

MANAGING PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA

Post Seminar Report



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June 2023

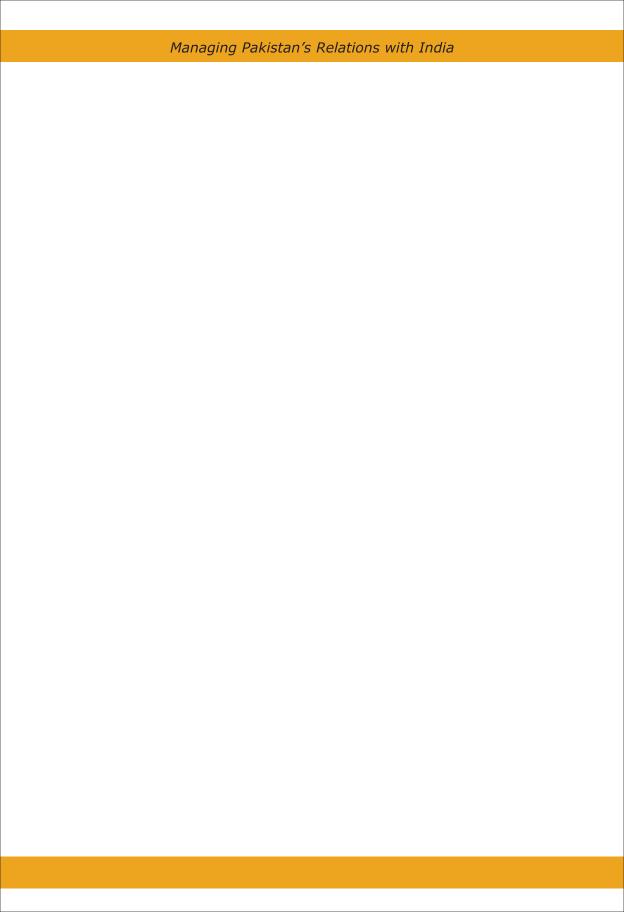
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POST SEMINAR REPORT





01	INTRODUCTION	
02	SPEAKERS OF SEMINAR	
03	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	
04	KEY TAKEAWAYS	
05	RECOMMENDATIONS	
06	DELIBERATIONS BY THE SPEAKERS	
07	INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	11
08	KEYNOTE SPEAKER	13
09	CONCLUDING REMARKS	18
10	Q&A SESSION	21
11	ANNEXURES	
I II III IV	PROFILES OF SPEAKERS PRESS RELESE MEDIA COVERAGE GALLERY	24 27 29 32

INTRODUCTION

Inspired by the Quaid's vision of "peace within and peace without", Pakistan has always desired good neighbourly relations with India based on sovereign equality, mutual respect, and the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. However, the two countries have a history of adversarial relations.

Under the BJP, India's approach and attitude towards Pakistan have been very hostile. Driven by 'Hindutva' ideology and closely aligned with the fascist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the ruling BJP government of Mr. Narendra Modi has been pursuing sinister designs to systematically disempower and dispossess the Kashmiri Muslims and rob them of their religious and cultural identity. Pakistan downgraded relations with India after it unilaterally and illegally annexed IIOJK on August 5, 2019, by revoking Article 370 and Article 35-A of the Indian constitution. India is also systematically and forcibly altering the demographic structure of IIOJK. Earlier in May 2023, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan visited India to attend an SCO moot. This was the first high-level visit from Pakistan to India in more than a decade. There were no bilateral meetings. The Indian Foreign Minister made contemptuous press comments about Pakistan. The diplomatic stalemate between the two countries continues to persist.

Pakistan's relations with India are a major factor in the conduct of our foreign policy. At the global level, India has become a pivot for the Indo-Pacific strategy of the United States, and its strategic and economic partnership with the US continues to deepen. India continues to relentlessly pile up military acquisitions, enhancing conventional weapons' asymmetries.

Currently, Pakistan is facing serious external and internal challenges. It is, therefore, essential to review the policy options available to Pakistan in managing its ties with India. Against this backdrop, a seminar on "Managing Pakistan's Relations with India" was organised on June 8, 2023, at the Centre for Aerospace and Security Studies (CASS), Lahore, to seek an indepth analysis of Pakistan-India relations and deliberate upon well-considered policy recommendations.

Managing Pakistan's Relations with India

The seminar was chaired by Air Marshal (Retd) Asim Suleiman, President of CASS Lahore. The master of ceremonies was Ms. Nida Rehman Khattak, a researcher at CASS. The introductory remarks were presented by the Director Foreign Affairs CASS Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat. The keynote speaker was Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan. The seminar was attended by senior serving and retired PAF officers, academicians from different universities, and representatives from local think tanks.

SPEAKERS OF THE SEMINAR

Sr. No.	Topic	Speaker
1	Introductory Remarks	Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat, Director Foreign Affairs CASS
2	Managing Pakistan's Relations with India (Keynote Address)	Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan
3	Concluding Remarks and Vote of Thanks	Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd) President CASS Lahore

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A seminar on "Managing Pakistan's Relations with India" was organised by the Centre for Aerospace and Security Studies (CASS), Lahore on 8 June 2023. The seminar was arranged keeping in view the existing stalemate in the bilateral relations between Pakistan and India. The seminar featured a keynote address by the former Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, followed by an extensive Q&A session. President CASS, Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd) made the concluding remarks while summing up the recommendations.

In his introductory remarks, Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat, Director Foreign Affairs CASS Lahore, gave a brief overview of historical perspective of the bilateral relations between Pakistan and India. He shed light on the hardening of India's stance towards Pakistan under BJP. especially since 2014 when Mr. Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister. Pakistan had to downgrade the bilateral relations following India's illegal and unilateral annexation of the Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) on 5 August 2019. He drew attention to India's new role as a linchpin to the US strategy on Indo-Pacific, aimed primarily to contain and encircle China. This had led to a deepening of security and economic ties between India and the US, with obvious implications for Pakistan. Reviewing the options available to Pakistan, he underscored that Pakistan desired a relationship with India based on sovereign equality, mutual respect, and peaceful settlement of disputes, especially a just settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. However, currently, there was an impasse in bilateral relations with India. He then raised a number of guestions to open a broad canvas for deliberations in the seminar.

Former Foreign Minister Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri gave a comprehensive presentation on Pakistan-India relations, based on his first-hand experience as the former Foreign Minister (2003-2007) and his subsequent contacts with Indian leaders, senior diplomats and opinion makers within the framework of think tanks and backchannel diplomacy in New Delhi, UAE and London. He asserted that it was in India's interest to have good relations with Pakistan and likewise it was in Pakistan's interest to have good relations with India. A climate of tension and hostility did not suit either of the two. With regard to the possible resolution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, Mr. Kasuri affirmed that every Head of State and

Managing Pakistan's Relations with India

Government in Pakistan, right from the beginning, was compelled to think out of the box while referring at the same time to United Nations Security Council resolutions. This, he added was also true of the Indian leaders, who despite all sorts of tall claims found it in their own interest to talk to Pakistan. The politicians pander to their domestic constituencies when in opposition but are compelled to take a practical view when in power.

The former Foreign Minister believed that the 'Four Point Proposal' was still relevant adding that his book "Neither a Hawk nor a Dove" provided the only authentic account of back channel negotiations from 2003-2007 when according to him, a solution of Kashmir issue was within grasp of the two countries. Mr. Kasuri claimed that his book contained the confirmed account of backchannel talks on the Four Point Formula, as advance copies of the book were sent to President Musharraf, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and opposition leader LK Advani. They all attended the inauguration of his book launches in Karachi and in New Delhi. "They would never have come if they had felt that I had lied or misrepresented." He added, "I believe in diplomacy as in life. Lies kill everything." At the same time, he acknowledged that he came under a lot of criticism from some retired ambassadors, generals and think tanks, "who do not have to deal with the situation on the ground."

Mr. Kasuri remarked that Lambah's recently launched book 'In Pursuit of Peace: India-Pakistan Relations Under Six Prime Ministers', vindicates his position. He emphasised that Modi though not a lover of Pakistan or Muslims, found it necessary to talk to Pakistan, through an emissary, as late as 2017, as corroborated by a leading Indian journalist Suhasni Haider. Lambah confirmed that "there appeared to be an intent to continue the backchannel". Referring to 5th August 2019 illegal actions of Mr. Narendra Modi, Mr. Kasuri affirmed that "the idea of Kashmir is alive because of the freedom struggle by the Kashmiris. The issue will never be settled if the Pakistan is not involved in it".

On Operation Swift Retort, Mr. Kasuri remarked, before the operation, there was a lot of pressure on Pakistan government to show restraint but peace should never come out of weakness. It was important for Pakistan to show its strength. India lost two aircraft and one Indian pilot was taken captive.

Managing Pakistan's Relations with India

The former Foreign Minister stated that today India is seen as strong economically, but only three years ago it was regarded as a failing state as it could not cope with corona pandemic and had 4.5 million deaths. He expressed the hope that Pakistan will soon experience a positive turn around.

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd), President CASS Lahore, in his concluding remarks, briefly dwelt upon the history of adversarial relations between the two countries, mainly due to the unresolved Jammu and Kashmir dispute. He felt that unfortunately deep mistrust continued to plague the relationship between both nations. He also gave an overview of painful events of the creation of the two countries, with approximately 17 million people migrating amid significant violence and abuse and traced the chequered history of conflict and dialogue over the past 75 years. He observed that in August 2019, India violated UNSC resolutions and repealed Article 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution, India thus annexed the occupied territory and has been forcibly altering the demographics of the occupied valley. As a result, Pakistan downgraded diplomatic ties and stopped bilateral trade. At the end of his concluding remarks, the President CASS enunciated that the reality of Pakistan-India relations is that of a history of lost opportunities. Trust deficit and domestic constituencies have played a negative role. He concluded by stating that a visionary leadership was required on both sides to take a flexible and focused approach.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

A Principled Approach to Pakistan's Relations with India

- Pakistan desires good neighbourly relations with India based on sovereign equality, mutual respect, and the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.
- Pakistan desires to be treated as an equal and regards Kashmir as the core issue for peace and friendship with India. India does not accept this viewpoint.
- India's refusal to have a meaningful discussion on Kashmir and its hegemonic policies has been a recurring source of conflict and tension between the two countries.

Kashmir Issue

- The people of Jammu and Kashmir have an inalienable right to selfdetermination, as promised to them by the international community within the framework of relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council.
- The Kashmir issue is alive and will remain so as long as the valiant people of Jammu and Kashmir refuse to accept the illegal Indian occupation and continue their brave struggle.
- India's illegal and unilateral actions of 05 August, 2019, cannot negate the international legality on the Jammu & Kashmir issue. The people of Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan, and the international community have categorically rejected India's illegal actions.
- International human rights organisations have emphatically condemned the gross human rights violations and inhuman atrocities being carried out by India in IIOJK.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Hardening of the Indian position under the BJP

- Under the BJP, especially since 2014, when Mr. Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister, India's attitude towards Pakistan has hardened.
- The Indian government, manifesting its hostility towards Pakistan, seems determined to cast Pakistan in a negative light and is squandering all opportunities to de-escalate tensions.
- No bilateral contacts took place on the sidelines of the SCO Foreign Ministers' Meeting which Pakistan's Foreign Minister attended in Goa.

Possibility of a Way Forward

- The history of Pakistan-India relations is one of missed opportunities.
- A climate of tension and hostility is neither in the interest of India nor Pakistan.
- It is in India's interest to have good relations with Pakistan, and it is in Pakistan's interest to have good relations with India.
- A meaningful and uninterrupted dialogue is the only way forward for resolving longstanding disputes, creating a climate of trust and confidence, and creating conditions for peace and security.

Out-of-the-Box Thinking

The former Foreign Minister, Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, believes that those in power in Pakistan have been compelled to think out of the box. This was true even of the Indian leaders, who, despite all sorts of tall claims, found it in their interest to talk to Pakistan.

Operation Swift Retort

Before Operation Swift Retort, there was a lot of pressure on the Pakistani government to show restraint, but peace should never come out of weakness. It was important for Pakistan to show its strength. India lost two aircraft, and one Indian pilot was taken captive.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Four-Point Proposal

- The former Foreign Minister, Mr Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri, feels that the Four Point Proposal is still relevant for a possible dialogue with India.
- He asserts that his book Neither a Hawk nor a Dove, provides the only authentic account of backchannel negotiations from 2003–2007, when, according to him, a solution to the Kashmir issue was within the grasp of the two countries.
- The advance copies of his book were provided to the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the Indian opposition leader Mr. L.K. Advani, and President Musharraf, none of whom challenged his account.
- Even the current Prime Minister, Mr. Narendra Modi, found it necessary to talk to Pakistan even as late as 2017. This fact is confirmed in the late Satinder Kumar Lambah's book, 'In Pursuit of Peace: India-Pakistan Relations under Six Prime Ministers'.
- Populism is often used as a tool for political manipulation.

The US and its Indo-Pacific Strategy

- The main purpose of the current US Indo-Pacific strategy is to confront the rising power of China. In this context, India has become a strategic partner for the US. This has strategic implications for Pakistan.
- China is Pakistan's principal strategic partner.

Pakistan's Internal Challenges

To overcome Pakistan's dependence on external aid, there is an imperative need for internal unity, stability, and good governance.

Essentials of Back Channel Diplomacy

Diplomacy must be based on truthfulness and credibility. Backchannel emissaries should have direct access to the top and work away from the media glare.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Maintain a principled position with India

Pakistan should continue its pursuit of good neighbourly relations with India based on sovereign equality, mutual respect, and peaceful settlement of all outstanding disputes, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

Intensified campaign to highlight callous Indian actions in Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK)

- Pakistan should reinforce its multipronged strategy to highlight the illegal and unilateral actions of India in the Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) to generate effective international pressure on India to rescind its illegal decisions in IIOJK.
- Pakistan should redouble its efforts to highlight the continuing inhumane atrocities committed by the Indian occupation forces against the innocent people of IIOJK. In this context, all modern platforms of communication may be deployed.
- Pakistan should create a media blitz against the Indian human rights violations in IIOJK before the G20 summit scheduled in New Delhi in September 2023.

Full diplomatic support for Kashmiris

Pakistan should avail all opportunities to effectively manifest its unwavering diplomatic, moral, and political support for the just and legitimate Kashmiri cause.

Peace with dignity

Pakistan's search for peace with India should not be interpreted as a sign of weakness. Pakistan should continue to pursue peace with dignity.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Backchannel diplomacy

Backchannel diplomacy has served as an effective tool of communication in the past. The two key advantages include confidentiality and non-attribution. However, such an initiative should only be undertaken after due diligence and analysis by the concerned stakeholders.

Pursuit of Internal Stability and Economic Self-Reliance

- The success of any country's diplomacy is closely related to its internal situation and the strength of its economy. Pakistani leadership needs to accord top priority to political stability, internal harmony, economic self-reliance, and inclusive growth and development.
- An internally strong Pakistan will have more diplomatic space to resolve complex external issues.

Emphasising Pakistan's Geostrategic Significance

- Pakistan should leverage its geostrategic importance in the context of its strategic location, its potential to become a fast-emerging economy, its large population with a youth bulge, its military strength, and being the only Muslim country with nuclear weapons.
- Pakistan should endeavour to solidify relations with all great and emerging powers.
- While China is Pakistan's most steadfast and reliable strategic partner, Pakistan should continue to have close ties with the US and the EU. Pakistan should also expand its multifaceted ties with Russia.
- Special focus should be accorded to building close relations with emerging economies, especially the friendly countries.

DELIBERATIONS BY THE SPEAKERS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat

In his introductory remarks, Ambassador Muhammad Haroon Shaukat provided a comprehensive overview of the contentious relationship between Pakistan and India since their independence. He underscored that Pakistan had consistently sought good neighbourly relations with India on an equal footing, with the Kashmir issue being a core obstacle to peace and friendship. However, India has not accepted Pakistan's viewpoint. The Ambassador emphasised that Pakistan's greatest external security challenges stem from India, making the state of relations between the two countries crucial for Pakistan's national security and foreign policy.

The Rise of Modi's BJP

According to the Ambassador, in the past, Pakistan attempted to forge cordial relations with India. However, currently bilateral relations are stalemated. The speaker extrapolated his point by providing a short but lucid overview of the historical context of the Pakistan-India relationship, including past issues and attempts at dialogue for peace. The Ambassador pointed out that under the BJP government, particularly since 2014 when Mr. Narendra Modi became Prime Minister, India's attitude towards Pakistan has hardened. He explained that the BJP represents a family of Hindu nationalist organisations known as the Sangh Parivar, influenced by the fascist ideology of the RSS. Highlighting the state of affairs, the Ambassador noted that along with the rise of the BJP and Hindu far-right nationalism, India has been emboldened in its pursuit of a policy of isolating Pakistan and disempowering the Kashmiri Muslims.

The Kashmir Issue

The speaker then discussed the significant obstacle posed by India's illegal annexation of Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) in August 2019. India has since then been forcibly altering the demographic structure of the Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir, threatening the cultural and religious identity of the Kashmiri people. In response, Pakistan downgraded its relations with India.

India-US Partnership

Furthermore, the speaker highlighted India's growing role in the emerging global order, particularly as a strategic partner of the United States in the Indo-Pacific strategy aimed at countering China's influence. The US-India defence and economic partnership has become multi-faceted and deep as a result of this.

Weighing Options

In terms of options for Pakistan regarding its relationship with India, the speaker emphasised the principle of seeking a peaceful relationship based on sovereign equality, mutual respect, and peaceful dispute settlement, particularly regarding the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. However, according to the speaker, the current impasse in bilateral relations, dismissive public statements from the Indian leadership, Pakistan's domestic issues, pose challenges. Currently there is little international pressure on India. The speaker put forward several points for thoughtful reflection and analysis, including how Pakistan can effectively raise the political cost for India's illegal actions in IIOJK and callous mistreatment of its Muslim minority, the possibility of India rescinding its illegal actions, the possibility of any small steps and backchannel contacts, the option of trade resumption, the potential role of a third party, and the likely impact of elections in Pakistan and India on resumption of dialogue.

Pakistan's former Foreign Minister, Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri began by expressing his gratitude for being part of the seminar. He began his talk by reaffirming the need for examining historical views in comprehending Pakistan's relationship with India.

Nature of the Issue:

Mr Kasuri began by stating that a common thread ran throughout the leadership of Pakistan and India, regardless of whoever was in power. In this context, he elaborated that from independence to the present time, a long line of leaders, regardless of their era or background, when in power and confronted by the reality of the situation, were compelled to think out-of-the-box when it came to Kashmir. He added that the situation was not that much different on the Indian side. Mr. Kasuri explained that it was inevitable that such approaches were routinely met with criticism from various quarters, and he was no stranger to such criticism since he was also deeply involved in the negotiation process during his career.

Alignment of Interests

The former foreign minister further elaborated this with the example of former Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's overture towards Pakistan. Mr. Kasuri said it was not doing Pakistan a favour, but something in their own interest, just as it is in Pakistan's interest to engage India in meaningful talks.

Mr. Kasuri added that it was not just in both countries' interests to engage in dialogue but the US also wanted to encourage the process. He shared an anecdote of how the then US Secretary of State in 2004, Colin Powell, conveyed to him that India would make a constructive move and that Pakistan should be ready to respond in a meaningful manner. Mr. Kasuri said that the US did so because it was in its interests as well.

Acknowledgement of the Significance of Peace

Mr. Kasuri shared that Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh made a speech reflecting upon how he regretted two things in particular while in office; the first was the destruction of the Babri Mosque, an event which he described as "traumatic", and the second was the inability to have a normal relationship with Pakistan.

Unrealistic Comparisons

Mr. Kasuri said that he also felt it necessary to respond to a certain line of reasoning that compared the Kashmir situation to that of China and Hong Kong. He clarified that the British were under treaty obligation to vacate Hong Kong, while India is under no such compulsion. Addressing another line of reasoning which Mr. Kasuri said he came across which called for waiting for a longer period of time, Mr. Kasuri rhetorically asked what would happen in the next 50 or 100 years. He said that these comparisons were unrealistic and impractical.

Neither a Hawk nor a Dove

The former Foreign Minister said that he had done a thorough exploration of the core dynamics of the complex and multifaceted interaction of these two nations in his expansive book 'Neither a Hawk nor a Dove'. Mr. Kasuri said that following the release of Indian diplomat Satinder Kumar Lambah's book, 'In Pursuit of Peace: India-Pakistan Relations Under Six Prime Ministers', his account has been vindicated. Mr. Kasuri added that the credibility of his account was also reaffirmed by the fact that advance copies were sent to President Musharraf, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, and opposition leader L. K. Advani, and all three were present that the book launches at held at Karachi and New Delhi respectively. The former Foreign Minister said that credibility of information was essential. Renowned Indian journalist Suhasini Haider also tweeted a confirmation of Lambah's account as being the first time an Indian privy to the matter had confirmed what Mr. Kasuri's book had divulged.

"I believe in diplomacy as in life. Lies kill everything"

The Importance of Credibility

The speaker unequivocally stated that credibility is extremely crucial. He said that a loss of credibility would only make matters worse. He said that it is important to know where one stands.

Mr. Kasuri emphasised that similarly, any pretence of doing the other side a 'favour' must be dropped and instead both sides must acknowledge that talks are a mutual interest. Mr. Kasuri highlighted that Mr. Narendra Modi, is 'not a lover of Pakistan or Muslims', yet even he found it necessary to talk to Pakistan as late as 2017.

Party and Politics:

Mr. Kasuri emphasised that most of the time, political leaders toe a hard line while in opposition but are compelled to think out of box when in power. He shared anecdotes of his discussions with Indian officials, including former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who advised him to work slowly and avoid giving credit to the opposing party. These anecdotes shed light on the nuances of political dynamics and the shift in perspective when leaders transition into power as compared to when they are opposition.

Populist Sentiment:

According to the speaker, one of Pakistan's curses as well as that of India's is the reality of the politicians pandering to the populist sentiments.

The speaker particularly referred to his book "Neither a Hawk nor a Dove: An Insider's Account of Pakistan's Foreign Policy" as an authoritative historical account of India-Pakistan relations. He mentioned Satinder Lambah's book "In Pursuit of Peace: India-Pakistan Relations under Six Prime Ministers," where Lambah confirmed the same thing.

Backchannel Diplomacy

One important thing that the speaker pointed out is that diplomacy through the backchannel has always been an option and states do adopt it often. In the case of India-Pakistan relations, it is of great significance and on many accounts both have approached each other through backchannel diplomacy.

"He claimed that that efforts to revive backdoor diplomacy were periodically revisited, even as recently as in May 2023."

The speaker emphasised the significance of diplomacy founded on honesty and integrity.

Approaches to the Kashmir Issue

The speaker stated that he believed the 'Four Point Proposal' was still relevant, and even now could provide a starting point for dialogue on the Kashmir issue. He negated Mr. Modi's statements that the Kashmir issue "had been solved".

"The idea of Kashmir is alive because of the freedom struggle by the Kashmiris. The issue will never be settled if the Pakistan is not involved in it".

Mr. Kasuri stated remarked that Pakistan and India had made notable progress on the Kashmir issue during his time, and the Four Point Proposal was something that both sides were considering as a possible way forward.

He said that even though Modi's actions in clear violation of UNSC resolutions and the Indian constitution had complicated the situation, the issue still remained one that needed to be addressed. The speaker referred to a book by Kashmiri Hindu author 'Anuradha Bhasin, A Dismantled State: The Untold Story of Kashmir After Article 370', that revealed the reality of Indian atrocities in Kashmir.

Mr. Kasuri said that many on the Indian side remained fixated on Pakistan's internal situation. However, he said that such situations do not take long to change, and referred to multiple statements from reputed sources that called India a 'failed state' as it was reeling under the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. The speaker added that behind the scenes, there was an understanding on both sides that backchannel talks are needed and efforts were being made to accomplish that.

Expanding Alliances

Mr Kasuri mentioned that the US wished to position India as a counter to China in Asia, and thus was making engaging India on multiple levels to facilitate India on multiple issues. The speaker emphasised that this was a development that was viewed with concern in Pakistan, as it would add another layer of complexity to the situation in the region. He added that Pakistan would need to factor this into its own relationship with the US, as well as with China.

Peace through Strength

Mr. Kasuri stated that peace needed strength. He referred to the incidents of 2019 and Operation Swift Retort, which resulted in India losing at least one aircraft to aerial combat against the PAF. He was of the view that peace rarely arose out of weakness, and although Pakistan was being urged to restrain itself against Indian action, a befitting response proved that Pakistan was not going to be a pushover.

In the closing moments of his engaging talk, the speaker criticised India's actions and alliances, mentioning how India has quantifiably declined in 43 out of 46 metrics under the Modi government. The speaker highlighted India's attempts to take advantage of its alliance with the US against China, and mentioned that India's agreements with Pakistan were not adhered to.

In conclusion, the speaker covered various aspects related to Pakistan-India relations, highlighting the need for diplomatic efforts, political stability, and the challenges faced by both countries.



CONCLUDING REMARKS

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd)

President, CASS, Lahore

In his concluding remarks, President CASS, Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd), who chaired the seminar, profoundly thanked the former Foreign Minister Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri for his enlightening talk.

He made the following main points:

Historical Perspective

"Deep mistrust continues to dog the relationship"

President CASS presented a brief historical perspective of the oftencontentious relationship between both neighbouring nations. The creation of the nations was marked by an unprecedented migration of approximately 17 million people who suffered horrific violence and abuse. During this challenging transition period, the Governments divided assets and territories along geographic lines and religious demographics. In the case of strategically important states, there arose concerns. Hyderabad and Junagadh were Hindu majority but ruled by Muslims. Both were annexed by India. In Kashmir, the ruler was a Hindu but 70 percent of the population was Muslim, and it had geographic contiguity with Pakistan. Under Indian pressure, the Maharajah of Kashmir acceded to India (although the instrument of accession is considered fake). Freedom fighters managed to wrest one third of Kashmir while the rest went under Indian occupation. The UN, under UNSC Resolution 47 called for a free and fair plebiscite which has not been held to this day, and India refuses all third-party mediation.

Nuclear Neighbours

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman stated that the aftermath of India's battering by China led to India deciding to pursue nuclear capabilities. Following a nuclear test in 1974, India detonated 5 nuclear devices in 1998, and Pakistan followed by 6 tests in Chagai desert.

Highs and Lows

The President CASS then mentioned the February 1999 visit by bus of Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee to Lahore to foster peace between the two countries. The situation however, changed following Kargil in the same year, followed by another incident in December 2001 which led to India blaming Pakistan for attacking its parliament. The pattern repeated itself with a period of relative calm and peace between 2003-2008, followed by a disruption in the 2008 Mumbai attack.

Indian Alliances

The speaker pointed out that at this point, India became emboldened with its strategic partnership with the US, and the stance towards Pakistan as well as on Kashmir, hardened considerably.

Pulwama and Swift Retort

The Air Marshal spoke of the dramatic escalation between both countries in February 2019 following the Pulwama attack on the convoy of Indian forces. The series of events as recounted by the speaker led to the downing of 2 IAF jets and the capture of Indian Wing Commander Abhinandan and his subsequent release in the interest of peace by Pakistan. The Air Marshal pointed out that this incident was instrumental in removing any doubts in the Indian leadership regarding the capability of Pakistan to respond.

Revocation of Special Status and Repercussions

The speaker referred to abrogation of Article 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution, which was against the UNSC resolutions, removing all

provisions for the rights and safeguards for the people of IIOJK. By this, the speaker added, the Indian state opened the door for demographic engineering of the occupied valley. The President CASS said that in response to this act, Pakistan downgraded diplomatic ties and halted bilateral trade. The speaker added that the situation seems unchanged, as seen by the recent visit of the current Pakistani Foreign Minister to attend an SCO moot, in which there were no bilateral talks, and the Indian Foreign Minister made contemptuous press comments.

Broadening of India-US Ties

President CASS also briefly discussed how geo-political shifts have also led to corresponding changes in alliances within the region. He spoke of how Pakistan was in the US camp from the Cold War to the 1980s, while India was aligned with the Soviets. With the rise of China, the speaker highlighted, alignments shifted. He added that the opening of India's markets and its desire for modern armament and munitions present opportunities for the US.

The Future Beckons

"The reality of Pakistan-India relations is a recurring pattern of lost opportunities"

In conclusion, President CASS underscored how the trust deficit and domestic constituencies cast a shadow over the relations between the two countries. The speaker stressed that visionary leadership is required on both sides to allow for a flexible and focused approach.

He finished by stating that the future multipolar world with US, China and Russia playing a role at some stage also held the possibility for constructive progress, as the situation at the moment was untenable for the prosperity of the region.

The President concluded his statement by thanking the former Foreign Minister and the audience.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS SESSION

Question: America has played a mediatory role during different times of crises between India and Pakistan. What in your opinion is the nature of this role, and what purpose does it serve for the Americans when they mediate between India and Pakistan?

- Answering a question, the former Foreign Minister stated that America did play a mediatory role on a number of occasions in the past. Such a role served the American foreign policy interests in the region. The American role was prominent during the regimes of President Zia-ul-Haq and President Musharraf. The US viewed the Pakistan Army as a credible institution. He added that after the unceremonious exit of the US from Afghanistan, Pakistan was unfairly blamed by the US for its own failures.
- Referring to an article by Indian-origin American journalist, Fareed Zakaria, Mr. Kasuri stated that many in the United States doubted an active support role by India in the event of US-China conflict, despite the many defence agreements and arrangements that India has with the US.
- At the G20 Foreign Ministers' Meeting in New Delhi earlier this year, there was no agreement on a final communique, primarily because of India's refusal to condemn the Russian invasion of Ukraine. He added that eighty percent of India's defence equipment is of Russian origin. Any switchover will take long years to complete.
- Despite close strategic ties with the US, India continues to persist with its pretensions of being non-aligned.
- The US also realises Pakistan's strategic importance vis-à-vis Afghanistan, Central Asia, and China. As such, the US will continue to need Pakistan. In this context, he quoted a book by Daniel S. Markey, 'No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad'. The writer asserts that Pakistan will continue to impact America's geo-strategic map in new and important ways over the coming decades.

Question: Both India and Pakistan are following the political system of Europe i.e. Democracy. Why is it that they do not opt for the European model of conflict resolution?

- India and Pakistan both follow the political system of Western democracy, but the model of conflict resolution has not worked due to India's insistence on establishing itself as a dominant power.
- European integration was achieved after centuries of conflict and confrontation. The European model of conflict resolution would be difficult to apply in a situation where the two countries have different perspectives, especially on the core issue.

Question: The BJP government projects Pakistan as an enemy through its media to get votes. So, what we are supposed to do?

- There have been at least 10 occasions between India and Pakistan when the two countries either came to the verge of war or went to war.
- India has failed to achieve its objective of regional hegemony despite its larger population and military setup.
- He stressed that the Kashmir issue is alive due to brave struggle of the Kashmiri people and Pakistan's abiding diplomatic support.
- India itself is responsible for deepening the crisis in IIOJK because of its continuing inhuman atrocities.
- On the Kashmir issue, Pakistan's Foreign Office has maintained an excellent institutional memory. This is served the Kashmiri cause well.
- There needs to be an understanding that the solution does not lie in fighting to the last Kashmiri. Such an approach must also take into account the impact on the Muslim population of India.

 Hence the need for sustained and meaningful dialogue. Pakistan has always sought to prioritise responsible foreign policy.

Question: Is this current policy on Kashmir a continuation of the same policy pursued in Musharraf's era?

- The Four Point Proposal pursued in the Musharraf era still remains valid for initiating a dialogue on Kashmir.
- The focus should be on engaging in meaningful talks.

Question: India is being offered to be a part of NATO+, which will allow it access to advanced security technology exchange (to counter China) and access to European states (economic and security benefits). What would be impact on Pakistan and balance of power in region.

- India is being offered the opportunity to be part of NATO+. It reflects
 the tilt of the US and the Western world in favour of India.
- India's reaction remains to be seen. The issue is being debated in India. Many of the previous agreements with the US lack full implementation.
- China has always supported Pakistan in various domains, including in the Defence sector.
- Pakistan's main issue is not the military imbalance vis-à-vis India, but its internal crises.

PROFILES OF SPEAKERS



Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd) President CASS, Lahore

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman graduated from the PAF Academy in 1978 and has flown a wide assortment of fighter aircraft from the PAF's inventory during his flying career.

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman is a graduate of the National Defence University, Islamabad, and the Defence Services and Staff College, Dhaka. He holds a master's degree in defence and strategic studies from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

He has been a part of several operational and training squadrons, including the coveted Combat Commanders' School, as an instructor. His command assignments include command of a combat squadron and an operational base.

He served as an air adviser at the Pakistan High Commission in India. His numerous staff appointments include serving as Staff Officer in different capacities for three Chiefs of the Air Staff: DG, Air Intelligence, DCAS (Support), and DCAS (Administration). After retirement, he served as DG, Civil Aviation Authority of Pakistan. He was also nominated as Chairman of the PIA. Air Marshal Asim Suleiman is a recipient of the HIM and SIM, SBt and the Imtiazi Sanad.

PROFILES OF SPEAKERS



Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan Keynote Speaker

Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri is the former Foreign Minister of Pakistan from 2002-2007 as well as a former caretaker Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. He had a brilliant academic record. He topped in the B.A (Hons.) examination of the Punjab University. He did his Tripos in law at Cambridge University. After Cambridge, he was admitted to Oxford University for post-graduate studies in Public Administration and Political Science. He took French Civilization courses at the Sorbonne University in Paris and the University of Nice in France. He was called to the Bar from Gray's Inn, London.

Mr Kasuri is the author of Neither a Hawk Nor a Dove: An Insider's Account of Pakistan's Foreign Policy, a comprehensive account by a Pakistani Foreign Minister who contributed to moving the peace process with India forward. It provides a detailed analysis of the Kashmir issue and the complex Pakistan-US-Afghanistan-India quadrangular relationship. Mr Kasuri took an active part in improving relations with India as he strongly believed that regional connectivity would best serve Pakistan's national interest. It's now generally accepted that major improvement in relations took place as a result of the peace process conducted under the Composite Dialogue as well as on the backchannel on Kashmir.

He became a member of Pakistan's National Assembly from NA-142 (Kasur-V) in 1993 to 1996 and later in 1997 to 1999 and served on the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Foreign Relations. He was elected as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Information and Media Development from 1997-99. He again became a member of the National Assembly in 2002 and became the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

He is the Chairman of the 'Institute of Peace & Connectivity' (IPAC), the 'Understanding China Forum (UCF), and the Pakistan Forum and is the Co-Chief Patron of the Karachi-based 'Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR).

PROFILES OF SPEAKERS



Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat Director Foreign Affairs, CASS Lahore

Ambassador Muhammad Haroon Shaukat has nearly four decades of rich and diverse experience as a career diplomat. He served with distinction in key leadership and management positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad, and several Pakistan Diplomatic Missions abroad. He served as the Ambassador of Pakistan to Turkey, with concurrent accreditation to Macedonia and Kosovo.

In recognition of his services rendered to strengthening Pakistan-Turkey relations, the Turkish Foreign Minister conferred upon him the prestigious "Distinguished Services Award" on 26 December 2014 — a first for any Pakistani Ambassador to Turkey. He was also the Ambassador of Pakistan to Brazil with non-resident accreditation to Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay, and Suriname. Earlier, he served as the Consul General of Pakistan to New York. His other diplomatic assignments included Saudi Arabia, France, and Niger. He was a Special Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad. Various positions he held during his career in the Foreign Office included: Additional Foreign Secretary (Afghanistan and ECO); DG (UN); DG (South Asia) and Director (UN). He has enjoyed a lengthy association with the work of the United Nations; serving as one of the representatives of Pakistan to the UN Security Council (1993-94), a Member of Pakistani delegations to several sessions of the UN General Assembly and several meetings of other international fora including UNESCO, Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the Non-aligned Movement (NAM), and the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO).

As a UN international staff, he acquired a rewarding experience in one of the most successful UN Peacekeeping Operations, UNAMSIL (Sierra Leone) as Special Assistant to the Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General. He speaks Turkish and French.

PRESS RELEASE

On June 8, 2023, a seminar was conducted by the Centre for Aerospace and Security Studies (CASS), Lahore on the theme of "Managing Pakistan's Relations with India." The seminar was arranged against the backdrop of the existing stalemate in the bilateral relations between Pakistan and India. It featured an address by the former Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri. Mr. Kasuri is regarded as an expert on India, as he has vast



experience dealing with India, especially from 2002-2007. His address was followed by an extensive question and answer session. President CASS, Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd) made the concluding remarks while summing up the recommendations. The seminar underscored that Pakistan desired good neighbourly relations with India on the basis of sovereign equality, mutual respect and the peaceful settlement of outstanding issues, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. However, India's refusal to have a meaningful discussion on Kashmir and its hegemonic policies have been a recurrent source of conflict and tensions between the two countries. Mr. Kasuri emphasised that a climate of tension and hostility was neither in the interest of Pakistan nor of India. He further underscored the necessity of

Managing Pakistan's Relations with India

dialogue as the only way forward. Referring to a statement of Mr. Narendra Modi that he had "resolved the Kashmir issue", Mr. Kasuri affirmed that the "Kashmir issue is alive and will remain so, as long as the Kashmiris refuse to accept the Indian occupation". The former Foreign Minister also talked about the current Indo-Pacific strategy of the US, adding that its main purpose was to confront the rising power of China with India added in as a counterweight. India has been brought into a number of defense agreements and arrangements with the US. All this has serious ramifications for Pakistan.In his concluding remarks, President CASS, Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd) reiterated Pakistan's desire for good neighbourly relations with India on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual respect. He also underscored the inalienable right of the struggling people of Jammu and Kashmir for their right to self-determination which cannot be over- written by illegal Indian actions. He added that the history of Pakistan-India relations is one of lost opportunities. He felt that relations with India can still improve through meaningful and uninterrupted dialogue, building trust and showing flexibility. The seminar ended with a vote of thanks by the President, CASS, Lahore.

MEDIA COVERAGE

∆ASIA TODAY

CASS Seminar On Managing Pakistan's Relations with India



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CASS Seminar: "Managing Pakistan's Relations with India"

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Seminar on 'managing Pak's relations with India' held

T.M. Report











Pakistan Jammu & Kashilini Isaa Modi is Wrong in Saying "Resolved" – Khurshid Kasuri @ CASS Seminar Jammu & Kashmir Issue is Alive -



MEDIA COVERAGE









DAILY MUHIM PESHAWAR



بنشرفارار واسبيس ايند سكيورثى اسثذيز كاسيمينار كاانعقاد





سِنْوْدَ را روابسِين ايندُسيكو رني استاريز (CASS) ، سِينار كانتقاد كِموقَ يِرْكروپ فونو

(CASS)، سيمينار كا انعقاد









لا اور مَنظِ قارام والبيش الشِرِّح و في الفلاج (CAS) مينار ك موقع رشرًا وكا أروب قوق

سينشرفارا برواسييس اينذسيكيورثي اسثذيز ، لا مورييس سيمينار



اسلام آباد فصوص رورن: ميتوقار ايد کاموشون اللانتظام باک بارت العلات اللانت ميس اين ميكي دن استار و (CASS) را ايور تنداس ميمار كاامترام پاکستان اور برارت ك كل جانب ستارتا كيسيمين كاانستاد كما كما جس مايس و و دارق تعلات (معل 66 جرفر و 66)



Daily BADALTA JAHANOkara



جلد نمبر13 جسته المبارك 9 جمل 2023، 19 ذيقتد 1444ه منوات 4 يميت 10روب الماروبي الماروبي



خورشید محمود قصوری سینفرفا را برداسیس ایند سیکورنی استثریز (CASS) سیمینار کے موقع پرگروپ فو تو سينثر فارابرواسييس ايند سيكيورتي اسثذيز لامورمين سيميناركا انعقاد

لایور(پدر) بینلوندادیدایشن پینم سکورتی منظر پر (AASS)، فایوری جانب سے آن آیید ۔ اورجوارت کرمایش دولرفرنشلات عمی موجودہ فلل پیچاری المستقرار کیا کی جمری کا موضوع * «منظم پاک کست کے مارش دولرفرنسلات میں ارافرق صلی 18 پیر فہر 14)



مايق وزيرخارية فورشية محووضوري كالميز فارابروا بهيس اينذ سيكور في استذير سيمينار ميموقع بركروب فوفو ينثر فارابرواسيس ايند سيكيورثي اسثذبز كيذبرا بتمام سيمينار كالنعقاد

ر بیل استفرید از این بینیم با رسیل می شیخش استان با گنان انده بادند که بازی دارگذ پاک بادر احقاق هی بادن 2003 که تنظامت نام موجوده قلک میکن هرهم می کان مینیم و قد این این بینیم کان و اطلاع که میکن می ماسان در تا میان (CASS) و ایدو که جالب نے آن آیک به میسین در شروعی صاحب کا فطاف می کان مینیم کا افتاد باکما کیا میان کا موضوع منظم شامل قلد تحسوری صاحب کا فطاف می کان

MEDIA COVERAGE



(CASS) لاہور کی جانب سے 'منظم پاک بھارت انعقاد کا انعقاد







بھارت كيساتھ برابرى كے تعلقات جائيے ہيں،خورشيدقصورى یک بارک مالات کا بات و دار می ارت کی مالات و دار فد انتقاع می موجود و دهش کے باس هظر ممن کیا گیا ۔ سیمینار میں باکستان کے سابل وزیر خادجہ جناب فورشید محمود قصوری صاحب کا خطاب مجل شائل تھا۔ قصوری صاحب کو کا 2002 سے عن حالہ سوری مصاب و 2002 کے 2007 کے درمیانی عرصے میں پاک جارت تفاقات سے موشوع پر ایکے وقتی تجربہ کے باحث بھارتی امور کا ماہر سجھا جاتا ہے۔ایکے نظاب کے بعد سوالات وجوابات کے ایک وسیع سیشن کا اہتمام بھی کیا گیا۔صدر سینفر فاراریو انہیس اینڈ سیکیے رئی اسٹڈیزہ ایئز ہارشل عاصم سلیمان (ریٹائرڈ) نے تمام سفارشات کا ظامہ ویش کرتے ہوئے الفتا می گلمات کیے۔ سیمینار یں رہے ہوئے میں اس سے بیات اللہ میں اس بات ہوئے۔ میں اس بات پر ایری، باجی احرام اور تصفیہ طلب مسائل، باضواں تازید جمول و تشمیر کے پرامن على اورايك بمسايد ملك كي ديثيت ساطط العلقات كاخوابال بسايم، بمارت كالشميرير

امالي وزير خارية فورشير القوري كالمينز قدام يواميس اليذسكيو وفي استذير تسمينار بسرا والميس الميذاري والميس الم والمين المين ا المين 27 /2

معلقات وجهل مجارات بالدوسة على المارية المستقبل المربعة المبرية المسلم المستقبل الم سِنٹرفارار ِواسپیس اینڈسکیورٹی اسٹڈیز (CASS)،

لا ہور کی جانب سے آج ایک سیمینار کا انعقاد کیا گیا



سينشر فارابرواسيس اينذ سيكيورثي اسثذيز مين سيمينار كاانعقاد ایود (آئے نے نہ) میٹو فارمی ایکس لیڈ کیا ہائی۔ موجود قتل کے بل حقری کیا گیا۔ میجار ش منز بین میری الفاق کا کیا کسی الموسل مستقلم کیا گئات کے سابق وز خارج فائید فوریو موسول کا پاک جدارت فقائلات تاہ اس میجار کا اجتمام کا فائیا ہے کی شال فارتشوری صاحب کا 2002

النان اور بھارے کے مالین ووطرف العالات میں سے2007 کے درمیانی عرص (بالمبر 43 سفر 7)

فضياكتات



نار پاڪستان ۽ ڀارت رڄ ۾ ٻطرفن لاڳاپن ۾ موجوده ڇڪتاڻ جي پس منظر ۾ منعقد ڪيو عملي جربنياتي مقصد چين جي اپرندڙ طاقت کي منهن ڏيڻ ۽ ڀارت کي چين جي خلاف بيهارڻ آهي. پارت آمريڪا سان ڪيتهن ئي نفاعي ه

14. بمستالهادك 09 جن 2023ء 19 ذي التعد 1444ء ألبت 20 روياء شماء 78

(CASS)، لاہور کی جانب ہے آج ایک سیمینار کا انعقاد

إك بعارت تعلقات" تما ال يميمار كاابتمام اسلام آباد (پر)سینتر قاراسردانهیس ایند سیکیر رنی اکتان اور بدارت کے باتان دوفر فر نطقات می موجود و فقل کے باس عظر (ابقیہ 23 سفے 23) اعدر CAS D)، العدر كى جانب = آج ايك سيميناركا انعقادكيا كياجس كالموضوع "متكم

GALLERY





GALLERY



"The idea of Kashmir is alive because of the freedom struggle by the Kashmiris. The issue will never be settled if Pakistan is not involved in it".

"Pakistan desires good neighbourly relations with India based on sovereign equality, mutual respect, and the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute."

"A climate of tension and hostility is neither in the interest of India nor Pakistan."

"It is in India's interest to have good relations with Pakistan, and it is in Pakistan's interest to have good relations with India."

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