



Pakistan-China Institute

REPORT

16 HOURS THAT RESHAPED SOUTH ASIA

How Modi's Miscalculation Led to Pakistan's Primacy



Foreword by
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Foreword



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Lenin once said that there are “decades when nothing happens and then there are weeks, when decades happen”. The last few momentous weeks have actually corroborated Lenin’s famous words since these have resulted in a reshaped South Asia.

India’s miscalculation under its arrogant Prime Minister, Mr. Modi, who thought that size equals strength is a Himalayan blunder, like his predecessor Prime Minister Nehru’s miscalculation of 1962 when Indian aggression provoked a Chinese response resulting in humiliation and defeat of the Indian army, an experience that has now been repeated after 63 years in the South Asian, subcontinent.

For Pakistan, it has been in the words of Sir Winston Churchill: our “Finest Hour”. Pakistan not only gave a bloody nose to an adversary which had launched unprovoked aggression, but Modi’s miscalculation produced unintended consequences, which were unthinkable before. Pakistan has settled the score of 1971 paid back the debt with interest, demonstrated that size does not equal strength, Indian aggression has unified the Nation, Prime Minister Modi has been cut down to size like Nehru in 1962, , the United States is now playing the role of an ‘honest broker’, ready to mediate on Kashmir after announcing ceasefire from the White House, re-hyphenating Pakistan with India with the added humiliation of India actively soliciting Third-party mediation to relieve pressure from Pakistan.

Moreover, India shining quickly turned into India whining. Pakistan outclassed, outmatched and outmaned India in all domains of warfare, resulting in a situation where there was perfect planning, perfect coordination and perfect execution.

While Pakistanis bow their heads in gratitude to the Almighty Allah for this historic triumph, they are also grateful to their armed forces, led by Field Marshal Syed Asim Munir and Air Chief Marshal Zaheer Ahmed Babar as well as the Pakistan Navy and the people of Pakistan who have shown steadfast support for their men and women in uniform. The strategic ramifications of these 16 hours resonate well beyond South Asia, since there are global implications of the conflict. Expectations that India would play a major role on behalf of the West to counter China, the battle-testing of Chinese technology which successfully surpassed Western technology and Pakistan's profile as a major Muslim Middle Power that has the will, capacity, intention and the national infrastructure to not only repulse the enemy but also to preserve and protect the Motherland, thanks to the professionalism of its valiant armed forces.

Additionally, Pakistan and Pakistanis came out better in comparison to India with Pakistan's leadership, people and media behaving with calm, cool maturity, using civilized language demonstrative of a responsible nuclear power. Conversely, with war hysteria, jingoism and lies as their hallmark, the Indian government took to hate speech and hysteria to outpour their venom against Pakistan, reminiscent of the Rage of the Impotent! This crisis, India has shown the dangers of nuclear weapons in the hands of a regime of religious extremists, which should cause alarm bells to ring in the region and beyond.

The great leader, the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah had once proclaimed that "let it not be said that we did not prove ourselves equal to the task". In the historic month of May, which also is the month when Pakistan became a nuclear power on 28 May, 1998, when I had the singular honour to be Pakistan's chief spokesman as Minister for Information, Pakistani Resilience and strength has exemplified that they are certainly 'equal to the task' and their heroic armed forces can respond to the clarion call of the nation to protect Pakistan, certainly above and beyond the call of duty.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed
Chairman, Pakistan-China Institute
22 May 2025

Summary

India's bid on 6 May 2025 to impose a coercive "new normal" across the Line of Control unraveled within hours when six front-line fighters—three Rafales, two Su-30MKIs, and one Mirage-2000—were shot down by the Pakistan Air Force, and a follow-on Indian strike on 10th May triggered a precisely calibrated counter-salvo that disabled twenty-six Indian sites & installations with missiles, drones, and sweeping electronic jamming, re-establishing deterrence that New Delhi had hoped to overturn. Major capitals responded with studied neutrality: Washington's cease-fire appeal pointedly hyphenated the two nuclear neighbors, Beijing signalled support of Pakistan's posture, and Moscow withheld the expected diplomatic support for India. Deprived of external endorsement, India's domestically amplified narrative of success found no takers abroad, so the episode delivered simultaneous military, diplomatic, and informational defeat for Delhi.

Operationally, Pakistan fused air, missile, cyber, and electronic-warfare effects under a unified command led by Field Marshal Asim Munir and Air Chief Marshal Zaheer Ahmed Babar. Next-generation Chinese sensors, data links, and electronic-attack pods gave PAF pilots—already more proficient in night and terrain-masking profiles—the network advantage to negate India's Rafales. Integrated electronic barrages blinded Indian command circuits long enough for stand-off munitions to land with impunity, underscoring that platform quality is capped by the sophistication of its information grid. Beijing's unobtrusive but unmistakable technical back-stopping illustrated the widening performance gap between Chinese and Western systems on which India had banked as a force multiplier.

Strategic shockwaves followed quickly. On 17 May China publicly declared India's claim to "Arunachal Pradesh" (Zangnan) "null and void" and renamed twenty-seven geographical features inside the contested tract, a tangible sign that Beijing will not tolerate any violation of its territorial integrity. Trump's statement lauding Pakistanis as "brilliant" and offering to mediate Kashmir revived global recognition that the Valley remains an unresolved dispute rather than India's internal affair. Three new realities crystallized by mid-May:

- Deterrence between India and Pakistan is restored in the conventional domain, while it already prevails in the nuclear realm.
- China has emerged as an informal security guarantor of regional peace and stability, including a key stabilizing factor and stakeholders on the issue of disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir.
- United States has re-hyphenated India and Pakistan, undermining New Delhi's ambition to be the regional hegemon.

These developments leave India facing its most acute strategic humiliation since the 1962 war with China. Domestic narratives of India's Shining are punctured, while U.S. and NATO planners must

reassess assumptions about the technological gap between China and the West. After air supremacy established by Pakistan plus India's utility as a counterweight to Beijing under the Quad framework becomes questionable. Conversely, Islamabad has consolidated its credentials as an effective Muslim Middle Power—alongside Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia—that can shape regional outcomes, combining military efficacy with deft diplomacy and mature messaging.

I. Scenario before Indian aggression on May 6, 2025:

Three assumptions held by India:

- a) India was trying to establish a 'new normal' by trying to leverage its conventional superiority viz-a-viz Pakistan to offset the nuclear parity and deterrence with Pakistan;
- b) After illegal annexation of Occupied Kashmir on August 5, 2019, India assumed that the Kashmir issue had been 'buried' through the new status quo;
- c) In keeping with its flawed self-image since Prime Minister Modi took over in 2014 that size equals strength, India was positioning itself as counter to China, actively soliciting backing from the United States and the West in this regard.

All these three assumptions of India stand shattered in the aftermath of its defeat by Pakistan in both Round-I (May 6-7 lasting for an hour) Round-II (May 9-10 lasting for 15 hours) actually, 16 hours that reshaped South Asia.

II. India has suffered its most serious strategic setback since Nehru's defeat in 1962 Sino-Indian war:

- a) Military defeat at the hands of Pakistan when in Round-I, Pakistan shot down 6 Indian plane within an hour (3 Rafale, 2 Russian SU-30 and Mig20, French Mirage 2000) plus in Round-II, in response to India's attack on 9 locations in Pakistan, Pakistan responded with attacks through missiles and drones on 26 locations of India, including jamming its strategic installations;
- b) India's diplomatic defeat was complete with the Big 3 – United States, China and Russia, either neutral or sympathetic to Pakistan's position with the result that when President Trump announced the ceasefire, he treated Pakistan and India at par and both the nuclear neighbours were again hyphenated;
- c) India also suffered a defeat on the media front because its narrative was based on fiction, falsehood and fake news and hence this narrative had no takers internationally.

III. India's hatrick of setbacks in May:

- a) The defeat of India at the hands of Pakistan has been quite decisive in restoring deterrence in conventional military terms between Pakistan and India. The new normal that India expected and saw to establish has withered away;
- b) China announced on May 17 that the disputed area which India calls 'Arunachal Pradesh' while China calls it Zangnan, which is part of Xizang (Tibet) Autonomous Region, an integral part of China that "the occupation of Zangnan by India is null and void". China also announced that 27 locations in Zangnan have been renamed, including 15 mountains and 2 rivers as well as residential areas;
- c) The biggest blow to India's image, interests and objectives has come from President Trump who showered praise on Pakistan, calling Pakistanis 'brilliant', terming Pakistani products

as ‘incredible’ and announcing willingness to mediate on the dispute of Jammu & Kashmir. President Trump has recognized that the Kashmir issue is a dispute in international politics, which requires resolution between Pakistan and India through dialogue.

IV. Why Pakistan won?

- a) Strategic clarity of the Pakistan military high command, especially courageous leadership of Field Marshal Asim Munir and Air Chief Marshal Zaheer Ahmed Babar, who acted in perfect unison;
- b) Perfect inter-service coordination, especially in Planning, Coordination and Execution;
- c) Professionalism, skills, training and passion of PAF pilots, who excelled in night flying and night combat;
- d) Excellent deployment of sophisticated technology and use of electronic warfare and cyber warfare with the result that Pakistan dominated the air war, the missile war, electronic warfare and established cyber supremacy as well.
- e) Superiority of China’s military technology over Western technology.
- f) Deft diplomacy and mature, credible media
- g) National Unity and High Morale of the people of Pakistan.

V. The Changing Face of Modi’s India: No longer Shiny

Pakistan’s Operation ‘**Bunyanun Marsoos**’ has played a decisive role in unmasking and exposing the ugly face of Hindutva rule in India. Apart from the war hysteria and jingoistic nonsense of an orchestrated media, hatred towards Pakistan was quite manifest openly and repeatedly. With Mr. Modi cut down to size after his reckless miscalculation, India’s vulnerabilities and weaknesses are visible. From India Shining to India Whining has been a quick transition for a country that suddenly realized that size doesn’t equal strength with 45% youth unemployment and 750,000 illegal migrants in the USA (3rd largest after Mexico and El Salvador), India’s crony capitalism has benefitted the privileged few while India remains a fragile federation with 17 indigenous insurgencies, a re-invigorated freedom movement in Occupied Jammu & Kashmir, and a growing feeling among India’s minorities and middle classes that the Hindutva suffocation of the past decade is transforming India into a Republic of Fear.

VI Three new strategic realities:

- a) Pakistan versus Indian military equation has changed, as Pakistan has demonstrated that size does not equal strength and deterrence has now formally been restored with India’s desire for a new normal blown away;
- b) China is now a de facto party not only to the Kashmir dispute but also a stabilizing force in the region as an effective guarantor of peace, security and stability in South Asia, including a bastion of support for the unity, Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity of Pakistan.

- c) Courtesy the United States, the Kashmir issue has been revived and both Pakistan and India are being treated at par.

VII. Conclusion: Strategic significance of the monumental events of May between Pakistan and India.

- a) Like Prime Minister Nehru in 1962 after the debacle in the war with China, Prime Minister Modi has also been cut down to size;
- b) The United States, NATO and the planners in the West will now be dusting off old military plans and assumptions with a new look at the battle-tested Chinese military technology, which is far more sophisticated and far more superior than they had ever anticipated, as well as a new look at Pakistan's military prowess and professionalism and its battle inoculated armed forces;
- c) India's role as a linchpin of America's Indo-Pacific strategy or as a potential counter to China is now a question mark, given India's failure to in the battles with Pakistan, both over the sky and on the ground;
- d) Pakistan has shown its potential for the future and cemented its role as a Muslim Middle Power, probably among the five major Muslim powers, in the coming decade along with Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia.

Conclusion: The Indian military strategist Pravin Sawhney rightly termed the August 5, 2019 Indian annexation of occupied Jammu & Kashmir as 'mindless', Since that fateful decision is at the root of all instability including India's ties with Pakistan and China. Modi's bluff was called, and he had to blink after his aggression backfired, plus the fact that mentioned by Sawhney that RSS ideology drives foreign policy.

Way Forward: What is to be done?

- i. President Trump's diplomatic intervention and his offer to mediate on Kashmir, which is a recognition that Kashmir is an unresolved global dispute between Pakistan and India, is as God sent opportunity, which should be seized and pursued with vigor as it has internationalized Kashmir issue, so keep the focus on Kashmir.
- ii. **Know your enemy:** Pakistan should know that Modi and Co. represent RSS which has an ideological foreign policy agenda towards Pakistan inspired by Akhand Bharat (Greater India), based on bigotry, animus and hatred toward Muslims. It is perhaps no accident that a map of 'Akhand Bharat' hangs proudly in the Indian parliament, which purports to show Pakistan, Afghanistan and Myanmar, as part of 'Akhand Bharat'. For the RSS ruling regime, the core issue is not Kashmir or terrorism or waters, for them the very existence of Pakistan is problematic, hence, they mean harm to Pakistan.
- iii. India has shown Strategic Clarity towards Pakistan with a consistent 3-D Strategy: **Demonize** Pakistan (the EU Dis info Lab expose of 2020 is a good example

of how India funded fake websites to malign Pakistan), **Damage** Pakistan (India even went to the IMF to block IMF support for Pakistan as well as made efforts at FATF to retain Pakistan on the Grey List) and **Destabilize** Pakistan (promoting terrorism in KP and terrorism/separatism in Balochistan).

- iv. Pakistan too needs to have Strategic Clarity on its India/Kashmir policy since there has been waffling and confusion on this count in the past. Such a policy should be based on:
 - Combating **Defeatism**;
 - Sustaining policy with **Determination**; and
 - Ensure **Delivery** on any initiatives that are undertaken, which requires stamina for success with a systematic approach.
- v. So, Pakistan's policy, for the immediate future, especially during 2025-2026, when Pakistan is fortunate to be a member of the UN Security Council, should revolve around 3 key areas in a well thought out, sustained manner:
 - a. **Proactive Diplomacy**, including a special focus on the Global South, key Western countries and a strategic reorientation towards our South Asian neighbors like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and the Maldives plus reinforcing relations with thanks and gratitude to friends like China, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, UAE, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar who stood by Pakistan in this hour of need.
 - b. **Creative lawfare**, especially on the issue of the Indus Waters Treaty as well as Indian state terrorism against Pakistan and taking RSS to court for policies based on fascism and promoting hatred towards Muslims, more so since 2025 marks 100 years of the formation of RSS;
 - c. **The Battle of Narratives** through media, think tanks, opinion leaders, parliamentary and public diplomacy including developing credible English language TV news, and Digital news and information channels that have a broader outreach, especially in our region, the Global South and the West.

Pakistan today has Strategic Space. Due to the miscalculation of India and effective retaliation by Pakistan to Indian aggression that Pakistan is seen in a different and more positive light while India is also viewed differently albeit, in a somewhat negative light. Hence the opportunity and space to effectively preserve, promote and protect the national interest of Pakistan provides meaningful opportunities and openings.

A comprehensive, sustained policy approach must also include setting our own house in order through a much-needed healing touch so that national unity which has galvanized the Nation must not be frittered away at the altar of partisan politics or a short-sighted approach. We have to look at the Big Picture with a big heart, with a broad-minded approach that is inclusive so that domestic irritants do not become an impediment to the larger objective of taking Pakistan forward.

Supplementing this should be a comprehensive and creative Counter Terror strategy, that is sadly missing and given the context of the recent defeat of India, Delhi's sponsorship of terrorism through its various proxies in Pakistan is certainly on the cards.

Key Takeaways of the recent conflict

War has been averted largely because of the **South Asian version of the “balance of terror”** which works to prevent Indian aggression, hence, there is no possibility of any all-out or full-fledged war as this ‘balance of terror’ will help preserve peace, security and stability.

In fact, Pakistan has also managed to restore conventional deterrence which is a great achievement given the disparity in size and numbers between the two countries, thereby creating a “New Normal” in the military equation between the two countries in South Asia. India being the big country, Modi acting as the bully who was forced to blink when Pakistan hit back at the Indian aggression.

It is an interesting sight to watch that India Shining has turned into India Whining, as exemplified by India sending on unprecedented 7 delegations with 60 plus parliamentarians to 32 countries just to complain against Pakistan, a much smaller country in terms of size. Never before in diplomatic history has such an initiative been launched by a big country against a smaller adversary.

Pakistanis are experiencing a ‘feel good’ factor because Pakistani professionalism triumphed and the national self-confidence has been restored together with faith in the future of Pakistan as the May 22 Gallup Survey shows an overwhelming majority nearly 90% of Pakistanis vindicating the vision and Quaid-i-Azam on the creation of Pakistan in 1947.

The nation deserves congratulations for showing courage and resilience and standing solidly behind our valiant armed forces in what has clearly been **Pakistan's Finest Hour**.

Timeline: Pakistan-India Conflict (April 22 to May 22)

April 22, 2025 – Pahalgam Terror Attack

- Five militants attacked tourists in Pahalgam, Jammu & Kashmir, killing 26 civilians, including 25 Indian nationals and one Nepali. India, without showing any solid evidence, blamed Pakistan-based groups Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT).
- Pakistan claimed it to be a false-flag operation by India.

April 23–30, 2025 – Diplomatic Fallout and Border Skirmishes

April 23:

- India suspended the Indus Waters Treaty and closed the Attari–Wagah border crossing.
- Expelled Pakistani military diplomats and reduced diplomatic staff.
- Cancelled SAARC visas for Pakistani nationals.

April 24

- The Indian central government, in a closed-door all-party meeting, admitted to ‘security lapses’ in the Pahalgam terror attack
- Pakistan condemned the Pahalgam attack and termed India’s response as “unilateral, unjust, politically motivated, extremely irresponsible and devoid of legal merit”
- Pakistan cancelled Indian visas, evacuated Indian nationals, closed its airspace to Indian aircraft, halted all trade, warned India against diverting Indus water (calling it an act of war)

April 25

- India initiated ceasefire violations across the LoC

April 26

- Pakistan's National Security Committee vowed to respond forcefully to Indian provocations and warned that all treaties may be suspended if escalation continues, labelled Kashmir unrest as an organic backlash to oppression, and citing intelligence warnings of potential large-scale Indian-backed terrorism in Pakistani cities.
- Iran stepped forward with an offer to mediate.

April 29

- DG ISPR presented ‘irrefutable’ evidence of India’s role in sponsoring terrorism in Pakistan

April 30

- India banned 16 Pakistani YouTube channels for spreading misinformation.
- Banned Pakistani airlines from Indian airspace.
- Indian planes’ incursion into Pakistan is foiled after Pakistan manages to jam their radar

May 1–6, 2025 – Escalation and Military Preparations

1 May

- Secretary of State Marco Rubio expects to speak with the foreign ministers of Pakistan and India
- When we look at the world, we look for partners, we don't look for preachers. Particularly, preachers who don't practice at home what they preach abroad (Said Jaishankar)

May 3

- Pakistan successfully tests launch of short-range Abdali ballistic missile

- India cut off all mail and trade routes with Pakistan, banned Pakistani vessels from its ports, and prohibited Pakistani ships from entering Indian waters.

May 4

- India stopped the water flow from the Chenab River by closing the gates of the Baglihar dam.

May 6

- Pakistan shot down 29 Indian drones violating its airspace near the LoC and in Punjab.
- Iran's FM visits Pakistan with proposal to mediate between Pakistan and India

May 7–10, 2025 – Military Operations and Ceasefire

May 7

- India launched "Operation Sindoor," conducting missile strikes on nine sites in Pakistan (Bahawalpur, Muridke, Gulpur, Bhimber, Chak Amru, Bagh, Kotli, Sialkot, Muzaffarabad)

May 8

- Pakistan retaliated with "Operation Bunyan-un-Marsoos," launching missile and drone strikes on 26 military targets across Indian states and Indian-occupied Kashmir.

May 9

- Pakistan launched another wave of swarm drones, loitering munitions, and Fatah missiles targeting 26 locations along the western border.
- Saudi Foreign Minister calls for de-escalation during meeting with PM Shehbaz in Pakistan

May 10

- Indian Air Force attacked eight major Pakistani air bases, including in Rawalpindi.
- U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio spoke with the Prime Ministers and National Security Advisers of both India and Pakistan, urging restraint.
- Pakistani Director General of Military Operations (DGMO) reached out to the Indian side for direct military-level communication.
- Trump mediated the ceasefire and announced it on X.

May 11

- Pakistan claims victory against India

May 18

- Pakistan to send diplomatic delegation abroad to counter Indian propaganda. Former Foreign Minister and head of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, will head the delegation

May 21

- India's All-party delegations head to global capitals to launch propaganda offensive against Pakistan.

International Views on Indo-Pakistan Conflict

May 20 – Professor Christine Fair: I just walked off of Arnab Goswami's show because of the jingoistic nonsense--coupled with everyone screaming. I just have better things to do with my morning than that nonsense show.

May 20 - Subham Tiwari, Indian Journalist (India today): We need to learn from Indian failures in communications and public diplomacy and jack up our successes to another notch.

April 28 - Prof. Victor Gao, an eminent Chinese expert: Pakistan and China are all weather ironclad allies. China will always come to Pakistan's help and assistance whenever Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity is threatened by any country. China reaffirms its full commitment to Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

May 8 - Hu Xijin, Former Editor of Global Times: We can safely deduce that since India lost miserably in the air battles with Pakistan, it could barely count as a match for China. India's military, relying on Russian and French aircraft, has been thoroughly humiliated by Chinese military technology

May 14 - Pravin Sawhney, Indian journalist: Operation Sindoor shattered the myth of Indian military being superior to Pakistan's military. India's security & foreign policy need course change after this operation! Since IAF did not explain its campaign on that fateful night, it is shrouded in mystery for people in general. Not for discerning experts who know precisely how the IAF fared. PAF, on the other hand, gave a detailed briefing.

May 11 - Micheal Kugelman, US Expert: Trump has posted again about India and Pakistan—and this time he says he will work with them to seek a “solution” on Kashmir. Wow. This goes further than his earlier offers, during his first term, of mediation on Kashmir if both sides want it.

May 9: China's J-10 'Dragon' shows teeth in India-Pakistan combat debut – **Financial Times**

May 8: The recent battle between Pakistani and Indian forces ended in an unambiguous victory for Pakistan. – **National Interest**

May 14: Evidence Emerges of S-400 System Components Destroyed in India: Operator's Obituary Published - **Roman Pryhodko, Ukrainian Journalist**

May 8: Military operation in Pakistan reveals weaknesses of India's air force – By Sophie Landrin (French Journalist) in Le Monde

May 10 - Nic Robertson (CNN): India was put on the backfoot after the Pakistani onslaught. India then reached out to Secretary Rubio, reached out to Saudis (for a ceasefire)

May 6 - New York Times: India Strikes Pakistan but Is Said to Have Lost Aircraft Officials and witnesses said that at least two Indian aircraft had crashed after India struck Pakistani targets, escalating the conflict between the nuclear powers.

May 05: Pakistan decides to formally apprise the UNSC of the Latest Developments in South Asia

Annextures

1. Meetings of the National Security Committee

Islamabad: 24 April 2025

Prime Minister Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif chaired a meeting of the National Security Committee (NSC), today. The participants discussed the national security environment and the regional situation, particularly in the wake of Pahalgam attack in the Anantnag District of Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) on 22 April 2025

Expressing concern over the loss of tourists' lives, the Committee reviewed the Indian measures announced on 23 April 2025 and termed them unilateral, unjust, politically motivated, extremely irresponsible and devoid of legal merit

The National Security Committee made the following observations:

Kashmir remains an unresolved dispute between Pakistan and India as recognized through multiple UN resolutions. Pakistan continues to support the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people. The continued Indian state oppression, abrogation of statehood, political and demographic gerrymandering, has persistently led to an organic backlash from the people of IIOJK, which perpetuates cycles of violence. India's systemic persecution of minorities, particularly Muslims, has become more pervasive. Attempts at forced passage of Waqf Bill is the latest effort to marginalize Muslims across India. India must resist the temptation to exploit such tragic incidents to its advantage and take full responsibility for its failure to provide security to the people

Pakistan unequivocally condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. As the world's front-line state against terrorism, Pakistan has suffered immense human and economic losses. Indian attempts to inject volatility in the environment along Pakistan's Eastern borders is aimed at distracting Pakistan's counter-terrorism efforts. In the absence of any credible investigation and verifiable evidence, attempts to link the Pahalgam attack with Pakistan are frivolous, devoid of rationality and defeat logic

India's worn-out narrative of victimhood cannot obfuscate its own culpability in fomenting terrorism on Pakistan's soil, nor can it distract attention from its systematic and state sponsored oppression and human rights violations in IIOJK

Contrary to Indian claims, Pakistan has in its custody incontrovertible proof of Indian-sponsored terrorism in Pakistan, including the confession of a serving Indian Navy officer, Commander Kulbhushan Jadhav, who remains a living testament to India's state-sponsored terrorist activities

The National Security Committee deplored the implicit threat contained in the Indian statement of 23 April 2025. The international community ought to remain mindful of India's state sponsored extraterritorial assassinations or attempts on foreign soil. These heinous acts were carried out in blatant violation of international law as recently exposed by Pakistan along-with various other states with undeniable evidence. Pakistan will pursue

all those responsible, planners and perpetrators alike and ensure that justice is served. Any threat to Pakistan's sovereignty and to the security of its people will be met with firm reciprocal measures in all domains

India should refrain from its reflexive blame game and cynical staged managed exploitation of incidents like Pahalgam to further its narrow political agenda. Such tactics serve only to inflame tensions and obstruct the path to peace and stability in the region

Extremely irresponsible warmongering Indian state controlled media, fueling volatility in the regional calculus is reprehensive, which requires serious introspection

The Committee decided the following:

Pakistan vehemently rejects the Indian announcement to hold the Indus Waters Treaty in abeyance. The Treaty is a binding international agreement brokered by the World Bank and contains no provision for unilateral suspension. Water is a Vital National Interest of Pakistan, a lifeline for its 240 million people and its availability will be safeguarded at all costs. Any attempt to stop or divert the flow of water belonging to Pakistan as per the Indus Waters Treaty, and the usurpation of the rights of lower riparian will be considered as an Act of War and responded with full force across the complete spectrum of National Power.

Noting the reckless and irresponsible behaviour of India, which disregards international conventions, UN Security Council Resolutions and international obligations at will, Pakistan shall exercise the right to hold all bilateral agreements with India including but not limited to Simla Agreement in abeyance, till India desists from its manifested behaviour of fomenting terrorism inside Pakistan; trans-national killings; and non-adherence to international law and UN Resolutions on Kashmir

Pakistan shall close down the Wagah Border Post, with immediate effect. All cross-border transit from India through this route shall be suspended, without exception. Those who have crossed with valid endorsements may return through that route immediately but not later than 30 April 2025

Pakistan suspends all visas under SAARC Visa Exemption Scheme (SVES) issued to Indian nationals and deems them cancelled with immediate effect, with the exception of Sikh religious pilgrims. Indian nationals currently in Pakistan under SVES are instructed to exit within 48 hours, less Sikh pilgrims

Pakistan declares the Indian Defence, Naval and Air Advisors in Islamabad persona non grata. They are directed to leave Pakistan immediately but not later than 30 April 2025. These posts in the Indian High Commission are deemed annulled. Support staff of these Advisors are also directed to return to India

The strength of Indian High Commission in Islamabad will be reduced to 30 diplomats and staff members, with effect from 30 April 2025

Pakistan's airspace will be closed with immediate effect for all Indian owned or Indian operated airlines

All trade with India including to and from any third country through Pakistan is suspended forthwith

The National Security Committee underscored that Pakistan and its Armed Forces remain fully capable and prepared to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity against any misadventure, as clearly demonstrated by its measured yet resolute response to India's reckless incursion in February 2019

In conclusion, India's belligerent measures have vindicated the Two- Nation Theory as well as the apprehensions of Quaid- E- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as encapsulated in the 1940 Pakistan Resolution, which continues to echo the sentiments of the complete Pakistani Nation .

The Pakistani Nation remains committed to peace, but will never allow anyone to transgress its sovereignty, security, dignity and their inalienable rights.

2. Islamabad: May 07, 2025

The **National Security Committee (NSC)**, was convened under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif. The forum offered Fateha for the souls of the innocent civilians martyred in India's strikes, extended its heartfelt condolences to the near ones of the martyrs and wished a speedy recovery to the injured. The NSC deliberated upon the grave developments arising out of India's unprovoked, cowardly and unlawful act of war.

On the night of 6/7 May 2025, the Indian Armed Forces launched coordinated missile, air and drone strikes on multiple locations within Pakistan's sovereign territory, including Sialkot, Shakargarh, Muridke and Bahawalpur in Punjab, Kotli and Muzaffarabad in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. These unprovoked and unjustified attacks deliberately targeted the civilian areas, on the false pretext of presence of imaginary terrorist camps, resulting in the martyrdom of innocent men, women, and children, and causing damage to the civilian infrastructure, including mosques. India's act of aggression also caused grave danger to commercial airlines belonging to brotherly gulf countries, endangering the lives of thousands of on-board passengers. Besides, the Neelum-Jhelum Hydropower Project was also deliberately targeted in violation of international conventions.

The NSC unequivocally condemned these illegal acts as blatant violations of Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity, which manifestly constituted acts of war under international law. The deliberate targeting of civilians, including innocent women and children, by the Indian military constitutes a heinous and shameful crime, that is in violation of all norms of human behaviour and the provisions of international law.

Pakistan has been emphatically rejecting Indian allegations claiming the presence of terrorist camps on its territory. It would also be recalled that immediately after 22 April 2025, Pakistan made a sincere offer for a credible, transparent and neutral investigation, which unfortunately was not accepted. The international media personnel had already

visited these “imaginary terrorist camps” on 6 May 2025, and more visits were planned for 7 May 2025. However, apprehensive of its falsehood being exposed, and without a shred of evidence about its claims, the Indian leadership, bereft of any morality, has now gone to the extent of attacking innocent civilians in order to satiate its delusional thoughts and short-sighted political objectives. Attacking its innocent people is neither tolerable nor acceptable to Pakistan. India, against all sanity and rationality has once again ignited an inferno in the region, the responsibility for ensuing consequences shall lie squarely with India.

The Armed Forces of Pakistan, in line with the exercise of the right of self defense and response framework outlined in NSC statement dated 22 April 2025, resolutely defended the territorial integrity of Pakistan, including Azad Jammu and Kashmir, against the Indian aggression, while also bringing down five Indian fighter aircrafts and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles in the process.

In consonance with Article-51 of the UN Charter, Pakistan reserves the right to respond, in self-defence, at a time, place, and manner of its choosing to avenge the loss of innocent Pakistani lives and blatant violation of its sovereignty. The Armed Forces of Pakistan have duly been authorized to undertake corresponding actions in this regard.

Deeply anguished by India’s naked aggression, the entire Pakistani nation greatly appreciates and admires the bravery and courage of the Armed Forces and their timely action in the defense of their motherland. The nation stands galvanized and resolute in the face of any further aggression.

The NSC calls upon the international community to recognize the gravity of India’s unprovoked illegal actions and to hold it accountable for its blatant violations of international norms and laws.

Pakistan remains committed to peace, with dignity and honour, and reiterates that it shall never allow any violation of its sovereignty, territorial integrity or permit any harm to its proud people.

3. Press Conference of Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Ishaq Dar after visiting China

Dar says major economic, security milestones achieved during China visit

FM says visit not routine diplomatic engagement, held bilateral meetings with Chinese leadership with clear and urgent objectives

By **APP** | May 22, 2025

ISLAMABAD: Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Ishaq Dar on Thursday, while calling his three-day China visit ‘highly successful’, said Pakistan achieved significant

progress on the diplomatic, strategic and economic fronts during engagements held in Beijing.

Addressing a press conference, Dar said it was not a routine diplomatic engagement. With clear and urgent objectives, he held bilateral meetings with the Chinese leadership and had trilateral talks involving Afghanistan.

He further told the media that a clear agreement was reached with both China and Afghanistan that no terrorist organisation — whether TTP, BLA or any other militant group — would be allowed to use any country's soil against another.

While referring to CPEC 2.0, he added, “We have successfully laid the groundwork for expanded cooperation under the Belt and Road initiative.”

He also confirmed that China has expressed its intent to finance the Pakistan-Afghanistan-Uzbekistan railway project, calling it a transformative step for regional connectivity.

“We have already sent a draft framework to Uzbekistan and Afghanistan.... I am committed to finalising this by early June.”

Dar said that the financing and coordination for this project had been taken up directly with China, which responded positively. “This project, along with the Peshawar-Kabul Highway and ML-1 upgrades, will massively boost Pakistan's connectivity to the Central Asian Republics and enhance the commercial potential of our under-utilised ports.”

Reflecting on security cooperation, FM Dar stated, “China has deep concerns over attacks against their people in Pakistan. I assured them that we are addressing these threats seriously. We discussed a permanent mechanism to prevent cross-border terrorism. I commend both China and Afghanistan for aligning with our zero-tolerance stance.”

During their previous government from 2013 till 2017, he reiterated that over \$4 billion was spent on Operation Zarb-e-Azb, leading to effectively eliminating terrorism. “Unfortunately, the situation deteriorated due to the previous regime's careless border policies and the release of hardcore terrorists. Now, our resolve is clear: we will crush terrorism with an iron hand as we did before.”

Dar further emphasised that the Chinese leadership stood by Pakistan on all core issues. “They reiterated their support for our sovereignty and territorial integrity and backed Pakistan's stance on Kashmir, calling for a resolution in line the UN Security Council resolutions. We reaffirmed our support for the One China Policy including Tibet.”

Marking the 74th anniversary of Pakistan-China diplomatic ties, Dar congratulated China and invited their officials to Islamabad for the second round of the Pakistan-China Strategic Dialogue, following the first round held in Beijing.

He also shared that the Chinese minister for international development and a senior Communist Party leader met his delegation and praised Pakistan's global outreach. "He proposed the formation of a Global Political Parties Forum — hosted in China — and appreciated the participation of PML-N, PPP, and PTI members. I informed him our party leadership had decided to send a PML-N senator to represent Pakistan in the next interaction beginning May 24."

Addressing the regional security situation following Indian hostility that led to a four-day conflict between the two nuclear-armed states, Dar stated, "we have successfully countered the Indian narrative — especially regarding the events of 2019. We offered an international investigation into the Pahalgam incident, which India declined. Our transparency strengthened Pakistan's credibility, and several international actors endorsed our position after verifying the facts."

He condemned Indian attacks while sharing the details of the recent conflict. According to the foreign minister, around 75 Indian aircraft were launched, 24 payloads dropped, and multiple aircraft, including Rafales and a UAV, were downed by Pakistan.

"We responded in daylight under the UN Charter — not as cowards, but as a responsible, sovereign nation."

He confirmed that the ceasefire agreement, brokered after US Secretary of State Rubio's call, was holding and said that military-to-military engagements via DGMOs were progressing smoothly. "Our deterrence is defensive, not aggressive. We have never built our nukes and missiles to attack others, but to safeguard peace."

Dar called recent remarks by the Indian Defence Minister "regrettable" and said, "Pakistan desires peace. However, we will always defend our sovereignty with full force when challenged."

The foreign minister highlighted his government's commitment to improving ties with Afghanistan. "We have religious, cultural, historical, and geographical ties with Afghanistan. Our outreach was welcomed across Afghan society. We need to progress beyond the charge d'affaires level and engage substantively."

He also announced an extension of the transit document regime for Afghan drivers and vehicles until June 30 and introduced a single document regime of a \$100 multiple-entry visa for Afghan citizens. "These initiatives were deeply appreciated by Afghan officials," he noted.

Dar congratulated Field Marshal Asim Munir on his promotion, calling it a "well-deserved recognition" for his extraordinary leadership and cooperation during national security engagements.

He also informed the media that during the Pakistan-India tension, he made over 60 calls to counterparts, including deputy prime ministers and leaders from countries like Qatar, to present Pakistan's perspective. "The world now understands our position. Pakistan is not just a frontline state against terrorism but also one of its greatest victims — with over 85,000 lives lost and \$150 billion in economic losses," he added.

4. Modi's Monumental May Miscalculation

- i. Modi, like his arrogant predecessor Nehru in 1962, wanted to create a 'New Normal' by trying to leverage India's conventional advantage to bully and browbeat Pakistan, but it backfired badly with India on the back-foot;
- ii. All miscalculations stem from arrogance and hubris based on overconfidence and overreach, Modi's miscalculation has damaged India's credibility, image, interests and role.
- iii. India underestimated a nation's determination to defend itself and fight back, Pakistan proved a bigger aggressor can be defeated.
- iv. A narrative of lies, falsehoods and hatred and bigotry, based on allegations/without evidence, cannot 'sell' internationally, as India discovered to its shock;
- v. India because of its size and because of its perceived importance to the West, took the international community for granted, but Indian diplomacy failed badly as not a single country supported India or endorsed Delhi's narrative.

Modi's 'Shining India' now lies buried in the debris of his much-flaunted Rafale jets!

Miscalculations: Lessons from the History:

- In 1962, an arrogant Nehru miscalculated and provoked China resulting in a brief war that was India's first military defeat since independence.
- Adolf Hitler after subjugating Europe (barring Britain) launched an invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 which was a monumental miscalculation;
- Saddam, then darling of the West, attacked Iran in September 1980, hoping to exploit Iranian weakness in the aftermath of Islamic Revolution and he caught got in quagmire;
- In 1974, Greece launched aggression against Turkish-Cypriots and thanks to the decisive Turkish military resolve, Greece was defeated and its junta toppled;
- In 1982, Argentina invaded the Falklands Islands, provoking a British military response that led to the collapse of the Argentina military regime.
- In 2022, Armenia's illegal occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh provoked a war with Azerbaijan, that resulted in a decisive defeat for Armenia's military.

5. Diplomatic Telephonic Conversations with Government of Pakistan

Prime Minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Date	Name	Designation
20 May 2025	H.E. Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi	President of Egypt
17 May 2025	H.E. Masoud Pezeshkian	President of the Islamic Republic of Iran
16 May 2025	Rt. Hon. David Lammy MP	U.K. Foreign Secretary (Meeting)
15 May 2025	H.E. Ilham Aliyev	President of the Republic of Azerbaijan
14 May 2025	His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan	President of the United Arab Emirates
12 May 2025	Amb. Irfan Neziroglu	Ambassador of the Republic of Turkiye (Meeting)
9 May 2025	Mr. Adel Al-Jubeir	Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Meeting)
8 May 2025	Marco Rubio	U.S. Secretary of State
7 May 2025	Mohammed bin Abdulrahman bin Jassim bin Jaber Al Thani	Prime Minister of the State of Qatar
29 April 2025	António Guterres	U.N Sec. General

Deputy Prime Minister/Foreign Minister of Pakistan

Date	Name	Designation
25 April 2025	Prince Faisal Bin Farhan Al Saud	Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
25 April 2025	Seyyed Abbas Araghchi	Foreign Minister of Iran
26 April 2025	Badr Abdelatty	Foreign Minister of Egypt
27 April 2025	Wang Yi	Foreign Minister of the People s Republic of China
28 April 2025	Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani	Prime Minister & Minister of Foreign Affairs of Qatar
29 April 2025	Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	Deputy Prime Minister & Foreign Minister of the UAE
29 April 2025	Abdullah Ali Al Yahya	Foreign Minister of Kuwait
29 April 2025	Peter Szijjártó	Minister of Foreign Affairs & Trade of Hungary
29 April 2025	Dr. Abdullatif bin Rashid Al Zayani	Foreign Minister of Bahrain
30 April 2025	Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Al Busaidi	Foreign Minister of Oman
30 April 2025	José Manuel Albares Bueno	Minister for Foreign Affairs, EU & Cooperation of Spain

1 May 2025	Abdisalam Abdi Ali	Deputy Prime Minister & Foreign Minister of Somalia
1 May 2025	Tanja Fajon	Deputy Prime Minister & Minister for Foreign & European Affairs of Slovenia
1 May 2025	Cho Tae yul	Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea
2 May 2025	Lars Løkke Rasmussen	Foreign Minister of Denmark
2 May 2025	Kaja Kallas	High Representative for Foreign Affairs & Security Policy & Vice President of the European Commission
2 May 2025	Javier Eduardo Martínez Acha Vásquez	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Panama
3 May 2025	Ignazio Cassis	Federal Councillor & Minister of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland
3 May 2025	Giorgos Gerapetritis	Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic
4 May 2025	Dato Seri Utama Haji Mohamad Bin Haji Hasan	Foreign Minister of Malaysia
4 May 2025	Sergey Lavrov	Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
5 May 2025	Md. Touhid Hossain	Adviser for Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh
6 May 2025	Amir Khan Muttaqi	Acting Foreign Minister of Afghanistan
6 May 2025	Ahmed Attaf	Minister of State & Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria
7 May 2025	Hakan Fidan	Foreign Minister of Türkiye
7 May 2025	José Manuel Albares Bueno	Minister for Foreign Affairs, EU & Cooperation of Spain
7 May 2025	Hissein Brahim Taha	Secretary General of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
8 May 2025	Antonio Tajani	Vice President of the Council of Ministers & Minister of Foreign Affairs of Italy
8 May 2025	Kaja Kallas	High Representative for Foreign Affairs & Security Policy & Vice President of the European Commission
9 May 2025	Hakan Fidan	Foreign Minister of Türkiye
9 May 2025	Takeshi Iwaya	Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan
9 May 2025	Jeyhun Bayramov	Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan
9 May 2025	Espen Barth Eide	Foreign Minister of Norway
10 May 2025	Kaja Kallas	High Representative for Foreign Affairs & Security Policy & Vice President of the European Commission
10 May 2025	Giorgos Gerapetritis	Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic
10 May 2025	Adel Al Jubeir	Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

10 May 2025	Prince Faisal Bin Farhan Al Saud	Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
10 May 2025	Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	Deputy Prime Minister & Foreign Minister of the UAE
10 May 2025	Wang Yi	Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China
10 May 2025	Badr Abdelatty	Foreign Minister of Egypt
10 May 2025	Hakan Fidan	Foreign Minister of Türkiye
11 May 2025	Ahmed Attaf	Minister of State & Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria
12 May 2025	Penny Wong	Foreign Minister of Australia
12 May 2025	David Lammy	Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom
12 May 2025	Jean Noël Barrot	Minister for Europe & Foreign Affairs of France



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