

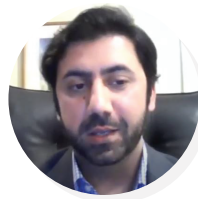


Inside this Issue >>

■ Relaunch Ceremony of IPRI	1	■ Guest Lecture Series	
		<i>27th October: The Day Kashmir was Invaded</i>	7
■ IPRI Webinar Series		■ Inhouse Roundtable	7
<i>Afghan Peace Process: Role of Spoilers</i>	2	■ New Editor	8
<i>Trump vs. Biden: The Future of Pak-US Relations</i>	3-4	■ Communications and Outreach	
<i>Citizenship Amendment Act 2019 of India: Discriminatory and Exclusionist both for Muslims and other Minorities</i>	5-6	<i>IPRI Scholars' Opinion Articles</i>	8
		<i>IPRI on Television</i>	8

Relaunch Ceremony of IPRI

Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) organized a virtual relaunch ceremony on October 26, 2020. At the event titled *The Future of Think Tanks*, IPRI launched a new website along with a new line of IPRI products. The keynote speaker, **Dr Moeed Yusuf**, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on National Security Division and Strategic Policy Planning, and Ex-Officio Patron of IPRI, shared his vision for IPRI and the importance to upgrade think tanks in Pakistan.



Dr Hussain Nadim, Executive Director (Communications and Reforms), IPRI, emphasized on revitalizing the institutional structures in Pakistan to communicate better with the more revolutionized and digitalized world.

There is a need to develop policy based on data, ignored since post British Raj. Already available data only requires processing and identifying patterns in order to enliven strategic thinking. Modern useful think tanks should be the harbinger of new ideas, innovation, and must integrate modern technology to be able to prove actionable in order to make the role of think tanks pertinent and understand policy nuances more appropriately. The restructuring process of IPRI is basically realigned accordingly.

Similarly, much neglected disparity between the academic and the policy world would be bridged futuristically from now on. Since International Relations are euro centric, the theoretical models are also developed on western experiences. IPRI aims to decolonize these paradigms as well.

Based on three-pronged strategy:(i) Datafication will include integrating data analytics across research, policy, strategy and planning to improve Pakistan's decision making and work quality.(ii) Digitalization will help to harness the power of digital media to overhaul IPRI's communication and outreach.(iii)Disruption aims at overhauling the mindset of the institution, creating a shared vision and ownership of the work environment & energy.

Keeping the new website more user-friendly and more digitalized, IPRI has introduced a region-wise

Continued on p. 2



Brig. (R) Raashid Wali Janjua, Acting President and Director Research, IPRI, in his opening remarks highlighted IPRI's new vision and reoriented research direction. Though, IPRI has been an old bastion of ideas and

concepts for the last 20 years and has helped shape national consensus on issues of national interest successfully, yet, the new research philosophy of IPRI is redesigned on actionable policy input. It would be of direct relevance to the policy makers, with focus on international community linkage.

The underlined feature would be joint research and joint partnership for policy formulation anchoring on modern research tools and data analytics.

Furthermore, the research areas are also widened to include Strategic Studies, Lawfare, Economy, Public Policy, and Governance. IPRI has restructured its communication and global outreach wing as well.

Continued from p. 1

interactive map, IPRI Digital, and IPRI Infographics along with its key products like IPRI Journal and IPRI Monograph. The most modern ingredient would be IPRI Analytics and Projection, designed to provide research to policy makers and National Security Division. The digital library would be a useful resource for the researchers and students alike.



Dr Moeed Yusuf, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on National Security Division and Strategic Policy Planning, emphatically suggested the need to reform

IPRI and other think tanks in the rapidly changing world. The government's ability to absorb given inputs seeks more improvised version. Ultimately, states with better strategic thinking would be able to deal with potential eventualities. The role of think tanks is more critical in a coordinated mechanism for policy input outside the public sector.

The new face of IPRI will become a direct and constant contributor to policy thinking.

National Security Division plans to set up and launch portal for universities and think tanks whereby giving access to all institutions working on various facets of national security.

Dr Yusuf also shared that IPRI is a pioneer institution. It endeavors to be among top 10 think tanks globally by inspiring more actionable, implementable and useful policy research for peace building in the region and world at large. Pakistan's core vision is to achieve economic security, and bolster regional connectivity. It seeks to become a geo-economic hub and provide trade transit for the global economy in order to ensure the flow of investments in the country.

Hence, partnerships with the think tanks around the world shall be encouraged to moderate world's opinion. Knowing Pakistan through interactive projects would help dispel misleading perceptions about Pakistan. Moreover, providing a succulent policy input by digitalizing the products would ensure success of think tanks as well.

IPRI Webinar Series

Afghan Peace Process: Role of Spoilers

There are several obstacles that continue to challenge peace and stability in Afghanistan; frailty of any peace deal without consensus of all stakeholders involved in the conflict, the narcotics' business lobby which thrives on conflict, and regional elements that have ardently played the role of a 'spoiler' in the ultimate achievement of peace in Afghanistan and the region.

-Brig. (R) Raashid Wali Janjua, SI(M)
Acting President and Director Research, IPRI

It is essential to recognize patterns of subterfuge used by Afghan and Indian intelligence agencies to keep the peace process embroiled in instability, to ensure lack of progress and development in the betterment of relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the region on a larger scale.

-Mr Ihsan Ghani
former Director General (DG) Intelligence Bureau (IB),
and former National Coordinator, National Counter
Terrorism Authority (NACTA)

The onus of safeguarding the guarantees made in the Afghan peace process is on the US, given that it is a signatory and an important player in Afghanistan's progress. While the peace process needs to be Afghan owned and managed, the stakeholders in the process are not absolved of their responsibilities.

- Ms Amina Khan
Director, Centre for Middle East & Africa (CMEA),
Institute of Strategic Studies (ISSI), Pakistan

If peace materializes in Afghanistan, it would be against the Indian interests since it would prevent India from conducting proxy war compelling onus on Pakistan to support efforts towards peace and reconciliation. Moreover, being a close partner of the US, India would continue its efforts to contain China's influence in the region. China's huge investment in Afghanistan already threatens Indian and the US economic and political interests.

- Ambassador (R) Ayaz Wazir

IPRI Webinar Series

Trump Vs Biden: The Future of Pakistan-US Relations

IPRI and the Wilson Center organized a 2+2 Series webinar on *Trump versus Biden: Implications for Pakistan-US Relations* on October 30, 2020.



While introducing IPRI, **Brig. (R) Raashid Wali Janjua**, Acting President and Director Research, IPRI, placed emphasis on a new role IPRI has designed for itself. It seeks to expand its outreach by way of collaboration with the international institutions. He stated that an extensive alliance with foreign institutions such as, the Wilson Center by 2+2 series is meant to be interactive to generate useful debate in order to comprehend variant perspectives. He believed that the United States (US) elections are taking place in a charged political environment with a close competition in swing states. Upon this election hangs the fate of new policy architecture that gives hope to immigrants in the US, the disposed in the economic black-holes of the world and the climate hopefuls trying to save the planet.

For Pakistan, the election has implications for regional peace, especially in Afghanistan and the prospect of economic alliance in contrast to geopolitical preferences of the past.



Mr Michael Kugelman, Deputy Director and Senior Associate for South Asia, Wilson Center, Washington DC, claimed that relations between Pakistan and US are more likely to improve through non-official channels. Engaging collaboration through non-official means such as, sister city projects, Pakistan-America Foundation, leveraging the IT and tech sector by Pakistani-Americans in Pakistan are likely to assist more in expanding cooperation between Pakistan and US in post-Afghanistan US foreign policy. At the same time, US-Pakistan relations must not be over exaggerated in the back drop of several inflection points, no matter who wins the election. In his opinion they are likely to remain consistent and shaped by the geopolitics of South Asia. However, Biden may seek to resuscitate the Iran-Nuclear deal by rejoining it. The consequent moderately eased relationship will yield

positive results for Pakistan. Similarly, Biden may also maintain slightly conciliatory approach towards China and encourage avenues of cooperation unlike Trump who considers China as a strategic competitor and a rival.

The probability of highlighting human rights abuses in Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu & Kashmir (IIOJK) by Biden will work to Pakistan's advantage. Kamala Harris's erstwhile comments on India's illegal occupation of IOJK and India's Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) are also very encouraging for Pakistan.

Though, the Democrat party has also been critical of India's revocation of Article 370 and subsequent measures, yet an assertive broader criticism of India's policy has been missing.

The most crucial inflection point between US-Pakistan relations will be US policy in Afghanistan.

Both Trump and Biden are in favor of the withdrawal of the US forces from Afghanistan but the difference lies on post-withdrawal residual forces and collaboration between Pakistan and US on Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Al-Qaeda and other militant groups.



Ms Tamanna Salikuddin, Director, South Asia programs, United States Institute of Peace, opined that the Trump/Biden binary is secondary to regional dynamics in South Asia. It will have a bearing on the bilateral relationship regardless of which president comes in power. National security priorities for subsequent administrations have remained the same; however, the differences continued on choices of means to achieve the ends. Since President Clinton's period, post-Cold War, US strategic goals in South Asia have revolved around (a) developing a strong partnership with India, (b) containing violent activities in Afghanistan and Pakistan, (c) preventing dangerous nuclear arms in South Asia.

Continued on p. 4

Continued from p. 3

At present, nuclear stability and preventing an escalation of crisis between Pakistan and India remains a priority and is likely to remain in future also.

There is also a growing bipartisan consensus on peace process in Afghanistan, and it has become a conventional wisdom in the US, so that US can withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The consensus will more or less revolve around Taliban providing political space to other groups in Afghanistan and severing ties with Al-Qaeda and other terror groups around the world.



Dr Rabia Akhtar, Director, School of Integrated Social Sciences, University of Lahore, Pakistan, in her candid contemplation questioned the standing of Pak-US relations and where do they want to go? How do they

both want to achieve their goals amidst several convergences and divergences such as the Afghan Peace Process and the US relationship with India? These are perhaps the most important factors in determining the future of relationship between Pakistan and US. Counter terrorism, intelligence sharing between Pakistan and US, peace and stability in broader South Asia, democracy, human rights and defence cooperation are other core issues defining Pak-US relations. Pakistan should be clear in terms of what it expects from the US. On the other hand, the foremost concern for Pakistan is lack of sensitivity from the US with respect to Pakistan's security perception. US needs to acknowledge its credentials on safety and security of nuclear programs and nonproliferation measures, including its custodial measures.

There are mutual expectations, by both countries, irrespective of which administration comes into power.

Pakistan's efforts for US-Taliban peace talks and Intra-Afghan peace talks have been genuine. Should the

Afghan peace talk falter, Pakistan should not be scapegoated for it.

Dr Akhtar also suggested that Pakistan should try to move away from ongoing strategic competition between China and US and should avoid being bracketed with China while maintaining a strategic balance between the two major powers.



Dr Hussain Nadim, Executive Director (Communications and Reforms), IPRI, stated that whoever assumes power in the White House does matter, given the manner in which the American South Asian policy is implemented. It has

been radically different under the Donald Trump administration. True to revamped institutional tools, Dr Nadim analytically recounted the visits of both Republicans and Democrats to Pakistan during their period. In terms of US Presidential visits, there have been five visits only. Three of them took place when the country was under the rule of a military leader. He regretted that there has not been a single visit by any US President to Pakistan since 2006. US hosts about half a million Pakistani-Americans. Their trade ties stand at USD 6.5 billion, where Pakistan has a trade surplus of USD 1.3 billion. Pakistan happens to be China's largest import market also. Similarly, new compound of the US Embassy in Pakistan built at a cost of USD 738 million, happens to be one of the largest US Embassies in the world. This reflects future interest and importance US attaches to Pakistan.

Originally, the convergences between the two countries have been due to external factors, and now the locus is moving from Afghanistan to China.

Pakistan has been a periphery country for the US in its foreign policy. Pakistan wants to be a part of the core interest for the US but finds it difficult to undergo radical shifts to attain that place. It needs to desecuritize its relationship with the US. Dr Nadim suggested that both sides need to view bilateral relations from the post-colonial perspective.

The question answer session spawned some valuable interventions by many distinguished participants despite an effort by some rogue elements in India to hack the debate.

IPRI Webinar Series

Citizenship Amendment Act 2019 of India: Discriminatory and Exclusionist both for Muslims and other Minorities

IPRI organized a webinar on *Citizenship Amendment Act 2019 of India: Discriminatory and Exclusionist both for Muslims and other Minorities* on October 7, 2020.



In his Opening Remarks, **Brig. (R) Raashid Wali Janjua**, SI(M), Acting President and Director Research, IPRI, expressed his concerns regarding peace being held hostage in South Asia due to India's pursuit of an exclusivist and nationalist agenda.

Propelled by an extremist Hindutva ideology, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has expedited its attempts in changing the secular character of India and in the process maintained a Hindu-majority polity. Both the National Register of Citizens (NRC) and the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) have acted in sync to deny minorities their due rights, which bodes ill especially for Indian national integrity.

India under Modi is doing grave human rights violations, worthy of being condemned on international fora.



In his Keynote Address, **Dr Ramesh Kumar**, Member of National Assembly of Pakistan and Patron-in-Chief of Pakistan Hindu Council, remarked that there is a clear distinction between the Hindu religion and *Hindutva* ideology.

Hindutva should clearly be identified as an ideology of bigotry that spreads intolerance and animosity. While, Hindu religion preaches peace and teaches inter-faith harmony. He added that India today is one of Modi's, and not that of Gandhi or Nehru anymore.

Legislation like the CAA has violated the Constitution of India and subsequently, disturbed the secular character of the country that it had prided itself on for many years.



Discussing 'Citizenship Amendment Act since Enactment: A Win or a Misfire?' **Mr Muzzammil Ayyub Thakur**, Director of the Justice Foundation: Kashmir Institute of International Affairs, United Kingdom, highlighted that India has issued 400,000 domicile certificates to non-Kashmiris up until now so they may permanently reside in Kashmir. This is indicative of the demographic change and ethnic cleansing project that India has embarked upon. It is important to note here that what took Israel 50 years to do, India has done in less than a year.

Kashmir has been a testing ground and laboratory for Indian oppressive policies for more than 70 years.

Mr Thakur underscored the need for the world community to end Indian terror campaigns and recommended advocacy must be strengthened. At the heart of this advocacy campaign would be the role of the *Kashmiri* diaspora, who must be empowered, mobilized and given the due support and resources, to further the cause of the *Kashmiris* that live in the occupied valley. This can be done so either by engaging students in universities, by pre-emptively writing letters to parliamentarians, or by encouraging the diaspora community to lobby with international humanitarian groups and other communities. A narrative, that is similar to other communities that have gone through subjugation, must be sold. As politicians entertain policies that constituent members lobby for, it is important that the narrative garners support because the court of public opinion carries a lot of weight.



On 'The Legal Implications of the Citizenship Amendment Act: An Analysis', **Mr Muhammad Oves Anwar**, Director, Conflict Law Centre,

Continued on p. 6

Continued from p. 5

Research Society of International Law (RSIL), Pakistan, stated that Article 14 of the Indian Constitution states 'Equality before Law', regardless of one's religion, however, the CAA is in direct violation of this Article by specifically targeting Muslims. Through CAA, the aim is to deprive the Muslim community of their basic rights as citizens. Similarly, the CAA also violates Article 21, 'Right to Life and Liberty' and the basic principle of secularism under the Indian Constitution.

Mr Anwar stated that the Indian domestic jurists and legal precedent also indicate the illegality and dubious nature of the CAA and how it impinges upon the provision of basic rights of the citizens of India. He highlighted the reaction of various international organisations and states against the implementation of the CAA by India. He said that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights described the Act as 'Fundamentally Discriminatory' in nature. He even quoted the US Commission on International Religious Freedom and the International Commission of Jurists, recommending to the US government that sanctions should be imposed on India for the implementation of this Act.

He highlighted that India is shirking from its international human rights obligations. It is violating the basic tenants of human rights by deliberately making people stateless, which is in complete violation of the international law. He added that the CAA has created more than 1.9 million Muslims stateless and may even create more, which might lead to a humanitarian and refugee crisis.

CAA has created more than 1.9 million Muslims stateless and may even create more, which might lead to a humanitarian and refugee crisis.

He observed that the *Hindutva* ideology of the BJP Government coupled with the flagrant violations of human rights, and erosion of key institutions in India, such as the Supreme Court, have indicated a 'System Criminality'. Explaining system criminality, he stated that it is a situation where the entire state apparatus is used to commit international crimes within a state, which in his opinion, is what Nazi Germany demonstrated as well.



Discussing the 'Impact of Citizenship Amendment Act in South Asia: Exacerbating Existing Regional Fault-lines', **Dr Salma Malik**, Assistant Professor, Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, stressed that current

political elites in India have done away with the secular identity of India and institutions such as the Indian Supreme Court have also played their part in this transition. Dr Malik cited the example of the recent Indian Supreme Court decision on the Babri Masjid and how it set an inherent legal precedent in India for the removal of even more religious shrines and places of worship in India.

The only reason that international community, in particular the West, has remained largely silent is because Christian community has not been targeted much in India. However, the Indian political elites may soon target the Christians in the country as well.

Recommendations

1. International bodies that serve to protect the rights and dignities of the people should immediately take cognizance of the fact that India has been violating the rights of its own minorities, and those across its borders.
2. Since the US and UK have dedicated legal institutions and organizations that look into international human rights violations, Pakistan must approach them on the plight of *Kashmiris*.
3. Advocacy must be strengthened and at the heart of the campaign should be the role of the *Kashmiri* diaspora, who must be empowered, mobilized and given the due support and resources, to further the *Kashmiri* cause.

Guest Lecture Series

October 27: The Day Kashmir Was Invaded



In the Guest Lecture titled *October 27: The Day Kashmir Was Invaded* on October 27, 2020, **Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed**, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee; and **Ambassador (R) Inam-ul-Haq**, former Foreign Minister and Foreign Secretary, and Chairman, Board of Governors, IPRI, made the following policy recommendations:

1. Pakistan needs to keep Kashmir dispute alive internationally through persistent debates in think tanks, media, civil society, diaspora, and parliamentary diplomacy.
2. Pakistan needs to convey to the world that India has become a *Hindutva* state, which is an imminent threat to the regional peace and security.
3. Pakistan should continue its revisionist policy against the status quo in Kashmir and carry on support to indigenous freedom struggle through moral, political and diplomatic means.
4. The US has made a strategic choice in the region by backing India against China. Since 2008, it has sold USD 21 billion weapons to India. Therefore, any mediation offer on Kashmir dispute by the US needs to be thoroughly examined.
5. It seems that there is a mental fatigue among various segments of Pakistani society over Kashmir dispute. However, this exhaustion may not be allowed to transform Pakistan's national policy on Kashmir. Pakistan should stay determined and focused on its principled stance and aggressively disperse its narrative across the world.
6. Pakistan needs to file a petition in the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) against Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Modi's human rights violations in Kashmir. Kashmir Khalistan Referendum Front (KKRF) could be used as a tool for such tactics against India.
7. An indigenous nationalist movement is gaining momentum in GB. Pakistan should start consultation process with all segments of GB in order to dispel the perception of alienation from the mainstream.
8. During the Cold War, the narrative used to be built by the states but today, multiple power centers including media and civil society craft national narratives. These narratives are more powerful and easily accessible. Hence, the world is more receptive to such narratives. Pakistan should also encourage these segments of societies to craft narrative on Kashmir dispute.
9. Pakistan needs to foster its goodwill with the regional countries, such as Sri Lanka and Nepal more efficiently while keeping a close eye on the regional realities and strategic compulsions.

Inhouse Roundtable

IPRI organized a Roundtable discussion titled *Implications of Proposed Provisional Province Status for Gilgit Baltistan* on October 14, 2020. Distinguished experts were invited to deliberate and provide their input on the status of Gilgit Baltistan.

IPRI Scholars' Opinion Articles

Brig. (R) Raashid Wali Janjua
Director Research

"Constitutional Reforms for Gilgit-Baltistan"
Daily Times

Ambassador (R) Asif Durrani
Senior Research Fellow

1. "Afghanistan: Heading for Peace through Landmines"
 2. "Trump's Withdrawal Announcement and Afghan Peace"
- Daily Times*

Khalid Chandio
Research Fellow

"Pakistan: Not All Is Lost under the Sky"
Daily Times

Adeel Mukhtar Mirza
Assistant Research Officer

1. "Ecstatic Climate Justice"
Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research (CSCR)
2. "Indian Exclusionism Towards Muslims and Minorities"
Daily Times
3. "Nagorno Karabakh: Crawling through Life"
Global News Pakistan

Hamzah Rifaat Hussain
Assistant Research Officer

1. "Will Latest WHO Revelations Pave Way for Collectivism Instead of China-Bashing?"
2. "How the WFP Won the Nobel Peace Prize without Don Quixote's Lance"
3. "Why Japan's Diaoyu Alarm Ignores China's Strategy on Bilateral Ties"
4. "China and Sri Lanka Maintain Close Relationship amid Discord Attempts"
China Global Television Network (CGTN)

Maheen Ahmed
Assistant Research Officer

1. "Americans, the Best Europeans"
Geopolitica.ru
2. "The Water War Prediction"
Natura, Volume 4, Issue No. 3, October 2020
 [Online Edition]

New Editor



IPRI is pleased to announce **Ms Shamsa Nawaz** as the new Editor. She has authored two books, including *India's Nuclear Weapons Programme?* and *Pakistan's Futuristic Peace Paradigm*. She has also co-authored a book *Kashmir: January, 2020; Its Geo sociological Imperative*. She served as a Senior Research Associate/ Editor at Strategic Vision Institute, Islamabad (2019-2020) and Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (2013-2019), before joining IPRI. She has been a regular contributor to both national and international journals/ magazines. Her area of expertise is nuclear politics in South Asia, Kashmir and Contemporary Europe.

IPRI on Television



Ambassador (R) Asif Durrani, Senior Research Fellow, IPRI, was part of 4 panel discussions during the month of November, appearing on various local news channels, including **PTV World** (*Newsroom*), **PTV News** (*Shahrah-E-Dastoor*), **Hum News**, and **Indus News** (*In Focus- South Asia*).

He shared his views on the leader of Hezb-e-Islami, Mr Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's visit to Islamabad, future of the Afghan Peace Process, and India's role in fomenting global terrorism. He also spoke about Pakistan's election to the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC).

Contact Information

Address: IPRI, Fifth Floor, Evacuee Trust Complex, Sir Agha Khan Road, Sector F-5/1, Islamabad, Pakistan

☎ +92 51 9211346-49

✉ editor@ipripak.org

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

🐦 https://twitter.com/IPRI_Pakistan

🌐 www.ipripak.org