



# Islamabad Policy Research Institute



# NEWSLETTER

## ONE-DAY CONFERENCE

March 2016, Vol. 4, No. 3

### HR Violations in IHK: Awakening Global Conscience



Human Rights (HR) violations in the Indian-held Kashmir (IHK). They made an effort in presenting the gravity of the situation and with a view to highlight the difficulties of Kashmiris in the IHK, the speakers underlined the atrocities and HR violations being committed by the Indian security forces in the IHK and suggested recommendations for Pakistan government and other related national and international organisations to awaken global conscience on this burning issue. The conference focused on the following main themes:

- State of HR Violations by Indian Security Forces in IHK: Background and Current Situation.
- World Response to HR Violations in IHK: Role of Major Powers, International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

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A one-day conference titled "HR Violations in IHK: Awakening Global Conscience" was organized by Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) on March 3, 2016 at Islamabad Hotel, Islamabad. The conference comprised of one working session, in addition to inaugural and concluding sessions. The speakers made presentations on various aspects of

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### PTV PROGRAM "EXPLORE KASHMIR" COVERS IPRI CONFERENCE

One day Conference on "HR Violations in IHK: Awakening Global Conscience" organised by Islamabad Policy Research Institute was covered by Pakistan State Television's Program "EXPLORE KASHMIR."

The Program features analysis by conference speakers, President IPRI and IPRI Scholars.

To watch the program, visit IPRI's official website: [www.ipripak.org](http://www.ipripak.org)

Or visit IPRI's LinkedIn, Facebook or Twitter Account

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Islamabad-Policy-Research-Institute>

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# HR Violations in IHK: Awakening SPEAKERS



Special Guest Speaker Ms. Farzana Yaqoob

Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, (NDU)

Ms. Shamsa Nawaz, (ISSI)

Dr. Muhammad Khan, (NDU)

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- HR Violations in IHK: Different Approaches to Awaken Global Conscience.

Ms. Farzana Yaqoob, Minister for Social Welfare and Women Development, Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJK), participated as a special guest speaker while Ambassador (R) Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Executive Director, Centre for International Strategic Studies (CISS), Islamabad, chaired the academic session of the conference. Following three speakers presented their papers in the conference:

- Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Dean, Faculty of Contemporary Studies (FGS), National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad.
- Ms. Shamsa Nawaz, Research Fellow, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI).
- Dr. Muhammad Khan, Head of Department, International Relations, National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad.

Salient points highlighted by the speakers during their presentation are:

- Human Rights (HR) are the fundamental rights of an individual. The violation of human rights is, therefore, against the basic principles of humanity. Unfortunately, these basic rights have been denied to Kashmiris in the Indian Held Kashmir (IHK).
- The Kashmir issue is not just a political issue, but it is about the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people. It is basically a human rights issue of more than ten million Kashmiris.
- The United Nations Security Council's resolutions of 1948 and 1949 that stipulated the holding of a plebiscite in the state of Jammu and Kashmir could not be implemented during the last 67 years due to India's intransigence and India continues to negate the UN resolutions on Kashmir.
- Since 1989, India has deployed more than 600,000 security forces in IHK under the draconian laws, i.e. Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act (TADA) and Public Safety Act (PSA), Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act 1990, Terrorist and

Disruptive Activities Act 1990, Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002, Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Ordinance 2004 and National Security Act.

- According to the Kashmir Media Service report, from January 1989 to December 2015, 94,296 innocent Kashmiris were killed, with 7,038 custodial deaths. 132,448 individuals have been arrested and about 106,051 houses have been destroyed. Indian security forces have made 107,545 children orphans, 22,806 women as widows and have gang raped 10,167 females in the IHK.
- The UN Human Rights Committee (UNHCR), Human Rights Watch (HRW), Amnesty International, the US State Department report of 2010, European Parliament's remarks of 2008, and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) have condemned human rights violations in the IHK by Indian security forces. Unfortunately, these disclosures have failed to awaken the conscience of the international community in spite of human rights being claimed by them as their core values.
- Kashmir dispute itself and the human rights violations in the state could not attract the global attention as in the case of other international disputes, i.e. Kosovo. This is mainly because the neutral observers and international media have no access to the IHK as India has totally banned the movement of outsiders into the state.
- Kashmir University does not allow students to discuss the Kashmir issue in the campus. The students are not even allowed to conduct research on the sufferings of Kashmiri people and Kashmir issue.
- The new Indian strategy over Kashmir is to do away with the Kashmiri identity. This is meant for dividing the people on communal and ethnic lines, subsequent demise of right of self-determination, and state's merger into Indian Union through abrogation of Article 370.
- Factors that contribute to lack of progress in the resolution of Kashmir include: Indian government's unwillingness to take corrective measures, lack of interest on the part of great

powers, and lack of interest by the United Nations on human rights violations in Indian Held Kashmir.

## Recommendations

- Kashmir is an "unfinished agenda of Partition", which the Indian government has been successfully and covertly manipulating. The projection of Kashmir as a territorial dispute is also a part of Indian nefarious campaign to defy the Kashmiris their plebiscite right. By using different gambits, India blocked Kashmiris' right to self-determination enunciated by the UN Security Council resolutions. There is a need to highlight that, by not holding plebiscite in Kashmir, the Indian government is not only violating the UN resolutions but also violating its own Constitution.
- Pakistan should continue to maintain consistency and firmness over its Kashmir policy and play an active role in highlighting the human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir at international forums. Along with adopting effective and proactive diplomacy for resolving Kashmir issue by drawing from the UN resolutions, Pakistan should also highlight the humanitarian aspects of human rights violations in the IHK. Besides this, the Kashmiri people should be given unqualified moral support for getting their right to self-determination.
- There have been severe human rights violations in the IHK of multidimensional in nature ranging from "mass killings" to "forced disappearances" and from "torture" to "rape" to "political suppression" and "restrictions on freedom of speech". For the last twenty-five years, the AFSPA in Jammu and Kashmir still continues to feed a cycle of impunity for human rights violations. Absence of accountability of Indian Security Force Personnel for human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir is the main obstacle to justice faced in several cases of human rights violations. Section 7 of the AFSPA, grants virtual immunity to members of the security forces from prosecution for

# Global Conscience

alleged human rights violations. There is a need to highlight the fact that human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir have an institutional support of India as the laws framed by Indian government in the shape of PSA, TADA and AFSPA, are leading to arbitrary arrest and detention, enforced disappearances, extra-judicial killings with complete impunity for security forces. The international human rights organizations should pursue India to abolish these black laws, being contradictory to international laws.

- Although in the past, the international community and media neglected the Kashmir issue, especially the widespread human rights violations by India. However, in the changing international environment, Pakistan should renew its efforts in highlighting the importance of resolving the Kashmir issue. IGOs and NGOs should play a role in holding the Indian state accountable for its appalling and unchecked human rights violations characterized by arbitrary arrests, killings, disappearances and electrocutions. Rape is being used as a tool to suppress and demoralize families. Silence over the human rights violations in the IHK is dangerous for regional peace. If the inhumane treatment of Kashmiris continues, with no condemnation from global players, the political aspirations of Kashmiri youth could be exploited by the extremist elements.
- The Indian efforts of systematically eroding the Kashmiri identity through demographic changes, allocating large areas of land to Hindu Pundits and dividing the people along communal and ethnic lines should be highlighted in print and electronic media to restrict Indian nefarious designs in Kashmir.
- The biggest challenge, Kashmiris faced in the post-9/11 era, was that their indigenous legitimate freedom movement was equated with terrorism. It was noted that since 2003, the nature of Kashmiri Freedom struggle has been peaceful but there was no change in the attitude of Indian Security Forces, which not only continued their atrocities but their discrimination has further expanded against the people of Kashmir. It is an imperative to highlight this point at various forums that the freedom struggle in Kashmir has nothing to do with terrorism. India has all along made effort to propagate the genuine peaceful uprising of the Kashmiri people with terrorism.
- The role of overseas Kashmiris, in highlighting the violation of human rights in Kashmir, is commendable. There is a need to further refine their role in a systematic and coordinated manner in awakening global conscience on Indian human rights violations in the IHK and its unlawful occupation of the State ever since 1947. Political leadership of Kashmir should visit capitals of Major countries for creating awareness on human rights violations among global leaders. Further, Pakistan's Foreign Office may facilitate the participation of Kashmiri leadership at various sessions and meetings of organizations under the UN, relating to protection of human rights.
- Although Kashmiris have extended full support to India-Pakistan peace process, yet they are not included in the dialogue process. India should realize that there would be no sustainable solution of the Kashmir issue without taking into consideration the aspirations of the Kashmiris and the right of self-determination given to them by the UNSC resolutions. Pakistan should uphold its political, diplomatic and moral support for the Kashmiri freedom struggle.

- On one hand, India has not ratified the “International Convention for the

Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance” and on the other, it is not allowing UN Special Rapporteurs/Working Groups to visit Jammu and Kashmir to monitor the human rights violations. In the absence of justice, there can be no peace or normalcy in the region. The leadership in Jammu and Kashmir should demand from India to ratify the “International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance” so that United Nations Special Rapporteurs could visit Kashmir to prepare their reports on the status of human rights in the IHK. The immediate need is to put an end to the atrocities in the IHK. The UN Security Council needs to stand by the Kashmiri people, and provide them with justice. Stringent measures are needed to pressurize India to stop its state sponsored terrorism and abide by the international treaties on human rights. Further, neutral observers and international media should also be allowed in Kashmir. This would enable the world to see for itself the sufferings of the Kashmiris. It would be an eye opener for the pro-Indian activists who wittingly or unwittingly portray its so called Indian democratic and secular credentials.

- To awaken the conscience of the international community over the ongoing human rights violations in IHK, efforts at the domestic, regional as well as global levels are needed. The civil society and the international humanitarian organizations need to play their due role in it.
- Pakistan's diplomatic missions need to project the Kashmir issue to the world. Special Kashmir cells in key Pakistani missions should be established for this purpose. Pakistan mission at the UN should highlight the Indian violations of the UNSC resolutions over Kashmir, and it should highlight India as being a violator of Security Council resolutions and therefore ineligible to attain the coveted status of Security Council Permanent membership.
- There is also a need for Pakistan to have a comprehensive media strategy to highlight Kashmir issue. The private TV channels should be encouraged to cover the stories of human rights violations in the IHK.
- Kashmiris' right of self-determination has been embedded in the UN resolutions, therefore, Kashmir would remain on UN agenda and these resolutions would remain relevant until the right of self-determination is exercised by Kashmiris through a fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir. Pakistan, instead of adopting bilateral approaches, should adopt a legal and human rights approach on Kashmir issue. There is a need for developing a unified approach on Kashmir. The unity among Kashmiri leadership in IHK will certainly lead to success in following the UN Security Council Resolution. In this respect, intra Kashmiri dialogue should be encouraged.

## Call for Papers IPRI Journal Winter 2017

The IPRI Journal is a bi-annual peer reviewed publication of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI). The Institute is dedicated to research, analysis and evaluation of strategic and emerging issues as well as events of regional and international context, with relevance to Pakistan's national policies. Research scholars are invited to submit **original, unpublished** articles and book reviews for the Winter 2017 issue.

### Submission Deadline: September 30, 2016

Papers/articles should be concise and not exceed 8,000 words, including an abstract of 150-200 words. Reviews of recent books by scholars of standing in their field should comprise of 1000 words.

Guidelines for Contributors are available at: [www.ipripak.org](http://www.ipripak.org)

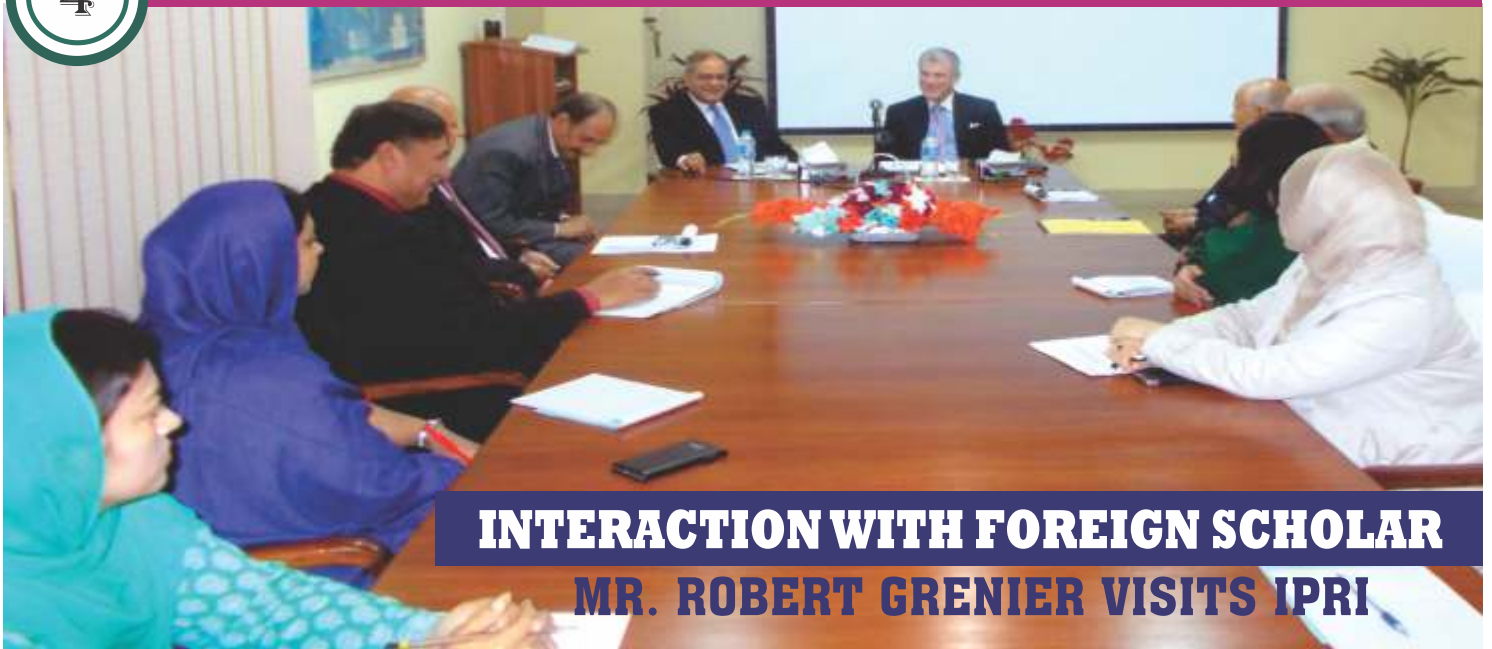
Authors are requested to submit soft copies in MS Word format, a brief bio-note as author of no more than 30 words, complete contact address (email as well as postal), telephone and fax numbers to the Editor at:

Email: [ipri.editor@gmail.com](mailto:ipri.editor@gmail.com)

Printed copies should be sent to the Institute's postal address.

**Note:** The IPRI Journal is an HEC recognised 'X' category Local Journal for Social Sciences.





## INTERACTION WITH FOREIGN SCHOLAR MR. ROBERT GRENIER VISITS IPRI

On March 11, 2016, Mr. Robert Grenier visited IPRI. President IPRI welcomed him. After brief introduction, the discussion started with two presentations given by IPRI scholars.

Mr. Khalid Chandio, Research Officer IPRI, gave presentation on Pakistan-US Relations. He began his presentation with the historical overview and stated that throughout Pakistan's history, the two countries have gone from an uneasy alignment to nearly a complete detachment, to re-alignment, then to renewed sanctions, and now back to alliance. Mr. Chandio said that Pakistan values its relationship with the US. The Pak-US ties should not be marred with suspicion and mistrust. Pakistan expects the US to understand its security concerns. The current US engagement with Pakistan is primarily focused on GWOT. The strategic dialogue should enhance Pak-US bilateral engagement and co-operation in the fields of education, agriculture, technology, energy, and economy.

Ms. Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research Officer IPRI, gave presentation on, "Developments in Afghanistan: Pakistan's Perspective". She said that being a neighbouring state, peace and stability in Afghanistan was important for Pakistan. After the fall of Kunduz, there were serious concerns about the security capability of ANSF. The political transition has resulted in the formation of a unity government in Afghanistan where different ethnic factions have been given representation. However, the political transition would remain inconclusive unless the intra-Afghan reconciliation takes place. While talking about the peace talks, Ms. Zulfqar said that Pakistan would continue its efforts for the success of peace talks. The death of Mullah Omer

has created a division within the Taliban, one who favour the talks and others who oppose the process of reconciliation which is creating hurdle in the negotiating process.

Despite counter-terrorism cooperation Afghanistan and Pakistan, recurrent incidents of terrorism create mistrust between them. The main reason for this has been the ineffective border management by the Afghan National Security Force (ANSF). Indian influence in Afghanistan is detrimental to the security in Pakistan. Both states need to address the mutual concerns regarding all contentious issues including terrorism. The stability in Afghanistan is essential for the development of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline projects and Central Asia-South Asia (CASA-1000) that would connect Pakistan to other regions and would also address the energy requirements of Pakistan.

After the presentations, Mr. Robert Grenier discussed the role of the US in Afghanistan and the evolving situation in Afghanistan. He said that when the US began hostilities in Afghanistan immediately in the aftermath of the 9/11, the US objective was political and not military one. The US was focused on the peace, governance and stability in Afghanistan and to keep Afghanistan safe from continuing as a haven for the international terrorists. The US wanted a political dispensation in Afghanistan that would reject the international terrorists and keep the country safe from being used as a base for terrorism in the region. In the initial days, the US tried to convince Mullah Omer and rest of the Taliban leadership to change their policy with regard to Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, but

they refused.

Having failed to convince the Taliban, the US tried to come up with some alternative political dispensation inside Afghanistan. The US primarily focused on the pitfalls of the past. The US knew well about the Soviet experience of the 20th century and the British experience of the 19th century and did not want to repeat this experience in the 21st century. It was important for the US to make it clear to Afghans that the US was not simply invading their country with the intention of occupying their country. The US therefore kept its military presence very small to show that the US was not seeking permanent military bases in Afghanistan. The US, was not coming for its own sake but to support the genuine Afghans who wanted their country not to be used as safe havens by the terrorists.

In 2006, the US was beginning to get an impression that the Taliban were beginning to re-assert themselves in significant parts of Afghanistan. The Afghan government was not up to the task and was unable to organize their security forces. This created space for the Taliban. Therefore, the US and the international community had practically taken over the governance in Afghanistan. The US had deployed 100,000 troops with additional 40,000 from NATO and was spending hundred billion dollars a year on this effort. The US hoped that if US would take lead both in terms of politics and economics and reform their ministries, eventually the Afghan would come and take over but they never showed up. Hence, the Obama Administration became unwilling to continue to spend these resources for an indefinite period of time. This led to substantial American withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014.

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## REVIEW MEETING

# US REBALANCING POLICY TOWARDS ASIA

Mr. Khalid Chandio, Research Officer, IPRI gave a presentation on the topic "US Rebalancing Policy towards Asia." Salient Points of his review meeting are:



- The rise of the Asia-Pacific region may prove to be one of the transformative geo-political shifts of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.
- US President Obama announced a new policy of "strategic pivot" rearticulated as "rebalancing" in 2011. "Rebalancing" means that along with downsizing the presence of the US in the Middle East, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Europe and elsewhere, the US is to invest more and pay greater attention to the Asia-Pacific. In January the same year, the Pentagon published its new "strategic guidance" paper, which named the Asia-Pacific region and the Persian Gulf as the nation's two geo-strategic priorities.
- The rebalance policy intends to strengthen

economic, diplomatic, and security engagement of the US throughout the region, both bilaterally and multilaterally. This policy is also based on the need for strategic reassurance to US' partners in the region.

- The objectives of the US in its rebalancing strategy are to modernize and strengthen US alliances, develop and strengthen ties with emerging partners, support effective regional institutions, increase trade and investment and expand broad-based economic growth, ensure military presence in the region, promote democratic development, good governance, and human rights, and expand people-to-people ties.
- The Pentagon has produced the so-called "Air-Sea Battle" combat concept as a new operational doctrine in its preparation to fight a war with regional powers of the Asia Pacific.
- Meanwhile, China has adopted "March West" policy which means a shift in its attention from East Asia and rebalancing its geographical focus "westwards" from Central Asia to the Middle East.
- The US rebalance strategy mainly focuses on securitization (military side) in the region as the US wants to have "60 percent of its naval forces in the Pacific by 2020."
- China's strategy relies on the economic side. The series of economic corridors announced by China under "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) initiative are steps in that direction.
- China's close relationship with Pakistan has reaped strategic rewards. The new regime in



India under Modi has kept New Delhi focused on its confrontation with Pakistan.

- US Secretary Panetta hopes that possibly India might be acting as a "swing state" along with the US Central Command.
- Amidst these competing strategies and policies, Pakistan has to create opportunities through wise and effective diplomatic ventures.

### Recommendations

- Realpolitik provides opportunity for Pakistan to get more economic benefits from China.
- Pakistan should build stronger ties with China, US, as well as Russia, as regional peace and stability demands friendly neighbours and regional powers.

## MR. ROBERT GRENIER VISITS IPRI

*Continued from p. 4*

At present, only 9,800 US troops are stationed in Kabul performing small training missions with some counter terrorism operations.

Mr. Robert Grenier appreciated the role of Pakistan in facilitating the peace talks with Taliban. He said the main issue for the Taliban is their internal politics and internal divisions within their ranks.

In the context of peace talks with the Taliban and the practical outcome of the

negotiations, Mr. Grenier stated that although the Taliban had evolved in these years into an organization and a movement but still they were not capable enough to negotiate as a political entity for the sort of political negotiations that the US or Afghan government might anticipate. However, there were prospects of a long term interim period with a de-facto cease fire between the government and the Taliban, where both may agree not to attack the other.

Mr. Grenier concluded the discussion by stating that the US hoped that politics would find its own

course inside Afghanistan with some reforms in the Afghan Constitution. The Afghan Constitution calls for decentralizing of power. The political power must be decentralized and diffused and in that context it was possible for Taliban to hold sway in significant parts of the country and eventually to come to some sort of equilibrium. In the end, Mr. Grenier said Pakistan, the US, Russia, China and other states could help Afghans but at the end only Afghans could solve their problem and bring peace and stability to Afghanistan.





## LECTURE

# INDIA'S SECURITY OUTLOOK VIS-A-VIS INSURGENCIES AND SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS

Mr. Ashgar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI delivered a lecture on the topic, "India's security outlook vis-a-vis Insurgencies and Separatist Movements." Salient points of his lecture are:

India is the second largest country in the world in terms of population consisting of 29 provinces and seven federal units. India's internal security challenges include separatist movements, lack of concrete policies and decision making, incompetent political leadership and dual standards towards its civilains.

After partition in 1947, India had witnessed four separatist movements that included Khalistan Movement, Occupied Jammu and Kashmir Movement, North-Eastern Movements and Central Bharat Movement.

In 1956, many separatists were divided into several political groups with the support of Indian government that had resulted in more than 100 militant organizations. The continued inter-groups fighting and conflicts have created a culture of violent politics and insurgent political economy in Indian states. The separatist movements were mostly active in Assam, Arunachal Pardesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya. The growing Hindu extremism had increased Hindu-Muslim riots. Unfortunately, this Naxalite movement had taken a shape of terrorist movement and posed a great threat to internal security of India.

The Indian government and civil society had marked a distinct line between extremism across the international border and

within India which had led to spread of Naxalite movement and other separatist movements in India. Any terrorist activity that wrongfully blames Pakistan was responded to immediately while internal acts of violence by Naxalite or separatists were completely ignored, such as the Poona blast and attack on Army camp in Madhnapur (West Bengal). Although both events took place with a gap of few days but Indian government and Indian media had paid no attention to them.

Similarly, the Naxalite attacks at Pathankot and Raipur were not taken seriously. There was no immediate hope that the separatist and Naxalite movements would be controlled soon in the near future. The Naxalites are active in 20 provinces and 9 states.

Manmohan Singh had declared Naxalite movement as the biggest threat to internal security of India. In Indian society, there were different opinions regarding Naxalites and there were many supporters of this movement. With the development of means of communication, these Naxalite movements were developed with an image of Robinhood which had raised the morale of Naxalite workers.

According to Hindustan Times, the Naxalites movement had an objective of dividing India into seven parts. The former RAW head, Bee Raman had said that the face of India looked bright but underneath India is a backward country with lack of basic necessities such as health, education and food and Naxalite movement was growing because of these factors.

The growing Hindu extremism had increased sense of discrimination and lack of security among religious minorities, depriving Dalits of their basic rights on the basis of their low caste, miserable condition of backward section of society, hawkish and aggressive policy of India with other regional countries, increase in the defence budget, rise of suicide ratio due to

increased frustration in Indian nation due to lack of education, health and employment facilities, involvement in the regional arms race and spending resources on developing conventional and non-conventional weapons, political grouping in civil society and bureaucracy and rise in corruption and misgovernance due to formation of two power centres one in 2004-2014 between Manmohan Singh and Sonia Gandhi (2004-2014) and now between Modi and RSS head, Mohan Bhagwat (2014-2016).

India is facing many internal and external security challenges. Democracy plays an important role in crushing such movements but Indian democracy had not been effective in this regard. Indian bureaucracy had been badly politicized and was a major factor for the increased discrimination among masses on grounds of religion, language, ethnicity, etc. The BJP support for these movements has added a new dimension to these separatist movements in India. At the same time, politics on the basis of ethnicity and religion was growing in many parts of India and even in educational institutions such as Jawaharlal Nehru University, Aligarh University, Central University Hyderabad Deccan and Jadupur University, West Bengal, etc. Many extremist campaigns such as Bahu Lao Beti Bachao, Ghar Wapsi, Love Jihad, etc. have added life to these Naxalite movements.

There is an utmost need that India should look into the matter and address the issues of separatism and extremism and control the Naxalite/separatist movements. International community should also pay more attention towards these movements in India, because these movements could have direct implications on the security of South Asia.

## UPCOMING TWO DAY INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

### Evolving Situation in Afghanistan: Role of Major Powers and Regional Countries

#### Concept Note

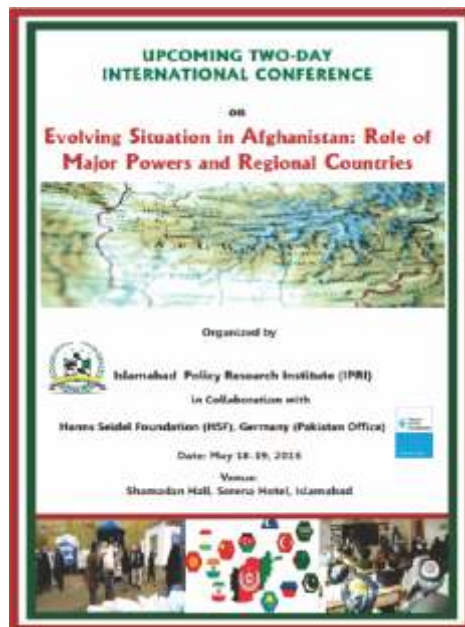
The UN Security Council Resolution 1368 unanimously adopted on September 12, 2001 condemned the September 11 attacks on the United States and called on "all countries to cooperate in bringing the perpetrators, organisers and sponsors of the attacks to justice and that those responsible for supporting or harbouring the perpetrators, organisers and sponsors would be held accountable". The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was established in 2001 for this purpose and Pakistan assisted this force by providing land and air passage to facilitate the ISAF. Later on, NATO overtook the command of ISAF and Pakistan was also declared a major Non-NATO ally by the Bush Administration. In the process of the US-led war against terrorism, Pakistan rendered huge sacrifices in terms of human casualties and economic losses. According to report titled "War Related Death, Injury, and Displacement in Afghanistan and Pakistan 2001-2014" issued by the Costs of War Project at Brown University's Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, at least 21,500 civilians were killed in Pakistan between 2001 and 2014. Pakistan has also suffered a total loss of \$107 billion during these last 14 years as a result of the war on terror with \$4.53 billion loss in the outgoing fiscal year, according to the Pakistan Economic Survey 2014-15.

President Bush had declared that the US had strategic interests and moral responsibility towards a stable and secure Afghanistan. Later as a part of US counter terrorism strategy, President Obama came up with a more pragmatic and limited mission for Afghanistan i.e. "to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qaeda and its safe havens in the border regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan." Now, Osama Bin Laden is dead and Aymen al-Zawahiri led international Jihad of al-Qaeda has been considerably weakened in Afghanistan and they have shifted their focus towards Middle East. Afghanistan, as a state remains structurally weak and chronically dependent on outside support in military, political and economic terms. The death of Mullah Omar has led to a struggle for power within the ranks of the Taliban. The new leader Mullah Akhtar Mansoor does not command overall authority like Mullah Omar and splinter groups have emerged within the Taliban. This has made the peace process more complicated as the smaller groups of the Taliban are now joining hands with the ISIS to counter the Taliban headed by Mullah Mansoor. The Pentagon has warned recently that the ISIS is "operationally active" in Afghanistan and is fighting the Taliban for the establishment of a safe haven for itself. Afghanistan after 15 years of counter terrorism operations still remains vulnerable to terrorism.

After the withdrawal of the US forces, Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) do not have the capacity to provide adequate

security, at least in the short term. There are weaknesses in the ANSF, which make them dependent on operational support of foreign forces. The takeover of Kunduz in 2015 by the Taliban manifested their vulnerabilities. In the face of new threats like emergence of the ISIS etc., the ANSF will continue to depend upon external support; in financial and training terms. In its current shape, it would be unrealistic to expect the ANSF to pressurize the Taliban and inflict unbearable losses on them; to bring the latter to the negotiating table.

Militarily, Pakistan's Operation Zarb-i-Azb to root out terrorists and their sanctuaries in FATA is a success. However, the cooperation of Afghanistan is essential to



eliminate the Pakistani Taliban's safe havens there. It is imperative for the two nations to make coordinated efforts to fight terrorism.

Being a major stakeholder in Afghanistan's peace and stability, Pakistan has been supportive of an Afghan owned and Afghan led peace process with the Taliban. Stability in Afghanistan is necessary for economic development of both the countries. The success of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) also depends, inter alia, on a stable security situation in Afghanistan. A peaceful Afghanistan can ensure regional stability and economic integration.

Like Pakistan, major world powers and the regional countries also have stakes in the peace and stability of Afghanistan. In this regard, the on-going efforts of the US, Afghanistan, Pakistan and China are encouraging. The mutually supportive policies of the major powers and the regional countries will be required to achieve the goal of peace and stability in

Afghanistan.

In this Context Islamabad Policy Research Institute and Hanss Seidel Foundation is organizing a two day International Conference, to highlight the existing challenges to Afghanistan's security and stability, and suggest viable options for Pakistan and other stakeholders. Speakers have been invited from academia, media and policy making spheres. To have balanced discussions, special emphasis is made on having a fair and international outlook of the conference both in terms of the speakers and the themes to be debated.

The major themes and subthemes for the speakers are:

- An Overview of Afghanistan's Situation
  - Conceptualization of Peace and Framework for Reconciliation in Afghanistan
  - Current Security Situation in Afghanistan: ANSF and Emerging Challenges
  - Socio-Economic Problems of Afghanistan: Minimizing the Human Cost of War
- South Asia's Security Concerns in Afghanistan
  - The Spillover Effects of Afghanistan's Instability on Pakistan
  - Understanding India-Afghanistan Engagement
  - Progress and Prospects of Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process
- Transnational Security Problems and Neighbouring Regions
  - Stakes and Role of Saudi Arabia in Afghanistan
  - Niches of Iranian Engagement in Afghanistan
  - Multi-faceted Linkages between Afghanistan and Central Asian States
- Stakes and Role of States Assisting Peace in Afghanistan
  - United States' Troop Withdrawal and Commitment to the Stability of Afghanistan
  - Russia's Interest and Potential to Contribute in Peace and Reconciliation of Afghanistan
  - China's Afghan Diplomacy and Objectives

Participants interested in attending the conference may contact:

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## ARTICLES BY OUR SCHOLARS

**Col (R) Muhammad Hanif,**  
Research Fellow  
"Peace, Security in South Asia"  
(Pakistan Observer)



**Asghar Ali Shad,**  
Research Fellow  
"Khwateen Day Aur Bharti  
Tazadaat!"  
(Nawa-i-Waqt)  
"Soft Image-- Pak Bharat  
Mouazna!"  
(Nawa i-Waqt)



"Water day, Aabi Deshatgard Kon--?"  
(Daily Pakistan)  
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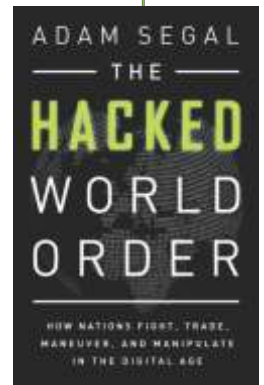
### The Hacked World Order: How Nations Fight, Trade, Maneuver, & Manipulate in the Digital Age

For more than three hundred years, the world wrestled with conflicts that arose between nation-states. Nation-states wielded military force, financial pressure, and diplomatic persuasion to create "world

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order." Even after the end of the Cold War, the elements comprising world order remained essentially unchanged. But 2012 marked a transformation in geopolitics and the tactics of both the established powers and smaller entities looking to challenge the international community. That year, the US government revealed its involvement in Operation "Olympic Games"; other states also conducted massive cyber-espionage

operations; and the world split over the governance of the Internet. Cyber conflict is hard to track, often delivered by proxies, and has outcomes that are hard to gauge. It demands that the rules of engagement be completely reworked and all the old niceties of diplomacy be recast. In this book, cybersecurity expert Adam Segal reveals, power has been well and truly hacked.



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