

Comparative Study across Generations of India and Pakistan on Bilateral Conflict Resolution

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ABSTRACT

There are few countries in the world, which have more commonalities as India and Pakistan do. Just seventy years these two countries were one Indian State ruled by the British and before that multitude of Muslim rulers had been ruling this country. Geographically and culturally, both countries are close, have four common languages, striking similarity in dress, food habits, mannerism, customs and way of life. Two religions form major groups in the countries: Muslims are in the majority in Pakistan but are a minority in India, whereas Hindus are a majority in India and a minority in Pakistan. Their trade with each other is minimal compared to their trade with other countries. Having recounted all the above, the two countries stay distant and at odds to each other even after more than 65 years of separation and independence. While there are issues at the government level that need to get a resolution, no solution can come to fore unless the public opinion is behind the governments on either side. The public opinion between the generations with in Pakistan remains divided on relationships with India and it seems to be the case across the border. Objective of this research was to carry out a comparative analysis across India and Pakistan to ascertain people perception towards India-Pakistan relationship, impact of historical events since independence on these relationships and the way forward in resolving the long standing conflicts in order to have harmonious, peaceful and mutually beneficial region. Furthermore, a minimum sample size of 150 each from India and Pakistan was further equally divided between three generations categorized in this research, namely Generation 1 (people above 60 years of age), Generation 2 (40-60) and Generation 3 (Below 40) to discover the impact of history in their perception, thought process, conflict resolution appreciation and any influence of generation gap.

Back Ground

History

Pre-partition

Oxford Reference (2014) details the history of Indian subcontinent. One of the oldest references is to the Indus Civilization that existed 2500BC with Harappa as one of the city of the thriving civilization. This land has been linked with the start

many religions including Jainism, Hinduism and Buddhism. Muslims arrived in the subcontinent in the year 712 AD from Persia through Baluchistan and occupied regions of Sindh in western India. An autonomous Muslim linked with the Umayyad, and later, the Abbasid Caliphate was established with jurisdiction extending over southern and central parts of present Pakistan starting with Mohammad bin Qasim's conquest. In 1025 AD, Turk conqueror Mahmud of Ghazni raided India to renew the presence of Islam in the Indian subcontinent culminating eventually in the establishment of Muslim rule that was to continue in one shape or the other for centuries until the British rule. In 1958, The India Act places India under the direct control of the British government, ending the rule of the East India Company. Same year, Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal Emperor was deposed and exiled to Rangoon, Burma.

Partition

The Information Gateway to Pakistan (2014) provides the history of partition of India and Pakistan along with the independence from the British Empire. Indian National Congress was formed in 1884 with the objective of obtaining a greater say in the government for Indians to provide them with a platform for civic and political dialogue with the British Raj. Within the years since its creation, the platform of this party veered towards demands of independence boasting to represent the interests of Indians all faiths, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. However, with the advent of 20th century, due to multitude of factors, Muslims were convinced that they needed a separate platform to ensure that interest of Muslims of India are protected and thus the All India Muslim League came into being in 1906. The 1930s witnessed awareness among the Muslims of their separate identity and their anxiety to preserve it within separate territorial boundaries. The idea of a separate state of "Pakistan" was presented and approved in a grand party meeting held at Lahore in 1940. Thereafter, the future was Indian Subcontinent was to be two independent states of Pakistan and India. After holding talks with political leaders and parties, the last British Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten prepared a Partition Plan for the transfer of power, which, after approval of the British Government, was announced on June 3, 1947. Both India and Pakistan accepted this plan.

Ghosh (2013) writing about the partition of India and Pakistan comments that in August 1947, the world not only saw Indian subcontinent getting independence from the British raj but it also saw a forced migration and displacement of 12.5 million people, one of the biggest in human history. A clear majority of Muslims migrated from a newly formed, "Hindu" majority state of India to "Muslim" Pakistan. Similarly, many Hindus and Sikhs made a journey in the opposite direction, from Pakistan to India. However, unfortunately, amid this massive panic, confusion and other religious based incidents, more than a million people lost their lives.

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As for the Categorization of the Conflict based on typology presented by Joshua Goldstein, we can classify the generation-based conflict towards relations with India into broad categories of “Ideological Differences” and “Territorial Disputes” among other factors.

Ideological Differences

The basis of division of Indian subcontinent in India and Pakistan had been the religion. Muslim majority area became part of Pakistan and the Hindu dominated area became part of India. The first generation saw the opposition to Jinnah’s proposal of dividing united India based on “Two Nation Theory” and saw a staunch advocacy of a unified India on the principles of secularism by the All India Congress Party. This created a key ideological difference between the first generation of Pakistan against India. This feeling existed on both sides of the border, especially between the Hindus of India and the Muslims of newly created and independent state of Pakistan. In addition to this, following issues further added to the ideological differences in the minds of the people.

Bloodshed during Partition

This ideological difference got aggravated further and impacted the first generation due to the events that occurred soon after the partition. One of the key events was the bloodshed of hundreds and thousands of migrating Muslims from parts of India to the newly independent Muslim state of Pakistan.

Issues with Resource Distribution

Under the agreement governing the division of Indian subcontinent, there was supposed to be distribution of assets between the newly formed states of India and Pakistan. The government / political party coming into power in India was strictly against the division of India and, therefore, they withheld or refused to transfer previously agreed upon share of resources to Pakistan to weaken the newly formed state. This added to the feeling of mistrust of the first generation towards the Indians.

Internal Political Pressure on the Governments

Internal pressures caused both governments to issue hardline rhetoric about each other, especially amid arising of any new conflict situation (e.g. Mumbai Terrorist Attacks), rhetoric that either governments may or may not be able to support. However, this is necessitated because of internal pressures for hardline groups or the opposition trying to gain political mileage.

Anti-Indian School Curriculum in Pakistan

It is alleged that the Pakistani textbooks controversy relates to the reported inaccuracy of some Pakistani textbooks and the existence of historical revisionism in them. The content of Pakistan's official textbooks has often been criticized by several sources including many within Pakistan for sometimes promoting religious intolerance and "Indo-phobia", leading to calls for curriculum reform. Per the Sustainable Development Policy Institute, since the 1970s Pakistani school textbooks have systematically inculcated hatred towards India and Hindus through historical revisionism (Wikipedia).

This is one of the reasons that today even some of the third generation has very strong negative views about India.

Territorial Disputes - Kashmir Issue

Since 1947, the Kashmir Dispute has continued to plague the relationship between India and Pakistan. The mutual hostility between India and Pakistan stemmed from the Partition when Great Britain divided the Indian sub-continent without respect for traditional territorial boundaries. Since that time, both India and Pakistan have maintained strikingly different points of view as to the outcome of the partition and its effect on the modern-day status of Kashmir (Gidvani, 2009).

The state of Kashmir remains a key issue between India and Pakistan. At the time of independence of Pakistan, the princely state of Kashmir decided to stay independent. However, within a year of independence of India and Pakistan, The Hindu Raja of Muslim majority state of Kashmir decided to accede to India. Since, the basis of partition of India and Pakistan had been the religious demographics of the land (most Muslim majority areas became part of Pakistan), therefore this move was not acceptable to people of Pakistan and created a flashpoint between the two countries. First war between India and Pakistan was fought in 1948 that resulted in the division of state of Kashmir into Azad Jammu and Kashmir (also referred internationally as Pakistani Held Kashmir) and Indian occupied Kashmir.

Indo-Pak Wars and Conflicts

Indo-Pakistan War – 1948

Ganguly (1995) recounts three major armed conflicts between India and Pakistan. He states that the seeds of first war of 1948 between India and Pakistan were sowed even before the partition of Indian subcontinent into two separate nations. Pakistani nationalist movement was based on religious ideology focusing on a home for Muslims of Southeast Asia whereas All India Congress was supportive of a secular India with people of all faiths living under one flag. British colonial rule of subcontinent was divided into two types, directly ruled and called British India and secondly the independently ruled princely states with recognition of the British as the paramount power of the subcontinent. Both India and Pakistan had a

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claim to the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir as it tended to support their ideology. Additionally, J and K posed a unique twist to the problem being a Muslim majority princely state ruled by a Hindu monarch. Contrary to Lord Mountbatten's instruction, Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of Kashmir, wanted to stay independent. The conflict started in October 1947 with an outbreak of rebellion in the Poonch sector of Kashmir, which was purportedly joined by Pakistani troops. Once the rebelling forces marched towards the capital Srinagar after capturing Muzaffarabad, panicking Maharaja Hari Singh first sought support from state of Patiala and then India. Indian army joined the conflict after the Maharaja signed the deed of accession to India in return for support. This turned the conflict into full-scale war between the neighboring India and Pakistan. India realized that the war could neither be won nor stopped unless Pakistani support to the Azad Kashmir forces is stopped and, therefore, they took the issue to the United Nations for mediation in January 1948. The first war between the two countries turned out to be the longest and took one year for the mediation to complete to bring a ceasefire with final resolution accepted by both side was to have a plebiscite in the valley to determine its future.

Indo-Pakistan War – 1965

Global Security describes the second major armed conflict between India and Pakistan was fought between August 5 to September 22, 1965. The root causes of the war again the territorial dispute on Jammu and Kashmir. The war was initiated by Pakistan after the Indian army's defeat on the hands of the Chinese in 1962 leading the Pakistani establishment to believe that Indian army might be vulnerable. However, the all scale war broke out when Indian attacked the Western Pakistan border after the continuing skirmishes in Kashmir. Even though both India and Pakistan consider it as a victory of their forces, internationally this war is considered non-conclusive.

Indo Pakistan War – 1971

Gangly (1995) writing about the war of 1971 correctly delinks the conflict from the territorial dispute of J and K. Pakistan Army mounted a brutal and ill-advised military crackdown in East Pakistan when the negotiation between Bhutto and Mujib-ur-Rehman on power sharing broke down. This onslaught resulted in about 10 million refugees pouring into India. Indian political leadership devised a politico-military strategy to intervene and create an independent state of Bangladesh and hence divide the existing Pakistan into two separate countries. India pursued a three-pronged strategy to achieve objectives that included a 20-year cooperation pact with USSR for military support as well as support at the UN, training the East Pakistan rebels and a full-scale military intervention.

Makeig (1987) summarized that the war of 1971 war ended with significant Indian gains. It not only dismembered East Pakistan into a separate state of

Bangladesh but the Shimla accord had unwanted clauses due to Pakistan's weak bargaining position on the negotiation table. Because of the weak position, one of the key items covered under the Shimla accord of 1966 called for bilateral talks between India and Pakistan to resolve the issue of J and K. Though not directly, it insinuated that no third party mediation would be required and seem to nullify the agreement of plebiscite under UN auspices as agreed in 1948/49

Siachin Conflict

Economic and Political Weekly (1987) described the Siachin conflict as an Indian initiation of the conflict. India ties the strategic importance to Siachin giving her the strategic capability to oversee strategic KKH in Pakistan. Since the demarcation of ceasefire line between India and Pakistan in 1949, this piece of glacier 74km long, 2 km wide and 20,000 feet high, was considered to be part of Baltistan ... an area agreed to be part of Pakistan. Prime-minister Junejo admitted in 1986 that India had taken over Siachin since 1984 without any explanation whatsoever. Since then Siachin has become a world's highest battleground.

Kargil Conflict

Kargil conflict took place between India and Pakistan in May/July 1999 in the Kargil district of Kashmir. Kapur (2008) accurately describes it as a high stakes game as it was an armed conflict between two nuclear armed countries. Pakistan's actual operation was planned to threaten Indian position on the Siachin glacier which later turned to a wider scope Kashmir centric operation. Without Siachin conflict, Kargil might not have happened. While the nuclear arms did not play a direct role, they did come into picture in the realm of small-scale, concentrated conflict not escalating into a wider conflict because of the nuclear deterrent.

Pakistani forces infiltrated across the LOC in concert with the Kashmiri freedom fighters to take strategic position in order to cutoff key Indian supply route to Kashmir. Pakistan sneaked up to strategic position in a fashion similar to Indian incursion into Siachin.

The conflict was brought to a closer after international mediation and pressure on Pakistan.

Mumbai Attacks

A series of twelve coordinated attacks lasting four days occurred across Mumbai, carried out by Pakistani members of Lashkar-e-Taiba. Ajmal Kasab was the only attacker who was captured alive. These actions by non-state actors brought the nuclear armed neighbors to the brink of war. India blamed ISI being a part of the planning, a charge which Pakistan vehemently denied. Navlakha (2009) linked up with a very interesting point in the backdrop of Mumbai attacks that not only stands true for India but goes for Pakistan too. He says that the government of

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India needs to get away from obsessive focus on Pakistan and look internally towards the betterment of its own people.

Military Dictatorships in Pakistan

Pakistan has been under military dictatorship for almost half of its existence. Both the first and the second generations saw the rule of military dictators. Pakistan is neighbored by India, China, Afghanistan and Iran. Of all the neighbors, Pakistan has had the stormiest relationships with India. Because of this, it suited the army dictatorship to keep up the anti-Indian rhetoric to justify their importance and nuisance value. Therefore, it suited the military dictatorship to keep the sentiments of the people of Pakistan against India to serve their own purpose and agenda.

International Geopolitics - Impact of Cold War

The cold war politics also did not help the relationships between the two countries. During the cold war era, India became aligned with the USSR while Pakistan aligned itself with the western hemisphere and the United States. This did not help the situation at all as it did not suit the two world super powers to see good relationship between India and Pakistan covertly, even though, overtly both advocated the normalization of relationship between the two countries.

World Opinion

Most of the early peace studies revolve around three subject areas namely “Social Change Theory – History and Method (Syracuse University and Kent State)”, “International War and Peace Issues (Colgate and Earlham)”, and Ethical and Philosophical issues of violent and non-violent means of bringing change (Manhattan and Manchester)”. There is a continuously accelerated trend beyond 1980s towards development of training and academic materials, research opportunities as well as expansion of interest related to Conflict Resolution studies.

Mendez (2003) talks about the idealistic version of peace in the utopian studies. He refers to Immanuel Kant’s essay on Perpetual Peace in 1795 in which he argues that even though war is the natural state of man, it is still possible to establish peace through deliberate design. However, to achieve it, a republican constitution needs to be adopted by all nations. Such an adoption can help put a check on warlike tendencies of monarch’s and rulers by popular pressure.

Perpetual peace philosophy is broken into two parts, preliminary and definitive articles. The preliminary articles emphasize that there should be no secret treaty held between two nations, no state should be a dominion of any other state, abolishment of the armies and non-interference of internal matters of any state.

The definitive articles provide the means of cessation of hostility and a foundation on which to build world peace. These articles stress that constitution of every state should be republican, laws of countries should be based on federation of free states and people of earth should be part of a world citizenship for all.

Even though perpetual peace talks about utopian world, still it does provide some of founding principles on which any conflict resolution strategy can be based.

PEW Research (2012) came up with interesting results. It describes that even though people of India considered Pakistan, especially Pakistan based jihadists' organizations like Lashkar-e-Taiba as the biggest threat to the country, they still called for peaceful relationships with Pakistan and called for normalization of relationship. From India 77% of people declared that it is very important to resolve the issue of Kashmir while 88% people Pakistan agreed to this.

Pakistan Most Serious Threat

	Very serious threat	Somewhat serious threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK
	%	%	%	%	%
Pakistan	59	17	3	1	20
Lashkar-e-Taiba	46	17	5	1	31
Naxalites	44	21	6	2	27
China	27	26	11	5	32

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q127a-d.

Majorities in India and Pakistan Support Improved Relations

	Pakistan	India
	%	%
Important to resolve Kashmir	88	77
Important to improve relations	62	70
Increased trade good thing	64	64
Support further talks	67	58

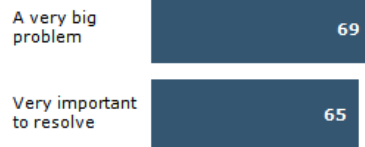
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q27, Q88d, Q89 & Q90.

Both Indians and Pakistanis See Improving Relations as Important

Important to improve relations?	India	Pakistan
	%	%
Very important	49	50
Somewhat important	34	22
Not too important	5	6
Not at all important	6	9
DK/Refused	5	12

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q74.

The Situation in Kashmir Is...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q19I & Q75.

Mazari (2005) cites Kashmir as the main and major bone of contention in India and Pakistan conflict and asserts that before we can move towards actual resolution of the issue, we need to develop and promote CBMs (Confidence Building Measures) between the two countries to create an atmosphere that is conducive towards 'feel good' atmosphere to overshadow the current atmosphere of mistrust between the two countries. She also points out to the potential danger of this process getting stalled going forward even though she seems confident that the Indo-Pak peace process may have now reached at an irreversible level.

Key role of CBM is to create confidence and gradual trust between opposing parties and reduce distrusts and apprehension. CBMs can also play an important role in decreasing the risk of any armed conflict. CBMs come in the form of agreements dealing with exchange of information and verification as well as actual measures to further interaction and confidence amongst antagonists. CBMs can be in the form of military, diplomatic, political or cultural agreements, information

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exchange and increased interaction to reduce the temperature between the antagonists.

In her article, she classifies the impact of CBM into direct and indirect level. Direct CBMs include resumption of dialogue process, restoration of rail and air links ... especially Muzaffarabad-Srinagar Bus service without passport, exchange of political and cultural delegations, renewal of negotiations on the pipeline project, offer of medical assistance to poor Pakistani children by India, various economic and trade cooperation proposals, easier visa issuance and in general increased contacts on people-to-people level. She is, however, skeptical as to how much impact these direct CBMs will have on civil society's and the country's political elite in changing their perception towards Indo-Pak relations and its future. She fears that this may act as pushing the resolution to key issues and may result in conflict management rather than conflict resolution.

Indirectly, the CBMs have brought the Kashmiri leadership in the process of dialogue and irreversibly made them a party towards the resolution of Kashmir Issue, which is a huge development. This will ensure that the future of Kashmir issue resolution will incorporate the wishes of Kashmiri people.

Javaid (2010) also supports the CBMs between the two countries and asserts that it is a good beginning towards any conflict resolution.

She further says that the CBMs can work at different levels ranging from people-to-people contacts, cultural exchange, work done through NGOs, state and diplomatic representative engagement and leading to increased trade/military cooperation at a later stage. Civil society being more flexible, diverse and independent can be at the forefront of these CBMs, carefully monitored responsibly by both governments, as this interaction itself can eventually pave the way, provide the right environment and the required support to overcome obstacles to eventual and lasting conflict resolution. These CBMs can set the stage for wide ranging engagements between the two parties encompassing military, trade, territorial and nuclear issues.

Akcinaroglu , DiCicco , and Radziszewski (2011) discuss the causal effects of a natural disaster that has the potential of brining two rival states towards reconciliation and take example of Turkey-Greece and India-Pakistan. Their multi-method earthquake analysis shows a very positive impact of public level compassion and support in Greek-Turk relationship. However, similar impact in Indo-Pak relationship was not seen because after the Kashmir earthquake and perhaps because of history of other ongoing communal violence between the two countries.

Akcinaroglu, DiCicco, and Radziszewski (2011) further state that the hypothesized causal relation between conflict resolution and a natural disaster, positive or negative tends to be indirect in most cases. In case any initiatives towards peace making are already in process, any natural disaster related causal impact has a good possibility of getting accelerated by increase in government level contact and igniting greater sympathy at public level. In certain cases, such

events indirectly can also become a catalyst in breaking a deadlock or kick starting a process of normalization of relations between rival nations. This can happen as a result of goodwill gestures, material support, activities at government as well as people level on part of the donor state and in turn recipient's sense of gratitude. Authors also refer to it as "tit-for-tat disaster diplomacy" (Kelman 2006). The compassion and feeling of gratitude act as an opportunity to display human sides across border to lower the barrier erected by long standing rivalry.

However, catastrophe related causal effects might produce different results in different scenarios. The authors found out that while an earthquake worked strongly in favor of normalization of relations between Turkey and Greece, the 2005 earthquake in Pakistani Kashmir did not help with any thaw of relationship between India and Pakistan. Akcinaroglu , DiCicco , and Radziszewski (2011) theorize that positive change in attitude between the rival hugely depend upon public attitude and presence of any continuous irritant may hamper in changing the perception between opposing sides. On the other hand, absence of such irritants might help sustain any positive impact due to causal impact of natural disaster. In the case of India and Pakistan relationships, a continual presence of communal violence and perception of cross border terrorism export severely hampered any genuine chances of rapprochement between India and Pakistan even in the wake of huge humanitarian disaster resulting from 2005 Kashmir earthquake.

Dorussen and Ward (2010) discuss the nature of trade networks, their development over the years across nations and how these have impacted the world since the end of World War 2. Based on their studies, authors strongly link peace with trade and state;

"We argue that in this tradition (of expanding trade networks), trade is important not only because it creates and economic interest in peace but also because trade generates 'connections' between people that promote communication and mutual understanding. Because trade allows people to enjoy in common things that would be unavailable to them otherwise, it enables them to perceive a community. Based on these ideas, the flow of goods between countries creates a network of ties and communication links. If two countries are more embedded in this network, their relations should be more peaceful".

Their studies result in proving that while these expanding trade networks not only work in favor of linkage of both direct and indirect economic interest of multiple parties, they often tend to reduce the requirement of any indirect / third party linkages of trading partners. The western hemisphere, since the World War II has gradually seen an increase in the trading networks between the states making them a more relevant factor in maintaining peace. Additionally, a reduction has been observed in indirect links, which in turn strengthen direct links thus making

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the relation stronger and mutually beneficial between the trading states. This in turn links the economic interest of the people with lasting peace.

In the backdrop of Indo-Pak tensions of 2002, the threat of war between these two countries is forcing both to spend heavily to bolster its defense forces and armaments. He refers to an additional expenditure of 2000 crores which could have been spent on development. Similarly, India is spending 60-70 crore every day to meet the expenses of its forces mobilization on Indo-Pak border.

The author criticizes leaders of both countries for allowing themselves to get manipulated in the hands of world powers rather than being bold and trying to find a permanent solution to the main bone of contention between the two countries. Kashmir. Pakistan played as a puppet in the US-USSR cold war and created the monster of Mujahedeen and Taliban which are now the biggest nemesis of Pakistani state and considered a threat to her existence by certain circles. The US was the main force behind the creation of this Frankenstein of Taliban/Al-Qaida/Mujahedeen and now it is using India and Pakistan as a cannon fodder to contain them.

Mehta (2003) concludes that there is a strong need to change the political culture in both India and Pakistan and they require to adopt an approach that does not allow nationalism to override national interest. Politicians on both sides of the border need to realize that at times it is acceptable to pay some short-term price to gain a long-term highly satisfactory and mutually beneficial effect. Additionally, this short price is always better than staying stuck in a paradigm that takes towards destruction and regret.

The point of conflict between India and Pakistan is simple i.e. Kashmir and resultant, albeit perceived, cross border terrorism by Pakistan into India.

The author underlines the fact that we are talking about a conflict between two neighboring countries, which are "Nuclear Armed". This fact is highlighted openly across the world when the "most dangerous flashpoint" on the face of earth is discussed. This is something that should spur the two countries to sit across the table and resolve the issues as procrastination on these matters can take both the countries to a point, which could lead to flashpoint and the price of any such event, will be too high to imagine. On the issue of precision strike against the terrorist organization bringing cross border terrorism into India, the Indian analyst of the opinion that its armed forces are not currently resourced to mount any precision strike into Pakistani territory and thus any such incursion can lead only to a bigger conflict.

Both countries should be able to conclude that in this day and age, there is, nor there can be, any military solution to the problem. In addition to devastation caused by a military conflict, the price on the economy will be very high.

One of the ways to pave way for a peaceful conflict resolution between the two countries is to increase mutual trade. This is bound to bring long-term benefits to both the countries. However, it is very important that the benefit for any such trade should be measured in absolute terms and not in relative terms.

Koithara (2007) acknowledges that both India and Pakistan are engaged in a more intense peace initiative that they ever have been since partition in 1947. Up until now both countries have stuck to hardened policy position, for whatever the reason may be. However, there is a visible thaw in the relationship and statements from leaders across the border that echoes a positive sentiment. It might be possible that the realization of this fact may not be that apparent locally or internationally yet. Consider the following statements from the leaders of the two countries. Musharaff's remarked on December 4, 2006 "Pakistan is willing to give up its claims on J and K subject to demilitarization, self-governance, a soft Line of Control (LOC) and a supervisory mechanism".

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh also made a significant comment on December 16 that confirmed two and half years of intense Indo-Pak dialogue. He further commented, "Short of secession, short of redrawing boundaries, the Indian establishment could live with anything."

Koithara (2007) also notes another change of attitude by both India and Pakistan and that change is related to Kashmiri leadership, in particular the dissidents. In January 2000, India started engaging with the Hurriyat leadership and three years later, the Pakistani establishment also started encouraging them to talk to India. This signifies a reversal of earlier Indian and Pakistani policy. Perhaps both the countries recognized that Kashmiri dissident leadership can not only be used as a possible bridge between the two countries, but this provides an opportunity to take Kashmiri people's wishes on board also that can help in a lasting resolution if and when it comes.

The author of the article cites desire of sustained economic growth by both countries as the key driver towards peace building initiatives and that both countries believe that Kashmir issue can only act as counterproductive to economic aspirations. Internal issues like Maoist movement in India, which has seen insurgency now impacting 160 districts, and Baluchistan related issue in Pakistan are having detrimental effects to future vision for both countries. With Nuclear arsenal on both sides of the border acting as a war deterrent, following set of principles seem to be evolving:

1. Current LoC should not be breached and, going forward, it becomes a permanent border between the two countries
2. Reduction in Military and defence expenditure
3. Equal level empowered governance on both parts of Kashmir
4. A permanent agreement to manage the new setup

Even though the above is easier said than done but induction of equal footed respectability to each other and a favorable public sentiment on both are a good sign and can act as a catalyst to lasting conflict resolution.

Sajjad, Hafeez, and Firdous (2010) studied and came out with the main areas of concerns in India Pakistan relations post Mumbai attack which brought the two countries on a brink of war and a risk of nuclear flashpoint. The paper listed the Mumbai attacks, cross border terrorism, water insecurity, and the long-standing Kashmir issue as the main issues stopping the peace process going forward even

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though Muasharaff-Vajpayee composite dialogue and positive conflict resolution overtures had made big impact in the thaw of Indo-Pak relations. The dialogue was based on a move away from traditional LoC centric topic and it encompassed trade cooperation among other topics. The authors of the paper comment that the following was the outcome of the process;

1. It established that talks and significant solutions were wanted and achievable
2. Lack of political will to achieve the same is amply exhibited in political circles across the border

Sajjad, Hafeez, and Firdous (2010) conclude however that Indo-Pak relationship is moving into a new phase overcoming history of mistrust and showing a will on both sides of the border to further the cause despite continuing hurdles and some hostility giving rise to optimism of lasting resolution and peace. Even though the nature of contact may be superficial at times, examples like media collaboration on “Aman ki Asaha” initiative have highlighted the role of non-direct and non-traditional avenues. These efforts need to be backed up by both sides with a sustained effort to find a lasting solution to conflict issues, territorial and others. Even though this might be an uphill task by policy makers on both sides of the border, it is both do-able and in the best interest of both sides.

Bajpai (2003) starts by explaining India’s perception and then criticizes Pakistan for inciting and supporting cross border terrorism as well as making an effort to destabilize India as whole. But even so, there is a chicken and egg situation between the two countries. Pakistan insists on Kashmir issue resolution to arrive at a peaceful landing while India links any dialogue to cessation of Pakistan based hostilities towards India. Perhaps both countries can take a leaf out Sino-India relations, which still unresolved, are of passive nature. In response to India’s demand of Chinese withdrawal from Indian territories, China linked such a move to normalization of relationship in other areas as CBMs before such a resolution can be discussed. Bajpai recommends a two steps approach to Indian policy makers for successful move towards conflict resolution that namely are:

1. India starts dialogue without insisting reduction in terrorist attacks in Kashmir and elsewhere in India.
2. India should accept third party mediation, in particular American mediation, for conflict resolution. Pakistan has been a proponent for mediation whereas India has always opposed it.

Staniland (2013) comments on the issue of Kashmir in the light of insurgency in the state. He comments that even though the violence has dramatically reduced since 2003, there is no permanent solution in sight nor is the state itself in a stable political environment. The valley is still in a heavy state of militarization with the no political independence and no freedom of speech in sight. India’s current strategy also seems to favor military approach and creation of peace paradox in J and K. While the Indian leadership as shown lesser push in resolution to this issue since the premiership of Vajpayee, continued political turmoil in Pakistan has not

helped either. The author of the article suggests three major areas for peaceful environment creation in the state of J and K: “(a) Electoral and local politics, (b) non-violent mass mobilization, and (c) the rule of law and protection of political expression”. However, the government of India has not truly tried to achieve the same. The absence of these measures has produced the following effects:

- (1) True people representation indicates preference towards pro-independence response.
- (2) Indian manipulation of political process damages democratic credibility
- (3) Perceived local political challenge to center encourages interference in local affairs that makes governance difficult and democratic process limited.

The article urges India to ensure true freedom of speech and political independence on the lines of successful approach taken in the case of Mizoram and Punjab where direct negotiations with the insurgent groups and subsequent electoral politics combined with local empowerment resulted in normalcy in the state of affairs.

Alam (2002) highlights the fact that cooperation and possible third party mediation can avoid wars and promote cooperation. The water war rationale says that the countries will engage in wars to protect their water resources. Based on this rationale, India and Pakistan should have fought a war in the 1950s, much like the three wars both the countries have fought on territorial issues like Kashmir. However, this did not happen and both countries managed to sign an accord famously known as the Indus Treaty and thus avoided any armed conflict. He, however, draws some lessons learnt from successful negotiations regarding the Indus Treaty.

- Changes in political boundaries have the potential to escalate a local issue into a major conflict between countries.
- Power inequities can impact the time taken to reach an agreement.
- It is often vital to have third party mediation to overcome conflict.
- Financial assistance can persuade conflicting party(s) to overcome differences and reach agreement.
- It might be desirable to ensure that discussion points do not necessarily define position so that negotiating parties are open in dialogue and take all options on board.
- Attention should be given to any sensitivities that might exist on both sides and solutions sought for the same.
- At times, only sub optimal solution can be reached and even this should be welcomed.

Ahmar (2009) discusses the importance of research to find an amicable answers to possible questions that might come up during the process of conflict resolution and conflict management. He says

“Conflict Resolution Research (CRR) means a process of investigation, probe and enquiry which can help people, groups and countries to cope with

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situations which cause the outbreak of violent conflicts. The study of conflict resolution needs to answer questions through a process of research like why people engage in conflict and how conflict may be resolved.”

Mason and Siegfried (2013) argue the pros and cons of role of CBMs in pursuit of any conflict resolution. Before starting the process negotiation to resolve a conflicting situation, both parties should be able to come to the table for the same and should have enough confidence in each other’s integrity, sincerity and resolve to reach a solution. This is the area where CBMs are most helpful. Additionally for this reason, the role of CBMs should not be overestimated as their impact can take time and they themselves are not the solution but a supporting path towards solution. They help in bringing the parties to meaningful dialogue, but there onwards, role of CBMs becomes rather limited except for consolidating the process and reducing the chance of further escalation.

CBMs can be of different nature and can include, Political CBMs, Security related CBMs, Social CBMs, Humanitarian CBMs and Cultural CBMs.

There are various challenges to CBMs. First of all CBMs should not be emphasized upon where lack of trust between the conflicting parties is not a core issue. Second, care should be taken that CBMs are not used as a mechanism to delay the actual resolution process and/or a cover up tactic. Third, any mega successful CBMs can distract from focusing on the actual issue. Fourth, CBMs should be bilateral and systematic with expected end result monitored. Fifth, it is very important that CBMs are designed to achieve realistic and measurable objective.

Yusuf and Najam (2009) citing around 46 proposals that have been put across since 1947 to resolve the territorial issue of J and K between India and Pakistan, conclude that the time is right for final conclusion. They conclude that looking at the history of conflict related to J and K, we might be approaching the best moment in time to have a resolution at our hands.

Having said this, they also warn that this state of affairs alone will not yield the result and a continuous, focused and result oriented efforts need to be pursued rigorously to achieve the final objective. In addition, the authors categorize the Kashmir conflict and resolution proposals into the following phases;

- a) United Nations Led Phase (1949 – 1961)
- b) State Led Phase (1962 – 1964)
- c) Inactive Phase (1965 – 1989)
- d) Insurgency/Freedom Movement Phase (1990 – 2002)
- e) Convergence Phase (2003 – to date)

Research Methodology

Generation Definition

For this research, the generations of Pakistan and India are divided into three categories to analyze the impact of conflict for these generations.

1. **First Generation (Above 60):** The first generation is the generation, which was involved in the freedom movement (for Indians from the British Empire and for Pakistanis, both from the British Raj and for separate Muslim homeland), and witnessed the partition. It can be assumed that this generation is affected by pre and post partition traumas as well as bias and may have continued to have animosity towards India. On the other hand, it is possible the 60+ years of on-going conflict might have made these grey-haired people to think more pragmatically making them more agreeable towards rapprochement.
2. **Middle/Second Generation (40-60):** This generation witnessed the 1965 war between India and Pakistan and the East Pakistan crisis in 1971. The second generation may have responded not too differently mentally and much of them could have developed animosity, mistrust and suspicion towards India in continuation of thought processes from the first generation. The wars of 1965 and 1971 could have further added to this mistrust especially because the war of 1971 resulted in division of East and West Pakistan into Bangladesh and Pakistan of today and the Indians and Indian army played a key role in this division. Using nationalistic perspectives, this generation may not be prepared to maintain friendly relations with each other. However, similar to the first generation, it is possible that this generation might have gotten over the stigma and be ready for peaceful co-existence for better and prosperous future of the region.
3. **Third / Current Generation (Under 40):** As historical memories recede, the third generation or the current generation, which belongs to the age group of 25–45, is generally not emotionally as swayed as the earlier generations. The third generation did not witness any large-scale war between India and Pakistan. However, this generation might be influenced by negative media coverage and any bias carried over from older generations.

Research Questions

The topic was selected to review in depth as to what factors and actors have kept the relations between the people of the two countries at the current level and what possible actors and factors can help bridge this gap. Research questions were modeled;

- To establish people perception and desire towards peaceful relations between India and Pakistan

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- To find out the pattern and level of animosity across different generations towards the neighbouring country
- To study opportunities that can help with the resolution of the conflict between India and Pakistan
- To determine people opinion towards the role of various state and non-state actors in Indo-Pak relations
- To recommend policy for conflict resolution of Indo-Pak issues

Research Methods

A comparative research was conducted using Quantitative and Qualitative analysis methods based on data gathered using a questionnaire. There were two stages. First stage was data gathering. The second stage was analysis, correlation of data. The last stage was final report generation.

Research Tool

A semi-structured questionnaire containing 22 questions was used for quantitative analysis addressing major research objectives. Sample design consisted of the following dimensions in general in the survey questionnaire using sample size and target population below;

- Gender
- Age Bracket
- Education level
- Religious inclination
- Perception of reasons for conflict
- Perception if the current level of relationship between the two countries is good or bad for each country
- Perception on if the Indo-Pak differences are solve-able
- Soliciting ideas and suggestions on how to better Indo-Pak relations
- Perception of the advantages and disadvantages of current level of Indo-Pak relations
- Advantages and Disadvantages of better Indo-Pak relations

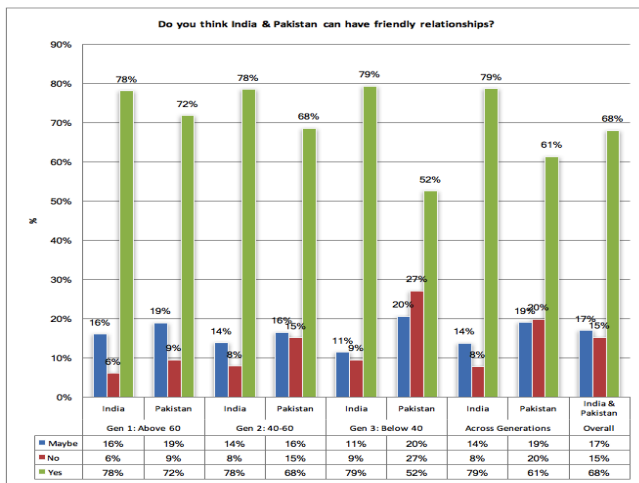
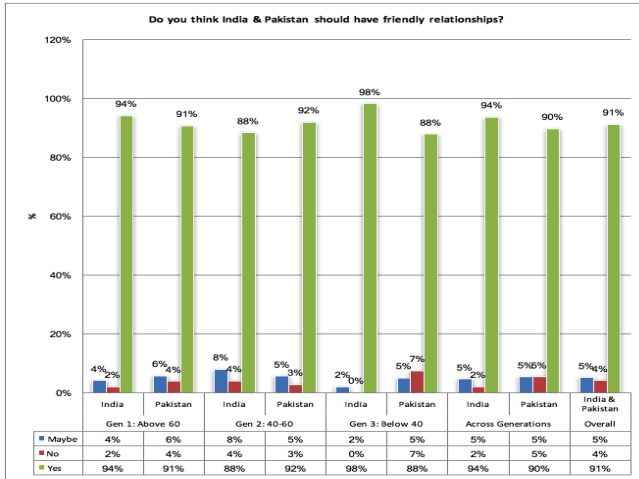
Methods used to solicit response to the questionnaire include personal contacts, social media, NGOs and personal network within Pakistan, India and Indo-Pak expat community around the world.

Conclusion

The questionnaire was designed to explore the different viewpoints across generations of India and Pakistan. These perspectives are categorized as below;

- a) Current People Perception on Indo-Pak Relations
 - Q1: Do you think India and Pakistan should have friendly relationships?

- Q2: Do you think India and Pakistan can have friendly relationships?
- Q3: Do you think that people from across border in general will like to have friendly relationship?



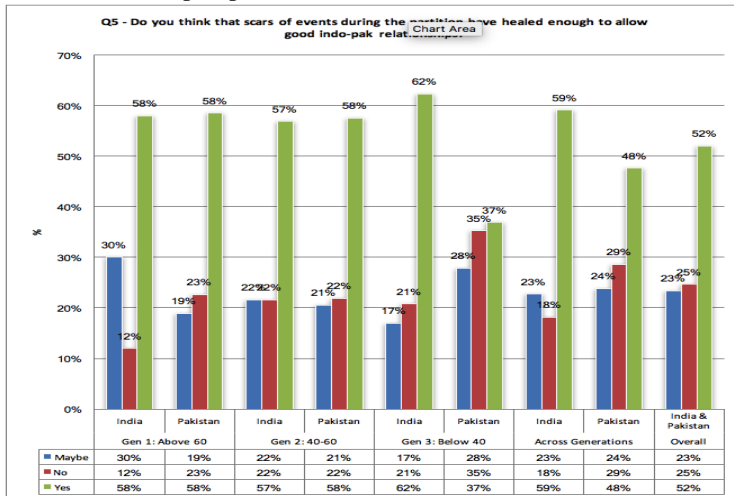
An overwhelming percentage of people across all generations in both India and Pakistan were found to have a perception that the two neighboring countries can and should have peaceful, cordial and friendly relationships with each other. While over 90% people agreed with the need of having friendly relationship, this percentage drops when the possibility of the same is discussed, especially in generation 3 (under 40) from Pakistan. From this set of questions, it can be concluded that Gen 1 and Gen 2 from both India and Pakistan firmly believe in path towards normalization but the percentage drops a bit when it came to Gen 3 from Pakistan. Contrary to perception, the drop in Gen 3 percentage from Pakistan can be attributed to negative curriculum and propaganda of the 80s. Additionally, Gen 1 and Gen 2 have seen the devastation of war, negative impact on economy

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and separation of family, which make them to lean towards the constructive approach.

b) Impact of Historical Events.

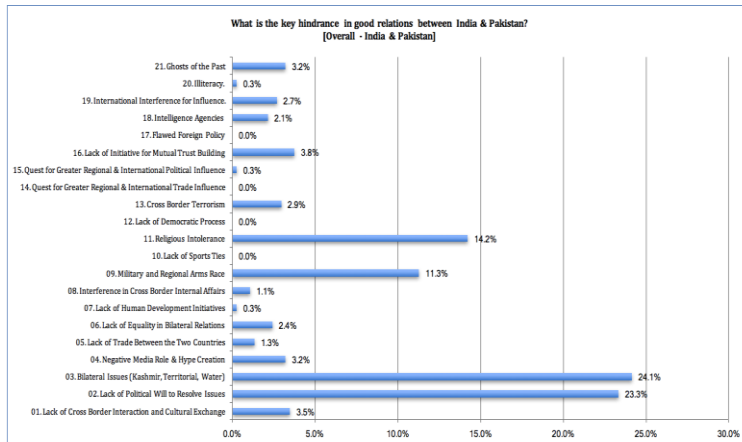
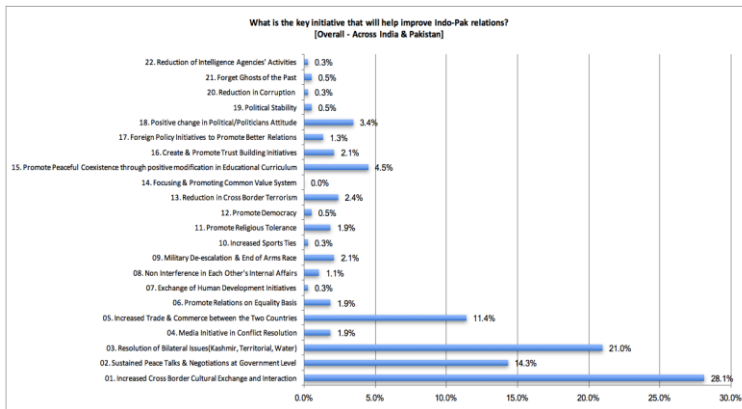
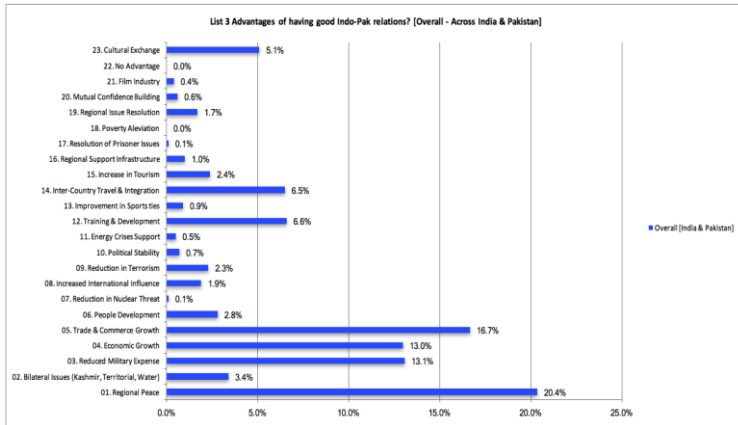
- Q5: Do you think that scars of events during the partition have healed enough to allow good Indo-Pak relationships?
- Q6: Do you think scars of wars between India and Pakistan have healed enough to allow peace and friendship between the two countries to prosper?



To move forward in mending the fences and forging is to come to terms with the ghosts of the past. Except for Pakistan's Gen 3 and to some extent Gen 2, more than 50% of the people thought that the ghosts of the past have been overcome enough to let go of them and look towards forging a peaceful coexistence of India and Pakistan in the subcontinent. Once again, the negative outlook from the Gen2 and Gen3 of Pakistan can be attributed to negative political atmosphere that exists in the country.

c) CBMs and its Role

- Q7: Can the friendly relationship between two countries help in Kashmir issue resolution?
- Q8: Do you think more Indo-Pak trade will help improve relationship between two countries?
- Q10: List 3 Advantages of having good Indo-Pak relations?
- Q11: List 3 Disadvantages of having good Indo-Pak relations?
- Q12: What is the key initiative that will help improve Indo-Pak relations??
- Q13: What is the key hindrance in good relations between India and Pakistan?
- Q22: Can India and Pakistan have more "Indus Treaty" type bilateral pacts to reduce sources of friction between the two countries?



This set of questions is aimed what type of confidence building measures (CBM) can be employed and what impact these CBMs can bring in the conflict resolution between India and Pakistan. All generations across both countries almost unanimously agree that peaceful and friendly relationships between the two

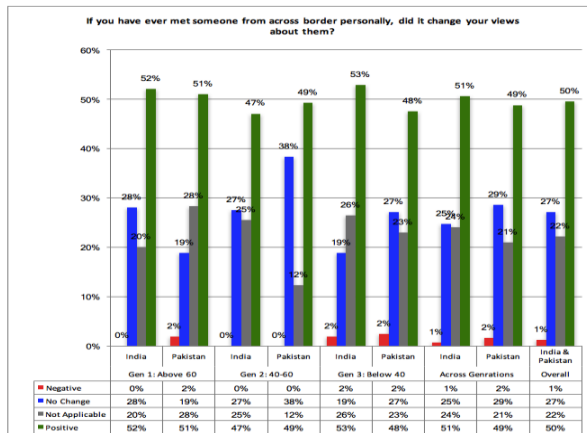
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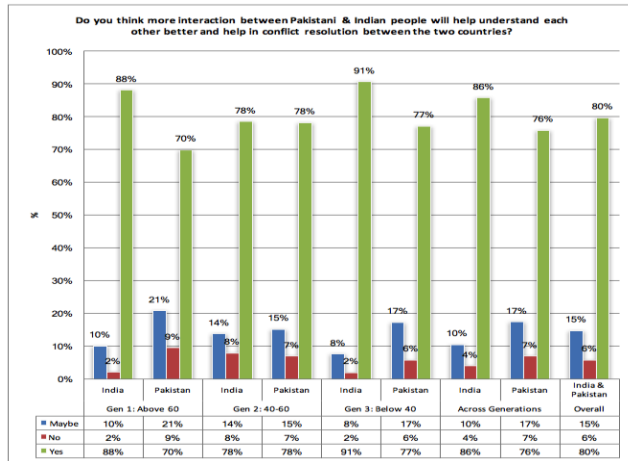
countries will promote regional peace, herald economic growth, boost trade and commerce, reduction in military expenditure and higher level of governmental investment in the training and development of the people. The top area of concern across generations in India is the possible increase in terrorism while Pakistani generations share the concerns related to possible negative impact on local trade and culture.

When it came to key initiative requiring focus, people of India almost unanimously supported increased people-to-people interaction and pressure on the political establishment for sustained negotiations for conflict resolution. Across the border, in Pakistan, once again almost all generations were unanimous in supporting sustained effort in resolving the outstanding issues, especially Kashmir, for lasting peace to flourish in the subcontinent.

d) Impact of People-to-people contact

- Q9: Do you think easier visa issuance regime will help improve relationship between the two countries?
- Q17: Have you ever met with someone from across the border personally?
- Q18: If you have ever met someone from across border personally, how would you categorize the meeting?
- Q19: If you have ever met someone from across border personally, did it change your views about him or her?
- Q20: Do you think more interaction between Pakistani and Indian people will help understand each other better and help in conflict resolution between the two countries?
- Q21: Do you think greater student exchange program between the two countries will bring the people of two countries together and help in conflict resolution?





An overwhelming percentage of people of India and Pakistan, across all generations, support the fact that increased people to people contact can play a pivotal positive role in betterment of relations between the two countries. Similarly, a vast percentage of people who had met someone from across the Indo-Pak border indicated that the interaction had been friendly and left a positive impact. This leads the author to the indication that greater people-to-people interaction between the people of the two countries would lead to an atmosphere of reconciliation and promoting peace.

e) Perception of Role of State and Non-State Actors

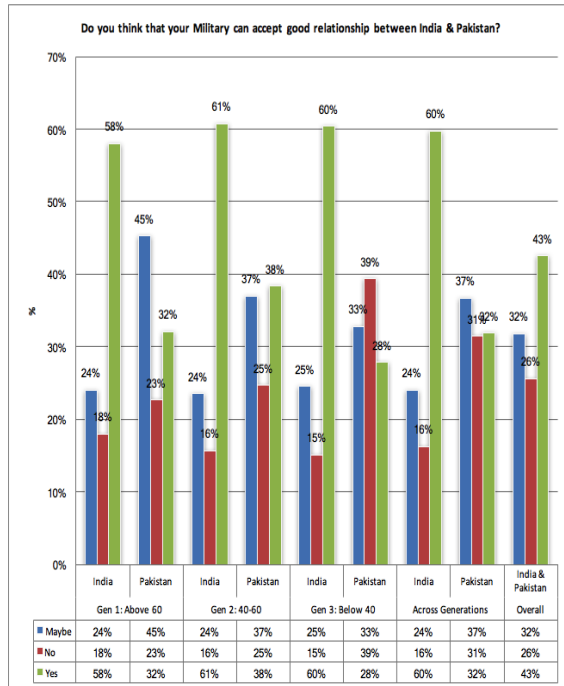
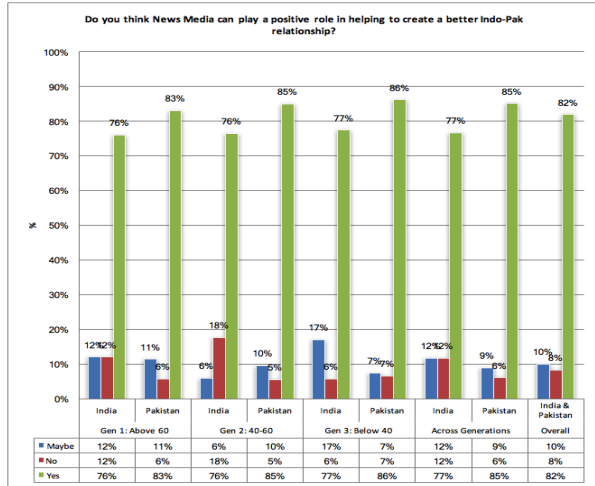
- Q4: Do you think that your Military can accept good relationship between India and Pakistan?
- Q14: Do you think News Media can play a positive role in helping to create a better Indo-Pak relationship?
- Q15: What role current politicians/political parties play in Indo-Pak relationship?
- Q16: What role religious parties play in Indo-Pak relationship?

It is interesting to note that almost all generations across the two countries do not have positive outlook when it comes to the role of Political and Religious parties. This seems to have impacted Gen2 and Gen3 negatively in Pakistan in particular as evident in their responses in categories ‘a’ and ‘b’ above.

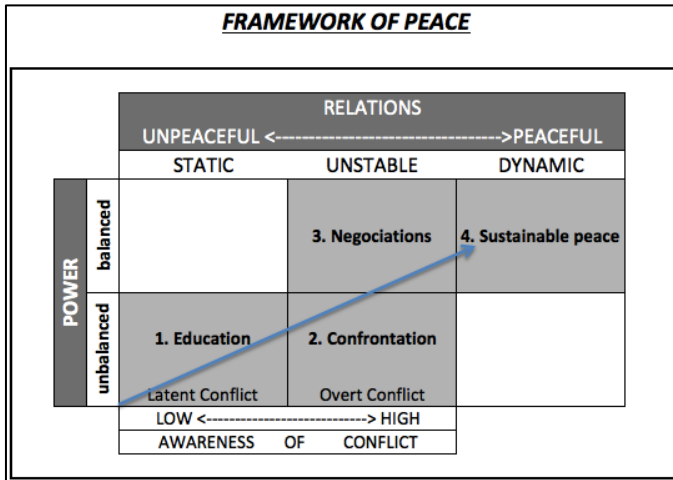
While all generation of India do not think that Military can influence positively or negatively in the two countries’ relationship but people of Pakistan across all generations are not so sure. It is quite understandable though. In India, there has been a civilian government in power since the partition and the military has been reporting to it and, therefore, military will follow the policy agenda set out by the civilian government. In Pakistan this has not been the case as military has ruled the country almost half the time since independence and yields a considerable influence on foreign and defense policies of the country. This is the reason that people of Pakistan are rather circumspect on the positive role of army when it comes to normalization of relationship between the two countries.

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Both Indian as well as Pakistani respondents clearly recognize the potential of the role media can play in terms of bridging the gulf of mistrust between the two countries, provided the media plays constructive roles and does not over hype the differences.



Curle (1971)'s "Conflict Progression Model" as well as the data gathered as part of this research both indicate that Indo-Pak conflict seems to be moving from Unstable to Stable state and a sustained effort can see it across the line.



Adam Curl's Conflict Progression Model

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