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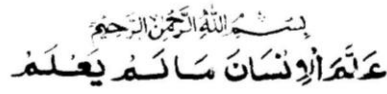
(The Journal of Governance and Public Policy)

**NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN**

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ

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TAUGHT MAN THAT WHICH HE KNEW NOT

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Editor's Note

The ISSRA Papers (The Journal of Governance and Public Policy) 2nd Half 2016 is being published. A number of selected Papers dealing with domains of policy, governance and other relevant subjects are part of this issue of the Journal. Substantial support in terms of research papers and reviews has been received from all the departments of Faculty of Contemporary Studies, NDU. ISSRA faculty has also contributed a number of worthwhile papers. A brief summary of papers and their contributors is given in the succeeding paragraphs.

The first paper 'Mapping the Hydropolitics around Pakistan: Mapping Conflict and Cooperation' has been contributed by Mr. Abdul Rauf Iqbal. The author explores the water politics concerning Pakistan. This paper concludes that chances of cooperation are more pronounced rather than conflict.

The second paper 'Organizational Politics and Employees' Attitude–Analyzing the Relations' is contributed by Dr. Muhammad Zia-ur-Rehman and Muhammad Azher Iqbal. The researchers have analyzed the direct relationship between organizational politics and employee attitude. Quite a useful study for administrators in the education sector to come up with policies to avoid negative attitudes at workplace.

'The Curious Case of 'Brexit': Reflections on what lies Ahead', is the third paper, written by Ms. Beenish Sultan. This paper is an endeavor to analyze the reasons of leave for the UK. It attempts to focus on how this decision might affect the UK foreign relations.

The fourth paper, 'Violence in Kashmir and Applicability of International Law on India' is written by Mr. Baber Ali. In this study,

an attempt has been made to analyze the applicability of International Law (IL) on India's on-going violence in Kashmir. It incorporates the qualitative analyses of multilevel applicability of IL.

Next paper, titled 'Need of Inter & Intra Faith Dialogue for Peace: Review of Challenges and Efforts in Pakistan', is written by Dr. Khushbakht Hina and Ms. Sundas Kashmeeri. This paper aims to highlight the importance of most critical and serious concern about need of inter & intra faith dialogue for protecting peace in Pakistan.

The Sixth paper 'Critical Appraisal of Governance in Pakistan and Suggested Response', has been contributed by Mr. Waseem Ishaque. The paper highlights that governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. It aptly identifies the problems and the strategy to rectify them.

The seventh paper, 'Gilgit Baltistan: A Prism of Tourism' is authored by Mr. Tanweer Ali. This paper terms tourism as a diverse segment in GB. Tourism could become main source of earning in the future if the potential would be untapped. This article envisages an analysis of the tourism potentials of GB.

The last paper, 'Alternative Sources of Renewable Energy In South Asia' has been contributed by Ms. Tayyaba Moin. This paper discusses preventive measures to control over-utilization of valuable resources which is required to be avoided to arrest severe shortage of energy resources in South Asia.

At the end, the Editor deems it appropriate to extend his profound gratitude to all the contributors and readers for keeping their affiliation with ISSRA Papers. It is hoped that ISSRA Papers now in HEC 'Z' Category will continue striving for diversified intellectual

undertakings in the days to come. However the Editorial staff is committed to continue moving ahead for further improvement. Worthwhile research based papers on relevant topics are always welcome from prospective researchers. Wish you all the best of luck and an intellectually rewarding reading.

HYDROPOLITICS AROUND PAKISTAN:
MAPPING CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

(Mr. Abdul Rauf Iqbal)[*]

Abstract

Although Pakistan is blessed with fresh water resources yet the people of Pakistan are experiencing a different trauma. Various reports indicate a huge mismatch between demand and supply of water in Pakistan which has led to the water scarcity. This situation is becoming worse day by day and experts are of the view that water scarcity can compel Pakistan to go for war for getting more waters. Further, it can also intensify the inter-provincial differences over water distribution. In this contemporary period of time, question arises that how water is becoming a scarce resource. Is this scarcity is natural or human are playing in the name of nature or some unseen forces want to convert Pakistan into desert. Moreover, how much experts are right in relating water with war. This paper concludes that chances of cooperation are more pronounced rather than conflict.

Key Words. *Fresh water, mismatch, scarcity, inter-provincial, desert, cooperation, conflict*

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Prelude

Water – a source of life is becoming scarce enough to pose a threat to peace and progress because of extensive demographic growth, disordered urbanization, political actions and climatic changes etc. Human actions and their unpredictable behaviour is regarded as water's primary enemy in most of the literature on hydropolitics. States are confronted with numerous challenges with regard to water; the demand for water is ever-increasing and at the same time, supply of water is decreasing. This disparity in demand and supply of water is now a serious source of concern in international relations. When it comes to the waters that cross political boundaries, additional complexities arise and strain the relationship of riparian states.[1] Hence, sharing of transboundary water is an extremely difficult task and may create both conflict and cooperation among the states and same is the case with waters of Indus in South Asia.

South Asia – a home to more than one-sixth of the world's population,[2] depends heavily on agriculture. Water in South Asia is not only vital for everyday needs, but also a critical resource for economic development.[3] The increasing demand for water has surpassed supply and led to increased competition, tension, and disputes among various economic sectors, provinces, and sovereign states.[4] The politics of water-sharing arrangements have complicated inter-state relationships in the region[5] as Peter Gleick has reported, ". . . one factor remains constant: the importance of water to life means that providing for water needs and demands will never be free of politics."[6]

Addressing the water disputes between Pakistan and India, both countries signed Indus Water Treaty (IWT) in 1960 meditated by

World Bank; which has survived three wars and other hostilities between the two nations. IWT is regarded as a remarkable example of conflict resolution and sets the path for future cooperation as Stephen P. Cohen has observed, "the Indus Waters Treaty is a model for future regional cooperation, especially on energy and environmental concerns, and even the management of the region's impressive water resources."[7] Yet, the recent water shortage because of Indian intentions of building chain of dams on Pakistani (western) rivers has once again given rise to the prospects of water conflicts among both countries. The recent stress and strain in the observance of this treaty has had many analysts believe that water sharing will become a politically charged dynamic in the relations of two nuclear states.[8]

According to Elhance, hydro-politics is a systematic study of conflict and cooperation between states over water resources that transcend international borders.[9] Indus water dispute is a burning issue between Pakistan and India and, as Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema concludes, "no dispute generated so much bitterness as did the one over the flow of waters."[10] Starting from the very quotation, this research analyzes the reasons behind present water scarcity and tries to predict the future prospects of Indus by comparing both conflict and cooperation theories. At the end, some policy recommendations are made for a cooperative future.

The international and transborder characteristics of shared water bodies make theirs a compelling test case for the analysis of conflict and cooperation.[11] Scholars like Westing, Gleick, Homer-Dixon, Remans, and Samson and Charrier stress the dangers of violence over international waters while others including Libiszewski, Salman and de Chazournes, and Wolf argue more

strongly for the possibilities[12] and historical evidences of cooperation between co-riparians.

Water is a resource vital to all aspects of a nation's survival and the scarcity of water leads to forceful political pressures, often referred to as "water stress," a term coined by Falkenmark.[13] Moreover, international law is equally obscure, vague and contradictory in terms of water which is a critical and non-substitutable resource.[14] May be in this context, Ismail Serageldin, Vice President for Environmental Sustainable Development at the World Bank went on to say, "if the wars of this century were fought over oil, the wars of the next century will be fought over water."[15] Keeping in view the critical importance of water, it is important to know that water is more often associated with war. Bulk of literature describes water as a future cause of interstate warfare. Westing suggested, "competition for limited fresh water leads to severe political tensions and even to war."[16] Gleick described water resources as military and political goals.[17] Remans used case studies from the Middle East, South America, and South Asia as "well-known examples" of water as a cause of armed conflict.[18] Samson and Charrier wrote, "a number of conflicts linked to fresh water are already apparent" and suggested that "growing conflict looms ahead."[19] Butts suggested, "history is replete with examples of violent conflict over water".[20] Finally, Homer-Dixon, came to the conclusion, "the renewable resource most likely to stimulate interstate resource war is river water."[21]

On the other hand, besides the hue and cry over water wars, there also exists an impressive history of water dispute resolution, in the academic literature. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations has identified more than 3600 treaties

relating to international water resources, dating between 805 and 1984.[22] Majority of these treaties deals with navigation.[23] Since 1814 about 300 international treaties have been negotiated to deal with nonnavigational issues of water management including flood control, hydropower projects, and allocations for consumptive or non-consumptive uses in international basins. Water as a source of cooperation has been analyzed in a greater detail by Hamner and Wolf.[24]

Hydro-Environment of Pakistan

Pakistan is one of the world's most arid countries with an average rainfall of under 240 mm a year.[25] Political economy of Pakistan is heavily reliant on annual influx into the Indus River system – of which about 180 billion cubic meters of water of the system emanates from Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) and is mostly derived from the snow-melt in the Himalayas.[26] This hydro economy of Pakistan has faced massive challenges right from the independence of the country in 1947. At present, major challenges emanating from the availability of water in Pakistan are:

- **Water Scarcity**. Pakistan is one of the most water-stressed countries in the world. The situation is deteriorating towards water scarcity due to Indian obstruction of western rivers water, population growth and climate change.

- **A High Risk Hydro-Environment**. Pakistan is mostly dependent on a single river basin, i.e. Indus River Basin. This predominant dependence on a single river system means that Pakistan has little of the strength that most countries enjoy by virtue of having a multiplicity of river basins and diversity of water resources.[27]

Reasons behind Water Scarcity

Numerous reasons can be associated with the water scarcity in Pakistan but experts mainly emphasize population growth, climate change and Indian hijacking of water from Pakistani rivers.

- **Population Growth**. Pakistan is one of the 10 countries whose population is in excess to 100 million and the 7th populous country of the world.[28] The population is still growing at an alarming rate. This increase not only require more water for urban use but also more food is needed which means usage of more water in agriculture. This creates a cycle and increases the demand of water in the region while the supply is not increasing at the same time. In the wake of population explosion, effective management of water is required, absence of which results in scarcity.

- **Climate Change**.   Climate Change is a serious source of concern for the developed world while the developing countries are not much concerned about it. The Indus Basin is heavily dependent on glaciers of the western Himalayas, the melting of these glaciers provides water to Indus. But now, these glaciers are suffering from climate change and due to the depletion of the glacial reserve there will be an alarming 30-40% decrease in the flow of River Indus.[29]

- **Indian Hijacking of Pakistani Rivers Waters**.Coupled with the above factors, India is also playing a major role in converting Pakistan into a desert country. India is planning to build chain of dams on western rivers which have been allocated to Pakistan under the Indus Water Treaty of 1960.

Water Scarcity: Population, Climate or India?

It is true that increasing population need more and more water while the climate change has the potential to increase or decrease water supplies. Yet one has to critically evaluate these factors while assessing the major reason behind the present water scarcity in Pakistan. Population is always at distributive end and if there is water in the system then one can distribute it equally or unequally. Here at distribution end, effective management is required but prior to management, water is required on which management can be done. Now, the climate change is related with supply side. According to a study, which used 10 models to predict the affects of climate change on Indus Waters, only 1 model suggested decrease in precipitation in near future while the remaining models suggested increase in precipitation in near future.[30] More the precipitation, more the rain and eventually resulting into more water; which could result in floods.

Supply of water at the point of origin could be managed at delivery end. But what would it be like when there is theft of water between this process. When the problem is happening in between these points then it is useless to blame climate change, population and mismanagement. Same is the story with Indus waters. Above facts and analysis show that India is the major contributor in the present water shortage of Pakistan.

Prospects of Conflict

Water in Pakistan is increasingly becoming a scarce commodity due to Indian hijacking of western rivers, increasing population pressures, intensive irrigation and erratic weather patterns. Water scarcity is related with the availability of water, which is measured in cubic meters per capita per year and according to the World

Bank, Pakistan became a water-stressed country (1,700 cubic meters per capita per year) around the year 2000.[31] While the government sources project that Pakistan became a water-short country in 1992 (1,700 m³) and then declined further to 1,500 m³ in 2002.[32] Water scarcity (1,000 m³ per capita per year of renewable supply) is expected in about 2035.[33] However, a United Nations Development Programme source gives Pakistan's current water availability as 1,090 m³ per capita per year.[34] This is because the terms 'water shortage' and 'water scarcity' are often used interchangeably, while both use the 1,000 m³ per capita per year as a benchmark. It is pertinent to mention that 'shortage' is an absolute term and 'scarcity' is a relative concept.

Given the Indian capacity, water scarcity and the high risk water environment of Pakistan, one can easily conclude that future wars of South Asia would be due to water as numerous scholars have already concluded. Both are nuclear states and possess a rivalry record right since independence. A US based environmental action group, Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) has conducted analysis of the consequences of nuclear war in South Asia and has produced far more horrific results.[35] May be, the water war theorists have no time to go through such reports and also the hawks from both sides find their reports as a sacrosanct version for future. They used to project conflicting news without understanding the dire consequences of conflict between the two states.

Prospects of Cooperation

Critical evaluation of Indus water disputes reveals that the prospects of conflict are there because both governments seek to control the river of their region as tangible solutions to most of their economic problems.[36] This desire to control the river through

national visions, covert appropriation and bilateral bargaining leads to conflict. Contrary to this view, a good number of scholars, officials and politicians in South Asia also believe that the region's rivers can be better harnessed in support of economic development.[37] As George Verghese has written that "there is no reason why the anguished population of this resource-rich Basin should remain poor and hostage to a recurring cycle of devastating flood and drought."[38] This link between water and development can be fully harnessed by removing conflicts over water. It also shows that cooperation is the only viable option as water is so important that nations cannot afford to fight over it. Rather, water injects interdependence by joint management of shared water resources; it promotes trust and prevents conflict.[39]

Water war scholars suggest prospects of war on the basis of scarcity but one has to also look upon the other side of the story. It is true that water is increasingly emerging as a scarce commodity and one third of world's population will lack access to water by 2025.[40] But it does not mean that scarcity always leads to conflict. Besides conflicting patterns, a ray of hope still exists which can lead to avenues of further cooperation. At the global level, two thirds of the time cooperation occurred over shared waters and same case can happen over Indus waters. In fact there are solutions for the dispute, but immense resistance to adopting them.[41] One has to understand the fact that no country would run out of water providing water is more carefully utilized.[42] When it comes to shared waters, it is a fact that water itself did not respect political boundaries, but the governments used man-made borders to protect their sovereignty, economies and nationalities.[43] Because of water crossing international borders, unilateral and inefficient

management of shared waters often exacerbates tensions.[44] But violence over water, though not uncommon, is not a strategically rational, effective or economically viable option for countries.[45] History bears witness to the fact that cooperation, not conflict is the most logical response to trans-boundary water management issues.[46] Cooperation over waters starts from acknowledging that water is at the centre of everything and it is not 'lost' from earth,[47] but it is often moved from where it is needed as its movement is essential for life.[48] Also, when shortages pinch, states cooperate and compromise because no one can do anything without water.[49]

Coming over to Indus waters, Pakistan and India possess a long history of rivalry starting from Kashmir to the present water dispute. And the hawks on both sides are attempting to use water to create an insurmountable impasse in the dispute over Kashmir.[50] Some experts are of the view that water will be the most potent political weapon by which India will create problems for Pakistan.[51] On the other hand, some also suggest that sharing of waters forms a framework for the two enemies to cooperate.[52] Significance of water resources leads to politicization of the issue and eventually increases tensions. This results in irrational actions by national governments due to domestic political pressures, which in turn may have an adverse impact on international water-sharing agreements and their resolution.[53] But policy makers have to understand that they cannot solve a very complex geographical, hydrological, economic and environmental problem through politicizing.

It is true that India has brought Pakistan on the brink of water scarcity and the tactics of turning it into a desert had begun by shrinking water availability from 5000 cubic meters per capita in 1950s to 1000 cubic meters in 2010.[54] Meanwhile, Indian long term

energy requirements are also linked with Pakistan and it cannot fulfill its development goals without having transit facilities through Pakistan for oil and gas pipelines whether from Middle East or Central Asia. As the concept of security now covers assured access to both water and energy resources, this demands a virtual transformation of Pakistan-India relations from one of confrontation to that of cooperation.[55] Increased cooperation between India and Pakistan would promote regional stability, help control the nuclear arms race, and may even bring an end to the Kashmir conflict.

Policy Recommendations

This study concludes that cooperation and peace is the only way of survival and also acknowledges that gaining cooperation is not an easy job. It requires commitments and many policy decisions from both sides. Some of the policy recommendations for avenues of peace are given below:

- Cooperation over water is likely to happen when the parties see shared benefits. Efforts should be made to realize the people that political economy of both countries is dependent on Indus waters.

- Depoliticization of the issue is need of the hour as it is evident from history that no party can gain benefits of any economic resource which has been politicized.

- Climate change needs serious analysis as India always tries to blame climate change for reduction of water. Experts should be hired to study the effects of climate change and proportional increase or decrease of water in quantitative terms. After a careful analysis, Pakistan should highlight it

at proper strategic forums for deliberated discussion and generating consensus.

- How much water is available in the basin and how much India is using are really apples of discord. In this premise, measurement of the total water in the basin can nip the evil in the bud.

- If there is any increase or decrease in the total water, it should be equally distributed to both the countries.

- Interstate conflict can be managed through internal strength and same is the case with water conflicts. Pakistani policy makers should understand the concept of conflict resolution and initiatives must be taken on capacity building as no one can compel any sovereign state (India or Pakistan) to act on morality.

- There is serious need to work on water management as the available water is being wasted and groundwater table is falling.

Conclusion

Pakistan has become a 'water stress' country and reached to the limit of 1000 cubic meters per person per year. If the situation becomes worse, serious economic and social consequences are likely. This study shows that present water shortage in Pakistan is very much a man made phenomenon. At the point when one can nullify the consequences of climate change, population explosion and mismanagement, the major contributor of present scarcity is India which is posing serious implications on the region's overall security as both states possess nuclear arms. In this connection, both sides have to understand the fact that cooperation is the only way of survival as water is a necessity for development of both

countries. Further, inability to resolve water issues will limit the ability of both countries to manage and utilize water resources in the most efficient manner. Hope for peace is a natural phenomenon but unless basic issues are removed, nuclear war in South Asia can not be ruled out.

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ORGANIZATIONAL POLITICS AND EMPLOYEES' ATTITUDE – ANALYZING THE RELATIONS

(Dr. Muhammad Zia-ur-Rehman & Muhammad Azher Iqbal)[*]

Abstract

This paper aims to propose and test a research model that investigates the relationship between perception of organizational politics and employee attitude. Data was gathered from a sample of 230 employees working in public education sector of Islamabad, Pakistan. The results indicated that the three constructs of organizational politics including general political behavior (GPB), go along to get ahead (GAGA) and Pay and promotion policies (PPP) have negative impact on employee attitude. The researchers have analyzed the direct relationship between organizational politics and employee attitude. Further studies should take transformational and transactional leadership as moderating variable between organizational politics and employee attitude relationship.This study will be useful for managers/administration in the education sector to come up with policies and ensure the implementation of those policies that help them to avoid negative attitudes at workplace.

Key Words: *organizational politics, employee attitude, general political behavior, go along to get ahead, pay and promotion policies.*

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Introduction

Politics in organizations are a complex phenomena, particularly because their presence is interpreted through the perceptions of individual organizational members. Each individual's perception of organizational politics (POP) is a function of his or her own particular characteristics, the social relationships that they have developed within the organization, and certain outcomes and consequences such as reward allocations and job attitudes. Politics of management and the management of politics in the workplace have received a great deal of attention due to their image of pervasiveness, mystery, and the potential benefits for those who know how to use them in the struggle over resources (Drory & Vigoda-Godat, 2009).

The politics in the organizations is practice of individual's own or given authority inside the organization that provides space for the ambition of attaining gains outside individual's genuine supremacy. These gains may contain accessibility to tangible assets of organizations, or else intangible gains such as pseudo or standing authority which affects behavior of others. Both individuals as well as groups may possibly be involved in political activities (Weissenberger, 2010).

Chang Rosen, Levy (2009) explained that organizational politics perception had strong link with role conflicts. Scholars have also shown that politics in organizations have strong as well as positive liaison with anxiety and also with the intention of turnover and had strong but negative connection with commitment and work satisfaction. Particularly the workplace politics perceptions were related with augmented emotional pressure, which linked directly

with the reduced employee performance, and linked indirectly with more turnover intents through reduced morale.

In organizational entities it is not likely to have free environment from politics as organizations are pooled bodies where workers struggle separately and besides in groups for power and also for valued resources which they indulge in clashes and execute diverse influential tactics for serving their self-interests through getting benefits. (Molm, 1997). As mentioned by Kacmar & Carlson (1994) and Kacmar & Ferris (1989), that the organizational politics perceptions indicate the extent in which members view their working atmosphere for instance political in its nature, prompting others self-centeredness; which in individual's opinion may be unfair and unjust.

Sowmya, K. R., & Panchanatham, N. (2011) studied the relationship between organizational politics and behavioral intentions in banking sector of Chennai, India. They found that employees of banking sector had intentions not to stay with their organization for a long term and wanted to quit their job.

Gull, S., & Zaidi, A. A. (2012) conducted research in health sector of Lahore, Pakistan. They studied the relationship between organizational politics and job satisfaction of employees. Through their finding it is revealed that the first dimension of organizational politics which is general political behavior (GPB) is not associated with employees' satisfaction level. While other dimensions of organizational politics containing go along to get ahead (GAGA) and pay and promotion policies (PPP) has negative influence on the satisfaction level of employees. Their research work indicated a negative impact of organizational politics on employee job satisfaction in health sector.

Naheed, et al. (2012) studied the relationship between Organizational Politics, Organizational Commitment and Psychological Empowerment. Respondents were the people who were not only employed, but also part time graduate students at five universities in Pakistan. The results of their study demonstrate that politics in organizations change from devising an adverse influence on commitment of employee to a strong positive influence at a time when the employees perceive psychological empowerment.

Butt, M. R., Imran, A., Shah, F. T., & Jabbar, A. (2013) have studied the relationship between organizational politics and job outcomes in public sector banks of Lahore. In their study they use moderating variable to team work among the relationship between organizational politics and job outcomes. The results of their study determined that there is negative association among them and through endorsing the significance of teamwork inside organization the possible divergent consequences of organizational politics can be alleviated.

Uzma Rashid, et al. (2013) studied the association between organizational politics and stress in organizations located in the area of Islamabad, Abbottabad and Peshawar. Their study results support the hypothesis that organizational politics is significantly related to stress at workplace.

H. W. Abbas, et al. (2015) studied the impact of organizational politics on job attitudes in Lahore. Their results demonstrate that politics in organization is perceived as a source of adverse outcomes including stress as well as dissatisfaction among its members.

Perception of Organizational Politics

Perception is "a way by which people amalgamate and interpret their sensual imitations in order to give connotation to their work

environment" (Robbins *et al.*, 2008). Perception of organizational politics comprises individual's observation of other individuals' self-centered actions, such as the cautious management of organizational policies (Ferris and Kacmar, 1992). On the other hand, perceptions of individuals can fundamentally be dissimilar from objective actuality.

In organizations, persons act on the grounds of their perceptions about the reality, but not the reality itself. Ferris *et al.* (1989) highlighted that organizational politics is a subjective perception, but not necessarily an objective reality (p 0.157).

Possibly, the initial explanation of organizational politics in the study of research literature commenced from Burns (1961), who advocated that it arises when "other individuals in organizations are making usage of valued resources in conditions of competitive environment". A frequently quoted description of organizational / office politics is that of Mintzberg (1983, p. 172), who termed this notion as "individual or otherwise group behavior that is informal, apparently confined, characteristically disruptive, and above all in a technical reasoning, illegitimate — allowed neither by any formal authority, acknowledged philosophy, nor ascribed proficiency (whereas it may exploit any of these)."

Many definitions of organizational politics included those workplace activities which resulted in destructive or adverse work outcomes. Parker et.al (1995) concluded that organizational politics is not linked to loyalty, endorsement of values, job satisfaction, and effectiveness of management of the organization, instead he found that individuals perceived higher politics in organizations, where organizations have less support in innovation. If there is less innovative culture in organizations, then Ferris et.al (1989)

mentioned that there is less job satisfaction, organizational withdrawal and increased job anxiety.

Drory (1993) also found the same that organizational politics perception is associated with negative commitment of organizational members and also negative effects on job satisfaction. He also found that politics in organizations are potentially damaging for the higher employee status. He wondered that in employees of lower status who perceived organizational politics, it resulted into frustration and their reaction in political climate was increasingly negative towards organization because of lack of influence. Bozeman et al (1996) and Drory (1993) elaborated that job attitude which was changed by perceptional politics might have immediate reaction towards organization.

Kacmar & Ferris (1989) established the original measurement scale of POP, a unidimensional 5-item scale. Kacmar & Ferris (1991) put the primary effort to measure the degree of POP multi-dimensionality and found three dimensions.

- General political behavior (GPB). Self-serving act of manner in order to achieve individual goals.
- Go along to get ahead (GAGA). "It contains lack of interest in order to secure/protect one's best interest; the silent actions shown by the individuals." (Byrne, 2005).
- Pay and promotion policies (PPP). "This involves politics in the organization's promotion policies." (Ferris et al, 1989).

General Political Behavior

In organizations where the rules and regulations are not defined or not visibly demarcated there is highly political environment to govern actions (Kacmar and Carlson, 1997). One more significant aspect is when judgments are made during uncertainty than it

might be persuaded by politics (Drory and Romm, 1990). Scarcity of resources, for instance office space, insufficient budgets, less promotions, punishment transfers pave the way towards the politics amongst individuals as well as groups. Those Organizations whose resources are scarce may have highly political atmosphere (Kacmar and Carlson, 1997). GPB denotes the evident and self-centered political behaviors that certify progression of private/ individual gains. All These behaviors are obvious engagements (e.g. belittling others, spreading rumors) done to advance oneself or members of one's group.

Go Along to Get Ahead

Kacmar and Carlson (1997) denoted that in organization where the individuals have inactive behavior (e.g., enduring silence or quiet) to acquire valuable resources is termed as "go along to get ahead". This construct of Go along to get ahead, can be more favorable and rational approach in order to pave the way for self-centeredness and also gaining the benefits while working in the political environment (Kacmar and Carlson, 1997).

The GAGA constituent of organizational politics hints at more concealed and indirect behaviors used to attain benefits. This constituent of organizational politics underlines compliance of persons with the actions taken by the other individuals. Accordingly, by conforming to these actions and in fact if no actions are taken to impede them, persons may indirectly get advantage.

Pay and Promotion Policies

It is the final construct of politics that consists of the manner the organization and the employees politically behave through implementation of policy and also through making decisions (Ferris *et al.*, 1989a). Usually, in organizations, performance assessment is

the base for policies of pay and promotion. It has also been found that appraisal of performance and the system of promotions are in their nature quite political (Dyke, 1990).

Consistent with the previously mentioned explanations, researchers normally recommend that politics in organizations, and perceptional politics, have a damaging impact on employees as well as on the environment in which they are working (Kacmar and Baron 1999). In their unique model, Ferris et al. (1989) claimed that perception of politics unfavorably impacts work participation, work satisfaction, work strain and other organizational aftermaths: absenteeism and turnover. Ferris et al.'s (2002) add-on to the model of Ferris et al. (1989) extended the list related with POP probable consequences. They contend that POP has a damaging effect on individual's commitment and work performance. Although, as revealed above, investigation of these connections has generated varying consequences; hereafter there is necessity for studying further. The three most usually inspected original POP (Ferris et al. 1989) outcomes are turnover intentions, work stress and work satisfaction.

Ferris et al. (1989) described the perception about the organizational politics which is the basis on which the employees view their work environment as the unfair and unjust politics. Ferris and Kacmar (1992) adopted the sample items which are below:

- "Favoritism rather than merit determines who gets ahead around here"
- "People in this organization/unit attempt to build themselves up by tearing others down".
- "Rewards come only to those who work hard in this organization/unit" (reverse item),

- "There is a group of people in my department/unit who always get things their way because no one wants to challenge them"

Employee Attitude

Schleicher et al (2004) described that job attitudes are evaluation of one's job which articulates feeling toward, belief about and the attachment of one to one's job. This definition comprehends the cognitive and affective elements for these appraisals. It also recognizes that cognitive and affective aspects do not have exact correspondence to each other. All port (1935) demonstrated an attitude as a mental state of readiness structured through experience, having dynamic and direct influence on the reaction of that person to all directly associated objects. An explanation of attitude is a tendency to act in a specific manner to both of temperament and experience of individuals (Pickens, 2005).

Attitudes are a combination of complex things that tend to be called as values, beliefs, motivations, personality and behaviors. Attitudes of individuals help to describe how to understand the situation as well as how to react towards an object or situation. It is useful in understanding the complications and potential connection between attitudes and behaviors. People's attitudes towards things in their surroundings are formed by perceptual and cognitive procedures. These attitudes then influence their behavior on the way to an object. These attitudes frequently lean in certain way, such as in favor or against of the object (Vliet and Hellgren, 2002).

Attitudes assist us by describing in what way we *realize* circumstances, as well as state how we *act* concerning this circumstances or things (Pickens, 2005). Going beyond this classification, an attitude is the combination of these three portions:

an affective, cognitive as well as behavioral component. The first element of attitude is the affective constituent which comprises values, feelings and emotional situations; the cognitive constituent is comprised of beliefs regarding something whether it's factual or fictional; and, finally, the behavioral element contains intents and the judgment to act. After this viewpoint, attitudes fall among stimuli (e.g. process, people, and object), and in addition the reactions to these stimuli. Rendering to this multilateral tactic, all reactions to entities or stimuli are subject to one's attitude in direction of the object (Vliet & Hellgre, 2002). Cognition and affect are attached as well as inseparable because when someone perceives that he has behaved unfairly than the affected individual will probably feel about what had happened, very virtually promptly.
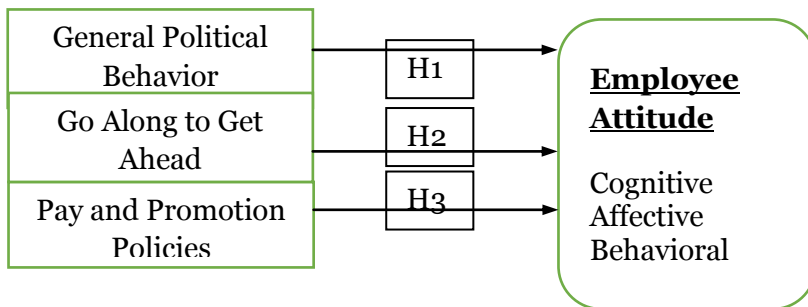
Proposition 1: General political behavior may negatively influence employee attitude.

Proposition 2: Go Along to Get Ahead (GAGA) may inversely influence employee attitude.

Proposition 3: Pay and Promotion Policies may lead to negative employee attitude.

   This inquiry is descriptive in nature in which the researcher has inspected the impact of organizational politics on employee

attitude. This study was a field study where the researcher personally went to all the universities and collected data from teachers. From respondents the data was collected in a free environment. The correlation as well as regression analysis were done from collected data. The researcher expanded his study dimension in which the impact of organizational politics (general political behavior; go along to get ahead; pay and promotion policies) on employee attitude (Cognitive; affective; behavioral) were studied.

Study population includes all the employees working in public sector of Islamabad, Pakistan. The sample of the research included the teachers working in five public sector universities of Islamabad. Sampling design in this study was simple random sampling. For current study only teachers were chosen and total of 260 questionnaires were distributed among them and only 230 questionnaires were received. A five point Likert scale in this research was used. Organizational politics and employees' attitude were analyzed from regression, a model that measures relationship between dependent & independent variables; and SPSS was used to run the model.

To analyze the relation, we conducted correlation analysis. The Correlation table shows the associations between independent and dependent variables and expresses the level of strength of association between independent and dependent variables. The Inter-correlations is shown in the table below for the variables.

Correlations		GPB OVER ALL	GAGA OVER ALL	PPP OVER ALL	COG OVER ALL	AFF OVER ALL	ACT OVER ALL
GPB_ OVERALL	Pearson Correlation	1					
GAGA_ OVERALL	Pearson Correlation	.512**	1				
PPP_ OVERALL	Pearson Correlation	.509**	.478**	1			
COG_ OVERALL	Pearson Correlation	-.317**	-.242**	-.520**	1		
AFF_ OVERALL	Pearson Correlation	-.351**	-.318**	-.469**	.565**	1	
ACT_ OVERALL	Pearson Correlation	-.181**	-.201**	-.264**	.528**	.728**	1

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

The foregoing table shows that between independent and dependent variables there is linear relationship. From this analysis the researcher determined that there is correlation amongst the independent and dependent variables which is negatively correlated with each other. These results indicate no multi-collinearity problem which is persisting amongst the independent variables. The above results display that three components of organizational politics including general political behavior (GPB), go along to get ahead (GAGA) and pay and promotion policies (PPP) are negatively associated with components of employee attitude.

First proposition: There is negative relationship between general political behavior and employee attitude.

Coefficients Table

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4.291	.130		32.907	.000
	GPB_OVERALL	-.246	.045	-.341	-5.479	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Employee_Attitude

From the table above it is found that general political behavior is negatively associated with employee attitude, b = -.246, t (230) = -5.479, p < .10, Indicating one unit change in general political behavior will cause -.24 unit change in employee attitude. The value of adjusted R-Square is 0.112, which demonstrates that the selected independent variable describes 11% of dependent variable. And F-stat offers fitness of overall model, f = 30, p < .05. Henceforth hypothesis 1 would not be rejected as the results are supporting it.

Second Proposition: There is negative association between Go Along to Get Ahead and employee attitude.

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4.431	.174		25.419	.000
	GAGA_OVERALL	-.309	.064	-.305	-4.838	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Employee_Attitude

From the table above it is found that Go Along to Get Ahead is negatively associated with employee attitude, b = -.309, t (230) = -4.838, p < .10, indicating one unit change in Go Along to Get Ahead will cause -.30 unit change in employee attitude. The value of adjusted R-Square is .089, which demonstrates that the selected independent variable describes .089% of dependent variable. And F-stat offers fitness of overall model, f = 23, p < .05. Henceforth hypothesis 2 would not be rejected as the results are supporting it.

Third Proposition: There is negative relationship between Pay and Promotion Policies and employee attitude.

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4.868	.150		32.424	.000
	PPP_OVERALL	-.424	.049	-.497	-8.639	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Employee_Attitude

From the table above it is found that Pay and Promotion Policies are negatively associated with employee attitude, b = -.424, t (230) = -8.639, p < .05, indicating that one unit change in Pay and Promotion Policies will cause -.424 unit change in employee attitude. The value of adjusted R-Square is 0.243, which demonstrates that the selected independent variable describes 24% of dependent variable. And F-stat offers fitness of overall model, f =

74.63, p < 5%. Henceforth hypothesis 3 would not be rejected as the results are supporting it.

Result Summary

H	Path	Value of R2	P value	Result
H1	GPB ⟶ EA	.112	P= 0.000, P< .05	Accepted
H2	GAGA ⟶ EA	.089	P= 0.000, P< .05	Accepted
H3	PPP ⟶ EA	.243	P= 0.000, P< .05	Accepted

The results of the data show that there is significant relationship between dependent and independent variables. Hence study hypothesis are accepted as p value is less than .05.

Discussion of Results

The basic purpose of this research was to empirically examine the impact of organizational politics on employee attitude in education sector of Islamabad. The results have given answer to the question "what is the impact of organizational politics on employee attitude?" Keeping in consideration this question and on the basis of literature review three hypotheses were developed.

In the next paragraphs the discussion focusses on the empirical evidence analysis which is related to these purposes;

- The study results indicated strong empirical support for three hypotheses. As there is negative relationship of organizational politics with attitude, employers must focus

on the negative consequences of organizational politics and adopt measures to overcome negative attitude.

- The results showed that general political behavior is adversely linked with the cognitive, affective and behavioral elements of employee attitude.

- From the results it is indicated that organizational politics construct go along to get ahead has negative association with attitude of employees.

- Pay and promotion policies are negatively related with employee attitude as this construct is supporting our study that organizational politics is negatively related with attitude.

- The study provides substantial support to the concept of organizational politics that have negative effects on employees. As this was supported by Drory (1993) when he demonstrated that the climate of political perception augments negative attitudes of employees.

Conclusion

Results indicate that perception of organizational politics have negative influence on attitude of employees which possibly will reduce the intention to stay and level of commitment, and will also decrease their work performance. This argument was emphasized by Chang, Rosen and Levy (2009) that political perceptions were linked with augmented psychological stress, which is directly related with performance reduction, however it is indirectly associated with more turnover intents through decrease in morale of individuals. Sogra, Shahid and Najibullah (2009) recommended

that bosses should not manipulate their authority in context of treating their juniors.

The main objective of this research is to study the impact of organizational politics on employee attitude. With respect to statistical procedures, the quantitative data analysis is applied by using statistical methods namely normality test, descriptive statistics, reliability analysis, correlation statistics, regression analysis, and frequency table of demographics. There were 260 questionnaires disseminated to respondents and among them 230 questionnaires were received from the respondents which were used for this study. It means response rate was 88%.

Recommendations

This study was undertaken after extensive readings about organizational politics. Though having some limitations, certain recommendations are offered which will be useful theoretically as well as practically. This research focused only on employees in the area of Islamabad Capital Territory, the additional studies should also focus on other regions as there are diverse educational institutes with different respondents. The study should also be conducted in other sectors such as financial, health and telecom. Further studies should take transformational and transactional leadership as moderating variable between organizational politics and employee attitude relationship

End Notes

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THE CURIOUS CASE OF 'BREXIT': REFLECTIONS ON WHAT LIES AHEAD

(Ms. Beenish Sultan)[*]

Abstract

'Brexit' has indeed challenged the legitimacy of the 'European Project'. The decision of UK to leave the EU jolted the age long idea of a 'united Europe'. The region has managed to survive on the ideals of mutual economic growth, single market, equality, and free movement across borders. With UK deciding to leave the EU, the validity of nourishing these ideals is inevitably questioned. On the other hand, it also questions the sustainability of a United Kingdom as well. Consequently, will this mean the end of a connected Europe and even a combined UK? Particularly, what are the underlying principles which led to the unprecedented verdict of leave? And most importantly, will there be voices from other European states to leave the EU as well? This article is an endeavor to analyze the reasons of leave for the UK. It attempts to focus on the key objections of the Britons and how this decision might affect the bilateral relations between the UK and EU. Furthermore, it also sheds light on what might lie ahead of this decision and perceptions of major powers, about the decision. Needless to say, that the consequences of a divided Europe would indeed be felt on its periphery and beyond.

Key Words: *legitimacy, consortium, peacefully, constitutional, environment*

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Prelude

The 'chronicles' of European history has unprecedented events and course of actions which have greatly impacted the international arena since time immemorial. Very recently, 'Brexit'- leave of the United Kingdom (UK) from the consortium of European powers- the European Union (EU) was one such event that sent ripples down the region and beyond.[1] It was interpreted as a message of lack of trust in the leadership from the 'shires of England', which opened a divide, as the cosmopolitan centers of wealth came at odds with their country-living cousins and council estate. However, this decision was not only about wealth and the divide, it was a 'burden of history', about who the British were! The "leave" campaigners' message almost wrote itself: '*Bring back the Britain of their memories. Take back control, not just from Europe, but from their own runaway politicians*'.[2]

Numerous queries gyrate around the decision of UK leaving EU at this point of history. To recall, the consortium of EU which was formed in the aftermath of the World War II, was aimed towards creating economic interdependence amongst the European nations which were engrossed in bloody wars and had been in trauma ever since.[3] The idea was to create an environment of economic cooperation and growth which would eventually limit the possibility of conflict. Hence in the beginning, a European Economic Cooperation - EEC was created in the year 1958. Initially, there were merely six countries in the union namely: Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands.

Following which, other European states started acceding to the Union and in the year 2013, with the accession of Croatia, it reached its current number of 28 countries in total.[4] However, with the

changing nature of issues particularly after globalization, the union evolved into an organization overseeing major areas of policy, security, health, peace, climate, migration and justice. In this regard, its name was changed to EU in the year 1993 from European Economic Community (EEC). It has evolved into a union which is truly based on rule of law. Any interaction is guided by treaties with democratic ideals, voluntarily by member countries. It is also administered by the principle of 'representative democracy', as citizens are allowed to be represented directly at the Union level, in the European Parliament and Member States represented in the European Council and the Council of the EU.

The Great Britain, despite being an important player in the region, joined the EU a little late in the year 1973, and that too rather 'peacefully'. *The Guardian* described its accession to the EU as '*We are in - but without the fireworks*'.[5] It entered the European Common Market almost equally divided on how good or bad of a decision was this historic move for the UK. A survey conducted by Mail Online suggested a belated swing toward public acceptance of the act of membership. Some polls in the year 1973 also indicated 60 percent of British voters against the entry of EU for the UK; precisely, 39 percent of those asked were unhappy about joining the Common Market, 38 percent happy and 23 percent with no opinion.[6]

For the UK, the decision to leave the EU was as divided as was its decision to accede. However, later, the accession was smooth, despite the opposition's commitment to renegotiate the accession once they gained power. Today the question arises of how smooth or rough the decision to exit by the UK will prove to be in its economic, political, social and strategic domains. The entry decision was taken

with a desire to have a stronger economy and greater say in the international arena; will the leave decision effect the gains of these desires? Furthermore, what does this mean for the EU and its citizens as a whole?

In this regard, this article is geared towards highlighting the underpinnings of the decision to exit by the UK from EU. It follows a course of analytical, and personal, data collection process. As the data is collected and organized during analysis, patterns of how the leave campaign might unfold the future of the UK, emerge. These data patterns will lead the reader to answers of various queries or unclear concepts particularly with regards to the challenges which arise in the course of the leave decision for the UK, similar to rolling a snowball downhill. The article is hence, an attempt to review the course of action of the leave decision of the UK with emphasis on the driving forces of the decision, its background, challenges in Constitutional, political and social domains along with the perceptions of major powers particularly the US, China and on the other hand also for Pakistan about the future of the UK and their bilateral relations in the near future.

Background

In a historic move, the British, in a referendum held on the 23rd June' 2016, voted for a Br-exit or an exit of Britain from the EU. Leave vote won by 52 percent to 48 percent. In a breakdown: England voted strongly for Brexit, by 53.4% to 46.6%, as did Wales, with Leave getting 52.5% of the vote and Remain 47.5%, while Scotland and Northern Ireland both backed staying in the EU.[7] As illustrated, the decision had mixed feelings within the UK itself but immediately sent shockwaves around the global economy. As soon as the result was declared, the pound fell to its lowest since the year

1985[8] and as a dramatic move Former British Prime Minister David Cameron resigned from his seat stating: *"I do not think it would be right for me to try to be the captain who steers our country to its next destination."*[9]

Britain got a new Prime Minister, Mrs. Theresa May on the day of Mr. Cameron's resignation. Initially, Mrs. May was against Britain leaving the EU but still she suggested respecting the will of the people, stating: "Brexit means Brexit"![10] However, in her perception, there was still need of a lot of debate about eventually reaching a leave from the EU in practical terms. This, in her opinion was in two major aspects: British firms business interests in the European Union and what curbs were to be brought in on the rights of European Union nationals to live and work in the UK? On the other hand, the process itself is lengthy and complicated.

The Process

In order for the UK to leave EU, it will have to invoke the Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty;[11] which gives the two sides two years on agreeing upon the terms of the split. It, as a treaty-contract allows any European Union member to acquire an exit from the Union 'in accordance with its own Constitutional requirements'.[12]   The process is a four-tier rigorous affair which encompasses, intention to leave, intimation of the intention to the European Council, negotiation of the terms and conditions of leave, and future relationship with the EU. For the Europeans, the leave decision requires a majority to back it and also the consent of the European Parliament. The illustration below indicates the process on a step to step basis:
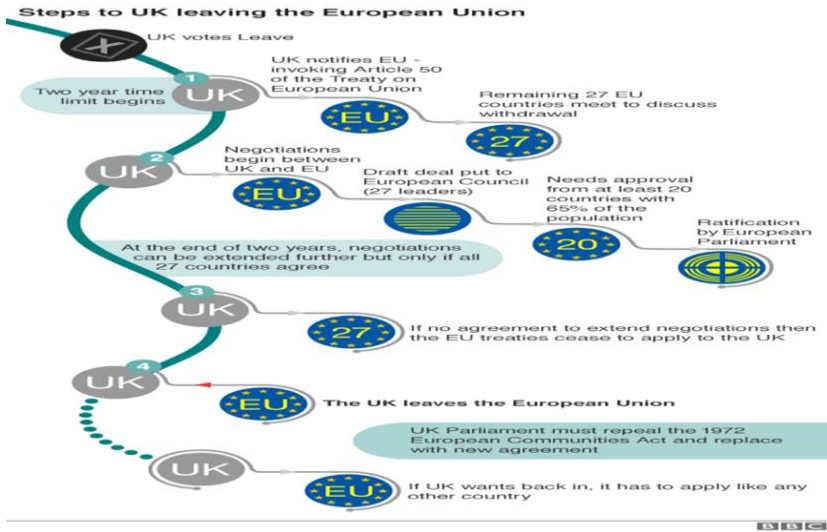
Picture 1: Source: *The Guardian Post* by Jill Treanor,
22nd Sep 2016.

In this regard, Mrs. May will have to initiate the process before the end of the year 2016. Hence, having a clear idea of the terms and conditions agreed upon between both the UK and EU, the future course of direction for the UK may not be determined until the year 2017. However, analyzing the pathway today will be of significance in order to shed some light on what the future holds for this region and what challenges are underway of the process. Consequently, it will be a misjudgment to view the events in isolation of the driving forces of the leave campaign and later on to the decision to leave. Any mishap, event or issue requires a sparking off reality or happening to finally take a proper consequential shape.

Hence, there are also various factors and courses of events that somehow resulted into this historical decision to leave from the EU for UK. This is true because, it was unprecedented. Britain was the first European member state to decide to leave the EU and some critics are also of the view that other States like Italy and France are

also next in line to leave. In fact, Marine Le Pen, leader of the Front National in France suggested the inevitable future of 'Frexit' and even vowed to launch an exit campaign along with referendum if she won the French Presidential election in the year 2017.[13] Similarly, Netherlands might be close to a 'Nexit' as well, with a chance of voter turnout to leave relatively high amongst the lower educated voters, just like Britain.[14] These countries are in fact using the same driving forces to steer them out of the EU like the UK. The subsequent paragraphs shed light on these major forces.

The Driving Forces

The people of Britain had decided in a majority to leave the EU while the Government and rest including Ireland and Scotland were not in favor of leave. This seems to be in line with the past, as there was division amongst the people even in deciding to accede to the EU. A little before the referendum, *The Independent* conducted an online survey amongst the electorate in Britain to predict the referendum results. Some 48 percent respondents planned to stay with the EU while a majority of 52 percents was deciding to vote for leave. Astonishingly, older people were also amongst the majority in favor of leave along with the youngsters.[15] Why did they decide to leave? There may be numerous answers to this; however, the two major forces which drove the Britons to this decision are illustrated as follows:

Firstly: *National Identity*. The EU, while promoted connectivity and easy movement across the region for citizens hailing from any nationality had, on the other hand created a lot of immigration issues. The political leaders since decades were able to inject the idea of benefits which arose with immigration, and success fully kept it in tact. However, today, they have lost on sustaining its

worth. Due to the excessive flow of immigrants, locals of Britain felt deprived of jobs and opportunities of education. This was in fact taken as a consequence of excessive economic connectivity. The Britons were then not only divided over the opinion of sending the immigrants back to their native countries but were also largely divided over the opinion of whether they were Scottish or English or Welsh. Hence, a regional divide was able to send off ripples in the internal divides of Britain, and questions of Scottish independence were also heightened. *The Independent* in its survey also enquired about respondents' nationalities, some in the South even responded to be English rather than British. The ones who opted to be called English were strong supporters of Brexit while the others supported to stay. The graph below indicates the divide:
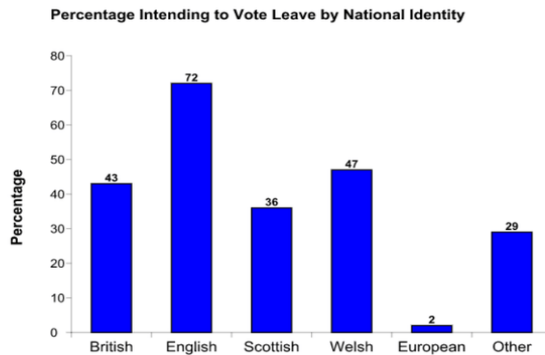

Image 2: Source:
http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-why-did-old-people-vote-leave-young-voters-remain-eu-referendum-a7103996.html

Furthermore, the critical shift came when immigration flood took on hues of Islam phobia as migrants surged from the seething cauldron of Middle East conflicts. The EU was apparently unable to

hold them back. It was the spark that some in "leave" campaign needed.

Secondly: *Social Divide*. While the Scotland and Ireland voted to stay for their own reasons of national cause, London on the other hand voted to stay for economic reasons. It, being a hub of economic activity has benefited from the fruits of globalization excessively as compared to the rest of Britain. The leave campaign was favored mostly by the *havenots* and stay decision was majorly taken by the *haves*. The evidence is pretty clear that reducing tariff barriers and harmonizing regulations across countries stimulate trade and create jobs and prosperity. But, if most of the gains from this would go to the affluent and skilled and many of the rest are left behind, then the losers in the globalization process will challenge the whole idea.

Nonetheless, the leave decision was inevitable for the UK according to some analysts. While this remains true, the fact is it will not be an easy affair. According to Professor Yahia H. Zoubir, a senior professor of International Relations and Geopolitics at KEDGE Business School, France, 'it was a really bad decision, with a lot of challenges underway for the UK itself'.[16] Seen in a larger perspective, it also has consequences for future interaction between the UK and other countries like the US and China and also Pakistan. What is next in line for the UK will also raise questions for what is next in line for its markets that are interlinked globally and regionally with other European countries. The notion of leave has prevailed over 'stay', hence will the challenges open a Pandora box of issues and concerns or will the objectives of the leave campaigners eventually be achieved? Answers to these questions depend on the terms and conditions agreed upon between UK and

EU, meanwhile the course of challenges which might come underway are discussed below.

The 'Brexit' Challenges:

- **Legal And Constitutional Challenges.** As soon as the result of the referendum was announced, a major question was asked, is the 'leave' legally binding? Or in other words, was there a legal option available with Mr. Cameron to ignore the results of the referendum and carry on with the EU membership? According to the European Union Referendum Act 2015, and according to constitutional theory, the verdict had no consequential legal effect.[17] The Act in fact does not contain any provision as to the effect of a referendum in law. It is just like any other referendum which is devoid of consequential legal effect. The result of such a referendum is being advisory rather than being mandatory. Hence, within this purview, the Government as a strict law, would have chosen to ignore the verdict altogether. In fact, the decision of the Government to stay with the 'leave' decision is being challenged in the High Court of London, for ignoring fundamental constitutional issues and right of free passage for the European people.[18] The verdict which lacks coercive implementation mechanism is being asked to seek Parliamentary approval before being trigged off.

  However, in case that the Government carries on with its decision of letting the free flow of the will of the people prevail, numerous Constitutional and legal challenges may be underway for the UK. Particularly, the doctrine of supremacy of the EU law itself will be questionable. Within the EU law there is a specific hierarchy given to different EU

legislations, for example as far as treaty provisions are concerned they have a higher status than directives. Whether or not the same hierarchy would be necessarily applied to post Brexit scenario, is a matter of legislative choice for the domestic courts to decide. Hence in the absence of a clear legislation, it might be open to the UK courts to determine that whether the common law had been altered during their membership of the EU or not. On the other hand, there will be questions on the judgments of the CJEU, and their implementation process.

- **Bilateral relations with The European Union.** As a follow up of the legal challenges, the EU and the UK relations is one domain which requires rigorous analysis. As a starting point, the relations between the UK and EU will be subject to the conditions and terms agreed upon by Mrs. May and the European Council and there are numerous underlying issues before reaching some agreeable notions. They include: rights of residents on both sides, and trade and travel for work. Firstly, an issue of EU nationals with a right to permanent residence in the UK may arise. However, legally they might be able to stay, complications might arise for the rights of other EU nationals, which would be subject to negotiations on Brexit and the 'will of the Parliament'. Secondly, for trade, EU is expected to allow the UK to be part of the European single market (which allows tariff-free trade) if it continues to allow EU nationals the unchecked right to live and work in the UK. It remains a fact that both side would like to continue trade after Brexit. The challenge for UK's Brexit talks will be to do enough to tackle immigration concerns while getting the best possible trade arrangements with the EU.

Thirdly, as far as work is concerned, for UK citizens working in the EU, a lot depends on the kind of deal the UK agrees with the EU. If it remains within the single market, it would almost certainly retain free movement rights, allowing UK citizens to work in the EU and vice versa. If the government opted to impose work permit restrictions, then other countries could reciprocate, meaning Britons would have to apply for visas to work. On the other hand, for EU nationals who would like to work in the UK, again, it depends on whether the UK government decides to introduce a work permit system of the kind that currently applies to non-EU citizens, limiting entry to skilled workers in professions where there are shortages.

'Brexit': Reflections from the Rest

The United States

With the verdict of leave from the UK, some analysts believed that this could be a fresh impetus for the US. When the majority of British voters voted to leave the EU in a referendum, global markets lost $3 trillion in paper losses between Friday and Monday. However, soon after the loss, markets also bounced back rapidly. This haphazard situation, according to some academics and economists would indeed cause damage to the UK in the long run but for the US it might result in benefit. The financial turmoil and trade patterns interrupted by Britain's exit from the EU are expected to be replaced by new trade arrangements. Hence, for the US, a major restructuring of corporate and financial market would occur if London is seen as a less desirable location once it is outside the common market.

China

For China, Brexit seemed to be terrible news. Even though the UK, which had $78.5 billion in bilateral trade with China in 2015, is not among China's top trading partners; Brexit could have an outsize impact on China's future export performance. In the long run, a Brexit could affect China's strategy in dealing with the EU as it might lose influence within the bloc without the support of Britain, which has backed an investment pact between China and EU and agreed to launch a joint feasibility study on China-EU free-trade agreement talks. On the other hand, the value of Chinese investments are expected to be impaired in UK. In 2015, Chinese companies completed 22 major acquisitions in the UK. The biggest was the $9 billion purchase of a 33.5% stake by China's General Nuclear Power Corporation in Britain's Hinkley Point nuclear power plant. Ideologically, Brexit is a godsend for China's propagandists, who have lost no time in portraying the event as a convincing example of the dysfunction of democracy. Geopolitically, China could also benefit handsomely from the aftershocks of Brexit. Until roughly a decade ago, Chinese leaders viewed European integration positively since they believed that a strong Europe would be a counter-weight to American hegemony.

Pakistan

Pakistan views Brexit having small impact on its economy. Brexit may not affect Pakistan's exports to the EU, while as a whole exports constitute only 7% of the GDP. Yet in the immediate aftermath of the UK's decision to leave the EU, Pakistan's stock markets fell by over 1400 points. Stability of the EU market is very important for Pakistan's exports. The UK is the source of almost 20 percent of total foreign remittances into Pakistan, while the rest of

EU accounts for 3 percent of total worker remittances. A weaker pound means bad news for migrants working abroad as well as their families living at home. In recent years, the UK has become one of Pakistan's leading bilateral donors and has consistently supported Pakistan's social and economic sectors. Now, with the uncertain fate of Britain's economy, the fear is that such grants would take a hit. While the pound and euro depreciated because of Brexit, safe havens like the Japanese yen and gold became more attractive. The rise in the yen could have an adverse impact on the Pakistani automotive sector as it is a frequent importer of automotive parts from Japan.

What lies ahead?

So what is next for the European Union and the UK? Despite the fact that the EU had managed to survive and propagate high ideals of humanity, and equality, today the world is witnessing that it is crumbling. There are mixed feelings for the UK leaving EU amongst major countries and the impact is being felt amongst informed circles. Hence, complexity and uncertainty is induced by Brexit for EU and the Global arena. Keeping in view the discussion above, it may be deduced that there will be numerous complications for UK to exit EU, including the ignition of the process and finally departing the Union. The truth remains that the failure of EU in persistently maneuvering its ideals and almost desiring to become a unitary state with higher taxes and an army, has adversely effected not only the European countries but also the ones in periphery. The persistent demand of the EU to induce excessive integration proved to be counter-productive. That is why the demand for exit may also be heard from other countries including France, Italy and Greece.

The question is, if the UK successfully manages to exit from the EU, will it actually survive against all odds of the region? The EU might have strict options to offer to the UK, will other markets be as

open as the European ones for UK nationals? Consequently, the decade long association with one another in form of free trade and travel, may not be able to end any time sooner or later. Challenges would overcome the benefits if viewed from the prism of *realpolitik*. As a grim reality, the Europeans seem to be shy of national identity and patriotism and have since ages propagated the idea of 'European Patriotism'. This has sent perceptions of infringement of sovereignty amongst the nations which might lead to a divided Europe. On the other hand, seldom has the United Kingdom looked less united: London and Scotland voted to stay in the EU, Wales and the English shires voted to get out.

In a nutshell, the thrust of Brexit is indeed familiar. The socioeconomic divide has also engrossed other Western democracies in wars and conflicts as well, which finally hit the European project of integration. For Europe this divide had further aggravated due to the winners of globalization against the losers. In their perception, the economy is developing without their advantage. Hence, Brexit is an indicator of revolt against these facts but the results and future might hold newer avenues. It is up to the ones who achieved this victory to eventually maximize its benefits and not bring more chaos to the region.

End Notes

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[1] The leave decision was reached through a referendum held in the UK in the year 2016.

[2] Nic Robertson, ' A look at Brexit: Why are the Brits thumbing their noses at Europe', 24rth June' 2016, available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2016/06/24/europe/brexit-aftermath-robertson/

[3] Stavroula Chrisdoulaki, 'The Formation of European Economic Community in the Context of International Political Economic Theory', Open Publishing GmbH, 2010, 67.

[4] The EU countries are: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany,

Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the UK.

[5]Available at the archives of The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/century/1970-1979/Story/0,,106845,00.html.

[6]Mail online conducts a survey on regular basis for updating the news on Brexit. It is available at: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/eu_referendum/index.html

[7] The EU Electoral Commission Website, available at: http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/electorate-and-count-information

[8]Reality Check: what has the Brexit done to the economy, BBC, 29th June 2016.

[9]Text of the former British Prime Minister David Cameron after the Brexit verdict was announced.

[10]Statement of Mrs. Theresa May on the day she joined as Prime Minister of Britain.

[11] The Lisbon treaty is a constitution of the EU, its Article 50 clause (1) states that: Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.

[12]Ibid. Clause (2)

[13]Rebbica Perring , 'FREXIT: Now Marine Le Pen demands MORE EU referendums following historic British vote', Express.uk, June 22nd 2016.

[14]Ibid

[15]The Independent Survey, available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-why-did-old-people-vote-leave-young-voters-remain-eu-referendum-a7103996.html

[16] This opinion was in response to the researcher's personal interaction with the Professor while she attended a conference as a speaker at the 5th international forum on Middle East and Asia, held from 24rth – 25th Sep' 2016 at the Shanghai International Studies University, Shanghai, China.

[17]The 'leave' decision is being challenged in the High Court of London, for ignoring fundamental constitutional issues and right of free passage for the European people. 6th October 2016.

[18]Ibid.

VIOLENCE IN KASHMIR AND APPLICABILITY
OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ON INDIA

(Mr. Baber Ali)*

Abstract

After World War II, the scope of International law (IL) has been much widened due to different nature of international scene. In this study, an attempt has been made to analyze the applicability of IL on India's on-going violence in Kashmir. This attempt is incorporating the qualitative analyses of multilevel applicability of IL. Various branches of IL including the International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law are taken with their exclusive status to analyze their applicability. International conventions are also put up in this study to have a comprehensive and multilayered perspective. Moreover, domestic law of India is also incorporated to explore how domestic legislation has violated the international norms. Before the analysis of the provisions of IL and its branches, a brief turbulent history of violence and suppression by Indian forces on Kashmiris is also analyzed with the help of empirical studies.

***Key Words:** Kashmir, India, violence, International Law, comprehensive, turbulent*

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Introduction

Indian Held Kashmir (IHK) has been referred to and considered as one of the most perilous places in the world. History of this valley is a testimony to actuality that it had been convulsed in violence since the early times after the partition in 1947. Absence of conclusive resolution soared the agitation among people which periodically results in violent clashes with Indian law enforcement agencies. Furthermore, these agitations and consequences of the knock-out and drag-out clashes with Indian military ignited various movements at different times demanding full independence or accession to Pakistan. In order to curb such demands, Indian forces indulged in massive violations of International Law (IL), International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL) through ruthless extrajudicial killings, and instances of rape, torture and intentional assaults on Kashmiris and workers of international organizations.

This study is aimed at exploring the width of the scope of IL and its applicability on the on-going violence in IHK. Different dimensions of applicability of IL and analysis of legal provisions are the major segment of this study. Since international law has much broader scope, its several provisions with certain aspects are rightly applicable on the atrocities employed by Indian forces. Moreover, to crush the voices of Kashmiris calling for the right of self-determination, Indian forces boldly use prohibited weapons which automatically invoke IL in described scenario. IHL, a branch of international law, also has wider scope of applicability in its exclusive capability by terming the violent conflict in IHK as non-international armed conflict as it meets the requirements of widely accepted definitions of non-international armed conflict.

Thereafter, IHRL also has potential of applicability and can also be widely employed after analyzing the catastrophic nature of Indian forces' crackdown resulting in indiscriminate and widespread killing of Kashmiris including callous shooting on peaceful protests. These crackdowns also include the burning of houses, shops and entire neighborhoods. Massacre of civilians, brutal torture and shooting on unarmed protesters, rape and detainees' extra-judicial summary executions have become the common course in valley which potentially invokes IHRL.

This study aims at finding answers to a number of questions. Therefore, on one hand it has been attempted to explore in this research how domestic law of India has its obligation with respect to international law. Furthermore, following questions have been raised and attempted to be answered:-

- To what extent, India's domestic law is endeavored to be implemented and scope of its applicability also has been analyzed in this study.

- How India is entailed with the certain restrictions because of domestic law in regard of IL, and

- How India is committing structured violations are part of the study, along with the domestic legislation of India with respect to IL and its implementation on IHK violence.

This is a purely analytical effort to overview the situation in Kashmir and applicability of IL. In this research, a slight epistemological attempt is employed by taking the assistance of statistical analysis that how many lives are lost so far by the operations of Indian forces. Law is considered as a prime focus of study for applicability in the valley. Whereas sources of data include International Law key texts, conventions and empirical data from

reports of international organizations. International conventions and ratification by India constitute the primary portion of analysis. Intermittent ruthless and blight offensives launched by the Indian law enforcement agencies resulting in the huge destruction of both infrastructure and human lives invokes various provision of international law which desperately seeks applicability.

Brief Sporadic History of violence in Kashmir

From the very beginning, Kashmir has become disputed since inception of Pakistan and India. When the head of the state made temporary accession to India in October 1947 against the will of its Muslim majority people, resistance broke out. Occupation of Kashmir by Indian military flamed the incendiary of resistance leading to violent clashes of people with Indian forces. Hence, wish for peace and stability by Kashmiris was dashed in valley. Pakistan, which had certain interest in Kashmir and the only strategic competitor to India in this occupation, moved its troops in the valley and fought a war. By the intervention of United Nations, Pakistan withdrew its troops and India agreed to conduct free and fair plebiscite having positioned its army in Kashmir. From that day on, India did not hold the plebiscite and the continued presence of its army gave birth to various independence movements such as Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front and All Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front.

Thereafter, several wars were fought on Kashmir between India and Pakistan. However, elements of resistance against dominance of India remained. Last quarter of 20th century marked the era of full resistance by indigenous Kashmiris demanding the right of self-determination and also course of vigorous suppression by Indian army. Since 1980, increment of demands for rights of self-

determination was heavily marked in the history of Kashmir. Situation was intensively exacerbated on the presumed cognizance by Kashmiris that elections, which were held in 1987, were entirely rigged. The valley exploded with protests and demonstrations and Indian law enforcement agencies bluntly followed the course of atrocities. By employing ruthless tactics including rape, torture, firing on peaceful protests, massive killings, summary executions of detainees, imposition of curfew and extrajudicial killings, India could not curb the resistance completely. Later on, these tactics became the norms of the day in Kashmir.

In 1990, Kashmir again witnessed vicious clashes of its people with Indian forces and the same course of suppression was employed by the forces. In 1992-93, India launched a "catch and kill" campaign which further deteriorated the atmosphere of Kashmir. Various campaigns were launched by the Indian army to crush the resistance and mass protests emerging in form of different waves with different tactics but they all were demanding liberation of Kashmir from India. In each campaign, India followed the same course of ruthless action. According to Kashmir media service, almost 94,923 total killing was marked from the year 1980 to 21 August 2016 excluding the killing of terrorists which were declared by Indian army that may have been suspicious[1]. Whereas South Asia Terrorism Portal claimed that total killing marked around 44,033 figure including terrorists[2]. This factor, however, cannot be overlooked that every third civilian killed by security forces was declared as a terrorist. Furthermore, discovery of thousands of unmarked graves in Kashmir reinforced the testimony of common reports of "disappeared and missing persons". Human Rights Commission of India State confirms the fact that more than 2000

dead bodies were found in unmarked graves[3]. Activists in the area claimed that they were all those people who had disappeared after being detained by the Indian forces.

In this brief chronology of violence, having its origin of eruption in 1947, mass violations of laws might be observed. No law in the world allows any state to carry out such atrocities in disputed territories. Short history of Kashmir shows that all uprisings by Kashmiris were attempted to be crushed by India forces resulted in hundreds of killings. Rising authoritarianism of India following the path of lawlessness itself lead to several questions regarding the status of International law. Though international analysts are claiming that freedom movements have become obsolete and normalcy is returning by taking the insights of movement, questions arise demanding answers from practitioners of international law and its governing bodies[4]. This sporadic history of Kashmir filled with violence invokes various laws including IL, IHL and IHRL. Every outburst by Kashmiri people suffered with greater magnitude of barbarous tactics employed by the forces.

International Law and its Applicability on India

International law shall be termed in broader sense. IL does not only define the obligations to be performed by states regarding interstate relation, but also include the treatment of state towards individual within state[5]. Domain of IL is much wider enshrining all the issues of possible international concerns such as refugees, international crimes, migration, disarmament and treatment of prisoners. Certain aspects of IL are taken here to be analyzed for its applicability on India in the perspective of Kashmir. By narrowing down the scope of its practice, its capability of being applicable shall be threaded herein. Despite the disputed status of Kashmir,

particular provisions of IL are rightly applicable whether Kashmir will be contested as disputed area or non-disputed area. However, India itself made the *de joure* declaration of "disputed Kashmir" by disobeying the charter VI of United Nations Organization (UNO). Although, Charter VI of UNO does not contain binding obligations, however India agreed on free and fair plebiscite. Applicability of IL, tracing back to 1949, was activated right on the moment when right of self-determination stemmed from an ongoing resistance in Kashmir. That resistance generated various movements such as Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) demanding the independence or Tehreek-Huriyat, demanding the accession to Pakistan. All movements had a common characteristic that was the anti-status quo and demand of self-determination. Self-determination right is the right of individual or community to freely settle and decide their economic, cultural, political and social status. People were not only denied this right but also that demand was crushed by the use of force on part of India. Whereas, in resolution no. 47 of UN, India conceded to hold the plebiscite so that people of Kashmir could freely decide their fate. International law clearly states that "individuals should not be arbitrarily deprived of their lives, and homicide should be deterred, prevented and punished.". However, India continued to exercise its arbitrary powers in form of course of atrocities and violating the IL.

Thereafter, by denying the entry of United Nations Military Observer Groups in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), India made an implicit negation of mandate of UN. Applicability of IL again arose with the noteworthy magnitude. India claimed that after Simla agreement of 1971, UNMOGIP has no legitimate value. However, Secretary General of UN "U Thant" diminished the ambiguity by

clearing that UNMOGIP can only be terminated by decision of UN Security Council. A fact must be reminded that the UNO is a primary body which is developing international law. The counter-insurgency operations carried on by 57th battalion of Indian army include the genocide of Kashmiris in multiple forms including killing of group members and causing serious physical and mental damages to other group members. Discovery of unmarked graves of unidentified bodies implied genocide. The Resolution which was adopted by the General Assembly "Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide" in 1949 promulgated provisions on the prohibition of genocide. In Article II and III, genocide includes"

- *Killing members of the group*
- *Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;*
- *Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part*
- *Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group*
- *Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group".[6]*

All the above-mentioned practices by India forces in Kashmir have become the norm. Whereas India signed and ratified the genocide convention on November 29, 1949, deposited on 27 August 1959 and this convention is binding. These practices automatically invoke the applicability of IL. Furthermore, in article IV of genocide convention, all the persons committing genocide or any act mentioned in article III shall be punished including constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private

individuals. No responsible ruler or public official has been punished so far by authorities of India neither are pushed to do so by international community. Despite having a much broader scope, certain aspects and provision are rightly there to be analyzed by going through the "narrow down" process. On these basis, violence in Kashmir sought several questions on applicability of IL exclusively on the part of India as describe above.

Domestic law of India in the context of international Law

There are two theories regarding the implementation of IL on domestic level or national level: monolist theory and dualist theory. India follows the dualist theory implying that before the implementation of IL, it has to be passed through the legislative process of India[7]. In several states, ratification of international treaty or international obligation enshrining the international law automatically gets implementation on national level. However, case of India is different by following the dualist theory. It required the supplement of national legislation for the enforcement of international law. Furthermore, judiciary of India is not empowered for legislation. But its interpretation by Indian judiciary regarding the obligation under international law follow the provisions of constitution in the context of implementation of international law. In this way, India provided the supremacy to national law rather than international law. In article 51 of constitution, India by taking IL as directive principle clearly mentions that these are not enforceable and calling it a non-obligatory duty as far as Indian state is concerned while making legislation. Thus, by the article 51, international law has been declared as not applicable to Indian National Law[8]. Whereas, international law must be regarded in the supreme sense for the peace and stability in international arena.

By going through the brief overview of domestic law mechanism in the context of IL, it will be easy to understand the enacted and legislated law of India in support of international law and its applicability on Kashmir violence. There are certain laws which were made by India on national level to supplement and enforce the international law. Article 12 to 34 incorporated the fundamental rights including the rights which are declared non-revocable and cannot be suspended (e.g. article 21) even in the situation of emergency. However, India did not ever exercise these laws in Kashmir and continued to oppress their rights which invokes the applicability of IL.

Moreover, India further passed the discriminatory laws such as Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) which empowers the law enforcement agencies and virtually makes them unaccountable. Security forces can arrest people without warrant and play the shoot at sight game in Kashmir. It was an open violation of standards of IL. Thus, AFSPA was passed against the whole spirit of IL invoking the applicability.

The Geneva Convention Act was passed by India under article 253 of the Constitution in 1960 for the implementation of Geneva Convention 1949 in India[9]. In article II of convention, it was clearly mentioned that convention shall be applied to all cases of war including all kinds of armed conflicts such as International Armed Conflict (IAC) and Non-international Armed Conflict (NIAC). Furthermore, it shall be applicable to all cases including partial or total occupation. In article III:

"All the persons who are not taking active part in conflict shall be treated humanly including the sick, wounded and detainees, contrary to Indian forces adventure in the form of summarily

execution of detainees. Furthermore, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons:

- Violence against persons, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;
- Taking of hostages;
- Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment;
- The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples[10]."

Same kind of acts are being practiced by Indian forces which have been described in the brief chronology of violence in Kashmir. The above analysis of provisions of domestic law and international law implies the invocation of international law. However, India continues to exercise the course of violations on all spheres of law and has failed to extend punishment to violators of law in Kashmir.

Kashmir Conflict as a Non International Armed Conflict

Before analyzing the scope and application of IHL and IHRL on Kashmir, the term non international armed conflict (NIAC) should be defined in broader perspective so that the connection between the NIAC and IHRL, IHL could take place. Moreover, the concept of NIAC emerged with the introduction of IHL in 1949 in the form of Geneva Convention. However, application of IHL on violence in Kashmir is described in later portion. IHL and IHRL are the branches of international law, but in this study they are given separate portions rather incorporating them in international law, in order to have an in-depth analysis regarding their application on

Kashmir violence. Because, armed conflict going on in Kashmir has much wider scope for the applicability of IL through different aspects and means. There are various definitions of armed conflict. However, International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) claimed that there are two types of armed conflict in IHL:

- International armed conflicts, opposing two or more States, and
- Non-international armed conflicts, between governmental forces and non-government armed groups, or between such groups only.

IHL treaty law also establishes distinction between non-international armed conflicts in the meaning of common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and non-international armed conflicts falling within the definition provided in Act. 1, of Additional Protocol II.

Another definition of Non-International Armed Conflict (NIAC) in IHL was provided by the Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) which is widely accepted as a 'contested incompatibility' between a state and internal opposition, regarding the government of the territory, where the use of armed force between the parties result in at least 25 battle related deaths per year[11]. Like other definitions of NIAC, this definition was also not universally accepted. However, these definitions provide a greater sense of understanding of NIAC. In later definition, the thresh hold was also defined. Now, keeping in view these, Kashmir conflict can be described as NIAC. Furthermore, this conflict resulted in thousands of the deaths annually also meets the criteria of PRIO definition.

Applicability of international humanitarian law in Kashmir perspective

In this portion, applicability of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) will be analyzed in its exclusive capacity on international level with application on India in the perspective of Kashmir. IHL, is the branch of international law. Primarily, the situations of armed conflict both at national level taking an armed conflict as non-international armed conflict or at international level taking an armed conflict as international armed conflict are dealt by the IHL. IHL has three parts

- Customary International Law
- Geneva convention
- Hague convention

IHL was developed on the need of peace within states. After World War II, conflicts having internal characters within state were occurring within states leading to serious sufferings of individuals, groups and community. IHL has particular nature that deals only with the situation of armed conflicts and the conduct of warfare. Though its existence has been observed for centuries, yet it did not gain exclusive status dealing with NIAC before 1949. This law brought the violence of state within the scope of International law. Before 1949, there was a gap of law which could exclusively regulate armed conflicts. Adoption of Geneva Convention 1949 was considered as filling the lacunae of this kind of law. This law gathered momentum and adopted two additional protocols in 1977. Geneva Convention has history of three other conventions but article 3 was the common in all four Geneva conventions that provided the respect for humanity in armed conflict.

International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) several time deposited the request for its access into Indian occupied Kashmir so that it could provide humanitarian services to the victims of NIAC. But, India refused to grant permission. ICRC is a unique kind of body which is neutral but has the mandate under IL to work. This organization primarily provides protection to all civilians who are living at the risk of armed conflict of both kind INA and NIAC. They also provide the medical assistance to affected people and several other services in conflict zone. In NIAC, they also visit to detainees and assist local medical personals. Refusal of permission for access in Kashmir by India to ICRC, having mandate under IL, also invokes the applicability of IL.

Geneva Convention was already analyzed in the domestic law of India regarding its applicability on Kashmir violence as it was passed by the Indian legislative organ and making it a national law. India ratified this convention in 1950. Thus, India falls in the domain of IHL by signing this convention. India's practices filled with suppression in Kashmir invoke the applicability of IHL. Furthermore, exclusive and narrow-downed human rights violations which have been committed by India will be discussed in next portion.

Non-recognition of Additional protocols by India

India does not recognize the additional protocols of Geneva Convention in 1977 which implied that India attempted to avoid the responsibility of protecting the human rights. However, additional protocols were a supplement to Geneva Convention. Article 3 of all four Geneva Conventions and article 1 of additional protocol II share several aspects.

Scope of article 3 in reference of article 1 of additional protocol II can be understand by the study the article 1 of protocol II. This article itself states that "this Protocol, which develops and supplements Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 without modifying its existing conditions of application[12]. Therefore, applicability of IHL cannot be denied as India has already signed the convention in 1949. By non-recognition of additional protocols, India cannot bring itself outside the scope of IHL.

Applicability of international human rights law in Kashmir

It is considered as set of rules which had international recognition. Its establishment was made by treaties or customs. On the basis of these, a person or group is entitled to be given fundamental and primary rights.

International Human Rights Law (IHRL) though is the branch of IHL, yet it also entails a different capacity for analysis. Indian forces' conduct and practice in occupied Kashmir invokes various provisions of IHRL. Its scope of applicability will be analyzed by singling out each violation in the context of different practices of atrocities.

IHRL also has been existed for long time. However, Geneva Convention 1949 provided it with internationally recognized status in the arena of IHL. There are several supplements to IHRL which were not only the treaty sources for its development, but also became the cause of its consolidation. Convention on Genocide 1948, Racial Discrimination 1965, Torture 1984 and Convents on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 are the primary treaties of IHRL and supplements to its

consolidation. There are various instruments on regional level in form of convention.

IHRL has an all-time applicability both in war and peace time. There are certain rights in this law which cannot be derogated in any condition. Before going towards its applicability on India regarding Kashmir violence, Human Rights Watch, Asia's report on Kashmir must be discussed. Human Rights Watch's report in details provided insights on on-going human right crisis in Kashmir.

According to the HRW, Indian forces are committing systematic violations of human rights[13]. Summary executions of detainees and extra judicial killings have become a matter of policy. All forces Including Border Security Force (BSF), Central Reserved Police Force (CRPF) and military force of India are involved in breaches of Human Rights Law. Frequent attacks on civilians, blind firing on peaceful gatherings of people, crack-down and play of "shoot at sight" have become the norm in Indian held Kashmir. This is the magnitude of violation of human rights carrying on by India Security Forces. International Media and other international organizations such as BBC, PHP and IHRC also released similar kind of reports. Dignity of human beings is being trashed away and Kashmiris are witnessing human rights disaster by the lethal practices of forces which include the rape of girls and detainment of boys for molesting purposes claimed in HRW report.

Article 6 of The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 (ICCPR) provide and ensures the right of survival and living whereas Indian forces are depriving Kashmiris of these rights in spite of signing the ICCPR convention[14]. Similarly, article 7 provides protection against inhuman treatment, article 12 provides freedom of movement and article 21 right to peaceful assembly are

being suppressed by the Indian force invokes the applicability of IHRL. Article 6 of ICCPR was declared as right which even cannot be derogated in the time of emergency. Article 6 implying the arbitrarily deprivation of life has been systematically violated by Indian forces. Detail of Article 7 further clarified "inhuman treatment" in the context of torture, detainment, and baton charge frequently drilled by security forces explicitly violating the norms of IHRL.

Besides, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1966 (ICESCR) which further nourished the IHRL, Article I gives the people right of self-determination. This provision is the primary, indigenous and inherited demand of Kashmiris which is also being suppressed by India. Article 8 of ICESCR provides the right to strike, and exercise of this right by Kashmiris always resulted in indiscriminate shooting by security forces.

Conclusion

In Article I of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), it was declared that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are awarded reasons and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood[15]." International Law with different branches and wider scope seems to be the effective instrument for the protection of "Human Dignity" and United Nations Organization (UNO) seems to be the only international body having the mandate to implement the law. Conflict of Kashmir can be brought under the wider applicability of IL. In this study an attempt has been made to analyze the scope and applicability of IL on India in the context of Kashmir. Every major branch of IL with its scope was given an exclusive status to overview wideness of the law and scope of its application. Undoubtedly,

People of Kashmir are in dire need of assistance from the international community and organizations. This conflict is meeting all the requirements of applicability of IL, but implementation is under question. Domestic law of India, on many spheres and in many forms, is violating IL. IHL and IHRL also have exclusive applicability on India but no development has ever been made on international level exclusively for the Kashmiris. People of Kashmir are living in constant peril and deprived of fundamental rights.

It is a collective responsibility of the Indian state to ensure and respect UN conventions in all kind of situations. Article 1 which is common in all Geneva Conventions clearly makes states liable to respect the conventions. However, India seems to have failed to comply with these instructions. Absence of any sound mechanism of implementation of IL provides the courage to India to follow the endless arbitration in spite of violations of IL. There should be established a well-mechanized system for the implementation of IL. Or, at least, the established system should be utilized at all level for implementation. Effectual interference by UN should be exercised to make sure the compliance of IL by states.

Violence in Kashmir is the dark mark on the face of civilized developments in international landscape. Despite the existence of UNO, UN Security Council and other bodies having both international mandate and responsibility are giving deaf air to this cry. IL, IHL and IHRL having exclusive potential of applicability on Kashmir violence are required to be developed and implemented more frequently. So far, they are not protecting the rights declared in universal declaration and not serving humankind. Therefore, applicability of IL with all its types with exclusive potential and provision must be ensured by international bodies. In fact, other

countries should also perform their roles to ensure respect for conventions or at least, raise the issue of disobedience of conventions. So that people of Kashmir could enjoy their rights and live in peace. It will add to the international peace and stability at international level.

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NEED OF INTER & INTRA FAITH DIALOGUE FOR PEACE: REVIEW OF CHALLENGES AND EFFORTS IN PAKISTAN

(Dr. Khushbakht Hina & Ms. Sundas Kashmeeri)*

Abstract

This paper aims to highlight the importance of most critical and serious concern about need of inter & intra faith dialogue for protecting peace in Pakistan. In new era the entire world is in great depression due to list of factors but as a matter of fact the serious issue of our world is lack of peace and harmony. In country like Pakistan the present environment of extremism is also linked with another major factor which is inter & intra faith harmony with intellectual, spiritual freedom and supremacy. At the same time, there is no culture and system to see and promote harmony in interfaith and intrafaith dialogue and respect for each other. As a result interfaith and intra faith groups and communities are in vulnerable condition. Currently media spreads the news very fast. This creates awareness and has also changed the perspective of people for others. The purpose of this paper is to highlight present issue and stress on increasing understanding and reducing the communication gap for creation of peace with inter & intra faith harmony in Pakistan.

Key Words: *inter & intra faith dialogue, harmony, peace spiritual, extremism, awareness*

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Introduction

In this new century now intra & inter faith /religious matters have contributed to conflict and aggressive attitude around the world, but only dialogue and harmony can unlock the door of peace; it is easier said and difficult to do. There is no doubt that inter and intra faith positive communication and harmony is vital for the peace of the world. Interfaith & intrafaith dialogue means positive interaction and constructive interaction between different faiths and within them at individual and community level.

In recent times terminology has changed from inter-religious to inter-faith and intra religious to intra-faith. This new terminology is meant to place stress on "faith" instead of 'belief'. Interfaith or intrafaith discussion and communication for peace is a duty of all believers because religious dialogue isn't simply conversation, it is difficult to speak and perform but it is "an indispensable condition for peace in the world".

Aim and Level of inter & intra Faith Dialogue

Interfaith and intrafaith dialogue must be based on a specific purpose such as it seeks to build and increase good understanding of relationship, identifying the causes of tension existing between and within faiths. It is important to understand that interfaith and intrafaith dialogue may take place at different levels.

- Stage One: Share hopes, issues, problems, in a very pleasant manner.
- Stage Two: Understand and respect each other's faith and beliefs / try to ovoid negative discussion and blame game.
- Stage Three : Practical collaboration in the context of social justice for the sake of positive values, harmony and peace

It is very important to know and understand that there is no purpose to highlight one's own faith. The purpose of this paper is to understand interfaith and intrafaith dialogue and its importance and what is the problem, what we are doing and how to exercise restraint over ourselves in aggressiveness regarding faiths. It doesn't mean that we must have common beliefs, or way of converting others or disapproving the faiths of others. Actually the purpose is to develop and increase mutual relations, trust, and understanding. As a Muslim, the picture of Islam needs to be clear that Islam is the religion whose key teachings are based on respect for humanity and human values. It also provides an inclusive approach encompassing wide range of supreme teachings and arrangement for protection of rights of each other in the context of other faiths. (www.faith-matters.pk)

Overview of Religious Demography of Pakistan

Pakistan is a thickly populated country situated in South Asia. It came into being on 14th of August 1947 as a Muslim state. In 1965 this state was declared as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. According to US international report (July 2014), total population of Pakistan was estimated at 196.2 millions. If this population is classified into religious groups, it is estimated that 95% are Muslims and only 5% are minorities such as Hindus, Christian, Parsis. Sikhs and other religious minorities are part of this group. In case of Muslim population 75% are registered as Sunnis and 25% are Shias and others (International Religious Freedom Report-2014).

Pakistan is a thickly populated country with diverse cultures and religious beliefs and thoughts. In a country like Pakistan religious beliefs are considered an integral part of identity of a group. Therefore, most of the violence is caused and peace is destroyed due

to lack of tolerance and respect for divergence of opinion. In this scenario there is strong need for inter-faith and intra-faith harmony and dialogue.

Religious Freedom in Pakistan

Freedom is a very remarkable word which has always enamoured humanity. In fact, in different circumstances use of this word is different therefore its connotation may be positive and negative. It all depends on perception and desires. In the 21st century, censorship concept has changed and contrary to this word new concept is invoked which is "Freedom of Speech". It is considered as fundamental right in United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 19 which states**:**

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Constitution of Pakistan guaranteed freedom of religion for individuals of various religions and religious sects. Since late 70s till the late 80s, General Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization took place. In Pakistan the Ministry of Religious Affairs is entrusted with safeguarding religious freedom, and has on its masthead a Quranic verse: "Islam is the only religion acceptable to ALLAH." The Ministry claims that it spends 30 percent of its annual budget to assist indigenous minorities, to repair minority worship places, to set up minority-run small development schemes, and to celebrate minority festivals.

Constitution of Pakistan, Article 19: Freedom of Speech

Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defense of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, commission of or incitement to an offence.

In any democratic society intellectual freedom means the freedom of expression and thought without restrictions, but real concept of intellectual freedom means guarding individuals' rights of expression, sharing the ideas and information at any level. According to my understanding and perspective, "yes it is a right but for right people". The right people means only for well informed and responsible citizens of any state.

Major Interfaith Centers In Pakistan

- Pak interfaith peace and human rights councils
- Pakistan interfaith league
- All Pakistan Minorities Alliance
- Interfaith Youth in Pakistan.
- Ulema council.

Major Muslim Sects in Pakistan

- Sunnis
- Shi'as
- Wahabis
- Deobandi
- Ahl-Ahadis

Religious & Regional Extremism: Need of Interfaith & Intrafaith dialogue

Extremism can be defined "as the theory or mindset which is based upon uncompromising policies which are in favor of one but against the other". An additional improved definition of extremism is given by Desmond, A., (2015) during debate in Doha, Qatar, According to him extremism means "when you do not allow for a different point of view; when you hold your own views as being quite exclusive, when you do not allow for the possibility of difference of opinion". This definition provides a broader conception of religious intolerance that leads to violence and poses a security challenge. Another study conducted in Pakistan by International Republican Institute on topic of "Difference between Extremism and Terrorism" has brought some eye-opening revelations. The study highlighted that a mere 10 percent of Pakistanis believed that terrorism was the most important issue, whereas 74 percent said that extremism was the most serious threat to security.

In a country like Pakistan people are facing two serious problems namely extremism and terrorism; these two phenomena have caused a creation of wide spread societal conflict and violence, and due to this the country's peace and prosperity is greatly affected. We are subjected to these issues on two levels: a lot of international criticism and undue interference is directed at Pakistan, and then at national level where our population is greatly polarized owing to various socio-economic and religious factors.

- In international context, at geographical and diverse-interest level, there is great stress and constant antagonism between India and Pakistan, and between Afghanistan and

Pakistan. This stress was created due to Afghan war and Pak -Indian wars (1965, 1971, and the Kargil war).

- In a national context, intrafaith conflicts have caused extremism in Pakistan especially between shi'ah and sunni sects of Islam. The bid is on fanaticism for other's point of view and insecurity for safeguarding of own identity. As a matter of fact, this strife is creating misuse of power and a sort of freedom which may further fuel extremism in Pakistan

Review of Interfaith & Intrafaith Challenges and Strategies in Pakistan

We must acknowledge this natural fact that we all are different from each other because of individual differences. These differences create diversity in our personalities, our perceptions and our way of thinking. As a matter of fact diversity is natural and all of us should respect it as a natural phenomenon.

- In Pakistan, approximately 192 million people are living with diverse background, culture, region and religious beliefs. Our major challenge is a lack of dialogue, disregard for others points of view and insufficient harmonious relationship among intrafaith and interfaith groups. Therefore we are unable to share and build positive social and cultural values for the sake of peace in Pakistan.

- The big issue and challenge in Pakistan is misunderstanding between different religions and even between Sunni "Firqas". Hence because of wrong perception, interpretation and inadequate knowledge of religious concerns, we are unable to maintain harmony and peace in our society. Thus, interfaith and intrfaith dialogue is the only solution. When

we will promote acceptance, love, respect and justice, only then we would remove extremism. It is also essential that all religious leaders must strive hard for social and cultural harmony. Within religious communities persisting misconceptions and misperceptions must be removed by promoting interaction among religious scholars. It is universally acknowledged that all religions are based on virtuous values, and they all provide positive ways of life to their followers. So we should return to Islamic values, re-emphasize on all Islam related material and bring agreement on teachings and conduct of the last Prophet's era, as Medina charter is the best example of inter faith dialogue and harmony. It has been recognized by all scholars that the Charter of Medina is a comprehensive document for guidance; first 23 clauses of this agreement are related to external (international) relations and governing ethics, and rest of the twenty nine points are related to other faiths stressing upon the need of harmony with each other.

- Further major challenges in Pakistan regarding lack of interfaith harmony are Governmental policies and legal bindings. There is a need to revise laws and address some system related issues. In this context, role of state and leadership really matters. In our country there is need to "accept others with love" rather than "tolerate others within specific limits".

- Education is a system for transformation of society and transmission of cultural values from one generation to the other and from one segment of the society to the other. It is quite evident that in our country there is no importance

attached to citizenship education. In modern world people are trying to focus on global citizenship and peace. In a country like Pakistan which is already confronting some grim challenges, it is essential to develop and educate young populace to bring change in thinking and revolution in context of peace and prosperity. There is a need to develop curriculum and text books to teach the right perception and understanding regarding intra and interfaith human values in new generation of Pakistan (Anwer,R., 2011).

Policy War against Extremism: Government's Role

In the above mentioned brief picture the situation of Pakistan regarding interfaith and intrafaith disputes is much clearer. In the context of extremism, Government of Pakistan is taking serious steps to address this issue and protect the country from internal discord and external interference, and maintain peace and prosperity.

- Pakistan is trying to develop a balanced and positive foreign policy towards each country. Pakistan government and public want to improve and clear the image of Islam and Muslims in front of whole world. Beside this it also needs to be emphasised that we are fighting against extremism and terrorism and have suffered the most in this GWOT. The World needs to side with us, instead of coaxing us to do more in fighting against extremists and terrorists.

- During recent times, Pakistan has been working seriously to bring a conclusion to the war against extremism, and a proper war termination strategy has been adopted to this end. It is the first time in Pakistan that an act (Pakistan Protection Act-2014) was adopted to deal with the menace of extremism and terrorism.

- In Pakistan now Government and Army being harmonious in their efforts have collaborated very well, and now internal disturbances within the country are very well-handled by our security apparatus. Improved Karachi situation testifies to this fact. Hence Pakistan Army has worked very well in close coordination with other LEAs.

- In the western world, Pakistan is considered as a sanctuary for religious extremism but this is a misconception of the world. We are a peaceful and peace loving people. And Pakistan Army is performing an uphill task; Operation Zarb-e-Azab is the best example of a fight against terrorism in the modern times.

- Another major step to eradicate terrorism and extremism was the adoption of National Action Plan-2015 by Government of Pakistan. This plan is also playing a role in fortifying our national defence. Some major steps envisaged in this Plan are:-
  - ✓ Establishment of special trial courts
  - ✓ Countering hate speech and extremist material
  - ✓ Choking financing for terrorists and terrorist organizations
  - ✓ Establishing and deploying a dedicated counter-terrorism force
  - ✓ Taking effective steps against religious persecution
  - ✓ Registration and regulation of Madrassas
  - ✓ Ban on glorification of terrorism and terrorist organizations through print and electronic media
  - ✓ Dismantling communication networks of terrorist organizations

✓ Taking the ongoing operation in Karachi and Baluchistan to its logical conclusion

✓ Policy to deal with the issue of Afghan refugees

National Action Plan, 2015 (http://nacta.gov.pk).

Conclusion

To sum up, extremism and terrorism are the most terrible evils which a society could face. In fact extremism and terrorism destroy the basis of progress of a country, and thus reduce resources to hamper growth and development. These unlawful activities have been continuously damaging the national fabric, unity and strength of Pakistan. As a matter of fact, we can control extremism. When everyone will perform his or her duty; resultantly security and satisfaction will prevail, thus creating a healthy environment for the progress and prosperity of the country. Consequent to inter-faith and intra-faith acceptance and harmony security, peace, and prosperity should prevail. Last but not the least, a popular saying of Mustafa Kamal Ataturk is worth quoting here, "Religion is a matter of conscience. One is always free to act according to the will of one's conscience. Here respect for values, culture and acceptance are important. We (as a nation) are respectful of our and other's religion. It is not our intention to restrict freedom of worship, but rather to ensure that matters of religion and those of the state do not become intertwined"

Golden words of our great leader, founder of Pakistan *Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah* are always relevant for us, who declared in his 14th August 1948 speech,

"I have full faith in my people that they will rise to every occasion worthy of our past Islamic history, glory and traditions."

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CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF GOVERNANCE IN PAKISTAN AND SUGGESTED RESPONSE

(Mr. Waseem Ishaque)*

Abstract

"Governance" is the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented. Formal government structures are means by which decisions are arrived at and implemented. Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance. The guidelines given by the Quaid regarding good governance are still relevant after sixty two years of independence. The major causes of weak governance in Pakistan stem from under developed political system, lack of mature leadership, constitutional supremacy, responsible bureaucracy, independent judiciary and institutionalised process of accountability. Corruption, extremist tendencies, geopolitical and regional security environment all have further contributed in deterioration of governance in the country. The future strategy therefore lies in addressing the core issues concerning these facets. The paper aptly identifies the problems and the strategy to rectify them.

Key Words*: good governance, strong institutions, accountability, rule of law*

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Conceptual Understanding of Governance

"To Govern" is derived from Latin "gubernare": to steer –to guide, control and exercise authority over those who are bound to obey. To govern is to secure obedience to such power or authority. Governance therefore means exercise of authority and governing.[1] In simple words "governance" means the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented. Formal government structures are means by which decisions are arrived at and implemented. Governance can be used in several contexts such as corporate governance, international governance, national governance and local governance.[2] Governance is "the act or process of governing, specifically authoritative direction and control". This interpretation specifically focuses on the effectiveness of the executive branch of government.[3]

The concept of "governance" is as old as human civilization. It is concerned with the use of political authority and exercise of control over society and management of its resources for social and economic development. Government is the organ that provides governance. Other actors involved in governance vary depending on the level of government and type of regime. Military, political parties, media, international donors, multi-national corporations, NGOs, financial institutions, cooperatives, research institutes, religious leaders, the lobbyists, etc. may play a role in decision-making or in influencing the decision-making process. In other words they may influence governance. All actors other than government and the military are grouped together as part of the "civil society."

The working definition used by the British Council emphasizes that "governance" is a broader notion than government (and for

that matter also related concepts like the state, government and regime), and goes on to state: "Governance involves interaction between the formal institutions and those in civil society. Governance refers to a process whereby elements in society wield power, authority and influence and enact policies and decisions concerning public life and social uplift." [4]

Good Governance

In the early twentieth century the issue of governance was highlighted by jurists like Max Weber by outlining the functions of a bureaucracy that would facilitate development. He called for the strict observance of the rule of law and legal rationality and advised against admixture of private interests with the public responsibilities of the bureaucrat[5]. Similarly, the Foreign Assistance Act of the US (1961) also cared for building democratic institutions in developing countries[6]. The word "Good Governance" got pre-eminence during 1990s when the World Bank and IMF started using it as policy choice while dealing with the states. Later, the policy was followed by others. The World Bank can be termed as the leader to recognize importance of governance afresh and taking it up more elaborately. The World Bank definition says, "Good governance is epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs". In the 1992 report, the Bank viewed governance as having three aspects namely, the form of political regime, the process by which authority is exercised in management of a country's economic and social resources, and capacity of the government to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge functions.

By the end of the 20th century, all international and bilateral assistance agencies started using the term good governance more frequently. The involvement of international actors and development agencies such as UNDP, OECD and ADB as well as NGOs further expanded the scope of good governance. Presently the term "good governance" covers a number of issues such as participatory development, human rights, democratization, rule of law, effective state institutions, transparency, accountability, corruption control, devolution etc.

ADB builds its concept of governance on accountability, participation, predictability and transparency. Accountability means Public officials must be answerable for government behaviour, and responsive to the entity from which their authority is derived. Participation refers to involvement of citizens in development process. Predictability is about fair and consistent application of laws and implementation of government policies. Transparency demands availability of information to general public and clarity about government rules, regulations and decisions[7].

The United Nations emphasizes human development and political institutions' reforms. According to UN, good governance has eight major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society[8]. Direct or indirect participation without gender discrimination is considered a key to good governance. Participation needs to be informed and organized

which requires freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other. Rule of law requires fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities, impartial enforcement of laws through independent judiciary and impartial and honest police force. Transparency demands fair and impartial decision making and their enforcement coupled with easy access to information for all those affected by the process. Institutions are required to be responsive to the needs of stake holders with efficient procedures and systems to serve them with reasonable speed. Good governance requires a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of whole community, on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community. All members of the society or community should realize to have a stake in development and none should feel excluded. This can be achieved through equal opportunities for all; especially for the less privileged and vulnerable. Good governance lays greater emphasis on effectiveness and efficiency of institutions making best use of available resources for collective welfare; simultaneously protecting the environment as well. Last but not the least, good governance demands the government as well as private institutions and civil society to be accountable to the stake holders. Accountability is once again linked with transparency and the rule of law.

A careful examination of the ideals of good governance presented by different organizations vis-a-vis ground realities, complexities of the issues and intangible variables involved suggest

that good governance cannot be expressed in absolute terms. At best it can be expressed in relation to the individual variables or on the basis of comparison between the states with some degree of commonality in socio-political, geographic and economic environment. It may be safely concluded that good governance is an ideal which is difficult to achieve in its totality. Although some countries have performed better than others in the sphere of good governance yet there cannot be a universal set of rules and regulations which when applied would yield uniform results towards achievement of good governance. Nevertheless there is a need to benefit from the experience of relatively successful countries and organizations to ensure sustainable human development and socio-economic progress of the state with the aim of achieving higher standards of governance.

In its weak record of governance since independence from colonial rule, Pakistan is no exception as compared to several other developing countries of Asia and Africa. For last six decades the emphasis has remained on restructuring of the government through constitutional and administrative measures with no or little impact on governance. Consequently, Pakistan is deep into the quagmire of problems resulting from insecurity, terrorism, sectarianism, law and order, corruption, illiteracy, population explosion, unemployment and scarcity of resources etc. Lately on the insistence of donor organizations and countries there has been a realization towards improvement in governance but chronic problems cannot be solved without sustained and deliberate efforts on part of every branch of the state.

Levels of Governance and Analysis of Prevailing Situation in Pakistan

To proceed further in our investigation, it is pertinent to understand prevalent system of governance in the country and the vision of its Founding Father regarding good governance.

Levels of Governance

Governance in Pakistan is regulated through related provisions of the constitution of Pakistan concerning federation – province relations.[9] Three levels of governance in Pakistan include National level, i.e. Federal Government, Provincial level, i.e. Federating Units/Provincial governments and Local level, i.e. District Governments.

Leadership Hierarchy

Top Leadership - the Politicians. This includes head of the state, National and Provincial Assembly members and members of the Senate, ministers and all advisers at federal and provincial levels, who are either the decision makers or close aides to them. The aides are in fact think tanks who draft new policies or modifications to those in vogue and their proposals and recommendations are invariably agreed upon by the decision makers.

Middle Leadership - the Senior Bureaucrats. They include public servants (bureaucrats), all administrators, planners, economists, and technocrats, who collectively run the country by executing their orders and decisions through low level bureaucrats. These orders and decisions are either outcome of the government policy or genuine demand of particular district / area as visualized by the concerned officer responsible for administration of that particular area. They

possess requisite resources and authority to use them for fulfillment of their duties to the people and the state as a whole.

Lower Leadership - the Junior Bureaucrats. They include all junior public servants, who either assist the senior bureaucrats or take independent decisions at the execution end to run a particular department providing public service.

Quaid-e-Azam's Vision of Good Governance

Quaid-e-Azam, in his address to the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan highlighted the problems of governance being faced by the people of united India, their likely persistence in Pakistan and remedial measures to establish good governance in newly born state. The guidelines given by Quaid are still relevant after sixty two years of independence. He emphasized the importance of constituent assembly as a sovereign legislative body, with all the powers and gravest responsibility to take decisions. To him the duty of a government was to maintain law and order, so that life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects were fully protected by the State. He regarded corruption as biggest curse and urged to deal with it with an iron hand and take adequate measures as soon as it is possible. Black-marketing was identified as another colossal crime against society to be very severely punished. Nepotism and jobbery should never be tolerated. He underlined the need to concentrate wholly and solely on the well-being of people, and especially of masses and the poor. He urged the nation to work in co-operation, forget the past and bury the hatchet to succeed. No matter to what community, colour, caste or creed one belongs he should be first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges, and obligations. People should be free to go to their

temples, mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. He said that the business of the State had nothing to do with religion or caste or creed of its citizens. In course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that was the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State[10].

The state has a predominant role in governance. It performs the essential functions of establishing and maintaining order and ensuring regulation of social, political and economic life of its citizen as per their wishes, needs and perceptions. Failure of state to perform its functions would result in anarchy. Effectiveness of governance in a state at any particular moment cannot be detached from its past. It is the outcome of its overall historical behaviour. It is therefore important to analyze governance in Pakistan in the context of past and present actions and policies of the state and the people at the helm of affairs. Causes of present ill Governance in Pakistan are discussed in ensuing paragraphs.

Development of Constitution

Immediately after independence, Pakistan was confronted with many problems, the most important being absence of any constitution to run its government. It was initially governed by the Government of India Act 1935 as modified by Pakistan PCO and the 1947 Indian Independence Act. The first Governor General Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was appointed by the Queen, with strong executive authority. According to the Independence Act 1947, a constituent assembly was formed to frame a constitution. Besides legislation, running the affairs of state was its secondary function. In Mar 1949 the Assembly passed an 'Objectives Resolution Act'

enunciating the principles on the basis of which the constitution was to be framed.

The first constituent assembly not only failed to produce a constitution but also showed a tendency of corruption and power hunting and was dissolved in October 1954. The first constitution was passed by the second constituent assembly in Feb 1956 declaring Pakistan as an Islamic Republic and introducing the federal parliamentary system. General Ayub Khan dismissed the government, dissolved the assemblies and abrogated the constitution on 8 Oct 1958 and imposed Martial Law. Second Constitution was promulgated on 1st March 1962, introducing the presidential federal system. General Yahya in 1969 abrogated the constitution and promulgated PCO to run the affairs according to 1962 constitution.

After dismemberment of the country, Z A Bhutto was handed over power who promulgated 1972 interim constitution; later on he framed the 1973 Constitution which was unanimously passed by all the political parties in the assembly. The 1973 Constitution once again laid the foundation of parliamentary form of government. But after four years of its passage, the constitution was suspended by General Zia ul Haq. After the death of General Zia ul Haq in 1988, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif alternately led the country amid dismissals and re-elections till October 1999 when Nawaz Sharif's Government was finally overthrown by General Pervaiz Musharraf introducing LFO. Present democratic government after prolonged discourse has restored the constitution, though few aspects of the Eighteenth Amendment are being contested.

A constitution is the system of fundamental laws and principles, and prescribes the nature, functions and limits of a government or

another institution in a country. On the other hand it satisfies the aspirations of the people of all the federating units. It is, in a sense, a living document and needs to be revised from time to time based on emerging needs. One of the important functions of a constitution is to regulate the relationship between the executive, judiciary and the legislature, and the relationship of institutions within these branches. These branches of the state yield profound influence on quality of governance in a country. In our constitutional history, this is the area which has received the most attention but the focus has been very narrow and has remained individual centric.[11]

More than half of the sixty two years of the constitutional history of Pakistan, the military has ruled the country. It may be noted that military interventions, are considered as a social issue and in no way a constitutional issue. Every country's army has capability and propensity to interfere, it is the foundation of the government which invites or deters the military take over. Weakness in the foundation of the government in Pakistan is mainly because of weak political structure and judiciary. Military interventions in Pakistan were initially welcomed in a hope for better governance, but later people got frustrated due to prolonged stay and inability to deliver. As far as the legal status is concerned, all four military interventions were declared extra constitutional or beyond constitution acts by Supreme Court of Pakistan.[12]

Prospective Analysis of Factors Affecting Governance

Leadership. Governance implies management by the leadership in power, but in conjunction with prevailing circumstances and the quality of leadership available, governance becomes a problem. This means it is not only the incompetence and negative traits of the leaders, civilian or military, who hold office,

but the conditions in the country that combine together to make a shambles of governance. It is this predicament that has primarily been responsible for all the difficulties Pakistan has faced in the past and continues to do so at present[13]. Political parties in their bid to mask their failure in bringing any worthwhile action plan, have focused on politics of personalities. As a corollary, Pakistani political culture has taken a step rearward from feudalism to family dynasties. Political leaders patronize traditional political elites and have failed in empowering the middle and lower middle classes, who had constituted the social base of popular movements[14].

Extremist Tendencies. The polarization of society alongwith religious, ethnic, communal and regional lines has decayed the social values through which diverse communities had lived together in a pluralistic society. The social polarization is now fuelled by violence threatening credibility of political institutions. As a result, feasibility of governance based on a centralized state is being questioned. Albeit Pakistan, and a number of other South Asian countries are being confronted with the same question[15].

Accountability for All. Accountability entails making public office bearers answerable for government actions to the people; i.e. the entity from which they derive their authority. The accountability of public sector institutions is facilitated by evaluation of their economic and financial performance[16]. The main reason for the irresponsibility and criminal negligence of the political leadership has been the absence within the present political framework of any institutionalized checks or accountability of the leadership. Such checks and balances can come from an awakened public opinion, a free press, an independent judiciary, and the parliament[17].

Bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is the system for public administration designed to develop and regulate the decision making process in an effective way. Bureaucracy is a permanent component of the executive. The roots of administrative structure could be traced back to 13th century sultanates which introduced cadre system in Sub Continent[18]. In Colonial India, Viceroy possessed executive authority on behalf of the Crown. The administrative infrastructure at central, provincial, division and district level was formulated in a way to implement the policies of colonial masters.

At independence Pakistan inherited a distinguished, largely honest and efficient bureaucracy[19]. Bureaucracy was never made accountable for its misuse of powers up till rule of General Yahya Khan who initiated the process of trying 116 bureaucrats of central and provincial superior services[20]. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto introduced revolutionary reforms in the administrative system of Pakistan in 1973. However, these reforms weakened the very structure of bureaucracy. Albeit continuation of the 1973 reforms during Zia's regime, decline of bureaucracy accentuated, particularly during following governments of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. General Pervaiz Musharraf made a concerted effort for extensive restructuring of bureaucracy through National Reconstruction Bureau, however, lack of political/ constitutional legitimacy of the program further pushed the fragile administrative structure towards collapse.

In advanced countries, civil servants are selected according to their fields of specializations and placed in the relevant ministry. The ministers do not interfere in work of experts, and only oversee implementation of government policy. Resultantly, a change in

government does not cause discontinuation of policies and the system continues to function smoothly. In Pakistan however, an institutionalized system of career management and promotion of civil servants is nonexistent. In conjunction with flawed dictates of our defective system, civil servants are irrationally transferred from one ministry to another[21].

Notwithstanding the need to reform the institution, there is also a need to address issues pertaining to the quality of human resource and external factors. In this regard, declining trend in intellectual calibre, ethos, moral values, integrity and honesty of civil servant needs to be arrested. This has accrued from virtual collapse of academic standards at colleges and universities from where prospective candidates for the civil service entrance examination are drawn and the institutional failure to provide them with high quality in service training[22]. The integrity of institutional decision making is often undermined by vested interests outside the civil service[23]. Political figures interfere in a wide range of decisions like transfers, promotions and dismissals of officers, judicial decisions by district commissioners on land disputes, arrest of drug barons, approval of major projects etc.

Corruption

Corruption has been a chronic problem for Pakistan. It is pervasive at all levels of political, social, private, and public institutions in the state. Different governments have been making half hearted attempts to root out this menace from Pakistan. Like any other developing country, corruption is a major problem and not only affects the civil society and the polity of Pakistan, but also affects the pace of economic development. It hinders both physical and human development thereby reducing the economic growth. It

leads to cruel waste of precious public funds and breeds on poverty and illiteracy. Its forms include[24] petty corruption, at junior level, middle level corruption by the bureaucrats through award of contracts, industrial licensing; collection of revenue and utility bills, and grand corruption which mostly relates to secretive large public contracts, judicial injustice, political bribes, and issues relating to international trade and assistance[25].

Rule of Law

It implies induction of regulations and enforcements for the preservation of human values and rights, the rule of law and a concerted fight against dictatorial designs of some individuals and groups. It means that the law is observed both in letter and spirit and no violation is allowed to hamper the pursuit of justice. The mechanism must be effective and must be enforced to ensure law and order, peace and harmony in society[26].

Recommended Strategy for Better Governance in Pakistan

Despite several efforts, improving governance in Pakistan still remains elusive. To address the issue, the government has to establish institutions, make laws, strengthen law enforcement agencies, raise and run administrative establishments; all aimed at achieving good governance. An all-encompassing strategy for future is suggested in ensuing paragraphs.

Leadership

Only a sincere and honest leadership can take the country out of the crisis and can bridge the gap between religious, ethnic, sectarian and provincial entities. All actions must be directed above personal glory and continuation of power but for the good of the country alone. Bold decisions are required to be taken to steer the country out of present chaos.

Provincial Harmony and Autonomy

Parliamentary form of government requires complete harmony between federation and provinces. The opportunist regional leaders and the divisive forces have persistently exploited demand for greater provincial autonomy. Policies of over-centralization and military rules in the past have added fuel to the fire. It will, therefore, be prudent that the autonomy granted in the constitution of 1973 be extended to the provinces to redress their grievances. Despite reservations from different quarters, Aghaz-e-Huquk Balochistan Package, consensus over National Finance Award and passage of 18th Amendment are the steps in the right direction. Real test lies ahead in implementation of such decisions.

Devolution of Power

Practical manifestation of democracy could only be actualized through devolution of power. Contemporary democracies have delivered basic services essential for good governance like education, health, security, justice and balanced civic growth through state or county councils. Local Governments need to work without interference from higher governmental echelons. Simultaneously, Union Council, Tehsil and District tiers should be confined to laid down functions, respect the national constitution, and follow proper standards for fiscal accountability and integrity[27].

Freedom of Press

Only a free press can ensure development of correct public perceptions and opinion polls. While informing the public regarding bureaucratic favouritism, nepotism, corruption; a free media ensures accountability of state machinery and also imposes a check for future decisions / policies.

Bureaucracy

A comprehensive reforms package is required to re-orientate the entire bureaucratic infrastructure. Bureaucracy should strive to serve the people and not to rule them. Government servants should be kept away from political affiliation and influence. Selection, appointment and transfer of bureaucrats on merit; free from all types of prejudices and influences could lay the foundations of impartial functions of the executive. There is also a need to develop technocrats for specific posts through appointment and continuation of professionals.

Stringent Measures against Corruption

Following are suggested in this regard:-

- Establishment of a judiciary which is truly independent and free from fear and influence.

- Efficient public management system including the bureaucracy.

- Restructuring and ensuring independence of anti corruption and accountability institutions.

- Introduction of incentives and reward systems backed by stringent punitive measures.

Conclusion

Pakistan is among those countries of the world who own a continuing record of weak governance. Nonetheless the situation today is not an outcome of pure inefficiency of the government, and by no means can be classified as a failed state or a state where governance is a failure. The problems related to governance discussed in this paper are as much applicable to any country in third world as they are to Pakistan; with the exception of heightened terrorism and extremism. Notwithstanding the environments

surrounding Pakistan we must endeavour to come out of the vicious circle of weak governance. It is hoped that this research will add on to already conducted research and help improving governance in Pakistan.

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GILGIT BALTISTAN: A PRISM OF TOURISM

(Mr. Tanweer Ali)[*]

Abstract

The intrinsic tourism potential of Gilgit Baltistan (GB) is yet to be revealed to prospective tourists, both local and foreign. It is a landmass of mountains, extraordinary scenic beauty and valleys coupled with rich tradition, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural demography. Tourism is a diverse segment in GB, which is one of the leading industries in the economic world and foreign exchanges but Pakistan's share in the global tourism market is very low. Because of the unstable law and order situation, the country is unable to promote the tourism and failed in its international projection. In the case of GB, there are various hindrances and troubles in its way of progress. The increasing tourist flow in GB in the recent years is because of the improved infrastructure and restored security situation. Tourism might be the main source of earning in the future if the potential would be untapped. This article envisages an analysis of the tourism potentials, suggest recommendations to bridge the gaps in this industry and the reasons why is it significant.

Key Words: *tourist, extraordinary, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic, Promote, security, infrastructure, untapped*

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Prelude

Gigilt Baltistan (GB) having rich tradition, adventurous regions and gorgeous mountains, splendid seasonal variety and hospitable host community has immense tourist potential. Despite, having the enormous potentials of tourism, GB is still unable to utilize this industry and reap its fruits because of various hindrances. This region is also considered a heaven for tourists because of congenial sources like trekking, rock climbing or mountaineering, mountain biking, cycling, ballooning, paragliding, skiing, white water rafting, mountain and desert jeep safaris, yak safaris, boating, riding, angling, trout fishing and bird watching.[1] The lush green meadows, everlasting snow lines, coniferous forests, shining lakes, sharp and high peaks of GB attract adventurers and nature lovers to Pakistan.

Our present paper will highlight the importance of development of tourism industry and its significance for the progress of the economy of the host country in the form of payments for goods, services and employments. Tourism is a well-known industry and a source of foreign exchange commonly known as the 'industry without chimney'[2]. Its high growth and development rates, foreign currency inflows, infrastructure development, and introduction of new management and educational experiences affect various sectors of the economy of a country.

GB is the only part of Pakistan to border and neighbour three important countries: China in North, Afghanistan in South West and Tajikistan in the West with narrow Wakhan belt, located in northern part of the country between longitude 72-75 in the North and 35-37, latitude in the East. Having area of 72,496 sq Km It joins Xingjiang province of China in the north, Afghanistan and the Chitral District in the northwest with Tajikistan (Central Asia close

behind). In the southeast side there is a cease-fire line of more than 300 kms with Indian held territory of Jammu and Kashmir. In the east, Kohistan and Mansehra Districts (*www.visitgilgitbaltistan.gov.pk)*.

Map - Gilgit Baltistan
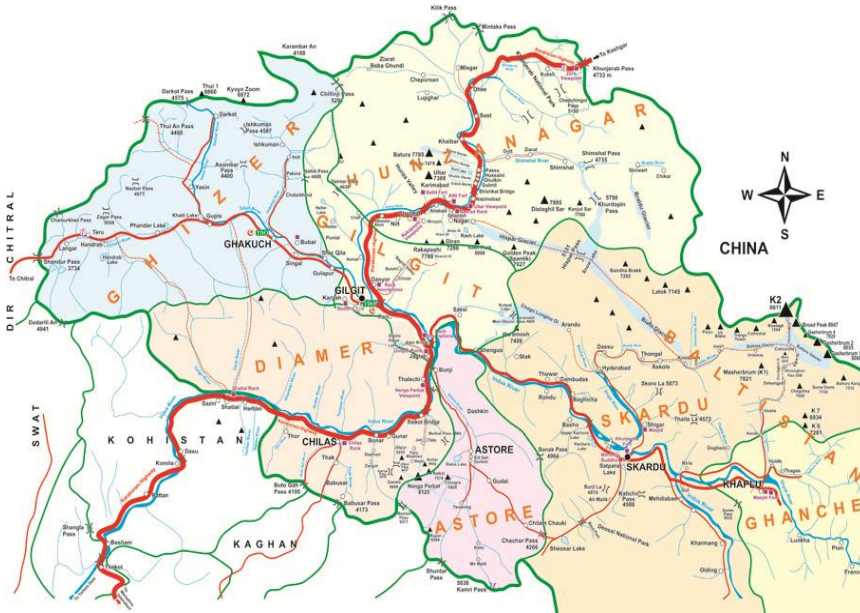
Source: *www.visitgilgitbaltistan.gov.pk*

Population density in the region is only 28.8 persons per sq kilometer.[3] God blessed it with a rugged geography and scenic beauty. It has a charming climate, where winter is harshly cold and summer is brief and hot with piercing sunrays.

Potentials of tourism in GB

GB is basically a mountainous area and has the distinction to have the only meeting point of the three mighty mountain ranges *Himalaya, Karakorum* and *Hindu Kush at Juglot,* about which

Edward Frederick Knight wrote a book titled "Where Three Empires Meet" published in 1893.[4] GB enjoys five out of fourteen Eight Thousander peaks including (Pakistan's first and world's second highest peak) K2 (*Chogori;* its local name) and other 146 peaks above 7000 m.[5] *Nanga Parbat* and *Gasherbrum* are the second and third highest peaks of Pakistan respectively. *Condoghoro, Congordia, Mashabrum, Broad Peak, Lela Peak, Trango Tower, Lady Finger* and *Hidden Peak* are other famous peaks for trekking, rock climbing and mountaineering throughout the world.

Highest Peaks of Gilgit Baltistan

Peaks	Heights
K2	8611 m
Nanga Parbat	8125 m
Gasherbrum	8068 m
Broad Peak	8047 m
Gasherbrum II	8035 m
Gasherbrum III	7952 m
Rakaposhi	7788 m
Passu Peak	7284 m
K6	7281 m
Diran	7266 m
Latok I	7151 m

Table: 1 : Tourism Department, Gilgit Baltistan

Outside the poles the largest glacier ranges (116.87 km) like *Baltaro, Hisper, Biafo, Batura, Siachan* are located in GB. It is estimated that there are about 5100 glaciers in GB.[6]

Highest Glaciers of Gilgit Baltistan

Glaciers	Area
Siachen	685 sq km
Baltaro	529 sq km
Biafo	383 sq km
Hisper	343 sq km

Table: 2 : Tourism Department, Gilgit Baltistan

Though it is a mountainous area but it also abounds in other topographical features like planes, forests, lakes, rivers, valleys etc. Indus River is the main river of the region, many streams and rivers especially, *Shigar River, Shiok River, Kharmang River, Hunza River* and *Gilgit River* are tributaries to Indus River at various points and contribute to the scenic beauty of GB. On both sides of these rivers, there are small and scattered villages and valleys, some of the renowned ones are *Juglot Valley, Bonji Valley, Haramosh Valley, Nomal Valley, Naltar Valley, Chalat Valley, Hunza Valley, Haramoush Valley, Roundu Valley, Shigar Valley, Kharmang Valley, Khaplu Valley* and *Astor Valley*. These rivers attract tourists and adventurers for rafting, swimming and boating.

Other than mountains, rivers and valleys; plains, desserts and forests also augment to the exceptionality of the region. *Deosai Plain* is the second highest plateau on Earth at an average elevation of 4,114 m, carpeted with wild colourful flowers in summer and white sheet of snow in winter.[7] Tourists also enjoy watching lots of species, including rare animals like Brown Bear, Snow Leopard and Marmot, and number of rare flora and fauna. *Deosai* is a well-known area with tremendous natural beauty famous for mountain

jeep safari, Yak safari, trekking, riding, angling and trout fishing in summer and skiing and hunting in winter. For dessert safari, the coldest and highest dessert in the world *Skardu Dessert* is waiting there to be explored. Deosai was given the status of national park in 2003; other national parks in GB are given in the table below.

National Parks in Gilgit Baltistan

National Parks	Area
Central Karakurum National Park	973845 ha
Deosai Wilderness National Park	363600 ha
Khunjarab National Park	227143 ha
Handrap National Park	51880 ha

Table: 3 Source: Tourism Department, Gilgit Baltistan

About 6592 sq. km of the total area of GB consists of forests which house variety of wild animals, birds and trees. These valleys and forests are host to 54 species of mammals, 230 species of birds, 20 species of fresh water fish, 23 of reptiles and 6 of amphibians.[8] These valleys are nice places for paragliding, ballooning, preying and riding. GB offers numerous places for boating and fishing at *Sadpara Lake, Kachura Lake, Shangrilla Lake, Rama Lake, Sheoser Lake, Ata-abad Lake* and*Phunder Lake*. There are more than 35 lakes including the deepest lake of Pakistan, *Khukush* Lake with the depth of 173 m and one of the most familiar *Shangrilla Lake* which is also known as 'the Heaven on Earth'. Thirteen of these lakes are abode to trout fish; other types of fish are also available in the streams, rivers and lakes there.

The land of GB is traditionally very rich because of multilingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural demography. There are six major

ethnic communities and 26 minor dialects. *Shina, Balti, Broshisky, Wakhi, Khowar* etc are the major languages spoken in the region. The secret of rich cultural heritages of GB lies behind its unique history. Budhism and Bonism were the religions of the people of GB before the arrival of Islam so its tradition is influenced by both of these religions.[9]*The Megalith, Dardic, Ganharan, Alexenders remnants, Syntians, Parthians, Huns, Kushans, Tarkhans, Dogras, Rajas, Mirs* and other rulers left their contributions to the culture of the people of GB. GB enclosed bunch of traditional and historical sites including forts, mosques, symptoms of Budhism and other historical monuments.[10]

The official website of Government of GB listed that there are 23 historical forts, 75 polo grounds, 65 archaeological sites and more than 39,000 rock carvings.[11] Renowned forts are *Baltit Fort, Altit Fort, Kharfochoo, Shigar Fort* and *Khaplu Fort. Chaqchan Mosque, Ambudik Mosque, Manthal*etc are other famous tourist spots. Buildings and houses in urban areas of GB are made of concrete and stones while the people in valleys and villages make houses of mud, concrete, wood and stone with high slopes because of the climate and weather conditions, these uniquely build houses also have a charm for tourists.

Details of Heritage and Cultural Sites

District	Forts /Palaces	Mosques	Shrine	Polo ground	Watch tower	Arch sites
Gilgit	6	44	14	20	7	15
Skardu	8	85	7	19	12	24
Diamer	2	10	0	13	11	22
Ghizer	1	10	0	13	1	4
Ghanche	6	89	12	10	0	0
Total	23	238	33	75	31	65

Table: 4: Tourism, Youth Affairs, Sports and Culture, GB Directorate

The traditional dresses of the inhabitants are quite unique. Old people commonly wear the traditional hats and dress while the young generation wears Jeans, T-shirts and Shalwar-Qameez influenced by both Islam and the West. Women also wear colourful and simple dresses; hijab is considered a compulsory part of the clothes. The flavours of delicious local dishes also add to tourists attraction towards GB. The traditional foods in GB are more aromatic and less oily with slight resemblance to Szechuan dishes. The presentation of the food proved very charming. *Kulcha, Azoq, Prapoo, Kisir* etc are famous recipes of the region.[12]

Hospitality of host community is also worth mentioning while considering tourism. Talking about the people of GB, one can only say that they are simple, industrious, full of hospitality, warmth, and very close to nature. Poetry is considered as a highly respected art in the region. Poets commonly write ghazals, songs and religious poems both in their mother tongue and Urdu. GB's culture is also rich in music and dances. Every nook and corner of GB has home-

grown traditional and folk music and dances. People of outside are attracted towards festivals like Silk Route Festival, Jashn e Baharan, Jashn e Mefang, Noroz, Polo tournaments and other traditional and religious events. Free style Polo is the game commonly attributed to GB which is also known as "the game of kings and the king of games". It's a very adventurous and daring game which also adds to tourism.

Tourists Flow to Gilgit Baltistan

Tourists from all over the world come to GB to enjoy its panoramic views, pleasant climate, adventurous trekking and natural environment. The Tourism Department of GB could compile the data of tourists arrival upto 2013 only. The arrival of local tourists, according to the data, is higher than the foreign tourists throughout the year. Arrival of less number of international tourists results into the small level of earning through this industry. Secondly the tables below indicate that tourism at the moment is not the all season business, April to September are the preferred months to visit GB because of its harsh weather in other seasons.

Before 2014 tourism was a lifeless industry in GB because of local law and order situations. In the last few years the industry is growing as in the year 2015 more than 600,000 local and foreign tourists visited GB which was very high compared to prior to 2014.[13] According to Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation (PTDC), more than one million local and foreign tourists visited GB during this year which is the record breaking figure in its history.[14]Two factors supported the increased tourist flow in the region, first the restored security situations, result of the Operation Zarb e Azb and the National Action Plan (NAP) and secondly the improved infrastructure in the recent years. The completion of CPEC would be

the next milestone in the improvement of this industry in the country as a whole in GB particularly.

Domestic tourist inflow in Gilgit Baltistan 2007-13

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Jan	1133	1394	1132	1586	986	992	1273
Feb	1237	1758	1260	1596	1265	1133	1543
Mar	1514	1920	3639	2263	2322	1435	1847
Apr	2623	8506	2298	4366	7940	2937	4443
May	2995	9994	2851	4599	8817	3691	4970
Jun	4261	11216	3837	6775	6455	4995	5564
July	2569	5119	10694	7610	9549	1900	5513
Aug	2719	4881	9994	4847	10880	1405	6492
Sep	2369	4805	8333	4357	6793	1405	5588
Oct	645	1848	4283	2606	3268	317	5231
Nov	397	1593	3615	2362	2012	315	4870
Dec	318	1006	2666	2333	992	199	4380
Total	23770	54040	54602	45300	61233	28893	51914
Grand Total							**319752**

Table: 5 Source: Tourism Department, Gilgit Baltistan

Foreign tourist inflow in Gilgit Baltistan 2007-13

Months	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Jan	52	48	95	63	81	62	64
Feb	74	24	52	54	86	99	29
Mar	230	279	902	308	325	226	336
Apr	580	407	337	204	391	165	585
May	1252	693	1256	794	663	343	395
Jun	2061	1317	1448	729	909	714	740
Jul	1491	1553	1039	1039	726	900	614
Aug	1562	1377	837	837	492	475	491
Sep	1797	964	760	760	608	568	540
Oct	773	929	424	424	473	422	432
Nov	292	552	203	203	293	223	196
Dec	174	361	351	351	195	124	49
Total	10338	8504	7739	7728	5242	4324	4501
Grand Total							**48376**

Table: 6 Source: Tourism Department, Gilgit Baltistan

Hindrances in tourism development

Though GB comprises lot of potential in tourism however there are various hurdles and troubles for tourists like problems to access GB, absence of tourism policy, negligence of tourism industry, absence of awareness regarding tourism, lack of investment in GB, lack of skilled manpower, lack of online information, difficulty in acquiring Pakistani visa and misunderstandings about GB.

There are five different ways to enter GB: through *Karakarum Highway (KKH),* through *Sost* Boarder, through *Shandoor*, by PIA via *Skardu Airport* and *Gilgit Airport,* but all the five ways create some or more issues for a tourist. KKH is the only route to offer land transport services but the poor condition and zigzagging route of KKH make uneasy to access GB, and the lack of metal roads is not encouraging for tourists.[15]

Lack of investment in infrastructure like streets, parks, bridges etc is another bottleneck in the way of tourism development. Especially the KKH, which is the only source to reach GB by land, is in very terrible condition. Land sliding and horrible accidents are common on this road that's why it is recognized as the 'World's Eighth Wonder'. The construction of the only road which links Gilgit with Skardu seems next to impossible, although its construction and maintenance is critical to the connectivity and prospect of the region. Hundreds of lives have been lost on this dreadful road, 22 accidents are recorded in 2015 alone.[16] "Number of tourists this year returned from Alam Bridge, the starting point of Gilgit Skardu road, knowing its terrible condition", Naseem, a hotel manager from Skardu said.[17]

Frequently Gilgit Baltistan is facing negligence regarding every sector but tourism department appears to have particularly bad

policies. The official website of tourism department of GB does not offer proper online information for tourists about tourism opportunities. There are no practical arrangements to eradicate the large amount of solid and human waste created by expeditions and tourists on popular trekking routes and base camps which are creating serious threats for the eco system. Various tourist sites are still untapped and there are no proper means to explore them.

The local people are less aware of the tourism industry so they do not take any interest to improve this source of economy. In the recent year; sudden boost up of tourist flow resulted in shortage of accommodation because the hotel industry in the region is insufficient. Waseem Ahmed, a local tourist told a newspaper that he saw people spending nights in their cars because of limited rooms in the local hotels.[18] The existing hotels are commonly of low standard in which the food, accommodation, services and management are poor.

General Pervaiz Musharuf in his book wrote that it is unfortunate that our image outside is very bad that the world associates us with extremism and terrorism. Tourists felt danger to come in these regions.[19] Especially the image of GB has been discoloured in western and Indian media propping up some of the fatal incidents that occurred in the northern areas in past few years. Our media has been very pathetic with regards to countering the manipulation of our enemies at national and international level. After the incidents of Diamer, Chilas and Kohistan in previous years, in which the tourists were killed by extremist elements, the road became more vulnerable.[20] Thanks to the security agencies of Pakistan who have crushed these elements and made the road safer to travel.

Recommendations

These hurdles can be removed by bringing some changes in the policies of the Government and allocating some extra budget.

- To solve the main problem, it is needed to provide safe conditions and security for tourists. The GB police should be given training to face emergency situations. All the check posts on the boarder of GB should be prominent. An efficient system should be arranged to change the unnecessary rules and regulations which create difficulties for the tourists. To handle sudden accidents, mobile rescue teams and emergency hospitals should be managed so that the tourists may enjoy safe travel.

- The Government should take steps to improve infrastructure and logistic lines in GB by building and constructing new roads, streets, parks and hotels. Introducing new trend in hotels at scenic sites by giving all type of facilities regarding food, residences and entertainment would solve the main problems that a tourist commonly faces. The employers in hotels like managers, waiters, cooks etc should be properly trained.[21]

- Concerning the infrastructure, important thing is the maintenance of Karakarum Highway as metal road or construction of an alternate road. The Government of Pakistan with the help of China has already signed agreement in the name of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) which will pass through this region, in result of which the road infrastructure will be better. This type of investment would help to increase our county's economy through both trade and tourism.[22]

- Tourists are irritated from conditional flight schedules of the only airline to the region, PIA. Increasing PIA flights or offering other private or international flights will raise tourists flow rate in GB. It is commonly suggested that up-gradation of Gilgit Airport or Skardu Airport as international airport and linking these airports with Kashgar Airport will strengthen trade and tourism between China and Pakistan.

- There are also some responsibilities of media that they should start programs on the tourism potential of GB to publicize the natural beauty, cultural diversity, socioeconomic traditions, history and lifestyle of GB. Media can play its role by giving information about maps, distances between places, weather conditions and flight schedules. A separate channel for tourism in Pakistan would help to show our soft image. It is needed to promote awareness among people using TV programs, film, and drama and marketing industries.

- Adding tourism as an optional subject in academia would be also helpful to introduce its importance throughout the country. Especially in the Karakoram International University, there should be a separate department for tourism and travel, courses and workshops should be offered to enhance eco-tourism and sustainable development through this industry. Research grants should be available to local researchers to encourage research in environmental, botanical, habitat, medicinal, geographic and many other unexplored aspects of that area.

- It is required to focus on the entertainment and sport sectors, like museums and monuments, theme parks, cable

cars, chair lifts, boats and steamers, snow mobile vehicles, cinemas and indoor and outdoor sports could be also the cradles of tourism in GB. Mobile applications and electronic games can also be used to endorse the beauty of this section of the country.

- As the region has rich cultural diversity, so the historical events, cultural shows, traditional festivals, musical programs and tournaments would enhance tourism. The famous game of GB-Polo (free style) should be recognized as the national game and a national team of Polo should be established so that foreign teams and clubs could be invited to GB for such events. Construction of new international stadiums and grounds for Polo, cricket, hockey, football and volleyball will present GB among developed nations.

- The industry nowadays is limited to summer and autumn only. It is suggested that it could be the all season business by introducing winter adventures and games like skiing, drafting, helli-skiing etc.

Conclusion

To conclude, tourism is a major source of income for many countries, and has an upshot on the economy of the host country in the form of payments for goods, services and employments etc. In other parts of the country, GB also has a unique blend of breath taking natural beauty, a rich diversity of culture, socio-economic traditions, history and lifestyle but these resources are still unexploited, so mounting tourism industry in GB will ultimately result into the advancement of the economy of that region particularly and Pakistan as a whole. There are hindrances and negligence regarding its advancement but these can be removed by

concentrating and investing in this sector on both private and government level. To utilize this industry the law and order situations should be maintained, infrastructure should be developed, the natural beauties of the region should be publicised and the department of tourism should be sensitized. The Government of GB should launch future plans and targets to adapt GB, 'the industry without chimney' and Pakistan a prosperous country.

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ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF RENEWABLE ENERGY IN SOUTH ASIA

(Ms Tayyaba Moin)[*]

Abstract

Renewable and non-renewable energy resources have immense benefits for living beings. These sources are quite large in number, to mention a few: electricity, petroleum, natural gas and water. Non-renewable sources of energy are getting reduced due to over consumption, lack of planning and exploration. This paper discusses preventive measures to control over-utilization of valuable resources which is required to be avoided to arrest severe shortage of energy resources in South Asia. This situation has developed an urge to look for alternative sources of renewable energy. Renewable sources of energy are now having major considerations for South Asian countries while looking for reliable and environment friendly sources of energy. These alternative sources have been discussed in this paper. Renewable sources can surely contribute to development especially of economy which will ultimately control economic deficit in Pakistan, India and various reconstruction and rehabilitation problems in Afghanistan. So, there is immediate need to realign our focus and areas of interest, and work for the betterment of upcoming generations.

Key Words: *immense, non-renewable, over consumption, preventive, renewable, economy, immediate*

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Overview of Non-Renewable and Renewable Energy

Non-renewable sources are having positive impacts on economy ultimately which will lead to development and progress in South Asian countries. One of the grave problems in Pakistan specifically is of shortage of electricity. It was accepted two years ago by Chairman Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) that WAPDA could not meet the demand for electricity[1]. This statement has depicted lack of interest of government in problems of people and their efforts and role for making lives of people comfortable. The problem of shortage of electricity increases in summers and people in rural areas have to suffer for more than 20 hours load-shedding and urban people have to suffer for 08-10 hours.[2] . These statistics have depicted disproportionate distribution of electricity to rural and urban areas. The technical causes of electrical energy shortage are insufficient generating capacity, old grid stations and lack of suitable equipment for power distribution. Grid stations are not capable of accommodating the existing demands which has increased manifold (Gelling at el 1988)[3]. The causes of energy shortage can be overcome by taping sources of renewable energy.

The unfortunate fact is that WAPDA and IPPs thermal power plants are feeding about 50 percent of the electrical needs which means that there capacity is only 50% as compared to other countries where it is common that thermal power plants produce 75 to 80 percent[4]. This fact has depicted that Pakistan is having less capacity to fulfill needs with wind energy which should be increased with installation of more wind turbines. India is the fifth largest producer of wind energy at 1,700 megawatts[5]. India has spent enough budget and has planned according to present and future needs. Situation warrants that this strategy should be planned by

energy scarce countries. According to recent surveys, 70 percent of greenhouse gases emissions (GHG) come from fossil fuels used to generate electricity in industry, building and transport which has caused increase in emission[6]. So, it depicts that non-renewable sources of energy are deadly for environment and ultimately for man's health.

Non-renewable resources are blessing for Pakistan as the country is located in the sunny belt. In last 15 years, progress has been made in the use of photovoltaic cells and currently photovoltaic cells are being used in some public parks like Khalid bin Waleed Park (Peshawar) and the Race Course Park (Rawalpindi).[7] Public Health department has installed solar water pump for drinking purposes in various areas[8]. Government and public sectors have progressed in use of photovoltaic system for gaining solar benefit and it will help to decrease electricity shortage. In comparison to non-renewable sources of energy, fossil fuels have arrested and reversed the growth of greenhouse gas emission and lowered the carbon foot print of development in developed and developing countries[9]. This statement shows that there is increase in consumption of fossil fuels compared to carbon in development projects. But these efforts of change of energy will be deadly because fossil fuels and even carbon produced gases which are poisonous can contribute in causing climate change. There is climate change due to anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs) which is estimated to exceed now the worst-cases emission trajectory drawn under the IPCC in the third assessment report (IPCC, 2001a)[10]. This assessment report has concluded that chemical composition of green house gases is the worst emission on earth which has brought fatal results and implications. There is a

substantial focus on major rescaling of renewable energy sources, efficiency measures (supply and demand both) loss reduction and cleaner fossil fuels technologies[11]. The focus on renewable energy sources is to provide clean energy to environment, and cleaner fossil fuels is an alternative of pure form of fossil fuels because there is difference in rate of emission of gases in both types of fossil fuels. Cleaner fossil fuels are more environment friendly than pure form of fossil fuels. This change in fossil fuels through technology has proven that there is need for environment friendly sources of energy because presently world is facing various problem due to use of non-renewable sources of energy. Since sometime, world has been dependent on biomass, significantly wood for the purpose of heat and cooking[12]. It has proved that half of the energy demand has been fulfilled by biomass. Biomass does not cause any emission of such gases which are hazardous to environment and injurious for humans. Solar energy has its beginning in late twentieth century[13].

It shows that man has very recently realized the importance of renewable energy. Even though he has been using it for cooking and heating purposes but he has not realized the use of biomass for fuel purposes. It is fact that man has realized the importance of renewable energy but now it's too late. The changes due to emission has also capability to effect on energy resources and even on supplies as well as seasonal demand as it is required in hot and cold seasons[14].

There was perception that biomass was fuel of the poor but as fossil fuel prices increased man looked for alternatives, and that has been biomass which has played center role for domestic fuel, motor vehicle fuel and as an alternative to natural gas[15]. This has proved that man alters the image of any commodity according to his need.

Previously biomass was symbol of poverty but now it has become expensive commodity due to its use. It also represents that man can alter his procedures and get benefit from any commodity if he wants but it only depends on his intention and chances to gain benefit. There is another fact that biomass does not have that capacity to replace the role of fossil fuels due to strength and usage it has to satisfy needs of society[16]. It has proved that there is need to use fossil fuels in limited capacity and only at instances where fossil fuels are desperately required. There is immense need to employ biomass for half of the energy demands of people.

In comparison to biomass there is coal that also suffered from bad perception in the past. It is thought that in the past livelihood of people was dependant on coal: for mining and burning purposes, and limited use in production of electricity[17]. These past perceptions did exist but due to development of various machinery and reliance on alternative sources of energy and even owing to impulse to find alternatives of every problem, there is need to educate the people to adjust to changing patterns of life, as far as use of coal is concerned. This transformation of opinions has made life of human beings more comfortable. There is a need to decrease its harmful effects on environment as a consequence[18]. We turned towards coal realizing that there are various benefits of it, as it has become primary, easily available and cheap source of energy. According to statistics the global coal consumption has been stagnant during 1990s but coal consumption rose rapidly by 47 percent between 2000 and 2008[19]. These statistics prove that due to advancement in technology, man has started concerted efforts to decrease harmful effects of energy resources and benefit from those sources with less harmful effects. Advancement in technology has contributed to analyze the pros and

cons of any commodity and take the best for the betterment of humanity.

Non-renewable and renewable energy sources are having their benefits for environment and living beings but at the same time there are limitations and harmful effects of energy sources as well. As biomass is having limited capacity for energy production and fossil fuels cannot be replaced by biomass. So, it is concluded that energy sources are having their limitations and we have to use them accordingly so that we do not suffer from energy shortages in future. If there will ever be any energy shortages then wars would be fought for their acquisition. As we all know that world powers increase their influence on such states on one pretext or the other which are rich in energy resources only to exercise effective control.

Need to work on Renewable Energy

There is immense need to work on renewable energy because non-renewable energy is getting scarce due to excessive use, mismanagement and costly exploration. So, other alternative to fulfill energy demands have been discussed at length in the succeeding paragraphs. These sources of renewable energy are long lasting, reliable, cheap and efficient. There are various deadly consequences of non-renewable energy sources; climate change, emission of greenhouse gases, global warming, depletion of ozone layer and melting of glaciers are those consequences which exist and coming generations have to face if attention will not be focused on renewable energy.

International Organizations especially United Nations have played vital role for sustainable energy especially for South Asia. United Nations established a global initiative: Sustainable Energy for All (SE4ALL) in 2011 with significant relevance to the present

energy conditions in South Asia as approximately 417 million people lacked access to electricity which is equivalent to more than a third of the world's population without access to electricity as recorded in 2010[20]. This initiative has stressed the importance of renewable energy and advocacy of United Nations for renewable energy. This initiative has also helped South Asian countries to work on renewable energy with support of the United Nations.

Climate change is one of the leading factors which have gained attention of scientists, researchers and policy makers of every state to work and utilize available options. As there is significant evidence which has been outlined in IPCC report that current rate of climate change has no significant example in present geological records[21]. This statement signifies that there are no available records about changes of climate, it means geological experts cannot predict about climatic changes. This situation is alarming because people cannot prevent or carry out safety measures for climatic catastrophes like floods, hurricanes, cyclones, and extreme weathers. This present situation is only due to consumption of non-renewable sources of energy because the emission of gases from fossil fuels, natural gas, and coal are devastating especially for climate change.

When climate change will be unpredictable then lives of people will be disturbed because severe cold or hot weather or floods, hurricanes and cyclones can cause casualties, property loss, crops and fruit trees damage which will ultimately result into huge damages. There is substantial literature available on climate change which states that climate change has capacity to be a substantial challenge to achieve the goals of sustainable development which would seriously affect ecosystems[22]. Relevant literature has proved that there is urgent need to conduct serious work on renewable

energy so effects of climate change caused in the past due to non-renewable energy sources can be minimized. There is need of the time to enhance the ability of future generations to meet their own energy needs successfully[23]. This statement has proved that there will be pressing need for future generation to look for alternative sources of energy because non-renewable sources of energy are decreasing with the passage of time. There will be increase in temperature and sea levels, changes in condition of sea surface, quality of coastal water, increase in variability of extreme weather, and many such events by 2050[24]. This unpredictability is shocking because changes and increase in harsh weather conditions will result in melting of glaciers, depletion of ozone layer due to increase in pollution which is caused by emission of greenhouse gases, and floods happenings due to increase in monsoon period. There is need to focus on economic growth, social progress and environmental improvement through advancement and development in energy sector, agriculture sector and industry. The social progress, economic growth and environmental improvement can lead to sustainable development[25]. The development in these three sectors can lead to a prosperous and self reliant country.

Thus, it has been proved that renewable energy is need of time because non-renewable energy has adversely affected climate change, increase in depletion of ozone layer, emission of greenhouse gases, floods, hurricanes, cyclones, melting of glaciers, deforestation, increase in temperature, death of living beings due to increase in temperature, air pollution etc. There are more efforts required in South Asia by scientists, researchers, meteorologists, geologists to work on areas where renewable sources can have their best results like to install photovoltaic cells in sunny areas, wind

turbines in wind areas, educate people to use biomass as a source of fuel through installation of biomass fuel plants, installation of water turbines at rivers lakes, Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea. There should be work to minimize the harmful effects of non-renewable energy sources like use of fossil fuels with such method that emission of greenhouses gases can be reduced and use of coal with such method that it produces less harmful gases. The efforts by scientists, researchers, meteorologists, geologists would help South Asia to prosper through renewable energy because renewable sources are environment friendly, clean, efficient, economical and easily available. When there would be use of renewable energy then there would be less depletion of ozone layer and decrease in deforestation, emission of greenhouse gases, floods, hurricanes, cyclones, melting of glaciers, and decrease in temperature intensity and air pollution which would help human beings to work efficiently.

Environment Friendly Options Available for Renewable Energy in South Asia

The South Asian region is losing traditional energy resources and the only option available is to explore renewable sources of energy. The cause of scarcity of energy in South Asia is lack of exploration of non-renewable and renewable sources of energy, lack of advancement and machinery that is required for exploration of both sources of energy. The South Asian region has abundance of energy sources ; both non-renewable and renewable but there is requirement to explore them and make best use of those sources because energy demands are increasing with increase in population.

Renewable energy is efficient, environment friendly and cheap. So, the time has come to look for available sources of renewable

energy in South Asia so the scarcity of energy can be overcome. The recent observation that is based on recap of geological apparatus, geographical location, cycles of climate, activities of agriculture/industry and urbanization exposes that there are brilliant prospects for the exploration of various sources of renewable energy which are mega and macro/micro hydel, biomass, biogas, wind, solar, co-generation, city and other solid wastes, utilization of low-head canal levels, sea wave and tide and geothermal energies etc[26]. The above mentioned sources of renewable energy are available in Pakistan in abundance and the only need is to explore these sources and use them to eliminate energy scarcity.

India.   India, like other South Asian countries is also facing environmental problems due to excessive use of non-renewable energy. There is complicated problem in India because more than three quarters of electricity is generated by burning coal and natural gas; the rapid increase in population which is currently 1.1 billion and had sustainable economic growth in recent years, the carbon emission has been over 1.6 million kilotons in 2007 which is among the world's highest[27]. This report by the World Bank has given shocking statistics of environmental problems caused by use of non-renewable energy which determined that there is need of time and environment to use renewable energy to decrease environmental problems. Power generation is a challenge in India's estimated 150 GW of potential of renewable energy through transmission and distribution capacity to raise solar, wind and small hydropower potential of India[28]. The potential of solar energy, wind energy and hydropower needs to be explored to its fullest to decrease environmental pollution, climate change, deforestation, depletion of

ozone layer, emission of injurious gases and chances of floods, draughts and feminine.

Afghanistan.   Scarcity of energy resources in Afghanistan is due to instability which is still prevailing and government is unable to provide electricity and / or natural gas to population because lack of advanced machinery and heavy budget is required to have access to major part of population to energy resources. As Afghanistan is trying to develop after decades of conflict and to meet energy needs of the country; Afghanistan is highly dependent on Central Asian countries and other neighboring countries because domestic resources are inadequate to meet energy requirement of the country[29]. The situation in Afghanistan is alarming in energy sector because very less percentage of population is having access to electricity and most of the population is using bio-fuel and wood for cooking and heating purposes, resulting into various health problems. The current situation of electricity in Afghanistan paints a bleak picture: 9 percent of consumption is met through hydropower, 9 percent through thermal and diesel generation, 26 percent electricity is imported from neighboring countries, 1 percent of the demand is met from renewable energy, and 55 percent of population has no access to electricity[30]. The present condition in Afghanistan is alarming because scarcity of energy resources, lack of distribution of electricity to urban and rural areas and highly dependence on neighboring countries will increase energy problems if proper management of distribution of electricity is not done by government. The available resources of renewable energy which is only 1 percent consists of solar energy, wind energy and hydro power.[31] The available potential of renewable energy is enough to support energy sector to meet all domestic and commercial

demands of the country but major problem is lack of advanced technology and machinery that can help to install wind turbines, photovoltaic cells and water turbines, and secondly turbines and photovoltaic cells are highly expensive for such a country which has suffered for decades due to conflict.

Sri Lanka.   Sri Lanka like other South Asian countries is blessed with abundance of non-renewable and renewable sources of energy. Sri Lanka is using fossil fuels to meet demands of energy sector but increased prices of petroleum have forced it to search for other options like coal and liquefied natural gas (LNG) to replace petroleum in certain equipments[32]. The scenario of energy sector in Sri Lanka is satisfactory but there is immense need to work on non-renewable sources of energy like coal and natural gas, so harmful effects of non-renewable energy can be lessened. The country also needs to spend sizeable budget for extensive exploration technology so the available of option of renewable energy can be tapped. The available options of renewable energy are biomass, hydro power, solar and wind energy[33]. These options of renewable energy are immense to replace the petroleum fuels and meet increasing energy demands of the country.

Bangladesh.   The options of non-renewable and renewable energy for Bangladesh are immense but social and economic development hinders the sustainable supply of energy to people. The aim of government is to provide electricity to all by 2020 and the only way to increase energy production is through fuel diversifications which also includes use of renewable energy[34]. The condition of energy in Bangladesh is alarming because only 1 percent demand of people is fulfilled by renewable energy which means that energy policies of Bangladesh are not environment

friendly which is due to social and economic factors. The economic and social factors which are creating hindrance in development of energy sector should be sorted out as early as possible so demands of people can be met according to the governmental aim. There is immense need to use solar energy which is in abundance to replace non-renewable energy sources like coal, natural gas and petroleum.

Bhutan.   Like other South Asian countries, energy resources in Bhutan are immense and government has ensured that all citizens are responsible for preservation of energy resources. The available options of natural resources are quite wide in range which are hydropower, solar, wind energy, forestry and mineral resources[35]. The available options of renewable energy are immense which have capacity to decrease threats of climate change and enhance benefits through export of renewable energy and environment friendly options which are of benefit to the country to decrease climate change effects, deforestation, floods, depletion of ozone layer and draughts. The above mentioned energy resources of renewable energy are sustainable with conservation options. They have contributed in national progress; in 2011, sale of hydropower had the largest share in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and this sale was done after meeting all domestic requirements of electricity[36]. The statistics that have been based on renewable energy proved that renewable energy has potential to fulfill all national needs of electricity and can contribute in development of the country through export of the surplus electricity to other countries that are suffering from scarcity of electricity especially those which cannot use renewable energy options to fulfill their growing demands of energy.

Maldives.　　Maldives has also focused on renewable energy to meet its energy demands like other developing countries. Maldives has focused on renewable energy because it is environment friendly and cheap; the prices of petroleum are increasing rapidly so Maldives has acknowledged the importance of renewable energy to fulfill its demands by renewable energy. Wind, solar and water energy are the bright options for Maldives to meet its energy demands more efficiently[37]. The options of renewable energy that are the focus of Maldives are having potential to increase economic development and progress gradually.

Nepal.　　　Nepal is having scarcity of energy resources like other South Asian countries but it has focused on options of renewable energy to meet its demands. The present status of electricity consumption is that 67 percent of domestic needs are fulfilled from electricity comprising 58 percent from the national grid and only 09 percent demands are met by off-grid solutions[38]. These statistics have proved that renewable energy should be used for fulfillment of increasing energy demands, cooking demands and heating purposes. The need of renewable energy is immense because the injurious gases are emitted from use of wood. The available options of renewable energy in Nepal are biomass and micro-hydro power whereas solar energy is already in use to fulfill heating and cooking demands[39]. The available options of renewable energy are enough to meet energy, cooking and heating demands of the country which needs advanced technology and trained manpower to explore and use these energy resources efficiently to meet growing energy demands of country.

Thus, the options of renewable energy are available immensely in South Asian region and it needs strong policy initiatives,

adequate and durable supply, financial incentives, breakthrough of technology and awareness to use renewable energy efficiently. The determinants that are badly required to make use of available options of renewable energy needs enable manpower and future oriented leadership to make best use of available options to gradually develop that can contribute to eliminate poverty, decrease environmental pollution and dependence on neighboring countries to fulfill growing needs of energy.

Options and States which are not exploited presently

The options of renewable energy are solar energy, wind energy, osmotic power, forestry, biomass are those options which are environment friendly and immensely available in region of South Asia. All the countries of South Asia are having immense options of renewable energy but the only need is to have vision and determination for exploration of energy sources with advanced machinery. The is no state in South Asia that is not blessed with immense options of renewable energy and the least available option of renewable energy is hydro power, solar and wind energy which are immense if that country is determined to get real benefit from renewable energy. All options of renewable energy that are discussed in this research paper need to be explored to their fullest to benefit from energy sources that have potential to increase development and progress in South Asia.

Recommendations

The future of renewable energy in South Asian region is bright if countries are determined to use the available options to its fullest. The budget that is consumed on lavish living of leaders can be used for betterment of country if there is sincere will of leaders and policy makers of that country. The future of energy development depends

on exploration of available options of renewable energy sources through advanced machinery so that sources can be used for betterment, progress and development of a country to meet growing demands and provide clean environment to people. The use of renewable energy is in benefit of South Asian region because climate change and other environmental factors are increasing rapidly due to use of non-renewable energy and sources of non-renewable energy are also getting scarce as time passes so there is urgent need to shift to renewable energy for betterment of South Asian region and world at the same time.

The use of renewable energy is in benefit of South Asian region and it is highly recommended to use available options of renewable energy to decrease dependence on non-renewable sources of energy and neighboring countries to fulfill demands of country. Every state in South Asian region could become self sufficient in energy sector through use of renewable energy. There is need of determination, sustainable policies, trained man power and advanced technology to meet growing demands of energy sector which would have its impact on economy, political and social system of country.

Conclusion

Thus, the use of renewable energy is for betterment of South Asian region and other regions of world at the same time for progress and development in energy sector, economy and all other sectors of country. There is only need to utilize the available options to their fullest to eliminate poverty, uncountable problems caused by use of non-renewable energy and dependence on neighboring countries. The use of renewable energy is benefit of South Asian region because it would be environment friendly, efficient, cheap and sustainable solution of energy scarcity which is one of the causes of poverty, unemployment, crime and under development.

Ms. Tayyaba Moin

End Notes

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