



Pakistan's Foreign Policy Choices in the Evolving Global Order

Post Seminar Report



CENTRE FOR AEROSPACE & SECURITY STUDIES

PRESIDENT

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd)

SEMINAR COORDINATOR

Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat

EDITOR

Jawad Zulfiqar

MASTER OF THE CEREMONY

Sabina Babar

REPORT COMPILATION & RAPPORTEURS

Sabina Babar, Nida Rehman Khattak, Naba Fatima

CENTRE for AEROSPACE & SECURITY STUDIES

July 2023

© 2023. All Rights Reserved.

No part of this report may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission. Opinions expressed are those of the speaker(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Centre.

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY CHOICES IN THE EVOLVING GLOBAL ORDER

POST SEMINAR REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	01
Speakers of the Seminar	03
Executive Summary	04
Key Takeaways	09
Introductory Remarks	16
Keynote Address	19
Speakers' Remarks	31
Concluding Remarks	55
Q&A Session	64
Policy Recommendations	68
Annexures	
A Profiles of the Speakers	70
B Press Release	76
C Media Coverage	78
D Gallery	81

INTRODUCTION

The world is passing through a period of strategic turbulence and is in the midst of an era characterised by uncertainty and unpredictability. The global order is at a point of inflection. The most notable global developments include the rise of China, an assertive and defiant Russia, and the erosion of American preponderance. Rising geopolitical tensions and global economic volatility are keeping the world in an unstable state.

The United States views China as “the only competitor with both the intent and, increasingly, the capability to reshape the international order” and wants to constrain a resurgent Russia. The US has deepened its core alliances in Europe and the Indo-Pacific. The Indo-Pacific region has emerged as a key theatre of US-China rivalry. Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has renewed an East-West rivalry and has created unprecedented tensions in Europe. The Ukraine war has also created a tumult in the international commodity prices and the impact is felt far and wide.

India’s strategic and economic partnership with the US continues to deepen. India is relentlessly piling up military acquisitions, enhancing conventional weapons’ asymmetries. Under Mr. Narendra Modi’s government, India’s attitude towards Pakistan has remained hostile. After India’s illegal and unilateral actions of August 5, 2019, Pakistan downgraded its relations with India. The stalemate continues to persist.

The Taliban regime in Afghanistan remains internationally isolated since it came into power in August 2021 and the Afghans continue to suffer. In recent times, there has been a significant rise in attacks by elements belonging to the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) from across the border. The Afghan conundrum poses a challenge to Pakistan.

The dynamics of the Middle East are shifting. The futuristic worldview of Saudi Arabia has led to a more pragmatic approach.

Despite its historic partnership with the US, Saudi Arabia has gradually built closer ties with China and a partnership with Russia in OPEC+. The recent rapprochement with Iran has huge potential, raising hopes for eventual peace in Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen.

Years of mismanagement and lack of meaningful reforms have weakened Pakistan, making it dependent on others. In the evolving global order and because of serious internal weaknesses, Pakistan's foreign policy challenges have become more complex. This seminar explored and suggested possible foreign policy options for Pakistan.

SPEAKERS OF THE SEMINAR

TOPIC	SPEAKER
Introductory Remarks	Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat
Pakistan's Foreign Policy Choices in the Evolving Global Order	Ambassador (Retd) Javid Husain
Further Deepening of Pakistan's Strategic Ties with China	Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi
Pakistan-India Relations: Policy Options	Ambassador (Retd) Riffat Masood (Video Message)
How Best to Resolve the Afghan Conundrum	Ambassador (Retd) Asif Durrani
Concluding Remarks	Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd), President, CASS, Lahore

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Centre for Aerospace and Security Studies (CASS), Lahore conducted a seminar on the theme of “Pakistan's Foreign Policy Choices in the Evolving Global Order” on 11 July, 2023. The seminar featured four former ambassadors, namely Ambassador (Retd) Javid Husain, Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi, Ambassador (Retd) Riffat Masood and Ambassador (Retd) Asif Durrani, as guest speakers. Their statements were followed by a Q&A session. Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd), President, CASS, Lahore, made the concluding statement while summing up the recommendations.

In his introductory remarks, Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat provided an overview of the evolving global order. He asserted that US regards China as its principal competitor. In the face of surging US-China tensions, India has become a key strategic partner of the US with serious implications for Pakistan. He alluded to many challenges and limitations while navigating through a fractured global order. He emphasised the primary importance of strategic partnership with China, a reset of ties with the US, and reinforcement of relations with Russia, P5, the EU states and the emerging markets. He also emphasised the importance of a peaceful neighbourhood. He added that with India, Pakistan seeks peace with dignity and that a just settlement of Kashmir dispute is central to Pakistan's policy. There are enormous opportunities in the Gulf region. Pakistan needs to become a development and technology partner with fraternal countries like Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Its foremost priority, therefore, should be to strengthen its national power with a strong economy at its core and self-reliance.

Ambassador (Retd) Javid Husain first shed light on foreign policy's conceptual framework, stating that it must be synchronised with the national political, security and economic policies, based on a realistic assessment of the geopolitical environment.

The dramatic rise of China has posed a serious challenge to the US global supremacy. The defining feature of the 21st century is and will remain the growing US-China rivalry. The US is strengthening its alliances in the Indo-Pacific e.g. Quad and AUKUS, etc. India is the strategic partner of choice for the US. The key question is whether the US and China would be able to avoid a war.

The world order is now gradually evolving towards a multipolar world and there is even the distinct possibility of the emergence of a Sino-Russian bloc in some form. In the emerging multipolar world, besides US and China, several other powers like India, Indonesia, Brazil, Nigeria, Russia, Japan, and Turkey will play an increasingly important role. The challenge facing Pakistan's diplomacy is to strike the right balance between its vital security and economic links with China as against its valuable economic and commercial ties with the US-led West.

The fast growing US-India strategic partnership has far-reaching implications for Pakistan's security and economic well-being. The need of the hour for Pakistan is to build friendly relations with China, Turkey, Iran, the Arab states of the Persian Gulf region, Central Asian Republics, and Russia while stabilising itself politically and accelerating its economic growth. The Ambassador pointed out that India wishes to establish its hegemony in South Asia and sees Pakistan as an obstacle in the realisation of this strategic goal. He felt that friendly relations between Pakistan and India will remain elusive in the foreseeable future. Nonetheless, both countries, should keep their lines of communication open to defuse tensions, undertake CBM's to reduce the risk of outbreak of hostilities and continue efforts to resolve outstanding disputes, especially the Kashmir dispute, and resume bilateral trade on a mutually beneficial basis. He also said that Pakistan should continue its moral, diplomatic and political support to Kashmir.

Commenting on the situation in Afghanistan, he said that Islamabad in concert with other countries, especially Iran, should encourage the Taliban to moderate their human rights policies, broaden their political base, and deny space to terrorist groups on the Afghan soil. On Pakistan's relations with Iran, Ambassador (Retd) Husain stressed the need to strengthen full gamut of relations with Iran, both bilaterally and within the framework of ECO. Attention should be given to early implementation of the Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline which can be later extended to China.

Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi spoke about the unique, special and unwavering nature of Pakistan-China relationship. It is an all-weather relationship that has a trajectory of its own. She explained two centennial goals of new China. The first goal to eradicate complete and absolute poverty has been achieved. The second, the rejuvenation of the motherland aims for the peaceful unification of all the islands that belong to China, which includes Taiwan as well. If US-China rivalry intensifies in the Indo-Pacific region, Pakistan may be affected. She mentioned how CPEC, which makes Pakistan strategically important, also renders it vulnerable. Calling for a clear alignment with China, the Ambassador said that there should be not an iota of doubt in anybody's mind about where Pakistan's strategic compass should be focused on. The Ambassador also highlighted how China advises Pakistan to have good relations with India, with Europe, with the Americans, with everybody, adding that Pakistan's importance will multiply if it is strong from within.

In her video message, Ambassador (Retd) Riffat Masood talked about the two sides of India, highlighting how the world buys the image that India projects, whereas the other side i.e. poverty, deprivation and discrimination is ignored. She said that while claiming to be a secular state, India remains deeply divided along caste and ethnic lines but manages to evoke a sense of unity and nationhood.

The Ambassador said that the Indians do not want to see Pakistan as its equal. India wants a Pakistan that it can dominate. It perceives Pakistan as an obstacle to its hegemonic ambitions in South Asia. She said that Pakistan should adopt a pragmatic, rational, and cohesive policy in its dealings with India. She highlighted that the current state of affairs reflects the fragility of the relationship, which is primarily rooted in mutual mistrust and a lack of political will. About India's arrogance and its unwillingness to have any contacts with us, Pakistan should follow a policy of 'strategic patience'. The Ambassador said that there should be no compromise on the issue of Kashmir. Pakistan cannot afford to abandon the Kashmiris or put the issue on the back burner.

Ambassador (Retd) Asif Durrani stated that peace and stability in Afghanistan should be a priority for Pakistan. Discussing the post-withdrawal scenario in Afghanistan, he highlighted the restrictions imposed by the Taliban and the worsening humanitarian crisis. He expressed concern that the deteriorating economic conditions could push the country towards chaos.

He emphasised the need to make contingency plans to receive an influx of Afghan refugees should the humanitarian situation worsen. He said that the major problem with the Taliban regime is that a number of terrorist groups, including TTP, are taking shelter there. Calling for pressing the Taliban to firmly deal with the terrorist groups, he made it clear that Pakistan will make no compromises on TTP as TTP cannot challenge the writ of the state. Ambassador Durrani said that there is a need to encourage Afghan Taliban to address the issues of inclusivity and protection of human rights. He said that Pakistan should maintain friendly relations with the Taliban regime but not try to patronise them. He recommended that Pakistan should not rush to recognise the Taliban regime and go for a regional solution.

He added that Pakistan should concentrate on trade with Central Asia through Afghanistan by involving Afghan traders. He stressed that Pakistan may continue its assistance, especially in the health and education sectors. Pakistan may also offer training facilities to the Afghan security forces, only if requested.

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd) in his concluding remarks, mentioned the challenges Pakistan faces in implementing its foreign policy. He said that Pakistan's foreign policy should be focusing on economic diplomacy, and it should exploit opportunities for investment, trade and economic partnerships to strengthen and develop itself. He emphasised the importance of enhancing strategic ties with China, whose flagship project, CPEC, promises valuable outcomes. Regarding US Indo-Pacific strategy, he said that US designs will not materialise in the long-term with India as the latter is only cashing in on short-term gains. Commenting on Pakistan's ties with India, the President said that it is imperative for Pakistan to manage its relations with India for harmony and peace in the region, and to avoid tensions and hostilities. A meaningful dialogue is the best way forward with sovereign dignity, he added. He also called for improving ties with rapidly-growing Middle Eastern states, Turkey, Afghanistan and Iran while also balancing ties with the US. He suggested pursuing the gas pipeline project with Iran seriously and also called for collaborations with Russia, European Union and international markets. Air Marshal Suleiman concluded by saying that Pakistan must balance opportunities, including trade potential, and challenges, including regional threats and terrorism, as it seeks to define its place and influence on the international stage amid an evolving world order. The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks by the President.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Contours of Evolving Global Order

- The world is in a state of strategic flux, with an unpredictable and inhospitable international environment; power shifts are taking place at the global and regional levels; geopolitical tensions are on the rise; increasingly, power politics is defining international politics rather than international law, and as a result, diminishing the authority of the UN on strategic issues of war and peace. Moreover, nationalistic tendencies are on the rise. The global economic volatility is keeping the world in an unstable state. Today, economic and technological power has assumed primary importance in determining the position of a country.

Rise of China and Sino-US Rivalry

- The dramatic rise of China has posed a serious challenge to the US global supremacy.
- The US National Defence Strategy (27 October, 2022) states that China “presents the most consequential and systemic challenge” to the US.
- The US is now firmly committed to the policy of containment of China.

US-India Strategic Partnership

- In the face of surging US-China tensions, India has become a key strategic partner of the US.

A Web of Alliances in Indo-Pacific

- The US is strengthening its alliances in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Its strategic partnership with India, the revival of the Quad, the establishment of AUKUS, US economic and trade sanctions against China, and US efforts to incite political instability in China are part of its policy of containment of China.
- The world is likely to witness a period of intense strife between the US and China.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Re-assertive Russia and Sino-Russian Strategic Cooperation

- The emergence of a re-assertive Russia under President Vladimir Putin is noteworthy.
- The growing Sino-Russian strategic cooperation has obvious implications for the global order.
- Ukraine crisis has diverted to some extent the attention and resources of the US-led West from China to Europe.
- This diversion, at least temporarily, may reduce the West's pressure on China.

A Multipolar World

- The global order is also gradually evolving towards a multipolar world.
- In the emerging multipolar world, besides US and China, several other powers like India, Indonesia, Brazil, Nigeria, Russia, Japan, and Turkey will play an increasingly important role in dealing with international issues of global concern.

China: An All-Weather Strategic Partner

- Without any doubt, China is Pakistan's sincere and steadfast strategic partner.
- Keeping in view our peculiar security environment, it is essential to strengthen strategic partnership with China.
- There is an imperative need to remove any impediments or irritants and strengthen our cooperation with our all-weather friend, China.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Strategic Importance of CPEC

- CPEC is the key to Pakistan's economic development and connectivity.
- It is critically important for BRI. All other corridors are East-West while CPEC is the only North-South corridor, giving land access to China to the Arabian sea, bypassing the Strait of Malacca.
- If US-China confrontation comes to the Indian Ocean, Pakistan could be directly involved. This is where CPEC and Gwadar port become very important, making Pakistan strategically important but also vulnerable.

Readjustment of Ties with the US

- Despite the growing strategic ties between the US and India, US and Pakistan need each other.
- A recalibration of Pakistan-US relations is necessary. The focus should shift to trade and investments, futuristic technologies, education, industrial development, agricultural productivity, climate change and sustainable development.

Balanced Approach in Relations with Great Powers

- Pakistan needs to balance its vital security and economic links with its strategic partner China with its valuable economic and commercial ties with the US-led West.

Relations with P5, the EU member States and the Emerging Markets

- Greater attention needs to be given to reinforcing our relations with Russia, P5, the EU states, the emerging markets and friendly countries, including Turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea, South Africa, etc.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Relations with India

- India wishes to establish its hegemony in South Asian region and sees Pakistan as an obstacle in the realisation of this strategic goal.
- Pakistan desires good neighbourly relations with India on the basis of sovereign equality, mutual respect and the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.
- Pakistan's search for peace with India should not be interpreted as a sign of weakness.
- Pakistan should continue to pursue peace with dignity.
- The current state of affairs reflects the fragility of this relationship, which is primarily rooted in mutual mistrust and a lack of political will.

India's Image and Reality

- Despite the fact that India manages to successfully project itself as a democratic, secular and fast developing country and a market of 1.4 billion people, it in fact is a nation of deep contradictions.

Dealing with Current Impasse with India

- Pakistan should continue to convey the message of willingness to engage but only on mutually acceptable terms, without succumbing to external pressures.
- There is a need for 'strategic patience' with India.
- The only way to deal with India is through pragmatism and rationalism.
- There should be no compromise on the issue of Kashmir.
- Pakistan cannot afford to abandon the Kashmiris.
- Friendly relations between Pakistan and India are likely to remain elusive in the foreseeable future.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Other countries of South and Central Asia

- Apart from China, Pakistan may focus on greater economic and commercial ties with Central Asian states, Iran, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Nepal.

Relations with Afghanistan

- Peace and stability in Afghanistan should be a priority for Pakistan.
- By and large, Taliban have succeeded in bringing peace to the country. However, the current economic conditions may push the country towards chaos

Reconciliation in Afghanistan

- Absence of reconciliation may encourage rival groups to rise against the Taliban; spoilers, such as India, would be ready to stoke the fire.
- Pakistan should maintain contacts with the immediate neighbours of Afghanistan.

Recognition

- Pakistan should not rush to recognise Taliban regime. Our preference may be for a regional recognition. Pakistan may promote a SCO solution.

Relations with Iran

- While learning from their past mistakes, Pakistan and Iran should strengthen their brotherly relations by promoting mutual understanding on political and security issues, and mutually beneficial economic, commercial, technical and cultural cooperation, both bilaterally and within the framework of ECO.
- They should also coordinate their policies in dealing with the issues of terrorism and the situation in Afghanistan.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

- Pakistan may enter into serious negotiations with Iran for the early implementation of the Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline which can be extended later to China.
- China's growing ties with Iran and the rapprochement it brokered between Iran and Saudi Arabia are other cementing factors.

Saudi Arabia, UAE and Gulf Countries

- Shifting sands in the Middle East are opening enormous opportunities.
- Saudi Arabia has embarked on a major economic and social transformation outlined in its Vision 2030, built on the futuristic model of diversification away from oil. UAE, Qatar and other Gulf states also following the same path, opening new prospects for enhanced economic cooperation with Pakistan.
- Pakistan needs to re-adjust its priorities and position itself quickly to be a development and technology partner with our friendly and fraternal countries, particularly, Saudi Arabia, the UAE and other Gulf countries.

Leadership Role in Multilateral Organisations

- There is a need to reinvigorate Pakistan's traditional leadership role in multilateral organisations, especially the UN, OIC, ECO, and SCO.

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.

KEY TAKEAWAYS

Importance of Economic Diplomacy

- Recognising the vital importance of strong economy for national security, the seminar emphasised the need for attaching high priority to economic diplomacy.



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

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

Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat, in his introductory statement, expressed the hope that the discourse of the seminar would lead to a better understanding of the complex environment and the foreign policy choices available to Pakistan. Underscoring the importance of economic diplomacy he stated that economic security has become fundamental to Pakistan's national security, hence the top importance of re-orientation of policy priorities towards economic diplomacy.

The Morphing Global Order

He said that the world is in a state of strategic flux. Power shifts are taking place at the global and regional levels, geopolitical tensions are on the rise, multilateralism is under stress, and one-third of the world economy is in recession. The United States' trade war against China is encouraging protectionism and what some observers term as de-globalisation. Increasingly, countries are exploring alternates to the US dollar.

Today, the US regards China as its principal competitor having the intent and the capacity to reshape the international order. A defiant Russia first annexed Crimea in 2014 and then invaded Ukraine in February 2022, violating the established norms of international law. Russia views NATO's ingress in its periphery as a serious provocation.

India and the US Indo-Pacific Strategy

According to the Ambassador, the morphing global order has made a strong impact on our region. In the face of surging US-China tensions, India has become a key strategic partner of the US.

Challenges and Limitations

He said that navigating through a fractured global order poses many policy challenges, especially when it impacts the security calculus in our region. Pakistan is surrounded by a difficult neighbourhood, a hostile India, four decades of conflict in Afghanistan and a perennially sanctioned Iran. The challenges become more complex with domestic political instability and a weak economy that is heavily dependent on external assistance.

Foreign Policy Options

Regarding the foreign policy choices available to Pakistan, he said that in many cases, there is no ambiguity about Pakistan's direction. There are some cases where a reset is necessary and others where policy adjustments may be necessary.

China: Pakistan's Iron Brother

The Ambassador said that without any doubt, China is Pakistan's, sincere and steadfast strategic partner. There is an imperative need to remove any impediments or irritants and strengthen our partnership with our all-weather friend, China.

Reorientation of ties with the US

Despite the growing strategic ties between the US and India, US and Pakistan need each other. US is a leading export market for Pakistan. It cannot ignore Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia. A reorganisation of Pakistan-US relations is necessary. Pakistan should eschew the bloc politics of the Cold War era.

“The focus should shift to trade and investments, futuristic technologies, education, industrial development, agricultural productivity, climate change and sustainable development.”

Russia, P5, EU and Emerging Markets

According to the Ambassador, greater attention needs to be given to reinforcing our relations with Russia, P5, the EU states and the emerging markets.

Peaceful Neighbourhood

Above all, Pakistan needs a peaceful neighbourhood. Mr Narendra Modi's India continues to show arrogance, hubris and contempt for Pakistan. There is a complete impasse in bilateral relations. Pakistan seeks peace with dignity. A just settlement of Kashmir dispute is central to our policy, the Ambassador said.

In terms of Afghanistan and Iran, he hoped the experts would shed light on how to surmount difficulties that stand in the way of good relations with these neighbours. He also raised a question about whether China and CPEC offer the best solutions for regional prosperity and connectivity. He further said that shifting sands in the Middle East are opening enormous opportunities.

“Pakistan needs to re-adjust its priorities and position itself quickly to be a development and technology partner with our friendly and fraternal countries, particularly, Saudi Arabia and the UAE.”

The Ambassador said that in the transforming global order, our foremost priority should be to strengthen our national power with a strong economy at its core. Our goal should be self-reliance. We should follow a pragmatic approach to strengthen our role as a factor of peace, stability, connectivity and prosperity in the region and beyond.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Pakistan's Foreign Policy Choices in the Evolving Global Order

Ambassador (Retd) Javid Husain

Ambassador (Retd) Javid Husain, the keynote speaker, began his discussion by shedding light on foreign policy's conceptual framework and said that foreign policy is the art of management of a country's external affairs in pursuit of its national interests. Pakistan's national interests include the safeguarding of the country's independence and territorial integrity, promotion of its economic growth and development, the strengthening of internal political stability and harmony, and the safeguarding of the nation's cultural identity and values. He remarked that the success or failure of Pakistan's foreign policy will be judged by its ability or inability to promote these vital national interests.

Conceptual Framework

Ambassador Husain explained that in the formulation of foreign policy, the policymakers face several challenges.

“To begin with, the foreign policy must be synchronised with the national political, security and economic policies to form an integrated whole in the shape of a national grand strategy.”

Secondly, he said, a sound foreign policy must reflect the relative importance or priorities of the nation's internal and external objectives that it is expected to support or achieve.

Thirdly, he said, the foreign policy must strike the right balance between the attainment of short-term and long-term national objectives. Fourthly, foreign policy's demands must be within the reach of the available resources or, in other words, they must be within the reach of the national power.

He stated that policymakers must avoid the risk of strategic over-stretch which can lead to dangerous consequences. Fifthly, he said that foreign policy must be based on popular support within the country.

Ambassador Husain expounded that the foreign policy must be based on a realistic assessment of the regional and international political, security and economic environment, particularly the way in which it affects Pakistan's security, political stability, economy, cultural identity, and ideological character, or its way of life. He also emphasised that foreign policy must be dynamic in its character.

US Policy of Containing China

Ambassador Husain expressed that the US is now firmly but unsurprisingly committed to the policy of containment of China. It is employing every element of its national hard and soft power to counter China's growth and undermine its political stability. The strengthening of the US alliances in the Indo-Pacific region, the deepening of its strategic partnership with India, the revival of the Quad, the establishment of AUKUS as a new alliance, the US economic and trade sanctions against China, and its efforts to incite political instability in China should be seen in that context.

“The US is also utilising its superiority over China in terms of soft power to malign China in the eyes of the rest of the world as aggressive, expansionist and authoritarian in contrast with the American liberal democratic values.”

While so doing, he expressed, the US conveniently overlooks its own record of expansionism, starting with the declaration of Monroe Doctrine in 1823.

He gave an example of former President Theodore Roosevelt when he declared in his 1904 State of the Union address that the US in pursuance of the Monroe Doctrine had assumed responsibility for the peace and stability of its geopolitical neighbourhood, allowing it to exercise international police power. This statement became known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. He said that in pursuit of this policy, the US forces intervened 21 times in Latin America in the 30 years after the announcement of the Roosevelt Corollary.

US National Defence Strategy

Ambassador Husain suggested that recent American official pronouncements bear out these conclusions. He mentioned that the American National Defence Strategy, which was made public on 27 October, 2022, observed that China “presents the most consequential and systemic challenge” to the US. US Defence Secretary Lloyd Austin reiterated this assessment personally in his introductory note for the Defence Strategy. The strategy goes on to stress, “The most comprehensive and serious challenge to the US national security is (China’s) coercive and increasingly aggressive endeavour to refashion the Indo-Pacific region and the international system to suit its interests and authoritarian preferences”. He said that according to its Defence Strategy, the US will advance its major defence partnership with India to enhance its ability to “deter China’s aggression and ensure free and open access to the Indian Ocean region”. He further mentioned a more recent event, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken’s visit to Beijing last month when the two countries agreed to stabilise their intense rivalry so that it does not escalate into conflict. However, he asserted that as expected there was no major breakthrough. US Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen, in her trip to China from 6-9 July, 2023, expressed American desire for a healthy economic competition with a fair set of rules that can benefit both countries over time. But again, he said, there was no major breakthrough. The visit merely enabled the two sides to understand each other’s point of view on economic and trade issues.

Western Interests

Ambassador Husain remarked that the reality, however, is that the present so-called rules-based order, established by the US-led West after World War II, is designed to protect and promote the interests and the values of the Western countries.

“As China rises in power, it would demand the accommodation of its own legitimate national interests.”

The growing tensions between China and the US-led West can be resolved through conflict, as was mostly the practice in the past in the case of the emergence of new great powers, or through peaceful means, which would involve painful compromises mostly by the beneficiaries of the existing global order.

He stated that if the past is any guide, the probability of a smooth and peaceful accommodation of China's rise by the US-led West is rather low. So the world is likely to witness a period of intense strife between the US and China, especially after 2050 by which time the combination of China's economic and military power will pose a potent challenge to the US global supremacy. He said that the Asia Pacific region will be the main arena for the interplay of these great power conflicts.

Multipolar World

Ambassador Husain said that the world order is also gradually evolving towards a multipolar world in place of what the historians call the “unipolar moment” after the end of the Cold War I and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, when the US reigned supreme on the global geopolitical chessboard. In the emerging multipolar world, besides US and China, several other powers like India, Indonesia, Brazil, Nigeria, Russia, Japan, and Turkey will play an increasingly important role in dealing with international issues of global concern like climate change and trade negotiations.

He said that they will also bring to bear their influence on the consideration of important issues of concern to their respective regions, thus, diluting to some extent the ability of the US to control the events in those areas, e.g. Iran-KSA rapprochement.

Ambassador Husain stated that the emergence of a re-assertive Russia under President Vladimir Putin is another noteworthy development which has obvious implications for global world order and for the Eurasian region.

“The growing Sino-Russian strategic cooperation has obvious implications for the global order at the expense of the current American global supremacy.”

He said that the cooperation between China and Russia bilaterally or within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) can be a source of strength to both in standing up to American hegemonic tendencies. He further said that the Ukraine crisis has diverted to some extent the attention and resources of the US-led West from China to Europe.

The crisis has been caused basically by the West's inexorable eastward expansion since the end of the Cold War and the invasion of 24 February, 2022 by a re-assertive Russia to check NATO's eastward expansion. This diversion, he said, at least temporarily, may reduce the West's pressure on China and may also strengthen the latter's position on the global political chessboard by pushing a re-assertive Russia closer into a strategic partnership with it.

“There is even the distinct possibility of the emergence of a Sino-Russian bloc in some form to counter the global domination of the US and its allies.”

He remarked that a lot will depend upon Russia's success or otherwise in the realisation of its strategic goals in Ukraine. Russia's failure will embolden the Western Alliance and weaken the overall power potential of the Sino-Russian strategic partnership while pushing Russia deeper into China's embrace.

He summed this up by saying that while recognising the security risks posed by a re-assertive Russia in Europe, US policy makers are fully aware that the centre of gravity of international politics is gradually shifting to Asia where the decisive struggle for world supremacy will be waged.

This is understandable considering the enormity of the challenge posed by China because of the huge size of its population and the rapid growth of its economic strength and military power.

Increasing International Tensions

Ambassador Husain contended that the world is now poised for a period of increasing international tensions and instability because of the growing Sino-US rivalry and a re-assertive Russia, posing difficult choices for countries like Pakistan which basically will have to balance its vital security and economic links with China with its valuable economic and commercial ties with the US-led West.

“The challenge facing Pakistan’s diplomacy is to strike the right balance between the two so as to safeguard its vital security, economic, and commercial interests while being on the right side of history.”

Choices for Pakistan

He suggested that while doing so, Pakistan must be cognisant of the harsh reality that in the unfolding global scenario, India is the strategic partner of choice for the US as a counterweight to China in contrast with

the situation during most of the Cold War when Pakistan enjoyed close relations with the US. He mentioned Prime Minister Narendra Modi's recent visit to Washington and the Indo-US joint statement issued on 22 June, 2022 as it leaves no doubt about the determination of the two countries to develop their strategic partnership on a comprehensive and fast track basis. These developments have far reaching implications for Pakistan's security and economic well-being. He further suggested that it, therefore, has no choice but to develop its own strategic cooperation with China to safeguard its security and restore strategic balance in South Asia while maintaining normal friendly relations with the US-led West.

- Schemes of regional economic integration designed to benefit from an efficient allocation of resources on the basis of the principle of comparative advantage and the economies of large-scale production. Other advantages: increased inflow of foreign investment and technology, enhanced influence of the member states in international fora, and the strengthening of regional peace and security. Prerequisites: community of interests, economic complementarities, geographical proximity, cultural affinities, absence of serious disputes, and non-existence of hegemonic designs among the member states. For Pakistan, ECO rather than SAARC is the regional organisation of choice for economic integration.
- Knowledge has become an important source of strength in the modern power-driven international system. Advancement in science and technology and other branches of knowledge has become an indispensable condition for a country's progress and prosperity on a sustainable basis as well as for strengthening its military power.

- The critical importance of the issue of climate change for the future of mankind cannot be over-emphasised. The issue calls for collective action by the world to minimise the adverse consequences of the warming up of the atmosphere with the developed countries taking the lead to reduce carbon emissions and providing assistance to the developing countries in overcoming the adverse effects of climate change. Despite the growing global awareness of the importance of this issue, the progress towards mitigating its negative consequences is rather slow.

Ambassador Husain expressed that Pakistan is thus faced with an anarchic and extremely competitive global security environment marked by the domination of power politics over international law, diminished authority of the UN on strategic issues of war and peace, civilisational fault-lines, primacy of economic power, importance of science and technology in determining the power of states and their growth, the rise of new powers demanding the accommodation of their interests in the international system, and shifting alliances. He emphasised that the enormity of this challenge cannot be over-emphasised.

“It is this world in disorder with an unpredictable and inhospitable international environment in which Pakistan has to operate to safeguard its security and attain the goal of economic prosperity so that its people may realise their full potential.”

Regional Foreign Policy Issues

Ambassador Husain expressed that Pakistan is faced with an extremely challenging regional security environment faced as it is with a hegemonic India which poses an enduring threat to its security, Kashmir dispute, an unstable Afghanistan ruled over by the Taliban with their extremist ideology, the threat posed by indigenous and external terrorist groups, and

widespread instability in the Middle East.

"The need of the hour for Pakistan is to build up friendly relations with China, Turkey, Iran, the Arab states of the Persian Gulf region, Central Asian Republics, and Russia while stabilising itself politically and accelerating its economic growth."

He expressed hope that the recent Saudi-Iran rapprochement would make Pakistan's task easier in the Persian Gulf region. However, he said, this is, however, not to deny the importance of developing friendly relations with the US, Western Europe, Japan, ASEAN, South Korea and other important countries around the globe.

He said that keeping in view the peculiar security environment, the imperative of building up relations and strategic cooperation with China and the smooth implementation of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) projects cannot be over-emphasised.

Relations with India and Kashmir Dispute

Ambassador Husain pointed out that India wishes to establish its hegemony in South Asia region and sees Pakistan as an obstacle in the realisation of this strategic goal. The Kashmir dispute is also a continuing source of tensions and enmity between Pakistan and India. Besides, he said, India considers Pakistan as a barrier in the development of its relations with Central Asian Republics, Iran and, to some extent, other countries in the Persian Gulf region.

"The growing sway of Hindutva in India is likely to embitter Pakistan-India relations even further."

He elucidated that under the circumstances, friendly relations between Pakistan and India will remain elusive in the foreseeable future. Still both countries, which are de facto nuclear weapon states, should keep their lines of communication open to defuse tensions, undertake CBM's to reduce the risk of outbreak of hostilities through misunderstanding or miscalculation, continue efforts to resolve outstanding disputes especially the Kashmir dispute, and resume bilateral trade on a mutually beneficial basis.

Ambassador Husain stated that despite UNSC resolutions on Kashmir, a satisfactory settlement of the dispute will remain out of reach in the foreseeable future because of India's intransigence and the Pakistan-India power imbalance which is now heavily tilted in favour of India.

"While biding for time and continuing efforts to keep the issue alive internationally, Pakistan should maintain its policy of extending moral, diplomatic and political support to the struggle of the people of Kashmir for the exercise of their right to self-determination as enshrined in UNSC resolutions."

Afghanistan

Ambassador Husain expressed his views that the end of US military occupation of Afghanistan should be welcomed as it enables the Afghan people in principle to establish a government of their choice free of foreign interference.

To that extent, the Taliban's victory in Afghanistan is a welcome development. However, he said, their extremist ideology, denial of the rights of women and religious minorities, and the presence of some terrorist groups, including TTP on the Afghan soil, are matters of deep concern for Pakistan and the rest of the international community.

“Islamabad in concert with other countries, especially Iran, should encourage the Taliban to moderate their human rights policies particularly in dealing with women and religious minorities, broaden the political base of their government, and deny space to various terrorist groups on the Afghan soil.”

Simultaneously, he said, Pakistan should develop friendly relations and mutually beneficial cooperation with the Taliban government in Afghanistan in various fields.

Relations with Iran

Ambassador Husain explained that Pakistan and Iran have enjoyed close friendly relations since 1947. Iran was the first country to recognise Pakistan after its independence. The two countries are closely linked with each other through historical, cultural, economic, and commercial ties. They also have a history of cooperating with each other in the consideration of political and security issues. However, he said that in 1990's, tensions developed in relations between the two countries because of sectarian factors and policy differences in dealing with Afghanistan.

“While learning from their past mistakes, Pakistan and Iran should strengthen their brotherly relations by promoting mutual understanding on political and security issues, and mutually beneficial economic, commercial, technical and cultural cooperation both bilaterally and within the framework of ECO.”

They should also coordinate their policies in dealing with the issues of terrorism and the situation in Afghanistan as the matter affects both neighbouring countries.

Ambassador Husain particularly emphasised the importance of Pakistan's friendly relations with Iran in view of the enduring threat that a hegemonic and hostile India poses to Pakistan's security. He said that Pakistan must enter into serious negotiations with Iran for the early implementation of the Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline which can be extended later to China for meeting its rapidly growing energy requirements, while remaining cognisant of the US economic sanctions against Iran.

“Gwadar and Chah Bahar can be developed as sister ports to the advantage of the two countries.”

Further, he said, Pakistan and Iran should closely cooperate with each other in ending cross-border terrorism by terrorist groups which are sometimes supported by foreign powers for the realisation of their nefarious designs. He advised that Pakistan should also call for a peaceful resolution of the issue of Iran's nuclear programme.

Ambassador Husain concluded by stating that wherever possible, Pakistan should play a positive role in defusing tensions and promoting friendly relations between Iran and the Arab states of the Persian Gulf region. He reiterated that the recent rapprochement between Iran and Saudi Arabia is a welcome development for peace, stability, and economic progress of the region. He suggested that Pakistan should encourage further this process as peace in the region and between Iran and Saudi Arabia serve its best interests.

Further Deepening of Pakistan's Strategic Ties with China

Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi

Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi distinguished 'new China' from 'old China', a 5,000-years-old civilisation. She highlighted that new China, which emerged after October 1949, is what she would be talking about.

Orientation of Pakistan-China Relationship

She said that the orientation of Pak-China relationship was set even before the establishment of both the states. This happened when Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah sent a delegation of Muslim League to meet the Communist Party of China Chairman Mao Zedong. She accentuated that Mr Jinnah knew what was happening in China and it was even evident through Iqbal's poetry that the rise of the East is the rise of China. She further said that having served in China twice, she is confident through her personal experience that the orientation of friendship and the strategic compass was always there.

In 1949, when China was established by the Communist Party of China, Pakistan was the first Muslim country to recognise the People's Republic of China. She compared Pak-China relationship to Pak-USSR relationship, highlighting how the notion of non-believers or Kafirs was not endorsed in the former.

“Pakistan, despite all its challenges, advantages and weaknesses, has maintained a very balanced foreign policy against the normal perception that Pakistan is entrenched in the western camp.”

Ambassador Naghmana said that her opinion of Pakistan's balanced foreign policy, between China and the West, is based on the history of

Pak-China relationship. It is a relationship that has a trajectory of its own.

There is a reason for the relationship to be called an all-weather friend i.e. despite changes in Pakistan, despite changes in the region, and despite changes in the world, the upward trajectory of Pak-China relationship has never wavered.

“So, irrespective of whether Pakistan was a member of CETO or CENTO, irrespective of whether Pakistan is a non-NATO ally, and very close to the West, Pak-China relationship had only one direction, and that is upward and it still continues.”

Pak-China All-Weather Friendship

Ambassador Naghmana gave the examples from history when Pak-China friendship was tested by the West but Pakistan maintained a balanced relationship between China and the West. During the Korean War, it was a general perception that Pakistan will send its troops to Korea due to its alliance with America but Pakistan refused to send its troops because it knew that at some stage Pakistan's forces may come into contact with the Chinese forces, and it did not want this to happen. This balanced foreign policy of Pakistan was reciprocated by China.

“When Chinese President Zhou Enlai visited India, Indian President Nehru organised his visit to Kashmir, but Zhou Enlai refused to visit Kashmir because of his deference to Pakistan's view on Kashmir.”

She also expressed her personal experience that the older generation of China considers Pakistan to be its window to the West because Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) was the only non-communist airline to fly to several destinations in China, and Karachi was the first foreign land that they set foot on. Before Dubai, Qatar, and Abu Dhabi came up, Karachi was the gateway from going east to west and west to east.

She also shed light on the historic visit of Henry Kissinger to China, when everybody thought that he was in Murree but PIA carried him to Beijing for negotiations.

That is how it helped China to gain its rightful place in United Nations by unseating Taiwan, and that is where the One China Policy was endorsed, not only by Americans and the Chinese but by the rest of the world as well.

The Two Centennial Goals of China

The Ambassador stated that China is reemerging from hundred years of humiliation, and those hundred years of humiliation were the years of colonisation and imperial problems. At that time, millions of Chinese had died of starvation due to food shortages, and that is why when 'new China' was established. They made two centennial goals, and those two centennial goals are important to understand what is happening in the world today.

“The first centennial goal was to eradicate complete and absolute poverty from China by the Communist Party of China when it becomes 100 years old.”

CPC became 100 years old in 2021. A lot of people in the world, particularly, the Americans and the West thought that China would not be able to do it, especially after the disintegration of Soviet Union. They thought the political system is doomed to die its own death and they will not be successful. Highlighting the reaction of the world to the success of China, Ambassador Naghmana said that it is due to this reason that we all see the world's reaction to what happened during Covid-19. They (the West) tried to alienate China and they tried to stigmatise it, causing a very big challenge for Pakistan at that time.

Pakistan: A reliable partner

When the rest of the world was against China, there was a dilemma for Pakistan to call back its students, to expatriate Pakistanis in China. A lot of countries tried to isolate it, and sort of stand with the Western camp.

Sharing her own personal experience, she said that she was the Ambassador there at that time, and it was a very difficult decision to take. Pakistan had 38,000 students in China.

“Pakistan proved that the relationship with China was far more important to Pakistan than it was related to the rest of the world.”

Pakistan made a fundamental decision that it was not going to repatriate even a single student or a national of Pakistan who was there, and that really paid off in a big way. It showed China that Pakistan will also stand by it. Appreciating the diplomatic decision of the president of Pakistan, she said that it was a very good decision of the president to visit China because only two presidents visited China during that very bad period; one was the Mongolian president and the other was the Pakistan president.

“Pakistan is very clear in its mind that as far as its relationship with China is concerned, there is no question of balance. It is very clear that the strategic compass should remain oriented towards the China.”

She affirmed that Pakistan should have good relations with every state but that does not mean that Pakistan should compromise on its relationship with China. She further said that the West understands it very clearly. Just as India had a special relationship with Soviet Union, and that relationship is not going to erode because the world saw the Indian reaction to the Ukraine war, Pakistan has a special relationship with China, and the

fundamentals of that relationship is so strong that irrespective of what happens in the world, that relationship will not be shaken.

“So no matter what the West does to Pakistan, Pakistan will not waver from its orientation towards China.”

Pak-China All-Weather Strategic Cooperative Partnership

Referring to the previous speakers and their opinions on the contemporary world order, she said that times are going to be difficult and hard for Pak-China friendship. It is going to face the test of time. She said that Pakistan used to call this friendship ‘higher than mountains and deeper than oceans’ and then it called it an ‘all-weather friendship’. This was followed by the term ‘all-weather strategic cooperative partnership’, and eventually it came to be known as ‘all-weather strategic cooperative partnership between iron brothers’. She said these are not clichés. These are just the various stages of how the relationship has developed and where this relationship is heading, and why Pakistan has stood by China and why China has stood by Pakistan.

The Second Centennial Goal of China

Ambassador Naghmana believed that the real test of Pak-China friendship is yet to come because of the second centennial goal of the China. The second centennial goal is the rejuvenation of the motherland. She said that China has surpassed the West, and has even eradicated absolute poverty. She referred to the last scene of the classic movie ‘Gone with the Wind’, saying that it is very important for understanding China. The last scene is about the American Civil War where Scarlett O’ Hara (the protagonist of the movie) had nothing to eat after the war. She looks for something to eat and she finally finds a carrot. She pulls it and starts to eat it when she suddenly realises how she was eating it like an animal. So she that says she would never be hungry again, for “tomorrow is another day”. For China, the Ambassador said, it is the same thing as the Chinese had lost so many people.

Even till the late 70s, when the Chinese would greet each other, they would never say, “Hello, how are you?” or “Good morning”, rather they would ask each other whether they had eaten that day because they were not even able to afford a bowl of rice. That is when their first centennial goal was set that they would never allow anyone in the world to humiliate them at this level that they starve for food.

“That is why China first shut itself to the world and concentrated on establishing ‘new China’.”

Internal Strength

She said that the Chinese concentrated on eradicating poverty, and becoming politically and internally strong so that nobody could challenge them. But this period started 70 years after of the establishment of ‘new China’ in 2019. This is where they started, what the Western world called the ‘wolf warrior diplomacy’, and they started to change their lingo and they started to change their rhetoric about the world, and became more open.

“They were quite stridden but now they respond in an equal measure to the allegations and the criticism of the West, but after having achieved their first centennial goal.”

She said that the Chinese are financially very strong. First it was presumed that by 2030 China would overtake the Americans in term of their economic strength but now it may be earlier i.e. 2028. On PPP basis, China already has the biggest economy in the world.

Getting Taiwan Back

According to Ambassador Naghmana, the second centennial goal is the goal that is rocking the boat, and that second centennial goal is the rejuvenation of the motherland.

“The rejuvenation of the motherland implies the peaceful unification of all the islands that under the international law belong to China, including Taiwan.”

She said that it is Taiwan that is rocking the boat now, because after the West has woken up from all its wars and destroying the rest of the world, they have suddenly realised how the Chinese have surpassed them in technology. The West realised that Chinese are serious. The political system did not collapse, and faced the challenge of Covid-19. They are still growing. They are serious about it and the West needs to take them seriously. The West knows that China will not take Taiwan by force as they are very sagacious people.

“Americans now understand that taking Taiwan by force is not an option because for Chinese it is a matter of six hours and they can do it now.”

They showed that they have the capabilities and the power, but they did not do it because they are a civilised country. So China will wait for the right time for Taiwan to come back and Taiwan will come back, and it is this resolve of China that is making the entire world go round and round.

Existing Competition

This confrontation, and this is not a confrontation yet, it is competition, and the US and the Western desire to contain China that brings them to Pakistan because if the various military bases are looked at that are around China, it is amazing. She gave the example of a cartoon published in China Daily, showing the world map, particularly China, and showed all the bases that are surrounding it at the moment, highlighting how it mocked the Western thinking about China's perceived aggression.

Recalling the beginning of her diplomatic career, the Ambassador said that when she joined the service, she was told by her seniors that the

political and the economic centre of the world would shift from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. She said that at that time she did not think that it would happen in her lifetime, but she is seeing it happening now.

“Now, where does it lead Pakistan to? It leads Pakistan to its backyard which is the Indian Ocean. After the implosion of the Soviet Union, all those, including India, who were in the Soviet camp, remained there. India is still friends with the Russians and played it very smart.”

It opened up to the Americans, and it suits Americans but both they understand how much they can trust India and how far they can go. They also understand that as far as India is concerned, it is no competition to China. The world saw this in Galwan. So economically, she said, it is far behind China.

Indian Ocean Dynamics

The Ambassador said that in this competition, if the confrontation comes to the Indian Ocean, then Pakistan will be directly involved.

“This is where CPEC becomes very crucial. This is where Gwadar Port, the second largest now in Asia, is making Pakistan strategically important but also vulnerable.”

The Indians are paying extreme attention to their ports and their navy. They have in response to the pearl of springs, the theory of Sagarmala which means they have at the moment 8 big ports and 200 small ports and they want to convert and raise the number of these in the next 10 years to 400 small ports and 16 big ports. It is all because of the confrontation that might come to the political and the economical centre i.e. Indian Ocean.

Direction of Strategic Compass

The Ambassador affirmed that Pakistan needs America. It needs the West for exports, and for a lot of other reasons, but China is also very important. She alluded to the conversation between President Ayub Khan and American President Lyndon Johnson who was from Texas. In a confrontational tone President Lyndon asked President Ayub why Pakistan still stands with China when America helps Pakistan in technology and military. She mentioned how President Ayub, in a very relaxed and composed manner, said that “if we lose America, our commercial interests are harmed, but if we lose China our national interests are harmed”.

“It was as true then as it is today and it is very important to maintain a balance. Every country should have options and balance. However, there should be not an iota of doubt in anybody’s mind about where the strategic compass should be focused on.”

So, when the push comes to shove, she asked, whether it should be somebody who has been a transactional partner or somebody with whom you have consistent upward trajectory of relationship.

Economic Stability of Pakistan

Ambassador Naghmana remarked that everybody says that Pakistan has very good strategic location and is very important to the Americans and the Chinese but historically, the key to Central Asia and South Asia has not been Pakistan, it has been Afghanistan.

“Afghanistan is like the lock, if you open it, then it brings important integration and positive development for the rest of the region and if you close that lock in a negative way then you see what is happening there to the region. We cannot really go there and develop.”

The Ambassador said that the Chinese have always advised Pakistan to talk less and do more. However, she said that Pakistan, being a “mango nation”, talks more. Pakistan announces things without really having a plan while the Chinese advise against confrontation, she added.

“China advises Pakistan to have good relations with India, with Europe, with the Americans, with everybody. Pakistan’s importance will only emerge if it is strong from within.”

She said that Pakistan will be in a vulnerable position if it is not economically and politically and socially secure since its social contract is, unfortunately, broken. She highlighted the need for Pakistan to have a new social contract and to strengthen itself.

Pakistan’s Importance

In her opinion, whether it is China, Europe, America, or whoever Pakistan’s friend is, the importance of Pakistan is going to be decided by Pakistan itself.

She said that the Americans think Pakistan is the spoiler, so attribute a negative importance to Pakistan. The Chinese are constantly saying that in order for Pakistan to be its friend, Pakistan has to help China be its friend.

“So Pakistan needs to wake up to that reality. Unless you are strong to yourself, you are of no use either to the Chinese, or to the Americans or to the Europeans. There are many ways that they can bypass you.”

Significance of CPEC

Noting CPEC’s importance, she said that without it, BRI does not work since all the connections in the world are East and West and West and

East, and there is no connectivity in the world that is North and South. The only connectivity North and South is CPEC and that is the importance of CPEC and that is why it is called the flagship project, she added, highlighting the core reason why the Chinese wanted this one to be completed first. Secondly, it is the only bilateral connectivity because the rest is all multilateral. That is why the other six corridors are really not progressing like this one.

“Geographically, BRI works when CPEC works because that is what shortens the route. So this is of extreme importance, and this is the area which will be challenged if the confrontation comes to the Pacific.”

That is why it is so important for Pakistan to not only strengthen its air force but also strengthen its sea. Ambassador Naghmana accentuated that China is the only state that is helping Pakistan to redesign and improve its military platform that are 60 to 70 percent of Western origin.

China is helping Pakistan to become restart its industry. She said that the second phase of CPEC is not working, and it is not because of the Chinese because they fulfilled their commitment. They were supposed to do the first phase which is the energy project and the infrastructure. This was the priority given to them by Pakistan. The second phase is what Pakistan was supposed to do.

“Pakistan was supposed to make the Special Economic Zones and provide all the facilities so that when the Chinese companies and the Chinese industrialists come it would be plug and play.”

However, Pakistan did nothing. The nine SEZs could not be identified. However, now they have started working a little bit. Ambassador Naghmana concluded her speech on a strong note for the policymakers of Pakistan that whether Pakistan wants to enhance its relationship with the Chinese, or the Americans or the Europeans, or whoever, it has to put its house in order first by strengthening its economy.

Pakistan-India Relations: Policy Options

Ambassador (Retd) Riffat Masood

In her video message, Ambassador (Retd) Riffat Masood initiated the discussion by acknowledging the challenges faced by Pakistan in its relations with neighbouring countries, particularly India, throughout her 35 years of diplomatic experience. In her opinion, it is crucial for Pakistan to have a comprehensive understanding of its neighbours, as the current level of familiarity is inadequate to comprehend their perspectives. Understanding India's policy-making processes is of particular importance to Pakistan, and she posed the pertinent question of what India truly represents and who it truly is for Pakistan and the world.

Two Sides of India

According to her analysis, there exist two distinct versions of India. The first is the image projected to the world — a market of over a billion people, a hub of manufacturing and technology, culturally rich and diverse, with a thriving middle class. It showcases Bollywood, art, music, ancient civilisation, mythology, spiritualism, and technological advancements. India effectively promotes its democratic values and succeeds in doing so.

The second image of India, which remains hidden, is one of poverty, deprivation, inadequate sanitation, poor infrastructure, and dilapidated roads. Furthermore, India exhibits the worst forms of degradation and discrimination towards its minority groups, particularly Muslims, Christians, and low-caste Hindus. However, no one is willing to buy this image.

“The fact that the world readily accepts the version of India that it presents raises significant questions about India's true nature.”

Contradictions Marring India

In Ambassador Riffat's view, India is a nation characterised by controversy and contradiction. It is deeply rooted in traditions, sometimes even adopting a medieval mindset, yet projecting an ultramodern image.

“While claiming to be a secular state, India remains deeply divided along caste and ethnic lines but manages to evoke a sense of unity and nationhood.”

Indians exhibit strong nationalist sentiments while simultaneously cherishing their diverse indigenous cultures and promoting diversity. They harbour deep mistrust towards anything or anyone non-Indian or non-Hindu. Their approach aligns with the teachings of Chanakya: considering enemies' enemies as their friends but not extending trust or belief to their neighbours.

Ambassador Riffat asserted that Indians hold nostalgic sentiments towards 1947, referring to the partition as the greatest separation in history. From an Indian perspective, everything that Pakistan possesses or represents is inherently Indian, which raises the important question of how to deal with such a neighbour.

Pragmatism and Rationalism

She remarked that the only way to deal with such a neighbour is through pragmatism and rationalism as these are the only viable approaches. She highlighted India's significant size, with a population exceeding 1.4 billion and the fifth-largest economy in the world, along with a literacy rate of 70 percent and the world's fourth-largest military, a defence budget accounting for 30 percent of their expenditure, and the distinction of being the largest arms importer globally.

“Pakistan must adopt a pragmatic, rational, and cohesive policy in its dealings with India. India perceives Pakistan as an obstacle to its hegemonic ambitions in South Asia, thus forming the crux of the differences between the two nations.”

Then and Now

In summarising Pakistan's relationship with India during her tenure there from 2006 to 2011, Ambassador Riffat drew inspiration from Charles Dickens, stating, “It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, and it was the age of foolishness. It was the epoch of belief and it was the epoch of incredulity.”

During that time, the two countries made significant strides towards resolving disputes, implementing confidence-building measures such as those related to Kashmir, engaging in trade, and facilitating delegations. Former Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh even spoke of having breakfast in Delhi, lunch in Islamabad, and dinner in Kabul. However, everything took a dramatic turn for the worse following the Mumbai attacks, and since then, the relationship between the two nations has only deteriorated, resulting in further escalations and moments of near war.

“The current state of affairs reflects the fragility of the relationship, which is primarily rooted in mutual mistrust and a lack of political will.”

Ongoing Hostilities

She emphasised the deep-rooted mistrust India harbours towards Pakistan, stating that even if the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir were to be resolved tomorrow, the relationship between the two countries would, at best, remain strained and, at worst, unfriendly or hostile. India's refusal to acknowledge Pakistan's existence is a prevailing mindset that permeates generations, instilled through media and establishment narratives, making it highly unlikely for India to move forward in accepting

Pakistan as an equal power. Instead, India seeks to dominate a subservient Pakistan.

“Pakistan has made numerous attempts to establish cordial relations and has endeavoured to progress in the relationship, but it often encounters dead ends.”

The Ambassador referred to the disrespectful treatment of Pakistan's foreign minister during the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation's (SCO) meeting in Goa and the language used in the Delhi declaration as examples. She questioned the proposed solution from the Western world, which suggests that trade is the way forward and that trade would bring about peace and stakeholders.

Trade with India

While she acknowledged that trade can pave the path to peace, she stressed that it must be fair trade based on certain values. Trade negotiations with India have historically been challenging, surpassing even the complexities of the Kashmir issue. The Indians have employed agricultural subsidies, imposed tariffs on Pakistani investors, and implemented roadblocks that hinder trade with Pakistan. Moving forward is extremely difficult under such circumstances. In terms of trade negotiations, she advocated for strength and a focus on Western parts and South Asian countries, excluding India. Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, China, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Nepal should be the primary focus.

Regarding policy options, Ambassador Riffat emphasised the need for strategic patience with India. Although the term originated in reference to North Korea by Hillary Clinton, she believed it applies to Pakistan's situation with India as well since India is not willing to talk and we should not try to change it. Pakistan should continue to convey the message of

willingness to engage but only on its terms, without succumbing to external pressures.

“India's current state of arrogance, considering its global standing and viewing itself in a different league, requires a counter approach from Pakistan.”

A Pragmatic Approach

The Ambassador proposed that the only way to normalise the relationship with India is through a pragmatic and unified approach. Pakistan must cultivate internal strength in terms of political and economic stability. It needs to develop the domestic economy, foster growth in markets, manufacturing, industry, and agriculture, and encourage domestic investments. Political cohesion is vital, regardless of which party is in power, and above all, Pakistan must think and act as a united nation.

“There should be no compromise on the issue of Kashmir, considering India's treatment of Kashmiris. Pakistan cannot afford to abandon the Kashmiris or put the Kashmir issue on the back burner.”

Efforts to win the hearts and minds of the people in these areas have been minimal, and Pakistan should rectify this, she added. Ambassador Riffat highlighted the unity of Indian politicians when it comes to foreign relations with Pakistan, despite their differences in domestic politics. In a similar vein, Pakistan needs to be on the same page in its approach towards India and think rationally from its perspective. Cohesion is crucial. She concluded by stressing the importance of observing how events unfold and maintaining relationships with other regional partners.

How Best to Resolve the Afghan Conundrum

Ambassador (Retd) Asif Durrani Pakistan's Representative on Afghanistan

Ambassador Asif Durrani (Retd), in his speech, highlighted that Afghanistan saw peace for only four decades during the rule of King Muhammad Zahir Shah from 1933 to 1973, therefore, while deciding upon any way forward, its history should be kept in mind.

Post-withdrawal Scenario

Ambassador Durrani discussed the post-withdrawal scenario in Afghanistan and said that Taliban 2.0 were initially less coercive and quite lenient about women rights. He said that women were allowed to work in schools and hospitals, television debates were reasonably free, public demonstrations were tolerated and patient hearing was given to the protesters' grievances. But, later on, things changed for the worse as girls' education beyond primary schools is prohibited and women are banned from employment, including those working with UN / INGOs.

“Girls’ education is Afghanistan’s bargaining chip with the West because the West and the United States are not going to compromise on women’s education or their employment issues.”

Humanitarian Crisis

Assessing the current humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan, Ambassador Durrani said that the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan has worsened since the Taliban came to power as 95 percent of the country's population lies below the poverty line. There were instances of parents selling children, and almost one million migrated to Iran, and 700,000 to Pakistan. 130,000 have already moved to the US and western states from Pakistan and other countries.

Resistance

While deliberating upon the current status of Afghan Taliban rule in Afghanistan, Ambassador Durrani said that right now Taliban do not face any resistance. A National Resistance Front (NRF) under Ahmad Massoud, the son of Ahmad Shah Massoud, is there, albeit ineffective. Other groups are scattered and ineffective.

Economic Situation

He stated that the economic condition of Afghanistan is not good as America has frozen Afghanistan's assets.

“The US enjoys a strategic advantage through sanctions as Afghan assets worth \$9.6 billion are frozen, which has paralysed the Afghan banking system, trade and normal business.”

Countries whose banking system is dollar-based are quite cautious while dealing with Afghan banks. Ambassador Durrani shared that despite the bad economic situation of Afghanistan, which needs urgent attention, Ukrainian crisis has pushed Afghanistan to the background. There is a danger of a mass exodus of people to the neighbouring countries, and even to Europe while Pakistan does not have any contingency plan to tackle it.

Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations

Commenting on Afghanistan-Pakistan relations, Ambassador Durrani stated that Pakistan and Afghanistan enjoy a symbiotic relationship as they share a common history, religion, culture and ethnicities which are sources of mutual strength. However, the Tajiks and Uzbeks identify more with Russian culture to a great extent, especially after the Soviet influence on Afghanistan. Hence, he said, this socio-culture mix is impacting Afghanistan.

“Close to 30,000 people from Afghanistan transit through Pakistan’s borders without any visas.”

It is a century old practice and Pashtuns on both sides of the border are tribal people so any restrictions on the border movement are seen as anti-Afghan measures taken by Pakistan.

International / Regional Concerns and Taliban Modus Operandi

Ambassador Durrani stated that by and large Taliban have succeeded in bringing peace to the country, but the current economic conditions may push the country to chaos.

“Increased Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) attacks on Pakistan border posts are a source of concern and India may be financing TTP and Baloch militants’ activities.”

Furthermore, he stated, ISIS-K is a nuisance and there are a rising number of suicide attacks against religious minorities. The sanctuaries of various terrorist groups in Afghanistan are a cause for concern in Tajikistan, Iran, China and Uzbekistan.

On the matter of Pakistan’s recognition of the Afghan Taliban regime, Ambassador Durrani pointed out that under Dushanbe understanding in September 2021, immediate neighbours of Afghanistan decided to simultaneously recognise it and hence Pakistan will also abide by the regional decision in this matter.

Prospects of Economic Connectivity at Regional Level

Ambassador Durrani said that while discussing the prospects of economic connectivity at the regional level, Pakistan has been quite optimistic about the country becoming a bridge between South Asia and Central Asia, but in this process, Afghanistan’s role should not be ignored. He further pointed out that if India is not part of the equation then Pakistan cannot

become a bridge between South and Central Asia. He said that theoretically Pakistan can become a bridge but as far as the on-ground situation is concerned, it is much more difficult. Projects like CASA-1000 and Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan–India (TAPI) Pipeline can help but what has happened on ground is little. However, he expressed his hope in these projects and advised to wait and see.

“Since India is out of this bridge politics, the option for Pakistan is to concentrate on Central Asia through Afghanistan.”

He also expressed his views on trade with Central Asia and said that even though Central Asia is small market, this trade route can connect Pakistan with the Russian market as well. Moreover, normal trade relations with Central Asia will impact Pakistan’s political relations, which is also beneficial for Pakistan’s national interests.

Mechanism to Safeguard Pakistan and International Security Concerns
Ambassador Durrani stated that for the world, the major problem with Afghanistan is the terrorists groups which are taking shelter in Afghanistan. He mentioned some of them such as TTP, which is an issue for Pakistan, whereas for Chinese it is ETIM and for Uzbeks it is IMU. He said that this is something which creates problems and is something that should be taken into account when talking of a way forward.

“For Pakistan, the red line now is TTP. Pakistan will not compromise as it has exhausted all options, including the Afghan Taliban mediating with the TTP.”

He clarified that there are no compromises because the TTP has challenged the state and it does not owe allegiance to the Constitution and puts out irrational demands. It cannot challenge the writ of the state, he said, and has to surrender.

However, Ambassador Durrani said, there is need to encourage Afghan Taliban to address the issues of inclusivity and protection of human rights, including women's rights. Absence of reconciliation may encourage rival groups to rise against the Taliban and spoilers, such as India, would be ready to stoke the fire. He said that in this process there is a need to maintain consensus with the immediate neighbours of Afghanistan.

However, Ambassador Durrani said, there is need to encourage Afghan Taliban to address the issues of inclusivity and protection of human rights, including women's rights. Absence of reconciliation may encourage rival groups to rise against the Taliban and spoilers, such as India, would be ready to stoke the fire. He said that in this process there is a need to maintain consensus with the immediate neighbours of Afghanistan.

Way Forward at Political Level

Ambassador Durrani stated that Pakistan will have to manage its affairs with Afghanistan, and in the process, it should not expect miracles. Pakistan should maintain friendly relations with the Taliban regime but not try to patronise them. He said that Taliban are shrewd diplomats and Doha Agreement is a case in point where they got the deal which was quite favourable to them.

“Pakistan should keep pressure on the Taliban regime to curb TTP activities at all costs, and the TTP or other groups should not be allowed to fiddle with the rule of law in the country.”

Furthermore, he stated that there should be no compromise on fencing while a biometric system along the border to regulate the flow of people should be introduced; authentic record of peoples' movement should be maintained and visa violators should be put behind bars. For Pakistan, there is a need to make contingency plans to receive an influx of Afghan refugees if the humanitarian situation worsens in Afghanistan.

Way Forward at Regional / International Level

Ambassador Durrani said that at the regional level, together with Iran, Pakistan should make a strong pitch for the repatriation of Afghan refugees. Pakistan should not rush to recognise Taliban regime and go for the regional solution. There is an understanding between the immediate neighbours to recognise Afghan Taliban regime together so that policy should be maintained. Pakistan should continue to maintain close liaison with the US and European partners for humanitarian assistance for Afghanistan.

Way Forward on Economic Front

Ambassador Durrani said that on the economic front, there is a need to develop border markets to initiate business activities. Apart from Torkham, Pakistan has Ghulam Khan and others which is also functional for trade with Central Asia. Other neighbours of Afghanistan may be encouraged to initiate similar actions.

There is a need to remove irritants in the way of Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA). Credit facilities are being offered by Pakistan to traders and should continue to facilitate import credit facilities in rupees to maintain the volume of trade at the optimal level and offer training facilities for Afghan bankers.

“Pakistan should also concentrate on trade / transit trade facilities for Central Asia as a partnership with Afghan traders can boost Pakistan’s trade with Central Asia.”

So, for that, Pakistan has to make the Afghan side its partner. Afghanistan’s mineral sector offers great promise for the future development of Afghanistan as approximately one trillion dollars’ worth of rare-earth minerals in the country can become a game-changer if the Taliban create an investment-friendly environment in the country.

Way Forward in Social Sector

Ambassador Durrani stated that in the social sector, Pakistan may continue cooperation in the health and education sectors, and streamline scholarship process for Afghan students. Pakistan already has on-going projects in the health and education sectors.

He revealed that in the future another scheme would be launched and 4,500 scholarships will be granted, out of which 1,500 would be allocated to girls in Pakistan.

“Only if requested, Pakistan may offer training facilities to the Afghan security forces, maintenance of equipment, joint exercises and counter-terrorism cooperation.”

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd)

President, CASS, Lahore

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd), President CASS, Lahore, said in his concluding remarks that the foreign policy of a state is reflected in the choices it makes to achieve certain objectives in its interactions with other states.

“Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah envisioned a foreign policy centered on peace within and peace without. He wanted us to maintain cordial and friendly relations with our immediate neighbours and with the world at large.”

Pakistan's foreign policy, much like other countries, is governed by different variables such as geography, culture, natural resources, human and political system. Additionally, it revolves around establishing peace, economic development and promoting cordial and friendly ties with our neighbours and the world at large, as dictated by Article 40 of the Constitution of Pakistan.

In order to implement Pakistan's foreign policy, we face many challenges like:

- Economic instability created by political deadlocks and mismanagement.
- Religious vulnerabilities.
- Kashmir crisis.
- China-Pakistan Economic Corridor's fruitification.
- Establishment of good relations with Afghanistan.
- Growing Indian aggression towards Pakistan, and United States' support for its nefarious designs.

This list goes on and on. In short, for a stable foreign policy, we have to keep our national interests in mind. This can ensure that our policy is durable, reliable and robust.

China

Pakistan has been fortunate to have a reliable neighbour like China. We have enjoyed good relations for the last 73 years. China has supported Pakistan in various domains, including defence cooperation, diplomatic support and economic collaboration.

This friendship commenced with the signing of a friendship treaty in 1956. This was followed by Sino-Pakistan border agreement in 1963. Subsequently, many agreements were signed between both countries, with CPEC being the most promising of all.

This project includes a highway infrastructure that will play an essential role in the national integration and become the backbone of the national economy. The Gwadar Port takes away all the limelight, being is the deepest seaport in the world.

“CPEC will be a game-changer for Pakistan’s economic uplift. After initial hiccups, the project is gaining momentum.”

Additionally, China has supported Pakistan Armed Forces whole heartedly, with JF-17 being the flagship project of bilateral defence cooperation. China made enormous strides to develop itself while uplifting the Chinese people. Due to this rapid economic development and its poverty alleviation programmes, China is now one of the leading economies, thus becoming a threat to the US.

US Indo-Pacific Strategy

China’s economic rise has added a new dimension to the geopolitical context. The US’ quest for power and to be number one has initiated a

new race for dominance. Walter Russell, an American political thinker, said that for the US to go from a position of overwhelming superiority to a position of contested superiority will rank as one of the greatest act of blindness in the history of America.

If we analyse the cost and benefits of this contest, the costs are very high and benefits very little. US policy on Indo-Pacific is the outcome of same contest in the shape of AUKUS and Quad, which has come to our doorstep via Indian ambitions.

Today India is the strategic partner and a major player in the US strategy in the Indo-Pacific region. The recent visit of Indian prime minister to the US has left no doubt on the Indian role. However, Jumping on the bandwagon against China will cost India dearly.

“India should not forget that China is a world power and her neighbour. US designs will not materialise in the long-term with India as the latter is only cashing in on short-term gains.”

India

The relations between Pakistan and India tell a story of hostilities, mistrust, broken promises and unresolved issues. Right from August 1947 our relations have seen turbulence and we went to three wars in 1947, 1965 and 1971.

For India and Pakistan it has always been a zero-sum game. Things would improve for some time, but unfortunately domestic politics would get in the way, where the political leaders would exploit the situation to their advantage to gain popular public support.

The extremist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)-led government in India has changed the political atmosphere completely. Today, India has a fascist government that has made minorities very vulnerable to extremist forces.

“India is no longer secular while Hindutva prevails over any sensible logic. Additionally, it is exercising powers of an autocratic state.”

In February, 2019, An Indian Security Forces convoy was attacked by freedom fighters in Pulwama. Pakistan was blamed for the incident by the Indians. Consequently, India invaded Pakistan's airspace on 26 February 2019. Pakistan Air Force (PAF) responded on 27 February 2019 by shooting down two Indian fighter jets and captured one pilot of the downed fighter. India got a bloody nose and is not willing to forget the insult since it did not go down well with the domestic audience. In August 2019, India violated United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution and revoked Article 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution, which gave special rights and safeguards to the people of Kashmir. This opened the way to enable the Indian state to incorporate and bifurcate the occupied territory, thus enabling Indians to change the demographics of the occupied valley. Pakistan, in response, downgraded diplomatic ties and stopped bilateral trade with India. The Indian government continues to maintain a hard stance on all issues related to Pakistan and Kashmir and it is in no mood to adhere to international commitments as reflected in its behavior on the recent Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) meet, where its foreign minister acted in a derogatory manner in violation of all diplomatic norms. The recent visit of Mr. Narendra Modi to US has added to Indian arrogance.

“It is imperative for Pakistan to manage its relations with India for harmony and peace in the region to avoid tensions and hostilities. A meaningful dialogue is the best way forward with sovereign dignity.”

Afghanistan

In their longstanding relationship, Afghanistan and Pakistan exhibit a complicated mix of cooperation, strained connections, and shared concerns. Due to their proximity to one another, the two nations frequently interact in ways that are shaped by shared possibilities and problems.

The relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan has been put to the test by a number of problems throughout the years. Bilateral relations have been strained as a result of border conflicts, cross-border terrorism, and accusations of offering safe havens to terrorist groups. These difficulties have hampered efforts to build trust and maintain regional stability. A secure and successful Afghanistan is in the best interest of Pakistan and the rest of the region, notwithstanding ongoing problems. The major areas of attention continue to be economic cooperation, cooperation in the fight against terrorism, and coordinated efforts to handle the issue of refugees.

“Improved ties between the two countries and the promotion of regional harmony depend on the creation of long-lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan.”

Iran

Pakistan and Iran have historically maintained good relations. Iran was the first country to recognise Pakistan. Our relationship has occasionally been strained by regional dynamics and geopolitical considerations, particularly in relation to the problems in Afghanistan and the Gulf region. However, both countries have shown a dedication to continuing a productive discussion and using diplomatic means to resolve issues.

“The Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline project proposes to give Pakistan a dependable supply of Iranian natural gas, helping it satisfy its energy needs. This project needs to be pursued seriously.”

Pakistan and Iran have also acknowledged the possibilities for trade and collaboration on an economic level. By developing trade corridors and enhancing infrastructure, both nations have worked to increase economic connectivity. They have worked closely together to address shared security concerns. Both nations have worked together to address issues like cross-border terrorism, drug trafficking, and border security.

Middle East

The Middle East has been an important economic partner for Pakistan. Countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, whose economies have been soaring lately, have provided significant financial assistance and investment opportunities, aiding Pakistan's economic progress. Furthermore, the Middle East is an important destination for Pakistani labour, with a large number of Pakistanis working in the region and returning money home.

The ongoing conflicts in Syria, Yemen, and Afghanistan have influenced regional dynamics and provided foreign policy concerns for Pakistan. Maintaining partnerships with numerous Middle Eastern entities in the face of these complications has necessitated deft diplomatic maneuvering.

“Pakistan should exercise a balanced approach in maintaining relations with the Middle Eastern states. The latest accord between Iran and Saudi Arabia will also have positive effects in the region.”

United States

In the past, Pakistan brilliantly managed its relations with US. The present situation does not give Pakistan that leverage due to changing regional dynamics. It is time we say goodbye to Cold War politics as we now have to perform a balancing act for maintaining relations with China and US. Pakistan has enormous stakes in its relationship with both countries.

“US is an extra regional force and China a resident power, therefore, it matters more to us being a neighbour and a proven friend.”

International Collaborations

Russia, with its massive landmass and abundant natural resources, has enormous trade and investment potential. Beyond oil and gas, the government has been actively diversifying its economy, focusing on industries such as technology, agriculture, manufacturing, and infrastructure. Member states of the European Union (EU) jointly possess advanced technology, industry experience, and significant purchasing power.

“Closer ties with Pakistan can lead to mutually-beneficial opportunities, allowing the EU to extend its economic network and form strategic alliances.”

Collaboration with Russia, the EU and other international markets has the potential to yield significant benefits. The EU and Russia can provide Pakistan with modern technologies and investment prospects.

“Turkey is an important friend it has a fairly advanced industrial base to support Pakistan in its future development. We need to promote our ties with Turkey, who has been a true friend in difficult times.”

Foreign Policy Options

Our foreign policy has to take a direction by learning from history to address the prevalent international situation. It is important for Pakistan to sort out its priorities and focus on its key areas for a stable foreign policy.

sort out its priorities and focus on its key areas for a stable foreign policy.

- **Regional Approach**

Pakistan's foreign policy is influenced by the intricate dynamics of its immediate surroundings. Its shared borders with China, Iran, Afghanistan, and India each present their own set of opportunities and challenges. Maintaining these ties while promoting its national interests will require astute diplomacy and smart management. Pakistan's foreign policy decisions have had to be reevaluated in light of changing regional dynamics, such as the withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan, the US's attempt to position India as a counterweight to China, and the shifting balance of power in the Middle East. China is our all-weather friend and we need to strengthen our strategic ties with China at all costs. China's support at international forums and its economic collaboration with Pakistan is crucial for our national interests.

- **Economic Development**

Economic concerns have a significant role in Pakistan's foreign policy decisions. In view of its rising population and serious development difficulties, Pakistan is seeking foreign investment, trade possibilities, and economic partnerships to help boost its economy. Strategic collaborations, such as the CPEC, demonstrate Pakistan's efforts to capitalise on its location and create economic ties with all major entities throughout the world. We should work on establishing strategic collaborations and meaningful ties with all major powers throughout the world. Pakistan's foreign policy should be focusing on economic diplomacy, and it should exploit opportunities for investment, trade and economic partnerships to strengthen and develop itself.

- **Prioritising Alliances and Emerging Markets**

The alliances that Pakistan maintains have a significant impact on its foreign policy decisions. Pakistan and the US have long maintained close ties due to comparable security concerns. With changing dynamics in the region, notably the growing prominence of China and altering US objectives, Pakistan has been forced to rethink its ties.

Pakistan's foreign policy today prioritises strengthening ties with China while also pursuing closer ties with Russia, Turkey, and especially Islamic countries. It is important to exploit new markets for the development of local industry and earn revenue.

- **Security Concerns**

Pakistan's security worries have a significant impact on its foreign policy decisions. Pakistan has had a number of internal and external security challenges as a result of its location, including the threat of terrorism, border disputes and in the pursuit of strategic stability. Our main threat comes from the East. We should have good neighbourly relations with India on the basis of sovereign equality, mutual respect and peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues, especially Jammu and Kashmir.

Conclusion

He concluded by emphasising that Pakistan must balance opportunities and challenges as it seeks to define its place and influence on the international stage as the world order evolves. Pakistan's foreign policy decisions in the next few years would be highly impacted by its ability to balance national interests with regional and international factors.

Q&A SESSION

Question: The panelists talked about taking into consideration public sentiment in formulating the foreign policy. Has it not negatively affected, at times, the policymakers?

Answer: Ambassador (Retd) Javid Husain answered the question by stating that it is the job of the leadership to analyse the current situation, including the domestic factors, regional and global environment. It is their job to correctly analyse the circumstances and come up with a way forward. He said that this may be a difficult job sometimes, but the leader cannot create a policy in his drawing room and expect that he will be able to conquer the world with it unless he gathers the necessary public support.

Without public support, a policy cannot be successfully implemented. It is the job of the leaders to not only frame the right policy but to mobilise the necessary public support as well. For that, the leaders need to use various skills available at governmental level, party level, political level, and social and cultural level. He stated that it is a continuous process and not an easy process where sometimes the leader has to make compromises. That is why there is a need to maintain a balance between the short-term and long-term goals.

Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi responded by saying that considering public sentiment in formulating the foreign policy affects it, but that narrative is the responsibility of a leader. If the leader is clear-headed and has a long-term vision, he will steer the public in the right direction. If not, then it is always detrimental to a nation's relation with other countries.

Question: Has Pakistan, at any given time, thought of a Kashmir solution which talks of letting the Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir stay with India and Azad Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan in an effort to pursue regional peace?

Answer: Ambassador Husain answered by saying that at some point our leaders have thought of such a solution. For instance, in former President General Pervez Musharraf's (Retd) four-point formula, there was acceptance of Line of Control (LoC) as a status quo for 15 years and the whole thing was to be reconsidered after that, meanwhile taking advantage of the status for cross-border trade. However, there were critics of that formula as well. He said that in his view, only an economically and militarily strong Pakistan could take any stance or come with a substantial formula on the Kashmir issue, otherwise it is just rhetoric that has been repeatedly put forward for the past 70 years.

He stated that right now, for the short-term, Pakistan should adopt such a strategy on Kashmir which can allow it to buy time while it focuses on the bigger objectives i.e. becoming stronger from within. Pakistan should learn from history and have a short-term policy on Kashmir and India, and also a long-term vision and policy on Kashmir and India. These policies should be worked out after proper discussions among various national institutions and political leadership.

Question: Will Pakistan be able to resolve Kashmir issue when it attains economic strength in the future given that India is very persistent about keeping the status of Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir intact?

Answer: Ambassador Husain responded to the question by stating that if Pakistan is economically and militarily weak then there is no hope at all, but if Pakistan is economically strong and also has technological strength,

then its views will be heard by the rest of the world. He gave the example of Taiwan and said that Taiwan is and was a part of China but the Chinese leadership is not in any hurry to take it back. He added that China claims that it will take it at the right time. Pakistan can also learn from this example of China and show restraint for the time being and keep the issue alive diplomatically and give Kashmiris moral and diplomatic support. Meanwhile, Pakistan should strengthen itself, and then when the opportunity arrives, it should go for it.

Question: What are the repercussions of Sino-American War in Indian Ocean for Pakistan? Is Pakistan capable of handling this scenario?

Answer: Ambassador Husain once again responded to the question by stating that we are and we should be capable of handling any situation. He suggested that there is growing Sino-US rivalry and growing US-India cooperation as part of Quad. The west has started calling Asia Pacific region as Indo-Pacific Region for past three years. He further explained that one reason for this is to preserve US dominance in this region.

However, he suggested that Pakistan can save its interests, and CPEC is the best opportunity as it provides China with a strategic bypass. China will be able to bypass Strait of Malacca and doing so will reduce the dominance of US and India. Nevertheless, he said that doing so will not be easy as the US Navy is still the most powerful navy in the world and while China is building its navy, it will take another 30 to 40 years to match the Americans. He said that whether Pakistan is capable of handling this scenario or not depends on how much we build up. A strong Pakistan will have a chance. Pakistan has relations with China, Russia, and Persian Gulf countries. Pakistan will need to work for 40 or 50 years to gain power and influence in this region as it needs to build up its navy. For this, Pakistan will need resources and should become technologically advanced.

Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi asked whether Pakistan wants to stand on the wrong side of the history by leaving China or does it want to be on the right side by standing with China. She said that for this, Pakistan needs an extremely focused and clear vision because it is a historical fact that once empires reach their zenith they remain there for 250 years before they fall. She explained that this is why she thinks the policymakers need to go back to Pakistan's forefathers and keep their strategic compass very focused. She said that the next 30 years are going to be the most difficult times and Pakistan has to decide whether it is going to crumble under Western pressure or if it is going to stand with China. She reiterated that this is the position that the leadership and the people have to take.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Balanced Approach in Relations with Great Powers

- Pakistan needs to strike the right balance between its vital security and economic links with its strategic partner China on one hand and its valuable economic and commercial ties with the US-led West on the other.
-

Economic Diplomacy

- Given the vital importance of strong economy for national security, there is an imperative need for attaching high priority to economic diplomacy.
-

Relations with P5, the EU Member States and the Emerging Markets

- Greater attention needs to be given to reinforcing our relations with Russia, P5, the EU states, the emerging markets and friendly countries, including Turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea, South Africa, etc.
-

China: An Iron Brother

- Pakistan needs to accord top priority to further strengthen and diversify its strategic partnership with China.
 - There is an imperative need to remove any impediments or irritants and strengthen our cooperation with our all-weather friend, China.
 - CPEC should be fast-tracked.
-

Reorientation of Ties with the US

- A reorientation of Pakistan-US relations is necessary. The focus should shift to trade and investments, futuristic technologies, education, industrial development, agricultural productivity, climate change and sustainable development.

Maintain Principled Position with India

- Pakistan should continue to convey the message of willingness to engage with India, only on mutually acceptable terms.
 - Pakistan should maintain its pursuit of good neighbourly relations with India on the bases of sovereign equality, mutual respect and peaceful settlement of all outstanding disputes, especially Kashmir dispute.
 - There should be no compromise on the issue of Kashmir.
-

Relations with Iran

- While learning from their past mistakes, Pakistan and Iran should strengthen their brotherly relations by promoting mutual understanding on political and security issues, and mutually beneficial economic, commercial, technical and cultural cooperation both bilaterally and within the framework of ECO.
 - They should also coordinate their policies in dealing with the issues of terrorism and the situation in Afghanistan.
-

Relations with Afghanistan

- Peace and stability in Afghanistan should be a top priority for Pakistan. Increased TTP attacks on Pakistan border posts are a source of concern. For Pakistan, the red line now is TTP.
 - Pakistan should impress upon the Taliban regime to deal with terror groups, especially TTP operating from Afghanistan, firmly.
 - Pakistan should maintain close liaison with the immediate neighbours of Afghanistan to promote consensus policies.
 - Pakistan should not rush to recognise the Taliban regime. Our preference may be for a regional recognition.
-

Saudi Arabia, UAE and Gulf Countries

- Shifting sands in the Middle East are opening enormous opportunities. Pakistan needs to re-adjust its priorities and position itself quickly to be a development and technology partner with our friendly and fraternal countries, particularly, Saudi Arabia, the UAE and other Gulf countries.

PROFILES OF THE SPEAKERS



Ambassador (Retd) Javid Husain

Ambassador Javid Husain retired as the senior most serving Ambassador of the Foreign Service of Pakistan in March 2004 after a distinguished diplomatic career during which he served as the Ambassador of Pakistan to the Netherlands (1992-1995), the Republic of Korea (1995-1997) and Iran (1997-2003). During his posting at Tehran, he was also the Pakistan Permanent Representative to the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). His last posting was as the Head of the Foreign Service Academy from 2003 to 2004. After joining the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1967, he served on diplomatic assignments in Pakistan Embassies / Missions in several important capitals including Paris (1969-1971), Tripoli (1971-1974), Washington, DC (1974-1978), New York (UN) (1982-1985) and as Minister / Deputy Head of Mission at Beijing (1985-1988).

He also held important assignments at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He worked as the Director General for the United Nations and Economic Coordination from 1988 to 1991. From May 1991 to December 1992, he served as Additional Foreign Secretary. During this period, he supervised the work of the United Nations and Policy Planning Divisions of the Foreign Office besides acting as its Spokesman.

In August 1999, Ambassador Husain was promoted to BPS-22, the highest grade in the Pakistan civil service equivalent to a Federal Secretary. From January 2003 to March 2004, he was the senior most serving officer of the Foreign Service of Pakistan. He was a member of the Pakistan delegations to a large number of UN, OIC, ECO and Non-Aligned meetings and ministerial / summit conferences during his diplomatic career.

In May 2012, Ambassador Husain was elected as the President of the newly established Lahore Council for World Affairs. He was re-elected to this position in May, 2016. Currently, he is also the Chairman of the Mumtaz Husain Benevolent Trust. He is proficient in Persian and has a working knowledge of French.



Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Alamgir Hashmi

After a distinguished career, spanning over 37 years, Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Alamgir Hashmi retired from the Foreign Service of Pakistan on 20 July, 2020, at BPS-22. She is presently the Vice Chair of the Council on Global Policy (Think Tank), Member of the Board of Directors of the First Woman Bank, Adviser at China Study Centre ISSI, and an Adviser at Kestral International.

She served as Pakistan's Ambassador to China (2019-2020), the European Union, Belgium, Luxemburg (2013-2019) and Ireland (2007-2012). She also served as the Deputy Head of Mission in Denmark (1997-2003), Indonesia (1985-1990) and China (2003-2007). She also served as the Second Secretary in France (1987-1990).

She held positions at Foreign Office as Additional Foreign Secretary for Americas; Director General of OIC, Public Diplomacy and Policy Planning; Director UN, International Conferences and Commonwealth, Personnel, South East Asia and Economic Coordination. She also performed duties as Deputy Director of Foreign Secretary's Office.

She is the author of four books, "Coffee Table: Magnificent Pakistan" "Ishq-Our Sufi Tradition" "The Forgotten Cities of Indus" "Coffee Table: Pakistan-China-All weather Friendship". She speaks French and German.



Ambassador (Retd) Riffat Masood

Ambassador (Retd) Riffat Masood, a career diplomat, received her tertiary education in the United Kingdom. She is an honours graduate of the University of Sheffield in English Language / English Literature.

During her service, she underwent a training programme at the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA), Lahore, in 2006. She also undertook the National Security & War Course (NSWC) at the National Defence University, Islamabad, in 2014-15. In her capacity as Director Personnel she also headed the first batch of Foreign Service officers for the Clingendael training programme for young diplomats at The Hague, Netherlands in 2004.

While posted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Riffat served in the capacities of Section Officer, Director and Director General in Europe, US, South Asia, Policy Planning and Personnel Divisions at intermittent periods between 1988-2015.

During this period, she also served in the Prime Minister's Secretariat on deputation from 1995-1998.

Ambassador Riffat also has a varied experience while serving in Pakistan's Missions abroad. Her foreign postings include Third / Second Secretary in London (1991-1995); Second Secretary and Deputy Permanent Delegate to UNESCO, Paris (1998-2001); First Secretary in Ankara (2001-2003); Deputy High Commissioner at New Delhi (2006-2010); Consul General at Los Angeles (2010-2013); Ambassador at the Embassy of Pakistan in Norway (2015-2018); and Pakistan's first woman Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran (2018-2019). She is fluent In Persian and has a working knowledge of Turkish and French.



Ambassador (Retd) Asif Durrani Pakistan's Special Representative on Afghanistan

Ambassador (Retd) Asif Durrani holds MSc (Chemistry) from the University of Balochistan and an MA (International Studies & Diplomacy) from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London.

He started his career as a journalist, working with The Muslim and AFP during 1980-86. He joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1986. He served at the headquarters as Section Officer (1988-1989 & 1994-1995); Director (UN) and Director (Disarmament) (1997 & 2004-2005); Director General (UN) (2001-2012); and Additional Secretary (FA) President's Secretariat (2012-2013). He also held various diplomatic assignments in Pakistan Missions in New Delhi (1990-1994), Tehran (1998-2001), New York (2001-2004), Kabul (2005-2009), and London (2009-2011).

He was the Ambassador of Pakistan to UAE (2014-2016) and Permanent Representative at the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA), Abu Dhabi; and Ambassador of Pakistan to Tehran & Permanent Representative of Pakistan to ECO, Tehran (2016-2018). He retired from the Foreign Service in July 2018.

He has lectured in National Defence College Kabul, National Defence University Tehran, National Defence University (NDU) Islamabad and National Management College (NMC) Lahore.

He has also appeared on national and international electronic media as an analyst on regional issues and is a regular contributor to newspapers.

Before he was appointed as the Special Representative on Afghanistan by the prime minister, he served as a Senior Research Fellow at the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI).

Ambassador Durrani is the author of the book "Turmoil: Events in Afghanistan, South Asia, Middle East, Ukraine and Pakistan".



Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd)

President, CASS, Lahore

Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd) 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.

He 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-e-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 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 the Chairman of PIA. Air Marshal Suleiman is a recipient of the HI(M), SI(M), SBt and Imtiaz Sanad.



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

Ambassador (Retd) 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 during his career 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, Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO).

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

PRESS RELEASE

On July 11, 2023, a seminar was conducted by the Centre for Aerospace and Security Studies (CASS), Lahore on the theme of “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy Choices in the Evolving Global Order”. The seminar featured a keynote address by Ambassador (Retd) Javid Husain, who emphasised the need for a pragmatic approach in Pakistan’s foreign policy towards the great powers, regional countries and especially the neighbouring states. Ambassador (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi dwelt in detail on how to further deepen Pakistan’s strategic ties with China, Ambassador (Retd) Riffat Masood, in a video message, reflected on policy options vis-à-vis India and Ambassador (Retd) Asif Durrani, Pakistan’s Representative on Afghanistan, emphasised the utmost importance of a stable and peaceful Afghanistan. The statements of the guest speakers were followed by an extensive Q&A session.

Earlier, Ambassador (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat, Director Foreign Affairs, CASS, Lahore, made an introductory statement. Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd), President, CASS, Lahore, made the concluding remarks while summing up the recommendations.

Following are some of the key takeaways of this important seminar: Recognising the vital importance of economic health for national security, the speakers emphasised the need to attach a high priority to economic diplomacy. The need for adopting a pragmatic approach in policies was also stressed, and there was a unanimous view that Pakistan should continue to attach utmost importance to further deepening and diversifying its strategic partnership with its all-weather friend and iron brother China and to fast track China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Pakistan should eschew the Cold War-era bloc politics, and promote mutually beneficial relations with great powers. A reset of relations with the US is desirable and efforts should be made to strengthen ties with Russia.

The seminar emphasised the importance of a peaceful neighbourhood and reiterated Pakistan's desire for good neighbourly relations with India on the basis of sovereign equality, mutual respect and the peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Pakistan's search for peace with India should not be interpreted as a sign of weakness.

Pakistan should continue to pursue peace with dignity. As a neighbour and brother, Pakistan should continue to play a role in promoting peace and stability in Afghanistan and urge the Taliban regime to deal with terror groups, especially Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), operating from its territory, firmly.

The seminar advocated building stronger economic, commercial and energy links with Iran and suggested making special efforts to deepen relations with brotherly countries of the Islamic world, especially Saudi Arabia, UAE, Turkey and Qatar, while making economic cooperation as the centerpiece of bilateral relations. The need to reinvigorate Pakistan's traditional leadership role in multilateral organisations, especially the OIC, UN, ECO, and SCO was also emphasised.

The seminar stressed the vital importance of self-reliance, sustainable and inclusive economic growth and development, good governance and political stability which facilitate a more proactive and independent foreign policy.

In the end, Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd), President, CASS, Lahore, summed up the key observations and recommendations of the seminar and conveyed a vote of thanks to the speakers and the participants of the seminar.

با حضور ۳ نفر از سفارت پاکستان در ایران

تاکید بر نیاز به پیوند اقتصادی قویتر با ایران در همایش مرکز مطالعات امنیتی پاکستان



تیم هیئت مدیره و اعضای هیئت مدیره مرکز مطالعات امنیتی پاکستان در تهران، با حضور ۳ نفر از سفارت پاکستان در ایران، جلسه‌ای برگزار کرد. در این جلسه، موضوعات مختلفی در زمینه همکاری‌های اقتصادی و امنیتی بین دو کشور مورد بحث قرار گرفت. تاکید بر نیاز به پیوند اقتصادی قویتر با ایران در این همایش مورد توجه قرار گرفت.

Phone NO: 0213 6666 39 DAILY SADA-E-OLAS KARACHI REG NO: 3577

روزنامه صدای اولس

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

ABC Certified Daily "Khat" GUJRAT

روزنامه خط

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه صدای وقت

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه شهادت

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه پاکستان

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه صحافت

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه گیتیش

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه دهمات

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه عکس سند

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه آواز شهر

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه چوستان نامر

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

روزنامه گیتیش

05 شوال 1444 هـ / 24 اردیبهشت 1403 ق / 24 فروردین 1403 خ

The collage features several prominent newspaper mastheads:

- Top Left:** A masthead with Urdu text and the letters 'ABC' in a box.
- Top Center:** A masthead with Urdu text and the word 'Daily' in a stylized font.
- Top Right:** A masthead with Urdu text and the word 'Daily' in a stylized font.
- Middle Left:** A masthead with Urdu text and the word 'Daily' in a stylized font.
- Middle Center:** A large, bold masthead with the word 'Daily' in a stylized font.
- Middle Right:** A masthead with Urdu text and the word 'Daily' in a stylized font.
- Bottom Left:** A masthead with Urdu text and the word 'Daily' in a stylized font.
- Bottom Center:** A large, bold masthead with the word 'Daily' in a stylized font.
- Bottom Right:** A masthead with Urdu text and the word 'Daily' in a stylized font.

DAILY SADA-E-OLAS QUETTA

REG. NO.: 2399

صداے اولس

Member of APNS Fax: 2834746 Ph: 2865556

72 قسط 1444ھ / 124 2023ء تا 1445ھ 19

[illegible]

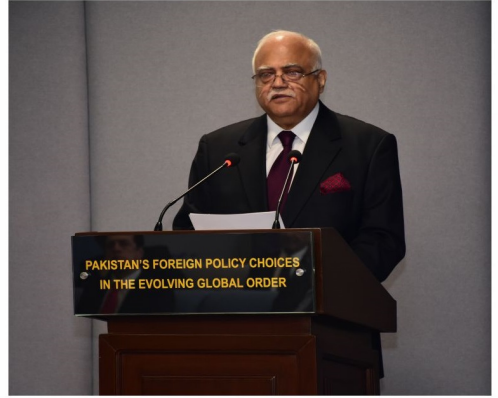
اگلا قس

[illegible]

GALLERY









Pakistan's Foreign Policy Choices in the Evolving Global Order

"The foreign policy must be synchronised with the national political, security and economic policies to form an integrated whole in the shape of a national grand strategy."

— Amb (Retd) Javid Husain

"The challenge facing Pakistan's diplomacy is to strike the right balance between the two (US and China) so as to safeguard its vital security, economic, and commercial interests while being on the right side of history."

— Amb (Retd) Javid Husain

"It is very clear that the strategic compass [of Pakistan] should remain oriented towards the China."

— Amb (Retd) Naghmana Hashmi

"There should be no compromise on the issue of Kashmir."

— Amb (Retd) Riffat Masood

"Pakistan should keep pressure on the Taliban regime to curb TTP activities at all costs."

— Amb (Retd) Asif Durrani

"Economic security has become fundamental to Pakistan's national security, hence the top importance of economic diplomacy."

— Amb (Retd) Muhammad Haroon Shaukat

"It is imperative for Pakistan to manage its relations with India for harmony and peace in the region to avoid tensions and hostilities. A meaningful dialogue is the best way forward with sovereign dignity."

— Air Marshal Asim Suleiman (Retd), President, CASS, Lahore



✉ info@casslhr.com / 🌐 www.casslhr.com / ☎ 042-36669692

Centre for Aerospace & Security Studies

69, Abid Majeed Road, Lahore Cantt