



House of the Federation

## **Report Committee of the Whole House**

constituted to

*"prepare policy guidelines in the light of emerging regional realities and role of the United States".*

### **"INITIAL RESPONSE TO THE U.S. PRESIDENT'S AFGHAN –SOUTH ASIA POLICY STATEMENT"**

**Senate of Pakistan**  
**(August-2017)**



## **REPORT**

### **COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE**

The Senate of Pakistan on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 2017, the very day the U.S President made policy statement with regard to Afghanistan – South Asia, took note of the statement and the Chairman Senate directed the Minister for Foreign Affairs to come to the House for a debate and response of the Government in the matter. In the meantime various members had given notices for Adjournment Motions and Calling Attention Notices, all such instruments were clubbed and placed on the Orders of the Day for 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 2017. Accordingly, the House started discussion on the situation arising out of US President's statement. The discussion expanded over a period of two days, wherein, Members expressed their sentiments and tabled suggestions for a way forward in this regard. (synopsis of discussions in the House is annexed)

2. Simultaneously, after taking collective wisdom of the House and taking into account the support and agreement of the Minister for Defence, the Chairman Senate on 23<sup>rd</sup> August, 2017, referred this matter to the Senate's Committee of the Whole constituted to "prepare policy guidelines in the light of emerging regional realities and the role of United States" and also constituted a Drafting Committee consisting of the following Members, to draft initial policy response of the state of Pakistan:-

1. Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed
2. Senator Sherry Rehman  
(replaced by Senator Farhatullah Babar due to her non-availability)
3. Senator Ayesha Raza Farooq
4. Senator Syed Muzafar Hussain Shah
5. Senator Dr. Jahanzeb Jamaldini
6. Senator Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo

3. The Drafting Committee prepared its first draft after holding consultations with the Foreign Office and Ministry of Defence and presented the same before the Committee of the Whole in its meeting held on 28<sup>th</sup> August, 2017.



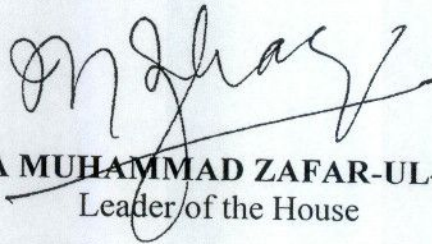
4. The Committee of the Whole, on 28<sup>th</sup> August, 2017 held an in-camera meeting for consideration of proposals prepared by the Drafting Committee. The proposals were discussed in detail and members as well as Chairman Senate proposed some substantial amendments. The Committee also took note of the developing situation and subsequent statements made by U.S officials.
5. The meeting was attended by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Defence along with the following officials:-
  - (i) Ms. Tehmina Janjua, Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs
  - (ii) Rear Admiral Faisal Lodhi, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Defence
  - (iii) Mr. Shuja Alam, Additional Secretary (America's)
  - (iv) Mr. Mansoor Ahmed Khan, Director General (Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey)
6. The Minister for Foreign Affairs briefed the Committee on all aspects of the support that Pakistan has been providing to the U.S and NATO forces and sacrifices that have been made by the country and its people during the 'war against terror'. Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs also gave detailed briefing and answered the concerns and queries of members in an extensive questions and answers session. The Minister for Foreign Affairs proposed certain amendments in the proposals prepared by the Drafting Committee.
7. The amendments proposed by the Chairman Senate, Members and Minister for Foreign Affairs were transmitted to the Drafting Committee for preparation of a revised draft.
8. The revised Draft was submitted by the Drafting Committee on the morning of 29<sup>th</sup> August, 2017, which was considered by the in-camera meeting of the Committee of the Whole in the afternoon. The Committee, being conscious of the evolving nature of the issue, decided to convey initial response to the U.S President's Afghan – South Asia policy statement, which will remain under review and will further shape up in the wake of emerging situation and developments.



9. The document, was duly adopted by all Members from both sides of aisle and Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence also concurred with the same.
10. The "Initial response to the U.S President Afghan - South Asia policy statement" is annexed.



**(AMJED PERVEZ)**  
Secretary  
Senate of Pakistan



**(RAJA MUHAMMAD ZAFAR-UL-HAQ)**  
Leader of the House



# **SENATE OF PAKISTAN**

## **INITIAL RESPONSE**

### **TO THE U.S. PRESIDENT'S AFGHAN –SOUTH ASIA POLICY STATEMENT**

#### **I. Introduction:**

The U.S. President's Afghan strategy unveiled on August 22, 2017, is one-sided and puts the entire onus on Pakistan for the failure of US policy in Afghanistan. Pakistan's perspective has been ignored despite the fact that in the run up to the policy announcement, there were high level exchanges between Pakistan and the United States such as American Congress (Senator McCain, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate), Commander in Chief of the Central Command and the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia. Despite the ground realities of Pakistan's sacrifices its role has been undermined.

Ironically, Pakistan's legitimate concerns regarding expanding ungoverned spaces in Afghanistan used as sanctuaries/safe havens for orchestrating terrorist attacks inside Pakistan have been completely ignored. Ending violence in Afghanistan requires elimination of these sanctuaries. The Afghan war cannot be fought on Pakistani soil.

The proposed enhanced role of India in Afghanistan would only accentuate the instability not only in Afghanistan but also in the broader region.

Given this context, the Senate has taken a timely, out of the box, proactive initiative to take the lead in presenting policy guidelines that can help in protecting, promoting and preserving Pakistan's national interests.

#### **II. Immediate Steps:**

- a) The Foreign Office should convey the concerns of Pakistan and its people, as reflected in the debates of the Senate on 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> August, 2017, alongwith the discussion of the Committee of the Whole, held on 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> August, 2017, by summoning the American Ambassador and informing him of the same ;
- b) It is appreciated that the Government has postponed the visit of Minister for Foreign Affairs on the recommendations of the Senate, however, whenever the



Minister for Foreign Affairs visits Washington D.C., concerns of the State must be conveyed alongwith a fact sheet of Pakistan's contributions and sacrifices in the 'war against terror', which need to be taken notice of and appreciated. The documentation should also reflect the logistical facilities provided on the ground and in the air to US/NATO troops and their specific economic implications. For instance, since 9/11, approximately one million sorties have flown across the air line of communications on the air corridor allowing access through Pakistan's territory to Afghanistan;

- c) A Fact Sheet on American assistance to Pakistan be immediately released portraying the post-9/11 scenario as to how much assistance has been provided for Coalition Support Funds, which are in fact reimbursement to Pakistan and how much of the commitments made by the United States on supply of military hardware and aid which have not been kept on one pretext or the other and how much have been the losses that Pakistan has incurred since 9/11 due to the American war in Afghanistan (some figures put the amount at over \$ 100 billion.); and
- d) Pakistan values its relationship with the United States; reiterate Pakistan's desire to constructively engage with the United States on full spectrum of bilateral relations as well as the regional situation, particularly peace and stability in Afghanistan and the broader region.

### **III. What is to be done?**

- a) A national policy paper putting forth a clear national narrative of Pakistan that can serve as a document for US policy makers should be crafted taking the views of all stakeholders;
- b) A regional diplomatic initiative should be taken to coordinate Pakistan's response to the U.S. President's Afghan strategy in consultation with the friendly countries so that it shows that Pakistan's perspective has a resonance regionally as well as globally, particularly the upcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA);
- c) The U.S. President has talked of a South Asia strategy. Pakistan should also formulate such South Asian policy that should be comprehensive as Peace cannot be compartmentalized and segmented and there should be efforts to peacefully



resolving the Kashmir dispute where Indian Human Rights violations know no bounds and given the fact of U.S. President's reference to the nuclear issue as the potential flash point between India and Pakistan. India cannot be net security provider in the South Asian region given its conflictual relationship with all its neighbours;

- d) Pakistan should take note of the fact that by enhancing its troop presence in Afghanistan, the US shall, as noted by David Ignatius in the Washington Post, sustain a base that will allow it to keep a watch on Pakistan and the region. Additionally military escalation in Afghanistan will destabilise Pakistan and the region and have negative consequences for Europe as well, given the threat of extremism and terrorism;
- e) On Afghanistan, Pakistan should emphasize that the territory of no State can be used for causing terrorist activities in any other State and particularly refer to TTP hideouts and sanctuaries in Afghanistan which operate freely. Additionally, Pakistan should focus on its attempts on border management and security all along 2600 km Pak-Afghan border, where some parts of the porous border are being fenced. If U.S. President can order fencing of the border with Mexico to ostensibly protect the United States commerce, there is a far greater urgency to fence the Pak-Afghan border. Given the history of the region, Pakistan should maintain its principled stand that there is no military solution to the conflict in Afghanistan. In this regard, Pakistan should reiterate the primacy of pursuing a politically negotiated settlement with the Afghan Government in the lead. Pakistan would be willing to contribute in the shared objective of exterminating all forms of terrorism;
- f) On India, Pakistan needs to present a clear dossier on India's cross border terrorism with names, dates and unimpeachable evidence, including the Yadav case, to focus on Indian actions to destabilize Pakistan, particularly using territory of Afghanistan, and such a dossier be presented to selected western capitals especially Brussels and the UN headquarters .
- g) On Afghanistan there is lack of mutual trust despite the strong historical, cultural ties and traditional *bon homie* between the two countries highlighted by Pakistan playing host to millions of Afghan refugees for the past four decades and this mistrust needs to be addressed. Pakistan needs to make out a clear case that



militants like Moulvi Fazlullah and others hiding in Afghanistan operate against Pakistan. At the same time, similar allegations by Afghanistan, need to be looked more closely and such elements, if any, must be neutralised. There is need for a mutually acceptable verification mechanism to look into the allegations by both Pakistan and Afghanistan of cross border violations. Pakistan may highlight the drawbacks of the continued military campaign in Afghanistan which has failed to bring stability to the region. Instead, it has only compounded the challenges in the country including bringing death and destruction to the helpless civilians in Afghanistan. Pakistan categorically rejects the blame game both by the Afghan Government as well as the US officials for any destabilizing role. Pakistan should emphatically state that we will not be intimidated by biased propaganda or an unwarranted negative rhetoric.

- h) The Quadrilateral Cooperation & Coordination Mechanism (QCCM), announced on August 3, 2016, comprising of Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and Tajikistan needs to be made more pro-active and entrusted with the lead role to counter terrorism and extremism within a regional framework.
- i) A Media Coordination Committee should be established to prepare the Pakistan national narrative and this should be a permanent body working round the clock which should also prepare a strategy to interact with international media, think tanks and academia, particularly American public opinion through various fora;
- j) A permanent inter-ministerial task force needs to be established preferably led by Parliament to prepare a rapid response to the evolving geo-political, national security and foreign policy developments so that we are not found napping or tardy in our response as was the case when China responded first in support of Pakistan on the U.S. President's strategy;
- k) Parliamentary diplomacy should be initiated on immediate basis and Parliamentary delegations be sent to put across Pakistan's view point, particularly lobbying with those US Senators and Congressmen who are critical of the U.S. President's policy; World Parliaments should be informed of the seriousness of the situation in the region and its implications if continued;
- l) A meeting of Parliamentary Committee on National Security be called on immediate basis;



- m) A Joint Session of Parliament be called to ratify Pakistan's response on the national strategy;
- n) Immediate meeting of Pakistan's Ambassadors and High Commissioners posted abroad be called to take them on board and specific tasks, in view of the given situation, with respect to their respective Capitals be given; Likewise, Ambassadors and High Commissioners in Islamabad should be immediately called to the Foreign Office and Pakistan's response should be conveyed to them; and
- o) The Senate of Pakistan welcomes the formation of 'Pak-Afghan Army Working Group' to jointly work for eradication of terrorism in the region.



**SYNOPSIS OF DEBATES IN THE SENATE ON 23<sup>RD</sup> AND 24<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST, 2017**

**Senator Aitzaz Ahsan, Leader of the Opposition in the Senate**, stated that the Government should immediately call on the US Ambassador and should record the protest and to make him aware of the steps that Pakistan can take in response to such statements. He further suggested that Pakistan should highlight the involvement of India in the internal affairs of Pakistan and the Foreign Minister should cancel his visits to America. He focused on the supremacy of Parliament and of civilian authority otherwise this issue cannot be resolved.

**Senator Taj Haider, Parliamentary Party Leader, Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian**, showed disappointment on the statement of Trump. He stated that the relationships of America with Pakistan are at the level of Establishment and it takes only the military duty from Pakistan. He also showed his concerns on the statement made by the Defence Minister. He suggested the Government to stop working with USA otherwise Pakistan will not get rid of extremism and terrorism.

**Senator Syed Muzafar Hussain Shah, Parliamentary Party Leader, Pakistan Muslim League (F)**, stated that the statement of Donald Trump shows his lack of understanding the affairs of South Asia. He also criticized the stance taken by the Government of Pakistan in response to Trump's statement as it does not reflect the response of a Sovereign State. He was of the view that Indian point of view seems to have made headway in the American media and especially in American think tanks. He suggested that as a Sovereign State Pakistan should made it categorically clear that we will take all appropriate steps to protect the National interest of Pakistan and we will not tolerate any interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. He further stated that Pakistan needs to revisit its foreign policy in the Parliament of Pakistan and the Government should call joint Session of the Parliament in order to bring all the political parties at one page. He further stated that Pakistan should make it crystal clear to USA that if Americans cut off the economic and military assistance then Pakistan will look for alternative sources of survival and we must strengthen our relations with Russia, China and Iran. He further showed



apprehension on meetings of US delegations with the military leadership instead of political leadership. He reaffirmed that if the Government takes lead to reflect the independence and Sovereignty of Pakistan then we will support unconditionally.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed, Parliamentary Party Leader, Pakistan Muslim League,** stated that Parliament represents the sentiments of people of Pakistan and a clear cut strategy on national security should come from the Parliament. He advised the Foreign Minister that whenever he will visit Washington he should have a clear national narrative with the support of Parliament. He further suggested that Pakistan should take regional political initiatives with China, Iran and Russia through Parliamentary diplomacy. He urged the Government to play its cards by locking the air space and the leadership have to show courage and to unite the Parliament to take a national position to preserve, promote and protect Pakistan's national interest and Sovereignty.

**Senator Mohammad Azam Khan Swati, Parliamentary Party Leader, Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf,** condemned the statement of US President had criticized the policies of America which have been failed on number of occasions. He suggested that the joint Session of the Parliament should be called in which the US Ambassador may be summoned so that he can understand the views of the Parliament. He appreciated the statement made by China to show its true friendship with Pakistan.

**Senator Col. (R) Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi, Parliamentary Party Leader, Muttahida Quami Movement,** stated that Donald Trump is the most ill-informed President of USA who has no knowledge of history. Apart from criticizing the statement of Trump he also criticized the Government on the non-implementation of National Action Plan due to which the banned organizations are still operating in the country with different names. He suggested that foreign policy should come through the collective wisdom of Parliament. He appreciated the friendship shown by China at this point of time and advised that the Foreign Minister should cancel his trip to America in order to extend a strong message.



**Senator Muhammad Usman Khan Kakar, Parliamentary Party Leader, Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party,** stressed the need for implementation of National Action Plan. He was of the view that this issue should be debated in the joint sitting of the Parliament and it is a high time that Pakistan should not look towards others to resolve its issues. Parliament should be made more powerful and unity should be shown on the floor of the Parliament. He suggested that the foreign policy and internal policy of the country should come from the Parliament.

**Senator Sirajul Haq, Parliamentary Party Leader, Jamaat-e-Islami,** was of the opinion that Donald Trump is a businessman who deals in weapons and imposing wars is part of his business deals. He stated that Pakistan should revisit its foreign policy in the joint Session of the Parliament and Pakistan should also work on lobbying. He was of the view that Pakistan should support Afghan people and not to a particular group. He urged that while keeping aside all differences, the political parties should show unity on this issue.

**Senator Dr. Jehanzeb Jamaldini, Parliamentary Party Leader, Balochistan National Party (Mengal),** also suggested to strengthen the Parliament and advised all the political parties to remain united on this issue otherwise Pakistan may have to face severe consequences.

**Senator Saleem Zia, Chief Whip, Pakistan Muslim League (M),** stated that America wants to make Pakistan scapegoat of his failure in Afghanistan. He stated that Pakistan is not a banana republic rather Pakistan is a responsible nuclear state wherein a democratic system is flourishing, therefore, no one can threaten us.

**Senator Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Abdul Qayyum, Chairman Senate Standing Committee on Defence Production,** stated that America should learn lessons from the history and should avoid use of force to solve political issues and should involve all the stakeholders in the dialogue process. He further criticized the involvement of India in Afghanistan. He was of the view that peace in South Asia cannot be guaranteed without solving the Kashmir issue as the Kashmir is the only flash point in South Asia. He suggested that Pakistan should focus more on Border management and towards the repatriation of Afghan refugees. He also suggested that Government should not allow US consulate to construct such a huge building of American



consulate in Islamabad. He suggested that we should enhance our relationships with Russia and China and should be member of non-alliance movement. Pakistan should stand firm on its stance because we are a nuclear state and America wants to deprive us from our nuclear weapons and they want to corner us. He further suggested that Pakistan should raise this issue in the UNO.

**Senator Sherry Rehman, Chairperson, Senate Standing Committee on Parliamentary Affairs,** condemned the statement made by the Foreign Office of Pakistan due to the reasons that it was belated and more apologetic. She endorsed the stance of the Army Chief that Pakistan is not in need of financial aid but she wished that such statements should come from the civilian Government as it is the responsibility of the Parliament. She appreciated Pakistan as the only Muslim country which successfully executed the largest inland war against terrorism on its soil. She affirmed that we will stand united in the face of every threat to Pakistan but we are not hired assassins.

**Senator Muhammad Javed Abbasi, Chairman Senate Standing Committee on Law and Justice** also criticized the statement of Trump and narrated the sacrifices of Pakistan to restore peace in Afghanistan. He admired the nation of Pakistan which always stood firm against such threats.

**Senator Abdul Rehman Malik, Chairman Senate Standing Committee on Interior and Narcotics Control,** also criticized the statement of Donald Trump and stated that we should make common strategy to fight against the common enemy.

**Senator Maulana Hafiz Hamdullah, Chairman Senate Standing Committee on Religious Affairs,** stated that the American agenda is to sabotage peace in the Muslim countries in which America remained quite successful. He suggested to review the foreign policy of Pakistan and urged that Parliament should pass a resolution that no foreign policy will be accepted unless it comes through the Parliament.

**Senator Syed Shibli Faraz, Chairman Senate Standing Committee on Commerce and Textile** was of the view that the statement made by Trump shows frustration. They want Pakistan to fight their war but Pakistan should realize that already we have lost a lot in fighting



the proxy wars. He was of the view that we should bring diversity in our foreign policy and should always keep our national interest ahead of any other interest. He criticized the stance taken by the Government in response to Trump's statement. He suggested that we should seriously look forward towards the economic strength and should make efforts to get the country out of security paradigm as it is the only way out.

**Senator Mohsin Aziz, Chairman Senate Standing Committee on Privatization and Statistics,** also condemned the statement of Donald Trump and was of the view that it has come out under the influence of India. He suggested that Government should respond strongly and if the Government will take a brave step then the whole nation will stand behind the Government.

**Senator Osman Saifullah Khan, Chairman Senate Standing Committee on Science and Technology,** stated that Americans have certain interest over which they never compromise so Pakistan should also give preference to its own interests.

**Senator Farhatullah Babar** stated that President Trump is wrong in pointing fingers at Pakistan and United States should not blame Pakistan for its failure in Afghanistan. He was of the view that Pakistan should not take it lightly and we should strengthen our relationships with China, Russia, Iran and Afghanistan in order to make sure that Pakistan is not isolated in the region. He further urged the Government to implement point No. 7 of the National Action Plan regarding the prohibition of proscribed organizations to resurrect with different names.

**Senator Sehar Kamran** was of the view that the announcement made by the US President is result of the efforts made by Indian lobby in the USA to link Pakistan with terrorism. She suggested that USA should review its policies and Pakistan should exhibit national unity at this point of time and to show unity and strength, joint Session of the Parliament should be called so that the opinion of the Parliament can go to US Congress.

**Senator Sitara Ayaz** condemned the statement of Donald Trump and also criticized the apologetic statement made by the Defence Minister. She suggested that Pakistan should reply in



a strong manner and we should get united as a Nation and should demand America to do more as we have already done enough.

**Senator Ayesha Raza Farooq** condemned the statement of Trump which is contradiction of his own previous statements. She stated that it is an effort to make Pakistan a scapegoat. She suggested that we should do more to become an economic joint and should refuse whatever aid we get from America. She suggested that we should revisit our foreign policy and should look for sincere allies in the region and should strengthen our relations with China and Russia and should also work to have better and closer ties with Iran.

**Senator Mian Muhammad Ateeq Shaikh** also criticized the statement of Trump and appreciated the reaction of China in this regard. He showed confidence on the armed forces of Pakistan which are fully competent to secure Pakistan from any internal and external aggression. He was also in favour of role of Parliament to counter the situation.

**Senator Sassui Palijo** condemned the statement of Trump which is an effort to single out Pakistan in the region. She demanded joint Session of the Parliament and the meetings of the relevant Committees to suggest the policy guidelines to the Government.

**Senator Nehal Hashmi** rejected the statement of Trump and stated that this is a conspiracy against CPEC. He was also of the view that policy making is the job of Parliament and not the responsibility of institutions. He stated that America wants to create a division between the Parliament and the institutions of Pakistan which we will not allow as a nation.

**Senator Saeedul Hassan Mandokhail** condemned the statement of Trump and urged that the Government should not show any weakness in its stance.

**Senator Dr. Ashok Kumar** stated that India cannot digest CPEC so it has tried to put pressure on Pakistan through USA. The Government should try to revisit its policies and should work towards strengthening its relationships with all neighbors.

**Senator Ghous Muhammad Khan Niazi** stated that in order to save its image America is trying to put the blame on Pakistan which is strongly rejected. He was also of the view that



joint Session of the Parliament may be called and all the political parties should record their protest and reaffirm their commitment to protect the country.

**Senator Muhammad Mohsin Khan Leghari** was of the view that Pakistan should watch its interest. He urged the Parliamentarians to show dedication towards their role as a Parliamentarian and only then the Parliament can be strengthened. He was of the view that we should be realistic while speaking and try to resolve this issue through dialogues because there is no comparison of US and Pakistan military strength. He further stated that Pakistan should use its geographical location and knowhow of the Afghan land.

**Senator Naseema Ehsan** stated that Pakistan should make an independent foreign policy.

**Senator Barrister Murtaza Wahab** also narrated the sacrifices of Pakistan in the war against terrorism. He stated that unfortunately Pakistan failed to project the sacrifices made by its people, therefore, it is the need of the hour that we should project our sacrifices at all international forums and the state of Pakistan should respond as a Sovereign state.