



Islamabad Policy Research Institute



NEWSLETTER

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

November 2016, Vol. 4, No. 11

Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in South Asia: Incentives and Constraints



A two-day international conference on “Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in South Asia: Incentives and Constraints” was organized by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) in collaboration with the Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF) on November 22-23, 2016 at Serena Hotel, Islamabad. Twelve eminent scholars from Pakistan and abroad (Afghanistan, China, Nepal, France and Sri Lanka) participated in the conference. The objective of the conference was to discuss regional perspectives on strengthening peace and cooperation

in South Asia by highlighting incentives and constraints and suggesting a way forward. The Conference focused on following themes:

- Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in South Asia: Regional Perspectives
- Incentives for Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in South Asia
- Imperatives of Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in South

Asia

- Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in South Asia: A Way Forward

Mr. Sartaj Aziz, Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was the Chief Guest at the inaugural session. The concluding session was chaired by Sardar Masood Khan, President, Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Muzaffarabad, Government of AJ&K.

Following are the salient points of the Conference:

- Ms Dayani Panagoda (Sri Lanka) identified the emergence of China as a trading giant and the rise of economic importance of India, North Korea and Japan as revolutionary changes in the world order which are causing global economic shifts from West to East. Thus, politically creating a shift from uni-polarity to multi-polarity. She stressed that South Asia should be poised to reap the harvest of these global shifts in a positive tone.

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ARTICLES:

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- U.S. Aid to Pakistan during the Tenures of Democrat and Republican Administrations - Dr Murad Ali
 - Strategic Significance of Indo-Israel Defence Collaboration: Implications for

Pakistan's Security - Masood ur Rehman Khattak

- AKP and the Idea of the Turkish Model (2002-14): A Longitudinal Analysis - Dr Fatima Sajjad and Dr Umbreen Javaid
- The Changing Nature of Threat Perception in GCC States: A Domestic Level Analysis - M. Umar Abbasi
- U.S.A. versus 'Them': Fomenting an Enemy for the Hegemonic Discourse - Zahid Mehmood Zahid
- Soft Power and its Efficacy: A Case Study of Pakistan - Dr Hassan Jalil Shah, Qaiser Ajmal Khattak and Dr Saman Attiq



Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in

Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in South Asia: Incentives and Constraints



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- Dr Moonis Ahmar said that the challenge of peace and cooperation in South Asia can only be met if the South Asian countries unite and focus on issues which are critical in nature. He suggested that an innovative approach based on respect of sovereignty, territorial integrity, focus on human and social development can go a long way in guaranteeing regional peace and augment the process of meaningful regional cooperation.
- Brigadier General Dharma Bahadur Baniya (Nepal) said that South Asia is going through a phase of economic transformation from low to high growth, but persistent shortage of energy has been a major factor in restricting the region's rapid upward trajectory. He emphasized that countries in the region could benefit significantly only by strengthening the mechanism of energy cooperation through improved intra-regional connectivity. Therefore, deeper cooperation supported by strong political will and consensus based regulatory mechanism will strengthen energy security, reduce costs, adopt clean energy sources and meet the energy requirement for peace, development and cooperation in South Asian nations.
- Dr Syed Muhammad Ali emphasized the need to have a balanced US approach to maintain strategic stability in the region. He said that the level of Pak-US counter-terrorism cooperation and Indo-US conventional and strategic cooperation should be reviewed and rationalized. He suggested initiation of nuclear CBMs between two states such as pre-notification of cruise missile launches, South Asian PAROS and South Asian ABM treaty.
- Dr Huang Ying (China) highlighted that OBOR is the initiative that includes a network of six corridors and Pakistan-China Economic Corridor is one of these corridors. She said that China alone cannot complete the OBOR but needs the collaboration of neighboring states.
- Dr Khalida Ghaus highlighted that South Asian countries need to develop sustainable development strategy. She said that people have distrust about their governments regarding human security but it is the absence of effective mechanism, finances and institutional framework that create problems. She said that despite low social indicators, poverty, bad governance, unemployment there has been talk of interdependence and regional connectivity.
- Dr Muhammad Khan said that the Kashmir dispute holds the key to peace and stability in South Asia. He explained that Pak-India relations are marred with acute distrust and Kashmir dispute has remained to be the primary cause. Resolution of Kashmir dispute calls for visionary statesmanship both in India and Pakistan and consistent efforts of the International community.
- Afghan speaker, Dr Attaullah Wahidyar said that Afghanistan is the heart of Asia and sustainable peace in South Asia cannot be possible without peace in Afghanistan. For peace in Afghanistan, all regional

leadership will have to create political space by putting an end to the blame-game.

- Dr Manzoor Ahmad Naazer said that economic cooperation, trade liberalization and market integration is desirable as it can help yield various economic and political benefits. However, in case of South Asia in general and India-Pakistan in particular, trade cooperation has been a controversial issue. Pakistan has been generally apprehensive of free trade with India due to various reasons such as prevalence of trade barriers, security issues and lack of level playing field.
- Mr Muhammad Nafees Zakaria said that Pakistan-India rivalry has remained the main obstacle in exploiting the potential of this resource rich region. Despite taking confidence building measures to check escalation of tensions in their bilateral relations, the Kashmir dispute a legacy of British colonial rule and a root cause of adversity in Pakistan-India relations still persists. He said that probability of CBM's yielding results towards betterment in relations is subject more to the political will than its implementation.
- Dr Severine Minot said that major powers are the stakeholders governing the global finance and military-industrial apparatus among other major industries. These stakeholders exert tremendous power on all nation states, and specifically on the articulation of international policy. Pakistan and India need to put their houses in order and move past the legacy of antagonism.
- Dr Shabir Ahmed said that regionalism develops inter-dependence and increases cost of disengagement for all states. SAARC and SCO in particular provide enormous opportunities for the region of South Asia to be regionalized. The presence of China and Russia in SCO can be an integral factor for Pakistan and India in resolving their disputes under the forum of SCO. He said that it is unfortunate that SAARC since its inception has failed in stimulating regional security cooperation.

Recommendations:

- The challenges to peace and security in South Asia are multifaceted and transnational in nature. SAARC as a regional body must work to enhance economic and social cooperation among the regional states. For the greater good of the region, political issues should not be allowed to derail the SAARC summits. The challenges in South Asia can only be met with cooperation amongst the regional countries with special emphasis on issues of core concern. The region needs a sustainable conflict resolution mechanism based on respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states.
- The nature of security issues in South Asia requires special focus on institution building, structural reforms and establishment of processes for promoting regional cooperation. All regional states must come forward and work towards regional peace and common security. Security issues such as piracy, human and

SESSION-I



Session Chair
Amb (R) Inam-ul-Haque



Ms. Dayani Panagoda



Dr. Moonis Ahmer



Brig. Gen. Dharma Baniya

SESSION-II



Session Chair
Dr. M. Bilal Khan



Syed Muhammad Ali



Dr. Huang Ying



Dr. Khalida Ghaus

South Asia: Incentives and Constraints

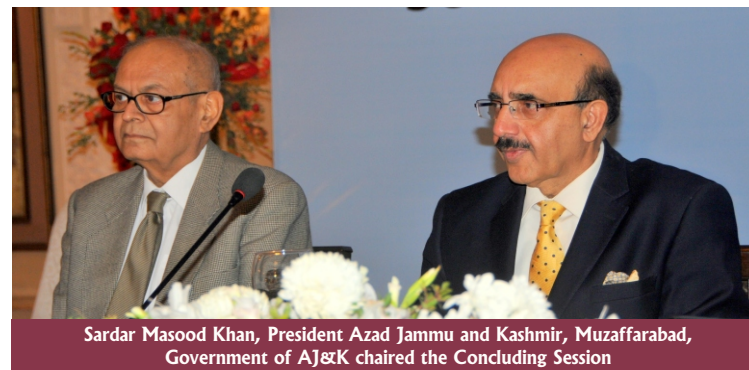
narcotic trafficking, arms proliferation and terrorism must be tackled through cooperation, information sharing and developing a common understanding on these issues.

- Kashmir dispute is central to Indo-Pak relations. The apathy of international community towards the high handedness and gross human rights violations by the Indian security forces in Kashmir is regrettable. There is a need to prick the conscience of the international community towards the human rights violation. There must be a Kashmir project with an aim to highlight the suffering of the Kashmiri people throughout the world.
- Role of any organization or a country as mediator or facilitator should be accepted by India and Pakistan for the resolution of contentious issues such as Kashmir and water issues. SCO or China and Russia together have the potential to play a mediatory role for peace and stability in South Asia.
- Any act of terrorism should not be allowed to derail the process of peace efforts or bilateral dialogues between India and Pakistan. India and Pakistan should jointly develop mechanisms that could help to enhance cooperation and communication during a crisis so that the political leadership has options available to them during a crisis situation to discuss and redress each other's concerns rather than to cut off the dialogue process for political expediency.
- Revival of Indo-Pak bilateral dialogue without any preconditions, on arms control and crisis management is urgently needed.
- South Asia is amongst world's most backward regions in terms of socio-economic indicators and human security. About one fifth of world's population i.e. 1 billion people reside in South Asia in the midst of most precarious conditions, without having access to basic human needs like food, quality education, health, housing, transport facilities etc. Human and social development should be the primary focus of all the South Asian states. There must be formulation of a regional sustainable development strategy under the framework of SAARC.
- Unfair distribution of resources, opportunities and intolerance against different ethnic groups and minorities encourage conflict at various levels, affecting threat perception of states. Deep rooted poverty and social backwardness provides a fertile ground for the growth of extremism and radicalization. With transnational terrorism on the surge, South Asian neighbors should actively support each other to alleviate poverty and improve social conditions of their people.
- India and Pakistan have huge untapped potential for generating energy. Any collaboration on energy could give impetus to economic growth and development in both countries and the region. Energy diplomacy can stimulate confidence building among the South Asian nations particularly between India and Pakistan, which in turn, would facilitate the multidimensional cooperation in the region.
- Most South Asian states are linked through the sea with each other and there exists a realization that development of coastal areas and establishment of sea ports can help South Asian economies. The Indian Ocean is yet another area for connectivity and engagement for SAARC countries. South Asian states must devise strategies to increase trade activities through the Indian Ocean, including shipping, financing, and banking.
- South Asian agenda for inter-connectivity must be based on, a) economic growth through trade facilitation, regional transportation and development of energy corridors, and b) enhanced cooperation to resolve issues such as compliance with product standards, visas for business community and technical staff, harmonization of licenses and permits.
- The significance of construction of economic corridors in South Asia should be duly acknowledged by all the South Asian states as these are important initiatives for regional integration and



economic development. According to some studies South Asia has the potential of US \$65 billion interregional trade, which can only be realized through trade liberalization and economic connectivity through various corridors.

- Cultural diplomacy and tourism are essential tenets of regional cooperation. Entire South Asia is gifted with seasonal variation, scenic and natural beauty. The South Asian states must develop their tourist sites through infrastructure development such as by building resorts, off-shore financial centers etc.
- People to people contacts or interaction between South Asian neighbors needs to be enhanced and notions of cooperation at different levels should be instilled in the people through cultural and academic exchanges and cooperation.
- Although Pakistan has been modestly supporting development projects in Afghanistan, however the Afghans feel that Pakistan needs to support them through public-private partnerships in education sector by constructing school, colleges and universities across Afghanistan. This will create immense goodwill between the two countries.



GUEST LECTURE

US Concern over Pakistan's Nuclear Programme and its Implications for Our National Security and Strategic Balance in South Asia

Ambassador Zamir Akram said that ever since the nuclear test by India in 1974, the focus of the world had been on preventing Pakistan from acquiring similar capability. In 1998, when India tested its nuclear weapons, Pakistan was compelled to come out of its policy of virtual or recessed deterrence, hence transforming it into credible deterrence by testing its capability. Being sanctioned from 1998-2000, India felt the pressure internationally as the US and P5 countries took the issue to UN Security Council, which put up further sanctions on both the countries. It was that critical time, which provided an opening for both India and Pakistan to reach some Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) on the nuclear issue.

The emergence of China has caused a change in the prevailing strategic balance. The impact for Pakistan of this strategic transformation has resulted in an inter-regional overlapping which aims to give, India a greater role in the region.

He further opined that this shift in strategic balance would have a definite impact over South Asia.

Under strategic partnership, the waiver India has been given would increase its capacity to produce weapons grade fissile material and therefore, the number of its nuclear weapons. As India conducted its first test in 1974, they did it clandestinely by diverting fissile



material from their civilian nuclear reactor towards weapon grade fissile material illegally. This implies that India had been producing fissile material before 1974.

On the conventional side, the Indian Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) poses a threat to the regional stability. Though India denies its existence but Pakistan is actually witnessing the acquisition and deployment of conventional capabilities against Pakistan that can make CSD work. Almost 80 percent of India's conventional deployments are positioned against Pakistan and not China. He further suggested that in response to CSD, Pakistan must work on the worst case scenarios. At the moment, Pakistan's focus is to prevent a war, for which Pakistan certainly needs to look at various options in order to assure full spectrum deterrence.



LECTURE

Issues of Domestic Politics in India

Mr. Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI, delivered a lecture on the topic of "Issues of Domestic Politics in India."

Mr. Shad began his presentation by describing the issues of domestic politics in India and said that Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) despite being an extremist party had been elected four times in India. In 1996, it came to power first time for thirteen days only. After that under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, it came to power in 1998 and ruled for thirteen months. Immediately afterwards in 1999, BJP was elected again for a period of five years. In 2014, under Narendra Modi, BJP has again

won and is a clear proof of the Hindu extremism and popularity of the prejudiced mindset in India. Whereas, in Pakistan, the situation is quite different as a religious party has never won majority votes and came to power.

Mr. Shad elaborated that targeting the Muslims is a common phenomenon in India. In order to make India, "Akhand Bharat", Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) Chief, Mohan Bhagwat and Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) Head, Pravin Togadia has asked Indian youth for ethnic cleansing of Muslims within eight years before 2021 Census in India. He said that India has also increased its defence budget and Indian defence expenditure has risen from 26% to 49% under Modi's rule. There is also an increase in the violence against Dalits and low caste Hindus in India. All these factors have contributed towards communal violence and unrest in the Indian society.

While expressing his views on the economic situation in India, Mr. Shad said that Narendra Modi's economic policies have failed and the government is unable to deliver to the



common people and unable to address their basic needs. On November 8th, 2016 the decision of Modi to ban currency notes of rupees 500 and 1000 in India has created frustration in public. When the decision was taken, around 15 lac crore rupees were in circulation and 85% of these notes have gone wasted as 65% of people in India don't have bank accounts. The people in rural and urban areas in India are struggling to deposit these notes but Modi has allowed withdrawal of rupees 1000 only from the ATM, which has added to their woes. Hence, the Modi government had to extend 15 days to deal with the economic and political instability at domestic level.

Mr. Shad said that according to the reports and economists in India, there is a poor tax return system in India. The business community and politicians have kept around 50 to 80 lakh crore in foreign banks. Only 5 crore people have returned tax in the last fiscal year in India that comprises only 4% of the total population in India. According to an analysis, 3 lakh crore people out of 15 lakh crore in India are involved in black money business. Modi has pledged to bring black money back to poor Indians and help them improve their quality of life. But these promises have not realized yet and have disappointed the masses.

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INTERACTION WITH FOREIGN DELEGATIONS

RUSI Delegation Visits IPRI



A RUSI delegation headed by Raffaello Pantucci visited Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) on November 09, 2016. Mr. Raffaello Pantucci was accompanied by Sarah Lain, Research Fellow, Russia & Eurasian Studies, RUSI, Dr. Jenny Jiangheng, Vice Director, Beijing New-Century Academy on Transnational Corporations, Ministry of Commerce, China and Ms. Yang Chao, Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Commerce, China. The delegation was visiting Pakistan on the invitation extended by Pak-China Institute, Islamabad. The meeting primarily discussed CPEC and the dividends associated with it.

A comprehensive presentation on CPEC was given by Mr. Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow, IPRI. As part of the presentation, he discussed the changing nature of international politics from geo-strategic to geo-economics and CPEC being part of this reality. He said that the first convoy of 100 Chinese containers arrived at the Sust dryport in Hunza on October 31, 2016, of which 60 containers had already reached Quetta by November 09, 2016. He reiterated that CPEC would act as a catalyst for economic integration by linking South, Central and Western Asia.

On the question of progress, it was mentioned that the CPEC project is divided into different phases and currently the emphasis is on building energy and industrial infrastructure. They also emphasized that CPEC is a mega project and will show results incrementally.

While discussing the role of regional countries in CPEC, it was highlighted that China and Pakistan have made it abundantly clear that they would welcome participation of all countries in the project in the form of investments and joint ventures. Many countries such as Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey, amongst others, have shown interest in the CPEC which has taken a promising start.

Talking about the potential of the CPEC, it was explained that the project is a manifestation of Pak-China trust. China has immense experience in handling mega projects which would further improve confidence of potential investors. The project would help in improving Pakistan's competitiveness in the global market and help producing value-added products.

On a concluding note, it was said that China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a project based on trust between Pakistan and China. The project will create

strategic inter-dependence between both the countries. Security has improved significantly as a result of Operation Zarb-e-Azab which would be conducive for building confidence of foreign investors.

British Delegation Visits IPRI

Mr. Anthony Stanley, Head of External and Prosperity Team, British High Commission, Islamabad, visited IPRI on November 4, 2016. The prime focus of the meeting was to discuss Pakistan's foreign policy, particularly Pakistan's relations with regional countries.



Regarding Pak-China relations, IPRI scholars highlighted the evolution of relations between two states that started as strategic relations and have now been transformed into comprehensive relations. He was apprised that bilateral relations between the two states are based on mutual trust and confidence with both states taking care of each other's sensitivities. In the post-Cold War era, economic relations as well as people to people contacts were given due consideration. Initially, the pace of progress remained slow and socio-economic dimension of the relations could not gain momentum but now it has gathered pace.

Similarly, the Chinese Universities have become an important destination for Pakistani students for the immense opportunities. Moreover, Pakistan's business community has shifted its outlook eastwards for the massive economic opportunities available.

On CPEC, it was mentioned that government of Pakistan has ensured China that the security of its personnel working in Pakistan would be made foolproof by establishing a separate security division. Pakistan's security environment has improved due to operation Zarb-e-Azb.

Issues of Domestic Politics in India

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Mr. Shad explained that the economic and political failures are the major setbacks to Modi's reputation at domestic level. This decision of banning the currency notes just before elections in UP, Punjab and Uttarakhand can affect the vote bank of BJP in these states. This economic move by Modi can create political differences within BJP and result in Lok Sabha midterm elections with the formation of coalition government by Congress or other political parties.

The Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has

said that there is definitely a possibility of 2% loss in the GDP because of Modi's decision. Many Indian politician including Delhi Chief Minister Kejriwal, Rahul Gandhi, Mamta Bannerjee and others have asked Modi to take back his decision on the currency.

Conclusion

It was concluded that Pakistan should take advantage of Modi's political and economic failures at domestic level. Pakistan should focus more on the completion of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project and make efforts to strengthen its economy. Pakistan should also take steps to counter Indian designs of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan and western province such as Balochistan.

IPRI REVIEW MEETING

Pakistan-India Relations under Modi's Administration

Ms. Aymen Ijaz, Assistant Research Officer, delivered a presentation on the topic of "Pakistan-India relations under Modi's Administration."

Following are the salient points of her review meeting:



- Pakistan and India relations have been overshadowed by political differences, historical legacy of pre-partition phase, disputed territorial claims and rivalry. The last two years under Modi were particularly marked by an increase in cross border violations and aggressive statements from the Indian side. The issues of terrorism and Kashmir remained the focus of Modi's government.
- Pakistan-India relations have deteriorated as

Modi's administration has adopted hawkish, discriminatory and aggressive policies specifically towards Pakistan and the Muslims within India and in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). Modi's personality is based on Hindutva ideology with extremist and anti-Muslims/anti-Pakistan mindset.

- Modi's administration has stepped up its brutal policies against Muslims in IOK by employing about 700,000 security forces personnel coupled with curfew, crackdowns and use of pellet guns, in the name of fighting terrorism. Of late, Modi's administration has adopted a strategy of isolating Pakistan at regional and global levels.
- The security situation has worsened in IOK with an increase in Indian atrocities and HR violations under BJP administration. The incidents of terrorism and India's covert involvement in Balochistan insurgency has also been confirmed by the confessions of Indian spy, Kulbhashan Yadav, recently arrested from Balochistan. The recent false Indian claim of conducting surgical strikes across LoC has also added to the prevailing tensions between the two countries.
- On the economic front, no major breakthrough has been made in Pakistan-India trade relations from 2014-2016. There has been regular suspension of trade through Wagah-Attari border and across the Line of Control (LoC) due to security concerns and escalating tensions. Although there were statements from Indian side regarding revocation of MFN status to Pakistan but so far no formal announcement for the disruption of economic ties has been made. Modi's administration also threatened to suspend Indus Water Commission talks and to expedite work on hydropower projects to mount pressure on Pakistan.



- Under Modi's administration, there have been almost no effective confidence building measures (CBMs) signed between Pakistan and India, except those agreed upon by Border Security Force (BSF) of India and Pakistan Rangers to put an end to ceasefire violations along the LoC which were constantly violated. There was a proposal to resume a structured dialogue in December 2015. Moreover, a proposal was given by Pakistan in August 2016 to promote restraint and responsibility in South Asia and simultaneous adherence to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) to which India never responded.
- Currently, there is an impasse and complete deadlock in Pakistan-India relations. The existing mistrust between the two countries indicates that it will be difficult to hold a result oriented bilateral dialogue in the near future.

Conclusion

The overall analysis of Pakistan-India relations under Modi's administration indicates that in the near future no significant improvement in bilateral relations is expected. Modi's adamant and rigid approach towards Pakistan, discriminatory policies towards Muslims in Kashmir and his extremist mindset have added to trust deficit, insecurity and misunderstandings between the two countries, which need to be addressed. It is high time that Modi must review his hard and hawkish approach towards Pakistan and should work to create a balanced, peaceful environment for co-existence and for improvement in bilateral relations.

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 "Opportunity for Afghan peace" (The Nation)



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Research Fellow
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Saman Zulfqar,
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 "Afghanistan: talking about the talks" (Daily Times)
 "US: On the way to transition" (Pakistan Observer)

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Khalid Chandio,
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 "Minorities of India!"
 (Pakistan Observer)



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 "CPEC and Gansu" (Daily Times)



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Call for Papers IPRI Journal Summer 2017

The IPRI Journal is a biannual peer-reviewed publication of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI). It is an HEC recognised 'X' category Journal, which is Pakistan's second highest category for Social Science Journals. The objective of the Journal is to produce, foster and disseminate research, policies and ideas, primarily from Pakistan and the Global South, from the fields related to Social Sciences and International Affairs. Research scholars are invited to submit **original, unpublished** articles and book reviews for the Summer 2017 Issue.

Submission Deadline: March 31, 2017

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>.

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

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