



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KASHMIR STUDIES

AFGHANISTAN

JAMMU & KASHMIR



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF KASHMIR STUDIES

Vol.1 July –December 2019 No.2

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- To assess and examine the needs and requirements of research in Kashmir studies and dynamics of Pakistan.
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- To sponsor and commission scholarly works by independent academic researchers;
- To devise and adopt ways and means to further the objectives of the forum as a body responsible for research in above mentioned areas;
- To cooperate with international research organizations, and study Kashmir Issue in wider context of its neighbouring countries.

The final disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of the people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. Affirming that the convening of a Constituent Assembly as recommended by the General Council of the "All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" and any action that Assembly might attempt to take to determine the future shape and affiliation of the entire State or any part thereof would not constitute a disposition of the State in accordance with the above principle.

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Concerning the India-Pakistan question adopted by the
Security Council on March 30, 1951.

The *International Journal of Kashmir Studies* is published biannually in January and July, by the Policy and Research Forum, Basement, K-Block, New District Complex Muzaffarabad — AJK. Tel: +92-5822-920008, 920074.

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Subscription Rates

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Pak Rs. 250.00 a Copy
Pak Rs. 490.00 a Year

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Pak Rs. 550.00 a Year

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US\$ 6 a Copy
US\$ 10 a Year

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Printed at Dharti Art Press,
Old Secretariat Muzaffarabad for the Policy and Research Forum.
Policy and Research Forum, Muzaffarabad, AJK-13100
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As per layout of the journal, the first page of the article should contain the title, name of the author and an abstract of the article. For the sake of uniformity, we have included a “Note to Contributors” on the back of the cover page. For citation and references, the IJKS follows the format outlined in Sixteenth Edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

The current issue carries seven articles. The first paper throw flash back to Popular Movement against Dogra Rule in Kashmir: 1944-1947. This article discusses the major political developments of the first half 20th century and formulation of mass based political Kashmir National Organization. This study also focused on the major aspects like Naya Kashmir Manifesto (1944), Quit Kashmir Movement (1946) and the states accession with Indian Union in (1947), by a suitable document of Instrument of Accession signed between Maharaja Hari Singh and India Government.

The second article focused on the biography of the Founder of 'Nationalistic' Trope in Kashmir 'Prem Nath Bazaz' and concentrates the many unaddressed questions. This article discuss that What lead to the change in the politics of Sheikh Abdullah, both revered and loathed in Jammu and Kashmir, and exactly what brought him closer to the Indian leadership? This article also examines the role of Prem Nath Bazaz in engaging with the Muslim leadership and promotion of nationalist feelings amongst Kashmiris.

The third paper is an attempt to examine how the tourism is creating impact on environment in largest and most populous Asian continent. This article highlights the positive and negative impact of tourism on nature and lives of the Asian's. This study also indicates towards the policy measurements to

control the negative impact on environment.

The fourth paper focuses on the human rights violation in Jammu and Kashmir by Indian occupational forces. This study draws the attention towards UN resolutions and the struggle of the people of Kashmir for the right of self-determination. This also focuses that Kashmir is a humanitarian dispute as envisaged in the Universal Declarations of Human Rights-1948 and Article 1 of the UN Charter.

The fifth article attempts to analyse the performance of the state institutions and people's attitude towards the vigilantism. This study examined the trust level of people in the Criminal Justice System and attitude towards vigilantism among youth.

The sixth article briefly introduced the rare source of the history of Bahawalpur “The Weekly Sadiq-ul-Akhbar” which is quite helpful for historians to explore socio-cultural, political administrative, judicial, religious and literary history of the Bahawalpur State from Sadiq-ul-Akhbar (صادق‌ال‌اخبار).

The last article discusses the United States National Security Strategies (NSS) transformations after 9/1. This article also highlights the impact of the US National Security Strategies.

The process of evaluation and blind peer reviewing is comprehensive. We have an Internal Review Committee (IRC) consisting of the Chief Editor, Editor, Associate Editors and Assistant Editors. The committee recommends an article for evaluation after preliminary assessment. The article then goes through a cycle of evaluation, editing, review and proof reading.

An acknowledgement letter is forwarded to the author, which should not be deemed as an acceptance letter. It is just to inform the author that the article is being sent for blind peer review. Then the article is sent to two appropriate scholars. Articles are evaluated on the recommendations of nationally and internationally known referees belonging to various disciplines. It is the policy of the forum that the internal committee recommends at least two reviewers one local and one foreign for the evaluation of every article. If they recommend changes and suggestions, the article is sent back to the author for revision. After positive recommendation from both the reviewers, an article is accepted for publication in the International Journal of Kashmir Studies

Editor in Chief

Emergence of a Popular Movement against Dogra Rule in Kashmir: 1944-1947

Sameer Bhatt*

Abstract

The major political developments in Kashmir started during the first half of 20th century and finally their culmination lead to the formation of mass political organization. The important political organization of Kashmir-National Conference intensified its movement and decided to observe 5th August 1938 as "Responsible Government Day". National Conference holds state wide meetings and passed a few resolutions to put an end to the present 'Irresponsible Government' and to establish a responsible government within the state. Thus, the wide spread movement forced Maharaja to issue a decree on 11th February 1939, in order to enhance the constitutional rights of the people to some extent. For the members of National Conference, this was only a minor change and cannot fulfill the aspirations of the people as they wanted a constitution which could fulfill all the demands of the people. This study examines the major aspects

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like Naya Kashmir Manifesto (1944), Quit Kashmir Movement (1946) and the forced state's accession with Indian Union in (1947), by a controversial document of Instrument of Accession.

Keywords: Constitution, Government, Kashmir, Maharaja, National Conference.

Introduction

During the first decades of 20th century many political developments started in Kashmir like the establishment of reading room party,¹ Praja Sabha,² students association and they finally lead to the formation of Muslim Conference in 1932, which further culminated into National Conference in 1939. The Muslim Conference was revamped in order to widen its horizon and membership. During the 6th session of Muslim Conference on 27th-29th March, 1938, presided over by Sheikh Abdullah, the members insisted on espousing nationalistic approach.³

Sheikh Abdullah during his presidential address maintained that not only the Muslims, but other communities like Hindus and Sikhs have also been suffered by the hands of irresponsible government. We must think in terms of collective development rather than only being Muslims and non-Muslims and our major priority must be universal adult suffrage based on separate electorates. Evidently democracy does not exist without having these two features.⁴

¹ Reading Room Party was formed in 1929. The idea for the establishment of the Reading Room was the brainchild of Molvi Abdullah Vakil and Khwaja Ghulam Ahmad Ashai, the first M.A. youth of Kashmir. The early members included Qari Saif-ud-din, Hakim Ali, Mufti Jalal-ud-din, Pirzada Ghulam Rasool, Pirzada Ahmad Shah, and Mr. Abdul Aziz Fazili etc. Its main motive was related to the educational upliftment of majority community. See Greater Kashmir, *Reading Room was brainchild of Molvi Abdullah Vakil*, 13 Jul 2009.

² Praja Sabha was formed in 1934 under the reign of Maharaja Hari Singh. Jammu and Kashmir was the first among other princely states which evolved an independent constitution and introduced the concept of elected representatives, members of the Praja Sabha and established an independent judiciary. See Mohd Yousuf Tyang, *Atish-e-chinar- an Autobiography*, (Srinagar: Ali Mohammad and Sons, 1986), p.67.

³ F A Abba, *Profiles of Abdullah* (Srinagar: Pragash Publications, 1980), 54.

⁴ Prem Nath Bazaz, *Inside Kashmir*, (Jammu and Kashmir: Kashmir Publishing Company, 1941), 193.

⁵ Mohd Amin Malik, *The Role of Muslim Conference in the Politics of Jammu and Kashmir*. (Srinagar: Tahzeeb Publishers and Distributors, 2010), 110-15.

⁶ National Conference was formed by Sheikh M. Abdullah in 1932.

The organization put many demands to the government included economic, social and political empowerments. Sheikh Abdullah was neither allowed to be a part of Congress politics nor to support the Congress in any case.⁵ According to Rashid Taseer during the first session of National Conference⁶ held at Sarnal Anantnag in 1939 people from Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities actively participated in future formation of the state. In the meantime Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited the valley (during 1944) and appealed the Kashmiris to support the Muslim Conference. He regarded it as an ally of Muslim League. This was a major turning point in the political history of Kashmir, while Sheikh Abdullah started supporting the Congress.⁷

Princely State of Kashmir at the Lapse of the British Paramountcy

By the end of the Second World War (1939-1945) constitution making for all native states came again into discussions between British authorities and Indian political parties, statesman like Jawaharlal Nehru within the name of each the All-India States' Peoples' Conference and also the Indian National Congress demanded that the common masses instead of the Princes should be consulted as far as the future of the states was concerned. The available literature reveals that problems in these states focused on the ruling elite, rajas, nawabs, and princes are shown as the last remnants of a dying feudal system.⁸

Since, the Princes and the British had same interests, so the common public in the princely states along with the rest of India started struggling for their freedom, gradually was championed by the Congress. Alongside an 'All India State Peoples Conference' (came into being in 1927) started stepping towards the assimilation of the Princely States and conjointly started anti-imperialist struggle that was earlier waged by National Congress. It had been conjointly expressed within the Nehru Report of 1928 that the princes ought to provide to their subjects a basic right of electing the representatives to Indian Constituent Assembly.⁹

⁷ Luv Puri, *Across the Line of Control Inside Pakistan-Administered Jammu and Kashmir* (United Kingdom: C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, 2011), 17-20.

⁸ Dick Kooiman. "Nawabs, Rajas and Resistance," *Economic and Political Weekly* 39, No. 21 (2004): 2104-2115.

⁹ Behera and Behera, N. C. . *Demystifying Kashmir* (Washington: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2006) 7-8.

Furthermore, Sheikh Abdullah submitted a memorandum to the British Cabinet Mission which came to India during spring 1946. Abdullah, in a memorandum once again criticized the Treaty of Amritsar by which Kashmir was sold to the Dogra Dynasty and called upon the Maharajah Hari Singh to Quit Kashmir as soon as possible. Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues made demonstrations against the Maharaja to quit Kashmir in the meantime these demonstrations did not impact Maharajah's government. Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and sentenced to a long-term imprisonment along with almost 300 of his chief supporters. Regarding these policies of the government, the Indian National Congress provided legal defense to Sheikh Abdullah and also condemned such policies of state government.¹⁰

The Working Committee of the Kashmir Muslim Conference passed a resolution condemned the incidents in Kashmir and characterized them as “the wanton excesses of the Dogra troops” and demanded an open inquiry by an impartial tribunal. The committee outlined its demands and threatened direct action, in case these were not met at an early date. The demands included adequate representation of Muslims in the government services and the repeal of the law fixing imprisonment of ten years for cow-killing, legislation to confer the right of inheritance on Hindu convert to Islam and the abolition of the present discrimination under the Arms Act which in the name of religion permitted Hindu Rajputs to possess fire-arms. The resolution empowered the Committee of Action to chalk out a detailed programme for meeting their goals.¹¹

In 1946, Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues were arrested while Muslim Conference was revived in Jammu by Chowadry Ghulam Abbas in Jammu after the Pakistan resolution of 1940 and he was also imprisoned in 1946. Additionally Jawaharlal Nehru who was negotiating with the Cabinet Mission visited the valley at that time.¹²

¹⁰*State versus Sheikh Abdullah, Kashmir on Trial*, (The Lion Press, 1947), 3see also Alice Throne. “*The issues in Kashmir*”. *Far Eastern Survey*, 17, no. 15(1948): 173-178.

¹¹ *Times of India*, June 12, 1946.

¹² *Socialist India*, Vol. 10, 1974.

Parallel Movements of Quit India and Quit Kashmir

At the all India Congress Committee Session in Bombay, Mohandas Gandhi gave a call to launch the Quit India Movement against the British. Next day some of the prominent leaders of Congress like Gandhi, Nehru and others were arrested in order to suppress the movement and their arrest led to the demonstrations throughout the country, which was the final step towards independence.¹³ On the same lines Quit Kashmir was launched. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in his autobiography *Aatish-i-Chinar* is of view that the people of Kashmir had Quit Kashmir slogan on their lips and were spurred against the Dogra rule. Sheikh Abdullah had back support from the entire Indian Independence Movement.¹⁴ Earlier in 1944 National Conference adopted a new Kashmir manifesto during the Sopore session in which leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, and Moulana Abdul Kalam participated. The manifesto was primarily to mobilize Kashmiri masses politically.¹⁵ In May-June 1946, National Conference started a final programme against Quit Kashmir Movement in 1946 against the Dogra Dynasty under the tutelage of Sheikh Abdullah. So, the formation of first political organization (Muslim Conference) and the Quit Kashmir Movement against the Dogra oligarchy were considered as important landmarks in the history of political mobilization of Kashmir. This phase was the assertion of political as well as cultural identity among the people of Kashmir because of the concept of *Kashmiriyat* or *Naya Kashmir* a blueprint of a welfare and ideal society, started in 1944.¹⁶

Sheikh Abdullah along with his followers made a public call to the Maharaja to Quit Kashmir and made his followers ready to do everything possible in order to overthrow the Dogra rule. With this Quit Kashmir Movement started in Kashmir, which was parallel to the Quit India Movement, his speeches were considered flaming, treasonable and seditious and resultantly, government ordered to arrest him. Later, his arrest on May 20th,

¹³Making Britain- Discover how South Asians Shaped their Nation, 1870-1950, 1942. See Quit India Movement. Last Modified November 17, 2017.

<http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/1942-quit-india-movement>.

¹⁴M. Y. Tyang, *Aatish-e-Chinar-an Autobiography* (Srinagar: Ali Muhammad and Sons, 1984), 78-79.

¹⁵Chitrallekha Zutshi, *Languages-Belonging-Regional-Identity-Kashmir* (New Delhi: Permanent Black Publishers, 2004), 39-41.

¹⁶Navnita, Chada, Behera, *Demystifying Kashmir*, (Washington: Booking Institution Press, 2006), 60. See also the Political and Economic Manifesto of National Conference, New Kashmir, with an Introduction by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, 1944. 3.

1946 his followers started large scale violence in the valley. They burnt down key bridges and picket government offices. Pandith Ram Chandra Kak, a Kashmiri native, a newly appointed Prime Minister of the state by Hari Singh, tried his best to suppress the agitators. Due to the pressure from the Maharaja's government, the movement died down within no time. Thus, the National Conference proved to be an important mean for launching Quit Kashmir movement and it played the role in creating political awakening and turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir. The brainchild of this movement was Sheikh Abdullah, who was a important political figure in Kashmir till his death in 1982.¹⁷

India's Freedom and Kashmir's Accession

The Indian National Congress decided earlier in 1931 about the accession of states to be a part of Indian Union after the lapse of the British paramourty. While the Muslim league had different views that the princely states have no binding obligations to join the federation. While its counterpart- Indian National Congress was of the view that it is obligatory for every state to join either of the two after the British withdrawal. The Congress plan included that Instrument of Accession was to be made in case of defense, communication and external affairs, which is yet to be implemented and a standstill agreement for currency, customs and other matters.

On 20th February, 1947 British announced to quit India by June, 1948. Lord Simon while his speech in the House of Commons announced that this business is not going to bring peace, so we have to leave it now. Cabinet mission arrived India on 23rd March, 1946 in order to find a solution for the problem of India to review the relationship of India's native Princes with the paramount power. This mission was in fact the first step taken by the British Government regarding the future of the Indian Princely States. The Cabinet Mission also rejected a demand for separate Pakistan and it proposed for a federal union which included the British India and the Native Indian States by envisaging a federal setup for the country. The major aim of the mission was that states should submit three main things to central government which include defense, external affairs and communications and the states were

¹⁷Christopher Snedden, *Understanding Kashmir and Kashmiris*, (London: C. Hurst and Co., 2015), 132.

allowed to retain the all remaining subjects as well as powers other than those which were ceded to the Union. Indian National Congress also played an important role in order to liberate Indian Princes from the British Imperialism.

In 1920, during the Nagpur of Indian National Conference, presided over by C. Vijaya Raghavachariar; Indian state princes, at first enunciated to demand a full responsible government in their states. On the other hand, Congress allowed the residents of the states to become members of the Congress and made it clear that one cannot initiate any political activity in the state in the name of Congress. It had discussions with important leaders of India. It envisaged states to have jurisdiction over foreign affairs, defense and communication only and ironed the constituent assembly. It provided with some reservations, which were accepted by some members and the elections to constituent assembly took place in July, 1947, resulted in the formation of an Interim Government representing the different sections of the society like Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Anglo Indians and Parsis etc. It led to the lapse of the British paramountcy over Princely states and the Indian Independence Act was passed on 17th June, 1947.¹⁸

Subcontinent was partitioned into two independent countries, India and Pakistan. While the princely state had to join either India/Pakistan or to remain independent. Most of the princely states accede to either of the countries. But some of the states like Kashmir, Hyderabad¹⁹ and Junagarh²⁰ had yet to decide their fate.

¹⁸ Colonel Tej K Tikoo, *Kashmir: Its Aborigines and Their Exodus*, (Delhi: Lancer Publishers and Distributors, 2013), 105.

¹⁹ Hyderabad was mainly a Hindu princely State with 20% approximately of Muslim population. Mir Osman Ali Khan-the seventh Nizam of Hyderabad wanted to remain independent. He also took the dispute to the UN Security Council and even while preposterously considering the option of merging Hyderabad with newly carved out Pakistan. On the other hand, India was furiously pursuing Hyderabad to join the Indian and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel played an important role in this. The Hindu, August 14, 2012.

²⁰ The population of Junagarh comprised of nearly 80% of Hindus with its ruler as Muslim. The ruler of the state decided to join Pakistan on September 15, 1947. The outraged people in some parts forced the Nawab to flee to Karachi and formed a provincial Government there and his state was annexed to India on November 1, 1947. Retrieved from <https://www.thebetterindia.com/124500/sardar-patel-vp-menon-integration-princely-states-india-independence>

The Princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was a Muslim majority state, but was ruled by a Hindu monarch. While as Maharaja of the state was considering different options for future of Jammu and Kashmir while due to the successful rebellion by the local people in Poonch and its adjoining areas supported by tribal people, Maharaja had to flee from Srinagar to Jammu and India very tactfully sent its forces in Jammu and Kashmir by claiming an Instrument of Accession which later became very controversial.

In June, soon after the announcement of revised Mountbatten Plan, the Viceroy resolved that it would be best if all the states accede to India otherwise the accession would take place under British auspices. At the time of independence and partition, it was evident that some of the princely states like Jammu & Kashmir were a big problem. The Viceroy planned a visit to Kashmir on June 17, in order to prompt the ruler to take a proper decision. Nehru argued most forcefully that the state of Jammu and Kashmir must join India, but not as an autocracy under Hari Singh.

On October 2, 1947, the Prime Minister of Pakistan suggested to the Prime Minister of Kashmir that the questions between the two states including the supplies under the standstill agreement and mutual accusations of border raids should be discussed by representatives of the two governments. The Prime Minister of Kashmir replied; at the moment he is busy in internal affairs. Nevertheless, Pakistan Government sent a representative of foreign affairs to Srinagar to discuss these matters with the state. The Prime Minister of Kashmir however could not hold meaningful discussions with representative due to different compelling reasons and local intricacies.

On October 15, the Prime Minister of Kashmir sent a telegram to Prime Minister of Pakistan requesting an impartial inquiry of matters in dispute between the two states in order to restore the cordial relations in pursuance of the standstill agreement.²¹ Maharaja was in dilemma and was already in standstill agreement with Pakistan and was not interested to accede India. Finally, Kashmir was acceded to India by the controversial forced document of Instrument of Accession on 16th October, 1947 that was severely

²¹*Times of India*, June 1, 1947.

criticized and condemned by local people and India sent its forces to Srinagar on October 27, 1947 to unlawfully occupy Jammu and Kashmir against the popular will of the local masses. The trio of Nehru, Patel and V.P. Menon, seemed more confident regarding the accession of Kashmir to India union, after the three eastern tehsils of Gurdaspur had been awarded to East Punjab through a planned conspiracy in Redcliff Award to establish the road linkage between Jammu and Kashmir and India. When India sent its troops in Jammu and Kashmir on October 27, 1947, there has already been a revolt against the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in the areas of Poonch, and adjoining areas of Muzaffarabad. On October 24, 1947, local people established Azad Government of the state of Jammu and Kashmir as a legitimate successor of the Maharaja due to the successful rebellion against Maharaja with the help of tribal people. Meantime, Indian forces along with fanatic Hindus also carried out genocide and thousands of innocent and unarmed Muslims in Jammu and its adjoining areas. Finally, erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir was divided, and India managed to capture and occupy a large portion of Jammu and Kashmir and also established constitutional relationship through article 370 of the Indian Constitution of 1950.

After this article 370 was enacted in the Indian constitution regarding Kashmir which retain its culture and identity and a provisional relationship with India till the plebiscite to ascertain the wishes and aspiration of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. There were some agitations throughout the country regarding to Article 370 by some of the political parties. Article 370 was included in constitution in late 1947 between Sheikh Abdullah, who had by then been appointed Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir by the Maharaja and Nehru, who kept the Kashmir portfolio with himself and kept Sardar Patel, the Home Minister, away from his relevant function. Hence, Nehru is answerable to all acts of commission and omission, consequences of which Kashmiris are suffering till date as far as J&K is concerned.

United Nations Resolutions on Kashmir

India lodged a complaint under Article 35²² in the United Nations Security Council on January 1, 1948 related the question of Jammu and Kashmir. Many resolutions were passed by UN related to Kashmir problem from time to time but none of them gave a proper solution of the problem. The first resolution of UN, passed in January 17, 1948, Security Council called upon both India and Pakistan to exercise restraint and three days later through another Resolution No. 39, UN Commission for Indian and Pakistan (UNCIP) was created to investigate the dispute and mediate between the two countries. The resolution of April 2, 1948 Security Council called for release of political prisoners and holding of a United Nations' supervised plebiscite in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir under a plebiscite administrator to determine the aspirations of her people which was supported by another resolution of June 3, 1948. Later in July 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) produced a proposal for calling an immediate cease fire and Truce agreement.²³ On December 11, 1948, the UNCIP laid out a new set of proposals that elaborated on the question of plebiscite, again on January 5, 1949 the Security Council came up with a new resolution of Jammu and Kashmir focusing on holding of the plebiscite. Meanwhile, Indo-Pak wars of 1947, 1965 and 1971, controversial Instrument of Accession and Article 370 worsened the political conditions which also unfavorably created problems for people of the valley. Kashmir became a bone of contention in South Asia and its issues are yet to be resolved.

Conclusion

Besides the coronation of last Dogra Ruler-Maharaja Hari Singh, the political developments had already started in Kashmir in 1924 and it resulted in the formation of Muslim Conference in 1931, which was changed into National Conference in 1939 in order to make it secular and liberal. With this there were large numbers of movements against the

²² According to this article any member of United Nations can bring dispute to UN Security Council or General Assembly as referred in Article 34 of the UN Charter.

²³ Truce agreement is the third part of United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan according to which both India and Pakistan were to agree to enter into a talk related to plebiscite. See Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh and Dominik Zaum, *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and practice since 1945*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3.

Dogras. At last, the Princely state of Jammu and Kashmir was forcefully acceded to Indian union by the controversial signing of instrument of Accession on October 26, 1947 and sending of troops by India on October 27, 1947 to occupy the Jammu and Kashmir. The Maharaja's intention was to set up an Interim government under which Sheikh Abdullah will carry the responsibilities being Maharaja's Prime Minister. Kashmir was among the three major princely states which at the last acceded to their respective countries due to the external insurgency. Today, Jammu and Kashmir is the bone of contention between India and Pakistan in this region and it has jeopardized the peace, prosperity and development of the entire South Asia.

Prem Nath Bazaz: Founder of 'Nationalistic' Trope in Kashmir

Yasir Bashir*

Abstract

Prem Nath Bazaz played a fundamental role in engaging with the Muslim leadership and promoted nationalist feelings amongst Kashmiris. This paper discusses that Bazaz was the founder of nationalism in Kashmir which dealt severe blow to the Muslim unity and the consequences were found during the turbulent decade of 1940s. The formation of National Conference sowed the seeds of alienation and division in the Muslim majority state of Jammu and Kashmir. This is something which provided basis in the change of the politics of Sheikh Abdullah. What lead to the change in the politics of Sheikh Abdullah, both revered and loathed in Jammu and Kashmir, and exactly what brought him closer to the Indian leadership? These and many other questions regarding Abdullah have often eluded scholars and history

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enthusiasts alike. The present paper tries to answer these questions to maxim.

Keywords: Nationalism, Conversion, Legacy, Prem Nath Bazaz, Sheikh Abdullah, Secularism

Introduction

Prem Nath Bazaz, a Kashmiri Pandit and a historian, played an instrumental role in causing some fundamental changes in the behaviour of Sheikh Abdullah. Bazaz played a leading role in getting the Muslim leadership engaged with the management of Indian National Congress. It resultantly changed the direction of the Kashmir Movement quite prominently. His ideas drifted Sheikh Abdullah towards Indian National Congress.

Noteworthy to mention is that Sheikh himself also took steps for establishing links with the Hindus knowing that the Hindus always had vested interests in subjugating Muslims! Bazaz, unlike others, was able to think much ahead of his generation when he supported Muslim aspirations during the proceeding of the Glancy Commission in 1931. This naturally created an impression in the ranks and files of the Muslim Conference allowing him to carve out a space for camaraderie with the likes of Sheikh Abdullah, Maulana Sayeed Masoodi, Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad and many others. Bazaz was also highly successful in ensueing Marxist ideas in the movement and was able to impress gradually, upon the leadership of Muslim Conference that the real fight was not between the Hindus and the Muslims but between the rich and the poor and between the ruler and the ruled; irrespective of religion, caste, etc. His argument that the benefits which were secured by the people of Jammu and Kashmir through the struggle of Muslim Conference such as the freedom of press, platform and association; setting up of the Legislative Assembly; grant of proprietary rights; and the abolition of grazing tax, helped not only Muslims but the Hindus also who made no contributions towards that end which left a deep impression on the psyche of Sheikh Abdullah and his aides. Consequently, they began thinking on these lines. Bazaz was already in correspondence

¹ M. Sultan Pampori, *Kashmir in Chains 1819-2010* (Srinagar: Ali Mohammad & Sons, 2011).

with the leaders of Indian National Congress like Nehru and Gandhi. It can be seen from his correspondence with them from 1932 onwards. Bazaz wrote a long letter to Gandhi giving him the complete picture of the developments in Kashmir seeking protection of the minority community in the state. He stated:

We think our nationalism will be a check on the communalism of the Muslims and we can undo their mischief in this way alone. We might also be able to produce nationalists in the Muslim camp by being nationalists ourselves.²

To the utter dismay of Bazaz, Gandhi replied back to Bazaz saying;

we are sowing as we have reaped. Seeing that Kashmir is predominantly Mussalman it is bound one day to become a Mussalman State.

Prem Nath Bazaz could not bear the response. He was desperate to bring Kashmir's freedom movement under the influence of Indian National Congress. There was no second opinion over that the politics of the Muslims in the state of Jammu and Kashmir was the politics of independence, of fight against the shackles of an irresponsible and autocratic form of government, of amelioration of the sad plight of poorest classes living in the land, of struggle against vested interests, against ignorance, against age-old social system in society that the so called greats have created in their own interests to put the vast majority of the people under subjection. Bazaz was fully aware that Muslim Conference was fighting for overall development of the state irrespective of religious consideration. For instance, it did not work for the unity of the Muslim community alone, but it laid down such policies which were aimed at fighting for the common issues of all the communities living in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Similarly, their demands regarding the economic and

² Bazaz to Gandhi, dated 8 May, 1934 in Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir in Crucible* (New Delhi: Pamposh Publications, 1967).

³ Gandhi to Bazaz, dated 15 May, 1934 in Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir in Crucible* (New Delhi: Pamposh Publications, 1967).

social uplift were not meant for any particular community of peasants and labours.

For example, if in Kashmir the peasantry particularly consisted of Muslims, in Jammu majority of the peasant and labour-class mainly belonged to the non-Muslim community. Therefore, their social and economic demands had a class rather than a religious character. Likewise, they did not fight for political rights of the Muslim community alone, rather their demands were freedom of press and speech, and the introduction of responsible government in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, these demands not only served the interests of the Muslims but the non-Muslims were equally benefitted through their actions and policies which were laid down by the leadership. Despite knowing that this class character of the social and economic demands of the Muslim Conference which would benefit all the communities in the state, Bazaz tried his best to get the movement of Kashmiris managed by the Congress. He wrote to Nehru as he was greatly interested in the developments in Kashmir. This is because of the larger national issue of which Kashmir formed an '*integral part of India*' according to Nehru. It is also because Nehru was personally tied to Kashmir as his previous homeland. Nehru regularly followed the happenings in Kashmir which highlights his desire for the 'beautiful land' very early unlike the Muslim League which was at that time reeling under factionalism. What Nehru wrote to Bazaz is quite interesting which will enable us to understand the underpinnings of the movement as he understood the larger cause of Kashmiris. Nehru wrote:

It is clear that ultimate fate of Kashmir, as of the other Indian States, is bound up with that of India as a whole, so that the larger struggle for independence governs the situation and the more or less local struggle in Kashmir must be viewed in the light of the Indian struggle.⁴

Bazaz from the very inception of the movement in Jammu and Kashmir tried to link it with the larger freedom struggle in India under the leadership

⁴ Nehru to Bazaz, dated 7 July, 1936 in Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir in Crucible* (New Delhi: Pamposh Publications, 1967).

of Nehru and Gandhi. He worked to see the movement in Kashmir gets linked with India to shape its future with India. This can be understood by the following words of the letter Bazaz wrote to Nehru;

“Both of us are interested in Kashmir politics and the independence movement here as an integral part of that bigger struggle for the emancipation of India.”⁵

The leadership under the banner of Muslim Conference could not understand the language of Bazaz which was a plan in league with Nehru to link the fate of Kashmir with India. In a way, Bazaz was acting like a bridge between Sheikh and Nehru so that Kashmir's Freedom Movement can run on Congress lines. There is also a possibility that, after having received much influence and popularity in Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah got tempted by the wider field of activity and influence that association with Nehru could offer him in the sub-continent. This was unfortunate for the Kashmir Freedom Movement. It was perhaps Bazaz's influence that just after 1931 incident, appeals for cooperation were issued to non-Muslims and committees were set up to enlist their support. There appears little doubt that all this was due to the influence that Prem Nath Bazaz exercised on the leadership of the Muslim Conference. The background for these events which took place between Bazaz and Sheikh Abdullah has been told by Bazaz himself in his book as:

With the publication of the report of the grievances Enquiry Commission as well as of other reports by B.J Glancy which he submitted to the Maharaja in May, 1932, regarding the constitutional reforms and freedom of press and platform, it became widely known that all State Hindus did not oppose the Muslim demands and that at least a section of Kashmiri Pandits whom Bazaz represented were anxious to see that the

⁵ Bazaz to Nehru, dated July 15, 1936 in Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir in Crucible* (Srinagar: Gulshan Publishers, 2005).

legitimate grievances of the State Muslims are redressed and a progressive form of government established in the state. This created a moderating and sobering influence on the Muslim mind. A few young Muslim leaders including Sheikh Abdullah began to think of re-orientating the Muslim politics on broader, healthier and non-communal lines. Sheikh and Bazaz met only two months later on a historic afternoon in July 1932 in the Chasma Shahi Garden to thrash out the problem. This meeting proved to be of great significance. The decisions taken in it by the two after a frank, detailed and heart to heart discussion of the basic issues, having considerably influenced the State politics. It was in this meeting that Abdullah and Bazaz firmly resolved that the Kashmir Freedom Movement will be conducted on secular, progressive and democratic lines. Both of them promised to work together till the goal of complete freedom was achieved.⁶

Sheikh first tried to woo Pandit Kashyap Bandu, the then leader of Hindu Yuvak Sabha, in the wake of Hindu agitations against the ameliorating the appalling conditions of the Muslims. But he politely turned down the request of Sheikh citing the common and daily distrust and suspicions of the two communities. Kashyap Bandhu also told Sheikh that a united and secular platform would not be acceptable to the Hindu community for known reasons⁷. Later, Sheikh turned towards Prem Nath Bazaz who worked earlier on the Glancy Commission and was ousted by the leadership of Yuvak Sabha for showing sympathies towards the Muslims. The two met at the Chasma-Shahi Garden in July 1932 to secularize the politics of Kashmir. In his book *Aatish-i-Chinar*, Sheikh admitted that: “The seed of establishment of united and secular platform was sown on that very day in Chasma Shahi Garden.”⁸

⁶ PremNathBazaz, *The History of Freedom Struggle in Kashmir* (New Delhi: Kashmir Publishing House, 1954).

⁷ M. Sultan Pampori, *Kashmir in Chains 1819-2010* (Srinagar: Ali Mohammad & Sons, 2011).

⁸ Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, *Aatish-i-Chinar* (Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 1985).

However, Sheikh could not understand the implications of the inter-woven problem in which the British Government, Hari Singh, Muslims and Hindus of the state had divergent interests. The Muslims were also not aware of the meetings that were taking place between Sheikh and Bazaz.⁹ The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir were struggling for the implementation of Glancy Commission recommendations while the Hindus were doing the opposite. So, the common platform of Muslims and Hindus with divergent aims, and objectives could have a paradoxical nature.

The historic meeting between Sheikh and Bazaz in July 1932 proved successful for Nehru and India as Sheikh's quest for secularization of politics began after this meeting. Sheikh began to drift from his principle stance of 1931 at a mass gathering before thousands of Muslims to protect their socio-economic and political rights. The two leaders met frequently afterwards to review the progress of their mission. It needs to be understood that the two met three months earlier at the time when the freedom struggle was formally launched in October 1932 under the banner of Muslim Conference. However, the reactionary politics by the Hindus was a hindrance in their mission as the criticized Glancy reports in the speeches considering it as a challenge to their stronghold in the state politics. These speeches caused riots in the city of Srinagar which prohibited the implementation of the proposal laid down by Sheikh Abdullah and Bazaz in the Chashma Shahi Garden. However, the two leaders continuously remained in touch (without letting the Muslim know) to keep their mission intact. These meetings soon started bringing results in favor of the Hindu community as the working committee of Muslim Conference constituted a sub-committee in 1933 to find out ways and means of uniting all the people of Jammu and Kashmir irrespective of religious beliefs (primarily Hindus and Muslims). This sub-committee could not function due to the reactionary politics from the Hindus. However, noteworthy was the idea of Sheikh and Bazaz of joint political action got acceptance in some sections of the region.¹⁰

On August 1, 1935 Sheikh Abdullah and Bazaz started a weekly journal *The Hamdard* in Urdu to propagate the idea of joint nationalism on secular lines.¹¹

⁹ M. Sultan Pampori, *Kashmir in Chains 1819-2010* (Srinagar: Ali Mohammad & Sons, 2011).

¹⁰ Prem Nath Bazaz, *The History of Freedom Struggle in Kashmir* (New Delhi: Kashmir Publishing House, 1954).

¹¹ M. Farooq Rehmani, *Sheikh Abdullah Ke Naqoosh* (Srinagar: Aflaq Publications, 1988).

The journal was started to re-orient politics of Kashmir to lay the foundation of a progressive and secular nationalism in the state. The writings of the journal played an important role in the conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference in 1939. In a way, it was started to lure Sheikh Abdullah towards Congress ideology and thereby create a wedge in the leadership of Muslim Conference. While, as Sheikh tried to allure Hindus towards Muslim Conference, he himself was allured towards the ideology of Indian National Congress. The Hindu leaders welcomed Sheikh Abdullah's tilt towards the Indian National Congress. Therefore, they deliberately gave him a little cooperation for moving the full corner towards the Congress ideology.

From 1933 to 1938, there were many incidents in which Bazaz played his role to enhance 'national' consciousness among both the Muslims and the Hindus. These attempts were the indicators of the agreement between Bazaz and Sheikh in 1932 in order to secularize the politics of Kashmir and bring both the communities on one platform. As early as in 1933 in Srinagar, a National Conference was set up to further the cause of joint nationalism. Its provisional committee included Syed Ahmed Shah Gilani, as its President and Pandit Radhey Nath Kaul as secretary.¹² Bazaz, besides being one of its founding members, was among one of the brains behind this idea of organizing joint platform for Hindus and Muslims. However, it could not make any progress because the Muslims as well as the Hindus could not get attracted by the ideology of nationalism mainly because most of the leaders of the committee were hardly known to the common people. It had no influence over common masses. In 1936, an effort was made by Bazaz through the formation of Students League known as 'The Kashmir Youth League'. This student organization was formed by the efforts of Bazaz and other like-minded people working on the socialist vision of the state. The declared objectives of the youth league were defined as follows:

- To organize all the young men and women of the state for the service of their motherland.
- To fight by all legitimate means for the establishment of responsible government in the state.
- To work for the social, economic, and cultural uplift of the people of Jammu and Kashmir¹³

¹²M. Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight For Freedom* (Lahore: Ferozesons Ltd, 1977).

¹³Prem Nath Bazaz, *Kashmir in Crucible* (New Delhi: Pamposh Publications, 1967).

On August 1, 1937 yet another effort was made to organize the laborers and workers of the state. This organization was named as *The Mazdur and Kisan Sabha* and was established in Srinagar to fight collectively for the protection of their rights.

By organizing students, workers, and laborers of the society, Sheikh Abdullah and Bazaz were successful enough to bring some kind of consciousness about the composite nationalism through their propaganda machinery like press, public speeches etc. Bazaz played tremendous role in bridging the gap between the two communities which was getting affected due to the reactionary politics of both the Muslims and the Hindus. Consequently, by 1938 Sheikh Abdullah and Bazaz began to realize their scheme of re-orienting Kashmiri politics on secular lines when the discourse was started to organize the people of the state on a common platform. The contacts of Sheikh Abdullah with the leaders of Indian National Congress and the ideology of socialism and secularism of Indian National Congress turned Sheikh Abdullah and Bazaz firm that the time had come to make the first move in the implementation of their scheme which they had discussed in the historic meeting of 1932 at the Chasma Shahi Garden. Their work began to find success when the discourse started among the leadership of both the communities for organizing joint platform to establish a responsible government in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This formally led to the conversion of Muslim Conference into National Conference on June 11, 1939 on the political scene of Kashmir and subsequently brought National Conference more close to the Indian National Congress and All India States Peoples Conference.

Consequences

Prem Nath Bazaz's and Sheikh Abdullah's anxiety to accommodate the religious/cultural 'other' led them to convert Muslim Conference into National Conference and that sowed the seeds of alienation and division in the Muslim majority area of Jammu and Kashmir. The development of national discourse in Jammu and Kashmir and the subsequent formation of National Conference had four major ramifications that were seen after 1939. First, non-Muslims (Hindus and Sikhs) did not join National Conference for

a composite and joint struggle against Dogras which remained a utopian dream of Sheikh Abdullah. Secondly, the entire Jammu region under Chaudhari Abbas went against Sheikh Abdullah and revived the parent organization, the Muslim Conference in 1942. Thirdly, the idea of Nationalism and Secularism, two key ideas promoted by Indian National Congress and also espoused by Sheikh Abdullah in Jammu and Kashmir, failed in its implementation as the Muslims were swayed over by Jinnah's Muslim politics in subcontinent. Fourthly, the conversion resulted in the division of Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir into two camps. Its results were seen during partition days in the form of severe and barbaric Muslim's genocide.

Conclusion

Bazaz emerges as the most important and influential intellectual of modern Kashmir whose legacy is still unfolding. He was the man who persuaded Sheikh Abdullah for converting Muslim conference into National conference and to support Nehru in the political realm. He played a leading role in promoting nationalist feelings amongst Kashmiris. His biography mirrors many important aspects of political biography of Kashmir. He is the architect of left leaning National Conference politics which executed some bold decisions and have no parallel in the subcontinent. His anti-communal writings, power of mobilization, commentary of key developments, subsequent disillusionment all are vital in understanding Kashmir politics. Sheikh Abdullah's persona and his reception have been indelibly marked by Bazaz, the friend and the critic.

Impact of Tourism on Environment in Asian Context

Savitri Shrestha*

Abstract

The environmental pollution is a challenging issue in contemporary times. Tourism is one of the most popular platforms of global communication. However, in the present times Asia is one of the most affected continents of environmental pollution which dangerously harm tourism. Asia consists of the highest peak in the world and lowest sea level land. It also is the largest and most populous continent on earth as it is a homeland of 4.4 billion people and is a site of many ancient civilizations containing fifty-one countries. These Asian countries have historical significance, socio-economic variables, cultural values, architectural varieties, sculptural specialties and great fine arts along with a wide variation in natural landscape and climate. Hence, Asia is a destination for scholars and different tourists from around the globe.

Tourism can be a means to raise the living standard of locals and can be a sustainable business if planned properly. Unplanned haphazard tourism practices can put a great toll on the natural

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environment, destroying the natural beauty as well as the culture of the area. The objective of this research is to explore the impacts of tourism on environment and life circle in Asia. The present study is an effort to analyze that how far the overload of tourism on nature is making ecosystem unbalanced and putting a toll on the environment and how can tourism industry be made safer to avoid any negative impacts on local culture and environment.

Keywords: Environment, Tourism, Destination, Global, Impact

Introduction

“Responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of local people and involves interpretation and education” is ecotourism. Tourism is one of the most popular debates; less global religion. It has become a huge industry and a most delightful hobby for people around the world. Tourism is traveling for the recreational purposes, business purpose, entertainment, religious purpose, research, academics, exchange of knowledge and wisdom etc.

Asia is one of the popular destinations for people around the world, mainly due to the presence of amazing mountain ranges such as the great Himalayan range, historical sites and wonders of the world such as Taj Mahal, Angkor Wat, Great Wall, remains of the large number of world heritage sites like Indus valley civilization, Gandhara valley civilization amazing beaches, and a variety of cultures from tribal to advance. It is also a home to the world's oldest religions like Hinduism. These amazing beauties of Asia makes it a favorite destination for mountaineers, rock climbers, researchers and people seeking adventure, natural beauty, luxury and many more. It has also become a popular shopping destination in recent times. The cultural heritage and history, variety is another attracting factor for tourists around the world.

With the growth of tourism industry and exposure to the world culture, people are adapting newer ways of living, technology, and values that support life yet ignoring environmental aspects. The economics of climate

change established that the cost of taking action to reduce greenhouse gas emission now is much smaller than the economic cost and social disruption from unmitigated climate change. Thus, it is a dire need to make efforts to turn tourism as environmentally friendly. Tourism is 'smokeless industry' and it has environmental implications. Expanding tourism has the capacity to pollute the environment as woody and smoke-ridden industry!¹

A good, beautiful and healthy environment stimulates tourism in the area. Everybody likes to enjoy the beautiful nature, nonetheless tourism industry is playing a negative role in polluting and damaging the environment. Hence, it is important to have a sustainable approach to environment-friendly tourist practices to have a harmony between the environment and tourism. So, there must be a good regulatory strategy which can offer harmony in environment and tourism. Balance between local people and tourists is also necessary.

Impact of Tourism on the Environment

Tourism is a source of livelihood for many and it is helping a significant number of poor to earn their living. Tourism has both positive and negative impacts. The relationship between tourism and the environment is complex. The pure and serene environment promotes tourism but on the other hand, tourism has many adverse environmental effects. Most of the impacts are related to the construction of basic infrastructures for tourism development. The major social benefits accrue to tourist themselves. But tourism also has valuable benefits for tourist receiving countries. Notable among these is the contribution of tourism to the preservation of historic and cultural values. Careful maintaining, cleaning and beautifying the monuments, cleaning the areas around monuments, improving them for tourism purposes are a case in point. Through tourism the environment is not degraded but, in fact, can be improved. Governments are aware that future growth of the industry will necessitate careful management while avoiding over development of regions of natural beauty.

Tourism has the potential to create beneficial effects on the environment by

¹ Bhatia, A. K. *Tourism, Development Principles and Practices* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2014), 237-40.

contributing to environmental protection and conservation. It is a way to raise awareness about environmental values and it can serve as a tool to finance the protection of the natural area and increase its economic values.

Central Theme

Asia contains some of the most amazing natural destinations of the world it is a part of the world which is severely affected by the changing climate. The roof of the world, the tallest peak Mount-Everest and Himalayan regions are melting due to climate change. Melting Himalayas does not only mean melting snow, but also the destruction of the natural life of all living creatures, birds, and medicinal herbs. Snowless black mountains are losing life and sea level is increasing due to this not only the sea world but also low-level countries such as Maldives is also in danger and affecting its tourism. Almost all top Asian tourist destinations, Himalayas, Taj-Mahal, Great Wall, Victoria Peak etc. are environmentally affected. To promote Asian tourism, international rules and regulation about the ecosystem and environment must be followed as well as countries should have their own national policies which support sustainable tourism.

Tourism is based on natural beauty, economic expansion, cultural exchange, historical study and much more. Asia is a wonderful destination for environmental tourism, as it has beautiful natural places, ample opportunities for scientific research and economic investments. But the changing climate is affecting water, land, forest, agriculture, people's lifestyle and social well-being, which is again affecting tourism. Tourism and the environment are inter-related. Beautiful environment increases the inflow of tourists to the area, but on the other hand, tourism puts pressure on the natural environment of the location. For the betterment of environment and tourism, harmony between good environment and tourism is a basic principle, it is necessary for the promotion of Asian tourism and environmental protection. Though most of the Asian countries are low in carbon emission, it is the region which is affected the most. To save the amazing tourist destinations and natural heritages, all Asian countries must come together for environmental conservation.²

² Chhabhi Lal Baral, "Knowledge of Climate Change", *Historical Journal*, 2, no. 11, (Sept-Oct 2011): 23-32.

Without a proper environment friendly approach and sustainable plan to promote tourism both environment and tourism industry cannot grow positively. Likewise, with proper planning and consideration to eco-friendly ways both the sectors can develop and complement each other.

Impact of Regional Conflicts on Environment and Tourism

Asian environment is not only affected by tourism, but it is also affected by various political conflicts. The beautiful tourist destination Kashmir is facing negative implications as a result of international conflict.

There are no ultimate winners in war –neither people, nation, nor the planetary ecosystem. War is indiscriminate and can bring harm or destruction to life anywhere. Destruction of the natural environment has itself become a tactic of war. To protect the natural environment as one of fundamental security needs, recognizing that all species have a right to exist, that humans should only take what the natural environment can sustainably contribute to our life support system³

Armed conflict has multiple impacts on development, environment and tourism as well. It also Impacts human wellbeing and normal life. Tourism has both positive as well as negative impacts on environment and human society; both its pros and cons are discussed below.

Positive Impacts of Tourism

If managed properly, tourism has more positive impacts than negative. The most beautiful aspect of tourism is that it has connected the entire world with each other. Many researchers are working in the field of the environment sector, are helping to protect the environment and natural beauty to benefit the local people. Entire world is getting benefits from research tourists, as they are studying and providing knowledge about the environmental situation.

³ Australian conservation foundation, 1996.

Precaution to be taken for physical, economic and socio-cultural impacts:

- I. Study the level of visible impact and congestion
- ii. Ecological systems are maintained before damage occurs
- iii. Point out and maintain an acceptable level of air, water, and noise pollution
- iv. Conservation of wildlife and natural vegetation in both the land and marine environment.
- v. Maintain the extent of tourism that provides optimum economic benefits without environmental destruction, economic distortion or inflations.
- vi. Practice tourism that will help to keep safe, historic and cultural values, belief systems, customs, traditions, arts and crafts without detrimental effects.
- vii. Promotion of such tourism that can be absorbed without detriment the lifestyle of local people and which will help to improve the living status of them.
- viii. Promotion of new employment and protection of traditional cottage industries without environmental damage.
- ix. Expansion of human relationship and knowledge.
- x. Utilization of underutilized resources.
- xi. Exchange of knowledge about health and safety, water supply, electric, solar and air power, sewage and solid waste disposal, means of transportation and communications etc. which can maintain the environment.

Negative Impacts of Tourism

Though tourism has become an integral part of our lives there are a lot of negative impacts that it brings to nature as well as local communities. As the extent and scope of tourism is increasing so is the impact it is bringing to the environment. Negative impacts from tourism occur when the number of tourists exceed the environmental capacity to cope. Uncontrolled tourism poses potential threats to most of the natural sectors of the entire world. It is putting enormous pressure in many areas and impacting on soil erosion,

pollution, the rise in temperature, discharge into the sea, increasing sea level, misbalance of water distribution, loss of natural habitats, increased pressure on endangered species and heightened vulnerability to forest etc.

Impact of Tourism on Natural Resources

Development of tourism is impacting natural resources. It is putting pressure on natural resources due to increased consumption. Overutilization of limited resources is creating problem of natural imbalance.

Water Resources: Fresh or drinkable water is one of the most important and critical natural resource. More than seventy percent of the earth is covered by water, but only two percent is drinkable. There is an over-use of water in the tourism industry for hotels, swimming pools, golf courses, and many other luxuries. Due to this water supply for local people is decreasing and even the original sources of water are going low or drying up. It is affecting the environment and the life of the people. The tendency of tourists to consume more water on holidays, is another source of creating the scarcity of water.⁴

Studies have shown that the climate change (due to tourism industry) has become one of the critical causes for building pressure in water resources of the entire world.⁵ The rate and magnitude of temperature rise along with a change in water resources, which can affect Asia's seven most important rivers that originate from the Himalayas.⁶

Pollution: Tourism is also creating some form of pollution as other industries, noise and air emission, the release of sewage, oil and chemicals, solid waste and littering. Even the highest peak Mount Everest is polluted by solid waste and it is the same case with the sea.⁷

Noise Pollution: With the development of tourism, all forms of transportation such as air, road, rail, etc. It is continuously increasing which

⁴ Savitri Shrestha, "Tourism in Nepal", *Nepal Intellectuals' Council Journal*, (March 2013): 40-46.

⁵ IPCC, 2001.

⁶ WWF, 2005.

⁷ Siddhishwor Man Shrestha, "Land Grabbing: An Emerging Problem", *Nepal Intellectuals' Council Journal*, (March 2013): 52-55.

are the sources of air and noise pollution. Himalayan regions are losing its natural beauty and serenity. Due to tourism, different kinds of non-pleasant noises are arising which is affecting not only the life of local people but also disturbing wild animals, birds, plants, herbs, rivers, and environment.

Local Resources: Tourism is creating pressure on local resources like food, vegetables, fruits, energy and electricity. There is no match between demand and supply for this industry due to influx of tourists. Resulting in the rise of prices and lowering the living standard of the people. It is also affecting their health status which is the result of environmental change directly or indirectly.

Land Degradation: The natural resources deserved to stay on its original natural state, only the natural changes could maintain the environment, but tourism is affecting each part of nature including land. The land resource includes fertile soil, forest, rivers, wetland, minerals, wildlife, fossil fuels etc. For tourism development, construction and recreational facilities increased directly affecting land and causing landscapes. Tourism has a direct impact on renewable and non-renewable natural resources. Much fertile land is being used in accommodation and other infrastructural provisions and many more. Deforestation is also a challenging problem created by the tourism industry for fuel wood collection, and land clearing.

Solid Waste and Littering: Tourist activities at highly sensitive areas are creating a serious solid waste and littering problem. Even highest Himalayan and deepest seas are not safe from the problem. Waste disposal is a serious problem and improper disposal can be a major cause for despoiler of the natural environment, including river, hills, scenic areas, roadsides etc. For example, cruise ships (Caribbean Sea) are estimated to produce more than 71,000 tons of waste every year. Solid waste can degrade the natural form of water and marine animals will not survive in it for a longer period of time. Trekking in the mountains is creating a great deal of waste. Tourists leave the garbage, oxygen cylinder, plastic bags, camping equipment in mountains. These things degrade the environment.

Impact on Snow and Glaciers: Extent glaciers and snow in Asia is constantly changing with time which influenced the discharge of streams originating from the Himalayas. Due to tourist activities, all the natural processes are being affected. The South Asian Environment outlook 2009 published by UNEP, SAARC, and DA reported that nearly 15,000 glaciers are likely to retreat from their present total area of 500,000 sq. km. to the total 100.000 sq. km. by 2035 in the South Asian Region. This shrinkage of the glacier will severely impact water supply, agricultural production, wildlife habitat, and will affect the socio-economic conditions of millions of people.⁸

Impact on Ecosystem: An ecosystem is a geographic area including all the living organisms (people, plants, animal and microorganisms etc. their physical surroundings such as soil, water, and air), and the natural cycles that sustain them. The ecosystems most threatened with degradation are ecologically fragile areas such as alpine regions, rainforests, wetlands, mangroves, coral reefs, seagrass beds etc. The pressures on these ecosystems are often severe because such places are very attractive to both tourists and developers.

Due to tourism sandy beaches, lakes, riversides, mountain tops and slopes (characterized by rich ecosystem) all are polluted, and wildlife viewing can make stress animals, birds and alter their natural behavior when tourist come too close to them. Wildlife viewing and safari is disturbing natural life of the animals, this puts great pressure on animal habits and behaviors.

Sewage: Sewage pollution is also increasing due to the constructions of hotels, recreation places etc. Wastewater has polluted rivers, sea and lakes. Tourist attractions are damaging the flora and fauna. Sewage pollution is affecting the health of humans, animals, birds and the environment.

Impact of tourism on the environment is not only in the form of increasing pollution but also changing the overall climate. The climate of Asia is changing as its temperature is increasing rapidly since last few decades, at a faster rate than the global average. Heavy rainfall trends are more complex.

⁸ Deepak Paudel, *Adapting to Climate Change: Impacts in South Asia*, (Louisiana, USA: University of Louisiana, 2011).

There are also changes in Nepalese glaciers and few of them are thinning and retreating. However, the climate of Asia is very challenging because of its complexity. Due to tourism and land graving sixty percent of climate is damaged heavily and raising conflict in using land, jungle, and water resources. For tourism development a lot of multinational companies are graving lands and making environment polluted. Farmers of Bangladesh are fighting against land graving and also actively working in the context of climate change and food security. Bangladesh and Maldives is facing the most challenging problem of climate change, as the sea level is increasing in a rapid pace. Due to tourism and climate change, lifestyle of Asian people is changing gradually. As tourism is one of the greatest industries of the world, it is creating impact on the world environment. “All of the permafrost observations in Alaska have shown a substantial warming during the last 20 years, often resulting in damage to infrastructure, rivers, shorelines, lakes and forest”⁹.

Several glaciers in the Himalayan and other parts of the world are melting faster than an average natural rate, and extreme climate events are also in an increasing trend. Besides glacier melting, floods in Pakistan and China; heat waves and forest fires in Russia, drought in the Amazon and record-breaking temperature rise around the other parts of the world in 2010 and 2011 are few challenges being faced by the people of these regions and increasing tourism and its impact can be claimed as of the major reasons changing climate day by day. The World Tourism Organization mentioned five situations where tourism might harm the environment;

- i. Alternation of the ecological situation of regions where the environment was previously in good condition, both from the natural, cultural and human perspective.
- ii. Speculative pressures leading to the destruction of landscape and natural habits.
- iii. The occupation of space and creation of activities producing irreconcilable land use conflicts

⁹ Walker, John R. and Walker, Joselyn T, *Tourism Concepts and Practices* (New Delhi: Dorling Kindersely 2011), 378.

- iv. Damage to traditional value in the zones concerned and a lowering of the standard of the human scale in existing development
- v. Progressive over capacity which drains the environmental quality of area concerned.

To solve the problems posed by the tourism development some writers suggest promoting the concept of green tourism. Green tourism should be consistent with regional environment and arise maturely from the activities that are natural to the area.

Some environment-friendly guideline principles of the tourism industry:

- i. Tourism should be healthy and productive to promote lives in harmony with nature.
- ii. Better and proper knowledge for tourism and environment among policymakers, researchers, media and all those working in this sector.
- iii. Tourism should contribute to the protection, conservation, and restoration of the earth's ecosystem.
- iv. Tourism should be based on the sustainable pattern of production, distribution, and consumption.
- v. Tourism should be based on peace, development, and environmentally friendly.
- vi. Environmental protection should be an integral part of tourism.
- vii. Tourism industries should follow the international laws of protecting the environment.
- viii. There must be a specific design of environmental policy for tourism in Asia.
- ix. Identifying critical environmental performance of tourism department.
- x. Research and collaboration on tourism and climate change.
- xi. Implementation of sustainable water usage practice and climate change decisions regarding tourism.
- xii. Raise tourists' awareness on the issue of environment.

- xiii. Awareness about environmental protection and economic development, which are closely and positively related.
- xiv. Sustainable tourism business should keep environmental values at the heart of the business.¹⁰

Impact of Environmental Change on Tourism

Tourism is closely linked to climate and environment. Most of the tourists travel to enjoy a pleasant climate and environment. Tourism not only contributes to climate change but is also badly affected by it. Changing climate is increasing the frequency of storms and severe weather, which is directly affecting tourism development.

Some environmental factors which impact tourism are:

- i. Less snowfall, Black mountains
- ii. Rising sea level, melting glaciers and polar ice
- iii. Floods in low-lying countries and island states
- iv. Increasing the coastal land
- v. Extreme weather, as typhoons, tornadoes hurricanes
- vi. Storm waves, heavy rains, flooding etc. are the major cause for the loss in national and international tourism and tourism industries
- vii. Impact on water resources
- viii. Impact on natural beauty
- ix. Natural disasters
- x. Over snowfall
- xi. Impact Over rainfall
- xii. Global warming
- xiii. Impact on wildlife
- xiv. Impact on sea life
- xv. Impact in air

¹⁰ Tara Prasad Sapkota, "Principles of Climate Justice and Equality", *Nepal Law Review*, 24, no. 1 and 2, (2012): 105-115.

Environmental protection is most important with reference to maintain human life positively for which tourism development industry should made arrangements to protect environment while planning to enhance tourism.

International Environmental Law in Pacific Asia

Environmental and natural resources law is a collective describing the network of treaties, status, regulations and common laws addressing the effects of human activity on the natural environment. For maintaining a good quality level environment, international environmental laws are enacted for example;

Air Quality: A special law about air quality is formulated to protect human health, to address ecological problems, such as limitations on chemicals that affect the ozone layer, address acid rain or climate change, and for pollution-free air quality.

Water Quality: Water quality laws govern the release of pollution to water resources, surface water, and ground water and stored drinking water too.

Waste Management: A waste management law includes transport, treatment, storage and disposal of waste including municipal solid waste, hazardous waste, nuclear waste etc.

Chemical Safety: These laws govern the use of chemical in human activities, particularly manmade chemicals. Besides these environmental laws about mineral resources, forest resources, wildlife, and plants, fish and game are also formulated for the safety of the environment, because these all things are a vital part of the environment.

Significant Principles: Environmental laws are developed for the control of each type of environmental pollution in the entire world. Basic environmental laws are as followed. The link between tourism and the environment is complex.

There is an urgent need to understand the relationship between tourist, tourism and the environment. Many new forms of tourist consumption revolve around environmental quality and the respect of nature. One more reason for the negative picture of the tourism might be that it is difficult to disentangle the impact of tourism from other forms of economic activity in certain destination area!¹

Manmade or natural; the safe environment is fundamental element of tourism. Tourism is the most popular and the world's highest profitable industry which can get equilibrium of income from tourism is dedicated to environmental protection. For developing tourism, protection of the environment is necessary. Tourism is always devouring the natural resources, natural beauties, environmental suitability, climate, and many other natural aspects.

Contemporary era is an era of development, human wants ambitions, and dreams are increasing day to day. Tourism is a tool for the creation of money and fulfilling the human capital wants. Tourists spend their income to get a healthy, beautiful and pleasant destination if the environment is not taken care of, tourism cannot flourish. It is also the duty of this generation to hand over a pleasant natural environment to coming generations. Protection of environment is also necessary for wildlife, water life, birds and butterflies to survive, which is a great part of tourism promotion. Sustainable tourism development is only possible with environmental balance. "Sustainable development is development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs"¹²

Conclusion

Without healthy environment human life cannot sustain and cultured. Tourism is a major profitable industry around the world; hence it is most important to manage a balance between environment and tourism

¹¹ Shaw G., Williams A.M. (2002) 2nd ed. Critical issues in tourism: A geographical perspective: Oxford.

¹² WCED 1987:43 in Hall, and Lew, A.A.1998.

development for rapid development of economic and ecological human life. Hence environmental protection and tourism development should go together in a balanced way. It is the duty of tourism industrialists as well as the government of the countries around the world. There are enough rules, regulations, and laws for environmental protection. It is a very serious matter that most of the governments are not carrying the laws regarding environment.

Tourism is the most important global market of this era, it is also a global religion. But this industry is damaging the environment and bad environment destroys every aspect of life. Asia itself has no more roles to destroy the environment, but as it contains the highest peaks and low sea-lands it is severely affected by environmental degeneration and climate change. Hence, Asia must be careful about environment and the balance between environment and tourism can play a transformational role in present times.

Kashmir: A Humanitarian Dispute

Muhammad Khan*

Abstract

In defiance to UN resolutions, India has been continuously denying the right of self-determination to Kashmiris, until they rose against Indian occupation in early 1990s. Thereafter, in gross violation of human rights, India started deliberate massacre of Kashmiris through its armed forces, killing over ten thousand people, until 2018. India has committed grave human rights violation in the form of; indiscriminate assassinations of Kashmiri masses by its occupational forces, arbitrary imprisonment, gang rapes of women, arson, and raiding of houses. New strategies of killing and torture were devised by India since 2016 include; blinding and paralyzing through pellet guns, fake encounters and humiliation of bodies. Through various discriminatory laws, Indian occupational forces have attained special powers and immunity. The paper therefore is an attempt to highlight the Kashmir issue as a humanitarian dispute as envisaged in the 'Universal Declarations of Human Rights-1948' and 'Article 1 of the UN Charter'- according to which, every

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human being is born free and has equal rights. Hence, no one shall be massacred and subjected to torture, arbitrary arrest, or incarceration. Discriminatory laws that lead to human rights violation in Indian occupied Kashmir should be immediately abolished and Kashmiris should be given the right of self-determination, as enshrined in UN resolutions.

Keywords: Human Rights, Violation, UN Resolution, Right of Self-determination.

Introduction

A renowned Kashmiri historian, Pandit Kalhana, wrote in *Rajatarangini* (The River of Kings) in 12th century AD that; “Such is Kashmir, the country which may be conquered by the forces of spiritual love but not by armed forces”¹. In April, 1991 Rajiv Gandhi (late Indian Prime Minister) in a statement said, “The brutalities of the Indian army and central reserve police meant that India may have lost Kashmir”².

The former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir is geographically surrounded by three atomic powers of the world - Pakistan, India and China. The Kashmir dispute is linked with the partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947. The complexities of this territorial issue damaged bilateral relations between India and Pakistan, and contributed directly to the nuclearization of South Asian region. Owing to its complex nature, in 1998, the former US President Bill Clinton called Kashmir as, “the most dangerous place on earth.”³

The Kashmir conflict, was placed on the United Nations agenda in the year 1948; it is known as “one of the most intractable and dangerous political

¹ Muhammad Yousaf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom: 1819-1946*, Vol. I (Lahore: Ferozsons Ltd., 1977), 64.

² Maqsood Jafri, *Plight of Kashmir* (Rawalpindi: Kashmir Liberation Cell, 1998), 48-53.

³ Howard B. Schaffer, *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir* (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2009), 153. See also *Times of India*, March 11, 2000.

disputes facing the international community.”⁴ The belligerent history and rivalry between India and Pakistan has prolonged the issue since both countries maintained their aggressive positions for the past seventy-one years. Since 1990, Indian occupied Kashmir is in a constant state of war zone as inhabitants of Kashmir openly challenged the Indian rule and demanded the right of self-determination in the light of UN resolutions.⁵ The Indian reluctance over the Kashmiri struggle since 1990s has further destabilized the prospects for regional integration and elevated suspicions of a 'deadly Indo-Pakistan conflict'⁶ in any future scenario of atomic confrontation.

It is an established fact that, in all eventualities, final settlement of Kashmir dispute is the only path that will lead towards peace in South Asia. After years of unwavering persuasion by Pakistan, during SAARC summit held in 2004, Islamabad, India agreed to make some progress on Kashmir conflict through dialogue. Unfortunately, except for a few rounds of talks, there have not been concrete efforts. Furthermore, after the Mumbai incident of November 2008, the situation worsened due to a total dead lock over the dispute.⁷

Although the people of Kashmir have never accepted their state as part of India, however, they waited till mid 1980s for a peaceful resolution of the issue. In late 1980s, during the Lok Sabha elections, and later Legislative Assembly elections of Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK), Kashmiris rejected the elections under Indian Constitution by voting less than ten percent in average.⁸ There has been less than three percent ratio of vote casted in some areas of the occupied state.⁹ This rejection by the Kashmiri masses triggered the Indian government, which imposed Governor rule under malicious dictators like K.V Krishna Rao and Jugmohan, having absolute powers to brutalize the Kashmiris, to curb their demand for the right of self-determination.¹⁰

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tahir Amin, *Mass Resistance in Kashmir-Origins, Evolution, Options* (Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 1995), 53.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ganguly Rajat, "India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute," *Journal of Asian Studies* (Institute & Centre for Strategic Studies Victoria University of Wellington).

⁸ Harinder Baweja, Kashmir Losing Control (Delhi) *India Today*, May 31, 1993.

⁹ Victoria Schofield, *Kashmir in the Crossfire* (London: IB Tauris & Co Ltd, 1996), 259.

¹⁰ *World and Kashmir – 1994*, A report prepared and issued by Kashmir Institute of International Relations.

During the decade of 1990s, the Indian barbarism against Kashmiris became the order of the day; search operations, vandalizing of houses and properties during searches, identification parades, curfews, indiscriminate detentions targeting the youth, became routine activities of every Indian soldier deployed in IOK.¹¹ Furthermore, the Indian army is also involved in indiscriminate shootings and carnages, target killings of civilians (irrespective of age and sex), physical torture, and rape. There have been no let-up in Indian brutalities even after Kashmiris denounced the armed conflict in 2002/3, and started a peaceful political struggle for their right of self-determination.¹²

An Account of Human Rights Violations in IOK

In 2003, Kashmiris unilaterally denounced their armed struggle, which India could not subdue despite using brutal means with 700,000 security forces since 1990. During the said period, Indian forces breached all limits of human rights violations in Indian Occupied Kashmir. The declaration of an ordinance on July 5, 1990 gave the Indian army and paramilitary forces extensive powers to raid and abolish residential areas suspected of being the sanctuaries of those struggling for the right of self-determination. As per reports on human rights violation in Indian Occupied Kashmir by the occupational forces, there have been deaths of 93,274 innocent Kashmiris from 1989 to 2010.¹³ This number has risen to over 100,000 in 2018. Besides this alarming figure of open killings by security forces, there have been 6,969 custodial killings, 117,345 arrests, destruction and razing of 105,861 houses and other physical structures. The brutal security forces have orphaned over 107,351 children; widowed 22,728 women and gang raped 9,920 women.” This number rose to over 11000 by the end of 2018. During the three phases of the peaceful struggle by Kashmiris in 2008, 2010 and 2016, the strategy used by Indian security forces was even more brutal as applied during 1990s. This brief account depicts the so-called 'Indian achievements' based on it, they are declaring their triumph in the Kashmir.¹⁴ The post-Burhan Wani phase, started in July 2016 is still continuing with new strategies of Indian brutalities in IOK.

¹¹ “Kashmir: Wages of Manipulation,” *India Today*, August 31, 1991.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Seema Kazi, *Between Democracy and Nation: Gender and Militarisation in Kashmir* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 52 .

¹⁴ *Mass Graves in Kashmir, A Gift of Indian Democracy* , Dr. Angana Chatterji, published in SOS Kashmir on May 2, 2011, accessed ; May 12, 2018, <https://soskashmir.wordpress.com/tag/baramulla-and-kupwara-district/>

George Galloway, a British legislator, while addressing a seminar at the United Nations in Geneva on June 9, 2011 said that, “Eighty thousand had died in the more than twenty-year freedom struggle in occupied state of Jammu & Kashmir (OSJK). Uncountable numbers had been wounded and maimed, mass imprisonment and exile and even the use of rape as a tool of occupation had been the lot of the Kashmiris and yet the only demand of the occupied people of Kashmir is for the right to vote.”¹⁵ The international entitled, “Defending the Democratic Processes,” was organized by UNO. Defending Kashmiri's right of self-determination, Mr. George Galloway stressed on the implementation of the UN mandated role in Kashmir and referred the promises made by first Indian Premier with Kashmiris and world community at large. He categorically said, “In the light of that promise made by Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru to abide by the UN resolution, a simple plebiscite is the only solution to this chronic problem.”¹⁶

Amnesty International on Human Rights

As per a report published by Amnesty International in 2010, Indian Government has been accused of committing grave human rights violations in the occupied territory of the Jammu and Kashmir. The 70-page report indeed is first of its kind since 2000, is based on a research carried out by a team of the Amnesty International in May, 2010. It is indeed a case study of “600 individuals detained under Public Safety Act (PSA), from 2003 to 2010.” It emphasizes the Indian Government to revoke the controversial law under which innocent Kashmiris are imprisoned for years without trial and deprived of their basic human rights otherwise provided under Indian law.” This discriminatory law gives the district magistrate an authority to detain any individual up to two years without any trial. As an estimate, the number of detainees under PSA reached up to '20,000' in last two decades.

US State Department in its annual assessment report of 2010, on the 'state of human rights around the world', the US State Department has shown serious concerns over the massive human rights violations committed by the Indian forces in Kashmir.¹⁷ The report says that, “there were numerous reports that

¹⁵ Statement by George Galloway, a British Parliamentarian, made while addressing an international seminar at United Nations Organization, entitled, “Defending the Democratic Processes,” on June 9, 2011. See also Ali Sukhanver, “Kashmir Turning into Westland,” *Pak Tribune*, July 8, 2011, accessed May 14, 2018, <http://paktribune.com/news/index.shtml?241306>.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Human Rights Violations in India, accessed May 17, 2018, <http://www.dailypioneer.com/330514/US-report-blames-both-Indian-forces-and-terrorists-for-human-rights-abuses.html>. -

the government and its agents committed arbitrary or unlawful killings, including the extra-judicial killings of suspected citizens for criminal activities, especially in areas of conflict such as Jammu and Kashmir, the north-eastern states, and the Naxalite belt, where non-governmental forces also committed such killings.”¹⁸

As indicated by a report of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) of India, “1,224 of the 2,560 police encounter cases reviewed since 1993 had been staged by security forces.” More frequently, Indian Government either sack or transfer those personnel of the security forces who commit a crime for the time being. However, after some time these individuals are reinstated on their old duties with renewed vigour. One such case in point is the reinstatement of four officials of Indian security forces, who were involved in rape and killing of two Kashmiri girls; – Neelofar and Asiya of the Shopian District.

Torture is the most common form of human rights violation in IOK by Indian security forces. According to a report of 2010, “torture in police custody remains a widespread and systematic practice in the country” and there is “a lack of any effective system of independent monitoring of all places of detention facilitates torture.”¹⁹ The custodial torture is the most suited form of the torture. As per the reports of the independent NGOs, in 2010, approximately 2950, political detainees were arrested by Indian forces. Kashmiri leadership, especially the APHC is also placed in detention more commonly.

Kashmir as Humanitarian Issue

There has been an ongoing debate about the nature of Kashmir issue: whether it is a political or a religious conflict. The majority claims it to be a political issue. However, a small section still believes in the religious context of the issue. However, in recent years, the humanitarian dimension of the issue turned more prominent than the political and religious dimensions. Today, the international world has reached a consensus that the serious human rights' violations in the Indian occupied territory need to be

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *The Post*, July 23, 2008.

dealt as per the provisions of the Universal Declarations of Human Rights of December 1948 and Article 1 of the UN Charter. According to the declaration, “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.”²⁰ The same document forbids arbitrary detention of any individual and also asserts that, “No one shall be subjected to torture or a cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”²¹ The declaration follows UN Charter in principal, which aims to, “develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people;”²² Article 1 of the UN charter, stressed the respect for human rights and for basic freedom for all human beings without distinction.

Indian security forces are violating the international humanitarian law and even the national law by targeting peaceful demonstrators and killing dozens of innocent Kashmiris including the APHC leader, Sheikh Abdul Aziz in 2008. These activists were requesting access to either markets of Azad Kashmir or India to sell their agricultural products Their movement was choked by the Indian occupational forces and Hindu nationalists under BJP and RSS, who restricted the vendors from their legal right of selling their products. This was a strong abuse to the international humanitarian law.

Moreover, India used religion as a tool to alter the demography of the state of Jammu and Kahsmir by trying to allot land in Kashmir to non-Kashmiri, non-Muslim population on pretext of creating space for a Hindu-shrine. Thereafter, Kashmiris are continuously facing brutalities of the Indian forces. In mid-2009, Indian army was also involved in rape and murder of two Kashmiri women at Shopian area. Similarly, the Indian forces also brutally killed a nine years old innocent boy. Such incidents have become a routine in Indian occupied state, unfortunately only few of them received international condemnation.

²⁰ Universal Declaration of Human Rights: The power of the Universal Declaration is the power of ideas to change the world. It inspires us to continue working to ensure all people can gain freedom, equality and dignity. Accessed December 30, 2018 <http://www.standup4humanrights.org/en/article.html>

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

Repressive Legal Framework: Powers for Indian Security Forces

Governor Rule was implemented in the state of Jammu and Kashmir in 1990, which paved way for amendment in laws of the state. Laws like Public Safety Act (PSA) and the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987 (TADA) were introduced through a special amendment in Jammu and Kashmir on July 5, 1990. These laws empowered Indian occupational forces extensive powers of arrest and detention, whereby they could kill innocent people with virtual immunity.²³ Such laws are against the spirit of human rights provisions set by the international human rights instruments to which India is a signatory, particularly the right to life and the right to not be subjected to torture or arbitrary arrest.

The Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act (PSA)

The Public Safety Act of Jammu and Kashmir authorizes people to be held in captivity for up to two years on ambiguously defined terms to prevent them “from acting in any manner prejudicial to the security of the state or the maintenance of public order.” The general definition of this law even allows the authorities to detain persons without trial. This breaches their right to freedom of expression that is guaranteed by the Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). According to this act, the authorities are obliged to clarify the detained individuals the reasons for their arrest. However, this has never been practiced by Indian authorities in the occupied territory of Kashmir. Article 9 (4) of ICCPR provides that “any individual arrested or detained be brought promptly before a court for the lawfulness of the detention.” However, as noted by the 'Human Rights Committees' and 'Amnesty International', the provisions of PSA are in violation of the article 9 (2) of ICCPR.²⁴ This is a clear violation of human rights by Indian forces as the detainees are never permitted to know the charges against them for which they are held in captive.

²³ Tim Gopsill, *Heaven on Fire: A Report of the British Parliamentary Group*, Reproduced in *The Daily Nation*: (Lahore) November 20, 1992.

²⁴ Ibid.

The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act, (TADA)

This act defines that:

Any action taken whether by act or by speech or through any other media which questions, disrupts or is intended to disrupt, whether directly or indirectly, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or which is intended to bring about or support any claim for the cession of any part of India or the secession of any part of India from the Union.²⁵

TADA allows the state authorities and the Indian forces to detain people arbitrarily for questioning whether Jammu and Kashmir should remain part of India or deliberating the potentials of a referendum. This act permits the authorities to arrest people on mere suspicion and incarcerate them for up to sixty days. Amnesty International has examined the provisions of TADA and found them to be in violation of international Human Rights Laws as people are restricted from freedom of expression and a fair trial.²⁶ Since TADA was resented as the most abhorrent and inhuman law, therefore, it was repealed by Indian authorities. However, other discriminatory laws of similar nature are still applicable in IOK.

Armed Forces Special Power Act

Section 4 (a) of the Armed Forces Special Power Act defines that, “the army and para-military forces, in disturbed areas have the power to shoot or kill any individual who is violating or behaving in contravention of the law enforced.” According to the general explanation of this act:

It is necessary so to do for maintenance of public order - fire upon or otherwise use force even to the cause of death against any person who is acting in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force in the disturbed area prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or the carrying of weapons or things capable of being used as weapons or of fire arms, ammunition or explosive substances.²⁷

²⁵ Baker W. William, *Kashmir Happy Valley: Valley of Death* (Las Vegas: Defenders Publications INC, 1994), 38-45.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Rafi Hassan Noorul Syed (Retd) IFS and Karir Pak Kabeer Abdul (Retd) IFS (eds.), *Kashmir Bleeds* (New Delhi: The Human Rights Commission Srinagar, 1990), 22-24.

These vaguely defined powers provide adequate ground for assassination of captives or even suspects. Despite expression of concern by Human Rights Organizations and Amnesty International over these 'cruel laws' which disregard the right to life, the Indian government has not made any efforts to relax the provisions. Such laws make Indian forces immune from any prosecution for their brutal acts.²⁸ Section 22 of the PSA forbids legal proceedings against officers for acts 'done in good faith' while section twenty-six of TADA (under which many prisoners are held in the state) stops legal action against any member of the forces "purporting"²⁹ to exercise power in 'good faith'. Likewise, section seven of the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Power Act states that, unless earlier permission has been attained from the central government, "No prosecution, suit or other legal proceedings shall be instituted against any person in respect of anything done or purported to be done in exercise of the powers conferred by this Act."³⁰ A fellow of UN Human Rights Committee (UNHCR) has retorted to this in following words;

Purported is the dangerous thing because any one killing anybody can say, well I thought I was performing my functions: It is a highly dangerous (word) when one is dealing with the right to life. I sincerely hope, Attorney General that you will bring this to the attention of the government. True, there are disturbed areas, but people also live in disturbed areas and not everyone cause disturbance in a disturbed area.

Pattern of Indian Atrocities in Kashmir

Indian brutalities against the Kashmiri masses still continue, despite the fact that, people nowadays are more aware, the world's conscious is more alive, electronic media is widely used and has a vast audience, and there are numerous human rights organizations operating to protect the basic human rights. Millions of Kashmiris are being scourged for raising voices against the oppression by Indian occupation forces who are now adopting methods that are worse than those used by Dogras prior to 1947.³¹ According to a joint

²⁸ Committee for Initiative on Kashmir, *Kashmir Imprisoned: A Report by Kashmir Human Rights Forum* (New Delhi: Suhasini Mulay for Committee for Initiative on Kashmir, 1990), 4-7.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Institute of Kashmir Studies Srinagar, *Kashmir: The Wailing Vale* (New Delhi: Institute of Kashmir Studies Srinagar, 1995), 5-10.

³¹ Institute of Kashmir Studies Srinagar, *Heaven on Fire: A Report on Human Rights Violations Committed by the Indian Forces in 1995* (New Delhi: Institute of Kashmir Studies, 1995), 3.

report by “Asia Watch” and “Physician for Human Rights” about Indian atrocities;

In their efforts to crush the insurgency, Indian forces in Kashmir have engaged in massive human rights violations including extra-judicial assaults on health care workers. Indian security forces have systematically violated international human rights and humanitarian law. Among the worst of these violations have been the summary executions of hundreds of detainees in the custody of security forces in Kashmir. Such killings are carried out as a matter of policy. More than any other phenomenon these deliberate killings reveal the magnitude of the human rights crisis in Kashmir.³²

Extra-Judicial Killings

Indian security forces take full advantage of the immunity guaranteed to them by special laws, and participate in widespread mass killings, retaliatory executions, and indiscriminate firing in residential areas, without any fear of accountability.³³ They justify their illegal actions by labelling innocent Kashmiris as insurgents. Mr. Jugmohan, who was the governor of Kashmir twice, was infamous for permitting the security forces to commit such massacres.³⁴ His hatred towards Kashmiri Muslims is evident from his book *My Frozan Turbulence in Kashmir*. Since last two decades, the Kashmiri freedom movement has seen numerous 'shoot to kill' incidents.

Torture

Ever since the beginning of the Kashmiri movement in 1990, torturing is a common method adopted by the Indian security forces. They have perpetrated extensive torture, especially on the youth of the valley, to terrorize the Kashmiris for ultimate subjugation to Indian occupation. In an investigation report by Amnesty International, the doctors who treated

³² Institute of Kashmir Studies Srinagar, *Catch and Kill: A Pattern of Genocide in Kashmir*, Vol-II (Delhi: IKS Publishers and Distributors for Institute of Kashmir Studies, Srinagar, 1997), 8-10.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

victims of torture in Indian occupied Kashmir said that “most of the patients they get from interrogation and torture centers are with acute renal failure.” Now they are calling it “Physical Torture Nephropathy”. They attribute this to “a combination of dehydration during torture and breakdown of soft tissues” and unless treated urgently, this problem can lead to the death.

People of the state are tortured through various techniques and methods. They are held captive in torture centres, where they are beaten up with iron rods and wires. Their bodies are burnt with hot iron bars and at times they are forced to “lie on the ground and rollers are moved through their bodies.” In many cases their heads and beards are shaved off after which they are electrocuted. In an interview with a team of Amnesty International, a Kashmiri victim explained Indian torture in the following words; “You always know in advance about the 'current' because they sent in the barber to shave you from head to foot. This is supposed to facilitate the flow of electricity. After he finishes shaving you, he hands you a cup of water to drink and then they attach the electrodes”.

Custodial Killings

Custodial killings is the most common feature used by Indian security forces in Kashmir during last two decades. According to an Indian Punjab Human Rights Organization (PHRO), “Army portrayed the attitude and behaviour of occupation forces such as Nazis in Europe during the worst days of occupation.”³⁵ During these crackdowns, the Indian forces cordon off the villages followed by separation of males and females. Among male members they normally take youths in their custody and they often misbehave with Kashmiri women.

Various world human rights organizations stated that custodial killings are part of India's national policy in Kashmir. Indian officials even admit that their government is pursuing a policy of 'catch and kill' in the occupied state. In 1990s, Indian security forces used to kill Kashmiris because jails were full or else they wanted to frighten the people so that they can abandon the demand for their right of self-determination. Kashmiri youth are special targets of custodial killings. As per Asia Watch, throughout 1990s, the number of custodial deaths in occupied Kashmir ranged from sixty to

³⁵ *India Dishonours Kashmir – A Report prepared by International Human Rights Organization*, (Ludhiana 1992).

seventy per month.³⁶

One can assess the custodial killings from the archives of an Indian human rights group that says;

What about countless young men in their teens and twenties who have been forcibly kidnapped by Army and security forces from anywhere and everywhere? Very few of them get released after having been severely tortured in investigation centres which are torture chambers. Visit to hospitals provides horrible facts of serious injuries inflicted upon them. There is no trace of the rest but one does hear from time to time about the mutilated bodies, seen floating in river Jhelum or on the roads. Deaths in custody are common practice in Kashmir.³⁷

Furthermore, the doctors and physicians who treated and kept record of human rights violations and of killed by Indian security forces provide evidences of Indian atrocities against Kashmiri people. Evidence proves that all those detained in custody were later killed or they had to spend rest of their lives with disabilities.

Arson and Looting

Indian security forces are involved in widespread looting of houses and business centres of the occupied territory of Kashmir. They were engaged in acts of arson by setting houses, shops, and markets on fire. During the early years of uprisings there were many cases where the Indian forces were guilty of forcing the inhabitants to stay inside the houses and shops that they had lit on fire. According to a 1993-report of Asia Watch and Physicians for Human Rights; "Broad swath of Srinagar, Kashmir's capital is reduced to rubble, burned last month (April 1993) by Indian soldiers. Residents who tried to escape the flames were fired upon by security forces which first

³⁶ Puri Balraj, *Kashmir towards Insurgency* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1993), 21-27.

³⁷ Ibid.

bolted the doors of several buildings.”

By committing these brutal acts, Indian security forces targeted innocent Kashmiris who are supporting the liberation movement. Regarding the arson and looting by Indian forces, a Paris based international human rights group FIDH observed that: 'the security forces steel from the houses they search.' Not only are their homes subject to sudden violent and arbitrary invasion, their persons to physical threat and torture but their property too is a subject to theft and rapacious removal. This occurs most often in rural or working-class areas and it is poor who are hit hardest. Traditionally, rural Kashmiris have kept their monetary savings and valuables at home, contacts with banking institutions being relatively limited. This made rich and easy pickings for the rampaging dishonest personnel of security forces. Theft occurs more frequently in the course of searches during crackdowns.

Rape and Molestation

The incidents of rape and sexual abuse of women by Indian security forces have been more common in occupied Kashmir. Since 1990, rape has used as a weapon to punish the women that are living in areas which are suspected of supporting the freedom fighters. Molestation, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual abuse are commonly practiced by the Indian security forces against the women and children of Kashmir. A report of International Human Rights Organization (IHRO) observes that:

The Indian state is fully behind the wrongdoings (rapes) as it has proved by its failure to hold any credible investigation and to punish the guilty. The Indian state encourages this as a matter of policy; similar behaviour is carried out by security forces in respect of other minority communities elsewhere in the Punjab, Assam and other minority regions and communities.³⁸

³⁸ “Rape in Kashmir: A Crime of War,” *Asia Watch and Physician for Human Rights Report*, 1993.

The Asia Watch and Physicians for Human Rights, in their joint report of 1993, observe that the “Indian security forces have repeatedly committed rapes as a part of their counter insurgency operations and have used rape as an instrument to intimidate female victims”. As per FIDH’ “Rape is not uncommon and there is evidence of its employment as an instrument of terror.” The mass-rape by the Indian army at Kunan Poshpora was widely reported in international media. To date, it is the most appalling illustration of the ruthless excesses of the security forces against women. Asia Watch and the physicians for Human Rights in 1993 observed that “rape is used as a means to target those women whom the security forces accuse of being sympathizers of the militants. In raping them the security forces are attempting to punish and humiliate the entire community”. Similarly, “most of the cases of rape and sexual molestation occur during house to house searches by security forces.” They have been taking the male to various interrogation centers and their women used to be raped later. As per Britain’s Independent Report of September 18, 1990; “Women are strung up naked from trees and their breast lacerated with knives as the Indian soldiers tell them that their breast will never give milk again to a new born militant. In many cases, women were raped in front of their husbands and children or paraded naked through villages and beaten on the breasts.”

Humiliating the Bodies and Human Shield

As a new strategy to defeat the freedom movement in IOK, Indian security forces have started driving armoured vehicles wildly into the protesting crowds. Such an incident happened on June 1st, 2018 at Srinagar the capital of IOK, where an armoured vehicle of Indian security forces crushed innocent people, once peaceful Kashmiris were protesting against the atrocities of Indian forces in occupied Valley. Indian forces accepted “slamming into a half-dozen people and crushing one man beneath its wheels”. One of those (Qaiser Amin Bhat), run over by vehicle died later and others are still critically injured. As it was not enough, the brutal Indian Army and paramilitary forces fired live bullets, pellets and tear gas over the funeral procession of Qaiser Amin Bhat.³⁹

³⁹ “Indian Security Personnel Crush Kashmiri Man under Armoured Vehicle in Srinagar,” *Dawn*, June 01, 2018.

It is worth mentioning that in 2017, Major Nitin Gogoi, “who had tied a 26-year-old Farooq Dar to his military as human shield,” was appreciated and awarded the Commendation Card, by Indian Army Chief, General Bipin Rawat. As per ANI, “Major Gogoi, the officer who tied protester to jeep as human shield in J&K awarded by COAS for sustained efforts in counter insurgency operations.”⁴⁰ Farooq Dar was stooped enroute to his sister's house, beaten, tied to vehicle and then paraded him through 10-20 villages with a piece of paper attached to his chest “declaring that he was a stone palter” - a public humiliation. Once there was a worldwide condemnation over this incident, Indian Attorney General Mukul Rohatgi, came to rescue the Indian Army and rejected the condemnations and criticism by saying that, “the recent report about a stone palter tied to an army vehicle, it helped contain stone palters and saved the poll officials, why so much noise.”⁴¹

Mass Graves in Indian Occupied Kashmir

Thousands of mass graves are unearthed in the IOK. Over 940 graves were found only in a segment of Baramulla district, some containing more than one corpse. As per the locals, most of these were dug by residents on village land. Bodies were mutilated, tortured, burnt, and defiled. Security forces gave the impression to the locals that these were the 'foreign militants.'⁴² However, once exhumated and identified in some cases, it was revealed that these were local people, innocent Kashmiris, terrorized by India and killed in fake encounters. Facts of the mass graves were unearthed by various local and foreign teams including “International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice” in IOK.⁴³ *Daily Times* writes, human rights groups in IOK “found unmarked graves containing several thousand bodies in the revolt-hit region during a three-year survey of dozens of villages.” International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice and other Srinagar based groups found 2900 bodies from 2700 graves which are “unknown, unmarked, and mass graves.”⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Indian Army Awards Officer who Tied Kashmiri Man to Jeep as Human Shield, *Dawn*, May 22, 2017. Accessed May 15, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1411362> and <https://www.dawn.com/news/1334726>.

⁴¹ Raija Susan Panicker, “Can't Criticise Army Sitting in AC Rooms”: Attorney General Mukul Rohatgi on Kashmir, ND TV, April 18, 2017. Accessed at <https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/so-much-noise-attorney-general-on-man-being-tied-to-army-jeep-in-kashmir-1682525>.

⁴² Peter Gill, “Rights Group Finds Mass Graves in IHK,” December 1, 2009, Accessed at <http://www.allvoices.com/contributed-news/4727668-rights-group-finds-mass-graves-in-ihk>

⁴³ “Rights Group Finds Mass Graves in IHK,” *Daily Times*, December 2, 2009. Accessed at http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2009%5C12%5C02%5C02%5Cstory_2-12-2009.

⁴⁴ Human rights groups in IOK, *Daily Times*, December 2, 2009.

The European Union Parliament approved a condemnation resolution against cruelties of the Indian state forces in 2007, after the revelation of mass graves in various parts of occupied Kashmir. European Union also necessitated an enquiry of the issue and has offered support for the examination of mysterious deaths of thousands of disappeared Kashmiris since 1989.⁴⁵ This gesture of European Union has been welcomed by Kashmiris and is really worth appreciating. It is widely believed that graves are of the missing Kashmiris who are martyred during forged encounters by the Indian forces. It is however beyond comprehension why United Nations Security Council cannot be urged for an international inquiry to expose the real face of the Indian occupational forces. After all, the wartime Bosnian Serb leader - Radovan Karadzic - has been detained for an investigation on the charges of similar carnage of Bosnian Muslims and accused for the massacre.

International Response over Human Rights in Kashmir

In the wordings of Howard B. Schaffer, a scholar of Georgetown University, USA; “Basically, Washington lacked the power to compel India to make major political and territorial commitments on Kashmir, and these were absolute requirement for a settlement of Kashmir dispute.”⁴⁶ The disputed nature of the conflict and the massive human rights violations in the occupied territory has gained the attention of international community. However, there are not been many attempts to make remedies for the past mistake. It is observed that international community remained aloof of the Indian brutal acts against Kashmiris. The international community has failed to condemn Indian brutalities against the unarmed Kashmiris this has further encouraged India to continue violating the human rights of Kashmiri masses. The British Prime Minister, David Cameron, expressed his disapproval over the question of playing a mediatory role towards the settlement of the issue and accepted the mistakes committed by Britain during the colonialism; He said that, “I do not want to try to insert Britain in some leading role where, as with so many of the world's problems, we are responsible for the issue in the first place.” Britain and its successive leadership reinforced its support for the UN resolutions on Kashmir - calling

⁴⁵ “EU Parliament to Discuss Unmarked Graves in IHK,” *Daily Dawn*, July 12, 2008.

⁴⁶ Howard B. Schaffer, *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir* (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2009), 155.

for the settlement of the issue. Similarly, in 2009 the former British Foreign Secretary, David Miliband, categorically emphasized on the resolution of Kashmir dispute. Formerly, President Obama had also expressed his resolve to create peace in South Asia by making serious efforts to settle the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir. In an interview he said that, “We should try to resolve the Kashmir crisis so that Pakistan can stay focused not on India, but on the situation with those militants”

United Nations, the only international organization authorized to redress the oppressed people of the world, has failed to fulfil its responsibilities of implementing its own resolutions towards a fair solution of the dispute. In changing global political spectrum, India developed relations with the major powers including European Union, United States and Russia. Since these major powers have their own stakes in India both economically and militarily. Resultantly, they too have been unsuccessful in undertaking their moral responsibilities of playing a key role in maintaining peace in South Asia through UN.

At the 11th International Kashmir Peace Conference in July 2010 organized in Capitol Hill Washington the participants felt that to end the “perennial suffering of the people of Jammu and Kashmir expeditious resolution of Jammu and Kashmir dispute on permanent basis has become urgent and essential” Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai, the Executive Director of the American Kashmir Council, stressed that, “United Nations has to lead the effort to achieve a fair and lasting settlement of the Kashmir dispute.” The participating US Congressmen voiced their distress over continuous human rights violations in the occupied territory. They called upon India for ending the “persecution of people in the state and respecting human rights in the state.”

Poor Response of International Community

It is surprising to witness the utter silence of the international community over the Indian brutalities against the innocent people of the Indian occupied Kashmir. Even though there are inquiries by international human rights organizations like the Amnesty International and UNHCR there are not been many efforts to unearth the subtleties of the Indian atrocities faced by the

Kashmiri people and the formulation of ways to redress the Kashmir conflict. Indeed, had these violations occurred in the western world the situation and the response from the international community would have been entirely different. The world has witnessed the examples of East Timor and Sudan where even though the human rights violations were less referendums were still held and people were able to vote in favour of separation from their native countries. Unfortunately, the international community has not been able to express its concerns over the atrocious crimes by the Indian troops in Kashmir with the same rigour as it did in the aforementioned cases.

The international conscience needs to be awakened to ensure that the massive human rights violations in Kashmir by the Indian security forces are accounted for. The prolongation of this dispute can rather endanger the world peace to great extent since India and Pakistan are both nuclear-armed countries. Therefore, major global actors and powers like the UNO, US, Russia, European Union and China must coerce India to immediately put an end to the state-sponsored brutality in Kashmir retrieve its security forces and resolve the issue as per the wishes of Kashmiri people in the light of UN resolutions. Only such steps could bring peace and stability in the region.

Conclusion

How Indian treats Kashmiris is evident from the statement of former Kashmiri Prime Minister and Chief Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, who once said that Indian authorities “treated me like a *chaprasi* (peon).” He was considered as the most trustworthy friend of Indian Government who concluded a formal agreement with 'India Kashmir Accord-1974'. Despite serious reservations by UNHCR on the inhumane laws in Indian occupied Kashmir the Indian government has not taken any steps to amend these cruel laws. In fact India has given the security forces sweeping powers to further victimize the Kashmiri masses. Amnesty International has expressed its concerns over the existence of draconian laws that have provided the Indian Security Forces a licence to target and kill innocent Kashmiris. Under the protection of these laws Indian security forces have immunity from prosecution and hence, they are free to do anything with the lives of Kashmiris without any fear of accountability.

In order to bring peace and stability in South Asia the international community needs to make deliberate and dedicated efforts to undo the historical damages by resolving the Kashmir dispute as per the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It is an established view that the resolution of Kashmir dispute can solve other issues directly or indirectly associated with it which could result in economic prosperity and political stability in South Asia.

Satisfaction with Performance of State Institutions and Attitude towards Vigilantism among Youth in Lahore, Pakistan

Ishtiaq Ahmad* & Ayesha Khalid**

Abstract

The primary reason of emergence of vigilantism, apparently is ineffectiveness of state institutions. Increasing law and order issues in the state hints that generally the law enforcing institutions are not playing their due role. This passive attitude of the state institutions is generally considered as one of the primary reasons of increasing vigilantism generally among the public and particularly in youth. Since a major section of the society lost trust in law enforcing agencies and the Criminal Justice System. This research study is planned to examine the trust of common people in the Criminal Justice System and attitude towards vigilantism among youth. By conducting a survey of a sample of 204 youth from Lahore (Pakistan), it is attempted to assess the perception among Pakistani youth about the criminal justice system and attitude towards vigilantism. The present study is an effort to

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analyze that how far low performance or ineffectiveness of the criminal justice system contributes towards increasing vigilantism.

Keywords: Vigilantism, Trust, Pakistan, Lahore, Law enforcement; Criminal Justice System

Introduction

Role of the Criminal Justice System

Law and order situation in modern societies is controlled by the state institutions. A state should have domination over the use of power/might within a legal and rational framework. The behavior of the citizen is managed by the authorized and institutional structure in the modern-day civilized societies. Conversely, in developing countries, legal and administrative machinery is not very strong and plausible of the administrative and structural weaknesses resulting in malfunctioning of the state to take action as a credible authority in conflict resolution. As a result, in such countries, people do not solely trust in state institutions.

According to Abrahams¹ vigilantism can be defined as constituting such phenomenon in which ordinary citizens face insecure and fickle environment and a weak state security system decide to 'take law into their own hand' in so doing they punish the wrong-doers without a due procedure. Many researches in the past suggested that the performance of state institutions has a great impact on the probability of vigilantism.²

Protection of the inhabitants within a state is a major responsibility of the state and also punishment for the criminals, if state fails to do so they might lose its legitimacy. In such a scenario, citizens having aptitude towards vigilante acts put a challenge before state institutions in addition the vigilante did not seek public support in favour of his vigilante act.³ Pakistan is one of such countries where people are losing trust in the criminal justice

¹ Ray Abrahams, *Vigilant Citizens: Vigilantism and the State* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

² Mary Fran T Malone, *The rule of law in Central America: citizens' reactions to crime and punishment* (Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2012).

³ Donnelly, Samuel JM. "Reflecting on the rule of law: Its reciprocal relation with rights, legitimacy, and other Concepts and Institutions." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (2006): 37-53.

system due to miserable performance of judiciary and law enforcement agencies, their mishandling of issues and political influence.

Trust and Law Enforcement

Robinson⁴ explains trust as assumptions, beliefs, and expectations about the possibility that actions of others will be flattering, beneficial and not damaging one's interest. For special tasks under specific circumstances a person's competence is called trust.⁵ In modern societies, trust in the state institutions has become gradually more precarious.⁶ To develop public trust, it is necessary for citizens to participate in social associations that inspire them for civic participation and social cooperation. Performance of the state institutions influences trusts more than the general level of societal trust and people's participation in social activities. In controlling violence in society, law and order institutions are believed to play a vital role.⁷

According to Abraham, people only take over the job of law enforcing institutes when they strongly feel that these institutions are not fulfilling their responsibilities. In such times, they try to punish the wrongdoers/criminals at the spot considering it the only way to justice.⁸ The level of trust decreases when law enforcement institutions fail to provide security to the masses.⁹ Every state has two basic responsibilities, to protect/secure the masses and meting out the punishment to the persons who are involved in the criminal act and if a state fails in delivering in both these domains for a long time, it gradually loses the legitimacy.¹⁰

Citizens who behave antagonistically towards the
police are more likely to be treated in a hostile,
authoritarian, or belittling manner by the police

⁴ Robinson, Sandra L. "Trust and breach of the psychological contract," *Administrative science quarterly*, (1996): 574-599.

⁵ Sitkin, Sim B., and Nancy L. Roth. "Explaining the limited effectiveness of legalistic "remedies" for trust/distrust," *Organization science* 4, no. 3, (1993): 367-392.

⁶ Luhmann, Niklas. "Trust and power: two works." *Number pts. 1-2 in UMI Books on Demand*: (1979).

⁷ Newton, Kenneth. "Trust, social capital, civil society, and democracy." *International Political Science Review* 22, no. 2, (2001): 201-214.

⁸ Parry, Geraint. "Trust, distrust and consensus." *British journal of political science* 6, no. 2, (1976): 129-142.

⁹ Sarat, Austin, and Thomas R. Kearns. "Making peace with violence: Robert Cover on law and legal theory." *Law's violence*, (1992): 49-84.

¹⁰ Donnelly, Samuel JM. "Reflecting on the rule of law: Its reciprocal relation with rights, legitimacy, and other Concepts and Institutions," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, (2006): 37-53

than other citizens; and though a majority of any kind of police behavior is directed at citizens who are civil towards them, a disproportionate part of 'unprofessional' or negative police conduct is orientated towards citizens who extend no deference to them.¹¹

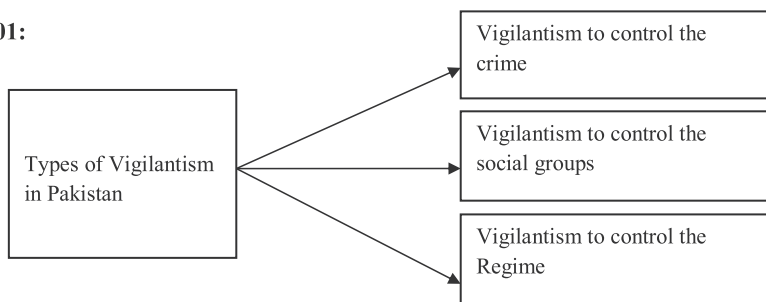
The security system of any nation that consists of various actors and institutions is responsible to provide the security to the people. "All groups in society that are capable of using force as well as the institutions that manage, direct, oversee and monitor them, and otherwise play a role in the development of a country's security policy and the provision of its security"¹².

Vigilantism in Pakistan

Abrahams defines Vigilantism as "taking the law into one's own hands."¹³ According to this definition, there may be several incidents of violence taken place in Pakistan. There may be a number of reasons behind these incidents. In Pakistan, many types of vigilantism can be categorized.

Three types of vigilantism in Pakistan are shown in Figure: 01.

Figure 01:



¹¹ Russell, Gregory D. "The political ecology of police reform." Policing." *An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 20, no. 3, (1997): 567-89.

¹² Law, David, and Oksana Myshlovska. "The evolution of the concepts of security sector reform and security sector governance: the EU perspective," *David Spence and Philipp Fluri, The European Union and Security Sector Reform,* John Harper Publishing, (2008).

¹³ Abrahams, Ray. *Vigilant Citizens.*

private and public assets may be damaged. Crime control vigilantism started by persons where state institutions are failed to secure the lives and property of citizens. A few examples of such incidents of vigilantism in Pakistan are discussed below.

The incident of killing of two boys in Sialkot on August 15th, 2010 by a mob is one of the examples of vigilantism for control of crime in Pakistan where two brothers were brutally killed by an angry mob in the presence of police officials because they thought of them robbers/criminals. Few in the mob argued that they were trying to control the crime in society by torturing these boys.

On April 13, 2017, a student of Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan, Mashal Khan was beaten and tortured which eventually led to his death by a violent mob. Mashal Khan was blamed that he posted blasphemous content on social media. Another example of this type of vigilantism is Islamabad. Capital territory of Pakistan was closed by Muhammad Sikander who took women and children as captives on August 15, 2013. He stole a car and drove into the middle of the capital city. He put some demands which were illegal and were not acceptable. After five hours of dramatic situation, Sikandar was arrested and taken to the hospital for treatment and later sent to Jail.

Vigilantism to Control Social Groups

Pakistani society is comprised of many social, ethnic and religious groups. The clash between these groups is always there, each of them tried his best to defeat others by taking law into their own hands. This type of violence is also called reactionary violence. The reactionary violence takes place when there is a conflict between these social groups which are different from each other in sense of caste, religion, tribes, political groups, race, ethnic identity, economy etc. The conflict between the groups and communities to control one another also be categorized in this type of vigilantism.

On July 31, 2009 Christians (a minority in the country) in Gorja, a city of Punjab were attacked by some Islamic Parties (Other Group) for the control of social group. The mob (comprising of some Islamic extremists) burnt sixty houses along with seven people including children and women. It was

a painful tragedy that happened against minorities in the country. The only purpose of this planned activity was to overcome the minorities in Gorja.¹⁴

Another incident on May 28, 2010 takes place in the dark history of Pakistan when another minority group of the country (Qadianies) was under attack in Gari Shahu and model town. Roughly sixty people died in these incidences of violence.

Azad March or Tsunami March was organized by Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf from August 14 to December 17, 2014. March was organized over the claim of systematic rigging by the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) in general elections 2013. On September 1, 2014 the protestors broke the gates of Pakistan secretariat and Pakistan Television Corporation and allegedly attacked Parliamentary buildings. The protestors allegedly burnt many vehicles and the building of PTV. This was also a type of Vigilantism to control the social group by force. PTI wanted to get its demands accepted by the then government for which its members allegedly adopted extra-judicial or vigilante attitude taking law into their hands. There are numerous examples of violence for the control of a social group, attacks on people belonging Shiite fiqh particularly during Ashura days in 2009 in which more than thirty people were killed and many injured.¹⁵

Vigilantism to Control the Regime

The three types of vigilantism discussed above illustrate that people become diehard when the administrative system seems dysfunctional. This type of vigilantism is relatively different from others. Rosenbaum defines vigilantism to control the regime as “Regime control vigilantism then is establishment violence intended to alter the regime, in order to make the 'superstructure' into a more effective guardian of the base”¹⁶. Vigilantism for the control of regime is violence in opposition to the institutional pattern of a state. Marshal law of Ayub Khan, second president of Pakistan is the best example to explain this time of vigilantism. He occupied the position of president because of political instability in the country. President Ayub

¹⁴ *The Dawn*, Islamabad, Aug 16, 2013.

¹⁵ *The Jang*, 2010.

¹⁶ H. Jon Rosenbaum, and Peter C. Sederberg. *Vigilantism: An analysis of establishment violence*.

claimed that there is instability in the country due to the corrupt political elements, therefore, he has to take over the position of president to maintain institutional stabilization for the development of the country.

The takeover of reins of government of Pakistan by the then Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf in 1999 is another example of regime control. “When Musharraf came to power in 1999 he claimed that the corruption in the government bureaucracy would be cleaned up. According to a survey conducted by transparency international, Pakistan ranked world's 11th most corrupt nation in 2001. In 2007, Pakistan ranked as the 41st most corrupt nation.” By using this approach vigilante Musharraf avers to lessen the corruption for the survival of institutions in the country.

Study Design

The present study is based on the issue of trust in the criminal justice system and attitude towards vigilantism among youth. Trust in the criminal justice system taken as independent variables while attitude towards vigilantism was observed as the dependent variable. The dependent variable (attitude towards vigilantism) was analyzed on the basis of independent variable (trust in the criminal justice system).

Research Design

The study was conducted as a survey-based research in Lahore, capital city of Punjab, Pakistan. Stratified sampling was used to select the respondents from there. Two stratas were developed (1) lower class (walled city) and (2) upper class (model town) from both strata, 204 respondents were selected through random sampling for interview. To collect the data from respondents a close-ended questionnaire was formulated consisting of 38 questions in English and Urdu. A sample size of 204 respondents was drawn

from the total population through the Taro-Yamane Formula of statistics. After data collection, data analysis was done through Excel 2007 and SPSS, Version 20.

Research Findings

Figure 2: Peace and order situation in the country

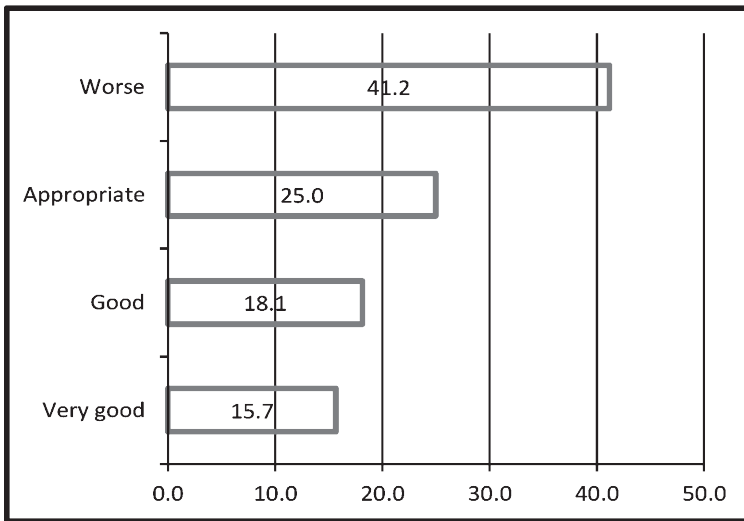


Figure 02 represents the statistics about the condition of peace and order in the country. The condition of peace and order is getting worse in the country according to 41.2% of the total respondents. 25% of the respondents consider it appropriate, while 18.1% of respondents consider it good. Only 15.7% of the respondents said that the condition of peace and order is very good in the country.

Figure 3: Responsibility of State Institutes regarding Peace and order situation

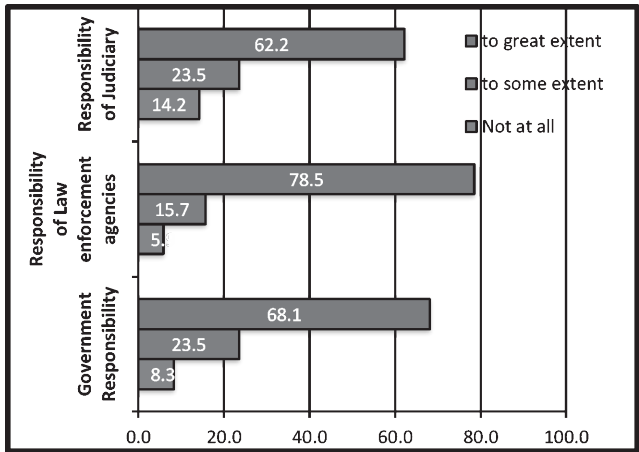


Figure 03 elucidates the statistics about the responsibility of state institutions for the awful condition of peace and order in Pakistani society. 62.2% respondents believed that because of inactive judicial process is responsible for poor situation of peace and order in Pakistani society, while 78.5% consider that at great extent law enforcement agencies are responsible for the dreadful condition of peace and order in the country. 68.1% of respondents claim that the government is responsible for poor condition of peace and order in the country. The data shows that primarily judiciary and law enforcement agencies are responsible to maintain peace and order.

Figure 4: Trust in State Institutions

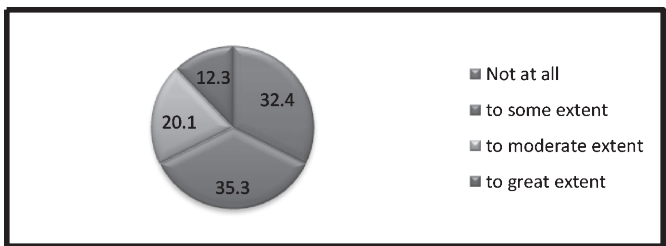


Figure 04 explains the statistics about the trust of youth in the criminal justice system of Pakistan. 32.4% of respondents claim that they do not trust in the criminal justice system of Pakistan. 35.3% of respondents claimed of having some trust in the criminal justice system. 20.1% of respondents showed moderate level of trust in the criminal justice system. Only 12.3% of

respondents have trust in the criminal justice system. The statistics represent that the youth of the country have the lowest level of trust in the criminal justice system of the country.

Table 1: Cross Tabulation of Responsibility of state institutions and Level of Education of Respondents

		The responsibility of State Institutions to maintain peace and order		
		Not at all	to some extent	to a great extent
Education	Secondary School	0	4	17
	Higher Secondary	1	12	39
	Intermediate	1	17	46
	Graduation	2	14	22
	Master	0	4	25
Percentage		2	25	73

Table 1 explains the relationship between the responsibility of state institutions to maintain peace and order situation and the level of education of the respondents. 73% of the respondents with educational qualification higher secondary to masters consider the state institutions are responsible for maintaining peace and order in the country to a great extent.

Table 2: Cross Tabulation of Satisfaction with the Performance of State Institutions and the Educational Level of Respondents

		Satisfaction with the performance of state institutions		
		Not at all	to some extent	to a great extent
Education	Secondary School	5	12	4
	Higher Secondary	24	22	6
	Intermediate	24	27	13
	Graduation	17	15	6
	Master	15	9	5
Percentage		42	42	16

Table 2 elucidates the relationship between the satisfaction level of respondents towards state institutions and their educational level. The statistics represent that 42% respondents with the educational level from

higher secondary to masters level are not satisfied with the performance of state institutions while 42% of the respondents are satisfied to some extent and only 16% of the respondents are satisfied to great extent with the performance of state institutions

Table 3: Cross Tabulation of Responsibility of State Institutions and the Age Group of Respondents

		The responsibility of State Institutions to maintain peace and order		
		Not at all	to some extent	to a great extent
Age	Below 20	0	5	40
	21-30	3	30	67
	31-40	1	13	25
	41-50	0	3	17
Percentage		2	25	73

Table 3 explicates the statistics about the responsibility of state institutions for maintaining peace and order situation and age group of respondents. The data shows that majority of the people (73%) from 20-40 years of age believed that state institutions are responsible to maintain the peace and order in the country to a great extent while only 25% consider it important to some extent.

Table 4: Cross Tabulation of Satisfaction of Respondents with the Performance of State Institutions and their Age Group

		Satisfaction with the performance of state institutions		
		Not at all	to some extent	to a great extent
Age	Below 20	20	15	10
	21-30	36	44	20
	31-40	22	15	2
	41-50	7	11	2
Percentage		42	42	16

Table 4 gives details about the relationship between the age group of respondents and the satisfaction level of respondents with the performance of state institutions. 42% respondents from the age group of 20-40 years were satisfied to some extent with the performance of state institutions while

42% of the respondents from the age group 20-40 years were not satisfied with the performance of state institutions.

Table 5: Cross Tabulation of Responsibility of State Institutions and Gender of Respondents

		The responsibility of State Institutions to maintain peace and order		
		Not at all	to some extent	to a great extent
Gender	Women	1	8	21
	Man	1	17	52

Table 5 explains the relationship between gender and responsibility of state institutions to maintain peace and order situation. 52% of the men and 21% women considered the state institutions responsible to maintain order and peace to a great extent while only 25% considered it to some extent.

Table 6: Cross Tabulation of Satisfaction Level of Respondents with the Performance of State Institutions and Gender of Respondents

		Satisfaction with the performance of state institutions		
		Not at all	to some extent	to a great extent
Gender	Women	13	12	5
	Man	28	30	12

Table 6 clarifies the relationship between the gender of respondents and the satisfaction level of respondents with the performance of state institutions. 28% men and 13% women are not satisfied with the performance of state institutions while 12% women and 30% men are satisfied to some extent and only 5% women and 12% men are satisfied to great extent.

Table : Correlation between Trust in State Institutions and Attitude towards Vigilantism

		Attitude towards Vigilantism	Trust in Law Enforcement	Trust in Judiciary
Attitude towards Vigilantism	Pearson Correlation	1	-.158*	-.085
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.024	.229
	N	204	204	204
Trust in Law Enforcement	Pearson Correlation	-.158*	1	.592**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.024		.000
	N	204	204	204
Trust in Judiciary	Pearson Correlation	-.085	.592**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.229	.000	
	N	204	204	204

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table No. 07 shows the data about correlations between Judiciary, Law Enforcement institutions and Government. The statistics explain that there is a positive correlation between law enforcement institutions and Government and Law enforcement and Judiciary. The correlation explains that there is a relationship between the judiciary, law enforcement institutions and government and the role of these institutions provides a strong criminal justice system that produces a peaceful society. As the relationship between law enforcement institutions and government is weak and the relationship between law enforcement institutions and judiciary is strong in the above-discussed table. So, the government and law enforcement institutions are more responsible to provide safer and peaceful living conditions in the country.

The negative (-0.158) relationship between the attitude towards vigilantism and trust in law enforcement institutions explains that low trust in law enforcement agencies boosts the attitude of youth towards vigilantism. The relationship between attitude towards vigilantism and trust in judiciary is also negative (-0.085) which show that when trust in the judiciary is low the aptitude of youth increases towards vigilantism.

Conclusion

The study explored the relationship between trust in the criminal justice system and attitude towards vigilantism among youth in Lahore. The findings of the study show that there is a negative relationship between trust in the criminal justice system and attitude towards vigilantism. As trust in the criminal justice system decreases, attitude towards vigilantism increases. Because of the low performance of the criminal justice system, youth trust in the criminal justice system is declining. It is also investigated among youth that judiciary and law enforcement agencies are responsible for stable condition of peace in society. In Pakistani society, many reasons were explored due to which trust in criminal justice is low in which bribe, political influence on law enforcement institutions and judiciary, the delayed decisions by courts, less staff and complicated judicial system are included.

The Weekly Sadiq-ul-Akhbar: The Historical Newspaper of Bahawalpur State

Muhammad Suhaib Khan*

Abstract

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Government of Bahawalpur felt the need to keep the public update of the contemporary world which could be done through publication of a newspaper. Therefore, Political Agent Captain Minchin (1829-1898) established a lithograph printing press at Bahawalpur. Initially, it was a branch Matba'a Kooh-i-Noor, Lahore. Later, it was renamed after the name of ruling prince Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV (1866-1899) as Matba'a Sadiq-ul-Anwaar. Pandit Dawar ka Nath was appointed as the first administrator of the Sadiq-ul-Anwar Press and editor-in-chief of the Sadiq-ul-Akhbar, while Munshi Bora Mal was employed as printer. The first inscriber of the paper was Moulvi Sheikh Muhammad. This newspaper contained court circulars, state gazette,

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announcements, reports of the public servants, orders, information about the transfers, promotions and appointments of the officers. The newspaper monopolized journalism in state until it was closed-down after the emergence of One Unit scheme in 1955. The Sadiq-ul-Akbar being the primary source for the annual administrative reports and other historical books and documents holds a unique position among the sources for the history of Bahawalpur. The present paper is aimed at exploring socio-cultural, political, administrative, judicial, religious and literary history of the Bahawalpur State from Sadiq-ul-Akhbar. It serves as introduction of a rare source of the history of Bahawalpur.

Keywords: Newspaper, Administration, Political Agency, Press, Editor

The Bahawalpur State

Bahawalpur emerged as a separate state in 1727 headed by Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi I (1727-1746). The rulers of the Bahawalpur state belonged to Abbasid family with a tribal outlook. The contemporary feudal lords and tribal heads of the state had to accept nominal rule of the Nawab of Bahawalpur. It was a time when the British East India Company was getting stronger in subcontinent, meanwhile central forces were emerging in India. In 1833, Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan III (1825-1852) signed a pact of friendship with the British¹ after being threatened by Maharaja Ranjeet Singh (1790-1839). After the agreement with BEIC the Bahawalpur State became their close ally. The rulers of Bahawalpur helped the British in Multan campaign, Afghan War and also during the War of Independence 1857. On the other hand, the British government took every possible step for the security and prosperity of Bahawalpur. In 1866 Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan IV (1858-1866) suddenly died leaving heir of not more than

¹ Malik Muhammad Deen, *The Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State with Map 1904* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001), 68.

four years of age. According to family traditions and customs Syed Muhammad Murad Shah Gardezi (d.1876) the native agent to the state installed the young prince, Jindwadda Khan on the seat with title of Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abbasi IV (1866-1899). The other feudal lords and chiefs took advantage of the age of young Nawab and conspired to sack him. Besides that, Jaffar Khan² a detained prince got released from Derawar fort and he proclaimed himself as new ruler of Bahawalpur. In this situation, circumstances got out of control of government's native agent Syed Muhammad Murad Shah Gardezi. Hence the dowager queen requested the British government to intervene through troops to crush the rebels.³

The British government deputed Mr. William Ford (1821-1905) the then commissioner of Multan Division to look after the affairs of the state. He took charge as political agent of Bahawalpur in July 1866 which created a lasting impact on the rebels. Sooner, most of the rebels were repulsed and expelled from Bahawalpur.⁴ Mr. Ford left for Multan and Captain Charles Cherry Minchin (1829-1898) took charge as Assistant Political agent in November 1866.⁵ He introduced revolutionary changes and managed most of the departments on European line and appointed European officer for assistance. He installed Sadiq-ul-Anwar press at Bahawalpur and issued *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* to keep the public aware of the contemporary world.

The *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* Bahawalpur

The newspaper *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* served multiple objectives of the then government of the Bahawalpur state. The political government wanted to keep the public well informed about the developments and reforms made by the political agent and his administrative council⁶ working in Bahawalpur State. It seems that the first and foremost intent of the newspaper to advertise the political and social efforts made by the political agent. The second objective was to make people aware of the state affairs, to inform about the irrigation and settlements in Cholistan, fluctuation in revenue and taxation

² He was younger brother of Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan III and had been detained at Derawar fort, since long. The other princess and close relatives of the ruling nawab used to revolt with help of state courtiers. Consequently they were detained at different places and forts, Derawar was one of the best places for their detention.

³ Deen, *The Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State with Map 1904*, 85.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Muhammad Tahir, *Riyasat Bahawalpur Ka Nazm-e-Mumlikat* (Multan: Bazm-e-Saqafat, 2010), 262.

⁶ During the Minority Governments a cabinet was set up to run the business of the Bahawalpur State. This council comprised on both natives and Europeans, responsible to handle political, financial,

and to keep the people informed about imposition of new laws and emerging departments in the state. It was also aimed at providing news about the court hearings and cases of murder, property and robbery.⁷

Initially, the content of the newspaper was restricted to the publication of selected verses of the poetry, but later, it was banned. However, it was issued under the guidance and protection of the political agent, the newspaper was censored and expurgated. Arrangements were made to cut down poetry and let not be published any political discussion which may explode the foundations of a princely state. It was necessary for the editors to get approval for publication of the inscribed copies of the newspaper from the political agent. It was perhaps the first censor of its nature that government imposed on its own paper.⁸ Later on literary and informative articles and poetry was also included in its contents with state permission.

The newspaper consisted generally of eight pages of a large size with three columns on each page. The newspaper was sold inside and outside the Bahawalpur State. Initially, the postal expenses were exempted for the local readers. On the very next issue of the newspaper the annual subscription was reduced to twelve rupees instead of fifteen rupees. In the third issue, news published related to the appointment of Pundit Shiv Parshad as the editor of the *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*. It further describes that Malik Pharaya Lal,⁹ administrator of the *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* had left for Lahore, giving charge of his office to Pandit Shiv Parshad. In 1871, several editors appeared. The issues before April 1871 were published under the editorship of Lala Mehar Chand Munsarim with Syed Mehdi Husain as printer.

administrative, judicial, educational and medical issues of the state. In fact the Agency and its administrative council was pioneer in running the state business on the new lines.

⁷ Tahir, *Riyasat Bahawalpur Ka Nazm-e-Mumlikat*, 954.

⁸ Masood Hassan Shihab, *Harf-e-Aghaaz*, Quarterly Az-Zubair, Vol I, (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1984):5.

⁹ Malik Pharaya Lal was an agent of Koh-e-Noor Press Lahore, and was temporarily appointed as an editor of the *Weekly SadiqulAkhbar* Bahawalpur.

On May 8, 1871 Munshi Abdul Razzaq took its editorship. Mufti Fazaluddin served as printer on the issue of July, 1871.¹⁰ Syed Moulvi Farzand Ali Assistant Superintendent of Courts and Wards supervised the issue of July 25, 1871 and Muhammad Abdul Razzaq served as editor. In the very next issue Syed Mehar Shah appears as editor by October 23, 1871 the newspapers issued under supervision of Syed Chiragh Shah. On November 13, 1871 Syed Mehdi Shah again appeared as editor.¹¹

In 1872 the supervision of the newspaper was handed over to Syed Chiragh Shah, and the editorial duties were assigned to Syed Mehar Shah. Syed Mehar was dismissed on February 12, 1872 for administrative incompetence and Munshi Bora Mal Azad was appointed as next editor of the newspaper on March 25, 1872.¹² He changed the style and outlook of the newspaper. He edited the newspaper in the sequence mentioned below.

- i. Government Orders, Announcements and Court Circulars
- ii. Translations from the English newspapers (Excerpts)
- iii. Excerpts from Urdu newspapers
- iv. Literary and scientific articles
- v. Advertisements

Munshi Bora Mal Azad was dismissed from editorship in July 1874; the issue of July 6, 1874 was published under the supervision of Peter Randal superintendent of Sadiq ul Anwar Press Bahawalpur. In 1876, the editorship of the newspaper was once again changed. The newspaper was issued under the editorship of Mr. Mothero.¹³ Under his editorship, there was no improvement in the size and annual subscription of the newspaper.¹⁴ At that time Colonel Minchin was supervisor of the newspaper. On May 14, 1877 the editorship was given to Lala Lal Singh. The annual subscription fee was decreased to ten rupees per year for the readers outside the state. The number of pages remained twelve per issue!¹⁵ Editorship of the newspaper was

¹⁰ *The Weekly Sadiq-ul-Akhbar Bahawalpur*, July 10, 1871, 1.

¹¹ *The Weekly Sadiq-ul-Akhbar Bahawalpur*, November 13, 1871, 1.

¹² Safiya Aziz, *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar: Bahawalpur Ka Pehla Akhbar*, Quarterly Az-Zubair Vol, I (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1984), 48.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

assigned to Moulvi Ataullah from August 12, 1878.¹⁶ The outlook and impression of the newspaper changed after 1879. Some pieces of poetry of local poets and prose were started to publish beside government orders and announcements on the limited basis.¹⁷ On November 24, 1879 Syed Faiz-ul-Hassan, Chief Judge Bahawalpur was appointed as supervisor of the Sadiq-ul-Anwar, while editorship was given to Hafiz Muhammad Abdul Quddus Qudsi. Hafiz Qudsi was a poet of note; he endeavored to serve poetry and literature in the newspaper.

In the following year, complete administration and editorial duties were allocated to Hafiz Abdul Quddus Qudsi acknowledging his services for the paper. During his editorship a number of notable poets presented their poetic works in the weekly *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*. His presence as editor endeavors provided a ground to the local poets and prose writers to present their work. He invoked novel spirit in *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* Bahawalpur. In fact, most of the literary activities in the state were started from this point.¹⁸ By the continuous struggle of Hafiz Abdul Quddus, the number of issues increased to 477 per week, and pages increase to 16. A perpetual column was published concerning to social issues of the Bahawalpur city. He also paid deep attention on the quality of paper and proof. In 1882, Hafiz Abdul Quddus carried on his work on the same line. In this year rates of annual subscriptions were increased to twelve rupees for state reader and eighteen rupees for outsiders with postal expenses.¹⁹ In 1884, Hafiz Abdul Quddus Qudsi was dismissed; the editorship was given to Pandith Dawarka Nath. The annual subscription remained same but the numbers of pages were decreased to eight pages per issue. Pandit Dawarka Nath worked hard but the newspaper lost its standard.²⁰ In 1892, Hafiz Abdul Quddus Qudsi was once again hired for the editorship. Hafiz Abdul Quddus Qudsi worked as editor from 1892 to 1897. He once again worked for the betterment of the newspaper and raised its standard. The newspaper's size again increased to 16 pages with two columns on each page. In fact, he played vital role in the successful publication of *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*.

¹⁶ *The Weekly Sadiq-ul-Akhbar Bahawalpur*, August 12, 1878.

¹⁷ Syed Shahood Hassan Rizvi, *Bahawalpur Ki Urdu Sahafat: Aikljmali Jaiza*, Quarterly Az-Zubair, Vol. I (Bahawalpur: Urdu Academy, 1984) 10.

¹⁸ Aziz, *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar: Bahawalpur Ka Pehla Akhbar*, 54.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁰ *The Weekly Sadiq-ul-Akhbar Bahawalpur*, September 8, 1892.

In 1900, Moulvi Attaullah was entrusted the responsibility to serve as editor of the newspaper. He reduced the size and length of the paper to twelve pages. Moulvi Attaullah worked as the editor from 1900 to 1914. He could not upgrade the standard *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* during this long duration of fourteen years. Syed Muhammad Bashir became next editor of the newspaper in 1918. He followed the policy of his predecessor. But as an editor, he brought several changes in the newspaper. He reduced number of pages to eight pages per issue. In 1921 number of pages increased to twelve. Syed Muhammad Bashir worked as editor till 1929.²¹ During this period, the newspaper published a news of the World War I, Khilafat Movement and many other issues going on in South Asia. The editor tried his best to enhance the format, shape and size. In order to improve the standard of the newspaper, Peerzadah Taj al-din Ahmad held the editorial post in 1930. During his editorship the newspaper got the status of a bilingual publication and published in Urdu and English. The news and other information were published in Urdu while the official notifications in form of Gazette were published in English.

The formation and appearance of the newspaper varied during the editorship of various editors. Initially it had three columns with narrow handwriting. Later, bold calligraphic techniques were used to highlight the news. Some editors tried their best to improve the standard of the newspaper. They included various pieces of literature and poetry for public interest. The newspaper contributed its services for the promotion of education and literacy. Therefore, columns about different social aspects were included in the issues.

The Government Gazette Bahawalpur

The gazette was the last portion of the newspaper. It was published both in Urdu and English which was taken as the annexure of *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*. It usually called *Zameema Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*. After 1942 it was entitled as 'The Government Gazette Bahawalpur'.²² It included court circulars, orders and announcement, proceedings of the meetings, working reports of the various departments of the state like police department, education, medical, judiciary, chief and district courts, revenues and income, accounts and

²¹ Aziz, *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar: Bahawalpur Ka Pehla Akhbar*, 62-63.

²² *The Government Gazette Bahawalpur*, January 2, 1942.

treasury, jails, irrigation railways and army. It also included news related to transfers, promotion, demotion and appointment of the government officers.

Problems and Perspectives

In present times it is difficult to access *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*. Its scarcity and unavailability create many problems for the researchers. Complete files of the newspaper are available in some libraries of Bahawalpur. Yet the ambiguous attitude of the librarians does not let the researchers to get benefit of the newspaper. Similarly, some families kept the record of the newspaper in their personal collections, nonetheless they are hesitant to share it. The Record Office of Bahawalpur preserved some files of *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*. The government of Bahawalpur under the Nawab and his successor kept complete record of their forefather's property. There was a classic library in possession of Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan V (1924-1955) but there exists an impression that the files of newspaper were stolen and even soiled because carelessness of the custodians. The Punjab Government Printing Press (former Sadiq al-Anwaar Press) does not possess even a single issue. Hence no record of the newspaper is found there. The newspaper is scattered in form of files and fragments around the country. The available files are so fragile and delicate to get scanning and photocopy.

As discussed earlier that the fundamental purpose of the study is to reveal socio-political and administrative history of Bahawalpur State extracted from *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*. The newspaper is near the extinction. Therefore, it is aimed to take serious steps to save it for the generations to come.

- i. To collect all the files of *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* and place it at one location.
- ii. To digitize the newspaper to facilitate the future researcher.
- iii. To provide the soft copies of the newspaper to public and private libraries.
- iv. To rectify the errors of earlier researches with fake references from *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*.
- v. To save one of the important historical records of the subcontinent from extinction.

Conclusion

The *Weekly Sadiq-ul-Akhbar Bahawalpur Gazette* had been published for almost ninety years. The weekly *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* has contributed in the promotion of Urdu language and literature since its creation. It provided information of general interest and official matters. The state administration not only permitted to issue a newspaper but also supervised its contents for about ninety years. In fact, *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* is a foundation stone of the native thought in Bahawalpur State. It helped creating a sense of self-government on a limited level. The *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* became a reliable primary source for the administration reports which were published during 1867-1955. These reports contained information about working of various departments of the Bahawalpur state. It also is a source to provide primary data to the researchers. The researchers also seek information about the contemporary world in this newspaper. Being a rare newspaper the files of *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* are found seldom therefore, at times, its name is used to provide fake references.

Post 9/11 US National Security Strategies (NSS) Towards South Asia: Transformation and its Strategic Imperatives

Syed Mushahid Hussain Naqvi*

Abstract

The US NSS Transformations after 9/11 refurbished the dynamics of diplomatic affairs through reshaping regional alliances and revamping regional security architecture. India emerged new strategic partnership of the US, whereas Pakistan conspicuously sidelined from pronouncements of its rebalancing strategy in South Asia, particularly in Afghanistan conflict. Resultantly, Pakistan is edging closer to China, who proactively expands its regional influence through its economic might and military prowess. In addition, the implications of the US coercive and assertive policies towards containment of China fragmented the regional cohesion and peaceful co-existence. Trust deficit among regional states increased massively and it further escalated the bilateral hostilities and animosities. The US changing security strategies made region highly fractious and polarized, which resulted into increasing security dilemma, military industrial complex and deterrence through building of arms and nuclear arsenals by regional states. Besides growing non-traditional

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security challenges such as sluggish economies, rampantly increasing population, and water scarcities, the region also faced massive blow from proxy and asymmetrical warfare due to excessive engagement of multiple regional actors. The emergence of mercenaries and militant insurgents groups such as Islamic State (IS) and resurgence of Taliban further escalated the anarchy and chaos in region. The failures of NSS further complicated Afghanistan quagmire through increasing geopolitical intrigues and escalating protracted violence. With no end in sight, war torn Afghanistan failed to attain peace and stability in the foreseeable future under such circumstances.

Key Words: National security, Balance of Power, Protracted Violence, Geostrategic Competition, Security Complex, Arms Race

Introduction

National Security Strategies (NSS) of the US concertized a new strategic approach towards South Asia to attain its wide-ranging interests through broadening and redefining its strategic policies of engagement, intervention, and detachment. However, security strategies kept transforming over the period of time, particularly since after its intervention in Afghanistan under the president Bush, Obama and Trump's administration. As the US played for its higher stakes in the region, a transition of security policies witnessed multifaceted implications pertaining to regional political, economic, and geostrategic and security architecture.

The geopolitical, geostrategic and security dynamics of the South Asian region underwent through successive transformations in the aftermaths of 9/11 incident. With hindsight, President Bush administration started “Operation Enduring Freedom” in Afghanistan to dismantle Al-Qaida networks and toppling the Taliban regime through the assistance of NATO allies. After the invasion in Afghanistan, Bush administration released NSS

document in 2002, primarily focusing on countering the menace of terrorism through initiating worldwide campaign in which policy principles towards South Asia were strategically responsive and condition based due to growing uncertain security challenges. While the Obama administration opted policy of rapprochement and reconciliation through Clear, Build, Hold and Transfer (CBHT) approach. However, this strategic approach was refuted during president Trump administration and a new assertive and coercive policy of Regional, Realign, Reinforce, Reconcile and Sustain (R4+S) was introduced to win a war in Afghanistan and also revamp its bilateral relations with Pakistan¹.

Obama's Af-Pak Strategy

While addressing the protracted Afghanistan crises through R4+S approach, The US introduced inclusive strategic approach titled “Af-Pak policy” to disrupt, dismantle and defeat Al-Qaida and its extremist outfits in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Presenting the preface of new strategic policy, the US vowed to ensure the homeland security through securing the spread of lethal weapons into the hands of militant non-state actors and eliminating the existence of worldwide safe heavens of Al-Qaida. Afghanistan and Pakistan were perceived as vertex point of protracted violence led by the by Al-Qaida and its outfits and it was believed that this turmoil would escalate further because of regaining power in swathes of Afghanistan, thus providing Al-Qaida liberty to operate freely in the region.

In the context of Afghanistan, the US became determined to destroy Al-Qaida's and seize the power in control to avoid the overthrowing of the central government of Kabul into the hands of Taliban through increasing the power capacity of central government and Afghanistan Security Forces (ASF). In addition, the US also asserted to collaborate with the central government in Islamabad in order to ensure domestic and regional security.

Reshaping Af-Pak Strategy in Trump Era

Trump proclaimed that the American nation deserves victory because it had made commendable sacrifices during the war in Afghanistan. Therefore, the US will project the policy of "winning" rather nation building, clearly

¹ C. Christine Fair, “Obama’s New Af-Pak Strategy: Can ‘Clear, Hold, Build, Transfer’ Work?,” *Centre for International Governance Innovation*, no. 6 (July 28, 2010), <https://www.cigionline.org/publications/obamas-new-af-pak-strategy-can-clear-hold-build-transfer-work>.

rejecting Obama's policy CBHT. The hasty withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan may ensue colossal blow to the regional interests as nature of former strategy is indeterminate, unpredictable and significantly unacceptable. Furthermore, the region holds the highest concentration of fragility and hostility, therefore, the level of threat is intense and multifaceted as more than twenty terrorist organizations are proactively engaged in protracted violence in the region. Notably, the Trump policy also alleged Pakistan for harboring and giving safe havens to the violent and extremist non-state actor. Consequently, the US is facing an inherited challenge posed by the agents of chaos in South Asia. Henceforth, The US strategic interests in both Afghanistan and Pakistan are clear. The US determined to deracinate safe havens in the region by utilizing all the resources since it poses heinous threats to its sovereignty. Furthermore, it also undermines risks of falling of nuclear weapons and materials into the hands of those insurgent groups. With R4+s preamble the Trump administration highlighted important components of its policy.² The condition-based approach was preferred over time-based strategy, irrespective of arbitrary timeframe as it proven to be counterproductive due to the exposition of strategic plans to the enemies, this approach undermined the Obama's strategic plan of the defined time period of withdrawal of troops.

Strategic Imperatives and Transformation

Protracted Afghanistan crises

Protracted Afghanistan crisis emerged one of the significant factors of the transformation of the US National Security Strategies towards South Asia during President Bush, Obama, and Trump administrations respectively. Despite of successive policy transformations, the US failed to attain victory in the Afghan war. One of key factor is opting long-running military practices and ignored provocation of the political stalemate of crises by the US policymakers. Furthermore, it also failed in bringing all the stakeholders towards peaceful resolve: negotiations through the sustainable composite dialogue process by engaging regional and global actors. Thus, the decision of invading Afghanistan ascertained another nightmare for the US, because

² Ishtiaq Ahmad, "The US Af-Pak Strategy: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan," *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 37, no. 4 (2010): 191–209.

it vehemently wracked havoc by jeopardizing core regional strategic interests due to a successful transformation of strategic policy under different administrations since intervention after 9/11.

With no end in sight, from Bush's assertive Operation Enduring Freedom, to apparent reconciling Obama's CBHT policy, to revamped Trump's regionalize, realign, reinforce, reconcile and sustain (R4+S) the approach, the US so far has poured in \$1.07 trillion in a prolonged running war of Afghanistan. Consequently, the war-torn stagnating Afghanistan portrays a dismal picture of protracted violence and enduring turmoil with starvation of perpetual peace and consolidate stability.³

Thus, successive failure of NSS raised concerns regarding the legitimating of war, and the US struggling to justify it over a period of time. Moreover, the sub-sequential transformation led non-coherent and erratic strategic paradigm in order to bring perpetual peace through the process of regime change which further proved fatal for the stabilization of the country.

Furthermore, the notion of wining of war in NSS also became ambiguous, the way it was carried out by different administration in their respective eras. The strategy towards Afghanistan predominantly loaded with pre-conceived policies of military practices with an uncertain rotation of military troops, alliances, and manpower tactically and operationally more often, leading to intensifying violence and instigation of civil warfare. For instance, the Obama's strategy of CBHT was overlying on the US military practices, enacting strategic plows through Northern alliance, mercenary forces and its regional allies became ineffective due to uncertain imperatives that needed to be addressed at first hand by the US policy orientation goals.⁴

Conversely, the president Trump's NSS desires of inclusive and meaningful victory by revamping the prior policy has added fuel to the fire. The policy of increasing troops in Afghanistan, and strategically applying pressure on Pakistan seemingly become a redundant practice. The shift from the idea of

³ Dr Sripama Pathak, "Trump's South Asia Policy: Implications for China," *IndraStra Global* 03, no. 09 (August 21, 2017): 5.

⁴ Vanda Brown, "President Trump's Afghanistan Policy: Hopes and Pitfalls," 2017, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/president-trumps-afghanistan-policy-hopes-and-pitfalls/>.

nation-building to victory in Afghanistan without implying the state and nation-building process in a true sense, raised serious apprehensions because the notion of victory in Afghanistan for the US has already become obsolete.

In an aspect of Afghanistan crises, the US faced multifaceted complexities of successfully implementing NSS that actually forced it to alter its strategic policy approach to deal the enduring issues pertaining to counterinsurgency and socio-economic stability.

- The dynamics of conflict in Afghanistan are multi-dimensional, as it involved the clash of interests among multiple stakeholders. Thus, this complexity intrigued the US to revamp and transfer its strategic policy over the period of time considering the circumstances.
- The US policy makers failed to articulate the notion of nation-building, fruitful military practices and effective diplomacy to access and adhere in accordance with the challenges faced by the US in Afghanistan.
- While combating regional terrorism, the US strategic approach was inherently strategically misjudged and miscalculated. This approach lacked conviction and it failed to quantify the imperatives of threats ensued by non- state militant actors and simultaneously level of challenges posed by the geo-strategic competition between the regional and global powers.
- The protracted upsurge of violence led by the Taliban and ISIS in Afghanistan always made the US strategic policy redundant and meaningless, which eventually forced the US to redefine its policy.
- The ambiguous social configuration and hostile domestic situation of Afghanistan never allowed the US to stick with a single sustainable strategic policy to pursue its interests.
- For reconciling and rapprochement, the US tried to experiment the western style democracy and free market economy which overtly failed due to non-compatibility of such traits as current Afghan

generation admires their ancient history of tribal structure which clearly dejects the spirit of democracy through their anti-western social sentiments and ideological beliefs. Thus, the Trump policy indication of “no more nation building” indicates that the US has realized the difficulty to bring massive change in the complex social and normative structure of Afghanistan. Considering the bitter reality, the Trump abandoned the previous initiatives of nation-building during the Obama era.

- While the presence of NATO troops on Afghan territory, social acceptance became one of the vital challenges for the US because the majority of Afghans became distraught and acrimonious due to ill-conceived strategic and operational plows such as ruthless killings of civilians, targeted operations, bombings, unnecessary interrogations and investigations of the general public. Henceforth, growing hatred and antipathy also paved the path to bring the shift in US policies.
- The US became insecure over the role of Pakistan as an ally in the Afghan war. The massive trust deficit towards Pakistan and over reliance on Northern Alliance also raised the impetus of revamping the strategic policy towards the Afghanistan issue.
- Realistically, withdrawal of the US troops from Afghanistan shall reduce its regional influence, thus its existence in Afghanistan activates the possibilities of strategic deterrence and influence against its regional adversaries. Therefore, adoption of clear policy may drive to a certain solution which may lower down the stakes of the US presence in the region.

Regrouping of Taliban

Taliban's regrouping in Afghanistan is one of the significant aspects of the transformation of NSS. The US invasion in Afghanistan caused toppling of the Taliban regime and later replaced by the US supported Karzai government who was elected as interim president by delegates in Bonn conference in December 2001. Since then, the NATO forces and Taliban locked horns against each other and countless deadly attacks and combating operations were conducted which resulted in a massive socio-economic and human loss over the last seventeen years. However, the US has failed to

outplay the Taliban from Afghanistan completely during the Bush and Obama era. In amid of crisis, the current Trump rhetorical resolve of victory instead of a national building seems to deem as the Taliban regained the power and control over approximately 70% area with a physical presence in 400 districts. They reestablished with more power by diversifying their regional support through increasing strategic relevance in geopolitical and geostrategic competition between the regional and global contenting powers in the region.⁵

Notably, after regaining more power, Taliban does not want any political stalemate through negotiations on the terms and conditions of the US, because it hampers their holistic view of ideological beliefs, state-building, and nationhood. In addition, over the last few years, it has rematerialized an entity of “give and take” rather “dependence” on the regional actors. The resilient insurgency tactics have extended the leverages of the Taliban by influencing the possibilities of stability in Afghanistan and region. Presence of the Taliban with ideological and political contradiction signifies them as core stakeholders in Afghanistan quagmire and repetitively reinforced the Washington to revamp the strategic policies towards longstanding conflict. Thus, the shift in US strategic policy of time-based to a conditions-based withdrawal of the US troops is assimilated with the degree of influence of the Taliban in Afghanistan.

The emergence of ISIS in Afghanistan

The emergence of ISIS is another significant component of the transformation of NSS. The beginning of the second term of President Obama marked with emerging Middle Eastern faction of ISIS in Afghanistan. The advent of ISIS in Afghanistan raises the impetus of revamping strategic policies by the US due to the galvanization of the dynamics of conflict. Since the year 2014, although IS facing numerous countervailing forces but it is determined to establishing a caliphate in Khorasan. This brand of ISIS comprised of splinter groups of Taliban, local warlords and other sectarian factions who manage to create a foothold in different provinces of Afghanistan.

Anirudha Gupta, “Issue In South Asia,” *International Journal on World Peace* 13, no. 4 (1996): 3–16.

IS started its activities in three major provinces by having training camps in Farah and Nangahar province. The materialization of ISIS in Afghanistan stimulated the strategic imperatives of the US policy in numerous ways:

- The presence of IS in Afghanistan rang alarm bells for the regional actors such as Russia and Iran in particular. Sensing the danger, both the regional actors assisted the Taliban to undermine the growing strength of IS and also invoke their anti-American efforts in the region.
- The growing influence of IS made Afghanistan intensely anarchic, polarized and fractious by derailing the efforts of counterinsurgency and counterterrorism instigated by the US in collaboration with local Afghan government and allies.
- The fight for monopolistic domination between the Taliban and IS electrified predatory criminality atmosphere, hampering the apparent rapprochement and reconciliation efforts led by the NATO forces for perpetual peace.
- In the geostrategic aspect, it has created vacuum and vulnerabilities for regional and global contending actors to plug in through instigating asymmetric warfare to pursue their respective goals.

Thus, the presence of IS in Afghanistan set forth another formidable challenge for the US policy towards Afghanistan. Estimating the circumstances, the US compelled to alter its strategic regional approach to better serve the US interests in Afghanistan.

The Role of the National Unity Government

The embroiling turmoil and violence upsurge made the role of National Unity Government (NUG) ineffective and it failed to make generated influence to deal with challenges pertaining to perpetual peace, predacious crimes, infrastructural development, illicit drugs, and illegal economies. The rapacious and capricious mindset of the Afghan ruling elites, resulted in mis-governance, ensuing colossal blow to the US strategic policy of reconstruction and reconciliation, peaceful resolution of the longstanding conflict. Notably, the majority of government representatives caught red-handed in massive corruption, bribery, illicit drugs trafficking, and usurping

of international financial assistance. From Hamid Karzai to the Ashraf Ghani's rule, the Afghan government failed to deliver for general masses in all the spheres sustainable life. The strategy of payoff and cooption through the appointment of powerbrokers shattered the contours of socio-economic development by the ruling elites of Kabul.

According to the report of Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) in 2016, countless companies, individuals and government representatives in Afghanistan got involved in massive corruption. Evidently, poor performance resulted in into 133 suspensions, 495 finalized debarments and 28 special entity designations of individuals and companies engaged in U.S.-funded reconstruction projects. Thus, the failure of NUG forced president Obama to revamp its strategic approach.⁶

Henceforth, the orientation of the US failures in Afghanistan appears from incapacity and inability of the Afghan government to comprehend the US civil-military strategy in the lights of the post 9/11 reconciliation process. The successive failure of the Afghan government compelled the US to change its policies, thus uncertainty and inconsistency push the state towards embroiling turmoil and intense chaos.

The ineffective role of Afghan security and law enforcement agencies, particularly the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) remained a real big challenge for the US military strategic operations. The security forces are deeply entangled with the menace of corruption, nepotism, ethnic discrimination, voraciousness and patronage culture, thus weakening the highly significant imperatives of transparency, accountability, and social justice. Furthermore, a dearth of efficient mechanism, deficient training and logistics led to poor performances by the state's institutions exacerbated the hostility and disorder in the country. Evidently, those formidable challenges to Obama's "national building strategy" galvanized drastically over the last few years. Therefore, complete withdrawal of the US troops in near future remains ambiguous under the Trump era.

⁶ Susan E. Rice, "The New National Security Strategy: Focus on Failed States," *Brookings*, November 30, 2001, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-new-national-security-strategy-focus-on-failed-states/>.

Ineffective Role of Private Contractors

After the beginning of OEF in Afghanistan, the NATO troops faced multifaceted challenges pertaining to bases and communication support, the familiarity of terrain, understanding of local languages, maintaining of security, and administrative affairs. In response, the US introduced the tactic of hiring private contractors to seek operational assistance through addressing the issues while ensuring the sustainable long run survivability of troops and to avoid the breaching of social and normative trends due to cultural differences.

During Bush and Obama's tenure, the NATO forces relied heavily on private contractors which led to the ineffectiveness of operations due to miscommunication and inability to execute strategies efficiently. For instance, contractors sympathized the locals and to an extent setting trap for the US coalition forces through spying strategies. The ambiguous role of contractors made it tough for the US to execute strategies in order to attain desired results, subjected to its military strategy in Afghanistan broadly. Consequently, in recent years the gradual reduction of contractors took place which further raised serious apprehensions for the survivability of the US led coalition troops on the battlefield in Afghanistan. In a nut shell, spending billion dollars on contractors' campaign never ensured the seeking of goals by the US. Therefore, it became imperative for the policymakers in Washington to revamp this redundant strategy for a better outcome in Afghanistan.

Domestic Constraints

One of the vital aspects of transformation NSS is the domestic pressure of the public. Public narrative remained one of the foremost components of the transformation of the US strategic approach in Afghanistan. To an extent, Bush remained successful in seeking right vengeance in the account of beginning the OEF, as 90% of the American public favored the decision of instigating "good war." However, after seventeen struggling years, this ratio dropped down to 17% and the Afghanistan war has now become a "forgotten war" in general public sentiments. While staggering and limping in-between loss and stalemate, the US is facing a real tough task to justify their subjective policies to the general public. Consequently, the current strategic

policies have lost public support and mentioning about the Afghanistan war to general masses is more like questioning the morality. The general public has become less enthusiastic and fatigued with an insightful desire to change the topic, precisely demanding the end of the forgotten war.⁷

Afghanistan crisis sought to contribute massively in securing the domestic political gains. The political lobbies tactically exploited and misguided the general public by cashing the war failures through accusation and blame game to fortify political domination and extending of influence. For instance, the post-invasion era in Afghanistan witnessed domestic political trends of the US outfitted by its grand strategic approach towards Afghanistan. Evidently, the Republicans were defeated by the Democrats in presidential elections in the year 2008 due to proactive campaigning agenda of ending a war in Afghanistan. Likewise, their loss in presidential elections 2017 was also an outcome of their failures to fulfill commitments promised over the protracted Afghanistan crisis. Hence, the narrative of the general public holds a significant impact in driving the domestic political contours, which further leads to the policy design of the US towards Afghanistan crises. In a nut shell, the domestic narrative in the US impinged strategic rhetoric of different administrations towards Afghanistan. Which eventually contributed shift in dynamics of operational and strategic approach of Washington towards Kabul.

The Growing NATO Resentments in Afghanistan

The growing US resentments forced different administrations to revamp their NSS. The NATO forces have been engaged in Afghanistan for the last seventeen years. Starting from OEF to the current non combating resolute support tasks; which included the provision of training and assistance to the ASF and other security and law enforcement agencies. Unrealistic operational objectives and worsening military performance diminished the

⁷ David Ludden, "Subalterns and Others in the Agrarian History of South Asia," in *Agrarian Studies*, Synthetic Work at the Cutting Edge (Yale University Press, 2001), 206–232.

hopes of victory. Therefore, the decisions of reducing and increasing troop's over the period of time by the US apparently fostered due to rising concerns of engaged NATO allies in Afghanistan.

The current NATO alliance in Afghanistan is facing multifaceted challenges, due to increasing the course of resentment among the deployed troops. Few NATO allies refuted continuation counter insurgency tasks. Irrespective, of any major shift in their approach towards Afghanistan, the German, French, Italian, and Spanish troops used multiple tactics such as demanding additional troops and enforcing withdraw from the regions during their deployment in Southern and Eastern Afghanistan.

It is pertinent to highlight that NATO allies preferred the policy of time-based withdrawal rather implying condition-based strategies and over the determination of the US staying in Afghanistan. In such circumstances, Trump's ideas of making NATO a commercial enterprise and demand of increasing the budgetary contributions intrigued the allies who are scuffled in the fatigued Afghanistan war. Thus, the shift in policy resolving Afghanistan crisis implicitly bringing rifts in allies due to the cognitive dissonance of immediate withdrawal of their troops, rather serving the US interests.

Afghanistan Quagmire: An Epicenter of Geopolitical Intrigue

Protracted Afghanistan crisis emerged a vital challenge for regional states due to transformation and failure of NSS since the US intervention in Afghanistan. The geostrategic significance of fragile Afghanistan offers ample opportunities while simultaneously ensuring security vulnerabilities for India, Pakistan, Iran, Russia, and China. Therefore, estimating the essence of conflict, regional states are proactively engaged in Afghanistan to attain security and strategic interests, making the long-standing war more intense and horrifying.

Russia: In the aftermaths of the addition of IS in Afghan quagmires, Moscow detected vulnerabilities of infringing IS insurgency in Central Asia due to geographical proximities with Afghanistan, which can further spur into Russia. In their understandings, possible withdrawal of NATO troops in

near future may create vacuum due to incompetency to deliver and insistent dependence of Afghan Unitary Government over foreign players. Consequently, it rises grave apprehensions of Afghanistan becoming a regional hub of ISIS, just like Syria and Iraq. To deal with the growing situation, Moscow had several options. First, using Taliban and other mercenaries as a leverage tool to undermine emerging threats from IS, subsequently, building cordial relations through establishing strong economic and security ties to attain its full support. Second, it has an option of establishing a tripartite comprehensive regional security framework for the Afghan crisis through cooperation with Pakistan and China. Over the recent developments between Russia and Taliban, US hold belligerent stance and also accused Moscow of lethal arms supply to Taliban which has been a hurdle for the stability and peace process in Afghanistan over the last few years. However, Russia refuted the American claims of weaponry supply but accepted dialogue process with insurgents due to increasing foothold of IS in the north-eastern region of Afghanistan to secure wide range geopolitical interests for security assurance.

Iran: Taliban's growing control in the western zone, particularly Farah province is allegedly associated with support of Tehran due to its geographical proximities and establishment of IS-K. Particularly, after the falling of Anardarah district into the hands of the Taliban, the US and unitary government in Kabul blamed the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) for empowering Taliban through Training and weaponry supply. In 2016, Iranian Ambassador to Kabul also affirmed Tehran's contacts with the Taliban for urging them to join the peace talks with Kabul. The possible support of Teheran to the Taliban is based on its geopolitical, economic and security interests.

- Empowering Taliban to counter IS growing regional influence. Simultaneously, avoid its likely infiltrations in its periphery and territorial borders, particularly in its western zone.
- The mega project of TAPI passes through Farah province, thus Taliban's empowerment in this province increases leverages of a strategic bargain for Iran in the region.
- Relations of Iran with the Taliban naturally creates strategic

- pressure on the US and Unitary Government of Afghanistan.
- Bilateral Pak-US ties: From Strategic Allies to Frenemies:

Since the US invasion in Afghanistan, Pak US bilateral ties remained teetering and staggering in between lines of strategic allies to frenemies. Sporadically, Washington kept fluctuating its strategic policy towards Pakistan with the conventional mantra of "do more," in context of residing ambitions over Afghanistan crises, precisely making it a roller coaster ride between two states. Basically, the transformation NSS towards predominately lies on certain reasons:

- Pakistan' alleged ineffective role in Afghanistan's rapprochement and the peace process.
- Recognizing India an alternate choice to checkmate and deter China to ensure the US political, economic, and geostrategic, and security interests in the region.
- Pakistan's role in fostering regional geostrategic posture, in prospect with growing ties with China.

Rhetorically, the "US-Pak strategic alliance" is an orientation of multi-dimensional hasty conflict rather converging narratives, ideological unanimousness, cultural assimilations, and integrated economic approaches. Notably, the power imbalance between two states categorically outfitted Pakistan as a client state of the US through the notion of bandwagoning in the attainment of multiple strategic goals. Thus, the strategic alliance of Pakistan and the US remained ambiguous due to power difference and divergent strategic interests. Nevertheless, seventeen years of strategic partnerships portrays a dismal picture of exploitation by the US of a regional state which is reeling down to maintain its peace and stability. Over Afghanistan crises, excessive bilateral trust deficit strained strategic partnership between the two states, obliging the US to transform its strategic approach periodically. For instance, Islamabad persistently remained in crosshairs of the US due to the disappointment of policies failures towards Afghanistan. Resultantly, the US accused Pakistan of harboring and

providing safe heavens to various terrorists' entities such as Taliban, Haqqani Networks and factions of Al-Qaida. Notably, this became one of a major hurdle in the deteriorating peace process in Afghanistan. In response, Pakistan relentlessly refuted the US accusations by statistically explaining its efforts and position and also took indispensable actions to address antipathies for strengthening the campaign for uprooting menace of terrorism. Despite of Pakistan's significant efforts, the cloud of bilateral ambivalence, mistrust and suspicion kept hovering and the US kept pressurizing strategically and operationally, notably initiating drone strikes inside the northwestern territory of Pakistan to dismantle alleged safe heavens of terrorist entities since the year 2004 remained a vital element of the Pentagon's deceitful policy. Persuasively, the US failed to foster a comprehensive policy regarding porous Af-Pak cross-border infiltrations. Thus, the North and Western region of Pakistan remained vulnerable for cross-border violence upsurge.

The revamped policy of Washington by substituting Pakistan with India in regional geopolitical affairs, particularly in Afghanistan, is an intimidating approach to exert strategic pressure on Pakistan. This paradigm shift has multidimensional underlying causes. Firstly, India is an important trading partner to keep the US arms industry running and the significance of its IT industry also strengthens its economic posture in South Asia. Contrary to this, Pakistan offers less economic ventures and its economy is relying on foreign aids and assistance, supplied by the US and China simultaneously.

Secondly, 1.7 million Indian community comprised of engineers, doctors, businessman settled in the US is playing a proactive role in boosting the economy of the US. As compared to this, the Pakistani community is relatively weak and often perceived as problematic in domestic affairs of the US due to ideological contradictions.

Thirdly, the Indian Ocean holds immense significance as it connects booming East Asian markets to the oil-rich Persian Gulf region. This particular geostrategic essence enables the Indian Ocean to create a nexus between the US Asia-Pacific strategies to the European Atlantic strategy.

From the geopolitical aspect, India is widely regarded as a reliable partner for the US to create its foothold by extending horizontal deterrence and simultaneously combating the security challenges stemming from China and Russia. Although Pakistan, being the littoral state of the Indian Ocean, also has valuable posture but its strategic alliance with China made it redundant for the US policy projection in the Indian Ocean.

Fourthly, Indian lobby is playing a significant role in outplaying weak Pakistan lobby in Washington through its ill-conceived propaganda and manipulation. Since 9/11, Indian lobbies proactively influenced the tilt of the US in Delhi's favor. Conversely, despite being a strategic ally, Pakistani lobby failed to contemplate, thus its struggle and sacrifices remained unappreciated.⁸

Fifth, India has established cordial ties with Kabul through investing in Scio-economic and infrastructural development. Contrary to this, bilateral relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan marked low pitch. Thus, US perceives India a more reliable partner to manage regional geopolitical affairs.

Lastly, from a geostrategic perspective, growing Sino-Pak bonhomie and Sino-India territorial disputes fostered simple choice for the US. As former is undermining the US strategic interests whereas the latter provides space for Washington to create the balance of power and seek its regional goals. Thus, US pragmatically shifted its policy towards India.

The US Coercive Strategies and Chinese Rise

The rapidly growing "revisionist Chinese clout" is one of the most significant development sufficed in geopolitical affairs of the world in the twenty-first century. This major development is one of the core reason for the transformation of NSS in South Asia. Arguably, Chinese economic ascendance, mounting military prowess, vigorous diplomatic tactics left the West staggering and quavering, particularly the US. Consequently, the wobbling hegemonic order diminished and it ensued with inexorable power vacuum with rematerializing of the multipolar world due to the ambiguous configuration of geopolitical competition. However, the US continued its

⁸ A. Jalāī, *Forging Afghanistan's National Unity Government*, Peace brief, 2015.

assertive and coercive policies to contain China through posing multifaceted economic and geostrategic hurdles and military dialog in South Asia and East Asia region.

With the rise of China, the posture of global political affairs is whirling around Asia due to its enormous potential of regional developing powers through their captivating economy. This growing tendency shifted the power influx towards China. Thus, the US brought a pragmatic shift in its policy of engagement to the containment of China by implying coercive and assertive strategy at the regional level, particularly in the Asian Pacific region. However, in Central and South Asia the US relied on alliances to reduce the Chinese regional economic rise. In this regard, the role of rouge and client states is notable. Conversely, China also revamped its isolationist policy with expansionism by using the notion of soft power. As far as the Chinese South Asian policy is concerned, China tends to establish harmonious relations with all the regional countries. Beijing's policy towards South Asia comprised of non-intervening strategy in domestic affairs of the countries, respecting the integrity of states through fostering mutual trust and mutual gains. Economically, China is making inroads to East Asia, South Asia, and Central Asia further leading to Eastern Europe through "Belt and Road Initiative"(BRI). Moreover, by strengthening its ties with Russia, Pakistan and India could raise impetus of its regional economic domination. Over the last two decades, China remained engaged in fostering regional multilateral structures and the strengthening of regional institutions. For instance, it has established cordial ties with Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN+1) by expanding free trade and it also holds immense significance in the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group. Furthermore, the transformation of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) into a strong regional forum to deal regional economic and security affairs has also increased Beijing's role in geopolitical and economic horizons quite immensely in last few years. To further consolidate its ambition of economic expansionism, the foundation of Asia Infrastructure Development Bank (AIDB) has proven hallmark for emerging economic markets of Asian countries.⁹

⁹ Fahad Shah, "Does the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor Worry India?"

Notably, Beijing's extensive economic policies made its currency valuable enough that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is planning to use it as alternate global reserve currency. "Beijing's military prowess is a matter of great concern, as it brings resentments back in Washington. According to the Defense of Department (DOP) report 2017 on assessment of Chinese military modernization. Beijing's growing military tendencies have ensued colossal blow to the US-military technological benefits. The military spending of Beijing has increased more than \$180 billion in the fiscal year 2016-17. Another important development in Beijing's policy reformation is the excessive engagement of the military with foreign militaries to exhibit its increasing military strategies, tactics, and procedure to apply strategic pressure and deterrence to its adversaries.

China has extended its defense cooperation and military ties on large scale with regional countries by conducting different exercises pertaining to counterterrorism, rescue missions and new diplomacy with ASEAN members, Pakistan, Russia, and India. The record number of exercises in the year 2016-17 indicates that Beijing is backing its economic diplomacy with the strengthening of military ties and cooperation. Further on, to improvise strongly in order to create deterrence and power depiction against the regional adversaries and challenging powers.

Further on, China emerged as one of the major arms exporting countries. Statistically, in recent years it has done deals of \$20billion and the majority of arms export goes to Asia Pacific countries, and Pakistan in particular. Sub Saharan African region is another important market for Chinese arms export, thus manifesting the Chinese extension of defense cooperation beyond its borders. Thus, China has emerged as one of the most significant military might with the potential of conventional striking from India to the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean!¹⁰

Revamped India-US Defense Cooperation

The US made major strides in altering the US bilateral ties with the India. Evidently, the bilateral agreements between the two countries in 2005 has transformed the status of the relationship between the two countries. The

¹⁰ Yong Deng and Thomas G. Moore, "China Views Globalization: Toward a New Great-power Politics?," *The Washington Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (June 1, 2004): 115–136.

beginning of persuasive cooperation led India to play a major role in the US by becoming a major power. The US maintained a constructive bilateral relationship with India while having a strong strategic partnership with Pakistan. The Bush administration changed the conventional approach and ensured possibilities of cordial relations with the India and Pakistan, eventually, this approach raises the impetus of improving the relations between the two countries of the region. Most importantly, it was highlighted that US relations with both states would not be the mirror image reciprocally.

The Indo-US defense partnership holds immense significance in defining the dynamics of security and geostrategic architecture of South Asia. Since the year 2000, the Indo-US relations propelled further in the region, as both states engaged into excessive bilateral military and defense cooperation by signing approximately 123 deals pertaining to arms trade and civil nuclear energy supply. Apart from supporting Indian bid in Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), attainment of membership of Missile Control Technology Regime (MCTR) and Australian group, the US proactively engaged in promoting India a strong regional defense power to ensure its greater regional influence. Statistically, first conducting of joint military exercise and deal of arms sales from the year 2002 was carried out between Washington and New Delhi. In the year 2004, the two countries initiated the "Next Step in Strategic Partnership" (NSSP) policy to start bilateral agreement in different areas and to extend negotiations on missile defense supply. Subsequently, in the year 2005 both the states fostered a new dimension of Indo-US defense collaboration by setting up the tone for extensive military and strategic partnerships and defense procurements. It included the enhancements of bilateral commercial satellite links and revamping of various US exporting license deals for twofold usage and civilian nuclear apparatuses.

Thus, to keep its regional strategic and economic interests intact, the US signed a civil nuclear deal with India. Under this deal, New Delhi got privileges and advantages of modern technology trade and missile defense buildup. India did not sign the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT) but the

nuclear deal provided the impetus of earning the benefit and advantage, equally to NPT member states. This bilateral deal destabilized the strategic balance and further extended the notion of the security dilemma and an arms race. This deal caused serious apprehensions to Islamabad who successively depicted its resentment over the Indo-US deal and also postulated the same kind of nuclear needs in amidst of its growing domestic energy requirements. The president Musharraf raised his concern to President Bush, but the plea was overtly undermined because the US perceived India and Pakistan as different states, with different requirements, facing different circumstances and holding different history. Furthermore, NSSP also set forth the ventures of civilian space cooperation and utility space of technology for peaceful purposes. One of the most significant developments which were made during the Bush administration was an inclusion of India as "nonproliferation ally" which was against the US non-proliferation policy.

There are two reasons behind this paradigm shift in the dealing the nuclear affairs of Delhi. First, Ineffectiveness of the prior strategic policies in curbing New Delhi's nuclear campaign, therefore, instead of adopting a harsh stance, Washington adopted accommodating tactics. Second, the perception of having a good reputation in non-proliferation regimes, however, India evidently violated norms of nuclear proliferation as its two scientists were involved in nuclear proliferation activities in Iran. Historically, the Indian policy of discrimination and dominance through adopting double standards abrogated the sanctity of nuclear proliferation rules. Thus, the apparent shift by showing readiness to cooperate with global nonproliferation regimes made it a regional ally of the US. Despite being a nuclear power, the US policy provided liberty to India to promote nuclear proliferation in the region.

After attaining special exemption from NSG, both the states started another round of strategic partnership in the year 2010, accentuating deeper cooperation in realms of bilateral trade, granting aid to general masses, advancing technology and addressing nontraditional security challenges simultaneously. Subsequently, 2011 both states fostered Indo –US security dialogue pertaining to intelligence information exchange, investigation and forensics and data accessibility related to terrorism.

In June 2015, both countries extended bilateral cooperation by inking revamped ten years defense framework. This deal elevated the trajectory of cooperation by offering avenues of defense cooperation and arms deals. In addition, those deals provided opportunities to India to attain maritime aircraft, advance land-based radars, transporting ships and cargos, thus strengthening maritime capabilities. It is pertinent to mention that in the year 2011 India was the third largest purchaser of the US arms and weapons with an amount of \$45 billion. In addition, India imported the 15% of arms sales of the US from the year 2010 to 2015, which was 15% higher than arms import of India from the US. Notably, India conducted a record number of fifty joint military exercises with the US since the incident of 9/11. In a nutshell, since the year 2012, the US arms sales to India increased by 557%, thus pushing the region into enduring crises and hostility.

Pakistan is the 9th largest arms importer has witnessed a 36% decline in arms purchase since 2012. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Islamabad purchased 2.8% of weapons sold around the world from 2013 to 2017. One of the core reason for the decline in arms purchase is soaring bilateral ties between Washington and Islamabad. Obama and Trump's administration fostered an aggressive strategic approach, thus hampering the expansion of the arms industry of Pakistan. Evidently, between the years 2012 to 2017, there is 76% decline in the US arms export to Pakistan however it is pertinent to mention that besides cruise missiles deal, Pakistan purchased 70 % of its arms from China.

Considering the growing trends of arms export in the region, the political dynamics have become more hostile and it may push the region into enduring complexity. For instance, China and the US engaged in the region for global power domination. India and Pakistan traditional archrivals determined to dominate each other through increasing nuclear arsenals and strengthening the arms industry. Notably, the bilateral conflict between India and Pakistan provide an opportunity to Russian resurgence in the regional role by exporting arms to India and Pakistan. Most significantly, fragile Afghanistan offers vulnerabilities hostility to the regional non-state actors and global powers!¹¹

¹¹ Milos Popovic, "The Perils of Weak Organization: Explaining Loyalty and Defection of Militant Organizations Toward Pakistan," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38, no. 11 (November 2, 2017): 919–937.

China-Pak cooperation and Growing US Resentments

Sino-Pak bonhomie took another stride in the aftermaths of signing flagship bilateral deal of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Since commencement, this deal is making to headlines quite persistently in global political affairs due to its immense significance in revamping the economic posture and geostrategic architecture of Asia. Arguably, the project tends to prove an economic booster for Pakistan as it includes different mega projects pertaining to energy production and infrastructural development. On the other hand, it also serves in larger canvas of Chinese geostrategic imperatives at the regional and global level. For instance, CPEC provides China with another land route access to Central Asia states, further leading to Eastern Europe. Besides the location of the Gwadar port provides ample opportunities to dominate regional trading markets of the Persian Gulf. Furthermore, it also extends Chinese regional influence by offering access to the warm water of the Indian Ocean. However, the US response is pessimistic and a mirror image of Indian narrative regarding growing Sino- Pak ties. The US foresees this project vulnerable for regional peace and security, largely, a keystone of extending Chinese regional influence hampering regional goals of the US.

In the realm of security, besides its cooperation in countering terrorism, it plays a significant role in reviving peace in Pakistan. Bilateral defense ties also another notable achievement, as Pakistan currently accounting 30% Chinese arms export. Henceforth, growing ties between Pakistan and China spurred grave apprehensions back in Washington. Thus, successive policy transformation is on cards to counter growing Chinese regional influx at the multilateral level.

Conclusion

The US National Security Strategies pragmatically whirl around its core interests in South Asia. Since World War II, it played a significant role in shaping the dynamics of regional politics. Holding widespread economic, political, security and geostrategic interests, it continued to expedite the

dynamics of geopolitical competition throughout its policy principles of regional engagement and intervention over the decades. Since 9/11, two archrivals, India and Pakistan successively remained vivacious actors to pursue the US policy orientation goals in the region. Whereas, during its regional campaign of WoT Afghanistan emerged as the epicenter of its policy adventures. Arguably, the fluctuating US policies fostered a hostile environment through intensifying regional strategic competition and race of power domination between great powers and regionally contending actors. Primarily, the US revamping policies designed to target growing Chinese influence through increasing its regional geopolitical and geostrategic influence. It adopted strategic alliances and pushing harder against non-allies, where necessary to contemplate its broader vision of benign hegemon.

In Afghanistan, divergently misjudged policies during the administration of presidents Bush, Obama and Trump increased the hostile environment and also stimulated tenuous writ of NUG. Burdened with flagrant violence and drastic human rights abuse, Afghanistan portrays a dismal picture of the US policy failures. The emergence of IS and regaining influence by the Taliban witnessed an upsurge of regional geopolitical intrigues. In the attainment of strategic goals, regional powers China, Russia, Iran and India became stakeholders, thus complicating the process of peacebuilding in Afghanistan quagmire. The paradigm shift in Trump policies by limiting Islamabad's role and promoting Delhi in Afghan affairs is adding fuel to fire. Notably, Washington's scapegoating through ill-conceived accusations and blaming Islamabad further strained bilateral ties between the US and Pakistan. Thus, shifting focus from major conflict into the upsurge of proxy warfare and finding strategic in-depth to subvert growing Chinese influence. After fifteen years of enduring crisis, the US policies could not find a possible way to bring any fruitful solution through negotiations or political stalemate. Thus, from OEF to Af-Pak policies, NSS overtly failed to attain exigencies of counterinsurgency and counterterrorism by its operational and strategic dimensions. The US engagement in Afghanistan waning and its commitment to Afghanistan's reconciliation and peace is not credible anymore. The sudden military drawdown or long term deployment of military troops, in both cases, it would increase problems for regional peace and stability.

The US changing policies have further escalated Indo-Pak traditional rivalry. The growing defense and military cooperation between Delhi and Washington caused strategic dilemma through disturbing the balance of power between two nuclear powers of South Asia. Thus, both states are persistently involved in deterrence by arms buildup and extending nuclear strengths. Laden with countless socio-economic challenges, both countries ranked among the world's largest arms importers in recent years. Relentless adherence to the US policies caused fragmentation and deterioration of probable bilateral peaceful co-existence. Notably, the deadlock over their core disputes such as Kashmir issue and water disputes stretched further. Despite having greater influence and engagement in the region, the US failed to engage both India and Pakistan into a peaceful dialogue process to end hostility between them.

Considering the current dynamics of regional geopolitical and security affairs, a reoriented US strategy is required, timely and more likely than the current policy to advance its aims in Afghanistan and throughout the wider region. Coercive strategic approach and simmering disagreements over multiple issues may cause a clean break between Pakistan and the US. Therefore assertiveness should be substituted with rapprochement and reassessment of policies which may, in turn, serve for the advancement of the US strategic interests by Pakistan in South Asia. In pursuit of regional integration, mutual trust among regional states and collective efforts for the effectiveness of SAARC could be fruitful in the resolution of bilateral conflicts and eventually establishing pillars of cooperation. The regional states, particularly India and Pakistan should avoid the policies, mirror image of their alliances with great powers engaged in the region.

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