

**REPORT OF THE JOINT MEETING OF SENATE  
STANDING COMMITTEES ON DEFENCE AND  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

*In compliance with Ruling of the Chairman Senate  
dated 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2016 on the subject:-*

- i. "Withdrawal of proposed subsidy on sale of F-16  
Fighter Jets to Pakistan by United States  
Administration";*
- ii. The situation arising out of the drone strike on  
22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2016, in Balochistan, resulting in killing  
of Mulla Akhtar Mansoor and its aftermath and  
impact on Pakistan's national security, defence &  
foreign relations;*

**Report No. 01**

**(Fourteenth Parliamentary Year)**

**PRESENTED BY**

**(SENATOR MUSHAHID HUSSAIN SAYED)  
CHAIRMAN  
SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE**

**&**

**(SENATOR NUZHAT SADIQ)  
CHAIRPERSON  
SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

*DD (I.T.)*

*for website*

*17/6/16*



## **SENATE SECRETARIAT**

### **REPORT OF THE JOINT MEETING OF SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES ON DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

We have the honour to present the report, on behalf of the Senate Standing Committees on Defence & Foreign Affairs in compliance with the Ruling of the Hon'ble Chairman Senate dated 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2016

2. The Agenda before the Committees was as follows:-

- i. Ruling of the Chairman Senate dated 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2016 on the subject "Withdrawal of proposed subsidy on sale of F-16 Fighter Jets to Pakistan by United States Administration";
- ii. The situation arising out of the drone strike on 22<sup>nd</sup> May, 2016, in Balochistan, resulting in killing of Mulla Akhtar Mansoor and its aftermath and impact on Pakistan's national security, defence & foreign relations;

3. The composition of the Committees is as under:-

|     |                                              |                    |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1.  | <b>Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed</b>        | <b>Chairman</b>    |
| 2.  | <b>Senator Nuzhat Sadiq</b>                  | <b>Chairperson</b> |
| 3.  | Senator Ilyas Ahmad Bilour                   | Member             |
| 4.  | Senator Hidayat ullah                        | Member             |
| 5.  | Senator Atta ur Rehman                       | Member             |
| 6.  | Senator Col. (R) Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi | Member             |
| 7.  | Senator Lt. Gen ( R) Salahuddin Tirmizi      | Member             |
| 8.  | Senator Lt. Gen. (R) Abdul Qayyum            | Member             |
| 9.  | Senator Muhammad Javed Abbasi                | Member             |
| 10. | Senator Farhatullah Babar                    | Member             |
| 11. | Senator Farooq Hamid Naek                    | Member             |



|     |                                               |                   |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 12. | Senator Mrs. Sehar Kamran                     | Member            |
| 13. | Senator Brig. ( R) John Kenneth Williams      | Member            |
| 14. | Senator Muhammad Daud Khan Achakzai, Advocate | Member            |
| 15. | Senator Haji Momin Khan Afridi                | Member            |
| 16. | Senator Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah            | Member            |
| 17. | Senator Ms. Ayesha Raza Farooq                | Member            |
| 18. | Senator Karim Ahmed Khawaja                   | Member            |
| 19. | Senator Ms. Sassui Palijo                     | Member            |
| 20. | Senator Syed Shibli Faraz                     | Member            |
| 21. | Minister for Defence                          | Ex-Officio Member |
| 22. | Advisor to Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs  | Ex-Officio Member |

4. A joint meeting of the Senate Standing Committees on Defence & Foreign Affairs was held on 13<sup>th</sup> June, 2016 at 11:00 am in Committee Room No. 2, Parliament House, Islamabad under the Chairmanship of Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed & Senator Nuzhat Sadiq. The following members of the Committee attended the meeting:-

- i. Senator Lt. Gen. (R) Abdul Qayyum
- ii. Senator Muhammad Javed Abbasi
- iii. Senator Farhatullah Babar
- iv. Senator Lt. Gen. (R) Salahuddin Tirmizi
- v. Senator Brig. (R) John Kenneth Williams
- vi. Senator Mrs. Sehar Kamran
- vii. Senator Hidayat Ullah
- viii. Senator Muhammad Daud Khan Achakzai
- ix. Senator Haji Momin Khan Afridi
- x. Senator Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah
- xi. Senator Karim Ahmed Khawaja
- xii. Senator Syed Shibli Faraz
- xiii. Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Ex-Officio Member



5. Senator Nuzhat Sadiq, Chairperson, Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs identified the two issues, as per the agenda, which were to be deliberated upon during this meeting. The Hon'ble Chairperson emphasized on developing a way forward in the wake of current international political scenario and Pakistan's position thereof.

6. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman Senate Standing Committee on Defence emphasized that the important hearing organized jointly by the Senate Committees on Defence & Foreign Affairs, pursuant to the directions of the Chairman Senate following the US decisions to renege on the commitment to provide F-16 planes to Pakistan and to launch a drone strike on May 21 in Balochistan, resulting in deaths of Afghan Taliban leader Mullah Akhtar Mansour and a Pakistani national Muhammad Azam, who drove the vehicle. Mullah Mansoor, whose travel documents were miraculously retrieved in safe condition despite his vehicle being blown to smithereens. He was reportedly carrying a Pakistan passport. The Chairman Defcom pointed out that this unprecedented Public Hearing had two purposes primarily:

- a) To Get clarity from the Government regarding the current status of Pakistan-US relations in the context of what is generally perceived as a drift in our foreign policy and national security;
- b) Propose a national strategy and way forward that can preserve, protect and promote Pakistan's core interests in a rapidly-changing region.

**(Detailed statement is attached at Annex-A)**

7. After welcoming remarks the Chairman invited Senator Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah for his comments. Senator Shah emphasized the role of Parliament in formulation and monitoring of the foreign policy of Pakistan and expressed his apprehensions over Indian intimidation through Afghanistan and now its growing activities through the Chabahar Port of Iran. India is warming up to the United States as is evident from the address of the Indian Prime Minister to the Joint Session of the US Congress and the Senate. The subsequent support for India by the US in its endeavour to get a place into the Nuclear Suppliers Group is of concern for Pakistan. Senator Shah further raised the question of poor lobbying by Pakistan within the US due to which the proposed sale of F-16 to Pakistan could not take place. He pointed out that



there was no political interaction between the Parliaments of US and Pakistan. As a result there was no parliamentary influence either way. The US has not only declined to sale its F-16 to Pakistan but was also planning to set up a plane for manufacturing these aircrafts in India. It is a grave concern for Pakistan. The Senator asked the Secretary Foreign Affairs to explain efforts made by Pakistan to maintain a strategic balance of power in the region. Mr. Shah further said that India is being promoted by US as a regional bully which calls for a review of the foreign policy of Pakistan to do damage control in Pakistan - US relations. Its seems that our foreign policy is a in knee jerk reaction to Indian actions and its looks like we are being diplomatically isolated. Pakistan must have a proactive foreign policy. We need to improve our trade relations with Iran, Saudi Arabia and work in collaborations with the world to curb terrorism and not to provide sanctuaries to terrorists in Pakistan. The Foreign Office must take into confidence members of the Parliament in this respect to improve its international diplomacy.

Mr. Shah further proposed:-

- i. A permanent liaison with Foreign Relations Committees of the Senate and National Assembly by the Foreign Office on major foreign relations.
- ii. Foreign Office to invite Parliamentarians for an input while formulating foreign policy issues.
- iii. Pakistan must consider reaching out to the think tanks of the US Congress and State Department as they play a major role in advising the US administrative and foreign policy making institutions.
- iv. Foreign Office needs to take effective measures to ensure countering strong Indian lobby working in the US.

8. The Secretary Defence stated that the policy in respect of Pakistan-US relations has to be formulated by the Foreign Office in consultation with the Government of Pakistan and the Parliament. The question of F-16 is almost a closed chapter as 24<sup>th</sup> May, 2016 was the last day when Pakistan could pay for the aircraft out of its own resources as US has declined to provide its 68% share of the funding. This chapter is practically closed now. Despite this fact the issue was raised by Pakistan at the Progress Review meeting of the Pakistan-US Consultative Group which was held in US from 30<sup>th</sup> May to 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2016.



Progress Review meeting of the Pakistan-US Consultative Group which was held in US from 30<sup>th</sup> May to 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2016.

9. The Ministry of Defence and the Air force are now looking at third party transfer of F-16s. The Jordanians have shown an interest in selling 16 block 30 F-16 aircrafts which are not the same quality but could still fulfill our requirements. Pakistan is also looking at other options to acquire fifth generation aircraft. This includes both the French and Russian options as they have the same quality and power aircraft. The Secretary Defence reiterated that as long as the nation stands with the armed forces of Pakistan and there is a national cohesion the defence of Pakistan is secure. The Secretary Defence further highlighted that the matter of sale of F-16 was utilized by India to create an impression that these sophisticated weapons can be utilized against Pakistan's neighbours, specially India.

10. The Secretary Foreign Affairs giving a policy statement reiterated that our focus should be on a larger picture depicting the whole scenario. The Pakistan-US relations have not been on a stable note. They have swung up & down like a roller coaster. Since after 13<sup>th</sup> June, 2013, Pakistan has made every effort to enhance these relationships and the visit of the Secretary of States, Mr. John Kerry and the strategic dialogue with formulation of working groups with the US is an example of the same. The Prime Minister of Pakistan visited US in October, 2015 to improve bilateral relations with a mutual desire to enhance cooperation. In December, 2015 the "Heart of Asia" Conference in Pakistan demonstrated a close cooperation between the US and Pakistan. Side by side Pakistan is also improving its relations with China & our cooperation with them is on the rise. The CPEC is an example of the same and part of Chinese "one road one belt policy". Now the US has come up with a theory of "ASIA PIVOT" whereby it has reviewed and revived its relations with India, giving them a more prominent role in the region and supporting them internationally. Pakistan has always persued a policy of peaceful coexistence with our neighbours including Afghanistan and India. The aim has been to create a space which can be utilized for stability to bring economic well being of the people. Pakistan pursues an independent foreign policy and



enjoys good relations with all its neighbours and other countries of the world. Pak-US relations in the field of commerce, corridor of knowledge & people to people contacts have improved. Pakistan cannot compromise on its sovereignty and the issue of drone strikes has been raised at all fora with the US. During the recent past the drone strikes had reduced but after the strike of 21<sup>st</sup> May, 2016, the issue has again become prominent. Pakistan has protested to the US for violations of its airspace and sovereignty. We have also taken up the issue of our membership to the Nuclear Supplier Group. The US policy of conducting drone strikes in Pakistan would jeopardize the peace process in Afghanistan. Pakistan is a country of 200 million people and is very important in this region of the world. The US has been clearly told about Pakistan's security concerns with respect to India. Any effort to destabilize Pakistan can be disastrous. The US is of the opinion that Pakistan is not fulfilling its obligations with respect to the Haqqani group & is not responding positively to the US demand for the release of Dr. Shakeel. US also desires Pakistan to cap its nuclear programme. It has been made very clear to the US that Pakistan would not compromise on its Nuclear capabilities. We do not see any prospect of a military solution to the Afghan problem. There has to be a political settlement to the Afghan issue and US drone strikes are jeopardizing all efforts in this respect. Mulla Akhtar Mansoor was not willing to negotiate with the US or the Afghan Govt. We were trying to convince & bring him to the table. The whole efforts have suffered a great blow due to the drone strike of May 21<sup>st</sup>. The Foreign Secretary declared that Angore Adda Post was not handed over to Afghanistan. The Pak army had merely repaired the Afghan Check Post as a gesture of goodwill. The Prime Minister of Pakistan during his visit to Kabul on 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2015 had clearly stated that Pakistan is against all forms of terrorism and would never allow its territory to be used against its neighbours. The US drone strike is a blow to the Afghanistan peace process. Foreign Office considers CPEC as a project for the welfare of the whole region whereby not only Pakistan but Afghanistan, Central Asian countries and even India would benefit from the same, as it would economically link all the important countries of the region. Pakistan is also working for improving its relations with Iran as they have been our true neighbours and friends. Commenting on the foreign policy of India the Foreign Secretary reiterated that India has only one point agenda which is Anti Pakistan rhetoric. The Indians are making trouble in Balochistan and promoting insurgencies. Pakistan has lost more than 5000 Officers, Jawans and the more number



of civilians in this war on Terror. The Foreign Office is focusing on lobbying in the US Congress and the Senate. It is also promoting international cooperation and proposes that we may send delegations to the US comprising of the members of the Senate and National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs to promote intra-parliamentary dialogue between the two countries.

11. The Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs explained that it has been made clear to Afghanistan that terrorism is the real important issue and we need to cooperate to combat it. Afghanistan needs to strengthen its border management in cooperation with Pakistan in order to stop the movement of Taliban across borders. The Afghan refugees in Pakistan provide shelter to militants and are a recruitment source for them. The Afghan refugees must therefore go back as Pakistan had hosted them for more than 30 years. Pakistan has also demanded that hostile statements emanating from Afghanistan must also stop and a clear policy from the Afghan government is required whether they want to reconcile with the Taliban or they want to prolong the fight. The US must also clearly indicate whether they want to hold talks with Taliban or to wage war against them.

12. The Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs addressed the meeting and responded to the questions raised by the Hon'ble Senators. He stated that India was a big country and our natural neighbour with whom we are in conflict since our creation because of Kashmir. We have never accepted Indian hegemony and we have kept the Kashmir issue alive. The security related issues with India have been very dominant in our political history & therefore our foreign policy has been mostly India centered. The role of security establishment is very important in our foreign relations. In the post 9/11 scenario Islamophobia has emerged throughout the world. The US invasion of Afghanistan & Iraq further deteriorated the situation and Pakistan became embroiled not by choice but by being part of the region. Then there was the Arab spring where a lot of changes took place in the Middle East whereas Pakistan has been able to survive the terrorism storm and has waged a successful war in curbing the menace. Taking advantage of this opportunity India has come to the forefront as the



leading nation providing support both against forces of Islam & countering China. Under these circumstances Pakistan cannot afford to make itself irrelevant. We have tried to assist the US in curbing terrorism and have supported them fully. The shift in US policy is evident but we want to keep on playing an important role in the region.

13. Pakistan's relations with China, the Central Asian Republics, and Russia have improved to a great extent. The membership of SCO and the project of CPEC are our achievements. This also indicates our aim of an economic revival through an effective Foreign Policy. Trade prospects are being enhanced. We want to live in peace with our neighbours that is why we believe in a constructive dialogue with both India and Afghanistan.

14. Pakistan's relations with Iran are on a steady plane and we are improving economic prospects with Iran after the lifting of international sanctions. We have made it clear that Pakistan wants trade and not aid. Our economic dependence on the US is negligible. Investments from China are an appropriate substitute. Pakistan's economy stabilized & with this our economic relations with the EU & rest of the world are also improving. Russia is fast becoming our trade partner & would be investing in a Gas Pipeline Project. Defence relations with Russia are also improving. Some examples of our successful Foreign Policy in respect of Russia & CARS is CASA 1000 & TAPI Gas Pipeline work would also commence on Pak-Iran gas pipeline. We are acting to achieve our economic goals through effective Foreign Policy.

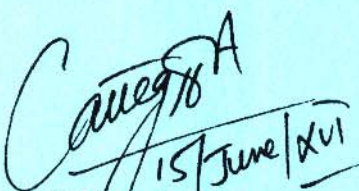
15. Pakistan is persuing through an active diplomacy the membership of Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). India will not succeed in its endeavours to get membership in the forthcoming Seoul Conference.

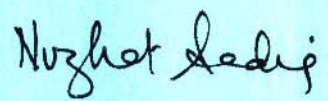
16. The heavy Indian dependence on the US is being criticized domestically in India. The realignments being persued by Pakistan are more successful. We cannot compromise on principles. A balance between short term and long term benefits for Pakistan needs to be maintained.

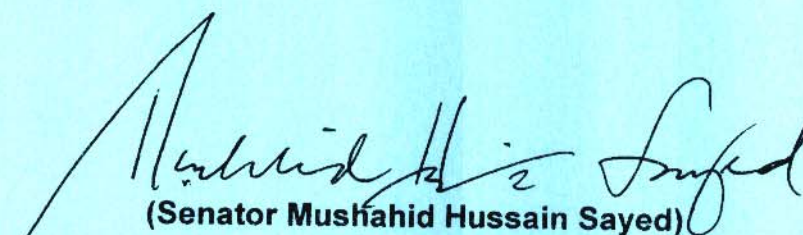


17. During the start of the Afghanistan War after Russian invasion, Pakistan issued identification documents to most Afghan Mohajirs to facilitate them seek employments. Mullah Mansur might have been one of such Afghan Muhajirs. Our narrative is based on facts which has been communicated to the world. There can be no compromises on the National Defence and National Interests of Pakistan. For this Parliamentary support is essential. The concept of strategic depth with Afghanistan has lost currency. The Foreign Office appreciates the efforts for activation of Pak-US Parliamentary friendship groups.

18. The Hon'ble Chairman Defcom felt that since the matter had been referred to the two Committees by the Chairman Senate, given the significance of the issues, one option could be to recommend to Chairman Senate to call a meeting of the "Committee of the whole Senate" to discuss these issues of National importance, although some members felt otherwise.

  
(Dr. Syed Pervaiz Abbas)  
AS / Secretary Committee

  
(Senator Nuzhat Sadiq)  
Chairperson  
Senate Standing Committee on  
Foreign Affairs

  
(Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed)  
Chairman  
Senate Standing Committee on Defence





## **RULING OF THE CHAIR**

### **REFERRAL OF MATTER REGARDING THE "WITHDRAWAL OF PROPOSED SUBSIDY ON SALE OF F-16 FIGHTER JETS TO PAKISTAN BY UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION" TO JOINT COMMITTEES OF SENATE**

There is no specific rule in the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Senate, 2012, that provides for two Standing Committees to meet together but there is past practice and tradition where the Standing Committees on Finance and Petroleum and Natural Resources, have sat together; drawing from the past Parliamentary tradition and in exercise of powers under rule 264, Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Senate, 2012, I hereby refer the matter to the Standing Committees on Foreign Affairs and Defence; which shall sit together and be co-chaired by the two Chairpersons of the said Standing Committees. The matter being referred to the Joint Committees is the subject matter of Adjournment Motions Nos. (6), (8), (9), (10)(248)/2016-M and a Calling Attention No. 15. (Clubbed), to report, atleast once in every Session, to the House on the progress being made on there.

**MIAN RAZA RABBANI**  
NI  
Chairman Senate

Senate Sitting dated 12<sup>th</sup> May, 2016  
248<sup>th</sup> Session – Dictated & Announced in the House.



and the Parliamentary Committee on National Security (PCNS), under Senator Raza Rabbani, which for the first time in Pakistan's history prepared detailed terms of engagement with the United States, that were endorsed by both the civil and military components of the Executive, and unanimously approved by the Joint Session of Parliament. I was privileged to be among those who helped draft these terms of engagement as a Member of PCNS.

Given the emerging scenario, the time has come to revisit these terms of engagement and Parliament needs to play its role to devise 'rules of the game' on Pakistan-US relations and the broader thrust of our foreign policy and national security.

We hope that answers can be found to questions which are agitating the minds of our parliamentarians, media & people:

A) why is it that the US opposes the Iran-Pakistan pipeline but Washington has not opposed the tripartite India, Iran and Afghanistan strategic accord on Chah Bahar?

B) what is it that the US wants to do with the Afghan Taliban: talk to them or take them on?

C) what were the results of the high-level civil-military huddle at GHQ on June 7, as suddenly there were a spurt of briefings/media interactions after that meeting;

D) what message did the Americans bring on June 10 and what message did we give to the Americans when the Olson-Lavoy team was in Islamabad?

#### Way Forward:

3 factors would be key for a successful foreign policy & national security strategy. First, institutional strength of the Foreign Office and institutional decision-making via the National Security Committee, Defence Committee of the Cabinet and the Defence Council so that a reactive, crisis-to-crisis ad hoc approach is replaced by a clearly laid down, consistent policy.

Second, harmony between mufti and khaki so that all relevant stakeholders are on the same page when it comes to issues of foreign policy and national security. Then, embarrassments like OBL in May 2011 and Mullah Mansoor in May 2011, would be handled deftly and swiftly with a coordinated response, not the inexplicable 24-hour silence on both occasions.

Third, strategic vision with clarity on foreign policy and national security laying down clear-cut policy priorities over the next 5-10 years, which is presented to and approved by Parliament before it becomes State Policy to be implemented by all concerned in letter and spirit.

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