of new groups such as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), returnees, refugees, and so on, and thus their problems must be addressed as well.

**Q:** At present, all the legalities and niceties are irrelevant, because in due time, these issues can be resolved. However, having said that, no uniform outcome in the form of a consensus has arisen till date, which is possible only through an inter-Afghan dialogue; realistically speaking, the involvement of Taliban in such talks with the US is essential, and there is

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- Mr. Ijaz Khan

***It is important to move forward instead of picking through history to solve old matters; the Durand Line issue can be dealt with later, right now, there are much more important matters to be dealt with.***

-Mrs. Hossai Wardak



no way that they should be kept out of the picture.

**A:** Mr. Khalid Aziz: It must be kept in mind that the invasion of Afghanistan took place under a United Nations resolution, regardless of questions as to its validity, and was undertaken by the coalition NATO forces, despite being led by the US. Why can't the Muslim countries follow this example and form a coalition, even if not a military force, in political terms; in Asia alone, there is a significant number of Muslim countries, such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, and so on. We must also rise to the occasion and help ourselves; now is the time to act, not for empty rhetoric.

## **Concluding Remarks**

**By Session Chair: Mr. Arif Ayub**

In conclusion, as all the speakers have elucidated, that regional security cooperation is a key factor in progress, and it cannot be achieved in an isolated environment without the cooperation and collaboration of all major actors involved, especially Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan, as well as the US due to its engagement in the region. There is much mistrust and civil society can work towards removing this mistrust and work to bring about faster change in people's mindsets in the region. Traditional remedies and solutions have been exhausted and it is now time to explore innovative options to solve the prevalent problems. Afghanistan is an independent sovereign state and it must be allowed to solve its own problems internally and its eastern neighbour, Pakistan must alter its policies to help it in economic, social and political spheres.

## Day 2:

### Session 3:

#### Pakistan Afghanistan Relations: Role of Regional Actors

##### Session Chair:

**Mr. Fahim Hakim**

**Deputy Chair, Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)**

##### Speakers:

**Dr. Simbal Khan**

**Director Research, Central Asia & Afghanistan, Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI)**

Dr. Simbal Khan presented the view that it is important to understand the limits of what the regional actors can achieve before analysing their role for sustainable peace in Afghanistan, and to provide a realistic examination of effectively implementing regional approaches in establishing peace and security in the region. Afghanistan is viewed in two ways: one, through a geo-political conceptualisation which portrays it as a crossroad linking regional trade; and, the second dominant perception is the regional security complex scenario which puts it as a function in the competing regional interests such as Indo-Pak relations.

Dr. Khan was of the opinion that both perceptions are flawed, but nevertheless it would be inaccurate to say that Afghanistan has nothing to gain from regional integration. The 'real drivers of conflict lay in Afghanistan itself'; any regional intervention will not be successful due to the dynamic of conflict as it severely affects the security of regional states. This is precisely because Afghanistan has vulnerable borders in addition to its internal situation, which also threatens its neighbouring states such as Pakistan, Iran, and Turkmenistan, as well as the Central Asian states.

Dr. Simbal Khan also referred to the growing American and Russian interest in the region with both sides pushing for influence in Afghanistan as a result. All the competing interests of neighbouring states and the US in and around Afghanistan is a real and major threat to regional peace and security. The post 2014 scenario is also an important consideration which requires the maintenance of a credible security force in the long term, sustain and support



Mr. Fahim Hakim, Deputy Chair, AIHRC



Dr. Simbal Khan, Director Research, ISSI



Mr. Eng. Said Jawed, Director HAFO



Ms. Shabana Fayaz, Assistant Professor QAU



Ms. Nargis Nehan, Executive Director, EPD

the Afghan state, and to establish permanent partnerships between all major regional players.

India's increasing involvement in Afghanistan is also changing the power dynamics of Asia, in addition to causing concern for Pakistan's already Indo-centric approach. While the past 10 years of US engagement have provided this opportunity for India, this presents new prospects and challenges in trade, transport and resources. Pakistan itself is poised for new economic and trade relations with both Afghanistan and India, so there is hope for the anticipated energy pipelines such as the IPI and TAPI to materialise and support the region's growing energy requirements.

Dr. Khan opined that in the context of the continuing US led NATO war in Afghanistan, many hurdles to regional security have arisen; non state actors particularly transnational mafias, militant groups, and insurgencies has increased the vulnerability of the states directly involves, namely Pakistan and Afghanistan. She emphasised that the oft repeated statement, 'a peaceful and stable Afghanistan is critical to Pakistan's own long term core interests of growth, prosperity, security and stability' is nonetheless the source of Pakistan's security centric foreign policy towards Afghanistan. There is a general consensus that the war in Afghanistan must end soon as Pakistan, among others, is naturally affected, as evidenced by the last 10 years of conflict.

Dr. Khan concluded that regional security can only be achieved if all regional players maintain open and honest dialogue; a process that must be inclusive and 'intra-Afghan', that is, amongst the Afghans themselves, before progressing to the international stage. Internal issues in Afghanistan are only for the Afghans to decide; however, all neighbouring states must also respect this fact and 'pledge to uphold the territorial integrity' of the country as a first step in developing regional peace and security.

### **Mr. Engineer Said Jawed**

#### **Director, Helping Afghan Farmers Organisation (HAFO)**

Mr. Eng. Said Jawed quoted the great poet, Allam Iqbal as saying that the land of Afghanistan is the beating heart of Asia; it indeed has much geopolitical importance due to its location as a corridor bordering both South and Central Asia. Geographically, it is a part of the Iranian plateau, and a natural continuation of both Central Asia and a north-western extension of the Indian subcontinent.

Mr. Jawed iterated that Afghanistan is a pivotal point for all regional countries, and its potential must be realised by all those involved; 'the price for instability and lack of security is paid every day by the people of this region' and that is why reconstruction of the social and economic infrastructure of Afghanistan is extremely crucial for bringing security and stability to the region. This is especially true for Afghanistan that recognises the potential for greater regional ties due to its unique geostrategic location. Regional security and stability can be achieved through regional platforms such as SAARC which must implement the principles of 'respect for territorial integrity, political equality, independence of all member states and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other'.

SAARC can also play its role in encouraging further economic and cultural engagement of member states, particularly in normalising ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan to help remove the mistrust and build bridges of friendship and mutual respect. Another regional forum, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) which has begun to focus on Afghanistan and can play a positive role in addressing causes of tensions and conflict, particularly in affected areas.

Mr. Jawed pointed out that one major irritant in the region is the presence of US led NATO forces in Afghanistan which is perceived as creating much resentment amongst major regional players due to the problems of insecurity and militancy it has brought. A unified regional stance is missing thus far because the War on Terror has divided the region which has halted the reconstruction process inside Afghanistan. Such misconceptions can be removed through regional initiatives for enhancing cooperation in security, energy, and trade; in this respect, civil society can play a significant role in monitoring the implementation of pledges of cooperation and see to it that they are fulfilled.

He emphasised that the Afghan perspective is also geared towards regional security and stability; he asked for partnerships, cooperation, and renewed dialogue amongst regional players to remove mistrust and learn from lost opportunities in the past. We, as responsible states and neighbours must demonstrate to the world that we are indeed capable of peacefully co-existing and settling disputes without compromising on regional security and stability.

#### **Ms. Shabana Fayaz**

**Assistant Professor, Department of Strategic Studies (DSS), Quaid-e-Azam University**

Ms. Shabana Fayaz analysed the situation in terms of India's significance in Pak-Afghan relations in the post 9/11 scenario. She stated that Pakistan's regional foreign policy has always been Indo-centric and India's engagement has always been exaggerated, as is the case in relation to its investment in Afghanistan, and has almost always overshadowed any regional initiative on its part.

Ms. Fayaz emphasised that there is a need for constructive engagement at the bilateral and trilateral levels. She opined that a 'constructive paradigm' must be applied by Pakistan in relation to India's global and regional role. India's increasing presence in Afghanistan is no doubt a display of 'soft power' and a diplomatic initiative in helping Kabul in civil and economic sectors and this may present a possibility to enable it to 'leapfrog' Pakistan to enter Central Asia because of Afghanistan's unique location at the crossroads of three regions and as a transit to Central Asia.

***“The price for instability is paid everyday by the people of this region”***

- Mr. Eng. Said Jawed

***All the neighbouring states in the region must “pledge to uphold the territorial integrity” of Afghanistan***

- Ms Simbal Khan

***“Pakistan’s Indo-centric lens denies all ground realities”***

- Ms. Shabana Fayaz

***The need of the hour is a “bottom-up approach” to intensify people to people contact***

- Ms. Nargis Nehan

Meanwhile, Ms. Fayaz pointed out that Pakistan's policy post 9/11 has shifted to restrict Islamabad's role with decreasing influence over Kabul, despite the potential for vibrant economic linkages. Pakistan should take advantage of this opportunity and invest in energy projects such as the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline, and also convince India to enhance trade through its territory; this will entail advantages not only for India but also for Pakistan itself. Given that Pakistan has recently granted India Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status, that has opened the door for increased import-export opportunities. Pakistan would also do well to offer India its support in mineral explorations in Afghanistan which would prove extremely beneficial both economically and go a long way towards reducing mistrust between the two traditional rivals.

She stated that if realised, the TAPI pipeline can serve as a 'bridge' between Pakistan and India and serve as a real step towards economic cooperation between the two. In the same vein, the Central Asian states can be approached since they themselves lack the necessary investment and expertise in exploration of natural resources; Turkmenistan, for example, is generating interest in international quarters such as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank for investment in this area. Following this example, Pakistani energy companies, such as the Oil & Gas Development Corporation (OGDC) can enter joint ventures with Indian companies for exploration of oil and gas, for example.

In conclusion, Ms. Fayaz opined that 'Pakistan's Indo-centric lens denies all ground realities' and instead a policy of trust and Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) must be adopted to clear the air between the two. There is great potential for a trilateral relationship between Afghanistan, Pakistan and India through dialogue in future; but first, the major irritant of sanctuaries must be addressed responsibly and removed. 'Stability in Afghanistan means stability in Pakistan'; we must now recognise that we are all regionally interdependent and therefore must adopt a multidimensional approach to resolving all issues.

### **Ms. Nargis Nehan**

#### **Executive Director, Equality for Peace and Democracy (EPD)**

Ms. Nargis Nehan started by pointing to the inherent trust deficit that exists in the region which has handicapped the peace process. She said that it was difficult not to be pessimistic when all regional initiatives are not working to their potential, especially forums such as SAARC and the South Asian Media Association. This illustrates a lack of trust, security and cooperation amongst all regional actors.

Ms. Nehan quoted the example of cooperation between China and India as an example; both countries have worked towards building economic ties despite serious border and territorial disputes in the past. Why can't Pakistan and Afghanistan follow this example and move forward without holding progress hostage to a few border issues? She emphasised that now it is crucial to move forward for the sake of trust building; the initiative must be taken by either Pakistan or Afghanistan since it is these two states which have the most opportunities for cooperation, ranging from natural resources to labour and employment.

The Indo-Afghan strategic partnership has added tensions in the Indo-Pak relationship paradigm; however, Ms. Nehan pointed out to the Afghan government that an alliance with

Pakistan should come more naturally to them than with any other state, because of deeply rooted historical, cultural and religious ties with the Pashtuns living on both sides of the Durand Line. Despite irritants in Pak-Afghan relations, the right way is to move forward and not to minimise relations. Despite the fact that Islamabad's post 9/11 Afghan policies have not been friendly, the focus should be on areas of cooperation rather than concentrating on points of dissension. A regional coalition is one solution out of many; India is doing well to cooperate with Kabul and this situation should not be viewed negatively, and other states like Pakistan should also follow suit.

Many blunders have been committed, especially in relation to recent diplomatic initiatives; Pakistan's boycott of the Bonn Conference was a lost opportunity to make its protest heard at an international forum. The Northern Alliance of Afghanistan participated and Pakistan should also have been present to show its willingness to move forward. Similarly, closing the Durand Line to students, teachers, and other professionals is not a long term solution; it actually conveys a negative impression to the world. Support to the Taliban cause by certain factions in Pakistan has caused major concern but it cannot be justified on the grounds of India's alleged support to insurgencies in the country.

Regional security and stability must remain an important consideration in all regional relations; the 'clock is ticking, we must act now or regret later'. We must focus on common problems such as poverty, corruption, education amongst others to find common ground to work with each other. The transition after 2014 will also require a smooth transition of power and infrastructure and both Afghanistan and Pakistan are likely to be equally affected in case of failure to do so. Today both countries are facing challenges inside their territories and such problems can only be solved through mutual initiatives such as this Conference.

For this purpose, there must be a 'bottom-up' approach, or in other words, intensive people to people contact, using Tracks II and III diplomacy. There are no problems whatsoever between the peoples, and so this should be considered an opportunity to move forward; the private sector can embark on joint investments and projects, the media of both countries can work to remove misunderstandings, and the civil society can also play its role in enhancing cooperation.

We must deal with one issue at a time, set small milestones to achieve on our own as a responsible civil society that is vibrant and active; we must no longer depend on our governments alone to do the job. Ms. Nehan was of the opinion that many matters can be resolved at this level, that is, by interaction of civil society, which can translate to the diplomatic level and go a long way towards minimising mistrust and conflicts. Why can't we all sit together like we have gathered here today and resolve any irritants ourselves?

### **Question & Answer Session**

**Q:** An overemphasis on India's role in the region has been the core of Pakistan's Indo-centric policy. How can this misconception be corrected, without ignoring India's significance as a major player in the region? As far as the TAPI pipeline project goes, there is a real chance that India will overshadow it since the other three countries involved Pakistan, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan are economically weak; how can these



three protect their economic interests without being potentially exploited? In relation to the 'constructive paradigm', does it represent a new approach and a reversal back to the conceptions of the 1980s and 1990s?

**A:** Ms. Shabana Fayaz: India's role in Afghanistan has become a major irritant for the Indo-Pak relationship and thus sabotaged Pak-Afghan relations as well. This situation is most unsatisfactory and must be resolved, 'not just rhetorically but also practically' by adopting a 'constructive approach' where the institutional structures of each country should be charged with decision making relating to core regional issues. Pakistan needs to reform its regional policy in relation to both Afghanistan and India, keeping the latter's influence and role in mind, but without any exaggeration or perceived threats from it. And while it is true that India is stronger economically that does not imply that the other three states involved in the TAPI pipeline will not seek to benefit from the arrangement. Pakistan can take its own initiative and take advantage of the situation by cooperating with Indian energy companies for further explorations in Central Asia and Afghanistan, by positively marketing its 'transit' role in the region. But for that, security and stability in both Pakistan and Afghanistan must be improved, first by developing strong lines of communication to leave open the possibilities of cooperation in the future.

**Q:** If there were to be an 'inclusive peace process' between all regional players and inside Afghanistan itself, who will be responsible for initiating it and who will host the process? Is there a possibility for the SCO to be involved in such a process?

**A:** Dr. Simbal Khan: As long as such a process is initiated, either by any state acting alone or mutually, it is irrelevant as who will host it. It can be held in any neutral state or territory, as per any agreement between the states. But it must be inclusive and involve the Taliban coming to the table as well; however, they perceive the Karzai government part of the conflict. Nevertheless, the regional states should make efforts to move forward and the United Nations can play a positive role in facilitating all parties in coming to the table. The involvement of the SCO should also be welcome and no party ought to have any objection to its involvement.

Ms. Shabana Fayaz: In relation to economic cooperation, the lead should be taken by Pakistan or India, since they are considerably more progressed in relation to the other regional players. Alternatively, both countries can propose a joint initiative to invite the regional states to participate in such a process. Even though there is an economic

imbalance between India and the other three states, this should be strictly viewed as its emergence as an aspiring regional power.

Ms. Nargis Nehan: It is important to look at the perceptions of the common people in Afghanistan in relation to the neighbouring states such as Pakistan. Afghans normally perceive most of the neighbouring states positively; however the view relating to Pakistan being the source of insurgency in the region is rapidly taking root. Thus, there is a need to more to be done to improve this view of common people; this presents an opportunity for Pakistan in particular to influence the hearts and minds of the Afghan people. And this objective must not be lost in the race of competing for strategic partnership with the US.

**Q:** It is an accepted that India is the uncrowned power of the region and it is a ground reality that we must all admit to. However, there is a problem with the backlash that Pakistan is facing because of India's engagement in Afghanistan. How can events like this Conference help in reducing misconceptions like this one and help the neighbouring states move on to bigger issues?

**A:** Ms. Shabana Fayaz: Pakistan concerns with Indian engagement in Afghanistan, according to one group of analysts, seem to be exaggerated, while others think there are valid reasons. However, Islamabad's Indo-centric policies should no longer hijack Pak-Afghan relations; we at this forum do agree on this and that ought to be a starting point for practical recommendations to the government.

**Q:** Before attempting at any reconciliation, there must be an intra-Afghan dialogue. And for that to happen, we must arrive at an understanding of all the Afghan ethnicities making up the political groups and parties vying for power. How can that be realistically achieved?

**A:** Ms. Nargis Nehan: The current Afghan government is composed of different ethnicities and therefore can be accurately deemed representative of the mix of Afghan society. But it is also true that you cannot make everyone happy all the time, so a compromise has to be made; even though the administration is weak it still has many different ethnicities working together which is an example of collaboration. Any attempts at dialogue must bring together all opinion leaders regardless of ethnicities or political background. One forum is the High Peace Council which can play a role in uniting different ethnic groups, civil society and media to enable confidence and trust building. This must translate into the regional level and the main six states – Pakistan, India, China, Russia, Iran and Afghanistan – must engage in dialogue to enable trust building.

**Q:** Despite a lot of people to people interaction, the problem of more than a million Afghan 'refugees' in Pakistan and their maltreatment at the hands of authorities has affected Pak-Afghan relations and has caused some resentment amongst Afghans in general. How can this issue be addressed and how can we move past it to remove this resentment?

**A:** Ms. Nargis Nehan: The current structures in both Pakistan and Afghanistan are facing challenges and even citizens have problems with police treatment. We, as responsible members of civil society must mobilise ourselves because we are 'ambassadors of



peace' and take back our experiences to share with our Afghan brothers and sisters. We always are treated hospitably and personally, I have been to Pakistan several times and have never faced any problems with the visas or immigration. However, to answer the complaints, Pakistan would do well to reform its visa policies in general for Afghans because it is a fact that thousands of Afghans cross the Durand Line every day. The media can play a role by not only highlighting the problems but also the positive side such as this Conference to create goodwill amongst common people in both countries.

## **Concluding Remarks**

**By Session Chair: Mr. Fahim Hakim**

This session has brought to the fore many interesting opinions and perceptions on the regional situation and we have generally agreed that a multidimensional approach must be taken to solve the problems we face in the region. We have seen that there exist many exaggerated perceptions and misunderstanding that can be easily resolved at forums like this Conference, in addition to diplomatic initiatives such as bilateral and trilateral dialogue, especially between Pakistan, India and Afghanistan. In this respect, the role of youth and media is crucial; the younger generation will carry our hopes and aspirations forward into the future while the media should work on portraying positive perceptions to the world about us.

## Session 4:

### Pakistan Afghanistan Relations: Role of Media

#### Session Chair:

**Mrs. Hossai Wardak**

**Deputy Director, Gender Equality Platform, Equality for Peace and Democracy (EPD)**

#### Speakers:

**Mrs. Shenkai Karrokhail**

**Member of Parliament, National Assembly of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan**

Mrs. Shenkai Karrokhail opined that in the past, all revolutions have come through due to the common people's engagement resulting in positive change and cultural reformation. The media's role is important in terms of managing conflict and promoting peace; through the information, news, and entertainment, the media can be both a catalyst for peace and for conflict. In the hands of the enemy, it can spread negative propaganda and create misconceptions, which is true for the media in our region. This is because precisely because our media is not research oriented; we never see a properly researched analysis of regional relations, just sensationalised news and headlines.

Mrs. Karrokhail appreciated India's terms of engagement in Afghanistan; she pointed out that India is helping the Afghan infrastructure by building roads, hospitals, investing in education, all of which has been destroyed because of Pakistan's partiality to the militant groups in the country. We Afghans never question who Pakistan should have relations with so it should do the same and not interfere in our internal relations. She also criticised the media as presenting irresponsible statements: she quoted a Pakistani politician giving an interview in a programme on Voice of America and referring to Afghanistan as 'a US occupied country' and the Taliban movement as 'indigenous'. She expressed disappointment at this statement, and said that despite extensive US presence in Pakistan and regular military operations, it has never been referred to by Afghans as an 'occupied country', so why Afghanistan?

Mrs Karrokhail also blamed Pakistani media as being irresponsible by quoting a programme on GEO TV in which three religious scholars authorised 'jihad' as legitimate in Afghanistan but not in Pakistan. Such portrayals, she stated, were contributing to the already prevalent misconceptions affecting Pak-Afghan relations. It is regrettable that such statements are so easily telecast without



Mrs. Shenkai Karrokhail  
Member of Parliament,  
Afghanistan



Mr. M. Farid Hamidi  
Commissioner, AIHRC



Mr. Imtiaz Gul, Chairperson  
CRSS



Mr. Saleem Safi, Senior  
Journalist, GEO TV

holding anyone accountable for such irresponsible assertions.

Mrs. Karrokhail suggested that in order to eliminate such errors a joint media entity to recommend an effective strategy for responsible dissemination of information. And this must also translate to the political domain to enable us to understand each other instead of opposing each other, preferably through increased and regular people to people contact. Regional stability and security can only be possible if the policy of non-interference is adopted; we can all peacefully co-exist if we 'live and let live'.

**Mr. Mohammed Farid Hamidi**

**Commissioner, Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)**

Mr Farid Hamidi observed that the lack of trust between regional players has been highlighted in every session at this Conference. Although it is an important issue, it is also a fact that the common people are unaware of the policies being made at government level and this is where the media can play a positive role in educating them. It is unfortunate that the media in both countries is displaying a traditional closed mindset; fuelling suspicions and creating unnecessary hype deprives the common people of the positive knowledge of each other's cultures and traditions.

Mr. Hamidi stated that even though the media is not part of the policy making process, it does portray these policies to the world and form perspectives of its audience. The media has the responsibility of not only being a watchdog but also a representative of a particular society and thus should equally concentrate on portraying the 'good' side as well. Self censorship in relation to sensitive matters must also be practiced as the media should responsibly disseminate information to the public. The media should also extend its support to functioning governments and by doing so advocate democratic institutions in both countries. Therefore, there must be a balance in the portrayal of the 'good and bad', and not just focusing on horror stories or failures of governments.

In this vein, Mr. Hamidi also called for civil society and NGOs to step up and take responsibility for monitoring both the media and the government. One suggestion Mr. Hamidi suggested was the setting up of a hotline for the media in both Pakistan and Afghanistan; even though there are small initiatives being taken, but there is now a need for a direct link between the media and civil societies of both countries. The media and civil society can work together to educate both the masses and the policy makers; if that happens, we will be able to see real change from top to bottom.

Mr. Hamidi opined that regional instability has also affected the capability of the media's neutrality in both countries, and this must be addressed seriously. The media of both countries has the potential to act as pressure

*The media as an institution is now part and parcel of the geopolitics of the region, whose portrayal of events is dominated by US presence leading the NATO forces in Afghanistan.*

- Mr. Imtiaz Gul

*The media has the responsibility of not only being a watchdog but also a representative of a particular society and thus should equally concentrate on portraying the 'good' side as well.*

-Mr. Farid Hamidi

groups along with civil society; if they perform their responsibilities then regional peace and security would become achievable in practice.

### **Mr. Imtiaz Gul**

#### **Chairperson, Centre for Research and Security Studies (CRSS)**

Mr. Imtiaz Gul stated that in his numerous years of regional and international experience, he has observed that media personalities have faced the brunt of the war; it has become increasingly common to hear of journalists being kidnapped or killed by militants on both sides of the border. But even though the war has its hazards, the media should not stop what it is doing; it must continue to portray the truth despite difficulties and hurdles.

Mr. Gul emphasised that with the rise of corporations and increased commercialism, the media has also grown as an institution, but journalists, writers, and reporters must maintain the core values and morals of their profession, rather than pursuing fame or money. The main function of the media is to inform but with that there is also potential for misinformation and misleading the audience. One example is the media coverage of the Lal Masjid operation; the media portrayed it as a violent massacre to invoke the sympathies of the public but another important perspective where the Pakistan army was forced to deal with non state actors was not portrayed at all. Another illustration of media propaganda is the coverage of the Mumbai attacks; news reports during the crisis were quick to point fingers at Islamabad without any concrete proof, which was followed by the Indian government. The exact same scenario was presented in 2008-09 when the Indian Embassy in Kabul was attacked; again allegations were made without evidence of responsibility.

Mr. Gul said that the media as an institution is now part and parcel of the geopolitics of the region, whose portrayal of events is dominated by US presence leading the NATO forces in Afghanistan. But the media should not be oblivious to the security dynamics of the region, and adapt to the changing environment. Dr Abdullah, in a press conference, demonised Pakistan which was widely publicised in the media in a negative light. Similarly, other negative statements about Pakistan ranging from Mr. Qanooni saying Mullah Omar have been highlighted avidly in the media.

He emphasised that as more and more negative statements about Pakistan and Afghanistan form part of daily headlines, the more unrest among the general public will increase. News about the military, politics, and other incidents shape opinions not only in our countries but also around the world. Everything is being seen through the microscope of the media and that is why the pressure on governments and civil society has increased manifold. Pak-US relations, for example, have also fallen victim to the over eagerness of the media to report the smallest incidents; this leads to constant allegations that are thrown to and fro through news headlines which create further ill will and mistrust.

Instead of this, the media must ideally perform the role of informing discourse between states and shape forums for discussion instead of sensationalising events. But having said that, as common people and members of the civil society, we should not expect too much from the media since, realistically speaking, it is surrounded by controversies relating to US interest and regional geopolitics.

**Mr. Saleem Safi****Senior Journalist, GEO TV**

Mr. Saleem Safi stated that he considered himself a part of both countries since he has links with Afghan media as well, but he considered it unfortunate that the role of the media on both sides has been exceedingly negative. But having said that, he pointed out that this is due to historical reasons, mainly because of the contentious Durand Line; most factions in Afghanistan have never accepted it as a concrete border and to date consider it a division of indigenous territory by the British. In both countries, nationalism bordering on the extreme has been in vogue, at the cost of bad mouthing each other for no apparent reason.

Mr. Safi pointed out that this was true to some extent because the Pakistani media has never portrayed any positive role of the Afghans during the last 10 years of conflict. Even at present, when the media in both countries is relatively more independent and has attained freedom from undue government influence, it is not playing a positive role in uniting the public on both sides. Any hope of optimistic developments has been hijacked by the presence of foreign troops which causes resentment amongst the people. Coverage of events around the world has been reduced to a race for ratings and popularity, and both the Afghan and Pakistani media have also become part of this contest, even at the cost of negative propaganda.

Afghan media is still being controlled by the state to a large extent, but some radio stations have broken from this mould and played a good part in forming positive opinions of the people. However, in general, the major radio channels are run by Voice of America and BBC and thus represent the establishment view only. The unfortunate and sad reality is that media on both sides of the Durand Line has failed miserably in presenting the reality of the situation; wrong information and inaccurate facts are constantly being telecast without proof of evidence because journalists and news presenters themselves are misinformed. One example is the constant reference to the Northern Alliance; after 2002, this alliance ceased to exist but 10 years later we are still using this term.

Mr. Safi pointed out that Afghan media does not portray the correct perceptions of the government in relation to the US presence because their power is threatened otherwise. Afghans who have moved to Pakistan are much better informed than their brothers in their own country because the media is relatively well versed with current affairs here. However, it is unfortunate that any news of Kabul we receive, even in Pakistan, goes to Washington first, then to Delhi and London, and we are the last ones to be given any information. This is because no bureau offices or personnel of any major news agency are present in Kabul; western media representatives are seen to frequent Washington, Delhi, and Islamabad but hardly even seen there, and the same is true for Pakistani journalists as well.

**Question & Answer Session**

**Q:** Is it fair to single out Pakistan as being the sole source of the conflict in Afghanistan?

**A:** Mrs. Shenkai Karrokhail: As Afghans, we expect non-interference in our internal affairs; if support and help is too much to ask, then all we ask is that no problems for us should be created by neighbouring countries either. We don't blame the people of Pakistan; all of us have good memories of visits here, and in no way am I accusing civilian groups, but it is a fact that there has been military interference in our country. Admittedly, there are push and pull factors on both sides but it is also true that these factors are creating problems, more for Afghanistan than for anyone else. The political and military groupings in Pakistan have given rise to extremist militant factions which have caused damage in our country. India, on the other hand, is playing a much more positive road and is investing in improving the infrastructure and economy of Afghanistan for which we are very grateful. On the other hand, Pakistani borders, institutions and universities are closing down for Afghans; this huge gap between the policies of Pakistan and India are bound to create ill-will for the former in and outside our country.



**Q:** Why can't the Pak-China model based on non-interference and mutual respect be applied to the Pak-Afghan relationship? And what more can be done to improve the current state of relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan?

**A:** Mr. Saleem Safi: Today, about 30% or more of the Afghan establishment is composed of Pakistani educated bureaucrats who are well informed of issues and problems of both sides. The accusations made against the Pakistani government are correct to some extent and I admit that some of the policies were and remain wrong. The Pak-Afghan relations dynamics are of the same nature as the Pak-US bond; the US is currently the biggest aid donor of Pakistan, but there exists a great resentment in the general public against the military operations in its territory. Thus everyone wants US citizenship but they also never hold back how much they 'hate' the US government policies. The Pak-China model is an excellent example of good regional ties and it can easily be followed in the case of Pak-Afghans relations as well. Pakistan can, as a first step, reform its visa

policy towards Afghans to create goodwill; according to one estimate, 50,000 people cross the Durand Line both ways every single day legally and otherwise. And the only category of visas given to both Pakistanis and Afghans is a single entry visa which must be reissued every time a person wants to cross the border.

## **Concluding Session**

### **By Session Chair: Mrs. Hossai Wardak**

This session has presented some very interesting views forward in relation to the role of the media of both countries and in general, we have all agreed that the media, in its contemporary role, needs to do much more in relation to responsible dissemination of information and accurate facts. Its role as a significant opinion maker of society has become more magnified in recent times, particularly in light of the security environment of the South and Central Asian continent. We are all part of civil society and media and now is the time to act and tell the world that as responsible citizens, journalists, reporters, professionals, academics, and others we are capable of conscientious individuals who can make a difference in our respective fields.

## Concluding Session

**Chaired by Dr. Riffat Hussain**

**Chairman, Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS), Quaid-e-Azam University**

In conclusion, Dr Riffat Hussain stated the outcomes of the discussion and debates of the Two Day Conference and presented the suggestions made by both speakers and participants. A permanent institution pertaining to Pak-Afghan relations must be established following the Pak-China Friendship Centre example in Islamabad. In addition, there must be a permanent forum for scholars, students, and other professionals to meet regularly to share and discuss ideas. Mapping techniques can and should be employed, as suggested by esteemed members of the audience.

In answer to a statement that Pakistan has been used by external forces against Afghanistan, Dr. Riffat Hussain stated that it is an absolute necessity for both neighbours to reassure each other that outside influence will not be allowed to interfere in the other's internal affairs, nor will it be tolerated. This can be achieved by reinforcement of borders, constructive dialogue to arrive at ways to stabilise the region, and agreement on a broad framework just as in the 1970s, but could not be implemented due to the fall of democratic government in Pakistan. However, we should not lose heart over history, and instead look forward to the future; the Durand Line issue can be resolved by adopting a mature, focused approach.





**Mr. Fahim Hakim**

**Deputy Chair, Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)**

The solution to Pak-Afghan problems lies in comprehensive security measures and good governance encompassing the Rule of Law and access to justice to limit the vulnerability of both countries to outside influence. We must learn lessons from our past and look forward to new and positive relations with our brothers and sisters in Pakistan, and eventually peace and prosperity for our future generations and the region as a whole.

Initiatives like this Two Day Conference will go a long way towards improving goodwill amongst the people of both countries and also strengthen the role of civil society as a way of building trust by bringing the common people together.

**Mr. Farid Hamidi**

**Commissioner, Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)**

The involvement of civil society in regional initiatives is essential for improving government relations; if people across the border are willing and able to meet and discuss problems, then the diplomats and government officials will no doubt follow suit. The key to regional peace and security is trust building and cooperation between the two countries to help shape future relations.

Another concrete suggestion is that the civil societies and media on both sides can work together to promote the inclusion of activities in the government level negotiations; for example, one item that can be included in the meeting agendas of high level officials of both Pakistan and Afghanistan is their regular interaction with the local civil society and media of the country they are visiting. This would aid in trust building as well opening a new avenue of communication between the governments and common people.

**Mr. Eng. Hakim Gul Ahmadi**

**Director, Engineering Services for Afghanistan Reconstruction (ESAR)**

Mr. Ahmadi recommended that there should be a follow up to this Conference in the form of practical outcomes that can be charted into a material process aimed towards improving future relations. Practical objectives should be set to achieve small goals step by step heading towards the bigger purpose of regional peace and stability.

**Ms. Mahbooba Seraj**

**Director, Soraya Mashal Consulting**

Whatever the decision, it should have teeth, not merely recommendations that may or may not be implemented; enough time has been wasted in rhetoric. The peace process should involve everyone, including law and policy makers from the Pakistani and Afghan Parliaments, as well as civil society. The principle of government for the people and not vice versa should be employed to achieve a real solution.

**Mr. Arif Ayub**

**Former Ambassador**

We must move towards a future that will not only benefit ourselves but also benefit the region; we need to find common ground and then work together to find a viable solution that is acceptable to all parties involved.

**Mrs. Hossai Wardak**

**Deputy Director, Gender Equality Platform, Equality for Peace and Democracy (EPD)**

We have learnt through past mistakes how to help each other, and to do this we can seek the assistance of civil society organisations and other groups. There is hope despite many challenges and we can carry the momentum we have created here forward to address all the problems that exist and solve them.

**Ms. Mariam Khan**

**Director Programmes, Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP)**

This forum is only the beginning and we are all hopeful that it is carried forward in future exchanges from the outcomes and recommendations we have framed here. It is important for such events to continue in order to work towards better relationships, and hopefully others will pick up from where we have ended.



## **Concluding Remarks**

**Dr. Riffat Hussain**

**Chairman, Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS), Quaid-e-Azam University**

The Two Day Conference has provided an important and qualitative discourse on the Pak-Afghan relationship for both sides. Pakistanis and Afghans have good person to person relations; one proof is that journalists, members of civil society and other professionals have established friendships with each other on both sides of the border. Nevertheless, there is still a need for the government and diplomats to work towards improve communication ties. Events like this Two Day Conference fulfil the aim of connecting people and bringing them together to discuss issues and problems. We are all hopeful that this is a great beginning for the civil societies of Pakistan and Afghanistan to cooperate and bring about change.

In the end, Ms. Mariam Khan thanked the donors of the conference, the British High Commission and the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany for their generous support in funding CAMP's Communities for Change Project, under which the conference was held. She also thanked the speakers and audience for taking out time to present their opinions and making this event a successful step in the right direction towards regional peace and stability. All the speakers and chairs were presented with commemorative shields from CAMP.

# Annex 1



Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme (CAMP) is a national non-profit and non-governmental organisation established and registered in May 2002. It works with some of the most underprivileged communities in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (KP); responding to emergencies, improving access to quality health and education, creating livelihood opportunities and working closely with communities and government departments to promote human rights, peace and security.

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 E-mail: camp@camp.org.pk  
 Websites: www.camp.org.pk www.understandingfata.org



## Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP)

in collaboration with the

Department of Defence & Strategic Studies,

Quaid-e-Azam University

Cordially invites you to a

### Two Day International Conference: PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS & REGIONAL STABILITY SCENARIO

27th - 28th March, 2012  
 Hotel Margala, Islamabad.

## Programme

### DAY 1 Tuesday, March 27, 2012

09:30 A.M. - 10:00 A.M.	Registration
10:00 A.M. - 10:30 A.M.	Opening & Welcome by Mr. Naveed Ahmad Shirwari, Chief Executive CAMP Mr. Akhbar Parwez Hakari, Deputy Chair, Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission
<b>Session 1</b>	
10:30 A.M. - 12:30 P.M.	<b>Pakistan Afghanistan Relations:              Issues and Impediments</b>
<b>Speakers:</b>	
<b>Pakistan</b> Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand Dr. Rasheed Ahmad Khan	<b>Afghanistan</b> Ms. Mahbooba Seraj Mr. Eng. Hakim Gul Ahmadi
12:30 P.M. - 02:00 P.M.	Lunch Break
<b>Session 2</b>	
02:00 P.M. - 04:00 P.M.	<b>Pakistan Afghanistan Relations:              Enhancing Security Cooperation</b>
<b>Speakers:</b>	
<b>Pakistan</b> Dr. Ijaz Khan Mr. Khalid Aziz	<b>Afghanistan</b> Mrs. Hossai Wardak Mr. Aziz Hakim

### DAY 2

### Wednesday, March 28, 2012

09:30 A.M. - 10:00 A.M.	Registration
10:00 A.M. - 10:30 A.M.	Opening Session by: Senator Afzail Khattak KP Provincial President, ANP
<b>Session 3</b>	
10:30 A.M. - 12:30 P.M.	<b>Pakistan Afghanistan Relations:              Role of Regional Actors</b>
<b>Speakers:</b>	
<b>Pakistan</b> Ms. Simbal Khan Ms. Shabana Fayaz	<b>Afghanistan</b> Ms. Nargis Nehen Mr. Eng. Said Jawed
12:30 P.M. - 01:30 P.M.	Lunch Break
<b>Session 4</b>	
01:30 P.M. - 03:30 P.M.	<b>Pakistan Afghanistan Relations:              Role of Media</b>
<b>Speakers:</b>	
<b>Pakistan</b> Mr. Imtiaz Gul Mr. Saleem Safi	<b>Afghanistan</b> Mrs. Shamsai Karrekhael Mr. Farid Hamidi
<b>Session 5</b>	
03:30 P.M. - 04:30 P.M.	Concluding Session by Dr. Riffat Hussain Chairman DSS, Quaid-e-Azam University
04:30 P.M. - 5:00 P.M.	Closing Ceremony by CAMP
R.S.XP: Ms. Inam Ali Khan (Advocacy Coordinator) (+92) 332 554 1574, camp.islamabad@gmail.com	

### Introduction to CAMP's Communities for Change Project

Recognising that there was a real need to facilitate and create a sustained and viable grassroots movement in the Federally Administered Tribal Area or FATA, which would assert and protect the social, political and economic rights of the people, CAMP initiated the 'Communities for Change project in May 2009. The Project was generously funded by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany (from May 2009-March 2011) in Khyber, Mohmand and Kurram Agencies, and an expansion of the Project was funded by the British High Commission (September 2010-March 2011) to replicate the original work in Bajaur, Orakzai and North and South Waziristan agencies.

The objective of this project was to empower the people of FATA to claim and defend their social, political and economic rights, as well as actively develop their resilience to sectarian and inter-tribal conflict and influences. CAMP's strategy involved forming and strengthening a sustained network of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) of local leadership in FATA, and building grassroots level capacity to tackle issues that are contributing to poor governance, underdevelopment, radicalization, deteriorating law & order, and violation of human rights, through partnership and networks.

The foundation of the project was laid by identifying small CBOs or NGOs where they existed, and forming new CSOs where they were weak or did not exist. In order to build capacity of CSO leaders, they received training on areas which they identified as their priority: human rights and democracy, advocacy and lobbying skills, effective communication and presentation skills, project management and leadership, and conflict resolution. Over 450 CSO members were trained through this Project and for many; it was the first time they were exposed to these topics.

CAMP brought these 96 organizations from three agencies onto one platform to form a network that would advocate on issues as one voice from FATA. Once this network was in place, CAMP disbursed small seed money to CSOs to support advocacy initiatives in FATA. These activities included campaigns on peace, human rights, education, as well as voicing their opinion against the FCR, drugs and militancy. The Project continued to support and enhance advocacy efforts through consultative dialogues, IEC (information, education and communication) material, and a monthly newsletter.

The second phase, which began in May 2011, is being jointly funded by the British High Commission for one year, and the Embassy of the Federal Republic of German for eight months respectively. The project covers all seven agencies of FATA; Bajaur, Khyber, Kurram, Mohmand, Orakzai, North and South Waziristan. The project continues to empower communities from the FATA (residents and Diaspora) to better understand local and regional governance issues, and to create momentum for needed change, which will ultimately help to stabilise the border region of Pakistan.

Till date, the CFC project has achieved the following:

1. Identified and strengthened over 200 local civil society organizations (CSOs) in seven agencies of FATA – bringing them together into a ‘FATA CSOs Network’
2. Trained over 1600 CSOs representatives mostly leadership, through capacity building workshops based on seven tailor-made training manuals on: human rights & democracy, advocacy & lobbying, communication and presentation skills, organizational culture, networking, project management and conflict resolution
3. Over 397 small-scale advocacy projects implemented by CSOs to help generate empowerment, interest, ownership, self-development and grassroots governance, in which more than 2,300 events were organised for communities
4. Nine national advocacy events held for increased lobby for legislative changes in favour of FATA people, particularly on governance reforms, FCR amendments, security, development, and human rights, etc. in Islamabad, Lahore and Peshawar
5. Seven FATA youth forums held to promote a culture of healthy debate and constructive problem solving among FATA youth.
6. 31 monthly issues of the bi-lingual newsletter “Voices from FATA” and IEC (Information Education and Communication) material produced to raise awareness on FATA issues and contribute to the reforms debate

This project has officially concluded as of March 2012, successfully achieving all its aims and completing the above mentioned activities.

## Annex 3

### News Coverage of Two Day Conference on Pakistan Afghanistan Relations & Regional Stability Scenario, March 2012

- Samples of Websites are provided below:

Daily Times: Pak-Afghan ties must be strengthened for regional peace

Link: [http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2012%5C03%5C28%5Cstory\\_28-3-2012\\_pg7\\_20a](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2012%5C03%5C28%5Cstory_28-3-2012_pg7_20a)

Pakistan Observer: **Public Diplomacy: Key to Pak-Afghan close understanding**

Link: <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=147362>

Nawai Waqt & Al-Sharq

- Coverage of event on television
  - 1) ARY News
  - 2) Metro Watch
  - 3) SAMAA
- Samples of pictures in newspaper reports are provided below:



## Annex 4

### List of Participants

#### Day 1

S. No	Name	Organisation
1	Shumaila	Insan Foundation Trust
2	Tabinda	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
3	Rukhsana Yasin	Pakistan Broadcating Corporation (PBC) News
4	Hendrich Buermann	Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH
5	Fakiha Mahmood	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
6	Adeel Ahmed	International Rescue Committee (IRC)
7	Mohammad Iqbal	Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA)
8	Fehmeedah Khalid	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
9	Sidra Malik	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
10	Irsa Shafiq	International Islamic University Islamabad (IIUI)
11	Eng. Hakim Gul Ahmadi	Engineering Services for Afghanistan Reconstruction (ESAR)
12	Muhammad Zakirullah	Ministry of States & Frontier Regions (SAFRON)
13	Squadron Leader (R) Sohail	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
14	Babak Khalatbari	Konrad Adenueur Stiftung (KAS)
15	Czechangez Khan Jadoon	International News Bureau (INB)
16	Muhammad Umar	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
17	Squadron Leader (R) Munir	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
18	Maj Gen (R) Jamshed Ayaz	Institute of Regional Studies (IRS)
19	Brig (R) Saad Muhammad	Independent Security/Defence Analyst
20	Sardar Iftikhar	Daily Saiban
21	Nargis Nehan	Equality for Peace & Democracy (EPD), Afghanistan
22	Shabana Fayyaz	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
23	Kamal Khan	Ministry of States & Frontier Regions (SAFRON)
24	Ester Rogeburg	Royal Norwegian Embassy, Islamabad
25	Mahbouba Seraj	Soraya Mashal Consulting, Afghanistan
26	Saadia Abbasi	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
27	Fahim Hakim	Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)
28	Eng. Said Jawad Jawed	Helping Afghan Farmers Organisation (HAFO)
29	Saqib Khan	United Nations Office on Drugs & Crime (UNODC)
30	Hashem Nasiri	Embassy of Islamic Republic of Iran, Islamabad
31	Hossai Wardak	Equality for Peace & Democracy (EPD), Afghanistan
32	Tarzi Assad	Embassy of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Islamabad
33	Mahvish Malik	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
34	Mehvish Yaqoob	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
35	Mehwish Shezadi	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
36	Falak Asghar	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
37	Shahid Malik	Strategic Planning Directorate (SPD)
38	M. Saleem Zafar	Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA)
39	Matilda	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
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41	Gohar Hassan	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
42	M. Arsalan	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
43	Col (R) Muhammad Hanif	Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI)
44	Muhammad Umar	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
45	Afrasiab	Strategic Planning Directorate (SPD)
46	Sobia	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
47	Noor ul Islam	SUNGI
48	Farrukh Baloch	Radio Pakistan
49	Muhammad Ali	
50	Farzana Siddiq	Cooperazione Internazionale Sud Sud (CISS)
51	Shemarutin Alex	Embassy of the Russian Federation, Islamabad



52	Madiha Batool	Embassy of Switzerland, Islamabad
53	Tariq Ahmed	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
54	Shazia Gulshan	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
55	Sarwat Wazir	Aurat Foundation
56	Amir	Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA)
57	Gulraiz Saleem Alamgeer	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
58	Nayyar Shabana	Aurat Foundation
59	Ibrahim Khan	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
60	M. Aslam Wazir	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
61	Tahir Khan	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
62	Saboor Ahmed	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
63	M. Asfandyar Marwat	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
64	Arif Ayub	Former Ambassador
65	Zubair Hussain	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
66	Imran Kayani	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
67	Tariq Rahim	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
68	Ahmad Raza	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
69	Sarah Javed Ashraf	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
70	Xoya Shafique	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
71	Hira Tariq	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
72	Sidrah Iqbal	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
73	Nidaa Shahid	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
74	Wasai	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
75	Sidra Tariq Jamil	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
76	Noor-us-Sbah Qureshi	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
77	Aziz ullah	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
78	Wali Muhammad	National Institute of Pakistan Studies (NIPS) QAU
79	Andre Huber	Swiss Agency for Development & Cooperation (SDC)
80	Razia Sultana	Department of History QAU
81	Mohammad Farid Hamidi	Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)
82	M. Rizwan	Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA)
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86	Salma Malik	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
87	Tayyab Tahiree	Daily Musawat
88	Irfan	Frontier Post
89	Arsalab Altaf	Islamabad Dateline
90	Waseem	Pakistan Newsline
91	M. Faisal	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
92	M. Ishtiaq	Voice of America
93	Shahid Abbas Abbasi	Daily Musawat
94	Javed Abbasi	Daily Amroz
95	Masood Asim	Daily Metro Watch
96	Sami ullah	Lawyer
97	Rasheed Ahmad	Metro One TV
98	Syed Farman Ali	Metro One TV
99	Habib Malik Orakzai	Pakistan International Human Rights Organisation (PIHRO)
100	Asad Durrani	Pakistan International Human Rights Organisation (PIHRO)
101	Sultan Bashir	Daily Pakistan Observer
102	Mumtaz Ahmed Bhatti	Columnists Association of Pakistan
103	Khalid	Pakistan International Human Rights Organisation (PIHRO)
104	Masood Shah	Regional Institute of Policy Research & Training (RIPORE)
105	Qazi Humayun	Regional Institute of Policy Research & Training (RIPORE)
106	Khalid Aziz	Regional Institute of Policy Research & Training (RIPORE)
107	M. Yasir	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
108	M. Tahir Dar	Italian TV, Islamabad
109	Mehmoona Bashar	Jinnah Institute
110	Saqib Khan	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
111	Siddiqullah	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
112	Muneer Kakar	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)

113	Nuzhat Maqbool Pandit	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
114	Asma Ishaque	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
115	Rana Abrar	Daily Azkar
116	Abdul Rauf Bazmi	Pakistan Press International (PPI)
117	M. Umar Farooq	Daily Ash-Sharq
118	Adnan Sabir	Daily Elan-e-Sahar
119	Adnan Ali	Vibe News
120	Mehmood Satti	Assam Telegraph
121	Yasir Rehman	Associated Press of Pakistan (APP)
122	Humayun Shami	Pakistan Economic Forum (PEF)
123	Madeeha Ansari	Jinnah Institute
124	M. Naveed Akhtar	Taxila Institute of Asian Civilisations (TIAC) QAU
125	Hanifur Rehman	Department of History QAU
126	Tariq Ismail	Indus TV
127	M. Zahir	Daily Jasarat
128	Raana Rahim	United National Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)
129	Syed Sibtain Shah	The Asians
130	Laura Dunber	British High Commission
131	Rustam Shah Mohmand	Former Ambassador
132	Dr Riffat Hussain	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
133	Shenkai Karrokhail	Member of Parliament, National Assembly, Afghanistan
134	Saleem Safi	GEO TV
135	Ijaz Khan	Department of International Relations, Peshawar University

## Day 2

S. No	Name	Organisation
1	Shumaila	Insan Foundation Trust
2	Tabinda	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
3	Rukhsana Yasin	Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (PBC) News
4	Hendrich Buermann	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH
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66	Imran Kayani	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
67	Tariq Rahim	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
68	Ahmad Raza	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
69	Sarah Javed Ashraf	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
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89	Arsalab Altaf	Islamabad Dateline
90	Waseem	Pakistan Newslite
91	M. Faisal	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
92	M. Ishtiaq	Voice of America
93	Shahid Abbas Abbasi	Daily Musawat

94	Javed Abbasi	Daily Amroz
95	Masood Asim	Daily Metro Watch
96	Sami ullah	Lawyer
97	Rasheed Ahmad	Metro One TV
98	Syed Farman Ali	Metro One TV
99	Habib Malik Orakzai	Pakistan International Human Rights Organisation (PIHRO)
100	Asad Durrani	Pakistan International Human Rights Organisation (PIHRO)
101	Sultan Bashir	Daily Pakistan Observer
102	Mumtaz Ahmed Bhatti	Columnists Association of Pakistan
103	Khalid	Pakistan International Human Rights Organisation (PIHRO)
104	Masood Shah	Regional Institutue of Policy Research & Training (RIPORT)
105	Qazi Humayun	Regional Institutue of Policy Research & Training (RIPORT)
106	Khalid Aziz	Regional Institutue of Policy Research & Training (RIPORT)
107	M. Yasir	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
108	M. Tahir Dar	Italian TV, Islamabad
109	Mehmoona Bashar	Jinnah Institute
110	Saqib Khan	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
111	Siddiqullah	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
112	Muneer Kakar	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
113	Nuzhat Maqbool Pandit	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
114	Asma Ishaque	Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU)
115	Rana Abrar	Daily Azkar
116	Abdul Rauf Bazmi	Pakistan Press International (PPI)
117	M. Umar Farooq	Daily Ash-Sharq
118	Adnan Sabir	Daily Elan-e-Saher
119	Adnan Ali	Vibe News
120	Mehmood Satti	Assam Telegraph
121	Yasir Rehman	Associated Press of Pakistan (APP)
122	Humayun Shami	Pakistan Economic Forum (PEF)
123	Madeeha Ansari	Jinnah Institute
124	M. Naveed Akhtar	Taxila Institute of Asian Civilisations (TIAC) QAU
125	Hanifur Rehman	Department of History QAU
126	Tariq Ismail	Indus TV
127	M. Zahir	Daily Jasarat
128	Raana Rahim	United National Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)
129	Syed Sibtain Shah	The Asians
130	Laura Dunber	British High Commission
131	Rustam Shah Mohmand	Former Ambassador
132	Dr Riffat Hussain	Department of Defence & Strategic Studies (DSS) QAU
133	Shenkai Karrokhail	Member of Parliament, National Assembly, Afghanistan
134	Saleem Safi	GEO TV
135	Ijaz Khan	Department of International Relations, Peshawar University