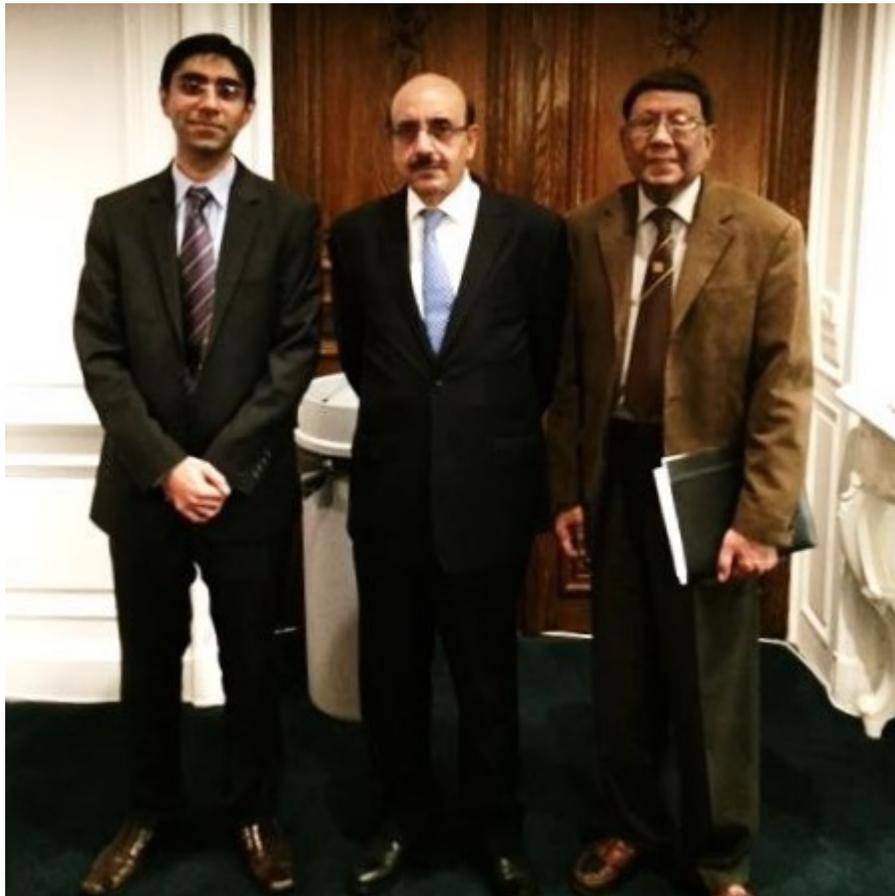


Kashmir Discussion, Community Integration Event, Foreign Policy & Political Analysis, Media Review
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Kashmir Issue: Thinking Out Of The Box



INDUS sponsored a discussion at the Middle East Institute on December 5, 2017, in honor of the visiting Azad Kashmir President H.E. Masood Khan, with Dr. Moeed Yusuf, U.S. Institute of Peace, and Mr. Athar Javaid, President of INDUS.

Progress and Peril in North Waziristan

[Michael Kugelman](#)

December 11, 2018 - Last month, I had a rare opportunity to visit North Waziristan, a Pakistani tribal region blessed with rugged beauty, yet cursed with a long history of conflict. Long a haven for terrorists, both local and foreign, it's been [described](#) as the most dangerous place on earth.

My visit was eye-opening — but it also raised some unsettling questions. There were clear signs that Pakistan has made progress in countering terrorism in North Waziristan, but also good reason to believe that a less positive picture lay beyond the small area I saw. Moreover, Pakistan's efforts in the region cannot be designated an unqualified success, given its lack of decisive action against certain terror groups, particularly the Haqqani Network. I also was struck by how easily the progress made could be squandered, thanks to the enduring presence and appeal of extremism around the country. Ultimately, the North Waziristan counterterrorism campaign highlights the broader disagreements between the United States and Pakistan over the latter's support for militants, a divide that has widened with the Trump administration's [threats](#) to Pakistan over its ties to terrorists.

A Well-Timed Visit

The trip was arranged by a Pakistani military keen to showcase its achievements in an area where it has waged a punishing counterterrorism campaign, called *Zarb-e-Azb*, against anti-state violent jihadists since 2014. The operation has substantially degraded the capacities of the Pakistani Taliban, which is responsible for the majority of Pakistan's terror attacks over the last decade.

Subsequently, Pakistani civilian deaths from terrorist violence [plummeted](#) from more than 3,000 in 2012 to just over 600 in 2016. In the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), where North Waziristan is located, [the number fell](#) from about 550 to fewer than 80 over that same period. Even the most hardened critic of Pakistan can't deny that its counterterrorism fight has paid some dividends. To be sure, it's overly generous to describe *Zarb-e-Azb* as a full-fledged success story, since some terrorists were simply displaced elsewhere in Pakistan or over the border into Afghanistan. Moreover, while many Pakistani Taliban fighters have been killed, it is difficult to verify whether, as the military claims, [thousands](#) of them in fact died in the operation. Still, the sharp decrease in terror-related civilian deaths is a striking and

heartening data point.

The timing of the visit, which I made with several other U.S. South Asia analysts, was significant. The Trump administration is raising the pressure on Pakistan to crack down on terror groups, particularly the Haqqani Network branch of the Afghan Taliban, that are based in Pakistan and target Americans in Afghanistan. Secretary of Defense James Mattis [delivered](#) this tough message in Islamabad last week, just as [Secretary of State Rex Tillerson](#) did in October. U.S. officials acknowledge Pakistan's progress against groups like the Pakistani Taliban, which the government in Islamabad considers an enemy. However, the United States is [highly skeptical](#) of Pakistan's claims that it has acted against the Afghanistan-focused groups, which are a top U.S. priority but act as an asset for the Pakistani military.

What better way, then, for Pakistan to illustrate its achievements against anti-state terror — and, perhaps, to distract Washington from concerns about the lack of action against terrorists who target Americans — than by bringing Americans to North Waziristan to see the government's progress in a region where terror has long run rampant? [U.S. congressional](#) and [military delegations](#) have made visits over the last year or so, and participants have spoken positively about their experiences. "I was very impressed with the progress," Sen. John McCain [said](#) after a visit in July 2016.

From War Zone to Locus for Development

I was also impressed. A bus took us on well-paved roads around Miranshah, the capital of North Waziristan — once a [coveted zip code for bad guys](#) both Pakistani and foreign and a [frequent target of U.S. drone strikes](#). Today, the former war zone has become a locus for development. We saw new markets, athletic fields, and medical clinics — all constructed by the military. In the part of town we drove through, there were relatively few destroyed buildings. We also saw many Pakistani flags. Not too long ago, a military official told us, it was Taliban flags flying everywhere.

Sure, I knew we'd be getting a dog and pony show — a carefully choreographed visit meant to reveal only what our hosts wanted us to see. Indeed, there was something surreal about our sojourn through Miranshah, as we were shuttled around in a luxury bus from one new development project to the other. It was like being on a VIP visit to a shiny new theme park.

No reasonable observer would call Miranshah safe today — more than half a dozen armed trucks escorted our bus around the city. Still, it's come a long way. You can't construct roads or hospitals — or bring American visitors out to see these projects — if you're under siege by terrorists. Even a Potemkin village, which skeptical observers may contend is what we saw, requires a modicum of security to be built.

And yet, the questions lingered. What do the locals, traumatized not just by terrorism

but also by [massive displacements](#) and the army's [scorched-earth counterterrorism tactics](#), think about these new development projects? We didn't have an opportunity to speak to them, and the military was mum on the issue. Clearly, however, not everyone is pleased. In January, nearly 80 residents filed a petition [claiming](#) they have been prevented from repossessing some 8,000 shops in Miranshah destroyed during *Zarb-e-Azb*. More broadly, there's good reason to believe that what we saw represented the exception rather than the norm. North Waziristan locals have [told](#) Pakistani reporters that the area remains woefully underdeveloped, and that most of the recent development projects have been built near government facilities.

There's also good reason to fear the security situation beyond Miranshah. Despite the insistence by our military hosts that there are "no no-go areas," terrorism continues to stalk [other parts of North Waziristan](#) and the [broader tribal region](#). The FATA Research Center, a nonpartisan Pakistani research group, estimates there were [33 "terrorist incidents"](#) across FATA between July and September 2017. This is a notable drop from the [74](#) such incidents reported over the first three months of 2014 (several months before the launch of *Zarb-e-Azb*). Still, a region convulsed by nearly three dozen terror attacks over a three-month period is far from stable.

Squandered Progress?

Ultimately, the trip left me more unsettled than reassured. Despite less terrorism and more development in North Waziristan, Pakistani state and society still nurture an environment that encourages and enables extremism. Triumphs over terror in North Waziristan do not mean the nation has triumphed over terror on the whole. On the contrary, so long as extremism remains entrenched, Pakistan will remain vulnerable to terrorism.

Indeed, radicalization is deep in Pakistan, and in areas far from Waziristan. Extremist ideologies are prevalent across the country. From public school textbooks to religious leaders' sermons and even the Constitution — which contains a clause designating Ahmadis, a minority sect of Islam, as non-Muslims — society is rife with hostile views about religious minorities, India, and the West.

In fact, the deep tentacles of extremism nearly torpedoed our trip to North Waziristan. Mysterious road closures delayed our drive to an airfield in Islamabad where a helicopter was to spirit us to Miranshah. With concerns about worsening weather in the tribal region, we faced the possibility of having to cancel the trip altogether.

Eventually, we learned that government officials had shut down several key Islamabad roads in anticipation of a protest led by a hardline Islamist group called Tehreek-i-Labaik Ya Rasool Allah (TLY). The protesters were opposing a change the government had made to the oath all electoral candidates must utter that affirms

Muhammad as the final prophet. TLY is no innocuous group of religious conservatives. Party leader Khadim Hussain Rizvi regularly fulminates against Pakistan's religious minorities. The group lionizes Mumtaz Qadri, a policeman who in 2011 assassinated a former governor of Punjab province simply for opposing Pakistan's draconian blasphemy laws. One of TLY's [rallying cries](#) is "death to blasphemers."

Fortunately, we reached the airfield in time and were able to make the trip. Still, the irony was unmistakable: An attempt to showcase counterterrorism progress was nearly foiled by an impending protest of religious extremists.

The State and Militancy

These protestors, and their handling by the state, are the latest manifestation of Pakistan's extremism problem — and another reason to fear that the progress in North Waziristan could be fleeting. It speaks to a whack-a-mole effect in Pakistan — if you snuff terror out in one place, it can easily pop up somewhere else.

TLY is one of several new hardline religious parties that not only mobilize on the street, but contest local elections. It bagged more than 7,000 votes in a recent by-election in Lahore. The Milli Muslim League (MML), a party with links to the Lashkar-e-Taiba terror group, won nearly 6,000 in the same poll. (By comparison, the Pakistan People's Party — one of the country's main opposition parties and the ruling party in the previous government — netted about 1,500.) These parties are not terrorist organizations, but they do not renounce violence. TLY leader Rizvi is explicitly violent in his sermons. In a speech earlier this year about several abducted liberal social media activists, he [declared](#), "The whole Ummah demands that you kill them."

The Pakistani security establishment [supports](#) bringing groups like TLY into the political process, claiming this "mainstreaming" could turn them away from violence. At a dinner in Rawalpindi after our trip to North Waziristan, I heard a senior Pakistani military official ask why, if the United States could support Ireland's Sinn Fein party joining the political mainstream, couldn't it support mainstreaming Islamist parties in Pakistan? This analogy, of course, is questionable; among other things, Sinn Fein formally renounced violence in 1997. The risk is that bringing groups like TLY and MML into the political fold will strengthen and even legitimize the hardline ideologies that spawn militancy, thereby weakening more moderate political forces and increasing future prospects for terror.

The government's position toward these hardliners is concerning. Several days after our trip to Waziristan, the TLY-led march arrived in Islamabad. Protestors initiated a sit-in that lasted more than two weeks, demanding that Zahid Hamid, the law minister responsible for changing the electoral oath, be removed from office. For 17 days, the government did little to end the protest. Finally, after a bungled effort by

police to disperse the sit-in turned violent, the government — with the military's mediation — [concluded a deal](#) with the protestors in which Islamabad agreed to fire Hamid. The agreement ended the crisis and eliminated the risk of more violent protests — but it also meant the government had capitulated to hardliners.

Then there's the Pakistani military's broader contribution to an environment that fosters extremism. The army has long practiced a selective policy toward terrorism, targeting groups that stage attacks in Pakistan, like the Pakistani Taliban, while leaving alone those that use Pakistan as a base and draw state support. These include the anti-India groups Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba and anti-Afghanistan groups such as the Afghan Taliban and Haqqani network — all of which receive varying degrees of largesse from Pakistani security and intelligence officials. So long as these militant groups continue to enjoy the use of Pakistani soil, other efforts to combat extremism will be incomplete and ultimately unsuccessful.

The military's selective counterterrorism posture highlights the incomplete picture we got in North Waziristan: Pakistan had acted forcefully against the Pakistani Taliban, which the security establishment considers a threat. But when it came to Washington's top priority, the Haqqani Network, the picture was a lot murkier. Predictably, our hosts in North Waziristan insisted, as Pakistani officials often do, that *Zarb-e-Azb's* aim was “to eliminate all terrorist networks.” During the ride through Miranshah, where the Haqqani network used to be headquartered, they pointed out several locations — the basement of a mosque, a barren field — as former bases for the group. One of our military briefers, when asked what happened to the Haqqani network in North Waziristan, simply said it had “melted away.”

In fact, it's likely that the group has merely been displaced from North Waziristan up north to other areas of the tribal belt. [American officials](#) and even [local tribesmen](#) believe the Pakistanis tipped off the Haqqanis in North Waziristan before *Zarb-e-Azb* began, to give them an opportunity to escape. U.S. analysts [claim](#) the group relocated its main base to the Kurram tribal agency, and several Pakistani researchers have told me it has a presence in the Kurram capital of Parachinar. In June, a U.S. drone strike [reportedly](#) killed a Haqqani commander in an area of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province just over the border from Kurram.

While the Haqqani network may have been dispersed in North Waziristan, it has not been destroyed and likely not even diminished on a regional and national level. The group remains alive and well in Pakistan, underscoring that while the counterterrorism progress we saw in Miranshah is very real, by no means is it an unqualified success.

Implications for U.S.-Pakistan Relations

Our trip to North Waziristan encapsulated the troubled state of U.S.-Pakistan relations — particularly the sharp mismatch in expectations and interests between

the two sides on the issue of terrorism. We saw the achievements of a Pakistani counterterrorism operation that U.S. officials rightly regard as impressive but ultimately insufficient, because it didn't address Washington's priority concern: hunting down the Haqqani network.

One of the Pakistani military's main messages to us in North Waziristan was this: Pakistan has eliminated its terror safe havens, and now the need is for Afghanistan to stabilize its own border region to prevent terrorists on its soil from staging attacks in Pakistan. "The threat," we were informed, "lies across the border."

But Washington's view is very different. U.S. officials concede that Pakistan is doing the right thing by stabilizing its border with Afghanistan and has every right to expect Kabul to do the same on its side. At the same time, Washington does not believe the threat simply "lies across the border." Rather, U.S. officials argue that Pakistan remains unstable in no small part because it still provides safe havens to regional militants — and it's high time Pakistan track down terrorists that stage attacks in Afghanistan, including on U.S. troops.

U.S. officials — [including Mattis](#) during his recent trip — acknowledge the counterterrorism progress that we saw in North Waziristan, as well as the Pakistani lives lost in the country's fight against terror. And yet Americans and Pakistanis fundamentally disagree on the issue of cross-border militancy emanating from Pakistan. America says it's a major concern, while the Pakistanis either dispute this premise or, as they did during our trip, speak around the issue.

Indeed, one of the deepest disconnects in U.S.-Pakistan relations is rooted in threat perceptions. The Haqqani Network is America's enemy and Pakistan's asset. The Pakistani Taliban is also America's enemy — but an enemy of much greater priority for Pakistan.

This fundamental divide was thrown into sharp relief on a visit to a restive locale that provided a tantalizing glimpse of how much better things could become — but also a humbling reminder about the fragility of the progress that has been made there.

Michael Kugelman is the deputy director of the Asia Program and senior associate for South Asia at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC. He can be reached at michael.kugelman@wilsoncenter.org and on Twitter @michaelkugelman. The article was originally published in [War on the Rocks](#).

Community Integration -

Homeland, USA

Event Report

INDUS – Mobilizing People’s Power, a Washington D.C. think tank and research organization, organized a community integration (CI) event at Arlington Public Library in Northern Virginia on Sunday, December 3, 2017. Speakers at the event included Dr. Marvin Weinbaum, Director, Pakistan and Afghanistan Studies Center at the Middle East Institute; Riffat Chughtai, President, PAK PAC; Silveth Khawaja, Ambassador, American Pakistan Council; and Salman Siddiqui from NED Alumni Association of Washington, D.C. Raza Rumi, editor of *Daily Times*, moderated the event.



Mr. Shehzad Habib, Chairman of the INDUS Board of Trustees, welcomed the speakers, guests, and attendees and thanked them for their participation. He introduced INDUS and its primary objectives:

- i. **Policy discussions related to U.S.-Pakistan interests**
- ii. **Youth leadership development**
- iii. **Civil liberties**
- iv. **Communities’ integration**

Athar Javaid, President of INDUS, introduced the community integration event and program objectives: to facilitate and deepen community integration, promote the concept of U.S. citizenship, and highlight pathways to realize the American dream. “Communities find their own future and local leaders play a critical role in turning the dreams of communities into realities. We all are Americans, and let us strive to become good members of society and good Americans,” Javaid said.



Dr. Marvin Weinbaum stated that all the ethnic communities that came to the US in 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries faced rejection and had to work hard to create a space for themselves, as immigrants usually do. Most immigrants that came to this country were poor, uneducated, and

with a limited grasp of the English language. Most immigrants were highly dependent on one another, and most assumed work that others didn't want. They worked hard to give a better future to following generations and eventually started their own small businesses. Eventually international corporations, like Yahoo, Intel, Progressive, and others, were established by immigrants.

Dr. Marvin Weinbaum highlighted that the Pakistani-American community is the second fastest growing the community and seventh largest group in the United States. The total number of Pakistani Americans living in the U.S. is more than one million. Most of the Pakistani-American community is middle class and concentrated in cities like New York, Chicago, Houston, and Northern Virginia. More than sixty percent Pakistanis have a Bachelor's degree or better, and overall, the Pakistani community is making progress in business and medical fields. But they need to do some extra work in the fields of politics.



Riffat Chughtai highlighted that there is a dire need for the Pakistani community to get involved in political activities. "The Pakistani community should proactively participate in politics. We should also educate Federal representatives about Pakistan and the Pakistani community," said Chughtai. Looking at U.S. history, Chughtai said Americans in the 18th century were also unfriendly toward immigrants; they assumed that immigrants would come and take their jobs. Time and again, this fear has arisen. Now, there is a need for the Pakistani community to understand that, instead of focusing on the politics of Pakistan, they should actively get involved in the politics of the United States, their new homeland. Pakistanis as a community will have to think about what is right the Pakistani community. It is better to be bipartisan as there are many good politicians in both parties.

Salman Siddiqui shared his experience. He came to the U.S. thirty years ago as a student. "We get so busy in settling in life that we forget what the American ideals are. Democracy, equality, opportunity, and the Bill of Rights are American ideals," said Siddiqui. There are three different categories of immigrant families: our parents, who were not properly integrated in the US society; our generation that is struggling to have a better life; and our children, who are born here and often are totally American in culture and lifestyle.



Silveth Khawaja stated that civil rights movement paved the way for civil liberties and equal rights for all. "Civil rights paved the way for an African American to become President of the United States. We have come a long way toward achieving equal civil rights for minorities and communities." She shared her experience that during her school days in the U.S. she felt segregation of African American students in the class. Today the situation has improved a lot.

The event concluded to applause. INDUS thanked the speakers, guests, and attendees and voiced its plan to host another Community Integration event next year.

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Youth Leadership Development

Creating campus-based, strictly nonpolitical Student Government Associations that offer Executive, Legislative & Judiciary functions experience within the campus environment. Elected student representatives, as Members of Parliament, Senators and judges manage all aspects of student affairs, in conjunction with campus administration.

Pakistan Civil Liberties Union

Civil liberties are personal guarantees and freedoms that the government cannot abridge, either by law or by judicial interpretation. However in today's Pakistan, rising violence, intolerance, weak rule of law, endemic corruption, lack of social and economic justice, and religious freedom, social exclusion of the vulnerable and the marginalized are a common phenomenon that the people of Pakistan face on a daily basis. Pakistan Civil Liberties Union – PCLU is a watchdog organization intended to combat all the above issues at every cross section of our society.

Community Integration & Civic Promotion

When successful, the processes of community integration and civic promotion begin with the individual and, alongside support from Federal, State, and municipal programs, advance collectively, often through socialization with informal groups and professional and cultural associations. However, due to regional, organizational, and programmatic differences, the catalytic potential of civil society organizations is underutilized. Partnerships with local, regional, and national civil society organizations will advance community integration, promote the concept of citizenship, and highlight pathways to achieve the "American Dream."

Policy Research – As It Happens

Campus-based political and social sciences research. Graduate Student and Faculty focusing on policy issues for possible social, cultural, and political reform, followed by advocacy action and awareness creation by the same researchers for the purposes of legislative reform as appropriate.

Cultivating Early Awareness

Aimed at increasing youngsters' awareness of rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and building a national bond at a very impressionable age, leading to real benefits to the nation in evolving future leadership.

MEDIA REVIEW

Where the Real Power Lies in Pakistan

The Editorial Board

There has been no change in Pakistan since the ouster of Nawaz Sharif. Things may be getting worse: the country is “freeing terrorist leaders and clamping down on civil society groups it accuses, falsely, of being fronts for foreign spies.” Yet, the real catastrophe in Pakistan is “the cynical use of Islamist extremism by the country’s security establishment to hold democracy hostage and to foment the insecurity it needs to maintain its grip on power. Until that changes, there is scant hope Pakistan will take control of the terrorism that threatens its citizens’ lives and the stability of the region.” [[New York Times](#)]

Iran in Transition: The Implications of the Islamic Republic’s Changing Demographics

Richard Cincotta, Karim Sadjadpour

A detailed analysis of the growth-friendly demographic conditions arising in Iran as prime-age workers outnumber children and elderly dependents. The dynamic, which will last until 2040 or 2045, will profoundly shape Iran’s future. [[Carnegie Endowment](#)]

Pakistan, a rising power

Sunil Sharan

The author believes Pakistan has outmaneuvered its foes at every turn – in Afghanistan, in international forums, and with its regional relationships – and describes it as a rising star. [[Times of India](#)]

Pakistan: Defenseless Minorities

Tushar Ranjan Mohanty

Terrorist attacks on Christians (and other religious minorities) occur regularly in Pakistan. “Pakistan has witnessed at least 25 [attacks on Christians] resulting in 246 fatalities and 603 persons injured since March 2000 (data till December 21, 2017). [...] Moreover, there were many instances that reiterated the fact that religious extremists have enormous support across Pakistan. [...] Religious minorities will continue to suffer as long as the establishment maintains its policy of appeasement of Islamist extremists and fundamentalists.” [[Eurasia Review](#)]

To Contain Iran, Protect Its Interests And Prevent Regional War US Must Lead As Super Power – Analysis

Riad Kahwaji

‘Washington has two choices: accept Iran as the hegemonic player in the region and provide limited support to its allies or help them to resolve their differences with Tehran. Second, pursue the current policy of escalation according to a clear-cut plan that includes a military dimension to contain Iran and its proxies and compel them to pull back and check their threats to the interests of the United States and its allies. By leading in a forceful manner with a clear vision, Washington could prevent the region from sliding into an all-out war and deliver a strong message to Tehran that the U.S. is back and willing to go all the way to protect its interests.’ [[Eurasia Review](#)]

11 Powerful Women We Met Around the World in 2017

Kyle Crichton

A collection of Saturday Profiles published by The New York Times in 2017 of people from around the world that readers “probably have never heard of, but who have led interesting lives and done

extraordinary things,” with Maryam Sharif among them. [[New York Times](#)]

1971 War and Creation of Bangladesh: Moving Beyond the Polarizing Narratives

Nadeem F. Paracha

The author describes a moment in cricket history in July 1971 involving Pakistan’s opening batsman, Aftab Gul, and Bengali nationalism in then-East Pakistan. “This incident is recalled here to suggest that over the decades, the 1971 East Pakistan debacle which saw the region break-away and become Bangladesh (in December 1971) has increasingly generated highly polarizing debates and narratives which have almost exclusively been painted in bold black and white strokes.” [[NayaDaur](#)]

Chandrawati’s Lahore

Hasnain Iqbal

The Lahore once described in Shahab Nama, and revisited by the essayist, has now become bleeding, hate driven, and blood thirsty. “What will we pass on as our legacy and what will Lahore be like in the coming years?” [[Express Tribune](#)]

This Pakistani bought a restaurant in Washington just to feed the homeless for free

“Kazi Mannan, a Pakistani immigrant in the United States bought a restaurant in Washington with two very simple and straightforward reasons. One, he wanted to serve authentic South Asian food to Americans and two, he wanted to feed the poor and needy for free. Mannan bought Mayur Kabob House and renamed it to Sakina Halal Grill, a tribute to his and all the mothers around the world.” [[ppllofpakistan](#)]

Embracing American Ideals; Promoting and Protecting the American Dream

Nasir Naveed

The meaningful contribution of groups and organizations to integrate immigrant and minority communities needs to be emphasized. Groups and organizations face a special challenge and a specific responsibility different from that of the State and their own individual missions. [[Daily Times](#)]

Google pays tribute to Mirza Ghalib on 220th birthday

Google acknowledged the 220th birthday of the legendary poet by creating a unique doodle on its homepage. Ghalib was born in Agra on December 27, 1797, and made major contributions to Urdu poetry and prose and as the Royal historian to the Mughal court. [[Daily Times](#)]



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