



POST WORKSHOP REPORT

# NATIONAL SECURITY WORKSHOP - 22

15 March – 10 April 2021



INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS (ISSRA)  
NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD  
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### **WORKSHOP SPONSOR**

Brigadier Shahid Jawad Khan, SI (M)

Director, Keystone Capstone and Pinnacle Programmes Branch

### **REPORT COMPILED BY**

Internal Studies Branch

### **EDITED BY**

Colonel Qamran Subhani & Research Team

Keystone Capstone and Pinnacle Programmes Branch

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NATIONAL SECURITY WORKSHOP - 22

““ LOOKING BEYOND  
PERCEPTIONS””







**NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY**  
قومی دفاعی یونیورسٹی  
فوجی تعلیم و تربیت کا ادارہ  
پاک فوج، اسلام آباد  
پاکستان





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# INTRODUCTION

The National Security Workshop (NSW) provides a platform to the participants from various segments of society to comprehend, analyse and discuss the dynamics of National Security of Pakistan. NSW-22 was held under the overarching theme “Looking Beyond Perceptions” from 15 March to 10 April 2021. The broad objective of NSW is to provide a platform to senior political, military and civilian leadership including the representatives from civil society to debate and discuss the issues of national security through interaction with intellectuals, academicians, foreign diplomats, policy makers and national leadership under Chatham House Rules. It contributes to enhance connectivity, national cohesion, understanding across official spectrum and promotes interprovincial harmony. National Security Workshops, being held since 2003, are an annual feature at Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) and have around 1,237 Alumni to-date.

The broad scope of the NSW-22 was to study the transforming global order, evolving dimensions of international, regional and domestic environment and their impact on the security of Pakistan. The programme was structured to bring an understanding of the intrinsic and environmental driven challenges and opportunities; analysis of policy





options to deal with challenges and capitalize on the opportunities. During its four-weeks duration, the participants were exposed to discussions on important issues and visits to the provincial capitals and other civil and military installations. The participants also interacted with Governors, Chief Ministers and Heads of State Institutions to gain first-hand knowledge of structural and organizational aspects. In last one week, the participants undertook an exercise “Pakistan Paindabad” to deliberate on the theme of “Socio-Economic Reforms”.

The workshop was successfully conducted due to the full support and efforts of all the branches of ISSRA and NDU under the supervision of Director General ISSRA, Major General Asif Ali, HI (M). The patronage of Lieutenant General Muhammad Saeed, HI (M), President NDU throughout the Workshop was valuable. Efforts of all members of Research Community of ISSRA are also acknowledged in recording and preparing the proceedings of the Workshop.



# INAUGURAL SESSION

March 15, 2021











**Lieutenant General Muhammad Saeed, HI (M)**

President

National Defence University



# INAUGURAL ADDRESS

## PRESIDENT NDU

National security as a notion conveys a perception about a set of essential conditions conducive for national development as well as a continuous process for achieving these conditions and maintaining those despite all challenges. The context, apparatus and strategies for national security are distinct for every nation state. Pakistan since its independence has been facing multi-faceted threats, most significantly from India due to unresolved Kashmir Dispute and its consequences especially after revocation of Article 35 A and Article 370 on August 5, 2019. Moreover, global and regional players also add to the threat environment in the region, as some of their interests, have an impact on the national interest of Pakistan.

As a consequence of globalization, inter-dependence of states coupled with technological revolution has altered the nature of states, blurred the geographical borders and impacted the fundamental concept of security. While state security transcends into regional and global security, the security construct itself has transformed into a paradigm while addressing the whole gamut of human activity. Thus, the overlapping security concerns on the spectrum need a synergetic effort of all the elements of national power. The contemporary international environment is marked with abrupt transformations, where the persisting global hegemon US is trying to maintain its position and the emerging power, China is trying to utilize the diplomatic / strategic vacuum in its interest. The world, therefore, is witnessing series of moves and countermoves. The trade war between China and the US, the attempts to increase the global outreach in all domains by the two and formation of new alliances led by the US and China, are all manifestations of intense great power contestation.

Outbreak of the pandemic has added a new dimension to the concept of security. It has also affected the very concept of security as it has transformed all the dimensions of national security. Consequently, the challenges to the world's security have been amplified in contemporary international system. In this way, with transformation in the concept of comprehensive national security, the importance of human security has also been recognized as global phenomenon. The regional security is also witnessing transformations with increased border tension, hydro-politics, rise of ethno-nationalism and the involvement of extra regional powers in the region. All these realities have increased the level of stress in the region. Particularly, the growing suppression in Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu & Kashmir (IIOJ&K) and rising extremist sentiment in India are posing threats to the region at large.

Last but not the least, the journey on the route to discovery in this field does not end with acquisition of knowledge and understanding. It thereafter transcends into the practical domain of policy formulation and execution. Since, the policy is formulated and executed by leaders, resultantly, strategic leadership emerges. The Workshop is structured in a manner that it provides participants empirical understanding of security related issues, fosters policy related improvement and provides an opportunity to interact directly with the experts and practitioners. I hope that the association developed during the Workshop will last forever.



**Major General Asif Ali, HI (M)**

Director General ISSRA  
National Defence University

# WELCOME REMARKS

## DG ISSRA

Director General ISSRA congratulated the participants on their selection for the National Security Workshop. Focus of this workshop is to acquaint the participants with the statecraft and the processes involved in understanding the contemporary pursuits. The interaction at this platform involves formal talks, discussions and interactions. The participants get the opportunity to hear from renowned scholars / experts and practitioners of different fields. The diverse thoughts of the participants and their shared perspectives would also enrich the discussions and add value to the thought process. The program of the workshop will unfold in an intellectual and sequential manner while providing the participants with opportunity to enhance their knowledge and experience through talks, discussions and visits to prominent and strategically important locations. At NDU, we shall endeavour to provide an enabling and congenial environment; where-in contemporary issues can be deliberated in a coherent, rational and dispassionate manner.

The workshop will also equip the participants with the understanding of contemporary global and regional environment. Participation in this workshop would enable you to navigate most pressing issues related to national security of Pakistan. We hope that long-lasting friendships will be formed at this platform.



# Emerging Global Order: Impact on the Region and Pakistan

General Zubair Mahmood Hayat (Retired), NI (M) ex CJCS

March 15, 2021

The world order has constantly been in transformational mode since ancient times. It started with individuals and progressed into a family, tribe, kingdom, empire and then consolidated into state order. This eco-system will be powered by technology and artificial intelligence. Moreover, climate change and pandemics will make a meaningful impact on the emerging world order and that will mainly be defined by three elements: China, Islam and Technology. The zooming out process will see manifestation of these elements in one way or the other. The impact of it will also be felt in our region and on Pakistan in coming years.

In contemporary times, the world order is transforming and the globe is witnessing great power competition. The competition is about who has the most power to dominate. China today is the biggest export market for many parts of the world, as well as the biggest source of imports. In the coming decade, China's economic development is projected to remain the most powerful. China is utilizing 'smart power' (a

mixture of military, economic, cultural and other forms of diplomacy) to secure and protect interests like energy resources, economic assets and transit routes.

The global power competition will have direct impact on Pakistan's political environment and political choices, security calculus, financial orientation, economic space, cultural and social balance in the society. Pakistan will face the brunt of Islamophobia because it is the second-largest Muslim state and the only Muslim nuclear power. Pakistan will also face the impact of climate change and water scarcity. Pakistan must enhance the economic, strategic and security space to be strategically relevant. It will have to secure its data, political system, laws, water and strategic space. Pakistan must not be caught down by the challenges but turn them into opportunities. Lastly, our future will be determined by the choices we make today and history will judge us by these choices.



# International Laws and Pakistan

## Mr Ahmer Bilal Sufi, International Law Expert

March 16, 2021

Upholding international law and the treaties is the framework derived from our religion. In the past, there was a common practice in which the illegal occupant would own the occupied state. The UN charter of 1945 was a legal milestone in this regard as it disregarded such claims, making any direct or indirect intervention illegal.

Under this, boundaries became permanent and occupation became illegal. International law is, therefore, a tool to achieve foreign policy objectives and is not regime specific. When it comes to foreign pressure and legal obligation, from December 1946 till to date, globally, there are 2700 published volumes containing more than 200,000 multilateral treaties.

As per the law, enforcement of laws by a country has to be upheld via judicial instruments and legislations. Therefore, under the international law, judiciary is considered a subject of the state and implementation of the rule of law ultimately leads to adherence to international statutes. It needs to be borne in view that treaties,

conventions, academic writings, resolutions, customs and state practices are fundamental instruments of international law.

Currently, for image building, international law is used as a tool of legal diplomacy by countries to achieve regional peace. Therefore, to build an international image of a stable and responsible Pakistan, it is important that the country complies with its international commitments.

The Kashmir Dispute is a territorial one and as of now, it depends on perceptions. The solution of Kashmir Dispute lies in the resolutions of UN. In order to improve its international image, Pakistan needs to improve its governance by giving importance to its statutory problems, concentrate on assets before means, protect businesses and resolve the issue of FATF.



# Foreign Policy Challenges of Pakistan

Ambassador Riaz Khokhar (Retired)

March 16, 2021

The foreign policy of a country depends on two important pillars; the internal policies and the external environment which include the regional and the global community. The foreign policy is the entire ambit of a country's relationship with the world. Currently, Pakistan is confronted with numerous problems ranging from climate change to environmental degradation, population explosion to water crisis and economy to political instability. Pakistan faces multifaceted challenges, but the most pressing challenges can be divided in five main areas.

Firstly, the relationship with India and the problem began in 1947 with independence of Pakistan. India considers partition as the dissection of Mother India. Kashmir is the fundamental dispute between the two countries. Secondly, Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan have a wider impact on Pakistan's foreign policy. Afghanistan has been passing through various phases, from the early communism to Russian occupation followed by American presence for last 20 years. The third foreign policy challenge is

Pakistan's relations with the US. The nature of relations between both countries is transitional. The fourth challenge for Pakistan's foreign policy is its relationship with the Islamic world. Pakistan shares a complicated relationship with Iran and Middle East with certain foreign policy gaps.

It is pertinent to mention that Pakistan's relations with China are deep as well as significant in contemporary environment. The foundation of these relations was laid down by important leaders and will continue with a deep strategic optics in future. Moreover, in foreign policy discourse, national interest is an important aspect. If interests do not coincide, the relation will be problematic. The final challenge is relations with Israel as her increasing influence in Middle East and Pakistan's principle stance on Palestine issue does not complement each other. In conclusion, Pakistan needs to set its house in order, we must concentrate country's sovereignty, integrity and respect at national and global level.





# Future of US-China Relations: Its Impact on Pakistan and the Region

Ambassador Ashraf Jahangir Qazi (Retired)

March 16, 2021

The US has become a de facto Global Power with unmatched ambitions. The US has now used the world that it is leading, and to maintain the status quo, it would not agree to the shared leadership of the World Order with any emerging power to surpass the authority of US.

Presently, with massive capitalism, inequality exists, especially through the financial institution which has brought colossal inequality amongst the masses. On the other hand, if the countries follow egalitarian model, then that becomes a threat to US interests. Ironically, afterward, it follows the track of reaching out to other countries and interferes on the grounds of regime change. In the past, we have seen French and Russian revolutions, however, China is the only country with real revolutionary spirit, and the main reason behind this revolution was a result of the evolutionary process (in phases), from Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and now Xi Jinping.

The new administration in the US under Joe Biden based three elements as his policy pillars towards China i.e., Cooperation, Competition and Adversary. China recognizes these policy orientations and is already cognizant of the evolving dynamics turning into a 'New Cold War'. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in the single universal context, as Noam Chomsky calls it "Age of Converging Existential Crisis" and any subject discussed outside this context is irrelevant because the entire existential crisis pertains to climate change, nuclear proliferation and threat of nuclear war.

In this way, Pakistan should expect increased demands in the Afghanistan imbroglio. The luring pressure on Pakistan's policy stance towards the Kashmir Dispute will be present and consistent. For Pakistan, it is imperative that we do not fall for the western propaganda about the so-called Chinese economic ingress in our country. The external forces do not want us to be the part of CPEC or BRI initiatives.



# Elements of National Power: Interest, Aim and Objectives

Lieutenant General Tariq Khan (Retired), HI (M)

March 17, 2021



The term national security means: "when a nation does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain itself from war." The evolution of modern national security involved a shift; moving from military towards its non-military orientation, which has turned out to be a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

In present times, the concept of national security is all about conflict. All conflicts are based on acquiring natural / economic resources and wealth. States are competing to acquire or fully equip themselves with these resources, as a geographical compulsion for a future course. Moreover, the trinity of the conflicts gave ways to another dimension called war by other means, under the labels of different names i.e. 5th generation warfare or hybrid warfare.

National security is an all-encompassing phenomenon, following are the generic elements of an all-inclusive national power in the context of Pakistan:-

- **Military Conflict.** People have the tendencies to confuse war with military conflict. A state cannot win a war without having military conflict. The military

could create such an environment where all elements of national power may be utilized for a resolve.

- **Resilient Economy.** Strong economy is an integral component of national power. The national power of a state is directly proportional to its GDP. Everything enumerates the strong economic growth of a state.
- **Advance Infrastructure.** Infrastructure in the form of highways, roads, bridges, pipelines etc. are important components for the development of a state.
- **Perception Building.** Perception maneuvers are more important than reality for a state. Perception shapes the image of a state's national security. If the wrong perception is shaped by an issue, then the wrong course of action will be decided upon it.
- **Communication.** Well-mannered and real-time communication is another important component for a state.
- **Politico-Social Fabric.** Pakistan is a polarized society with fault lines. It has created discontent in the social contract and also disturbed the politico-social fiber of the society. It is, therefore, imperative to communicate how people are divided into different sections.

In conclusion, Pakistan should target to have at least 8% GDP growth and must integrate global trade and foreign stakeholders in this regard. Pakistan should strive for social cohesion and must improve its governance system. The government needs to strengthen law and order. Our social contract must be revised. There is a need to integrate our local people into the system and exploit our resources timely.



# Pak - Afghan Relations: Future Prospects

H.E. Najibullah Ali Khil, Ambassador of Afghanistan

March 17, 2021

Pakistan and Afghanistan share common bonds in terms of religion, culture and customs. The Afghan refugees living in Pakistan for decades are the main connection between the countries. The countries are deeply engaged at political, diplomatic, economic and security level. In contemporary regional setting, both countries need to rebuild trust, initiate structural dialogue for development, prosperity and security of the region. In November 2020, Prime Minister Imran Khan paid a historic visit to Kabul in which both countries agreed on a shared vision to support peace and prosperity of the region.

Peace in Afghanistan is a long-lasting desire. The unrest in the land has resulted in lack of opportunities. The Doha agreement is a step in the right direction. According to the agreement 6000 prisoners have been released and Taliban committed to ceasefire, but the peace process is moving slowly. A new draft for peace process has been outlined by the US. Troika meeting has

taken place to complement the peace process. Afghans want that the ceasefire must be maintained and Afghanistan is committed to peace negotiations. The transfer of power will be determined by the will of the people of Afghanistan through elections.

The people-to-people interaction needs to increase in form of parliamentary diplomacy. Pakistan had taken Track-II Diplomacy initiative in 2015. Parliamentary delegations from both countries have visited each other time and again. Approximately, seventy thousand Afghan students are studying in Pakistan. In conclusion, Asia is a body of clay and water and Afghanistan is the heart of the body. Peace in Afghanistan means peace in Asia whereas turmoil in Afghanistan means turmoil in Asia.



# Art and Science of Communication

Dr Arif Alvi, President Islamic Republic of Pakistan

March 17, 2021

Contrary to popular opinion, philosophical thinking is logic-based. With time, there has been a change in the thought process, but the basic premise of thinking has been the same. The human brain is the world's most complex yet its most prized possession. Scientifically, there are billions of thinking elements in our brain. This can be compared to computers and Artificial Intelligence as similar to human intelligence, the data is incorporated into the computers, and using this stored data, these machines predict results. With the evolution in science and technology, the new generations of scientists are trying to find ways to connect the human brain to computers via genetic engineering for improved performance.

For self-improvement we must ask ourselves the questions, who we are? why we are? and where we are?. These questions are a part of an intellectual exercise that needs to be undertaken regularly and can be done at time. Therefore, for a more productive lifestyle, there must be an improvement in our thinking and decision-

making process and for that, emotions need to be taken out of the equation.

It has been documented that the state of "Trans" is also a form of spirituality, and it can be further nurtured via music. By training our subconscious via positive affirmations, we can manifest results. Positive affirmations are, therefore, essential to improve our lifestyle and we have to constantly tell ourselves that we are capable of achieving great results.

Humans communicate what they think, and the essence of communication is in what is being said and in what is being perceived. In communication skills, body language is of utmost importance as it helps in perception building. Words and actions can be misinterpreted and to avoid deterioration in relations because of it, one should practice forgiveness.





# Non-Traditional Approach to National Security

Lieutenant General Muhammad Saeed, HI (M), President NDU

March 18, 2021

Strategic stability makes the international environment safe for states; hence, the state is a living entity. There are varied perspectives on regional and domestic security. Unlike any other living entity, the state has its moments of glory and weaknesses. Fundamentals of state defence are important for national and state security. Until the state invests in society to get the fundamentals identified and it is not a concerted effort sustained over a period, the state's overall image cannot be rectified.

The next thing that makes a country more secure is the emotion of patriotism / a sense of belonging to the state. Human beings are territorial by nature and every individual is patriotic. Pakistan needs to invest in a unified and uniform education system in the society. However, the very first investment in this sector should be made by the state. The absence of this has made Pakistani society divided, alienated and less relative to each other. A happy, united, satisfied and cohesive society fortifies national security.

Another principle is that any state which is strong externally and has a cohesive society from inside has a bipartisan consensus on issues of national interests that ensures its sovereignty and security. Challenge that Pakistan faces on the external front in the non-traditional domain is the image deficit. Manifestations of this deficit are evident via Financial Action Task Force (FATF), financial institutions' announcements vis-a-vis a dwindling economy and tourism deficit. Every institution and every individual must chip in efforts in this process of identifying and rectifying image deficit.

For Pakistan, nothing could be a game changer until and unless Pakistan becomes strong collectively as a nation-state. No messiah or miracle, no project could be the game-changer or do anything except hard work by all for a society that is happy, coherent and self-sustained.



# Potential of CPEC: Its Impact on Pakistan's Economic Development and Way Forward

## Lieutenant General Asim Saleem Bajwa (Retired), HI (M) Chairman CPEC Authority

March 18, 2021



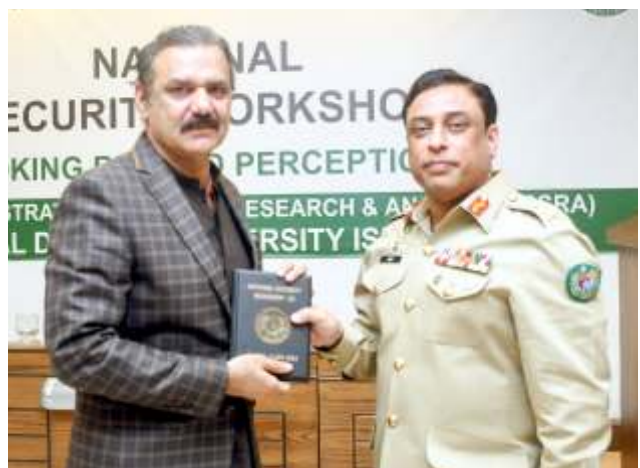
The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a strategic economic project aims at increasing regional connectivity on a large-scale initiative to build highways, port infrastructure, railroads, air terminals, oil / gas pipelines, development of economic zones and laying fibre optics for broadcast communications; for bringing in accelerated growth and the development of Pakistan.

Pak-China relationships have kept growing and strengthened ever since 1951, when the friendship began. The mutual desire for China-Pakistan economic integration bolstered somewhere in the early 1970s. Whereas, the political underpinnings of CPEC emerged in the 2000s when President General Pervez Musharraf visited China to underline the need for building much stronger bilateral economic ties and signed an agreement based on economic cooperation for the construction of Gwadar Port in Pakistan.

Currently, in that realm, the relevant ministries and departments of both countries have set up a cooperation mechanism to coordinate the development of CPEC and jointly formulated the Long-Term Plan for the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (2017-2030). It is a national plan approved by both the Chinese and Pakistani governments based on Pakistan's Vision 2025, with an estimate of \$53 billion combined value.

On the other hand, the propaganda campaigns hindering the progress of the CPEC are the part of 5th Generation Warfare or Hybrid Warfare. Pakistan has stood against all those false-flag propaganda campaigns which were meant to malign Pakistan's positive image in the world.

Concurrently, Gwadar Port has huge potential for trans-shipment at the regional level. CPEC is not only for bilateral connectivity, but also planned for regional economic integration. It will open the entire region for a great economic boom and it can be rightly said that CPEC is considered to be the future of Pakistan.



# Pakistan's Security Perspective: Internal and External Challenges for Pakistan

General Ehsan Ul Haq (Retired), NI (M)

March 18, 2021



The year 2020 also known as the year of COVID has disrupted the world. The uncoordinated response and dismal state of global order added to the woes. The emergence of China as a global power has unfolded. The world is moving towards multi-polarity and the centre of gravity is shifting to the "Indo-Pacific" region. Pakistan is located at the crossroads of the geo-political landscape. The stability in the region hinges around this geo-strategic location but it also serves as a geo-strategic challenge. Pakistan's eastern region is in a strategic dynamic turmoil with various unresolved disputes, arm building and hegemonic ambitions.

Domestically, Pakistan suffers from weak state institutions. This is primarily due to fact that

at the time of independence Pakistan lacked an economic and industrial base. A constitutional vacuum was present coupled with population explosion, illiteracy, various social and regional constraints. Internal fault lines were exploited by internal parties. Madrassa and Afghan War gave space to the promotion of jihadi culture in Pakistan. After 9/11, a paradigm shift occurred that threatened the security fabric and was the epicentre of global terrorism.

Today the main element of warfare is disinformation, whereas, before it used to be weapons. Sometimes the new fault lines complement the existing fault lines. The West envisages Pakistan as a security and military threat but cannot lose sight of the Indo-Afghan nexus. The need of time is national cohesion and consensus on the core issues like defence, economy, resource management etc. Achieving political stability is imperative since it is linked with internal stability that leads to economic progress. Pakistan needs to revise its foreign policy from reactive to proactive. A credible national narrative needs to be created.





# Comprehensive National Security Policy & Comparative Analysis of National Security Management

Dr Moeed Yousaf, National Security Advisor

March 19, 2021



Traditional Security and Non-Traditional Security are the buzzword in the domain of Comprehensive Security. The first and foremost form to address comprehensive security is national cohesion. The question arises; can we have cohesion in such a polarized society? The second component is the territorial one, including territorial integrity and sovereignty. The third is foreign policy and diplomacy and forth is economic security.

The irony is, the only time Pakistan has achieved a high GDP growth rate is during military rule. The second element within economic security is education; essentially it is human resource, capacity and skill set that can be the driver of economic security; the third element includes technology. Finally, the human security i.e. the ultimate declaration of security in securing the most deprived citizen of Pakistan.

Human security includes population bulge, provision of food and water, health security, environmental security and all the related spheres. In 2050, Pakistan will be facing water scarcity and there is no proper framework for distribution and management of water system. There is a need to establish a combined water management policy with our neighbouring countries. Furthermore, it is health that is at the core of human security. In recent times, all the facets of national security (tangible and intangible) were upset because of the pandemic.

Lastly, climate change is a major problem as we are 8th most vulnerable country in the world with minimal contribution towards carbon emission. Pakistan's leverage has been its geo-strategic location - besides - one must start thinking and talking about geo-economic location. Economic security has three constituent elements; connectivity, development partnerships and peace in the neighbourhood. We must be pragmatic and proactive with all stakeholders on national and international issues.



# Kashmir Dispute: Prospects for Resolution in Contemporary Geo-Political Environment

Sardar Masood Khan, President Azad Jammu & Kashmir

March 19, 2021



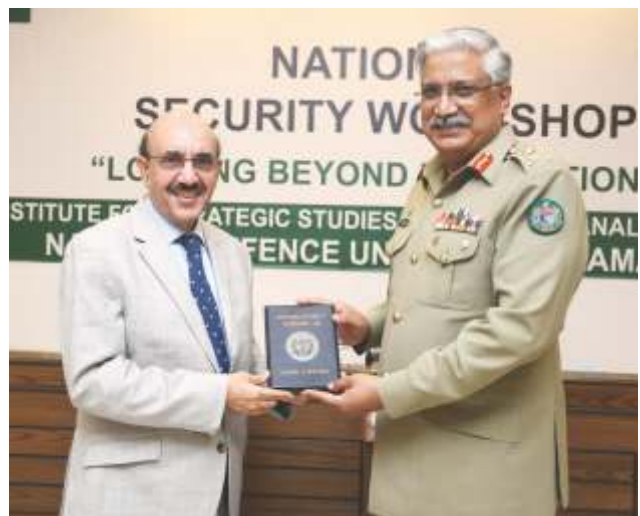
The situation in Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu & Kashmir (IIOJ&K) is hazardous including horrific human rights violations. The lands of Kashmiris are being grabbed; almost 3.2 million people from all parts of India are brought to the Kashmir Valley and are settled there; legal businesses of Kashmiris have become de-legalized and sub-contracted to non-Kashmiris as per Article 35 A.

Before understanding the Kashmir Dispute, it is important to know the regional and global geo-political dynamics. India declares Kashmir Dispute as an internal matter and claims that Pakistan has no right to talk about it. The United Nation's Security Council Resolutions on Kashmir and plebiscite talks are all set aside and India does not accept Pakistan talking on Kashmir at any forum. Indians, rather go a step ahead and say when Pakistan would leave the

occupation of Azad Jammu & Kashmir.

This situation initially demands that Pakistan must be aware of the harsh ground realities and prepare a strategy accordingly without harping only on the chord of bilateral talks with India. Secondly, Kashmir Dispute after August 05, 2019 has become internationalized and would be manipulated by India. Thirdly, talking about the possibility of conflict management between Pakistan and India, one needs to know that Kashmir is the core issue and will remain an issue till its resolution. Lastly, the way forward lies in resorting to diplomacy being the best available solution to Kashmir Dispute.

The Kashmiris must put their faith in the UNSC Resolutions and the official stance of Pakistan. Alongside, opting for bilateral talk, Kashmiris must be the part as third party on board, besides Pakistan and India. Kashmiris must strengthen themselves up and continue the freedom struggle to shape their destiny. Their hearts beat with Pakistan and whenever there is plebiscite, they will vote for Pakistan.



## Panel Discussion

# Nationalism: Contemporary Challenges and Policy Options

March 22, 2021

Dr Manzoor Ahmed

National integration is the state of being whole and undivided; upholding territorial integrity and national sovereignty. It is the creation of a feeling of oneness where diversities are recognized and respected by imbining a sense of nationhood.

National unity includes national cohesion, national integration, nation-building and social solidarity. A relationship among people within the same national entity, a state of mind or disposition to be cohesive, to act together, and to be committed to the mutual cause is important for countries to thrive. In addition, different factors contribute to national integration; these include historical, geographical, cultural, constitutional and institutional factors. Other factors like religious and emotional unity, sense of

belonging, economic and social justice, urban development, education system and national activities also play a crucial role in contributing towards national integration.

Some potential impediments to national integration in Pakistan which require specific attention include colonial legacy, the failure of political leadership / accountability, ethnocentricity and ethno-nationalism, elite capture and misappropriation of national resources, bad governance and a weak economy, religious extremism / radical thoughts, socio-economic disparity and lack of basic social and economic services. If these impediments are addressed, national integration in Pakistan can be improved to a great extent.





## Dr. Farhan Siddiqui

Nation building generally comprised of two important aspects; self-determination and the question of identity, thus, notion of nation building is complete. The nation became the basic unit of politics and empires / monarchies lost their credence. To build a society, it is important to embrace its diversity too. We are often confronted with the question of diversity in Pakistani society as a challenge to national integration.

When a country has national integrity, it also has political integrity and a sense of common national identity. Countries with common national identity and political integrity are on the path of development and Pakistan too can achieve that. However, it is important to see identity as a fluid identity and not fixated. We do

not have to overemphasize the oneness and commonness of the people.

Being a diverse nation, Pakistan should embrace its diversity fully. Diversity is embedded in the notion of Pakistan's identity. Adopting the institutional structures that allow more power balance between different segments of society, Pakistan can achieve national integration and avoid future conflicts within different ethnic, religious and other segments as well.

# OND PERCEPTIONS"

## DIES RESEARCH & ANALYSIS (ISSRA) SITY IS AD



# Human and Food Security, Population Bulge and Poverty Alleviation in Pakistan

Dr Sania Nishtar, Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Poverty Alleviation & Social Protection

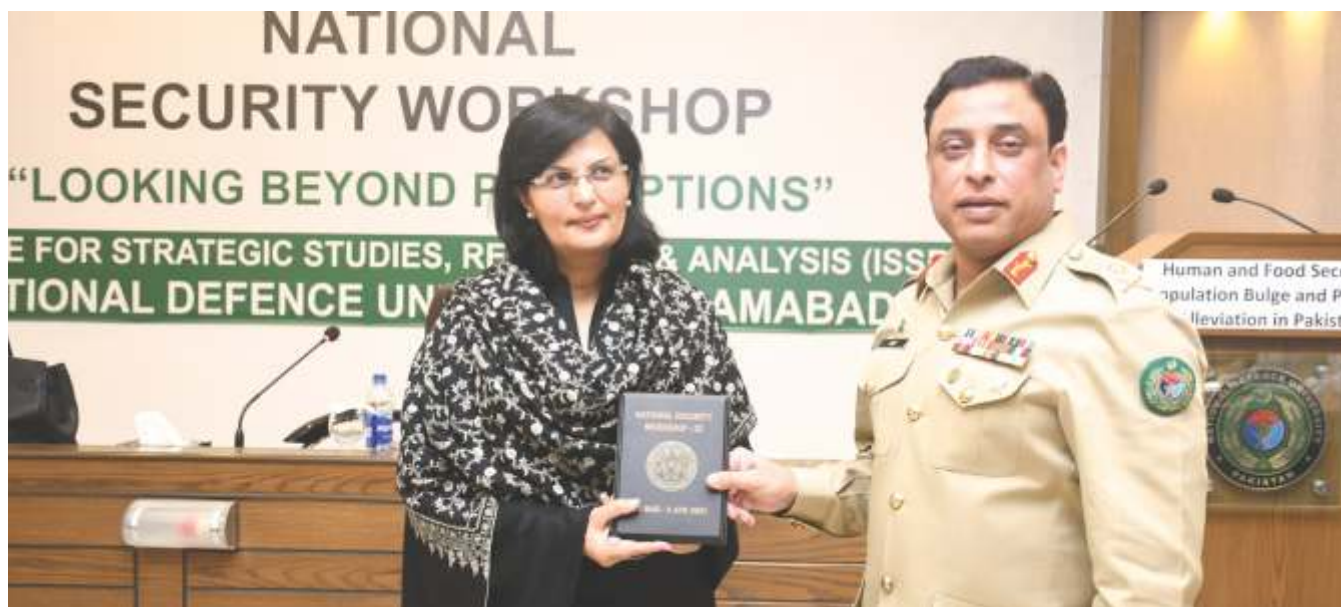
March 22, 2021

In the traditional concept of security, the object is state and outcome is the integrity of the state. This type of security is meant to counter intrastate wars, terrorism and insurgency etc. Another notion of security is centred on individuals. For a country like Pakistan, growing population viewed in the context of water scarcity is particularly worrisome, as it is linked with other strands of security and development. On poverty eradication, one can say that COVID-19 is expected to reverse the declining trend of poverty alleviation anywhere in the world. In Pakistan, the poverty prevalent during 2018 was at about 23.8%, while we do not have statistics for COVID time yet.

There were several issues with Pakistan's system which were published in the past. First, the Government focuses on all attributes in appointment of ministerial and other leadership positions except for performance. Second, the Government institutions have disincentive to

collaborate. Third, public policy is formulated as a menu. There is not much choice, and there is tendency to write down everything, it is not imbedded in theory of change and is reflective of policy of continuity. Fourth, collusion is no longer an exception in Government institutions. Moreover, corruption is not an exception; it has become the business itself. Fifth, the Government can drive a massive change through building systems if the policymakers have subject understanding and do not have conflicting interests.

In conclusion, this government is heavily focused on accountability and performance while linking it with incentives. It is hoped that performance management framework being introduced soon, will further improve the governance system. The framework would also be a good mechanism to forge collaboration, but we need to go beyond.



# Perception Building and Media Management

Senator Sherry Rehman

March 25, 2021

The term “perception” was coined by the US Department of Defence and is defined as the process by which individuals select, organize and interpret the input from their senses to give meaning and order to the world around them. It is the lens through which one sees reality. Pakistan's international image has been tainted due to confusing narratives manufactured by powerful axis of countries, lack of articulation of clear policy by the country and a cognitive bias of the international community.

In Pakistan 35 million people use social media and this has aggravated the problem of fake news. This is evident from the fact that in 2018, as many as 17 media TV channels were issued show cause notice by PEMRA for airing fake news. Cyber warfare is the new dimension of threat to national security. In Global Risks Report 2020, the World Economic Forum ranked cyber - attacks among the top 10 risks in terms of likelihood and impact. Therefore, preparing for

cyber war and defending critical cyber networks must become a high priority of Pakistan for its security. 5th Generation Warfare is the battle of perceptions and information (also considered as cultural and moral war) which distorts the perception of the masses to give a manipulated view of the world and politics.

To fight disinformation and negative perception building, Pakistan should invest in brand building, forging bilateral relations and shaping international opinions. It should establish its strategic goals, create an outreach strategy and effectively manage its media houses. In conclusion, the government should encourage independent and professional journalism. Technology companies should invest in tools that identify fake news and the public and private sectors should work together for improving digital literacy among the public.





# Paigham-e-Pakistan

Dr Qibla Ayaz, Former Chairman Council of Islamic Ideology

March 26, 2021

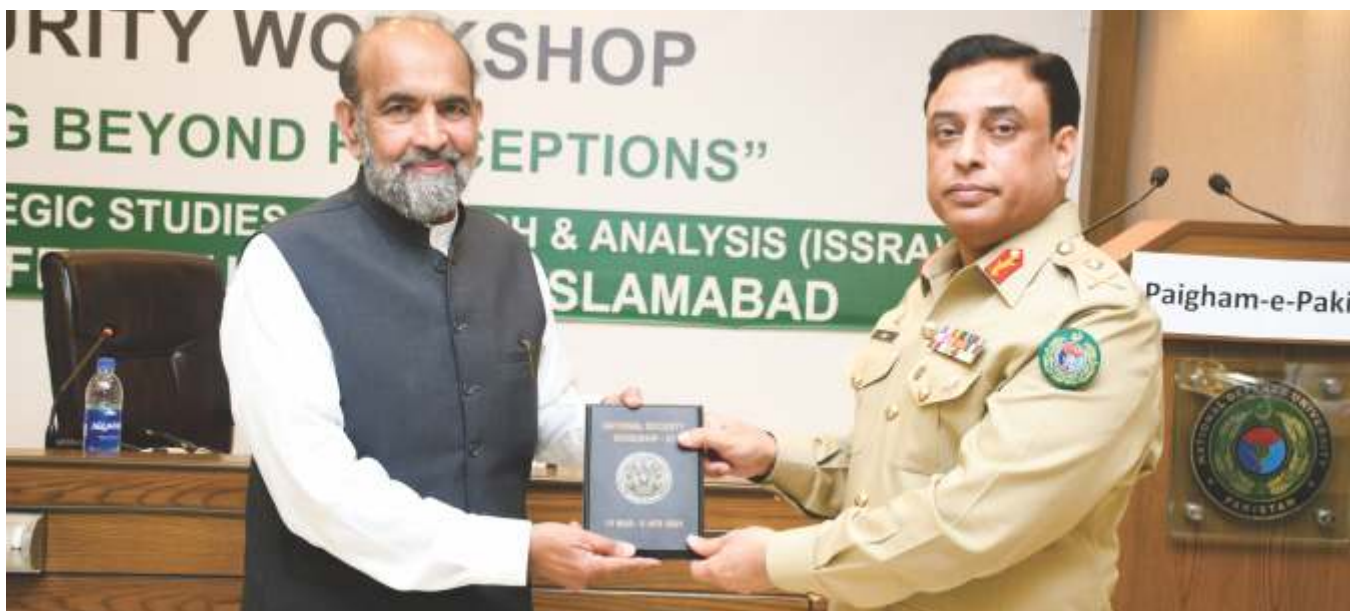
Paigham-e-Pakistan (Message of Pakistan) is not new to the people of Pakistan as it is greatly discussed in academia, media, religious circles and with students, but probably little is understood vis-a-vis its essence and on ground impact.

This ideology states, there is an enemy near an enemy far; when an enemy is near one should take action against it, when one cannot reach the enemy far. Hence, after Army Public School incident, political and military establishments declared to take stern action against such acts of barbarism and that ultimately led to the emergence of the National Action Plan in 2015 which created 'Paigham-e-Pakistan.'

The beauty of it is first, both policymakers of political and military administrations are united; second, the very distinguishing aspect that it has been signed by the five Wifaqs of different religious schools of thought in Pakistan i.e, Sunni, Shia, and then within Sunni sect Brailvi, Deobandi, Ahl-e-Hadith & Jamaat-e-Islami. All five Wifaqul Madaris of different schools of

thought working in Pakistan have signed and adopted Paigham-e-Pakistan even though some of them were practicing what was contrary to this 'Message' earlier. Later, Paigham-e-Pakistan has become a consensus document like the 1973 Constitution.

It is equally important to take this 'Paigham' to Parliament for getting it passed to make it a national consensus document. Getting this message discussed and popularized within academia, media circles, students, and on public platforms is essential and inevitable to make Pakistan a graceful, peaceful and strong country. Pakistan's progress hinges on the triangle of peace, economy, and prosperity which is narrated in the Surah Quraish of the Holy Quran. If this triangle is ensured by Paigham-e-Pakistan, then the country will attain national integration, solidity and strength as a rising Islamic nation.



# Economy of Pakistan at Present: Challenges and Opportunities

## Dr Hafeez Sheikh, Minister for Finance and Revenue

March 26, 2021

The high fiscal and balance of payments deficits are core challenge for the government formed in July 2018. Ten months after election, the government was back at the IMF's doorstep for Pakistan's 13th loan program since the 1980s. The US\$6 billion extended fund facility was suspended when COVID-19 hit in March 2020. As the economy contracted, one supposedly positive consequence was the decrease in Pakistan's balance of payments and trade deficit.

The incumbent government heralds the improvement in the current account as one of its major achievements. Added to this was the rather unexpected trend of Pakistan receiving over US\$2 billion worth of foreign remittances for the six consecutive month. Remittances were at US\$11.77 billion in the first five months of the fiscal year, increased by 27% as compared to the same period last year. And remittances are up by US\$500 million on average each month in the fiscal year 2021 as compared to the previous year.

The government has also been quick to celebrate such headline news as almost 50% increase in automobile sales in November 2020 compared to November 2019, not mentioning that sales for months after March 2020 were close to nil. Despite, low economic activity, probably due to the disruptions in supply chains, food inflation has been in the range of 14 to 17% for over a year.

The inflation problem is a result of inept decision making such as; delays in fixing support prices for wheat poor harvests and disruption in food supply chains. Various sets of projections for the current and next fiscal year have been made available. Fitch solutions has projected a mere 0.8% growth rate for the fiscal year. Political uncertainty may lead to a clash between the government and a combined opposition in mid 2021. In COVID waves, there is little reason to cheer Pakistan's growth prospects.





# INLAND VISITS









## DEFENCE INDUSTRIES PAKISTAN AERONAUTICAL COMPLEX, KAMRA (March 24, 2021)

The delegation visited Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC) Kamra. Participants were briefed regarding the vision, mandated domains, potential, strength, significance and role being played by PAC Kamra in country's defence industries. Furthermore, working, facilities and functioning of all factories were also explained in detail alongwith countries in collaboration, key milestones achieved and future projects.

The important subjects that were discussed during interactive session included challenges to PAC, export of aircrafts, drone technology, transfer of technology to civil organizations, JF-17 Thunder comparison with other fighter aircrafts and PAC's contribution towards research & development. After the interactive session and group photograph the participants were taken on a tour of different PAC facilities.







## PAKISTAN ORDNANCE FACTORIES, WAH

(March 24, 2021)

The participants visited Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF) and were briefed regarding role, organizational structure and services of POF. The participants were also apprised about the history of the factories, details of various components of POF, its command structure, development of factories and welfare measures. It was highlighted that POF is the largest defence industrial complex under Ministry of Defence Production, manufacturing conventional arms and ammunition of international standards. Furthermore, the role of POF in the wake of COVID-19 pandemic was also highlighted. During interactive session, questions were asked regarding export of weapons and ammunition, contribution of POF to country's economy and exports, quality of ammunition, manufacturing of small arms and its regularization. Later, participants visited the factory and production units of weapons and ammunition.







## PAKISTAN DAY PARADE

(March 25, 2021)

Delegation witnessed Pakistan Day Parade on March 25, 2021 at Shakarparian, Islamabad. The annual military parade (usually held on 23 March) was rescheduled on 25<sup>th</sup> March this year due to inclement weather. Dr Arif Alvi, Honourable President Islamic Republic of Pakistan was the chief guest and senior government and military officials, ambassadors, foreign dignitaries and members of civil society attended the event. The parade, paratrooping and cultural show were followed by an excellent air show by Pakistan Air Force and Turkish acrobatic team 'Soloturk'.









## VISIT - GWADAR

(March 29, 2021)

Participants of NSW visited Gwadar and Port facilities. The delegation was briefed by Brigadier Muneeb Sharif, HQ Special Security Division (SSD), Chairman of Gwadar Port Authority (GPA) and senior representative of Gwadar Development Authority (GDA). Participants were apprised about the mandate, roles & tasks and future vision of GDA, GPA and SSD. Strategic significance of Gwadar, CPEC projects, potential of Gwadar, energy security, water security, trade potentials and connectivity via Gwadar Port, Gwadar Free Economic Zone, Gwadar International Airport, GDA Hospital and Nursing Hostel, strengthening police structure, associated challenges and risks for real estate businesses in Gwadar were amply highlighted during the briefing and interactive session with Chairman GPA and Major General Muhammad Aamer Najam, GOC SSD.









## VISIT – KARACHI

(30 March – 1 April 2021)

### MAZAR-E-QUAID

NSW delegation visited Mazar-e-Quaid on March 30, 2021 where they offered Fateha for the founder of Pakistan and laid the wreath. Participants were also taken to the museum adjacent to Mazar-e-Quaid where the belongings of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah were displayed. The guardian of the mausoleum briefed about history of Mazar-e-Quaid and different parts of museum. The tomb was designed in a 1960s modernist style and was completed on June 2, 1970. It is an iconic symbol for Karachi all over the world and one of the most popular tourist sites in the city.









## GOVERNOR HOUSE - SINDH

(March 30, 2021)

Faculty members and participants of NSW-22 were warmly welcomed at Governor House Sindh. Governor House located at Aiwan-e-Sadar Road, Karachi has been the residence of British Governors of Sindh, Governor-General of Pakistan and the President of Pakistan. Delegation had a candid interactive session with the Honourable Governor Sindh Mr Imran Ismail in which honourable Governor highlighted about governance issues of Sindh, challenges related to COVID-19 and government's strategy to address these, law and order situation, contributions of Pakistan in Global War on Terror and innovative initiatives taken by federal government to address the problems faced by the province. Participants asked questions related to governance issues and role of Governor's Office in bridging the gap between the federal and provincial government. After the dinner participants were also provided an opportunity to visit historical galleries of Governor House and Governor General's Office.







## CHIEF MINISTER HOUSE - SINDH

(March 31, 2021)

Participants visited Chief Minister House Sindh and were briefed by the Sindh government officials and IG Sindh on matters related to security, challenges being faced by the Sindh government and initiatives taken, improvements in business environment, polarization on ethnic and sectarian lines, street crimes, police reforms, revamping criminal justice system and legislative efforts. During the interactive session questions were asked regarding the government's initiative to address the challenges related to human security, law and order situation, condition in Thar, agriculture and education. The briefing and interactive session was followed by lunch, group photograph and visit to historical building of Chief Minister House.









## HEADQUARTERS PAKISTAN RANGERS - SINDH

(March 31, 2021)

Major General Iftikhar Hassan Chaudhary, DG Pakistan Rangers Sindh warmly welcomed the delegation. Participants were briefed regarding the role, organizational structure, current deployment and areas of responsibility of Pakistan Rangers Sindh. Participants were apprised about the sacrifices of Pakistan Rangers Sindh in 'Global War on Terror' and contributions it has made for the peace of Karachi. Ranger's services including raising of schools and colleges, public service schemes and rehabilitation activities were also highlighted. During the interactive session with DG Pakistan Rangers Sindh, questions were asked regarding the current engagements and legal aspects related to the prosecution of the apprehended terrorists and criminals. Interactive Session was followed by exchange of mementos, group photograph and light refreshments.









## PAKISTAN NAVAL DOCKYARD - KARACHI

(March 30, 2021)

At Pakistan Naval Dockyard, participants were briefed about organization, tasks, areas of responsibility and significance of Pakistan Navy (PN) in modern era with special focus on regional environment and CPEC. The growing role of PN in pretext of OBOR in general and CPEC in particular were also highlighted. The briefing was followed by interactive session in which indigenization of naval weapons / ships, collaboration with friendly countries, joint exercises, maritime security, economic zone, tracking of vessels and initiatives for coastal community were discussed. After the session, participants visited PN ships and were taken on a boat ride.







## VISIT - LAHORE

(1 - 3 April 2021)

### MAZAR-E-IQBAL

Participants of NSW visited Mazar-e-Iqbal where they offered Fateha and laid the wreath for the National Poet of Pakistan. Allama Iqbal's Mausoleum is located within the Hazuri Bagh, Lahore. The rectangular mausoleum was built in 1951. The tomb was designed by Nawab Zain Yar Jang Bahadur and it bears Turkish and Mughal architectural style.









## GOVERNOR HOUSE - PUNJAB

(April 1, 2021)

Delegation was warmly welcomed at Governor House Punjab by the protocol staff. The Honourable Governor Punjab, Mr Mohammad Sarwar reckoned the diversity and inclusivity of National Security Workshop and regarded it as the most distinct and unique feature of NDU which helps in the convergence of opinions of diverse segments of society on one platform. He emphasized that our goal is to create a progressive society which requires patience, tolerance and dedicated efforts by all stakeholders including role of think tanks and media. During the interactive session various questions were asked encompassing broad domains of governance, socio-economics, politics, education and national security issues. The interactive session was followed by dinner after which participants walked to 'Wall of COVID-19 Heroes' to pay tribute to the heroes in the fight against COVID -19.









## WAPDA HOUSE - LAHORE

(April 2, 2021)

Lieutenant General Muzammil Hussain (Retired), HI (M), Chairman WAPDA briefed the delegation regarding climate change, agricultural and technological revolution, water economy, regional and domestic hydro politics, availability of river water and storage capacity of our dams. Additionally, they were apprised regarding ongoing and future projects, challenges being faced by WAPDA and initiatives taken to overcome these challenges. The briefing was followed by the interactive session in which participants asked various questions regarding the working and future pursuits including Kachhi Canal Project, Neelum-Jhelum Hydropower Plant, Tarbela 4<sup>th</sup> Extension Hydropower Project and Golen Gol Hydropower Project. At the end, souvenirs were exchanged followed by light refreshments and group photograph.









## VISIT - MIRAN SHAH

(April 10, 2021)

Faculty members and the participants of NSW visited Miran Shah, North Waziristan District (NWD) where the delegation was briefed regarding security situation of erstwhile FATA, kinetic and non-kinetic dimensions of operations and effective western border management system. NWD form 3.4% of Pakistan's total area and is divided into three sub-divisions with Miran Shah as its administrative HQ. Miran Shah was considered safe haven for miscreants and was famous for supply of arms, ammunition and assembling of IEDs. As a result of operations, life is back to normalcy and there is no “No Go Area” in NWD. Strategic framework adopted during operations with 3D strategy was Deter, Dialogue and Develop. Whereas, the operational framework was Clear, Hold, Build and Transfer. Briefing was followed by an interactive session with GOC, Major General Shakir Ullah Khattak in which questions were asked related to the current security situation of NWD and non-kinetic operations. After the session participants visited Miran Shah city, sports complex, Markaz that was under the control of terrorists before operation and Tochi Scouts Museum.









# EXERCISE PAKISTAN PAINDABAD

The exercise under an overall theme of “Pakistan Painsdabad” has been an integral part of National Security Workshops at NDU. Previously, it was called “Qaoumi Salamti” then the title was changed to Pakistan Painsdabad in NSW-14. The main objective of this exercise is to agitate the minds of the participants on the most pressing issues and challenge in which they are encouraged to discuss, crystallize and present their analysis and recommendations. Previous National Security Workshops, for instance have focused on “Water Security” in South Asia with particular reference to Pakistan (NSW-15), Vision 2025 (NSW-16), National Security Policy (NSW-17). NSW-18 focused on preparation of foreign and internal policies with particular emphasis on human security. During NSW-19, the exercise analyzed various aspects of National Action Plan and suggested measures for course correction. The exercise “Pakistan Painsdabad” for NSW-20 was carried out within an overarching theme of Social Reforms. Whereas, the theme for NSW-21 was “Pakistan @100” based on what will Pakistan be like when it turns 100 years old in 2047.

The emphasis of exercise in NSW-22 was Current Social and Economic Trends, norms and beliefs prevalent in Pakistan, while measuring the challenges and opportunities for reforms and suggesting a way forward. The participants were encouraged to identify factors that have been impediment to the country's socio-economic development and formulate the policy recommendations in this regard. For the exercise, the participants were formed in to six syndicates each compris-



ing specialists, technocrats, professionals and politicians. Each syndicate was required to present an analysis and recommendations based on following themes:

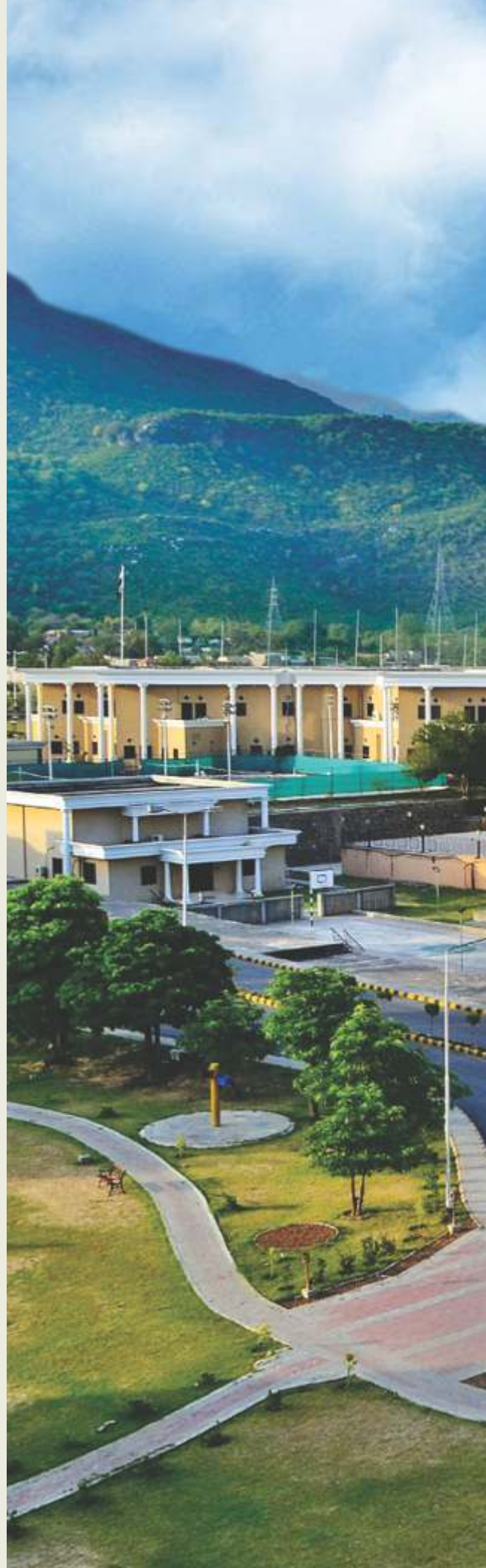
1. Population Bulge, Poverty Alleviation and Issues Related to Public Health.
2. Water Security and Climate Change
3. Good Governance, Weakened Institutions and Lack of Implementation of Rule of Law in all Sectors.
4. Equitable Socio-Economic Development
5. Rampant Corruption and Rise of Materialism
6. Divergent Education Streams and Low Education Standards.

Each of the above themes was interlinked and diverse in respective domains. The participants devoted many hours discussing the particular themes assigned to each syndicate. The discussions were lively but productive, sometimes contentious but tolerant, substantive but divergent. The outcome was comprehensive analysis of issues at hand, based on ground realities with recommendations, some of which could be implemented too, while, others threw up more challenges for their implementation. On the day of closing ceremony, three members from different groups presented their topics in a comprehensive manner inclusive of deliberations from all the working groups.





# CLOSING CEREMONY









# Address by Honourable President AJ&K

**Sardar Masood Khan**

April 9, 2021

Honourable President AJ&K Sardar Masood Khan, congratulated the participants on successful completion of workshop. He commended NDU initiative of conducting National Security Workshop and regarded it as a successful programme that allows parliamentarians, civil servants, entrepreneurs and members of civil society to understand the dynamics of national security, national cohesion and national development. Nations are never born, they are created and crafted and their development also needs craftsmanship. National Security is the representation of our national leaders from all over the country including parliamentarians, civil servants, media persons, entrepreneurs and members of civil society. We must identify what is the “Real North” for the state of Pakistan. How would it be ranked among the top nations of the world? How would it address the issues like poverty, education, water security and climate change?

Panel members gave passionate and energizing presentations. It is the foundation for national security as it is not only the strategic wherewithal but also an ordinary person in society that defines national security. In order to make Pakistan one of the strongest nation in the world, both economic and social development is the key. Human security comes from prosperous people and national security stems from human security. Given the geo-strategic significance of Pakistan, it should build alliances abroad, be part of an alliance as a powerful nation in its own right and should not serve as a client state of major powers. Pakistan does not want perpetual warfare, we want peace and stability in the neighbourhood.

We would not capitulate with regard to our national interests under any circumstances and Kashmir is one of those interests. We would not redefine our national interests; the reason for which Pakistan was constituted. To become a great nation, demonstrate resilience to your people and the international community.









# Closing Address

DG ISSRA, Maj Gen Asif Ali, HI(M)

April 9, 2021

In the series of National Security Workshops, this was the 22<sup>nd</sup> workshop which was attended by the senior leadership comprising all segments of society including honourable members of parliament, representing federation and all the federating units, the government officials and the prominent individuals from civil society.

During the last four weeks, commencing March 15, 2021, NDU tried to provide an enabling environment to the participants of the workshop to discuss statecraft, the processes involved in formulation of national security and other policies at the national level. The focus of our deliberations was to brain-storm and crystallize understanding of various challenges to national security confronting Pakistan. During the workshop, the discussions remained focused on identification of Pakistan's national interests and determining the way forward to promote and pursue national interests.

The interest and intellect displayed by the participants and the quality of their contributions were indeed par excellence. I feel confident that we were able to achieve the objective of preparing and honing the skills of our strategic leadership. I do hope that the participants leave this institution with satisfaction of a better understanding of critical issues and imperatives of comprehensive national security.

I hope NDU came up to your expectations and was able to provide you the promised conducive environment, both academically and administratively. On this occasion, I would also like to thank the Government, the Speaker National Assembly and the Speakers of Provincial and Legislative Assemblies of all the federating units for making their members available. I am also thankful to the Services Chiefs and the Heads of Government Departments and Organizations for sparing their nominated participants and hosting the Workshop.

Finally let me also share with you, that it is only through months of painstaking deliberations that such arduous exercise becomes a reality, and for that I would like to compliment ISSRA / NDU Headquarters faculty & staff for the sustained efforts they put in to make the Workshop a success. In the end, I would like to congratulate all of you for successful completion of the Workshop and becoming part of alumni group of this University.



## Exercise Pakistan Paindabad - Presentations







# PICTURE GALLERY







































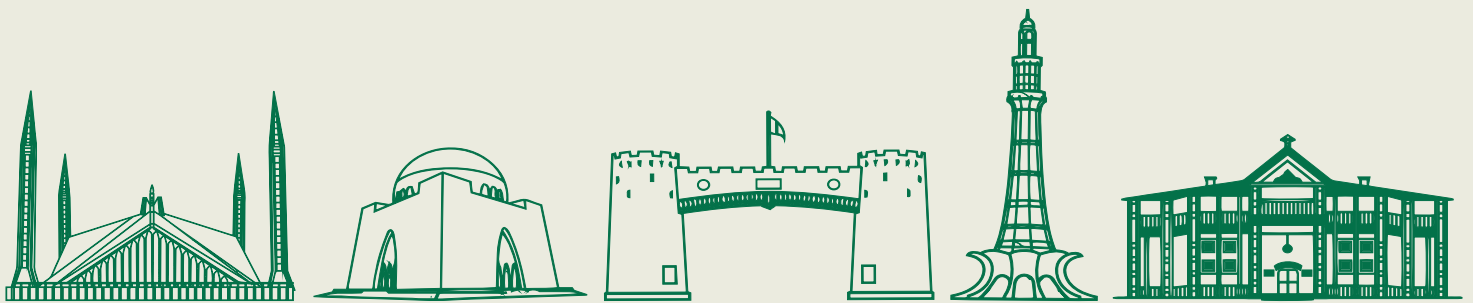












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NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD  
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