



WATER SCARCITY AND THE REGIONAL HYDRO-DIPLOMACY



INDO NEPAL RELATIONS THE RISING TIDE OF MILITANT HINDUTVA



PAKISTAN'S WAR ON TERROR: AN OUTLOOK ON CIVIL-MILITARY COUNTER-TERRORISM

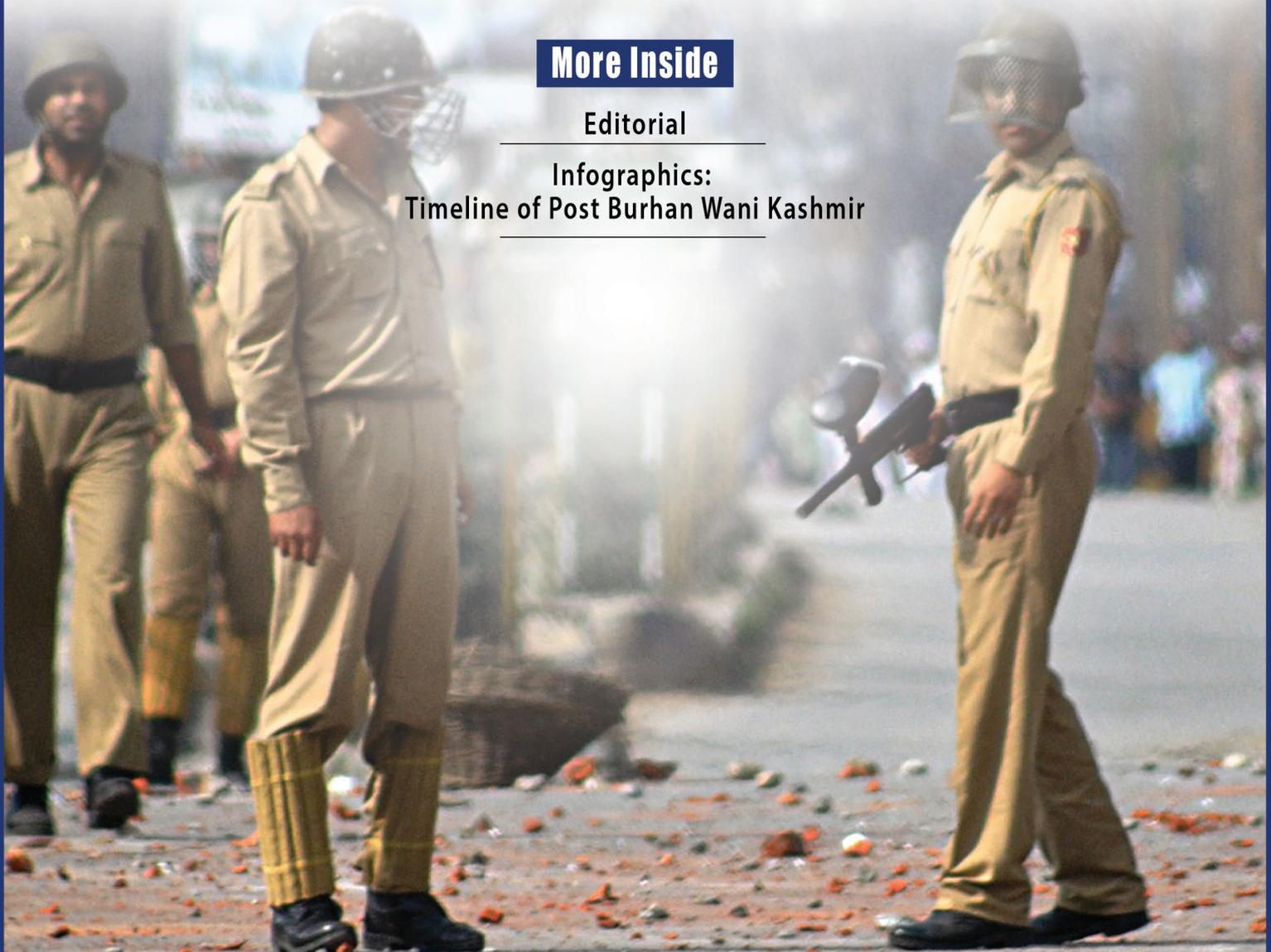
COVER STORY

KASHMIR: PARADISE UNDER SIEGE

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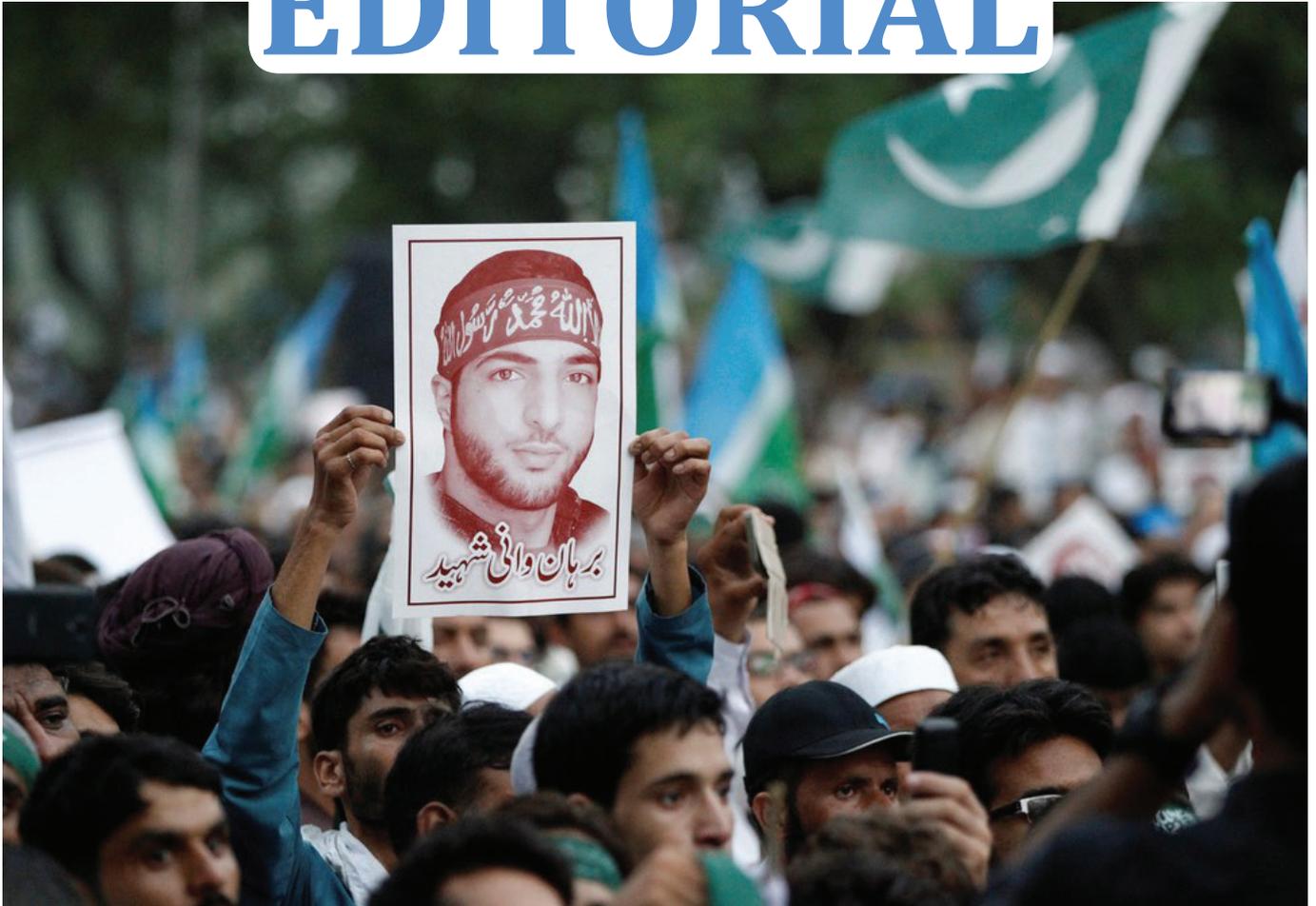
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EDITORIAL



In the wake of extrajudicial killing of Kashmiri leader Burhan Wani, the valley of Kashmir erupted in anger this July. The slain commander's death was mourned by Kashmiris from all quarters of life. The anti-India Intifada turned violent by the use of brute force by the state against the protestors. Since Burhan's death, Indian held Kashmir has been turned into a virtual prison. The use of force by the Indian army against the protestors has left an estimated 115 dead while nearly 15000 have been injured. The use of pellet guns has caused nearly 1,900 people to suffer from eye injuries, with victims of gun attacks recorded to be as young as four years of age. Some of the injured have lost their vision completely as the valley's hospitals remain flooded with victims. The held valley and its inhabitants are groaning with pain. Curfews, shutdown calls and protests mark day to day life of the people.

Indian intransigence on the issue however remains constant. Following its old tactic of forcefully equating the movement to exercise their legitimate right of self-determination with terrorism, Modi government declared Wani to be a militant supported by Pakistan. This indeed is an old mantra of New Delhi to project Pakistan as villain and India as a victim and thus shy away from its responsibility to engage in a meaningful dialogue over the disputed territory with Pakistan. However, the recent uprisings in Kashmir are a stark reminder of failing Indian narrative of sponsored militancy in the held Valley.

Burhan was a rebel commander who used social media to galvanize support who inspired young Kashmiris to stand against the brutalities committed by the Indian forces in the occupied territory. For Kashmiris, Burhan was a freedom fighter and not a terrorist as Indian government projected him



to be. The participation of tens of thousands of Kashmiris to his funeral, particularly youngsters, against all restrictions and curfews imposed highlights significantly that it is their own struggle. The fight of Kashmiris against the Indian occupation is a mass public movement for freedom and is more indigenous than sponsored as claimed by India. Considering the fact that many youngsters in the Indian held Kashmir (IHK) today identify themselves with Burhan, how can one thus explain his popularity among the masses? How can Indian government declare nearly 200,000 people who came to bid farewell to Burhan Wani as terrorists? The use of excessive force against the peaceful civilians protesting against extrajudicial killings is a blatant violation of human rights. This oppression certainly has turned the people - particularly the youth - against India, striking a blow to India's goodwill policy in the occupied region to win hearts and minds.

Through immobilizing considerations for justice in the occupied land and unleashing rhetorical prowess against Pakistan, this vicious cycle of violence and ferocity is a matter of routine in Kashmir by the Indian state. However, Pakistan has time and again challenged India's narrative on Kashmir and will continue to do so. The recent SAARC interior ministers' conference felt the heat of rising tensions between Indian and Pakistan over the disputed territory. Pakistan vehemently snubbed India and categorically stated that legitimate movement for freedom can never be suppressed in the name of fighting terrorism. Pakistan has always welcomed India to talk over the issue of Jammu & Kashmir despite India's stubbornness. Yet this does not make Pakistan oblivious of the human rights abuses committed by the Indian forces in the valley. India cannot distort history, misconstrue facts and ignore

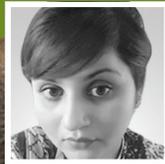
political realities to benefit its vested interests. India cannot make dialogue with Pakistan hostage to illogical conditions. Pakistan has its stated foreign policy goal of "safeguarding national security and geo-strategic goal including Kashmir", it has a principled stance on the issue in the light of UN resolutions and by no way Pakistan will retract from the said objective.

The current situation in Kashmir is not a product of individual phenomenon created by personal ideological differences, but a creation of years of alienation and injustices. The cycle of violence followed by periods of negative peace sponsored by unreceptive administration and the occupying forces has only spawned radicalism in Kashmir Valley. While New Delhi might be able to control the protest with its might, it cannot suppress the anger and betrayal which is germinating in the Kashmiris, especially among its youth. India cannot break this vicious cycle of distrust with farcical elections, empty gestures and hollow promises of good governance.

India's obstinacy is merely destabilizing the region and diminishing chances of peaceful settlement of the dispute. India must realize that the fate of Kashmir inevitably depends upon the fate of India-Pakistan relations. Transformations in relations will open up options; hostilities would merely diminish them. Both parties should come forward with a flexible approach, vision to discuss options and an ability to make compromises. India lacks such a vision and is therefore trying its utmost to not only evade any options of negotiations on Kashmir, but is also employing measures to keep the issue in a limbo.

→ BIOSPHERE

Water Scarcity and the Regional Hydro-Diplomacy



by Syeda Asma Hussain



Introduction

Nations can't achieve their set objectives until or unless they have a clear vision about what is most important for them. For a nation to grow along the patterns of peace and prosperity there must be a clear and bold strategy that will indicate its success. Without a vision, nations can't achieve what they are aspiring for. A nation's clear vision is the roadmap that indicates a prosperous, equitable and dynamic society for which all the factions work together to achieve a collective goal. Water security is becoming a major concern the world over. According to the World Economic Forum's Global Risks Report, water supply crises are in the top five global risks. The year 2013 was declared as the international year of water cooperation by United Nations.

The global water usage is increasing twice the rate of population growth and will increase up to 40% by the year 2030. Climate change and its impact on climate vulnerabilities has yielded quite a horrific situation. Annual rainfall variability is also challenge to existing water infrastructure



Approximately 884 million people globally lack access to safe drinking water and about 468 million people facing this situation are from Asia, while 328 million live in sub-Saharan Africa. The demand of water is increasing rapidly with the increase in population and additional requirement in agricultural, commercial, industrial and domestic usage.

as more than 12 million people will be pushed towards poverty. Approximately 884 million people globally lack access to safe drinking water and about 468 million people facing this situation are from Asia, while 328 million live in sub-Saharan Africa. The demand of water is increasing rapidly with the increase in population and additional requirement in agricultural, commercial, industrial and domestic usage.

Pakistan, with an estimated population of 227 million by 2025, has a current water availability of less than 110 cubic meters per person; a fall from 5000 cubic meter

in 1951 classifying Pakistan as a water stressed country. The storage capacity has decreased from 1000 days to 30-day supply and the gap is widening still. The supply-demand factor is impacted heavily by the climate change issue. The melting of glaciers reduces flow from Indus River which is the primary source of fresh water in Pakistan.

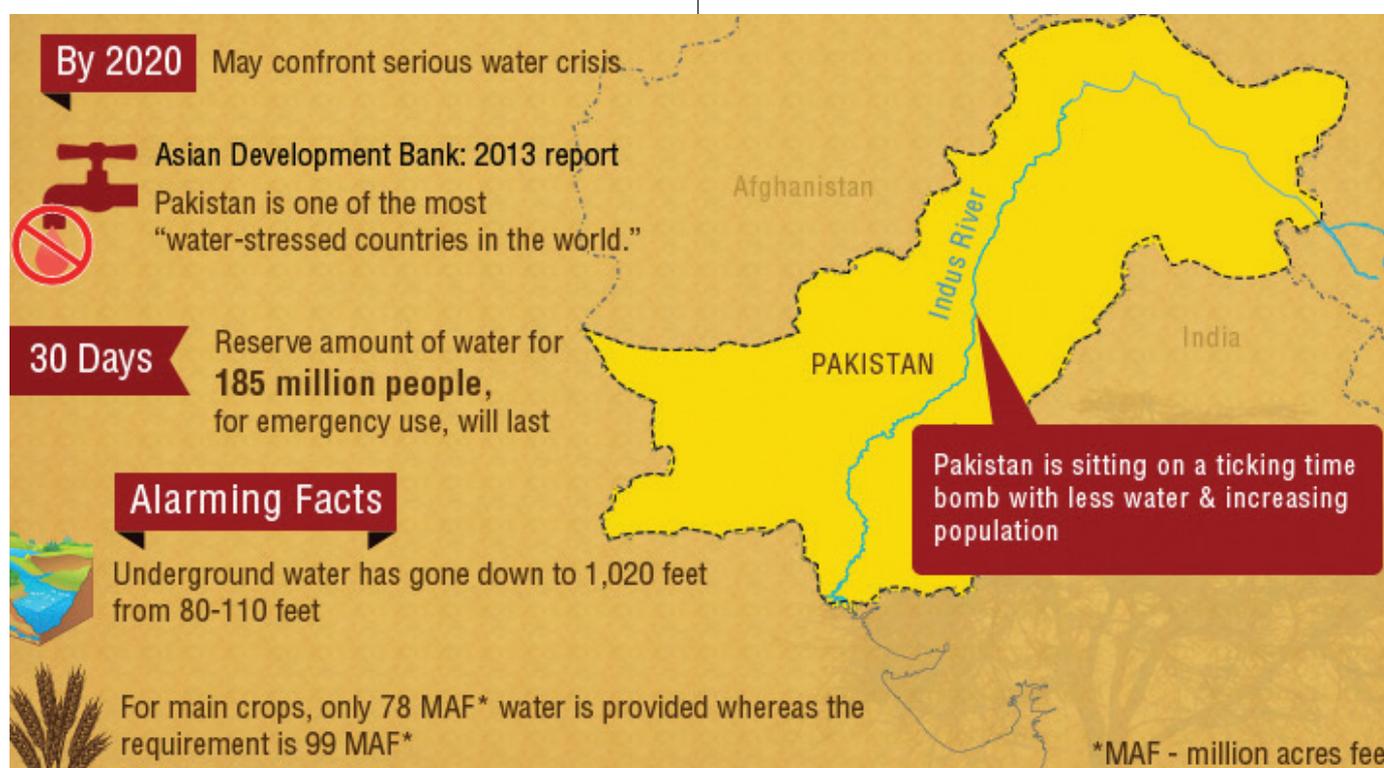
Pakistan is in dire need of a compact water strategy that will address the water storage capacities and the supply losses. Effective policies are required to strengthen the good governance and to maximise the crop yields per unit of the water. International lobbying is mandatory for preserving and protecting its water sources. The growing global needs and increasing population growth, and patterns of supply

strategic needs and international benchmarks: from currently 30 days to 45 days by 2018, and 90 days by 2025.

2. Invest in proven methods and technologies to minimize wastage (e.g. in the agricultural sector), promote conservation and gain efficiencies through rationalization of pricing.

3. Enable more effective allocation with direct reference to national & provincial priorities and related social and economic considerations.

4. Establish institutional mechanisms (e.g. a National Water Commission) to effectively manage all sources of water (surface, subsurface, rain) and their sectoral



and demand of the water are becoming factors which are stressing the water shortage issues globally.

The damage to world's natural resources, the loss of habitat and other species and other environmental concerns give rise to the question that at what cost the countries around the globe are achieving economic growth. An adequate supply of water for all (agriculture, industry and domestic users) is one of the primary goals of the Vision 2025. Realizing Pakistan Vision 2025 requires policy makers to correct the demand and supply imbalance with a sharp focus on both sides of the equation. According to the Pakistan Vision 2015, the top five goals for water security are as follows:

1. Increase water storage capacity, applicable to the requirements of each province, in line with defined

and regional allocations (agriculture, industry, urban).

5. Provision of access to a minimum baseline of suitable water to every person in Pakistan. Pakistan is in the group of countries that are now moving from water stressed to water scarce.

Overview of water resources of Pakistan from 1947 onward:

God almighty has bestowed Pakistan with abundant water resources, with water flowing down the Himalayas and Karakorum heights from the world's largest glaciers. As a result of these natural resources we have the world's largest irrigation system and irrigate over 16 million hectares of land. This land is

mainly comprised of the areas which are adjacent to the river Indus its tributaries. In 1930 the barrage irrigation system was installed by the Britishers and before this era, the natives of the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and the North Western Frontier had built canals to irrigate their lands. Almost 38 such canals have been constructed on rivers Sutlej, Indus, and Chenab to irrigate areas around Bari Doab, Multan, Muzaffargarh, and Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab. Water level of the Indus during summers has always been higher than the surrounding lands, thus 16 of the inundation canals covering this area have easily carried the irrigation water during the past century. The British army had made several constructions and improved the irrigation canals in the sub-continent. Bari Doab Canal; Sidhnai Canal, Lower Sohag, Ramnagar Canal, Lower Jhelum Canal, Kabul Canal, and Lower Sawat's renovation work was completed by the end of 19th century. However, at the time of independence Pakistan had 29 canals to provide regulated water supply to an area of about 11 million hectares, additional to an area of about 3.2 million hectares irrigated via inundation canals leading from Indus and its tributaries. Upper Sutlej, Lower Sutlej, Shahpur, and Chenab in Punjab are the main inundation canals; whereas, Rohri, Fuleli, Pinyari, and Kalri are the main inundation canals in Sindh. These mentioned canals were converted into regulated water supply canals after the construction of barrages and some of them have become perennial supplies of water.

Significance of water resources in Pakistani economy and other fields:

The agri-ecological regions and the other significant issues such as cropping patterns and their intensities within Indus basin are in a dire need of sustainable solutions to curtail the water stress burden on Pakistan's economic growth. The current situation of water economics have been revised for possible solutions. It will help to improve economic welfare of the people as well as result in a reduction in environmental issues prevailing in Pakistan.

Agriculture contribution to GDP is around 22% while contribution to foreign exchange earning that is attributed to agriculture is 6%; while this contribution to GDP may slightly increase, agriculture is the dominant sector in terms of foreign exchange contribution. In recent years the livestock sector has surpassed the crop sector in terms of sub-sector shares to GDP. Instable price variations in the international market also require that crop area distributions take account of macro and micro realities. Postulated changes in water availability in line with Global Climate Models (GCM's) recommends that Pakistan will face severe water shortages; and it would be due to extended glacier melting, global warming, mismanagement

of water and lack of water storage facilities, that could help to regulate water from high flow periods (summer-monsoon months) to low flow periods (-winter months)

Pakistan has a highly varied topography and the Indus plains offer unique opportunities to explore naturally formulated agro-ecological zones that determine what, when, how, where and in what quantities different crops can be grown. A quick look at the agro-ecological zones helps determine where interventions and substitutions may be possible and feasible. Pakistan is very diverse in its climates, land uses, soil types, resources and human capital. This diversity especially along the Indus allows it to practice a highly varied type of agriculture at different levels of productivity. Such agriculture falls into distinct agro ecological zones. The main limitation for agriculture is water shortage because of the arid climate. Development of agriculture is, therefore, dependent mainly on water resources which is more capital intensive than any other development. Sedimentation in rivers and channels, erosion of soil, water logging and salinity, desertification and over-grazing are examples of inefficiencies and leakages in agricultural systems. This requires an ecological approach for agricultural development rather than a sectoral approach presently being followed.

Pakistan has seen stagnation in its dominant cropping patterns in the Indus River with three dominant crops: wheat, sugarcane, fodder and cotton, rice, (sorghum), and maize. The only changes in area allocated are in response to water availability, price response and technology shifts where they have reduced cost or encouraged crop or enterprise substitutions e.g. livestock, fruits, vegetables etc. Current cost of production estimates for different crops according to each dominant production zone are not available. However, recent increases in fertilizer and price of other inputs suggests a downwards trend in profitability. The steady rise in cost of pumping water and continuous upward revision of electricity tariffs, and the long duration of persistent and unannounced load shedding are all constraints that make agriculture a difficult if not a viable proposition in the irrigated areas. It is further expected that with energy costs rising, heightened pressure from IMF for structural changes including elimination of any subsidy on electricity the farm sector is likely to come under extreme pressure. Within the Indus Basin there is dynamics in use of inputs, choice crop varieties, timing of sowing and harvesting but yields have stagnated over the past decade, and growth rates show wide variance from 2-7 which is likely to be further widened as water and energy crisis is aggravated. Cropping intensities in Punjab, KPK, and Baluchistan are high and Sindh tends to display lowest cropping intensities (partly due to mismanaged water and growing high delta crops in abundance e.g. sugarcane, wheat-rice,

wheat-cotton, and sugarcane-fodder are dominant crop rotations in the Indus Basin.

Water in Pakistan is becoming scarce. While almost 90 % water is utilized in agriculture, the cost of pumping water with rising diesel and electricity prices and persistent load-shedding is increasing the cost of water. Whereas, rates (water charges) for canal water are dismally low (Rs. 200-400/annum) those with access to a canal have a clear production advantage. In the absence of storage and capacity to regulate there can be no option for water on demand. Thus water pricing without water on demand is an unrealistic concept. For markets to work water has to be available when, where, in whatever quantities demanded and free from interruptions.

Food security is a valid concern for Pakistan and it will continue to produce wheat in most of its cropping systems where water is available or even in those areas where it is not available. However, by bridging yield gaps considerable areas can be released from wheat production and put to higher value enterprises orchards, oilseeds, maize etc. Pakistan needs to rationalize its crop water use based on crop physiology.

Scientific advance in metrology and GIS can help guide where and when water is needed the most. It seems that such information is not available to farmers despite the availability of technology to the meteorological and research departments e.g. SUPARCO. Even input fertilizer and pesticide use could be tied to observations validated through GIS and remote sensing. The high import bill of oilseeds and tea in Pakistan is largely due to a strong political economy that wishes to maintain status quo. Indus

Basin can easily be geared to relieve this heavy burden on the national exchequer by substituting crops in the relevant agro ecological zones in favour of oilseeds (both winter and summer) and by taking out low value maize and planting tea in Manshera, Abbottabad and other upper reaches of the Indus in northern areas along the Indus.

Evaluation of water resources within changing climate circumstances was found deficit. The missing link between crop systems modelling and water resources at macro and micro level undermines innovation in cropping patterns that can lead to a major turnaround in the Indus Basin System.

Reasons for depletion of water resources and future predictions

Challenges and future predictions range from wetlands to depletion and deterioration of groundwater reservoirs. The impact of water stress on agricultural crops is tremendous; the total loss is estimated to be about Rs.50 billion, as it includes the total loss of crops in 3 Million hectares of Barani (rain-fed) areas. Insufficient storage and sedimentation in the three major reservoirs – Tarbela, Mangla, and Chashma is decreasing their storage capacities by over 40%. In this situation, there is need to increase their capability or capacity for the smooth flow of the water supplies.

The continued abstraction of groundwater has resulted in over-pumping and resultant lowering of water table in many areas. Prominent areas among these are Lahore, parts of Baluchistan and some densely populated urban areas of the Punjab and



Sindh. Measures to renovate the depleting aquifers are needed to be carried out immediately. Canal-commands are the specific areas where the depletion is mostly observed as the water-flow is lower and the crops are heavily dependent on tube wells. In lower Indus basin heavy investment has been done in the past to make them workable according to the requirements. The reasons may include floods, mismanagement of water resources and very low use of ground water. There is a severe need of appropriate water allowance for the sustainability of groundwater.

Waterlogging and salinity in Pakistan emerged as a result of the mismanagement of irrigated agriculture, flat topography, and seepage from unlined earthen canals. The menace still persists and the situation is becoming serious due to the problem of disposal of drainage effluent. After chemical analysis, both surface and profile salinity was established. Approximately 25% of the area was affected by surface salinity. It is primarily due to increased irrigation.

Pakistan's irrigation system consists of the perennial rivers which includes a network of inundation and link canals, distributaries, watercourses and irrigated fields, in which an appreciable percentage of the water is lost through seepage and evaporation. A number of studies have showed that the estimate of water-losses in earthen canals, and watercourses, and conveyance- losses in canals and watercourses are around 25% and 30% respectively. Around 25-40% is the application losses in the fields. These losses are high due to application of old irrigation-practices by the farmers and not adapting to innovations. Groundwater is a precious and depleting resource in Baluchistan as it is required to irrigate the apple orchards that exceed the requirements by over 100%. This is a huge water loss; though part of it is recoverable by pumping in fresh- water areas only.

View point of experts on how to deal with this issue:

The conflict on water in Pakistan is nothing more than hydrological requirements and it needs to be recognized and addressed accordingly. Politicking is not a solution to a very complex geographical, hydrological, economic and environmental problem. Water conservation is to be discussed by the vulnerable/stakeholders not by the political or administrative units. A collective approach is needed by individual citizens, policy makers and the establishment to undertake the measures needed to resolve the issue of water scarcity.

“Monsoon rainwater is one of the biggest resources for water in Pakistan; it also helps in cultivation of barren lands. By diverting monsoon

rain water towards desert areas like Tharaparkar and Cholistan the area could be rehabilitated. A large quantity of water is wasted every year. Through proper utilisation it could help in power generation, among other sectors...”

Dr Ghulam Rasul (Director General Pakistan Meteorological Department).

“If Pakistan does not receive monsoon rains just for few years, it will result in disaster. There is a need to focus on the significance of monsoon rains as well rather than just talking about over flooding causing disasters which are leading to deaths, injuries, and widespread damage to homes.”

Lubna Bokhari (Director General National Water Quality Laboratory, Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources).



Groundwater is a precious and depleting resource in Baluchistan as it is required to irrigate the apple orchards that exceed the requirements by over 100%.

“Water challenges of Pakistan could be overcome through a framework of actions. USPCAS-W would initiate to collect data and serve as clearing house on water-related problems in Pakistan. Dr Chaudhry said that water problems of Pakistan should be prioritised so that applied and action research could be done accordingly.”

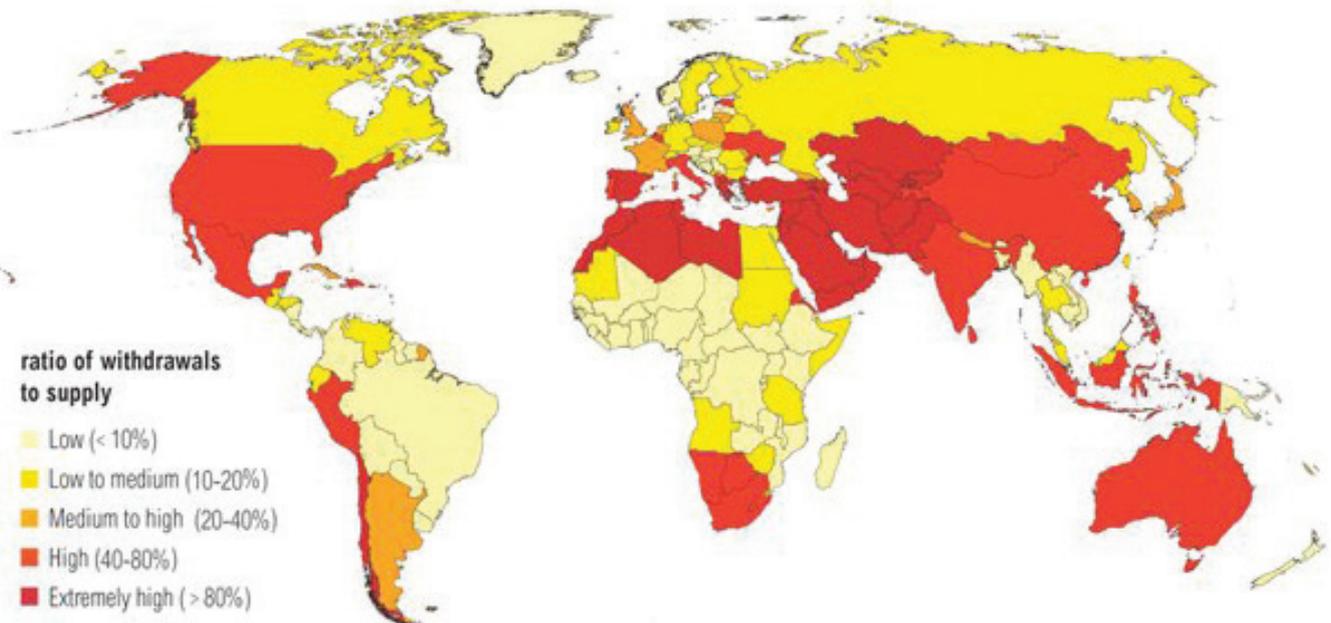
Dr Muhammad Aslam Chaudhary, (University of Utah, United States.)

“The academia, civil society and water research centres have to work in coordination for the solution of water challenges faced by Pakistan today.”

Dr Muhammad Aslam Uqaili (Vice Chancellor Mehran University).

“Inter-provincial water disputes between Sindh and Punjab date back to British rule when new canals, barrages and dams were planned, constructed or envisioned. Various commissions and committees were formed to resolve the water dispute but failed since Anderson Committee 1935 to Haleem Commission in 1983 because of three main reasons of the dispute, including shortage of water, injustice in distribution and fear of future impact.”

Water Stress by Country: 2040



Muhammad Idris Rajput (Former Secretary Irrigation Sindh and water expert).

Comparing water resources of Pakistan with neighbouring countries:

The profoundly inhabited Asia-Pacific region faces challenges related to water crises, climate change, industrial development, and the decline in quality and quantity of available water supplies. The issues are enlisted below:

1. The region's challenges include water scarcity and sustainable development. Industrial development and developing energy requirements will add to already prevailing pressure on water resources in the area.
2. The Asia and Pacific are one of the most disaster-prone regions in the world. Exposure of people and assets to hydro meteorological hazards has been growing over the past few decades. With urbanization, people and increasingly valuable economic assets are located in hazard-prone areas such as floodplains. Climate change is likely to increase the incidence and severity of extreme events, with some projections including an increase in the frequency of years.
3. The Asia-Pacific region faces innumerable urban water challenges. These include drinking water supply, water quality control, and limited coverage of sewerage networks, water renewable system to

recycle, pollution control, and ecosystem degradation, especially in peri-urban zones and in adjacent river basins. Lack of access to safe water and sanitation, increasing water demand for multiple uses and the concurrent pollution loads, and increasing resilience to disaster events such as floods and droughts are challenge to sustainability of water resources. Urban water needs and challenges require a multi-sectoral approach, inclusive and extensive strategies and a logical framework.

4. Governments have been heading towards attaining their countries and societies more robustly, but much more work is needed to be done. In many countries, national plans are not being executed, measures to protect the most vulnerable are often lacking, and institutional capacity to handle disasters is at times weak. Some governments have been working towards better integration of disaster risk reduction into development strategies through their development plans. The governments of Bangladesh, China and Indonesia have been consistently investing in disaster risk reduction as they recognize that disasters can undo hard-earned development gains and cause long-term economic and social damage (UNESCAP, 2013).

5. Asia and the Pacific is one of the most rapidly urbanizing regions in the world, with 2.4% annual growth of the urban population. In 2012, 47.5% of the total population (over 2 billion) lived in urban areas (UNDESA, 2014), with 30% of the region's urban population living in slums (UN-Habitat, 2013).



If groundwater resources continue to be used beyond sustainable limits, agricultural production, which is the main source of income for the majority of the population in the region, will be threatened.

By 2016, it is estimated that 2.7 billion people will be living in urban areas (UNDESA, 2014) placing considerable stress on the resources..

6. Experts estimate that groundwater irrigation contributes US\$10 to US\$12 billion per year to the Asian economy. When also including earnings from groundwater sales for irrigation, that estimate increases to US\$25 to US\$30 billion (Shah et al., 2003). Bangladesh, China, India, Nepal and Pakistan use nearly half of the world's ground water resources (IGRAC, 2010).

7. Micro-irrigation projects can provide at a very low cost an easy access to groundwater to households and is particularly effective in areas with plentiful groundwater resources. In India, the groundwater or tube well revolution has largely contributed to relieving poverty, but the increase in demand for irrigation has also caused severe groundwater stress in areas such as southern and eastern Maharashtra, India, eco-efficient water infrastructure development (Indonesia and the Philippines); and urban wetlands (Kolkata, India).

8. For peri-urban agriculture and for energy production, efforts to rehabilitate urban water resources should be undertaken to prevent water wastage. Provision of safe water has been primarily under the aegis of governmental bodies, but public-private partnerships are also well established in the region, including the Manila Water Company in the Philippines, SYABAS in Malaysia and Shenzhen Water Group in China.

9. There are a number of lessons to be learned from recent typhoons and the success stories of cyclone shelters and early warning systems in Bangladesh, India and the Philippines, and from the development of strategic frameworks and revitalized institutional arrangements in river management. Anthropogenic contaminants come from fertilizers and pesticides used in agriculture; mining, tanneries and other industries, landfill and garbage dumps.

10. Ground water is overexploited during the dry season because of water shortage, a situation seen in China (World Bank, 2007b), Thailand (World Bank, 2011) and elsewhere. The Pacific region is also facing freshwater stress.

11. However, if groundwater resources continue to be used beyond sustainable limits, agricultural production, which is the main source of income for the majority of the population in the region, will be threatened.

12. Investigations by the Chinese Ministry of Water Resources in 118 cities revealed that approximately 97% of groundwater sources are contaminated, with 64% of cities having seriously polluted drinking water from groundwater sources (World Bank, 2007b). Coastal cities such as Calcutta, Dhaka, Jakarta and Shanghai are experiencing saltwater intrusion in groundwater supplies, due to uncontrolled groundwater abstraction as a result of the inadequacy of public water supply systems. Saltwater intrusion will be intensified by the rise in sea-level resulting from climate change (IPCC, 2014)

Conclusion

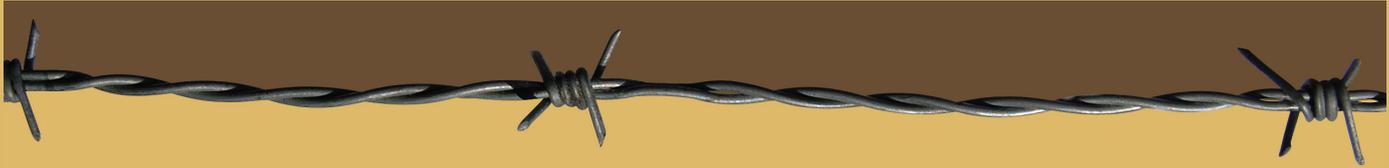
The hydro-climatic vulnerabilities are of great risk with respect to Indus Basin Irrigation System. The remodelled framework to address these climactic vulnerabilities is to be dealt carefully as uncertainty is a pivotal factor in these kinds of risks. A comprehensive water strategy and the framework is required to sustain the issue in the long run. Practical steps regarding the preservation of natural resources and with respect to the regional hydro-diplomacy are needed to be implemented. For Pakistan the climate change will pose an additional risk to meet its water demand. Pakistan is facing these challenges of high population and increased demands already, as evident by the hazardous hydrologic events of 2009–11. Deliberate prioritization, improved planning, management of existing assets and budget resources are of critical importance. These strategic choices will be largely dependent on a sound assessment of the economic aspect of these impacts. In assessing the impacts, several different modelling environments must be integrated to provide a clearer and complete picture of how water and agriculture are interdependent. This analysis is critical in making strategic policies and decisions for a highly uncertain future. Finally, through this integration of multiple disciplines, and a richer and more robust set of adaptations, compact policies for the agriculture and water sectors should be implemented to curtail this issue of water scarcity in Pakistan.

Syeda Asma Hussain is a
freelance journalist, and development
communication consultant.

TIMELINE OF POST **BURHAN WANI** **KASHMIR**

INFOGRAPHIC



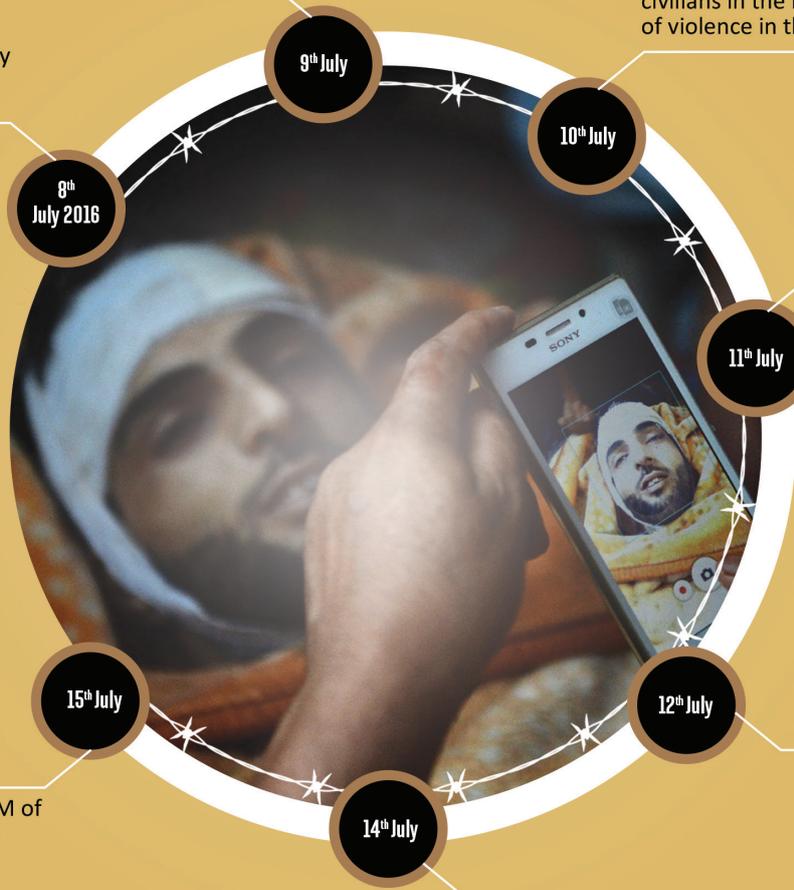


An estimated 200,000 people attended Burhan's funeral prayers in Tral.

Violent protests broke out in many parts of Indian-held Kashmir.

Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif expressed deep shock over the martyrdom of Wani and condemned the use of excessive force against civilians in the latest wave of violence in the Valley.

Burhan, along with his two associates, was martyred by the Indian forces in south Kashmir.



The UN secretary general Ban Ki-moon expressed his concern over the tense situation in the Indian-held Kashmir.

Indian External Affairs Ministry Spokesperson Vikas Swarup reacted sharply to Nawaz's statement and said that it only reflects Pakistan's attachment to terrorism and its usage as an instrument of State policy.

Nirmal Singh, deputy CM of Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir, rebuffed the demand for a court of inquiry into the operation that led to the martyrdom of Burhan.

Nawaz declared Wani as a martyr and directed all relevant departments to highlight the Kashmir issue at international fora.

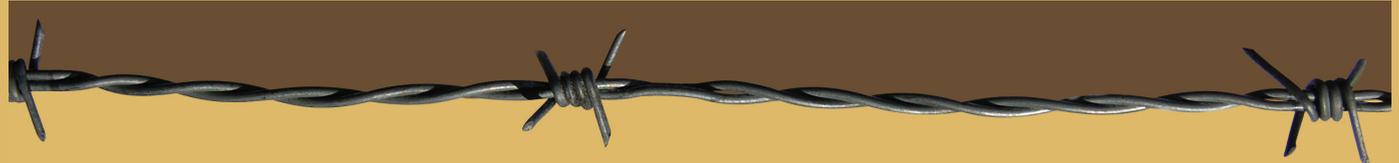
The Organization of Islamic Cooperation expressed serious concern over human rights violations in the Indian-held Kashmir by the Indian forces.

Senior PDP leader and lawmaker Muzaffar Hussain raised doubts over the conduct of the operation in which Burhan was martyred.

The UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon offered his good offices to mediate peace talks between Pakistan and India, provided the two neighbours accept his good offices.







The UN said that it will continue to monitor the tense situation in Indian-held Kashmir and reiterated again on both India and Pakistan to "work constructively" to resolve the issue.

Hizb-ul-Mujahideen claimed the responsibility of the Macchil attack and said that it was out to pay tributes to Burhan Wani.

The United States has expressed concerns over the recent unrest in the Indian-held Kashmir and called on all sides to make efforts to find a peaceful solution to the issue.

12 year old Junaid Ahmed is killed by Indian occupation forces bringing the death toll to 115 in OK.

PDP legislator Mushtaq Ahmad Shah state that Burhan Wani was "not a terrorist" but was "great and pious".

Nawaz Sharif wrote letters to the UN Secretary General and UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and urged them to make efforts to end the violation of the basic human rights in the Indian-held Kashmir.

Guerillas attack a camp of the Indian Army's 46 Rashtriya Rifles in the Baramulla district of Jammu and Kashmir, India killing one soldier and escaping unharmed.

Indian home minister Rajnath Singh said that no power in the world can take Kashmir from us. Rajya Sabha, the upper house of Indian Parliament, adopted a resolution with the resolve to restore the confidence of the people of Indian-held Kashmir, especially the young, through dialogue.

India claims to have conducted a "Surgical Strike" along the Line of Control claiming to have killed 38 militants but presents no proof and Neutral observers find no evidence of the action.

An attack by four heavily armed guerillas near the town of Uri in killed 20 Indian soldiers in "the deadliest attack on security forces in Kashmir in two decades.



2nd Aug

8th Aug

9th Aug

30th July

8th Oct

10th Aug

2nd Oct

18th Sep

29th Sep





INDO NEPAL RELATIONS

AN OVERVIEW OF TWO HINDU NATIONS



There is some self-interest behind every friendship. There is no friendship without self-interests. This is a bitter Truth” is the saying of Chanakya, the great Indian political and administrative genius who was born in 350 BC and died in 275 BC. Like Machiavelli who came centuries later, he has been demonized for preaching an immoral and treacherous doctrine which however can be contested on the basis that for him matters of statecraft left no room for morality and its use would do more harm than good to the common man.

Chanakya’s Maurya Empire is now divided among several new states of which India is the most prominent due to its territory, population and power. India shares a border with each state of South Asia with a few exceptions and it has territorial disputes with each state. The most significant being Pakistan which is perceived as the main obstacle in the fulfillment of Indian hegemony over South Asia.

Nonetheless, Indian relations with the rest of South Asia have not been exemplary either. It actively interferes in other sovereign nation’s

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policies especially foreign relations. For example it refused to arm Sri Lanka and tried actively to prevent other arm suppliers because according to Indian National Security Adviser M.K. Narayanan in 2008 "We have to ensure that India's pre-eminent position in the region is not compromised by Sri Lanka seeking arms from elsewhere. We need a national consensus on how much (military) assistance we should provide and how much pressure we should put on the (Sri Lankan) government."

India uses a host of methods to achieve its foreign policy objectives within the Indo-Pak subcontinent. It ranges from bilateral diplomacy, economic incentives, belligerent militarism as well as support to terrorist organizations like Sri Lanka's LTTE & Bangladesh's Shanti Bahini. It has also been asserted that it actively supports unpopular governments like in Bangladesh over the wishes of local populace as well as the international community in what could be a mirroring of US support to juntas and regimes all over the world.

In the recent times, Indian Nepal relations are asserted to be a prime example of Indian hegemonic policies with its smaller neighbors. On the face of it, India and Nepal should have the most cordial of relations. Both are Hindu majority nations and share common culture. Landlocked Nepal shares its longest border with India and is dependent upon India for many things, above all else access to the sea. Yet relations between the two states are not affable.

A ROCKY RELATIONSHIP

After Indian independence in 1947, relations between both Nepal and India had their foundation in the second Treaty of Sagauli signed with the colonial British masters of the subcontinent in 1925. In 1950, the relations were rebooted with two new treaties coming into force. In the Treaty of Peace and Friendship,

ratified in July 1950, each government agreed to acknowledge and respect the other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence; to continue diplomatic relations; and, on matters pertaining to industrial and economic development, to grant rights equal to those of its own citizens to the nationals of the other residing in its territory. Agreements on all subjects in this treaty replaced those on similar matters dealt with in the previous treaties between Nepal and Britain. In the Treaty of Trade and Commerce, ratified in October 1950, India recognized Nepal's right to import and export commodities through Indian Territory and ports. Customs could not be levied on commodities in transit through India.

These treaties were the start of India's lingering interference in. The Citizenship Act of 1952 allowed both citizens of India and Nepal to immigrate to the other country and easily acquire citizenship which fueled resentment on both sides. This policy continued without stop until 1962 when several restrictive clauses were added to the Nepalese constitution. The year of 1952, saw the establishment of an Indian military mission in Nepal and in 1954 a memorandum was signed for the joint coordination of foreign policy, and formation of Indian security posts in the northern frontier of Nepal. Nevertheless, this period also saw the emergence of Nepal's discomfort with the expanding Indian shadow and approaches to the People's Republic of China commenced in order to counterbalance India.

Nepal's ruler King Mahendra persisted to follow a policy of nonalignment which had been in place since the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah during the mid-eighteenth century. In the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, the world saw a divergence between Nepal and India in the UN where Nepal voted differently from its southern neighbor aside from a few selected places which involved Indian basic interests. A continued point of contention between the two states were the rights of landlocked states to transit facilities and access to the sea.

A substantial warming occurred in the relationship between Kathmandu and New

Delhi after the 1962 Sino-India war. New Delhi put its support to India-based Nepalese opposition forces on the backburner. Nepal extracted several concessions, including transit rights with other countries through India and access to Indian markets. In exchange, through a secret accord concluded in 1965 India got exclusive rights on arms sales to Nepal.

In 1969 Indo Nepal relations saw new tensions as Nepal challenged the existing mutual security arrangement and asked for the Indian security check posts and liaison group to be withdrawn. The Treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950 was also requested to be annulled. India grudgingly withdrew its military check posts and liaison group, although the treaty was not abrogated.

The decade of the 1970s saw events which caused shifts in the relationship. Power imbalance between India and Nepal was augmented - by the 1971 Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation; the 1971 IndoPak War, which led to the emergence of an independent Bangladesh; the absorption of Sikkim into India in 1974; increased unofficial support of the Nepali Congress Party leadership in India; rebellions

fomented by pro-Beijing Naxalite elements in 1973-74 in West Bengal State bordering Nepal; and India's nuclear explosion in 1974. Nepal implemented a vigilant appeasement approach to India, and in his 1975 coronation address King Birendra advocated for the recognition of Nepal as a zone of peace where military competition would be prohibited. New Delhi tried to show some flexibility in placating Nepal by distancing, but not separating, itself from the Indian based Nepalese opposition, approving a favorable trade and transit arrangement in 1978, and entering into another arrangement on joint industrial ventures between Indian and Nepalese firms. The latter agreement, by opening the possibilities of India's investment, secondarily advanced India's control of Nepal's economy which was simultaneously reinforced by a high level of Indian economic aid to Nepal.

India was persistent in supporting the Nepalese opposition and refused to endorse Nepal as a zone of peace. In 1987 India urged expulsion of Nepalese settlers from neighboring Indian states, and Nepal retaliated by introducing a work permit system for Indians working in Nepal. Relations between the two countries became tenuous in 1988 when Kathmandu





signed an agreement with Beijing to purchase weapons soon after a report that China had won a contract for constructing a road in the western sector to connect China with Nepal. India perceived these developments as deliberately jeopardizing its security. India also was annoyed with the high volume of unauthorized trade across the Nepalese border, the issuance of work permits to the estimated 150,000 Indians residing in Nepal, and the imposition of a 55 percent tariff on Indian goods entering Nepal.

In retaliation for these developments, India put Nepal under a virtual trade siege. In March 1989, upon the expiration of the 1978 treaties on trade and transit rights, India insisted on negotiating a single unified treaty in addition to an agreement on unauthorized trade, which Nepal saw as a flagrant attempt to strangle its economy. On March 23, 1989, India declared that both treaties had expired and closed all but two border entry points.

The economic consequences of the trade and transit deadlock were enormous. Shortages of

The end of the Hindu monarchy saw the rise of democracy which ended the status of Nepal as the world's only Hindu state. The constitution which is secular in nature will make Nepal's demise as a Hindu state permanent.

Initially, Indian policy of exerting influence over its neighbors with the exception of Pakistan has been through political interference. This is evident through the Awami League in Bangladesh, the current United National Front in Sri Lanka and through monarchs in Nepal.

Indian imports such as fuel, salt, cooking oil, food, and other essential commodities soon occurred. The lucrative tourist industry went into recession. Nepal also claimed that the blockade caused ecological havoc since people were compelled to use already dwindling forest resources for energy in lieu of gasoline and kerosene, which came mostly via India. To withstand the renewed Indian pressure, Nepal undertook a major diplomatic initiative to present its case on trade and transit matters to the world community.

The relationship with India was further strained in 1989 when Nepal decoupled its rupee from the Indian rupee which previously had circulated freely in Nepal. India retaliated by denying port facilities in Calcutta to Nepal, thereby preventing delivery of oil supplies from Singapore and other sources.

The relationship thawed again in the June 1990 New Delhi meeting of both Prime Ministers after



The other point of concern for India is the large-scale presence of indigenous Maoist forces in the new Nepalese government. Not only are they ideologically allied to the Naxalite forces battling New Delhi's rule in central India but are also more sympathetic to China, India's perceived rival.

the end of the Indian 13 month long economic blockade. Later on the two countries signed new, separate trade and transit treaties and other economic agreements designed to give Nepal supplementary economic benefits. New changes occurred when the Nepali prime minister visited in 1995 and insisted on a major review of the 1950 peace and friendship treaty as well as a greater economic independence of his country.

The ascension of king Gyanendra to the Nepalese throne saw a souring of relationships even though new talks and agreements took place which included revisiting the 1950 treaty. However, the end of the Hindu monarchy in 2008 saw a new paradigm in Indo Nepal ties. The burgeoning Maoist presence and increasing tilt towards China has prompted the Indian administration to use different economic

incentives to wean away Kathmandu. New tensions have arisen in Indo Nepal relations after the passing of a new Nepalese constitution that sparked protests in Nepal and a new unofficial Indian blockade that has led to more suffering and hardship after the April 2015 earthquake.

NEIGHBOURS: FRIENDS OR RIVALS

The answer to this conceivably lies in the spectrum of power politics which is a form of diplomacy in which states guard their own interests by utilizing military, economic or political aggression. India is the most powerful nation in the Indo-Pak subcontinent and is considered to be the hegemon of the region by many scholars due to this fact. And like every hegemon, India desires to exercise its influence over its neighbors through a bilateral way in order to utilize its superior clout.

Initially, Indian policy of exerting influence over its neighbors with the exception of Pakistan has been through political interference. This is evident through the Awami League in Bangladesh, the current United National Front in Sri Lanka and through monarchs in Nepal. The monarchs were focused upon due to their dependence on a "Hindu" identity to sustain

their rule against a Maoist uprising. This Hindu identity linked them to India, which not content to put all their eggs in one basket also hosted the Nepalese opposition on its soil.

The second phase that India applies is the phase of coercion which is most common with Pakistan either through military pressure (covert and overt) or economic sanctions. In the case of Nepal this method has been manifest through the application of a blockade in 1989 and 2015. India employs this phase once its political interference fails and the other government moves to a more independent position instead of a client state more desirous to New Delhi.

The current cause of ignition for the blockade was the passing of the constitution of Nepal. It sparked off violent protests by the Mahdesi community who live in the plains. They perceive that they will be underrepresented. Alluding to these protests, the Indian government has made the excuse of blocking main transit points into Nepal which has led to a fuel shortage. The Nepalese government has stated this to be another Indian blockade in order to influence the constitution to be more favorable to Indian designs and has cited safe havens to violent protestors inside India as proof.

The case of Nepal highlights a situation adverse to Indian designs and further augmented by ideological repercussions for the current Modi administration. The end of the Hindu monarchy saw the rise of democracy which ended the status of Nepal as the world's only Hindu state. The constitution which is secular in nature will make Nepal's demise as a Hindu state permanent. The ruling Indian party BJP, rooted in Hindutva, see this as a stumbling block in their quest for mutating the whole of the subcontinent into a Hindu rashtra. Hindutva's ire can be seen in the form of protests, violence and terrorism inflicted on both sides of the Indo Nepal border. The other point of concern for India is the large-scale presence of indigenous Maoist forces in the new Nepalese government. Not only are they ideologically allied to the Naxalite forces battling New Delhi's rule in central India but are also more sympathetic to China, India's perceived rival. As has been ascertained that

this negates India's policy to retain satellite states to maintain its hegemony.

THE PATH BEYOND

For landlocked Nepal whose nearest sea outlet is in India and already suffering from the April earthquake, there is not much in the way of options. The nearest country and neighbor China, is in a difficult position to help Nepal. Once the various power supply projects and CPAC become operational only then can China play an optimum role in being an alternative route.

In South Asia, the main obstacle to Indian hegemony is Pakistan which has been following a policy of security maximization in contrast to India's power maximization. The size of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal does not match its economic muscle and this, makes it difficult for Pakistan to replace India in regional roles. However, there are two ways to counter an aggressive Indian posture. One is either to bring in a counterforce to India i.e. China into SAARC (which is mainly dormant due to Indo Pak tensions), that may revitalize the organization and temper Indian belligerence.

The second way is to form a counter SAARC, an organization that spans the whole subcontinent minus India. The strategy of power balancing through external alliances is the way left to smaller powers when facing a hegemon. It also helps bolster regional integration. However that may seem improbable at the moment due to pro Indian establishments currently in power in three countries: Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Bhutan. However this remains one of the surest way aside from Bandwagoning to counter Indian hegemony. Perhaps it is as Chanakya said "*A ruler with a contiguous (sharing a border) territory is a rival. Power is the cause of an alliance.*"

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BY TEHREEM BANO

KASHMIR: Paradise Under Siege

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In May 2014, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) secured a historic victory in Indian general election. For the first time in three decades, a single political party was able to achieve a majority in the Indian Parliament. Following this, the BJP focused its attention towards the election of Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IoJK). The BJP came to the IoJK with the promise of development. The party runs its election campaign titled as 'Mission 44+; the number of seats required to secure a majority in the IoJK Assembly. During its election campaign in the IoJK, the BJP leaders promise their voters that all West Pakistani refugees (WPRs) who migrated from Sialkot and other parts of Pakistan in 1947, 1965 and 1971 to the IoJK will be granted permanent citizenship. However, granting of permanent resident rights in IoJK to outsiders is not permissible according to the J&K State Subject law.

Contrarily, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) run its election campaign by highlighting the bad governance and dismal human rights track record during the government of Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (JKNC) for the past six years. In addition, the party was also claiming to be the sole party that can counter BJP's entry in IoJK. On the other hand, leaders



of All Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) appealed the Kashmiri people to boycott the election. Despite several calls for boycott, Indian media claimed that the voter turnout for the 2014 loJK election was the highest recorded in the last 25 years. Following the conclusion of the election, the PDP emerged as the largest party with 28 seats, BJP got 25, JKNC was able to grab 15 whereas Congress managed to secure 12 seats in the 87-member assembly. The PDP was formed by Mufti Sayeed and his daughter in 1999 after leaving the Congress. Some disgruntled leaders of JKNC and Congress also joined the new party. In the next three years, the party emerged as a strong contender to the JKNC. In the 2002 loJK election, the PDP was able to grab 16 seats. The PDP came to power together with Congress in 2002, with Mufti Sayeed as the CM. During his first tenure, Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road was opened for cross-border travel and trade. In addition, the J-K Police's Special Operation Group (SOG), a fearful counter-insurgency force of police, was disbanded. His tenure was seen as a golden period on developmental front.

Both PDP and BJP, after rejecting JKNC's offers for government formation, officially started talks a week after the announcement of the results. Both teams were represented by the two-member team to form a Common Minimum Programme (CMP). Naeem Akhtar and Haseeb Drabu were representing the PDP while BJP was represented by Ram Madhav and Nirmal Kumar Singh. Minister of State (MoS) in the Prime Minister office (PMO), Jitendra Singh, supervised the dialogue between both parties. Omar Abdullah resigned as the CM of loJK on 24 December 2014. The loJK governor accepted his resignation but asked him to continue in an interim capacity till the formation of the new government. The President's rule was imposed in the loJK on the first day of 2015.

The dialogue between the PDP and BJP ended on 18th February 2015, two months and five days after the beginning of the talks. On 25th February, both parties announced that the CMP was almost ready. BJP president Amit Shah and PDP President Mehbooba Mufti, in a joint press



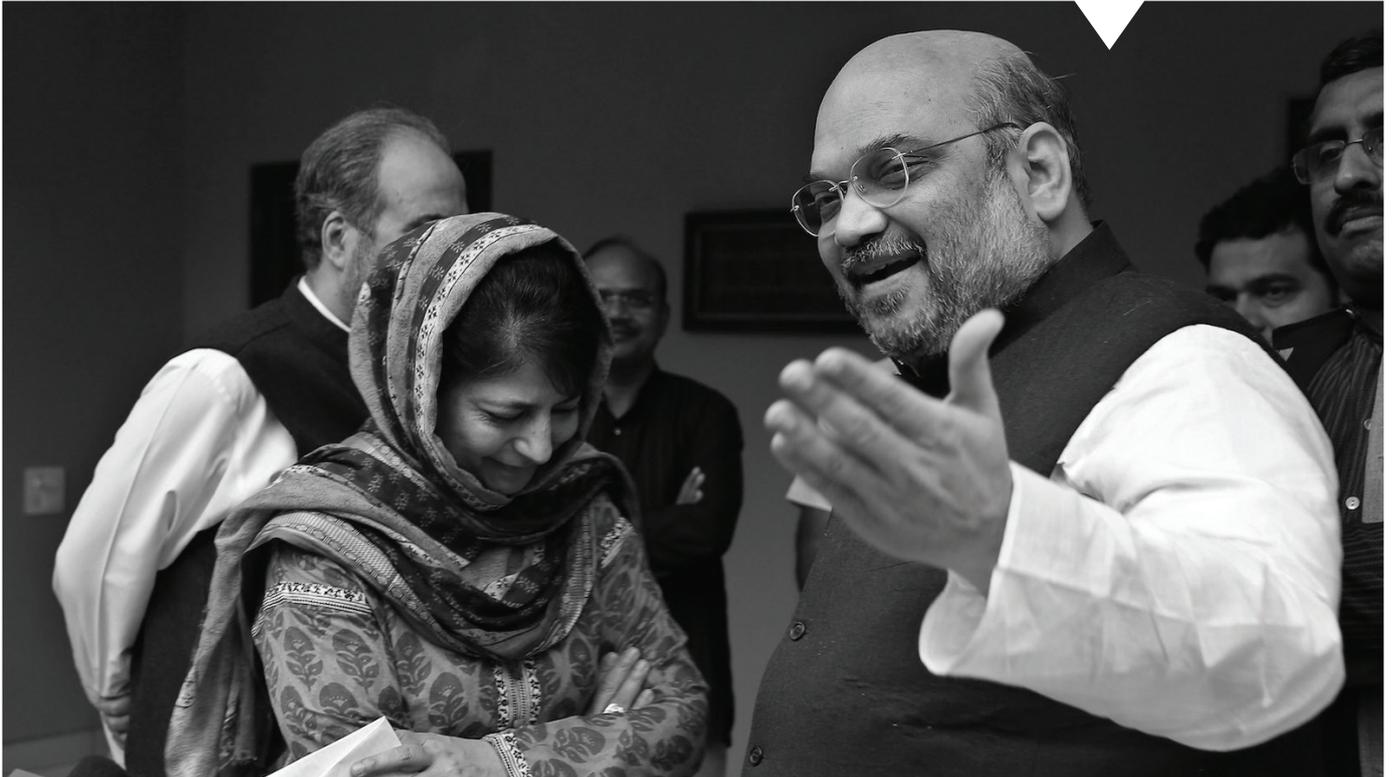
Contrarily, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) run its election campaign by highlighting the bad governance and dismal human rights track record during the government of Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (JKNC) for the past six years. In addition, the party was also claiming to be the sole party that can counter BJP's entry in loJK.

conference, stated that ideological differences had been ironed out and both parties were now working on the formation of a cabinet.

The new PDP-BJP government assumed the power on 1st March with PDP's Mufti Mohammad Sayeed as the CM for the full term of six years and Nirmal Kumar Singh as Mufti Sayeed's deputy. 12 cabinet ministers from each party were also sworn-in. With the assumption of power, BJP becomes a coalition partner of the loJK's government for the first time. The PDP also agreed to join the National Democratic Alliance (NDA)'s central, with Mehbooba Mufti's induction into the union cabinet. The party also decided to support the Modi's government in the parliament. Later, Mufti Sayeed and his deputy released the 'Agenda of Alliance', the CMP of the two parties. Both parties agreed:-

- To work out a one-time settlement for the WPRs
- To extend all benefits accruing to the people living in LoC to the people living on the International border
- To support and strengthen the Union Government in its approach to normalizing relations with Pakistan
- To maintain status quo on all constitutional provisions regarding loJK
- To thoroughly review the security situation in the state with a view to examine the need and desirability of all the special laws being applied to the state

The 'Agenda of Alliance' clearly indicate that both parties have adopted the 'give and take' approach in order to reach a consensus. The document does not mention granting of



permanent citizenship to the WPRs which was promised by the BJP during its election campaign. In addition, the BJP, vocal about the abrogation of the Article 370 which grants special status to IoJK, also had to stick to present position on constitutional provisions regarding the IoJK. Apart from the BJP, the PDP, which sought “de novo examination” of issues relating to notifying of ‘Disturbed Areas’ in order to pave way for withdrawal of Armed Forces Special Powers Acts (AFSPA), was also not able to do away with the draconian AFSPA, an Indian Parliament act which grants special power to Indian Armed Force, and could not also agree on the timeframe to revoke the law. The rift between both parties began to show on the first day of the government when the new elected CM of IoJK credited Pakistan and Hurriyat for smooth conduct of elections. The statement by Mufti Sayeed did not go well with the top brass of BJP who disassociated itself from Sayeed’s comments.

As part of a reconciliation effort, the new IoJK government released Masarat Alam. This decision of Sayeed’s government also did not go well with the BJP, whose legislators in IoJK demanded immediate arrest of Alam. Indian

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Prime Minister Modi also clarified that Union Government was not consulted before taking the decision of releasing Alam. However, Alam was re-arrested by Sayeed government on the pretext that in a rally organized to welcome Syed Ali Gilani in Srinagar some youths waved Pakistani flags.

In coming months, the BJP opposed engaging Hurriyat leaders in negotiations. The Sayeed government also faced communal tensions over the issue of cow slaughter. Despite promises and announcements of economic reconstruction, the IoJK failed to fully rehabilitate and compensate the people of the IoJK for their losses due to the September 2014 floods.

In addition, Mehbooba Mufti, who frequently visited the families of freedom fighters before the elections to offer her condolences and sympathies to the bereaved, stopped visiting the families of freedom fighters which gave an impression that she shed 'crocodile tears' to strength vote bank for her party.

Before his death, Mufti Sayeed said that his last wish was peace between Pakistan and India. He said the reason for forging an alliance with the BJP was to realize the dream of peace between the two countries. He was hospitalized on 24 December due to sepsis, decreased blood counts and pneumonia. He later died on 7th January 2016 due to multiple organs failure. Following the death of Mufti Sayeed, Governor's rule was imposed in the IoJK as both coalition partners did not stake a fresh claim for government formation. Initially, both parties maintained that Mehbooba was not in the position to assume the post of the CM as she was mourning the death of her father. After the

mourning period was over, the PDP said that it was looking for assurances and CBMs from the Centre on the implementation of 'Agenda of Alliance' before forming the new government. The deadlock ended after Mehbooba met Modi on 22nd March. On 2nd April, IoJK Governor NN Vohra invited Mehbooba to form her government. On 4th April, Mehbooba Mufti made history by becoming the first female CM of the IoJK.

The 57-year-old Mehbooba Mufti entered into mainstream politics by joining the Congress in 1996 along with her father. She has been credited with the growth of her party. She won acceptance from people due to frequently visiting the families of the martyred freedom fighters, voicing her concern over human rights violations and calling for the resolution of the Kashmir issue. She won her first IoJK election on Congress ticket from Bijbehara. Later, she played a key role in her father's victory as Congress candidate in the 1998 general elections. She also played a vital role for her party during the 2002 IoJK polls. Most of the areas from where PDP won, during the 2002 polls, were the same areas where Mehbooba had extensively campaigned. In 2004, she won her first Lok Sabha seat from South Kashmir.

Nirmal Singh was to continue as the deputy CM. In addition, the BJP also gained two more Cabinet-rank ministers increasing its tally of ministers to eight. On 23rd April, Mehbooba said that both Pakistan and India should start a new era of peace and prosperity in the region similar to how the US and Iran recently



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ended hostilities and started a new phase of engagement.

Hopes and Expectations from Mehbooba Mufti

Mehbooba Mufti is the first woman chief minister of Jammu & Kashmir as the head of the coalition government of People's Democratic Party and Bhartiya Janta Party. Certainly, Ms. Mufti faces stern challenges after taking the charge of the state. Jammu & Kashmir has been badly polarized particularly after the recent events of beef ban and flag controversy apart from the volatility that has struck the valley since long. Many analysts are of the view that Mehbooba has good association with the masses on the ground, however only time will tell how she lives up to the task.

The future of the state politics surely stands to be the most credible challenge for Mehbooba Mufti. To begin with the ideological impasse between the coalition partners, PDP and BJP regarding the issue of autonomy will be a point of contention, with PDP demanding for considerable autonomy while BJP making attempts to do away with even the perforated one that is in existence today. That economic and infrastructure development are in no way substitute to political autonomy with latter being the demand of masses as well and at the core of J&K issue. How Mehbooba Mufti would bargain with its coalition partners on such an intricate issue to gain credibility among the masses is certainly a daunting challenge.

Ms Mufti has also greatly pitched for peace between Pakistan and India. However, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has time and again ruled out any possibility of making Kashmiris party to the talks over the dispute. With this categorical exclusion of the state of Jammu & Kashmir and its representatives from the dialogue process primarily against the wishes and expectations of the local populace, one certainly is bound to question the credibility of the talks. Likewise, Mehbooba Mufti now being the representative of people's opinion has an important role in voicing the demands of the

masses so that any framework of dialogue process does not disregard in any way the aspirations of Kashmiris.

The issues of people of J&K are diverse. The use of force by the Indian security forces with impunity, massive human rights abuses committed under the draconian AFSPA law, killings, and torture which continue to subjugate the people is the gravest of all problems which has gone unaddressed till date. The rise of communal incidents in Kashmir in the recent past targeting Muslims, the high rate of unemployment, addressing the issue of land grabbing by the Indian forces, the issue of missing persons, indeed Mehbooba Mufti will have to take into consideration all these paradigms for the betterment of people of Jammu & Kashmir to ensure peace and

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prosperity in the region.

Over the past few months, Jammu & Kashmir has experienced a new phase of turmoil and violence which started with the alleged molestation of a minor girl on April 12 by an Indian Army officer in Handwara. The desperate screams of the minor girl alerted the general public gathering and turned it into an infuriated unarmed mob o protest against the molestation and demand arrest of the army man. In no time curfew was imposed in Srinagar, mobile service was halted and in various incidents of firings carried out by the Indian Army two young men and a woman was killed while dozens were injured. The victim, a sixteen year old girl, was detained by the police while her family was barred to meet her. Later, a video of the girl surfaced online filmed by Indian forces, exonerating the army. The girl was given no legal counsel while her statement was

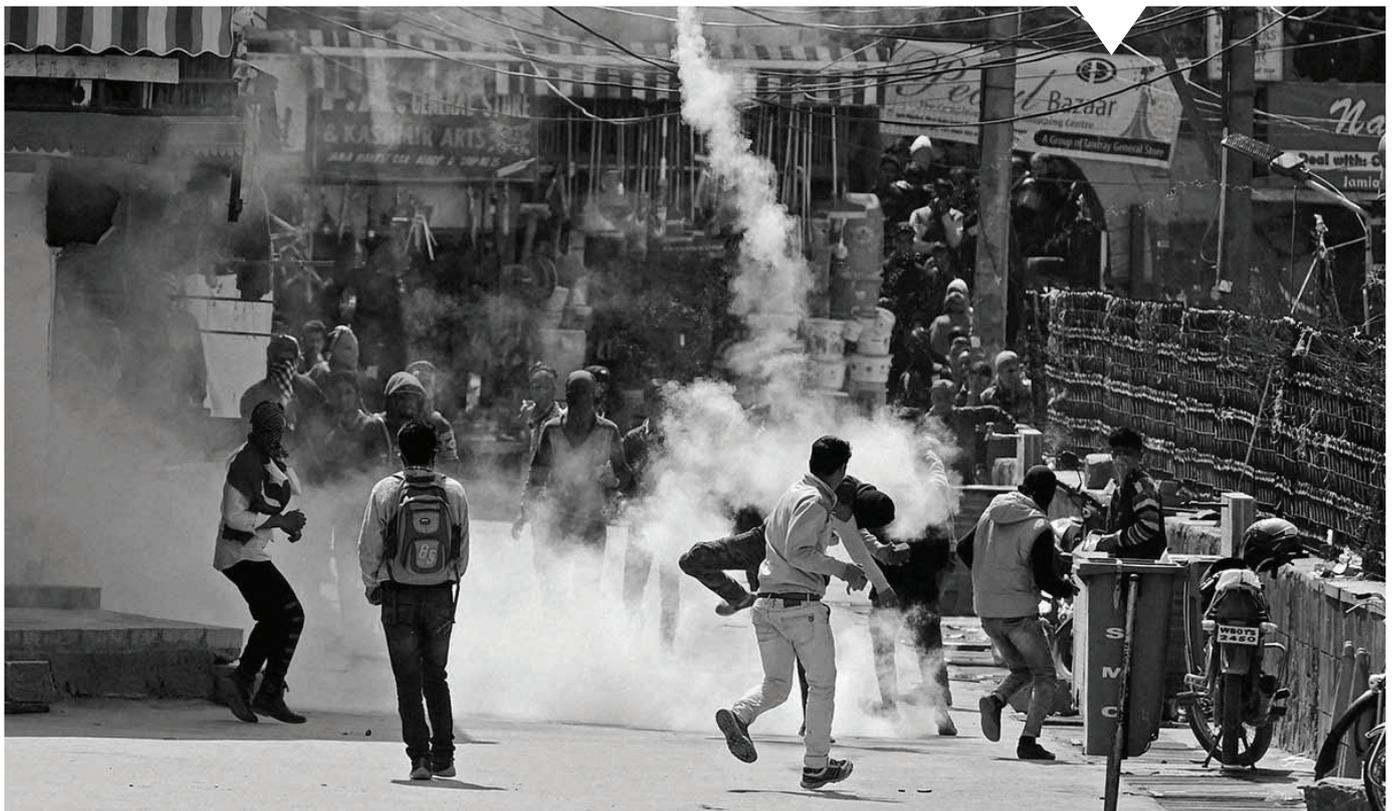
recorded. Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS) which was approached for legal assistance was barred by forces denying the victim her legal rights. The statement of the minor girl was obviously recorded under duress and influence and was legally unjustifiable. For over a month the girl was kept in a protective custody against her will, shifted to an isolated place and movement was greatly restricted. Likewise JKCCS has also been impeded to carry out necessary investigations and pursue the case of the victim. However, when it comes to Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian security forces have a history of heinous and inhumane crimes against the people. The situation that proceeded following the uprisings in Handwara, the death of five unarmed protestors, the removal of the Indian flag and the burning of the rifle bunkers in Handwara once again pointed out to the essential issue that continues to worsen the Kashmiri conflict - massive human rights violations carried out by the occupying forces which continues to be the foremost cause of the violence.

A new chapter of bloodshed has been written with the assassination of Burhan Wani on 8th July 2016. The blatant use of force against

It would not be wrong to mention however, that elections in Kashmir are usually a farce while hopes and expectations of people are always met with empty promises. When it comes to witnessing political drama in Kashmir, certainly the elections of 1987 get the first mention. The elections of 1987 undermined the faith of Kashmiris in the ballot box.

both unarmed peaceful protestors and innocent civilians by Indian occupation forces have ignited protests both inside India and outside as well. The issue is complicated, between people struggling to ensure their basic human rights, sanctity and safety against the roguish forces of the occupying power. Amidst this how will the administration of Jammu & Kashmir ensure that the perpetrators of violence are brought to task would indeed be a tough call for Mehbooba Mufti.

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comes to witnessing political drama in Kashmir, certainly the elections of 1987 get the first mention. The elections of 1987 undermined the faith of Kashmiris in the ballot box. While most elections in Kashmir are usually rigged, the distinctive feature of this election was that that the Indian state coupled the electoral fraud with violence. The fateful election gave rise to an armed struggle and Kashmiris experienced worst kind of violence in the ensuing years including fake encounters, custodial deaths, torture, rape, enforced disappearances and what not. Certainly one can hope to believe that the political scenario of Kashmir would have been different had the Indian state sincerely conducted free and fair elections. Evidently every fresh election in the Indian Occupied Kashmir entails beating the same old drums

– revocation of AFPSA, PSA, dispensation of justice, spurring economic growth etc. The current administration also followed suit. From participation in elections to holding peaceful demonstrations, Kashmiris have tried every bit of it in their struggle to achieve peace. Given the record, elections conducted under the supervision of the Indian government are always devoid of required transparency. However as the struggle of Kashmiris continue, responsibility rests with the political leadership of India, Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir to make sincere efforts to bring peace in the region.

Challenges to Peace in the Valley

The conflict of Kashmir is a complex amalgamation of religious, nationalist and political factors deeply rooted in history. The conflict itself has contributed to extreme volatility in the region and now when both – Pakistan and India – possess nuclear weapons, Kashmir has rightly been declared as the nuclear flashpoint of the world. The conflict remains at the center of security and foreign policy of both India and Pakistan extracting heavy toll in terms of blood



and material from them. On the contrary, the people of Kashmir remain disenfranchised and dehumanized under Indian occupation. Their sufferings are countless.

For peace to initiate and sustain there are required some starters. Willingness of the parties to initiate the peace process, clear intentions of the leaders involved, necessary political will to sustain the process of negotiations, creating an environment conducive for negotiations, cessation of hostilities and propaganda are some of the most essential requirements for the peace process to commence and endure. The Kashmir dispute however is always short of the necessary political will and requisite elements to begin the dialogue process. For instance, by using the pretext that Pakistan high commissioner held meetings with Hurriyat leaders of Kashmir, India's BJP government called off the secretary level talks with Pakistan in 2014 which certainly raised questions regarding the intentions of the Indian government to merely initiate let alone sustain the dialogue process. Likewise, the recurrent unprovoked aggression by the Indian security forces along the working boundary further mounts up tension between the two states thereby undermining probabilities, if any, of peace process.

Given the trajectory of Kashmir conflict, dialogue along the conflict lines is also greatly delimited, which impinges transformations because of little and irregular contact between people in both the countries as well as with the people of Kashmir. The seemingly interruptible dialogue between Pakistan and India which excludes Kashmiris from any discussion table despite their important role in the process certainly makes the entire process hostage

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A Peace process is usually periodic, yielding benefits in phases, essentially two steps forward and one backward. In this context the primary challenge to peace process is conflict management. The vital aim of negotiations is to move from the phase of violence to politics to manage the otherwise outstanding conflict.

to shortsighted political gains and vested interests. While Pakistan has always been an ardent supporter of associating the Kashmiri representatives in the dialogue process, India has frequently accused Pakistan of interfering in the Indian held Kashmir (IHL). Moreover, the grievances of Kashmiris are not met constructively given the loopholes in judicial and administrative system and lack of transparency on the part of the government leaving them to aggravate and grow into desperation. Indian government has adamantly failed to recognize its role in deteriorating the situation in Kashmir. Human rights violations are categorically denied and rights organizations are forbidden access. The blame is consistently heaped on Pakistan with little or no mention of India. Such acts are instrumental in demonizing peace constituencies on both sides of the border.

Owing to their differing security perceptions by virtue of the asymmetry in terms of power and capability where the bigger and ambitious neighbor time and again resorts to unfriendly postures certainly contributes to distrust and suspicion between India and Pakistan which acts as another major impediment in the peace process. Likewise, adverse images and opinions have frequently been used to morph public opinion in favor of vested interests of fundamentalists on both the sides of the border. As a matter of fact, the rise of Hindu militant nationalism has further complicated the situation which has in the recent times exploited every gesture aimed to accelerate the process of negotiations.

Way Forward

Although there have been several viable solutions on the table and many have also been discussed at official and unofficial meetings but none have received their consensus. Considering the obstinacy of India, it is certain that policy pursuits of India are the main hindrance in the resolution of the process. International community should therefore apply their influence on New Delhi to keep it engaged in the dialogue process.

A Peace process is usually periodic, yielding benefits in phases, essentially two steps forward and one backward. In this context the primary challenge to peace process is conflict management. The vital aim of negotiations is to move from the phase of violence to politics to manage the otherwise outstanding conflict. In a way, conflict management reduces pressure for conflict resolution while containing implicit potentials for conflict resolution in the next step. Thus to begin with, authorities in Pakistan and India can focus their attentions on conflict management, reducing the negative aspects of the conflict while injecting the positive ones. The initial step shall be in this regard to address the grievances of the victims. Excessive human rights abuses in this conflict demand for a venue to provide justice to those who have suffered. As long as people have this feeling that they have been wronged and that justice has not been meted out to them, it is likely that they might channel this frustration into more desperate measures. Thus providing a legal avenue to people to augment their voice is the most important goal and for this a bigger responsibility rests with the government of Mehbooba Mufti to effectively voice the concerns and sufferings of the people and the Indian administration to uphold its international commitments with respect to international human rights treatise and customary international law.

With over 60 years of stalemate in the conflict it is quite certain that the only way forward is through dialogue instead of relying on the use of force particularly following the induction of nuclear weapons in the region. Likewise, for such a dialogue process to produce optimal results parties should come forward with a flexible approach, vision to discuss options and ability to make compromises. Currently,



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it seems as if India lacks such a vision and is therefore trying its utmost to not only evade any options of negotiations on Kashmir but is also employing measures to keep the issue in a limbo. Equally important is that any such dialogue process shall not in any way disregard Kashmiris as a vital party to the conflict. Instead, Kashmiris must be integrated into the peace process through a wider process of consultation with the civil society and political groups. For Pakistan and India to overcome the trust deficit, confidence building measures at official and unofficial level can help effect a new process by overcoming the stumbling blocks for an eventual agreement. This will in turn help to target substantive issues particularly demilitarization and implementation in letter and spirit of 2003 LOC ceasefire agreement.

At the moment it seems as if Pakistan and India are far from reaching a lasting solution and that future is bleak. But solutions do exist. It is just a matter of political will to create a framework for peace, provide necessary support to a sustainable peace process and agree to a mutually expectable solution. The resolution of the issue of Kashmir is important not only for Indo-Pakistan relations but for the prospects of South Asian region as well.

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PAKISTAN'S WAR ON TERROR:

An Outlook on Civil-Military Counter-Terrorism

by Muhammad Omar Afzaal



ARMED & DANGEROUS

Introduction

The increasingly cataclysmic ripples of terrorism urge a stronger and more cohesive civil-military response in Pakistan, both at provincial and national levels. A civilian integrated military strategy to counter militancy may be viewed not only as critically significant in bringing life and direction to counter-terrorism efforts but in bolstering national defense and strengthening the holistic civil-military ties. This is a positive aspect since the dynamism of civil-military relations will be reinvigorated and revisited, promising golden opportunities for Pakistan to assert its supremacy over militants.

A Civil-Military Approach to Counter Terrorism

The threat to Pakistan remains complex and ambiguous, pushing the country towards the state where conflict is a norm while a stable peace, an exception. The minds of terrorists are creative, continually developing and executing new strategies to exploit government's and military's weaknesses. Although, Pakistan army has spearheaded crucial advances in preparation, planning and training in support of counter-terrorism operations, there remains a pragmatic necessity and vital opportunity for greater synergy between the Pakistan armed forces and the federal government.

Few will doubt that today Pakistan is certainly more prepared to grapple with any crisis situation or terrorism episode than it was a decade ago. However, it is crucial to pinpoint that the crest of our achievements should not be measured in the ability to temper the crisis, how quickly the intelligence agencies can identify the militant group responsible for the terrorist action or how efficiently the mess is cleaned up and normalcy of life restored in the aftermath. These actions,

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although extremely necessary and invaluable after the attack, need to stop representing the bar of success for counter-terrorism efforts. After more than a decade of fighting and struggle against terrorism, with countless sacrifices and amidst some critical battlefield victories, real success for Pakistan needs to be measured by the 'prevention' of a terrorist attack.

In all fairness, while prevention is the optimum outcome of counter-terrorism efforts, it is also the most difficult to achieve. Pakistan must identify

the terrorist network or group that poses the gravest of threats to its citizens. Such strategies are complex and chaotic, deeply entangled in our constitution, federal government directives, and provincial injunctions as well as public opinion. Across the world, counterterrorism efforts have forced the terrorists to evolve their thought and mutate their ways of attack. More alarmingly, rather than one militant hegemon, such as Al-Qaeda and Taliban, today, we face various extremist factions and offshoots which combine to form a transnational movement of terrorist organizations and individuals. While some have provincial agendas, others are more ambitious in thought and brazen in their attacks against the army and national government. Terrorism today has many faces, including secessionist insurgency, sectarian conflict, and ethnic turf wars to name a few.

As such, subliming militants and preventing attacks is convoluted as well as resource consuming and requires closer cooperation between security and government agencies, bolstering civil-military efforts in this cause. The alarming escalation in mega-urban centers has increased the need for civilian law enforcement agencies to back up the military in curtailing the endemic terrorism. The Pakistan Police Force, in particular, have found themselves on the front lines

in the battle against criminal groups. Karachi was once a hub of all economic activities of Pakistan due to its strategically located dry sea port, the Bin Qasim Sea Port, whereas it also served as a gateway to the international trade into the Central Asian region. However, in 2013, 166 Karachi police officers perished in violence attributed to terrorism while in the first half of 2014, 87 were killed. Such deaths make Karachi a microcosm of the problems the entire country faces.

A 2014 study by Rand Corporation titled, "A Strategic Planning Approach: Defining Alternative Counterterrorism Strategies as an Illustration", defines 'prevention' as relevant to not only the operational phase of a terrorist attack but also encompassing "attempts to attack" including precursor activities such as recruiting, planning and material acquisition. It is the latter understanding of the definition where consolidated civil-military endeavors may prove to be the most influential.

The Rand model further introduces an intriguing use of 'strategic planning' against terrorism. First used effectively by the Americans in the Cold War, this ploy has also been used by the US against Al-Qaeda and is particularly potent to contain adversaries' expansionist tendencies. As earlier mentioned, realistically, an all-out prevention of terrorism in Pakistan at the outset is



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the operation, 'prevention' may now include halting attacks involving tens of casualties. In other words, strategic planning accommodates for circumstantial bottlenecks and allows for more versatile civil-military counter-terrorism efforts.

Improved civil-military efforts may lessen the internal security burden on the military as well. The Pakistan armed forces, particularly the Special Services Group (SSG) commandos, possess exorbitant talent and capability in counter-terrorism operations, acquiring the knack to eliminate threats in a crisis swiftly, a feature that has been demonstrated repeatedly, be it air-force bases, army garrisons, schools or public centers under attack. With muted and at times, unenthusiastic cooperation between the military and civil government, this talent is not being shared with civilian law enforcement. The SSG have the ability and capacity to provide invaluable counter-terrorism and quick reactionary training to municipal and regional authorities to reduce the latter's vulnerability to terrorist attacks. The local

law enforcement planners will be able to hone their operation tactics, refine counterterrorism procedures and most importantly, learn to comprehend and attack the enemy's strategy. More crucial than shortfalls in facilities and equipment is that civil law enforcement remains focused on their traditional roles of law and order. They have not accepted countering terrorism as part of their mission, particularly in rural and tribal areas, which is why military cooperation will be even more critical in expanding civilian counter-terrorism.

Additionally, civil agencies such as police and the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) are established specifically for internal security. Consequently, the police in particular is spread throughout the country, often being the only source of law enforcement at the lowest level: a police Station House Officer (SHO) generally tends

to be quite well informed of the households/neighborhoods under his jurisdiction. The current nature of terrorism is such that the attacks are

As earlier mentioned, realistically, an all-out prevention of terrorism in Pakistan at the outset is hard to imagine. However, the definition of 'prevention' may be kept flexible. At the start of fresh civil-military counter-terrorism operations, 'prevention' may translate into thwarting and inhibiting psychologically significant attacks involving hundreds of casualties.

often planned and executed internally. Therefore, enhanced civil-military engagements can tap into the local civil agencies' experience and information regarding the particular area.

A study by Feridun and Shahbaz (2010) posits that military measures alone are not sufficient. Social, political and economic measures on behalf of the civil society are decisive in the fight against terrorism. While this may be a hotly debatable issue, such

examinations do present evidence that a combined civil-military effort serves at the minimum to restrain, if not curtail, terrorist activities. Further evidence in existing literature invigorates this school of thought. Brophy-Baermann and Conybeare (1994); Cauley and Im (1988); Enders and Sandler, (1993, 2002); Landes (1978); Sandler (2005); Silke (2005); Omand (2005); and Lum et al. (2006), all present evidence in favor of

the civil-military hypothesis. Interestingly, such studies have also incorporated a cross country frame, with the US and Turkey amongst such countries where combined civil-military anti-terrorism efforts are indispensable to achieve the desired results. In particular, civil measures can aid the military to address political, economic, diplomatic and social aspects of the fight against terrorism.

Furthermore, with coalition



forces and the Pakistan army having successfully disposed of the extremist outfits' leadership, the impact of terrorism changes focus from high-level military and government targets to ordinary civilians. This is in line with findings of a 2015 study by Max Abrahams and Phillip Potter, which presented evidence that certain types of militant groups, especially those suffering from leadership deficits, are more likely to attack civilians. Abrahams

and Potter essentially argued that leadership deficits and struggles promote civilian targeting because the incentives of militants to perpetrate indiscriminate violence are inversely related to their position within the terrorist organizational hierarchy. Consequently, terrorist networks fraught with fragile leadership control or headed by figures controversial within their own ranks gravitate to terrorism because tactical decisions are delegated to lower-level members with stronger incentives to harm civilians.

While Abrahams and Potter presented evidence for a diverse set of terrorist organizations including North African and Middle Eastern terrorist outfits, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, their argument may yet still have to ward off critics. However, I only employ their study to demonstrate the increased possible role of the civil agencies against terrorism. With recent intelligence reports

Contemporary terrorism is commonly seen as a framework of rapid change, immense complexity and genuine uncertainties. In particular, uncertainty is an underlying characteristic of Pakistan, generating fears and jitters that need to be addressed and mitigated by the government and armed forces alike.

implying frequent friction amongst Taliban leaders and the emergence of splinter groups, especially after the death of Mullah Omar & Mullah

Mansour and the nomination of Mullah Haibatullah as the new Taliban chief, civil law enforcement may prove to be an invaluable asset for the Pakistan military to shield civilians from possible disenfranchised offshoots such as those led by Mullah Mohammad Rasoul and Omar Khorasani who are out to prove their strength and weight.

Conclusion & Recommendations

Contemporary terrorism is commonly seen as a framework of rapid change, immense complexity and genuine uncertainties. In particular, uncertainty is an underlying characteristic of Pakistan, generating fears and jitters that need to be addressed and mitigated by the government and armed forces alike. Europol has described the terrorist threat across Europe as "acute and diverse". Unfortunately, this expression neatly fits Pakistan's case as well.

Not tapping into local civil

law enforcement formally will deprive Pakistan of potentially its most valuable instrument in controlling terrorism and disciplining militants. At the same time, to maximize the effectiveness of joint civil-military operations, the civil bodies must realize the importance of working with the armed forces while also adopting a citizen-oriented approach to policing. Perhaps the greatest advantage of such an approach is that

it draws upon relationships and attitudes instead of heavy investment in advanced technical skills or weaponry. The key is that all civil officers have a well-defined and clear-cut role against insurgency, terrorism, and militant crime, which has not yet been specifically prescribed as part of their job description. Counter-terrorism awareness, intelligence and information collection on terrorist networks, and the arrest of terrorist suspects should be integrated into the civil agencies' duties. The military could assist in developing and institutionalizing fresh Standard Operation Procedures (SOPs) that revisit priorities and sensitize officers to be aware of terrorist-related behavior they encounter in conducting their regular duties. With the contemporary security situation and militant threat, anti-terrorism operations are a critical national priority.

The International Crisis Group, in its 2014 report titled "Policing Urban Violence in Pakistan", concluded that joint



civil-military endeavors stand to boost counter-terrorism. The report further highlighted that provincial civil law enforcement such as the police should be the primary agents in controlling terrorist, sectarian, and insurgent violence. The army can sensitize civilian policing units to be aware of suspicious activities or individuals. A two-way channel between the civil-military counterparts can be established to collect and exchange information on suspect groups to collate polished intelligence.

Likewise, civil-military efforts can prove to be cogent in alleviating police professionalism, complemented through amended SOPs and training for responding to crisis. An interview with a Police Service of Pakistan (PSP) officer revealed the significance of upgraded training. The officer recounted how he overcame his immediate fear right after a car bomb-blast and rushed to the venue only to realize he had no idea what he should do. Another PSP officer reported the immediate positive dividends of what a mere one-week counter-terrorism training course delivered:

after the course, one of his trainees discovered through a restaurant owner that a man bought ten meals every day for a house which appeared deserted. The PSP trainee investigated and uncovered a terrorist cell operating in the house.

More critically, even reviewing the basics illustrates the significance and payoffs from engaging government bodies such as the police, Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), Airport Security Force (ASF) or even the Anti-Narcotics Force (ANF). Increasingly in Pakistan, kidnapping for ransom and narcotics trafficking is being uncovered to be a significant source of Taliban funding. Such criminal acts lie within the domain of these government bodies. With closer cooperation and sharing of tasks, the armed forces stand to benefit in the struggle against terrorism. Furthermore, civilian agencies normally enjoy a pervasive and well-integrated presence within the local community and are the traditional repository of historical information about regional conditions and criminal networks.

A joint civil-military counter-terrorism approach is poised to deliver rich dividends to an increasingly menacing and cancerous predicament. The same strategy will also advance empowerment reforms for Pakistan's civil law enforcement agencies to protect civilians from militant violence. Therefore, the traditional keepers of law serving to increase security for the general public and actively battling terrorists will have positive psychological consequences in the Pakistan society.

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