International Workshop:

“Kashmir: Looking Beyond the Peril”

(NDU Islamabad: 27-28 January 2014)

RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

Institute for Strategic Studies; Research and Analysis (ISSRA)
National Defence University
Islamabad
International Workshop:

“Kashmir: Looking Beyond the Peril”

(NDU Islamabad: 27-28 January 2014)

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This compilation is based on inputs made by a team of rapporteurs headed by Dr. Shaheen Akhtar. The team included Lt Col Manzoor Ahmed Abbassi (ISSRA), Ms. Asma Shakir Khwaja (PCS-FCS), Ms. Maria Effandi (PCS-FCS), Ms. Arshi Saleem Hashmi (PCS-FCS), Ms. Nargis Zahra (IR-FCS), Lt Col Muhammad Rafique (ISSRA) and Dr. Rizwana Abassi (SNS-FCS). The editorial team included Research Associates Mr. Muhammad Shabbir and Ms Beenish Sultan.
INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP:
“KASHMIR: LOOKING BEYOND THE PERIL”

POST WORKSHOP REPORT

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Foreword

More than six and a half decade have passed since Kashmir was first debated at the United Nations and Kashmiri people were promised the right to decide their destiny. The dispute continues to elude a solution while the nation-states in the region have journeyed through spells of war and of ‘no war, no peace’. The disputed state continues to unfold popular eruptions. It remains a critical barrier in the normalization of inter-state relations in South Asia, hampering the region’s move towards sustainable security and greater economic growth. The centrality of Kashmir dispute in the security matrix of South Asia can be gauged from the impact of human dynamics over the broader regional environment and no less important, from the nuclearization of the region.

A two-day international workshop on Kashmir (NDU: 27-28 January) was a welcome opportunity for us to assemble a galaxy of scholars and policy-relevant experts and to deliberate upon the issue in a conflict transformation mode. It was a well-timed initiative as the South Asian region is witnessing important transitions. Our energies were thus converged on search for a constructive approach to move forward and look beyond Kashmir’s current peril.

I commend the efforts of all those who converged to this deliberative forum and made scholarly inputs on various aspects of the issue. I also laud the efforts of ISSRA and its organizing team whose hard work and dedication made the workshop successful.

Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal
President National Defence University (NDU)
April 2014
The two-day international workshop on “Kashmir: looking beyond the peril”, held at our campus on 27-28 January, reconfirmed the centrality Kashmir issue for the peace and security in South Asian region and beyond, and for the region’s economic growth. The exercise also flagged the overriding significance of human dynamics in the unresolved situation and of nuclearization as an imperative for peace. Needless to say, that an amicable solution of Kashmir dispute, consistent with the Kashmiri people’s aspirations holds key to a way forward.

The deliberations on our campus unfolded a diversity of views though all converging that human dynamics of the disputed state have an inevitable impact on the regional environment and therefore, cannot be side-tracked while emphasizing the need for economic growth and nuclear responsibility. In this backdrop, the deliberations crystallized new ideas and flagged the importance of innovative approaches to build structures of peace.

This compilation is a summary record of two days’ workshop held at NDU campus. It also carries major findings of the exercise. It is my earnest hope that this will be the one more stimulant for a constructive discussion on various aspects of the issue and serve as a useful reference material for us all.

Major General Noel I. Khokhar
Director General,
Institute for Strategic Studies; Research and Analysis (ISSRA)
March 2014
International Workshop:
“KASHMIR: LOOKING BEYOND THE PERIL”

(NDU Islamabad: 27-28 January 2014)

A two-day international workshop on Kashmir: Looking beyond the Peril was organized by NDU on 27-28 January 2014. The main focus of the workshop was to revisit various dimensions of Kashmir dispute from conflict transformation perspective and locate the primacy of rights of people in the resolution process. It was participated by leading international and national scholars and experts.

The workshop comprised of three plenaries and four breakout academic sessions. The plenaries covered: ‘the nature of Kashmir dispute: human dynamics vs territoriality’; ‘quest for sustainable peace in South Asia: a review in the backdrop of people’s aspirations, nuclear responsibility and economic growth’; and ‘approaches to unknotted the issue’. The four academic sessions run in parallel focused on ‘CBMs and beyond’; ‘nontraditional security challenges’; ‘Kashmir: abridge for economic rejuvenation’ and the role of ‘media in Kashmir conflict’. The work plan (Annex A) catered for an exhaustive interactive discussion in each session.

The deliberations were enriching and free from rhetoric. The exercise catered for diversity of views while retaining focus on our principled position to uphold Kashmiri people’s right to self determination.

THEMATIC FOCUS

The two-day deliberative exercise rested upon premise that Kashmir remains a critical factor in the way of achieving sustainable peace and harmony in South Asia. The unresolved dispute runs in tandem with a nuclearized environment and therefore, serves as a warner against any flashpoint. The one-fifth of humanity living in this region has long awaited a conflict-free setting that would move the wheel of economic growth and bring prosperity. Concurrently however, the unresolved situation relates to Kashmiri people’s right to make a choice about their own destiny and therefore, human dynamics play a central role in the triangle. In a nutshell, a sustainable solution must rest upon acknowledgement of Kashmiri people’s primacy and their participation in the peace process.

PARTICIPATION & PROFILE
The workshop was serviced by a galaxy of experts and scholars from home and abroad. A complete list of chairs (five) and speakers/presenters (eighteen) is placed at Annex B. This also carries their profiles and abstracts.

The participants from abroad included experts/scholars from across the globe including China, Turkey, Qatar, UK, US, Australia and India. Besides, three scholars from Indian side of Jammu and Kashmir participated in the workshop.

The workshop was a mega event from the standpoint of participation (a turnout of 500 people at one time) from a cross section of academia, civil society, political figures, diplomats, course participants and students. This evoked considerable interest and coverage in the Indian media. However, compared with the scale and quality of the endeavor, our national media gave scanty and rather ineffective attention to the event.

**DELIBERATIONS: A SUMMARY**

Three plenaries over two-day deliberations were geared in a sequential order, ranging from genesis of the dispute to the imperatives for a constructive and responsible change. From these two keys, the discussion moved towards possible approaches for unknottyng the dispute. On the sidelines, there was an expert treatment of academic issues run in four parallel sessions.

The re-visitation of various dimensions of Kashmir dispute over two-days, carried an accent on the primacy of Kashmiri people as the principal party in the triangle. It was argued that genesis of the dispute rested upon people’s right to make a choice and thus human dynamics, not territorility, remained at the core of the unresolved situation and its fallout on the broader region. Kashmir therefore, remains a critical factor in the way of achieving sustainable peace. A solution that would last must therefore, rest upon acknowledgement of native people’s aspirations and their participation in the peace process.

In regard to imperatives for a change, it was argued that war is no more an option for either India or Pakistan in the way of a settlement. The contemporary issues in South Asia relate to nuclear responsibility and need for economic growth. However, in the absence of an effective response to Kashmiri people’s aspirations, the roots of conflict cannot be removed. The imperatives for a constructive and responsible change in the approaches are huge and so are the benefits that should flow. Nonetheless, a forward move would rest upon ability of the elites to comprehend the complexity and thus display a political will.

On the sidelines of the plenaries, the experts converged on discussion of academic issues: non-traditional security challenges, CBMs and beyond, role of media, and consideration of Kashmir as a connector rather than a point of conflict. The core points were:-
a. South Asia is faced with traditional as well as non-traditional threats due to the unresolved Kashmir issue. It has impacted on environmental degradation and human rights in the backdrop of over militarization of the region.

b. CBMs at the bilateral level will convey sense if the two states also have CBMs with the Kashmiri people. Progress on this count has been limited so far. Second, the CBMs remain important to assure minimum level of trust. However, the measure can become ineffective if not backed-up by progress on the substance.

c. The Kashmir scenario, particularly the human rights aspect, carries sufficient ground for international action. However, the Kashmiris' plight is not translated into the media images. There is an apathy in the international circles on this count. Similar neglect is now reflected in the Pakistani media's treatment of the Kashmiri situation.

d. Kashmir as a connector rather than a point of conflict, holds the promise of sustainable peace and rejuvenation of economies in the region. The two countries should find ways for moving in that direction.

Possible approaches to unknotted the issue were the mainstay of the wrap up session. Significantly, the discussion, once again, brought into the fore aspects such as peoples' right to self determination as an ‘inalienable right’, and the need to ascertain peoples ‘aspirations’. Interestingly, India's A.G.Nooreni laid a special emphasis on the 'inalienable right' to self determination while maintaining that Kashmiris' alienation with India has not subsided even though militancy was on decline. He seemed to favor a peaceful solution proximate to the earlier four-point formula put forward from Pakistan. Concurrently, the other panelist in the session, Amb Ashraf Jehangir Qazi of Pakistan held the view that Pakistan should stick to its principled stance on the UN Resolutions 'as they make it a party to the dispute', while remaining engaged in search for a solution.

The notions of ‘fatigue’ and ‘ground realities' in the way of Kashmiris’ struggle were ruled out in AJK President’s remarks in the wrap up session. The resolve for self determination remains unaltered. At this stage, one would like to see demilitarization of the state and engagement with Kashmiri people as the peace process must serve as an alternate to militancy.
FINDINGS

Findings of the deliberative exercise may be viewed with a five-fold focus:

- Firstly, Kashmiri people are at the centre stage of a triangle of conflict and therefore, ought to be viewed as the principal party in the way of a solution. The people’s right and their potential role is recognized by the United Nations and therefore cannot be diluted by any bilateral or unilateral action.

- Secondly, a sustainable solution of Kashmir dispute would rest upon acknowledgement of the primacy of native people’s voice in deciding their destiny, which may be described as an ‘inalienable right’, and their participation in the peace process. However, views do not necessarily converge on a definition of Kashmiris’ ‘aspirations’ and modalities for its ascertainment, in the absence of a plebiscite.

- Thirdly, war is not an option either for Pakistan or India in view of historical experience and the imperatives of economic growth and nuclear responsibility. Constructive approaches in keeping with the people’s aspirations would therefore be critically important. Political will and transformational leadership can bring an advance in the process.

- Fourthly, Kashmir represents a case of international neglect of the widespread human rights violations and over militarization of the habitat. The UN and related forums have failed to stop these violations and to protect the Kashmiri people. In this regard, media whether international or South Asia-based, has not played the befitting role to highlight the atrocities at a larger canvas.

- Fifthly, the unresolved Kashmir issue has hampered economic growth and regional cooperation progress in South Asia. The ability of political elites to address the issue, consistent with the people’s aspiration, holds the promise of a ‘quantum jump’.

Recommendations

- **One**, there is need to put in place a consultative mechanism that involves Kashmiris from both parts of the State along with Islamabad and Delhi. This can be a trilateral coalition for conflict resolution and peace building comprising former diplomats, media persons, academia and representatives of all political forces from both sides of the LoC. The coalition can work for building consensus within and across Jammu and Kashmir and act as a channel for engagement with Delhi and Islamabad.

- **Two**, there is a need to conduct an in-depth study, looking at the pros and cons of the UN resolutions on Kashmir and ways and means of projecting Pakistani position on that.
THEME: CONCEPT NOTE

Kashmir dispute continues to serve as a critical barrier in normalization of relations between the two neighbours and in the region’s move towards greater economic growth and prosperity. Essential ingredients of the dispute ought to be revisited in order to better appreciate the relationship between diagnosis and prescription.

Kashmir is indeed a matter of the people’s right to make a choice about their own destiny; and not a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan. A sustainable solution must, therefore, rest upon acknowledgement of the native people’s primacy and their participation in the peace process.

Kashmir holds key to securing peace and harmony in South Asia and beyond. The unresolved dispute runs in tandem with a nuclearized environment and therefore, serves as a warner against any flashpoint. The one-fifth of humanity living in this region, has long awaited a conflict-free setting that would move the wheel of economic growth and bring prosperity. It is therefore, important that scholars and experts renew search for approaches to a peaceful and viable solution, consistent with the Kashmiri people’s aspirations.

The workshop aimed at brainstorming on aspects such as; (a) human dynamics in the Kashmir situation; (b) need for a solution in the backdrop of people's aspirations, nuclear responsibility and economic growth; (c) approaches to unknotting the issue. The academic exercise was structured in concurrent breakout sessions, together with plenaries.
INAGURATION

The two-day International Workshop was unfolded in a brief inaugural ceremony on the 27th January morning. This encompassed brief introductory remarks by Maj Gen Noel I. Khokhar, DG ISSRA, welcome address by Lt Gen Javed Iqbal, President NDU, and Inaugural address by Lt Gen (R) Abdul Qadir Baloch, Federal Minister for States and Frontier Regions (SAFRON).

In his welcome remarks, President NDU observed that Kashmir remains a critical factor in achieving sustainable peace in South Asia. The one fifth of humanity living in this region has long awaited a conflict free setting that would move the wheel of economic growth and prosperity. It is not a territorial dispute but a matter of the people’s right to make a choice about their own destiny. A sustainable solution must, therefore, rest upon acknowledgement of the native people’s primacy and their participation in the peace process.

The chief guest while delivering his inaugural address, observed that Kashmir has emerged as a festering wound in South Asia and an obstacle in the way of the region’s economic growth and prosperity. Concurrently, the human dynamics of Kashmir scenario remain a potent reality regardless of what positions the competitors or international community would take. In fact, Kashmir is a question of human destiny involving more than eighteen million people.

In his address, the Chief Guest observed that Kashmir issue cannot be viewed in the limited prism of India Pakistan bilateralism. Kashmir is not a territorial dispute but it is a question of human destiny of the Kashmiri people who have the inherent right to decide their future by themselves. Pakistan remains committed to support the Kashmiris at political, moral and diplomatic level. We will not depart from our principled stand of seeking a solution to the Kashmir issue in accordance to the UN resolutions. We must take into consideration the human dynamics of the situation and find ways to move forward in keeping with Kashmiri people’s aspirations.
The two speakers underscored the primacy of Kashmiri people in the resolution of Kashmir conflict.

**Dr. Atiya Inayatullah:** Kashmir is not a territorial dispute, rather a question of granting inalienable legal, moral and political rights of the Kashmiri people. It is political will and transformational leaders that can bring the two countries on the same page. There is no military solution to this dispute. The Line of Control is actually the ‘line of conflict’ and therefore, the conflict should be resolved through constructive dialogue.

Kashmir is an unfinished agenda of the UN as the world body has failed to ensure the implementation of its resolutions. Arbitration and facilitation by the UN can resolve the issue. We must adopt a democratic approach to reach to the Kashmiri people who are the most disadvantaged party. Media and human rights organizations need to play their effective role in ensuring provision of basic rights to the Kashmiris. The voice of Kashmiri women must be heard and human dimension of the conflict be addressed.

**Mr. Wadah Khanfar:** Most conflicts across the globe remain unresolved because of failure of international politics and narrow level of understanding amongst the elite. Misjudgment of the elite and vested interest of politicians has been proven time and again. The best judge of any conflict can be people and not leaders, the masses and not the elite. The collective understanding of people and their memory is much more solid to build upon rather than the short sighted judgment of the elites. The forces of the people are on the rise rather than on decline. The introduction of social media has given opportunity to people to express themselves.

Oppression only results in extremism, radicalism and the coercive measures taken by the Indian forces, are not going to evaporate Kashmir conflict. Kashmiris have deep understanding of the nature of imbroglio they face. Similarly they have the desire to play a role in the determination of their future. The geo-politics of today is not the geo-politics of 20th century. Now we cannot ignore the will of the people. Kashmiris should be given their right to lead us to the solution suitable for them. We as players at regional and international level should support them which in turn will result in economic
prosperity. The issue should therefore be resolved in a three way engagement: India, Pakistan and Kashmiri people. No solution contrary to the aspirations of the people will be durable.

In the interactive session, the discussion was around the changing context of the Kashmir conflict, aspirations of the people, UN resolutions and the ideas discussed in the back channel. It was underscored that, it is in the interest of both Pakistan and India to stop using Kashmir as a territory. Until Kashmir issue is resolved, India cannot move towards achieving its aspirations at the international level, and there will be no peace in the region. Furthermore, Kashmiri people should be given a chance to play a role in resolving the issue. For heading towards this, Kashmir must be demilitarized. Kashmiri leadership should be taken into confidence because they are legitimate partners in a tripartite solution. Media also need to go deep into the issue instead of reporting the surface level incidents. It is the need of the hour to rise and engage the people of Kashmir in the efforts to find a solution to the dispute.

Wrapping up the session, the Chair highlighted that media and civil society have become active and therefore, they should be on board while we carry search for tangible results to resolve the Kashmir issue. There is an unabated oppression in the Indian administered Kashmir as human rights are being abused and violated there. The Indian forces should stop these atrocities on Kashmiris in order to build an environment conducive to the resolution of the dispute.

The two speakers at the plenary spoke of the centrality of people’s aspirations in the resolution of Kashmir conflict that will ensure sustainable peace and economic prosperity in nuclear South Asia.

**Dr. Christopher Snedden**: India and Pakistan view Kashmir dispute from different angles. India declares Kashmir as its integral part while Pakistan demands plebiscite in Kashmir. However, there is one point of convergence between the two that there should be no independence for Kashmir. Notwithstanding the above, the Kashmiri
aspirations ought to be factored in the situation. Kashmiris were never asked what they want, actually they are the real party to the resolution of the dispute. The dispute needs to be devolved to the first party i.e. the Kashmiris which had been promised by Nehru but India failed to honor his words. Pakistan and India cannot impose any solution on the people of Kashmir. Let the ‘J&K-ites’ together and discuss what they want.

Since nuclearisation, the fear of a nuclear war overhangs Kashmir while possibility of conventional proxy war has not dissipated. Tension on the LoC must be averted and efforts should be made to bring sustainable peace to Kashmir. Over the years, Kashmiris have suffered dislocation and have become economically dependent on India and Pakistan. Though Kashmir is rich in natural resources however, they have remained untapped due to decades of conflict. An opportunity for economic development of this restive region relies on the fragile state of relations between India Pakistan. The CBMs between both nations have been limited in their scope yet have offered prospects for trade routes which could be mutually beneficial for India, Pakistan and the people of the region. Tourism prospects also loom high, with innumerable amount of shrines and temples located in the region. However such prospects are clouded by security issues.

Ambassador Inam ul Haque: ‘Asymmetry’ of power in the region is the single most significant impediment which complicates the quest for peace. India is a regional hegemonic power and holds dialogue hostage until it achieves its interests. The Kashmir issue has political and human rights dimensions which needs to be addressed. India has so far failed to suppress voice of Kashmiris despite deploying troops there. People in Kashmir continue to suffer at the hands of Indian forces. However, India could not silence the voice of Kashmiris. People of Kashmir have the right to live a free life. Countries do not leave the position if an issue is not a resolved. We have to be strong to project our stance effectively. Peace in South Asia will remain a mirage until the Kashmir dispute is resolved. Dispute settlement, strategic restraint and economic growth can lead the region towards prosperity.

While speakers emphasized the centrality of aspirations of the people, in the interactive session, there was lot of discussion on what the aspirations of the Kashmiris imply. There was a broad consensus that they could be equated with the right of self-determination. To compartmentalize the Kashmiri struggle on narratives given by India or Pakistan would negate the Kashmiri narrative, which is actually far more diverse and mandates a closer investigation into the demographic composition of the populace in contention. References were made to the UN resolutions on Kashmir that only talk about joining Indian and Pakistani state and not necessarily a separate political existence for the state. It was noted that Kashmir’s strategic significance to India to counter balance it neighbors is a prime reason for the hesitancy expressed by New Delhi in implementing resolutions pertaining to Kashmiris’ right to self-determination. UN Security Council has also been unable to diffuse conflicts since 1965, which has thwarted the process of ensuring Kashmir’s right to self-determination.

Wrapping up the session, the Chair maintained that Pakistan has not abandoned its position on Kashmir and it has been seeking the inclusion of the people of Kashmir in
the peace seeking process. Pakistan has never treated Kashmir as a real estate and there is need to move on and include the Kashmiri people in this process. Coercion will never be the solution for intractable conflicts such as Kashmir. There has been an attempt to look at different paths to determine the aspirations of the Kashmiris but it is very hard to find a new mechanism to determine the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. There is clear consensus among political parties of Pakistan about the Kashmir issue and no political leader in Pakistan contest elections by demonizing India. Regrettably that is not the case in India. Pakistan is not obsessed with India as enemy. Military is on board in making peace with neighbours. India has to reciprocate the peace loving policy of Pakistan.

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<td>CBMs and Beyond</td>
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<td><strong>Chair</strong>: Dr.Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema</td>
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<td><strong>Speaker 1</strong>: Ms Anuradha Bhasin</td>
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<td><strong>Speaker 2</strong>: Mr. Andrew Douglas Carl</td>
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<td><strong>Speaker 3</strong>: Dr. Ms Gulden Ayman</td>
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<td><strong>Speaker 4</strong>: Mr. Moeed Yousuf</td>
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Four speakers spoke on the relevance of CBMs in the resolution of Kashmir dispute, discussing efficacy of the measures already taken and in some cases, looking beyond the CBMs for a way forward.

**Ms Anuradha Bhasin**: Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) themselves do not provide solution to any issue, but these are a means to achieve more substantive outcome. It is a way for two conflicting parties to develop some level of trust to be able to move towards settlement of the issue between them. In case of the Kashmir specific CBMs; the notable CBMs were the limited mobility across the LoC to facilitate interaction between Kashmiris across the divide and the mutual ceasefire on the LoC. One cannot belittle the significance of these CBMs, but they failed to go beyond the mutual gestural pleasantries and offered limited benefits to limited number of people primarily, the divided families and the people living along the LoC. This is because the travel regime is very restrictive and there is no banking facility or telecommunication channels for trade. Further, there has never been a serious effort for inclusion of the people of the state into a peace process. If dialogue on Kashmir is to be made meaningful, it must include the people of Kashmir as well. Human element in the Kashmir dispute cannot be ignored, as excesses of the Indian government and forces
against Kashmiri people continue. Demilitarization by both state and non-state actors is a core CBM, which needs to be taken by both India and Pakistan.

**Mr. Andrew Douglas Carl:** Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are not a magic key for unlocking a conflict, but are ‘actions and processes undertaken between conflicting parties to prepare the ground for lasting conflict settlement. Conflict transformation and peace building require efforts, commitment, resources, sacrifices, and there is least required, which is used in military campaigns. This conference itself is a great example that civilians and military can reflect together on common challenges. We need to find more ways like this to share our thinking and our experiences to go through processes of analysis together. As far as India-Pakistan confidence building measures are concerned, there is a need to take measures in social, economic, and cultural areas for building mutual trust. We must be impatient to take CBMs and go beyond them.

**Ms Gulden Ayman:** Two sets of psychological factors encourage parties in general to be ready for negotiations. This includes the motivation to end the conflict and optimism about the success of negotiations. In case of Kashmir issue, the motivation to de-escalate the conflict is driven by the design to avoid nuclear confrontation between the two sides. However, in India-Pakistan relations, optimism has never been too strong to the level that they mutually proceed a better formula can be found which is just and satisfactory for both the parties. The two countries started composite dialogue in 2004 and took various confidence building measures in various fields. They provided concessions to the peoples living alongside the LoC, besides starting bus service for the divided families. These measures have brought the countries closer to an agreement on the Kashmir issue. It should be kept in mind that any solution to the Kashmir issue must be acceptable to the people of Kashmir. Both India and Pakistan must have much more sympathy to human dimension of the issue. They have showed flexibility in their attitudes, but without abandoning their respective official positions. Kashmiris who have been worst affected in the dispute have been largely ignored in the peace process. The Line of Control (LoC) needs to be softened, though it continues to remain a dividing line. There is dire need for military and economic CBMs between Pakistan and India.

**Mr. Moeed Yousuf:** argued Kashmir needs to be isolated from other issues, such as trade, and it must be taken up first. It does not mean that India leaves “occupation” of Kashmir in favor of Pakistan as per Pakistan’s stated position, but some new options can be discussed to resolve it without linking it with any other bilateral issue. Integration of Kashmir with other issue as a package hinders progress in bilateral cooperation and also in solution to the Kashmir issue. Isolate Kashmir and start the process on the lines – soft power, autonomy, and demilitarization. ‘You have a solution in the ingredients, where both sides win because you are not making LoC a permanent border, you are not giving valley to India, you are actually making borders irrelevant’. There is need to incentivize different options for the two sides. The prerequisite to resolve the issue is ‘start working about Kashmir and put Kashmiris in the center’. India, Pakistan, and Kashmiris have to come on something in which each one considers itself in winning position.
In the interactive session, Questions were raised regarding the usefulness of CBMs and isolating Kashmir from other issues. Some felt that different CBMs can prove useful in building trust between Pakistan and India, besides building confidence of the people of Kashmir. Others felt that CBMS are basically used by Indian government to dilute the issue. The real CBM in Jammu and Kashmir is repealing of draconian laws and demilitarization. And the real issue is to get India recognize that Kashmir is a dispute and not an integral part of India. Nevertheless, India and Pakistan on their own cannot decide the fate of Kashmir without involving the Kashmiris.

Wrapping up the session, Chair said, the spirit behind CBMs is realization of the sensitivity of the issue and an effort to do whatever possible can be done to move towards the solution. CBMs become successful if they achieve this objective. The spirit behind CBMs, track-II diplomacy, dialogue, and even organizing seminars is to attain peace. There are efforts at various levels to achieve the objective of resolution of the Kashmir dispute and durable peace in the region.

### Academic Session-3:

**Non-traditional Security Challenges**

**Chair:** Amb Salim Nawaz Khan Gandapur

(Substituting for Dr. Rasual Baksh Rais)

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<td>Speaker 2:</td>
<td>Dr. Muhammad Khan</td>
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<td>Speaker 3:</td>
<td>Dr. Shaheen Akhtar</td>
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Three speakers joining the discourse, spoke on various aspects of nontraditional challenges that are directly or indirectly linked with Kashmir.

**Dr. Muhammad Khan:** wide spread human rights violations are taking place in the Indian occupied Kashmir. But the tragedy is that the international community has failed to protect the Kashmiri people from the Indian brutalities. India has introduced various inhuman laws to suppress the struggle of Kashmiri people to achieve their right to self-determination. These include the Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act and the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA). These laws are being used to arrest, torture and kill innocent Kashmiri people. Kashmir is not a political issue rather it is a humanitarian issue. The UN and major powers should exert pressure on India to stop human rights violations in Kashmir and allow the Kashmiri people to decide their future by themselves in accordance to their UN resolutions.
Mr. Ejaz Haider: South Asia is facing traditional as well as non-traditional threats. The non-traditional threats require the cooperation between and among states. Counter-terrorism and sharing of Indus waters are two areas where cooperation would be required. ‘No one is interested in our official stance on Kashmir. We have to decide that whether we look it as the humanitarian issue, a territorial dispute or economic problem in term of water problem’. Water sharing with India is causing conflicts and Pakistan should think over exploring some innovative solution to the dispute. The issue is that at the time when the treaty was signed, it simply looked at the design and engineering part of the problem and not in term of ecology or the ecological system of the rivers. About sixty four different formulas have been tabled at different times and different fora both official and unofficial for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. Musharraf’s four point formula on Kashmir was a right step. Kashmiri people should have right to decide their future by themselves.

Dr. Shaheen Akhtar: the importance of the divided Kashmir remains high in the management of the Upper Indus Basin which is part of Hindu Kush-Karakorum and Himalaya (HKH) region; the source of water in this region. The major challenges to the water and environmental sustainability in the UIB are emerging from uncertainty around the melting glaciers, the degradation of Indus watershed due to deforestation, environmental degradation and pollution of water bodies. Given importance of Kashmir in UIB, cross-LoC collaboration is crucial in preserving the hydrology and ecology of the Indus basin. There is a need to monitor behavior of the glaciers and glacial lakes, and compile their inventories on regular basis to ensure effective water resources management in future. Cooperative watershed management and collaboration in disaster management is also very important for preserving the water bodies and coping with the uncertainties of climate change. A closer cross-LoC cooperation will ensure sustainability of the mountain eco-system as well as sustained supply of water both in quality and quantity in the Indus basin.

In the interactive session, main focus remained on the human rights violations in IHK and water issues between Pakistan and India. It was opined that the human rights violations need to be projected at the international level by Pakistan for which it will need adequate international support. It was pointed out that UN resolutions on Kashmir are under Chapter VI of the UN Charter which can’t be imposed. If it were under Chapter VII, things might have been different. Yet the issue should be taken up at international fora. India did not respond positively to General Musharraf’s four point’s formula. There is no immediate solution to the dispute. However, both the countries should demonstrate flexibility so that the Kashmiri people could decide their future by themselves.

Although Pakistan has more Indus catchment area but headwaters of western rivers are on the Indian side of Upper Indus Basin and are vulnerable to climate change and need
to be protected. Indus Water Treaty provides technical parameters regarding the run of river projects which should be observed by India in the construction of upstream hydropower projects. The Treaty is however silent on the environmental concerns and climatic threats that were not present in 1960. Nevertheless, in the Kishen Ganga verdict, International Court of Arbitration (ICA) observed that design of every single project which Indian want to build on the three western rivers will now be governed by environmental imperative.

Wrapping up the session, Chair observed, there is no flexibility on the part of India to find a solution to the Kashmir dispute. With the passage of time, gap between Pakistan and India has increased. International media entered in Iraq, Afghanistan but did not help or based itself in IHK where hundreds of deaths have occurred. It is also disappointing that Pakistani press and Pakistani media has not sufficiently covered Kashmir.
The three speakers spoke on the potential of Kashmir for economic rejuvenation of the State and the broader South Asian region.

**Dr. Siddiq Wahid**: the proposition that Kashmir is a potential economic rejuvenator is in question. One can argue ‘for whom’ and how Kashmir can revitalize trade and industry, presumably for itself or for disputants India and Pakistan. It is not Kashmir dispute that is holding South Asian prosperity hostage; rather it is obdurate rivalry between the two that is holding Kashmir hostage. Kashmir has become a complex problem, and we have failed to address its complexity. Kashmir, New Delhi, and Islamabad have different positions, and the issue has not yet been defined.

Kashmir problem is a mixture of historical idiosyncrasy, legal ambiguity and political inequity, and we have to address all its complexities. Several metamorphic like conflicting political ideologies, secularism vs Islam, competing ethnic identities, assertion of confessional identities and divergent economic infrastructure lead to vulnerable, intense, complex and enduring problem between India and Pakistan. The people from all parts of Kashmir should sit together in open, transparent and free atmosphere without any instruction from outside and discuss the issue. Given the complexity around Kashmir issue, there should be an effort for out of box resolution.

**Dr. LiLi**: The territorial aspect of Kashmir dispute should not be side stepped. No doubt, this involves identity and human rights problems. It is an issue, which has hampered economic progress in South Asia. Kashmir has proved as a major obstacle in regional economic cooperation. The question is how Kashmir can become economic bridge. There have been different proposals already on the table to resolve the Kashmir issue, but the issue still remains unresolved. There is no doubt in it that the issue can be resolved only through peaceful means. There should be institutionalized negotiations, which also include back-channel talks. There needs to be a crisis management system that ensures tranquility at the Line of Control. The two countries must demonstrate mutual accommodation. The economic engagement between the two countries should be promoted. Divergence in understanding the nature of the issue is the main problem,
and solution to the Kashmir dispute can be found after reaching convergence on its nature.

Dr. Ashfaque Hassan Khan: The resolution of the Kashmir issue or any movement towards solution of the Kashmir issue will improve Government to Government (G to G) relations, People to People (P to P) relations, but Business to Business (B to B) relations can only be improved when the two sides have fair opportunities and level playing field, and the business community of the either side secures interests. However, an improvement in G to G and P to P relations can lead to improvement in B to B relations. Unilateral trade liberalization has not worked and will not work vis-a-vis Pakistan-India trade relations. India needs to remove Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs) on Pakistani products, and Pakistan should give MFN status to India.

In the interactive session, there was discussion on the primacy of voice of people in the resolution of the dispute. The UN resolutions actually restrict the choices of solution. It was noted that the two states have always had a rivalry and somehow the people of Kashmir are not considered as a direct party or having their own say and the right of self- determination for themselves in the form of a separate state or joining either of the two states. The people of Kashmir feel powerless and they know that they do not have a state but they desire that they should not be ignored. The best way is to engage local people and start speaking truth. The people of Gilgit and Baltistan should be allowed to talk about AJK and the people of Indian held Kashmir should be allowed to talk about the Pakistani Kashmir. It is due to the oppression that the people of the affected regions do not feel free to discuss the issue openly and freely.

In the wrap up, the Chair underscored the importance of peace dividends in terms of economic growth if the parties would address the substance and allow the disputed state to become a connector, instead of a flashpoint. It is true that there is no dearth of ideas, and it is also true that many discussions, debates, and conferences have taken place and continue taking on the Kashmir issue. It is now time that the Kashmiris on the two sides of the border should go beyond words, and they must act now. They must get together and bring about a common voice. Common events should be arranged to raise a forceful voice for solution of the issue. The way forward would rest upon will of the stakeholders.
The two speakers highlighted challenges faced in objective reporting by the media on Kashmir.

Ms Victoria Schofield: What we read in Pakistan about Kashmir is totally different from what is available in the Indian media. Many books have been written on Kashmir issue by Western, Pakistani, Indian and Kashmiri writers. Amnesty International and other human rights organizations have compiled reports about the human rights violations in the Indian held Kashmir. For media, it is a challenge to cover Kashmir objectively. There are national interests and vested interests. But we need something positive for the benefits of people. It is for journalists to produce good media coverage and not biased. They should go to the grass root by conducting interviews of public. It is quite tough but a contribution can be made. Some people in India say that why we should talk about the Kashmiris rather it is a conflict between India and Pakistan. But Kashmiris are in the middle of the two countries. Kashmiris should now realize that they have their voice and they should not wait for India and Pakistan. Media has projected the voice of the Kashmiris through news items and articles. We should go beyond vested interest and project all aspects of the Kashmir issue without prejudice. Kashmiris have ability to say enough is enough and we want the resolution of this issue. Kashmiris should also utilize social media for this purpose. The international community should help in resolving the issue.

Mr. Zahid G Muhammad: When the Kashmir dispute emerged, media was small and limited. Despite this, even before independence, the papers of Lahore especially the Zamindar gave us support by highlighting the atrocities of the Maharaja on the Kashmiri people. Milap and Partab newspapers were highlighting the plights of the Kashmiris at that time. But now the Indian media is distorting the issue. International opinion about Kashmir was not given space by the media, otherwise wars between India and Pakistan could have been avoided. Regrettably, a section of Pakistani media section wants to put Kashmir on the backburner. Similarly in 2008, 2009 and 2010, Kashmiris did not get diplomatic support from Pakistan which is a party to the Kashmir dispute. The social media however, offers a great potential. The youth have been
engaged in its use. It helps us and international papers give coverage to the killing of our youth by the Indian troops.

In the interactive session, questions were raised regarding the maintenance of objectivity in covering Kashmir issue and the Kashmir cause by the Pakistani media. It was noted that out of 410 comments published in Washington Post in 2010, 400 were against the Kashmiri cause. These comments were not written by ordinary people. It seems some people have been assigned the job at various places like diplomatic institutions [embassies and consulates] for monitoring the reports. Pakistani missions abroad should project the narrative of Kashmiri cause. It was suggested that the journalists should have knowledge about the issue they are working on. They should try to dig out root causes of the issue. This is bad for a journalist to misreport events. But it is very difficult to evaluate every news story. There are editorial constraints. Newspapers are also controlled through advertisements. The journalists of both India and Pakistan need training about how to keep their integrity while doing their job.

Wrapping up the session, Chair said, the media should be taken on board about critical issues of the foreign policy. This does not mean that media should follow the government point of view. As compared to India, Pakistani media is more free and vibrant. The state media has great potential as compared to private media. It has more budget and resources than the private media. But the state media is suffering from corruption and incompetency. There is a realization in both countries that there is great responsibility of media not to highlight and aggravate the situation. However, human rights organizations and Pakistani media have failed to highlight the Kashmir issue at international fora.
The two speakers spoke regarding various approaches that can help in unknotting the Kashmir issue.

**Mr. A. G. Noorani:** Time has not solved the Kashmir issue as thought by India. Alienation has not subsided amongst the Kashmiri people even when militancy has declined. ‘We can’t dismiss history but at the same time we cannot be slave to history’. War is unthinkable now. Even force would be counterproductive. It may not be possible to contain it. The only alternative is peaceful solution. It must have the consent of all the three parties i.e. India, Pakistan and above all the people of Kashmir. Kashmiris have the right to decide their future. This is an ‘inherent right that belongs to them even before the UN passed resolutions’ in this regard. A peaceful solution must include India, Pakistan, and Kashmiris which will ensure peace in the region. The ideas proximate to four-point formula offered by President Musharraf still hold valid for a possible forward move. This involved soft borders, self-rule, demilitarization and joint mechanism. These ideas, evolved between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Musharraf and offered an opportunity to change the status quo in favor of people of Kashmir.

**Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi:** India and Pakistan have been engaged in a zero sum game due to the Kashmir conflict. India being larger country is satisfied with the status quo. Pakistan’s position is that the Kashmir issue should be resolved in accordance with the UN resolutions, international law and rights of self-determination of the Kashmiri people. India says, the UN resolutions have become irrelevant. They have been superseded by the Simla agreement and calls for bilateral discussion to resolve the Kashmir issue. In fact, the Simla agreement contains Article 6 whereby both the countries adhere to their formal position which remains unaffected by the Simla agreement. UN resolutions are not dependent on Pakistan for its validity. Musharraf had moved away from the UN resolutions on Kashmir to resolve the dispute. Pakistan should stick to its principled stand on the UN resolutions as the question the status quo and make it a party to the dispute. Right of the Kashmiri people is recognized by the international community through the UN resolutions. Practical politics demands of us to
take into account ground realities but not abandon the principle. India and Pakistan need to improve their bilateral ties. Through CBMs they can build a trust, do trade and develop constituencies for further development which make conflict less likely and above all enable Kashmiris to live a better life.

In the interactive session, there was an extensive discussion on the validity of the UN resolutions on Kashmir. Ambassador Qazi maintained that the UN resolutions cannot be time barred as they have not been replaced with fresh resolution and provide framework for settlement of the dispute. Similarly, Mr. Noorani maintained that instrument of accession was conditional to the rights of the Kashmiri people. Time has not changed the inalienable right of the Kashmiris to decide their future by themselves. Any solution to the Kashmir issue cannot work without the participation of the Kashmiris.

Prior to the wrap up, Sardar Muhammad Yaqoob Khan, President AJK addressed the plenary as special guest. He dismissed the notions of ‘fatigue’ and ‘ground realities’ being any factor halting the Kashmiri people’s struggle to attain their right to self-determination. Forms of struggle may have changed but the peoples resolve to move ahead remains unaltered. The Kashmir issue remains the main barrier in the normalization of relations between India and Pakistan. Demilitarization of Kashmir is essential for peace in the region. The peace process should serve as an alternate to the rebirth of militancy if it promises hope to Kashmiris after the decade of denial and neglect. It is therefore important that international community leads the stakeholders to engage Kashmiri people in the dialogue process, and promote demilitarization of the state for peace in the region.

Wrapping up the session, the Chair observed that media to a large extent follows the State line on Kashmir. In so many ways, things are twisted to suit one’s own policy. Nationalism dominates the debate as well as the subject. Foreign media generally remained disinterested but some of the outstanding stories have come from the foreign media which operates without constrains on that side of Kashmir including the Valley. On the Pakistani side of Kashmir, there are problems in access but the UNMOGIP remains very active and has access to every part of the LOC. So it is not as restricted as on the other side. When an accident take place, the issues arises, who will conduct an impartial inquiry? India does not allow the third party intervention. Therefore, every inquiry remains inconclusive.

Nevertheless, the Kashmiris’ spirit remains high. Pakistan has not given up its principled stand on Kashmir and wants the implementation of the UN resolutions. We cannot remain prisoner of history. We can learn from it but can’t live in history. Does laws and morality become irrelevant with the passage of time?, the chair asked. Might is not right. Judged by experience across the globe, people have primacy in conflict situations. In this case, the issue is how to engage India when it is resisting finding a
solution to the dispute. It is the people-specific issue and they should be given their rights. Pakistan does not want to impose solution on the Kashmiri people as it will not work.
ANNEXES
ANNEX A:
PROGRAM
**International Workshop: “Kashmir: Looking Beyond the Peril”**

**Program**

**MON 27 Jan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Venue</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00-09:45 hrs</td>
<td>Registration</td>
<td>Auditorium</td>
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<td>09:45-09:50 hrs</td>
<td>Recitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>09:50-10:00 hrs</td>
<td>Welcome remarks by President NDU</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00-10:20 hrs</td>
<td>Inaugural Speech by Chief Guests</td>
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<td>10:20-10:30 hrs</td>
<td>Stretch Break (The audience remain in the Auditorium while Chief Guest departs)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:30-10:50 hrs</td>
<td><strong>Plenary – 1:</strong> The Nature of Kashmir Dispute: Revisiting Human Dynamics vs Territoriality Chair: Amb Khalid Mehmood</td>
<td>Auditorium</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:30-12:50 hrs</td>
<td><strong>Plenary – 2:</strong> Quest for Sustainable Peace in South Asia: A Review in the Backdrop of Peoples’ Aspirations, Nuclear Responsibility and Economic Growth Chair: Ms Sherry Rehman</td>
<td>Auditorium</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:00-13:45 hrs</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>NDU Banquet Hall</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:00-14:55 hrs</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
<td>NDU Banquet Hall</td>
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**Concurrent Breakout / Academic Sessions**

**Academic Session-1: CBMs and Beyond Chair Dr. P I Cheema**  
(Venue: NS Hall)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Speaker 1</th>
<th>Speaker 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15:00-15:20 hrs</td>
<td>Ms Anuradha Bhasin</td>
<td>Mr. Andrew Douglas Carl</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:20-15:40 hrs</td>
<td>Mr. EjeazHaiider</td>
<td>Brig Dr. Muhammad Khan</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:45-16:05 hrs</td>
<td>Dr. Mr. Ms Gulden Ayman</td>
<td>Dr. Shaheen Akhtar</td>
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<td>16:05-16:25 hrs</td>
<td>Mr. Moeed Yousaf</td>
<td>Maj Gen (R) Muhammad Anwar</td>
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<td>16:25-17:25 hrs</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion &amp; Wrap up</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion &amp; Wrap up</td>
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**Academic Session-3: Non-traditional Security Challenges Chair Dr. Rasual Baksh Rais**  
(Venue: FCH)

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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>15:00-15:20 hrs</td>
<td>Mr. Ejaz Haider</td>
<td>Brig Dr. Muhammad Khan</td>
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<td>15:20-15:40 hrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>16:25-17:25 hrs</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion &amp; Wrap up</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion &amp; Wrap up</td>
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**20:00 hrs onwards**  
Dinner, hosted by President NDU (By invitation)  
(Souvenirs will be handed over)  
(Venue: NDU lower foyer)
## TUE 28 Jan

### Concurrent Breakout / Academic Sessions

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<tr>
<td>Chair Maj Gen Noel I. Khokhar</td>
<td>Chair Maj Gen (R) Ather Abbas</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Venue: FCH)</td>
<td>(Venue: NS Hall)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00-10:20 hrs Speaker 1: Dr. Siddiq Wahid</td>
<td>Speaker 1: Ms Victoria Schofield</td>
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<td>10:20-10:40 hrs Speaker 2: Dr. Ms Li Li</td>
<td>Speaker 2: Mr. Zahid G Muhammad</td>
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<td>10:40-11:00 hrs Speaker 3: Dr. Ashfaque Hassan Khan</td>
<td>Speaker 3: Mr. Moeed Peerzada</td>
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<td>11:00-12:00 hrs Interactive Discussion &amp; Wrap up</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion &amp; Wrap up</td>
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12:30-13:30 hrs **Lunch** (Venue: NDU Banquet Hall)

### Plenary – 3:
**Approaches to Unknotting the Issue**
Chair: Dr. Maleeha Lodhi
(Venue: Auditorium)

| 14:00-14:20 hrs Speaker 1: Mr. A.G. Noorani |
| 14:20-14:40 hrs Speaker 2: Amb Ashraf Jehangir Qazi |
| 14:40-15:40 hrs Interactive Discussion |
| 15:40-15:50 hrs Remarks by the Chief Guest |
| 15:50-16:00 hrs Wrap up by the Chair |

19:30hrs onwards **Dinner** (by Invitation) (Venue: Kashmir House)
ANNEX B:
SPEAKERS:
ABSTRACTS & PROFILES
## Session Chairs & Speakers

### Session Chairs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Amb Khalid Mehmood</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ms Sherry Rehman</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Amb Salim Nawaz Khan Gandapur (Deputizing for Dr. Rasul Baksh Rais)</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Maj Gen (R) Athar Abbas</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Dr. Maleeha Lodhi</td>
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### Guest Speakers from Abroad

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Country</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mr. Wadah Khanfar</td>
<td>Qatar</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Dr. Christopher Snedden</td>
<td>Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ms Anurada Bhasin</td>
<td>J&amp;K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Mr. Andrew Douglas Carl</td>
<td>US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Dr. S Gulden Ayman</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Mr. Moeed Yousaf</td>
<td>US</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Dr. Siddiq Wahid</td>
<td>J&amp;K</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Dr. Li Li</td>
<td>China</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Ms. Victoria Schofield</td>
<td>UK</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Mr. Zahid G Muhammad</td>
<td>J&amp;K</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Mr. A.G Noorani</td>
<td>India</td>
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### Local Guest Speakers

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Dr. Ms Atiyah Inayatullah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Amb Inamul Haque</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Dr. Ashfaq Hassan Khan</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Mr. Ejaz Haider</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Dr. Muhammad Khan</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Dr. Shaheen Akhtar</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Amb Ashraf Jehangir Qazi</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Plenary – 1:
The Nature of Kashmir Dispute: Revisiting Human Dynamics vs Territoriality
Chair: Amb Khalid Mehmood

Speaker 1: Ms. AtiyaInayatullah
Speaker 2: Mr. WadahKhanfar

Amb Khalid Mehmood Chair Plenary 1

Profile
Ambassador (Retired) Khalid Mahmood is a former Ambassador of Pakistan to China, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and Mongolia. Currently, he is chair of Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI).

Apart from this he is a member of the Asian Regional Forum (ARF) for Experts and Eminent Persons Group, member Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) Eminent Persons Group, Course Director (International Organizations) at the Foreign Service Academy, Islamabad, President Islamabad Council of World Affairs (ICWA), member Board of Governors, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Islamabad and President Pakistan-Azerbaijan Friendship Association.

He has represented Pakistan at several international meetings and conferences, notably UN General Assembly sessions, UN Security Council, UN Law of the Sea Conference, UN Council for Namibia as well as Summit and Ministerial meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement, OIC and ECO.
Ms. AtiyaInayatullah  Speaker 1

Profile
Dr. MsAtiyaInayatullah is the former member of National Assembly of Pakistan. A PhD in demographics, she formerly held various important positions, including, member Executive Board of UNESCO and International Planned Parenthood Federation and also served as Minister of Women’s Development, Social Welfare and Special Education. She has also as a Minister of State for Population Welfare.

Abstract
To avoid the ominous peril emanating from the Kashmir dispute it is in the enlightened self interest of both India & Pakistan’s policymakers to be on the same page for a win-win Kashmir solution and together flag it on the global radar screen.

Considering the complexity of Kashmir created by India & Pakistan, how do the two countries come on the same page??

The first requirement is transformational leaders whose political will is translated into positive action and who reject xenophobic ideologies. Secondly, Kashmir is a disputed territory not a territorial dispute therefore the ingrained militaristic inclinations need to be curbed and replaced with positive ideas and political solutions. Similarly, the Line of Control is in truth the Ceasefire Line but has become a Line of Conflict between India & Pakistan with assertions from India that borders cannot be re-drawn and has resulted in the impotency and neglect of the United Nations in implementing Resolutions giving Kashmiris the right of self determination. The territorial mindset has played havoc with the human dynamics of Kashmir. These are narrated in the words of its leaders Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Mir Waiz Umar Farooq, Mehbooba Mufti and Omar Abdullah who has categorically told Delhi to “resolve the Kashmir issue by first ensuring the human and democratic rights of the people”. The human dynamics of Kashmir are next traced from the century old struggle against the Dogra regime to the fearless freedom struggle in the 1990’s against militarization to the current Intefada and non-violent stone throwers to the new age of dissent connected to the global e-village and expressed by writers, historians, researchers. The unpardonable evidence of mass graves, involuntary disappearances, rape, torture and the likes make sordid reading. The challenge presented to Delhi & Islamabad is to right the historical wrong of militarization and denial of the right of self determination. The challenge is posed also to global leaders with a call for Third Party Arbitration through the United Nations. The final proposal made to avoid the Kashmir peril is for the world to put the spotlight on the suffering and rights of people of IHK and AJK and deliver on their aspirations.
Mr. Wadah Khanfar  
Speaker 2

Profile
Chairman of the Sharq Forum and the former Director General of the Aljazeera Network. He now devotes much of his time to Al-Sharq Forum, an independent international network with a mission to develop long-term strategies to ensure the political stability and economic prosperity of the Arab world and the region.

His journalistic journey began with Aljazeera Arabic channel while he was a research fellow in Johannesburg in 1997, subsequently covering some of the world’s key political zones, including US-led wars on Afghanistan and Iraq. During his 8-year tenure at the helm, Aljazeera transformed from a single channel into a global media network. This period witnessed historic transformation in the Arab World including Arab Awakening. He was ranked first in Foreign Policy magazine’s top 100 global thinkers, and was one of Fast Company’s most creative people in business in 2011. Khanfar has a diverse academic background with post-graduate studies in Philosophy, African Studies, and International Politics.

During 2011, Al Jazeera covered the Arab Spring more closely than any other news channel and, by doing so, helped create global awareness of what is taking place in the Arab steers. As Director General, Khanfar steered the transition of the Al Jazeera from a single channel into a media network and a global media phenomenon. Since Khanfar left Al Jazeera in September 2011, he has been tremendously active and present on the ground in a number of the Arab countries in transition. He has an impressive network and excellent relations with world of politics and media.

Abstract
Hostile nuclear neighbours capable of significant mass destruction, challenges in political governance, socio-economically stressed nations, escalating demands in water, energy and food all necessitate immediate steps from both India and Pakistan to tackle the Kashmir issue. New technology and Social Media has gained tremendous credibility as a multiple channel news source at a grassroots level, as well as reflecting on the manoeuvres of the major stakeholders related to Kashmir. Using the information generated, the ambitions of Kashmiri People can be better understood in terms of their future governance, provided major stakeholders allow full access to social media, acknowledge ground realities and strategize their policies based on consolidated views of Kashmiris. This presentation attempts to provoke thoughts, with reference to the ‘Arab Spring’ experience, on the following questions:

How important is accurate news gathering and analytical journalism in facilitating a people-driven solution to the Kashmir issue?

What role social media and new technology can play in understanding ambitions of the Kashmiri people?

What are necessary steps from India, Pakistan and other stakeholders to facilitate the best use of the vast news and information generated through Social Media and New Technology?
PLENARY 2

Plenary – 2:
Quest for Sustainable Peace in South Asia: A Review in the Backdrop of Peoples’ Aspirations, Nuclear Responsibility and Economic Growth
Chair: Ms Sherry Rehman

Speaker 1: Dr. Christopher Snedden
Speaker 2: Amb Inamul Haque

Profile

Sherry Rehman, is a former award winning journalist and Pakistan’s Ambassador to the United States. She is also a renowned political and civil rights activist. She has also served as Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting Pakistan (2008-09) and earlier also held three additional portfolios of Health, Women Development and Culture as Federal Minister, in 2008.

Sherry Rehman was the founding Chair of the Jinnah Institute, a non-partisan public policy think tank committed to the strengthening of democracy, governance and an independent national security project in Pakistan. One of its main priorities is re-gaining space for moderate voices in the context of an extremist advance. She co-chaired several track-two strategic dialogues with India, and was convener of a similar institutionalized dialogue process between Pakistan and Afghanistan. She lectures widely on strategic security challenges facing Pakistan, and was a key member of the Legislative Councils that govern both Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. Sherry Rehman also served as Chairperson of the Pakistan Red Crescent Society.

Sherry Rehman is also the architect of numerous bills including the first parliamentary charter and bill for women empowerment, mover of the Hudood Ordinances Repeal Bill, mover of the Anti-Honour Killings Bill, as well as the Freedom of Information Act 2004.

Sherry Rehman’s book on ‘Five Hundred Years of The Kashmiri Shawl’ has been published in 2006 by Mapin India and Antique Collectors Club, UK. That same year, it was awarded the prestigious R. L. Shep Ethnic Textiles Book Award from the Textile Society of America.
Profile

Dr. Christopher Snedden is an Australian politico-strategic analyst, author and academic specializing in South Asia. He has worked in defence, intelligence, foreign affairs, strategic studies, and financial analysis for the Australian Government, in the Australian tertiary education sector. He has his own consultancy, ASIA CALLING.

Dr. Snedden has been thinking about the Kashmir dispute since 1984 when he first briefed senior Australian officials about the hanging of Maqbool Bhatt. He has visited India, Pakistan and both ‘sides’ of the disputed region of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) many times to undertake research and to meet senior leaders and officials. His Ph.D was on the topic Paramountcy, Patrimonialism and the Peoples of Jammu and Kashmir, 1947-1991. In 2012, his major work, The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir, was published (republished in India as Kashmir: The Unwritten History). This book details how the people of J&K began the Kashmir dispute and not Pukhtoons, as India has claimed and in which claim Pakistan surprisingly has acquiesced. His new publication includes: Understanding Kashmir and Kashmir.

Abstract

The people of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K)—or J&K-ites, as they may be called are the forgotten element in the dispute over J&K’s international status. Actually, J&K-ites are the first party to the Kashmir dispute as it concerns their homelands and because they actually instigated this dispute in 1947 before either India or Pakistan was officially involved in J&K. Since 1947, few outsiders have realised the extreme social and economic dislocation caused to J&K-ites by the political and militarily division of ‘their’ state. Socially, until 2005, J&K-ites were allowed little direct contact. Economically, they have been totally dependent on the nation controlling them. Militarily, the India-Pakistan contest in J&K, overlaid by nuclear weapons since 1998, has harmed J&K-ites and made some fear that both nations could fight a limited nuclear war in J&K, particularly in the arena-shaped Kashmir Valley. This presentation will re-appraise the Kashmir dispute. It will re-examine J&K-ites’ aspirations, their political and economic possibilities, and the impact of the nuclear issue. Given India and Pakistan’s inability to resolve their dispute over J&K, it will suggest an iconoclastic solution: let J&K-ites themselves consult and decide what status, or statuses, they want for their state. ‘Let The People Decide’!
Profile
Former Foreign Minister, President Pakistan Council on China, Islamabad, Pakistan. He was Ex-Ambassador to Turkey, China and Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Also Ex-Chairman, Board of Governors at Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad. He has been a Visiting Fellow at the National Defence University Pakistan, and frequently delivers lectures at the National Security Workshops.

Abstract
War is not an option for the resolution of long-standing dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. This has been reconfirmed in the wake of successive eruptions and resultant stalemate. A 'no war, no peace' situation is also an impediment in the way of economic growth and progress. The stalemate does, in fact, flag the inability of either India or Pakistan to impose a solution of its own choice. In the past decades, the dispute has received varying treatment, ranging from multilateral consideration to bilateral approaches and from there to unilateral actions. Yet, the promises made at the multilateral forums, have not come to fruition. Concurrently, an accent on bilateralism has neither unknotted the issue, nor diminished the human dynamics of the situation. This remains a triangular dispute and therefore, its solution entails addressing aspirations of Kashmiri people as the principal party. Today, the South Asian environment demands nuclear responsibility from both India and Pakistan, and political will to address the imperatives of the region’s economic growth and thus bring progress to the one-fifth of humankind. Nonetheless, these imperatives cannot bring a positive change and conclusive advance unless the Kashmiri people’s aspirations are fully vouched for and we are prepared to shun unilateralism. The primacy of Kashmiri people in the issue must be addressed.
CONCURRENT BREAKOUT / ACADEMIC SESSIONS

Academic Session-1:
CBMs and Beyond
Chair Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema

Speaker 1: Ms Anuradha Bhasin
Speaker 2: Mr. Andrew Douglas Carl
Speaker 3: Dr. Ms Gulden Ayman
Speaker 4: Mr. Moeed Yousaf

Profile

Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema is a scholar of international repute. He is an internationally renowned article writer and teacher. Currently, he is serving as the Dean Faculty of Contemporary Studies at National Defence University, Islamabad.

Dr. Cheema has participated in more than 150 National and International Seminars/Conferences. He has been and still continues to be a member of many International and National Academic Associations. He has served on the Editorial Advisory Board of many International Academic Journals and still continues to be on the boards of many including BISS (a Journal of Bangladesh, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Bangladesh), Asian Affairs; An American Review (a Journal of Heldref Publications, Washington, USA), Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, (Saudi Arabia), Strategic Studies (Pakistan) etc.
Profile

Anuradha Bhasin Jamwal is Executive editor of Kashmir Times. She is also a human rights and peace activist.

Ms. Bhasin has worked extensively on the Kashmir conflict, the border disputes, issue of landmines and human rights. She also writes fiction for adults and children. Her children stories have been published by National Book Trust. Her research papers on media audit, women issues and Kashmir conflict have appeared in several journals in South Asia. She has also written a chapter on Kashmir for a soon to be published book on role of women in India-Pakistan peace building. The book is edited by experts at Mc Gill Centre for Research and Training on Women.

Abstract

The general perception in Kashmir is that whenever India-Pakistan peace process sets into motion, the Kashmiris remain excluded. Symbolically, a decade ago, establishments on both sides tried to set at rest such suspicions with the introduction of Kashmir specific confidence building measures (CBMs). Notable among these were the limited mobility across the Line of Control to facilitate the interaction between the two divided Kashmirs and the mutual ceasefire on the Line of Control. While the significance of these CBMs cannot be underscored, they failed to go beyond the mutual gestural pleasantries and offered limited benefits to limited people, primarily the divided families on the two sides and the people living on the borders who were severely impacted by the perpetual hostilities at the Line of Control. The people worst affected by the recent decades of the Kashmir conflict remained unaffected by these CBMs, which today are in disarray as the ceasefire agreement stands jeopardized in the recent enhanced bouts of hostilities on the LoC. It is important to strengthen the existing CBMs to build a stronger framework of a conducive atmosphere for amicably resolving the Kashmir dispute. It is equally important to introduce CBMs to address the human rights scenario including dispensing with draconian laws, de-militarisation and introducing genuine and fair mechanisms of justice on both sides of the LoC.
Profile

Andy co-founded Conciliation Resources in 1995 and now heads the organization. He led the development of CR’s programme work in the South Pacific (Fiji and Bougainville/PNG) and in northern Uganda, Somaliland and Sri Lanka, and established CR’s Accord programme and publication series.

From 1989-94 he worked for International Alert as their original programme staff member on peace initiatives in Southern Africa, Europe, Liberia, the Philippines, Colombia, Iraqi-Kurdistan and elsewhere. Before this, he was National Coordinator of the Central America Human Rights Committee, UK (1986-89). He has degrees in literature from the University of California at Berkeley (BA) and Trinity College, Dublin (MPhil).

Andy represents CR in various national and international policy forums on conflict transformation practice and continues to act as a resource person to CR’s programmes and to develop new areas of work for the organization. He is actively involved in championing the importance of engaging with armed groups and promoting public participation in peacemaking.

Abstract

The presentation suggests that CBMs should be seen not only for their contributions to official ‘Track I’ negotiation processes but as important and multiple “paths” – in themselves - to waging and winning the peace. In the face of the future threats and challenges posed in the Kashmir context, few would dispute that it hard to see a military solution. CBMs are key to defining and finding non-military solutions. This is not to say that that military do not vital roles to play in conflict prevention– they do – as can be seen from the recent meeting of the DGMOs and the importance of their maintaining their ‘hotlines’, the holding of monthly flag meetings between formation commanders, the need to make further progress to deal with anti-personnel landmines, the construction of new posts, and the important consolidation of the ceasefire monitoring mechanisms.

Drawing on international comparative experience from other peace processes, the presentation will explore how overcoming entrenched pessimism towards peace and negotiations means squarely dealing with deep mutual distrust where relationships have been eroded over decades. This requires fresh and creative thinking, innovative and institutionalized initiatives and long-term commitments. While progress in the official composite dialogue is not necessarily premised on local rapprochement and reconciliation – building trust, confidence and better working relationships across the LoC are all essential to ‘winning the peace’ in the long run.
Profile

Saadet Gülden Ayman is a professor and the Chair of International Relations Department at the Faculty of Political Sciences at Istanbul University. She previously worked at Marmara University in Istanbul. Ayman teaches theory of international relations, conflict resolution and arms control issues. Her most recent publications include Ayman ed., Territory, Identity, Power and Foreign Policy (Istanbul, YalınYayncilik, 2012) and The Formula of Good Neighborhood-Territorial Problems and Turkish Foreign Policy (Istanbul, YalınYayncilik, 2012); “Regional Aspirations and Limits of Power-Turkish-Iranian Relations in the New Middle East”, Etudes Helléniques/Hellenic Studies, The Spring 2012; “Reconciliation with the Taliban: Challenges and Prospects, The Journal of Security Strategies, 2013”, “The Arab Upheavals and the Turkish Perception vis-a-vis the West”, Arab Studies Quarterly, Special Issue: Perspectives on the Arab Uprisings, Vol. 35, No.3, Summer 2013.

Abstract

In decreasing the likelihood of territorial problems to transform into destructive conflicts, Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) assume important functions. They play a critical role in avoiding misunderstandings about military actions and policies that might otherwise provoke violent conflict by making parties’ behavior more predictable. Yet for the CBMs not only to work efficiently but also to be accepted between adversaries at least a “minimum level of trust” should be present. That usually derives from a thinking that the other side is also motivated to cooperate because it has an interest to do so.

However for an era of détente and afterwards to build a long-lasting peaceful relationship several factors need to come together. Such a climate usually is an outcome of a psychological breakthrough as well as being a product of realistic considerations related to bargaining processes between the parties concerned. This paper aims at evaluating the prospects as well as challenges faced in the implementation of CBMs drawing upon various examples. It broadly asks under what type of conditions there is chance to resolve the most difficult outstanding issues and to forge a new relationship of stable peace.
Profile
Moeed W. Yusuf is Director of South Asia programs at the U.S. Institute of Peace. Yusuf has been engaged in expanding USIP’s work on Pakistan/South Asia since 2010. Before joining USIP, Yusuf was a fellow at the Frederick S. Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer-Range Future at Boston University, and concurrently a research fellow at the Mossavar-Rahmani Center at Harvard Kennedy School. He has also worked at the Brookings Institution. In 2007, he co-founded Strategic and Economic Policy Research, a private sector consultancy firm in Pakistan. Yusuf has also consulted for a number of Pakistani and international organizations including the Asian Development Bank, World Bank, and the Stockholm Policy Research Institute, among others. From 2004-2007, he was a full-time consultant with the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Pakistan’s premier development-sector think tank. Yusuf taught in Boston University’s Political Science and International Relations Departments as a senior teaching fellow in 2009. He has also published widely in national and international journals, professional publications and magazines. Yusuf has served on a number of important task forces, advisory councils, working groups, and governing boards, both in the U.S. and Pakistan. In 2013, he was selected to Nobel laureate, Pugwash International’s ‘Council’ (governing body) and subsequently became the youngest member ever to be included in its global executive committee to serve a six-year term.

Abstract
Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are crucial but sometimes they can also become euphuisms for lack of will to make an honest and sincere effort towards resolving the core issue at hand. Much has been said, written, and done in terms of CBMs in Kashmir. The Musharraf era saw a spike in fairly innovative CBMs on and across the LoC. And yet, we are no closer to a final solution to the Kashmir dispute. The presentation will examine whether the current list of CBMs is likely to be able to get us a major breakthrough or if we need to devise new measures. It begins by presenting a summary of all official and unofficial proposals for the resolution of Kashmir touted since 1947. A collective analysis of these will help us identify the contours of a solution that are believed to be most realistic. We will then analyze what specific CBMs can help get us from the present to this finish line. Moreover, we'll identify issues that must be addressed in parallel to ensure that the CBMs have their desired positive spinoffs for our ultimate aim: the final resolution of Kashmir.

The conclusion will be that CBMs are desirable in their own right to normalize the daily lives of residents of Kashmir on both sides of the LoC but there is little their mere presence can do unless New Delhi and Islamabad muster the political will to move in the direction of an amicable resolution. Perhaps the most important CBMs would be ones that create political incentives for leaderships to take bold decisions that help the ground situation on both sides of the LoC and push us closer to the dispute’s settlement.
### Academic Session-3:
**Non-traditional Security Challenges**
**Chair** Dr. Rasul Baksh Rais

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**Dr. Rasul Baksh Rais**

**Chair Academic Session 3**

**Profile**

Dr. Rais has Ph.D. in Political Science from University of California, Santa Barbara. He served at LUMS as Professor of Political Science for about 11 years. Before joining LUMS, he remained associated with the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad for nearly 22 years as Professor/Director, Area Study Centre and prior to that as Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations. He was Quaid-i-Azam Distinguished Professor of Pakistan Studies at Columbia University, New York for 3 years, 1991-94. He took Fulbright fellowship at Wake Forest University, 1997-98, Social Science Research Fellowship at Harvard, 1989-90, Rockefeller Foundation fellowship in International Relations at the University of California, Berkeley, 1985-85. He is author of Recovering the Frontier State: War, Ethnicity and State in Afghanistan (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), War Without Winners: Afghanistan’s Uncertain Transition after the Cold War (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), Indian Ocean and the Superpowers: Economic, Political and Strategic Perspectives (London: Croom Helm, 1986), editor of State, Society and Democratic Change in Pakistan (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997) and with Charles H. Kennedy, Pakistan 1995 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996) He has published widely in professional journals on political and security issues pertaining to South Asia, Indian Ocean and Afghanistan. His current research interests are: “Modernism, State and Challenge of Radical Islam in Pakistan”. 
Profile

Ejaz Haider has been an analyst in the newspapers since 1991, starting his career at The Frontier Post, Lahore. During his career he has held several editorial positions and was the News Editor of The Friday Times and Executive Editor of Daily Times. Haider has also done television and hosted a talk-show on Dawn News and later on Samaa TV. He was a Ford Scholar at ACDIS (Programme in Arms Control, Disarmament and International Security) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1997) and a visiting fellow at the Foreign Policy Studies Programme at the Brookings Institution in Washington D.C (2002-03).

Abstract

Since Independence, relations between Pakistan and India have unfolded in a classical, conflictual paradigm. The two states have fought wars at the conventional and sub-conventional levels over disputes, primarily, the Kashmir dispute. That situation still obtains despite many attempts at normalization. The strategic enclaves in both states have generally focused on traditional security threats and, with few exceptions, their security policies have gravitated in that direction, identifying and addressing traditional or conventional security threats. However, as experience in other regions of the world as well as in South Asia shows, states are now confronted with many other threats that do not fall within the purview of traditional threats. Terrorism, illegal immigration, drugs, environmental degradation, smuggling, epidemics and a number of other problems fall in the category of NTS threats. While states generally address traditional security threats by relying on their own resources and finding allies other than the state that is a declared enemy, NTS threats require cooperation within the region, often more than outside the region. In regions like Western Europe it is easy to cooperate within the overall framework that has brought into existence and actuated concepts like the European Union. But how does one do it in South Asia where the two big regional powers, Pakistan and India, are locked in a conflict. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that traditional enmity allows the NTS threats to proliferate and, in many cases, imbricate the traditional security threats. That is the challenge requiring innovative strategies.
Profile

Dr. Muhammad Khan is currently serving as the head of the Department of International Relations at the National Defence University Islamabad. He is also the Chief Editor of Journal of Contemporary Studies. As an academician and role as a dynamic Head of Department, he has dedicated his work towards the politics and security issues specifically of Asia-Pacific, South Asia, the Kashmir dispute, Nuclearization and strategic stability. He also has expertise on Pak-U.S and Pak-China relationship, foreign policy of Pakistan, contemporary global issues and energy and pipeline politics.

Abstract

Human security constitutes the principal component of the nontraditional security challenges. It is extension of the logic of social contract of liberal school of thought and specifically covers the security of individual and generally security of communities and societies. The right to live is explicitly sanctioned in international law, to every individual, regardless of cast, creed, faith or geographic identity. The provision of human rights' and security are categorically stated both in international law and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). But the human security situation in Indian Occupied Kashmir is ironically an ignored fact by international community. Despite having a global prohibition on torture even during the times of national emergency deaths through torture of Kashmiri youth have been a common phenomenon in IOK. The factual position is that, torture, hostage-taking, and rape has been prominent abuses in IOK since last two and half decades. Ever since the partition of the subcontinent, through the repressive state sponsored policies, and various discriminatory laws Kashmiri masses have been exploited to an extent that, they became slave in their own homeland. Millions of them have taken refuge in Pakistan and elsewhere in the world in past. The forced demographic shifts in IOK through forceful mass migrations of Kashmiris and settlement of other communities are bound to have long term effects on political landscape of IOK. The main argument of this research is to vindicate right of Kashmiris in IOK to all provisions of International conventions on human security and that human rights violation in IOK is a serious violation of international law and needs to be addressed at all international forums.
Dr. Shaheen Akhtar

Profile
Dr. Shaheen is Ph.D International Relations, from Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU), and is currently teaching International Relations at National Defence University Islamabad. She served as a Research fellow at Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad and Visiting Fellow at Shanghai Institute for International studies (SIIS), Shanghai, China. Her Expertise & Areas of Interest are South Asian Regional stability and security, Conflict resolution. She specializes on Kashmir, and Sri Lanka Intra-state conflicts; domestic politics; autonomy and secessionist movements, human/security, development and gender issues in the region.

Abstract
Geographically, the divided territory of Kashmir forms critical part of the Upper Indus Basin (UIB) which plays a crucial role in sustainable management of the mountain ecosystem and downstream flows in the Indus River System. There are uncertainties and knowledge gaps regarding melting of Himalayan glaciers. Indus watershed is degrading due to deforestation, environmental degradation and pollution of water bodies. The upstream development of hydropower projects by India is also causing anxieties regarding compliance with IWT and accumulative effects on downstream flows and transboundary effects on the environment. The paper explores the possibility of cross-LoC cooperation in the management of water and environmental resources in the UIB. It argues that given importance of the UIB in the Indus river system, cross-LoC collaboration is essential in preserving the hydrology and ecology of the Indus basin. Urgent steps are needed to promote Cross-LoC cooperation in sustainability of Indus system. These may include undertaking a joint study on the behavior of melting glaciers, the mapping of environmental degradation and cooperative management of Indus watershed, joint study of cumulative impact of Indian hydropower projects, preserving the water bodies and collaboration in disaster management.
## Academic Session-2: Kashmir: A Bridge for Economic Rejuvenation?  
**Chair** Maj Gen Noel I. Khokhar

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### Maj. Gen. Noel I. Khokhar  
Chair Academic Session 2

**Profile**

Major General Noel Israel Khokhar, HI (M) the Director General Institute for Strategic Studies Research and Analysis (DG ISSRA) joined Pakistan Army in October 1980. During his illustrious military career, he has attended courses related to military training and educational opportunities as junior as well as senior military commander in prestigious national as well as international institutions. The General Officer is a graduate of Command & Staff College Quetta, French Staff College Paris, National Defence University Islamabad, Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS) United Kingdom London. The General has served on varied command and staff appointments to include command of an Infantry Division, an Infantry and Artillery Brigade, as well as Chief of Staff of 10 Corps. The officer has served as Instructor in Pakistan Military Academy, Command and Staff College Quetta and Armed Forces War Course and Chief Instructor for National Security and War Course at National Defence University, Islamabad. He has been a frequent guest speaker on numerous international seminars and conferences on various subjects. The General Officer hold a Masters Degree in ‘War Studies’ from Quaid-e-Azam University, Masters in ‘International Studies’ from Kings College London. He is also currently a Ph D Scholar at National Defence University, Islamabad.
Profile

Dr. Siddiq Wahid holds PhD in Inner Asian Studies from Harvard University is currently member of the Governing Board of the People’s Commission on Environment and Development India (PCEDI) and a founding member of the India Forum, (IF). Former VC Islamic University of Science and Technology, Avantipora-Pulwama. Previously taught Central Asian Studies and Comparative Literature at Harvard University and at Metropolitan University. He is an activist in Jammu & Kashmir.

Abstract

This paper addresses, in three parts, the above-mentioned topic assigned to the panel. The first part responds to the question/proposition that Kashmir is (or should be?) a potential "economic rejuvenator". It will raise questions of for whom and how Kashmir can revitalize trade and industry, presumably for itself and the other two disputants? In the light of a surfacing mood in Islamabad and a common mind-set in New Delhi that there is mounting “Kashmir fatigue”, a related issue will also be explored: namely, is the J&K dispute holding South Asian prosperity hostage? Or is the obdurate rivalry between India and Pakistan and, their ever shifting prioritization, holding Kashmir hostage?

The second part of the paper will address the workshop’s objective of “revisiting the essential ingredients of the dispute” in an attempt to seek answers to how Kashmir could rejuvenate its own and, arguably, the regional economy as a “bridge”? It will also ask: a bridge to where?

The paper will conclude with some J&K centric – as opposed to status quo powers centric – thoughts how to mitigate an emergent dangerous stalemate of convenience on the question of Kashmir.
Profile

Dr. Li Li is an associate research fellow at China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), Beijing, China. Since 1991, she has specialized in sequence in the Middle East studies, the American studies and the South Asian studies. She is presently the deputy director of the Institute of South and South-East Asian and Oceanian Studies of CICIR. Between 2004 and 2008, she did her research on China-India relations at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), India. In January 2008, she was awarded a doctorate degree in international relations by JNU. She has written extensively on India and South Asia, Middle East politics, and US relations with the Islamic world. She is the author of Security Perception and China-India Relations (New Delhi: KW Publishers, 2009) and many papers and articles, both in Chinese and in English.

Abstract

The Kashmir issue does not only play a decisive role in the peace and stability of South Asia, but also has a significant effect on the economic growth of countries in the region. The protracted conflict between India and Pakistan on Kashmir issue has prolonged the economic separation of the subcontinent in general and between India and Pakistan in particular. It has not enabled the region to explore its potential to attract foreign direct investments. This presentation will be divided into four parts. The first part evaluates South Asia in the world economy which promotes understanding of the urgency to an economic rejuvenation. The second part reviews some important initiatives for economic rejuvenation which may fulfil the regional potential. The third part examines the facts that Kashmir dispute blocks regional economic cooperation. The last part endeavours to explore ways to make Kashmir become an economic bridge.
Profile
Currently Dean, School of Social Sciences & Humanities, National University of Sciences & Technology (NUST), Islamabad. Former spokesperson of the Government of Pakistan on economic issues, Special Secretary Finance/Director General, Debt Office and Economic Adviser of the Ministry of Finance. He has been consultant to various international organizations including United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UN-ESCAP), and World Bank.

Abstract
The status of Jammu and Kashmir (henceforth Kashmir) has remained disputed over the last 65 years. Both India and Pakistan have taken highly nationalistic views on the disputed territory of Kashmir. India has been arguing that Kashmir is its integral part and Pakistan’s position has always been that the future of Kashmir should be decided in accordance with the UN resolution of 1948-49. Considerable efforts have been made to find a solution through dialogue as wars have failed to resolve the issue thus far. Domestic political and security constraints have been the major headwinds toward the just resolution of the disputes.

The unresolved dispute over the status of Kashmir have held back economic prosperity not only in India and Pakistan but in South Asia as a whole. South Asia today is the least integrated region as a result of non-normal trade and investment ties between the two largest economies (India and Pakistan) of the region. Will the resolution of Kashmir dispute or even movement towards resolution reduces trust deficit, build confidence and hence enhance trade and investment relations between India and Pakistan? Is Kashmir the only issue hampering normal relations between the two countries? My presentation would attempt to answer these queries.

Resolution of Kashmir dispute is a necessary condition but not the sufficient one. Economic relation between the two countries may improve on the basis of mutual benefits, just and fair trade with exporters from both the countries accorded a level playing field. Resolution of Kashmir dispute or even movement towards that end may improve political environment, absolutely essential for building confidence and paving the way for greater economic rejuvenation. Trade and investment ties can only strengthen and both India and Pakistan reap the peace dividend provided Pakistan according MFN status to India and simultaneously India removing Non-tariff barriers (NTBs) to trade. Unilateral trade liberalization has not worked in the past and will never work in future at least in the context of India and Pakistan.
CONCURRENT BREAKOUT / ACADEMIC SESSIONS

Academic Session-4:  
Role of Media in Kashmir Conflict  
Chair Maj Gen (R) Athar Abbas

| Speaker 1: | Ms Victoria Schofield |
| Speaker 2: | Mr. Zahid G Muhammad |
| Speaker 3: | Mr. Moeed Pirzada |

Maj. Gen. (R) Athar Abbas  
Chair Academic Session 4

Profile

General Abbas was commissioned in October 1976 in the 54th PMA Long Course from the Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul into the Armoured Corps. He has held various command, staff and instructional appointments that include command of an armoured regiment, armoured brigade and armoured division. He has been General Staff Officer (Operations) in various armoured formations. He is a graduate of Command and Staff College, Quetta and Armed Forces Staff College, Malaysia. He has attended Armed Forces War Course and National Defence Course at the National Defence College, Islamabad. He has been a faculty member of Command and Staff College, Quetta and National Defence College, Islamabad. He holds a Masters Degrees in War Studies as well as Strategic Studies from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.
Profile


Abstract

Kashmir remains one of the longest standing conflicts in the post 1945 world. Strategically located between India and Pakistan, full control of the region remains disputed between the two potentially belligerent neighbours, with one section, the Aksai Chin, under Chinese control. Frequently called a 'nuclear' flashpoint, this presentation will examine the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir in relation to the media. How helpful have the various media outlets been in highlighting the diverse aspects of the issue, especially in relation to human rights or, is the Kashmir issue, like other potential flashpoints subject to the demands of world power politics? In other words, what can the media do to help resolve the issue or will resolution come when the respective governments of India and Pakistan consider it imperative for their own strategic interests either through diplomatic negotiation and/or through back channel means?
Profile

Currently editor of Peace Watch Kashmir, (a journal dedicated to peace in South Asia), and a regular ‘Columnist and Writer for Greater Kashmir, Srinagar. Muhammad has contributed articles on politics, literature, culture, and history in various newspapers and magazines. He worked as Executive Editor, of The Kashmir Observer from 1997 to 2004 and contributed permanent column Punch-line on Politics, Culture and literature for the Greater Kashmir.

Abstract

Suffering political uncertainty, adding a scarlet page on daily basis to the history of the land and Damocles sword of conventional and nuclear wars hanging on the heads of people for sixty-six years is not an ordinary ordeal but agonized story of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Besides, the callosity of the global powers in not making honest efforts in resolving the Kashmir Dispute, it has been the role played by media that has delayed the resolution of the Kashmir Dispute.

The presentation will be looking at the genesis of the Kashmir Dispute, and how media more particularly the newspapers published from New Delhi muddled a simple issue of accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir to either of the two newly born dominions of India and Pakistan. The paper will highlight how some top leader writers and columnists through their ‘method of snide observations and fraudulent etymology’ tried to highjack the Kashmir narrative and strengthen the ‘dominant discourse.’ India and Pakistan, during past sixty years on many an occasions came very near to the resolution of the dispute and bringing in lasting peace in the region but for the role of a section of journalists and commentators nursing ‘spurious nationalism’, these moves suffer their waterloos. The presentation will also analyze how some top Pakistani media men and channels pleading their statuesque philosophy on Kashmir have been contributing to the non-resolution of the dispute and perpetuating tension between India and Pakistan that find manifestations in ceasefire violation.
Profile

Moeed Pirzada is a Pakistani political commentator and TV journalist, current Director World Affairs and lead anchor person for PTV News TV channel. Previously worked with Dunya News-TV channel as Director World Affairs and hosted the current affairs talk show Dunya Today. He has also been a columnist for the Dubai-based regional paper Khaleej Times.

Abstract

The presentation will analyze how media in general has not been able to understand the Kashmir conflict and its continuing tragedy. How and why instead of contributing to any meaningful solution it has contributed to status quo. This will necessitate an examination of the dynamics and capacity issues of media when it comes to complex situations like Kashmir and how media industry is penetrated, influenced and hijacked by the dominant interests within its sphere of origin; how media who are supposed to be "narrative creators" are themselves victims of "dominant narratives" which they keep on multiplying. This will necessitate examining how Pakistani media - print, electronic and blogosphere- in recent years have seen Kashmir issue or reacted, from time to time, to the developments in Kashmir and what underlies that.
PLENARY 3

Plenary – 3: Approaches to Unknotting the Issue
Chair: Dr. Maleeha Lodhi

Speaker 1: Mr. A.G. Noorani
Speaker 2: Amb Ashraf Jehangir Qazi

Dr. Maleeha Lodhi

Profile

Maleeha Lodhi, is a Pakistani political scientist, diplomat, academician, and military strategist.

Over her career in Foreign Service, she has held the most-important diplomatic missions for Pakistan, serving as the High Commissioner of Pakistan to the United Kingdom and prior to that, twice as the Pakistan Ambassador to the United States.[1] In the Fall of 2008, she was a Resident Fellow at the Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. She has also been a member of the United Nations Secretary-General’s Advisory Board on Disarmament. In 2009 she was an international scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington DC. From 2010 she has been special adviser for international affairs to Pakistan’s largest media group, Jang/Geo.

A recipient of the 2002 Hilal-i-Imtiaz Presidential Award for Public Service, she is the author of two essay collections: Pakistan’s Encounter with Democracy and The External Challenge (Vanguard and Lahore Jang Publications, 1994). Her latest book, Pakistan: Beyond the Crisis State, was published in April 2011 (by C Hurst, Colombia University Press and Oxford University Press). In 1994, Time magazine cited Dr. Lodhi as one of 100 global pacesetters and leaders, who would define the 21st century and was the only person from Pakistan on that list.
Profile
Abdul Gafoor Noorani, is a Indian Muslim, lawyer, historian and author. He practised as an advocate in the Supreme Court of India and in the Bombay High Court. As a political analyst, Mr. A.G Noorani has columns which appeared in various publications, including: Hindustan Times, The Hindu, Frontline, Economic and Political Weekly and Dainik Bhaskar.

Abstract
The presentation revisits the evolution of Kashmir dispute and the compulsions for a forward move in the contemporary phase while unfolding discussion of a variety of approaches to unknot the issue. In this context, it suggests that any sustainable approach will rest upon an acknowledgement of Kashmiri people's primacy in the triangle of dispute and measures to address their quest for recognition of their identity/cultural exclusiveness.

Similarly, the two nation states having achieved a good level of progress in Conflict Building Measures (CBMs) over the decades, need to display their political will to address substantive issues, including Jammu and Kashmir in a manner that brings about an environment of economic growth and progress for the entire region.

Consequently, a key approach towards unknotting the issue will rest upon demilitarization of the State, perhaps incremental moves towards relocation of the troops and giving more space to the native population; so as to engage them in the peace process.
Profile
A accomplished Pakistani career diplomat, Mr. Qazi attained highest representational positions in the bilateral and multilateral domains. He has previously served as Pakistan's ambassador to the United States, China, Russia and East Germany, and Syria. He was also Pakistan's High Commissioner to India. He was UN's Special Representative in Sudan and United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq and also carried out diplomatic assignments in Copenhagen, Tokyo, Cairo, Tripoli and London.

Abstract
The Kashmir issue is not only complicated but over six decades it has been invested with so much nationalist fervour and feeling that the narratives of both Pakistan and India on the subject are mutually exclusive and have come to define their respective self-images as nation states as well as their bilateral relationship. This has made the search for a mutually acceptable Kashmir solution nearly impossible. Nevertheless, progress towards normalcy in the India-Pakistan relationship is essential for peace in South Asia as well as for the modernization and development of both countries. This in turn requires sustained progress towards a solution of the Kashmir issue that is acceptable to public opinion in India, Pakistan and Kashmir. This will require time, effort, and a process of CBMs that in the short run prioritizes human rights and freedoms and in the longer run begins to progressively transform the static zero-sum relationship into an increasingly positive sum relationship in which trade-offs that are politically difficult to implement become possible. This will require increasing the number of stake-holders in an improving relationship, short term policies situated in longer term perspectives and extraordinary leadership on both sides to sustain the process.
Honorable Federal Minister Abdul Qadir Baloch,
Distinguished Participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen

It is my profound privilege to welcome you all at this two-day international Workshop on ‘Kashmir: Looking Beyond the Peril’, on our campus. This deliberative exercise will unfold discussion on Kashmir issue which remains critically important for peace and progress in South Asia.

It is heartening to note the presence of a galaxy of scholars and experts from all over the world. I am particularly happy to see the attendance of scholars from Jammu and Kashmir and from India who have come a long way to participate in this milestone event dedicated to the vision of conflict transformation and peace building. The quality and range of academic accomplishments and expertise assembled here today is very much assuring that this two-day exercise would unfold a focused and result-oriented intellectual discourse.

No doubt, importance of this deliberative exercise is also evident from the fact that we have amongst us representation from the Federal cabinet: Lt Gen (R) Abdul Qadir Baloch, who is present for this inaugural.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Kashmir remains a critical factor in the way of achieving sustainable peace and harmony in South Asia. The unresolved dispute runs in tandem with a nuclearized environment and therefore, serves as a Warner against any flashpoint. The one-fifth of humanity living in this region has long awaited a conflict-free setting that would move the wheel of economic growth and bring prosperity. It is therefore, important that scholars and experts renew search for approaches to a peaceful and viable solution, consistent with the Kashmiri people’s aspirations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I take this opportunity to affirm that Kashmir is in fact a matter of the people’s right to make a choice about their own destiny; and not a territorial dispute between India and Pakistan. A sustainable solution must, therefore, rest upon acknowledgement of the native people’s primacy and their participation in the peace process.

Kashmir dispute continues to serve as a critical barrier in normalization of relations between the two neighbors and in the region’s move towards greater economic growth and prosperity. Essential ingredients of the dispute ought to be revisited in order to better appreciate the relationship between diagnosis and prescription.

In this regard, the workshop is envisaged to hold brainstorming on aspects such as; (a) human dynamics in the Kashmir situation; (b) compulsions to search for a
solution in the backdrop of people’s aspirations, nuclear responsibility and economic growth; and approaches to unknotted the issue. Hence, it is hoped that this intellectual discourse would enable us to explore newer avenues for cooperation and transformation of the conflict.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I once again, very profoundly thank the audience for their presence here today. Let me assure you that we highly value your presence and hope that we would have a lively, open and constructive discussions at the two-day endeavor and interaction here at NDU.

Let me now request the Chief Guest to kindly come forward to the podium and make his inaugural address. The Chief Guest please.
ANNEX D:
CHIEF GUEST’S
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
International Workshop: “Kashmir: Looking Beyond the Peril”
Inaugural Remarks by the Chief Guest

President National Defence University,
Lt Gen. Javed Iqbal,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen

- I am glad to be here amongst this august gathering of distinguished scholars and practitioners, who have gathered here to deliberate upon Kashmir dispute. This should unfold a discussion on genesis of the dispute and imperatives for a constructive change in the contemporary arena. This indeed relates to an unresolved situation over seven decades. It serves as a reminder of the critical issues for peace and progress in South Asian region and beyond.

- Kashmir has emerged as a festering wound in South Asia and an obstacle in the way of the region’s economic growth and prosperity. This workshop dedicated to Kashmir should, therefore, render an opportunity for all of us to revisit significance of the issue and look beyond the current peril. The deliberations should serve as a reminder for a forward move that holds the promise of erecting structures of peace and progress.

- In this context, it is encouraging to find amongst us scholars and practitioners from all over the world. This augers well for a candid and constructive discussion.

Ladies and Gentleman

- Kashmir has proved to be one of the most intractable, unresolved conflicts in the world. The unresolved status has not only remained a barrier in the inter-state normalization. It has also hindered economic growth and South Asian participation in the ‘Asian Century’. Consequently, the dispute has affected human security across the region.

- The human dynamics of the Kashmir scenario remain a potent reality regardless of what positions the competitors or the international community would take. Kashmir is not a territorial dispute; it is a question of human destiny involving more than 18 million people.

- It is our considered view that people of the disputed state have an inherent right to decide their destiny. In this context, we need to keep in view that the UN resolutions that are the flag bearers of the people’s right to decide, do recognize and affirm this inherent right. Let this be known that people’s right to preside over their destiny does not get diluted because of the time factor and by any bilateral or unilateral actions that might have taken place over the years.
There is an ever growing need for nation states in South Asia to show nuclear responsibility and to promote economic growth in the region. One fifth of mankind living in South Asia should not be deprived of participation in that process of growth and progress. Needless to say that the call for nuclear responsibility and economic growth will not convey any meaning unless this is read in tandem with the Kashmiri people’s aspirations. The issue thus, cannot be viewed in the limited prism of India Pakistan bilateralism. We must take into consideration the human dynamics of the situation.

Ladies and Gentlemen

On our part, we remain committed to our principled position on Jammu and Kashmir and to move together with India and international community to unknot the issue, in keeping with Kashmiri people aspirations. We remain ready to do our part in carrying the wheel forward.

I am glad that the National Defence University has taken the lead in organizing this workshop in a conflict transformation mode and to have a galaxy of speakers from all over the world. I am certain that this workshop will ensure constructive and positive deliberations and bringforth useful results of interest to policy relevant circles.

In the end, I once again wish you all a professionally rewarding experience at the workshop and thank the NDU for affording me this opportunity to share my thoughts with this august gathering.
ANNEX E: PRESIDENT AJK’S REMARKS AT THE PLENARY 3/WRAP UP SESSION
President National Defence University,
Lt. Gen Javed Iqbal,
Chair of the session: Dr. Maleeha Lodhi,
Distinguished Guests,

Ladies and Gentlemen

- It gives me great pleasure to be with you this afternoon in this deliberative process on Kashmir. This is particularly satisfying that we all agree on one point: our shared concern on this issue of critical importance for peace and progress in the broader region.

- The participants of this Workshop have reviewed the Kashmir issue from different angles in the last two days. They discussed the heart of the problem, possible drivers for a change and different approaches for solving the issue. There is no doubt that this forum has helped in revisiting issues such as: CBMs and beyond, Kashmir as a connector rather than a flash point and non-traditional security challenges.

Ladies and Gentleman

- Let me say, at the outset, that perspectives on Kashmir may differ at points in time and space. However, we all agree that Kashmir has proved to be one of the most intractable unresolved conflicts in the world. The unresolved status has not only impacted the organic unity of the State and its people but also served as a critical barrier in the normalization of relations between India and Pakistan.

- The inability to resolve this dilemma over the decades is explained in many ways. It is also viewed in the context of entrenched policy perspectives in Delhi and Islamabad. In this background, the region experienced recurring wars and the phenomenon of militancy that brought no conclusions. The consequent impasse has in turn introduced a two-fold trend: First, it has brought the issue back on the international radar screen. Second, it has established that there is a greater play of the native factor in the triangle involving India and Pakistan.

- In recent years, the notion of ‘ground realities’ has been used to question the ‘potency’ of UN resolutions because of the time factor and Simla agreement. Moreover, it has been fashionable to talk of ‘fatigue’, faced by the nation states. Conversely, we need to keep in view that the scenario cannot be defined within the narrow bilateral or unilateral prism. Our view of ‘ground realities’ must also include human dynamics of the situation in the disputed state. We cannot be unmindful that there are sixteen million people, more than the population of the entire Persian Gulf put together. They carry a sense of history and civilizational growth peculiar to their setting, and now a growing urge for participation in the process as the principal party.
- We are no more pinned-down to a phase of history that followed Simla accord and a decade or so in its aftermath. Much water has flown down the Indus river system since then. First of all, there is a resurgence of Kashmiri identity. This has been unfolding a recurring skepticism as to what is cooking for them behind their backs. Second, the emerging generation in the State looks upon themselves ‘as the principal party’ that needs to be taken on board. All the stakeholders should therefore prepare for a trilateral approach to a settlement if we are looking for sustainable solution and peace and progress for all.

- The “youth upsurge” in Kashmir as witnessed in recent years is revealing in many ways. The upsurge is distinct for its spontaneity and grass-root level manifestations. At times, the traditional leadership was led by the street, not vice versa. The phenomenon is indeed a critical reminder of the broader question of identity and of continuous denials and neglect, not merely a question of human rights abuse. It is certainly not a “governance issue”. Let there be no mistake on this count. This should also serve as a warning of another “hot summer” in store that we all need to avoid.

- In a nutshell, what can be done to reduce the risks of an explosion of sorts in the region? The key to this lies in a two way approach: First, start demilitarization at least gradually and assure its high visibility. Second, engage Kashmiris in Pakistan India dialogue as a principal party.

**Ladies and Gentlemen,**

- Peace process should serve as an alternate to the re-birth of militancy if it promises hope to Kashmiris after decades of denial and neglect. There has been loud talk of “making borders irrelevant”, greater intra-Kashmir contacts and demilitarization. However, no significant progress on confidence building with Kashmiris beyond the initial steps has come about.

- Finally, the persistent defiance in the valley is the fore-warner of what lies ahead. Let’s not forget the level of maturity, non-violent mode and international connectivity of the Kashmiri resistance. If voices of reason do not prevail in the South Asian decision making circles, we are in for a new era of defiance and popular revolt in Kashmir. Better sense should prevail and the International community must play its due role.

**Ladies and gentleman**

- To sum up, the two-day long deliberations signified a marked convergence in our perceptions of the evolving situation in this region and potential that continues to exist for conflict prevention and peace building. We welcome peace building though not at the alter of justice.

- In the end, I congratulate NDU for holding this successful endeavor.