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COVER PHOTO

"Attari-Wagah Border Ceremony" by Ronald Wogan / CC-BY-NC 2.0
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ABBREVIATIONS

AJK  Azad Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir
AJKWP AJK Women for Peace
CDR Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation
CII Confederation of Indian Industries
CTED United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate
DPG Delhi Policy Group
FICCI Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
ICRIER Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations
J&K Jammu and Kashmir
KIIR Kashmir Institute for International Relations
LoC Line of Control
NSC National Security Council
NDMA Non-Discriminatory Market Access
NGO Nongovernmental Organization
PIPFD Pakistan-India People’s Forum for Peace and Democracy
PPC Pakistan Peace Coalition
SAARC South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAHR South Asians for Human Rights
SAPHF South Asian Public Health Forum
SEZ Special Economic Zone
SOP Seeds of Peace
SDPI Sustainable Development Policy Institute
<table>
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>WIPSA</td>
<td>Women’s Initiatives for Peace in South Asia</td>
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For the better part of seven decades, the relationship between India and Pakistan has been marked by violence and mistrust. Yet while the two governments continue to exchange fire and trade fiery words, numerous Indian and Pakistani individuals and organizations have been working to improve relations between their two countries. Through literary festivals, trade expositions, youth exchanges, Track Two dialogues, capacity-building workshops, civil society summits, and countless other initiatives, Indians and Pakistanis have sought to create connections, affect policy, and lay the groundwork for better relations. This report, Civil Societies: Empowering Peace Constituencies in India and Pakistan, examines these initiatives and provides a blueprint for international actors, including governments, foundations, think tanks and academic institutions, looking to understand and assist in these endeavors.

Civil Societies aims to equip ongoing and future peacebuilding efforts with the tools needed to thrive outside the closed doors and elite circles that incubated many such initiatives in the past; to find new, innovative, and lasting ways of mobilizing civil society and the broader Indian and Pakistani publics; and to help seed a more compelling narrative about the future of India-Pakistan relations.

Research and Findings

Through a review of existing scholarly literature and media coverage of past and present-day civil society-led normalization initiatives, dozens of interviews with leading policy experts, academics and government officials, and in-depth conversations with seasoned practitioners in each country who have led peacebuilding efforts, we have endeavored to compile a broad history of non-governmental activity and a map of current initiatives to determine what has worked, what has not worked, and where untried pathways can emerge for organizations and individuals committed to enhancing the India-Pakistan relationship.

Civil society-led peacebuilding is not a panacea; measurable results and tangible policy outcomes stemming from such efforts are notoriously hard to come by, and non-governmental—and often foreign-funded—efforts are viewed by some with deep suspicion. Yet our research shows that with a longer view, civil society-led initiatives can help to build trust and temper adversarial narratives across borders. In a handful of cases, these efforts may even help effect changes in policy and create meaningful linkages that can—should the Indian and Pakistani governments reconcile their differences—provide a durable platform for peace and prevent slippage into past hostilities.

In Section III, our report sheds light on successful and promising cross-border civil society initiatives in a variety of sectors that share the following characteristics: 1) Sustainability: initiatives with the resources and expertise to nourish cross-border, people-to-people interactions over many years; 2) Coordination: the ability to marshal disparate knowledge, resources, and access to decision-makers and adapt to fluctuations in official India-Pakistan ties; 3) Accessibility: connecting participants—often hamstrung by rigid visa regimes—through technology, more democratic participation, and gatherings at “neutral” sites; 4) Collaboration: linking groups in various sectors to enable the sharing of best practices and expertise across sectors, the potential pooling of resources, and the opportunity for wider knowledge dispersal; and 5) Publicity: leveraging media and digital technologies to engage broader swaths of the Indian and Pakistani
publics. Many of these findings pertain to peacebuilding activity specifically in the fields of arts and culture, economics and trade, human rights, Kashmir, security, and youth, among several other sectors, each of which we analyze in Section II.

Recommendations

The aforementioned characteristics, further detailed in Section III, are instructive for international actors—academic institutions, foundations, governments, think tanks, and others—looking to support ongoing normalization efforts. While involvement of international actors in this conflict is particularly sensitive, for reasons detailed later in this report, many civil society practitioners welcome the support of international institutions. To that end, in Section II, we offer sector-specific recommendations for organizations looking to boost their effectiveness and international players looking to engage, following which we suggest a series of additional areas for potential India-Pakistan civil-society collaboration, including health, energy, and the environment. In Section III, we propose a number of programmatic and policy-oriented recommendations we believe could impact normalization activity more broadly. Some of those recommendations include:

- A “design thinking” and strategy forum for Indian and Pakistani non-governmental leaders from a variety of sectors to convene and jointly resource bold and fresh peacebuilding campaigns;

- A digital capacity initiative creating an online clearinghouse for civil society-led activity, enabling organizations and observers to stay apprised of current initiatives in a way that facilitates knowledge-sharing and provides an outlet for related narrative-shaping commentary;

- A technical expertise hub linking Indian and Pakistani civil society practitioners with technical experts from third countries to cultivate innovative policy ideas, provide specialized expertise, and offer mediation capacity; and

- Multi-media workshops aiming to improve publicity and media capabilities for peace constituents as a means of aiding mass mobilization and boosting visibility.

The impact of civil society-led initiatives may be difficult to quantify, but historical experience in places like Northern Ireland and South Africa shows that these efforts can be immensely valuable in building trust among conflicted publics, changing narratives about longtime adversaries, creating space for dialogue around difficult issues, and laying the groundwork for robust ties between communities on both sides of a disputed border. In some cases, widespread public support for change has even nudged governments to reconcile their differences and pursue peace. This report aims to provide international actors the context necessary to evaluate ongoing civil society-led peacebuilding activity, as well as a guide for those looking to bolster the efforts of the many courageous Indians and Pakistanis who work tirelessly to improve relations between their two countries.
SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

A. BILATERAL HISTORICAL CONTEXT

For nearly 70 years, India and Pakistan have been in conflict. Since declaring their independence in 1947, the two countries have fought four wars. Indian and Pakistani leaders regularly trade threats, and they have come dangerously close to exchanging nuclear weapons while, to this day, bullets continue to fly between their two militaries in the disputed region of Kashmir. Further, Indian and Pakistani tensions have spilled well beyond their own disputed borders, with proxy battles taking place in Afghanistan and conflicts over economics and resources stretching into the Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and further afield. International actors like China, Russia, and the United States have all at times taken sides and remain important actors in this enduring dispute.

The causes of these tensions are numerous and hotly debated; clashes over identity, religion, strategic and resource concerns, Kashmir, colonial legacies, and international meddling all bear varying degrees of responsibility. Yet this is a momentous time in South Asia. Major shifts are underway: a revitalized partnership between India and the United States; Pakistan’s invigorated focus on combating terrorism; dramatic changes to the US presence in Afghanistan; and the rise of a more assertive China.

Dialogue between India and Pakistan has come in fits and starts, often derailed by external events and forces opposed to reconciliation. The Kargil Conflict in 1999, the attack on India’s parliament in 2001, and the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks have all served to scuttle official peace talks. Yet new efforts and overtures are underway. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi invited Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to his swearing-in ceremony in May, and Indian officials visited Islamabad in March for talks.

In the midst of these sporadic government-to-government efforts, individuals and NGOs have been working for decades to improve ties and keep the lines of communication open between the two countries. This has taken the form of trade and business missions, Track Two dialogues, arts and cultural exchanges, youth and education initiatives, and even cricket diplomacy. Perhaps more than ever before, the expansive space of civil society is needed to help stabilize a volatile India-Pakistan relationship, and such a space need not be defined by the strict parameters of discussions at the official level. Civil society’s flexibility and transnational reach can help define innovative spaces and new fora for engagement, but this cannot be accomplished without first understanding the history and terrain of past and current peace efforts.

B. OBJECTIVES

1. Identify the persistent peace advocates and processes on a sector-by-sector basis to provide an overall terrain for high- and low-potential engagement.

2. Evaluate the historical longevity, impact, and constraints of civil society peace initiatives through sector-based research, literature reviews, and interviews with experts and NGO leaders.

3. Identify common successes and constraints that inform the need for broad, innovative pathways of engagement addressing issues of civil society capacity, longevity, and visibility.
Propose recommendations to address unmet needs between India and Pakistan and to create synergies between international actors and on-the-ground civil society organizations.

C. METHODOLOGY

In order to understand the context of the India-Pakistan relationship, we first conducted research to gain a more nuanced understanding of the current situation between the two countries, including a review of past civil society peace efforts. The second phase of our research consisted of interviews with US-based scholars and government officials to enhance our broad historical outlook as well as to flesh out the perception, role, and limitations of US involvement (see Appendix 1). We met with US government officials from the National Security Council and the Department of State’s India Desk, Pakistan Desk, Office of the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the Secretary of State’s Policy Planning Staff. For the final phase of our research, we took a sector-based approach to map out the present terrain of civil society peace efforts in India and Pakistan (see Appendix 2). In this process, mostly informed by interviews with on-the-ground NGO leaders, we analyzed the common areas of success and failure to inform our sector-specific recommendations, as well as our overall findings and comprehensive recommendations.

In undertaking this project, several constraints are notable that are both logistical and substantive in nature: 1) Logistics: The research reflected in this report was conducted from the United States and consisted of material and interviews collected only in English; 2) Scope: In both India and Pakistan, there are a plethora of organizations across many sectors working to improve ties but insufficient time to interview leaders from all of them. The sectors and experts chosen are therefore meant to be illustrative rather than comprehensive; 3) Findings: The information collected is in the form of interviews and literature reviews with varying degrees of agreement on the nature of the India-Pakistan relationship and role/potential of civil society peace efforts. Therefore, the analysis reflected in this report navigates the often competing views offered by the range of individuals interviewed; and 4) Recommendations: This report strives to offer innovative recommendations, yet we acknowledge that this conflict is deeply entrenched, and no one strategy will solve seven decades’ worth of conflict.
SECTION II: CIVIL SOCIETY PEACE EFFORTS

A. GENERAL HISTORY

Civil society has a long and important history in shaping the political contours of South Asia as early as the nineteenth century starting with the Indian independence movement. Since Partition, countless groups have sought to establish ties across the India-Pakistan border and to shape debates around key political issues and disputes. As the longtime Pakistani peace activist B.M. Kutty has written, groups of Indian and Pakistani scholars worked to raise awareness in the 1970s over the dangers of nuclear proliferation; journalists and intellectuals gathered in Karachi in 1984 to discuss a range of political issues; and in 1990, eminent academics, after drafting joint statements relating to the prospects of war between India and Pakistan, shared mutual concerns with India’s then-prime minister Rajiv Gandhi (Kutty 2004). The South Asian Regional Dialogue, launched in 1991, was a key effort, which brought leading cultural figures together for several years in different South Asian cities to explore new approaches to a host of political and social issues (2004). Such elite activism along issue-based and sectoral lines continues to this day—the Jinnah Institute and Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation’s series of Delhi and Islamabad Dialogues is one prominent example. We examine recent sector-based efforts in Section II.

One of the first broad-based and multi-sector initiatives was the Pakistan-India People’s Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD), first convened in 1994. The forum drew from different sectors and disciplines, advocating for enhanced business relations, environmental awareness, arts and literature exchanges, and youth involvement in the peace process. Similarly, the Pakistan Peace Coalition (PPC) convened a large, multi-sector conference in 1999 in Karachi to enhance collaboration among peace groups. The Pakistan-India People’s Solidarity Conference, inaugurated in 2001 by the PPC and the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace, is another prominent example. More specialized efforts have taken place as well, including the Indian-Pakistani Soldiers Initiative for Peace—which hosts smaller-scale annual conferences of retired military figures—and the Women’s Initiative for Peace in South Asia—which has enabled women from both India and Pakistan to lend their voices to peace efforts, including in meetings with Pakistan’s prime minister and top-ranking Indian officials (Kutty 2004).

The efforts described above, while by no means an exhaustive list, illustrate the most visible examples of coordinated, cross-border civil society peace efforts. Yet one key observation is in order: there is notable lack of publicity, institutional memory, and online presence for all of these initiatives. For such important and seminal gatherings—especially PIPFPD that is the most enduring effort of its kind—to lack functional, central sources of information is remarkable. A peace initiative that is instructive for bucking this trend is South Asians for Human Rights (SAHR). Convening in Nepal that is a neutral party to the India-Pakistan dispute, and taking advantage of a multilateral South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) context, SAHR continues to both garner and respond to media headlines. As such, it might be a useful model for active and responsive online efforts in the future. Yet collectively, all of these initiatives—while each is successful in its own right—suggest the need for enhanced publicity and online capacity, as well as the need for coordinated lobbying and advocacy that incorporates larger swaths of the general public.
B. SECTORAL ANALYSIS

1. CULTURE AND ARTS

Cultural exchanges enhance mutual understanding by changing perceptions and increasing people-to-people contacts. Despite a volatile bilateral relationship, cultural diplomacy between the two countries has thrived, making this sector a promising—even if indirect—way of building a durable platform for peace. As part of our research, we looked at the following four sub-sectors that have been more active and consistent in their efforts: news media, fine arts, literature, and performing arts.

Notable Initiatives

- **Aman ki Asha** (News Media): Aman ki Asha is a joint campaign for peace between the Jang Group of Pakistan and the Times of India Group, the two leading media companies of India and Pakistan. With a focus on changing perceptions of Indians and Pakistanis, Aman ki Asha’s campaigns include: 1) Milne Do (“Let People Meet”), an advocacy campaign for an improved visa regime; 2) Water is Life, a conference on India-Pakistan water issues; and 3) Dividends, an India-Pakistan business conference.

- **Joint Exhibitions and Galleries** (Fine Arts): *My East is Your West* (2015) is an example of a joint Indian-Pakistani exhibit that is being displayed at the upcoming Venice Biennale. Galleries featuring Indian and Pakistani artists include: Experimenter (Kolkata); Latitude 28 (New Delhi); Nature Morte (New Delhi); Project 88 (Mumbai); Lakeeren (Mumbai); Jahveri Contemporary (Mumbai); and ArtChowk (Karachi).

- **Lahore Literary Festival** and **Jaipur Literature Festival** (Literature): With a wide range of audiences, the annual Lahore Literary Festival and Jaipur Literature Festival celebrate both Indian and Pakistani authors and feature panels discussing India-Pakistan relations.

- **Tehrik-e-Niswan** and **Ajoka Theatre** (Performing Arts): Tehrik-e-Niswan and Ajoka Theatre (est. 1983) are Pakistani dance and theater groups that perform in India and promote exchanges between Indian and Pakistani performers. Ajoka’s Theatre for Peace program, for example, allows Indian and Pakistani theater groups and institutions to collaborate on productions, festivals, and workshops. Both groups work closely with their partners in India, such as Manch Rangmanch, Virsa Vihar, and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations.

Lessons Learned

Within the cultural sector, success is defined mainly as changing the way Indians and Pakistanis perceive each other. However, it is difficult to quantify changing perceptions, and changing perceptions (in the first place) requires patience. In the long term, success will likely hinge on the following areas:

- **Collaboration**: Joint efforts between both countries are more effective in changing perceptions on both sides. As an example, Aman ki Asha is an initiative premised on joint ownership among Indians and Pakistanis. While unilateral efforts are just as important, they may lack access or the resources
to influence perceptions on both sides. The Pakistan-based Ajoka Theatre and Tehrik-e-Niswan, for example, depend on their Indian partners and take advantage of the considerable interest among Indians in Pakistani performing arts.

- **Funding:** Based on interviews with civil society organizations, we discovered that some efforts are not self-sustainable due to limited funding. Most of the ongoing initiatives receive funding from international or third-party actors, including the US Department of State and USAID; for Aman ki Asha, the majority of its funding comes from the Jang Group in Pakistan and the Times of India.

- **Presence and Publicity:** Media outlets and arts are co-dependent in terms of visibility. In the case of Aman ki Asha, it would have been unlikely to succeed without the Daily Jang’s daily circulation of 800,000 and readership of over 7 million (Jang Group of Newspapers), and the Times of India’s daily circulation of 4 million (Publicitas 2014). As leading media companies, the Jang Group and the Times of India have substantial leverage in terms of publicizing cross-border efforts to the public.

- **Evaluation:** Consistent surveys of Indians and Pakistanis are key to evaluating the effectiveness of these initiatives. The Jang Group and the Times of India, for example, conducted independent surveys before and after launching Aman ki Asha. According to these surveys, 87 percent of Pakistanis and 74 percent of Indians felt that the campaign has helped create greater awareness about the core issues regarding India-Pakistan relations (Hasan 2011). Desire for peace with Pakistan among Indians increased from 50 to 74 percent (ibid.). Two-thirds of people surveyed felt that peace was attainable in their lifetimes, up 35 percent since the launch of Aman ki Asha (ibid.).

**Recommendations**

In looking to lay the groundwork for improved ties between India and Pakistan, international actors, including governments, foundations and think tanks, might consider:

- **Providing long-term project-based grants:** International actors, including the US Department of State and USAID, should continue providing long-term project-based grants to culture and arts organizations in order to encourage sustainability, but without leaving a large footprint.

- **Coordinating training for smaller and newer organizations:** Well-established and experienced organizations could provide arts-based consulting and capacity building training to smaller and newer organizations that encourage cross-border arts collaboration. Lincoln Center Global, for example, is an initiative that provides art-based consulting to institutions and governments looking to expand artistic presence in cities.

- **Projecting existing civil society efforts:** As part of broader public and cultural diplomacy efforts, there should be a deliberate effort by dignitaries and diplomatic missions to highlight and bring visibility to arts-based peace initiatives in India and Pakistan. The diplomatic corps of each country could jointly resource something resembling the United Nations Concert for Pakistan, but specifically pertaining to India-Pakistan cultural heritage.
2. HUMAN RIGHTS & WOMEN

Human rights must be understood as a broad synergy of complementary civil society efforts between India and Pakistan. Of particular note are women's initiatives that have historically been considered less threatening to the status quo and that have benefitted from significant cross-border interactions during times of both relative calm and heightened bilateral tension. One extraordinary example of this is the Women’s Initiative for Peace in South Asia (WIPSA) that organized a multi-track “women’s bus for peace” in 1999-2000, not long after the Kargil conflict (Sewak 2004, 122). Thus, even when formal lines of communication have been put under pressure, women have successfully mobilized across borders to keep the broader dialogue open.

Notable Initiatives

The following organizations and initiatives have been carefully chosen for their work in areas that enhance cross-border NGO linkages, capacity building, as well as people-to-people networks:

- **Delhi Policy Group (DPG):** In addition to its Women in Peacemaking Program, DPG has had a successful multilateral approach to women and peacebuilding that included the SAARC South Asian Charter for Peace.

- **Centre for Dialogue & Reconciliation (CDR):** CDR organized the first intra-Kashmiri women's conference in 2007, and since that point, has convened a Cross-LoC Women's Dialogue in 2011, 2012, and possibly as recently as 2014.

- **Feminist Publishing:** Women's publishing houses such as Zubaan Books and Women Unlimited have wide-ranging experience in facilitating people-to-people interactions between India and Pakistan. They also possess considerable expertise in publicity that makes them ripe for further collaboration.

- **Sangat (Jagori):** A project of the Delhi-based women's rights organization Jagori, Sangat is a South Asian feminist network that is a continuation of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization's NGO South Asia Programme. Sangat is notable primarily for its month-long capacity building courses.

- **Shirkat Gah Women’s Resource Center:** The Pakistan-based Shirkat Gah was the organizer of the groundbreaking Women's Action Forum in the 1980s and, since then, has demonstrated a consistent record of regional engagement and NGO collaboration.

- **Women in Security, Conflict Management, and Peace (WISCOMP):** WISCOMP seeks to cultivate non-traditional approaches to peace and security. Its annual Conflict Transformation Workshop focuses on training third-generation men and women between India and Pakistan in peacebuilding. Its Diplomacy Initiative also focuses on encouraging synergies between civil society and Track One diplomacy efforts among women diplomats and parliamentarians.
Lessons Learned

As a whole, human rights as a category may suffer from its own dilution into separate sub-categories of NGO advocacy, giving rise to initiatives that may only indirectly target peace between India and Pakistan. The most vibrant area of peace-related activity is likely in the synergy of women’s rights, peace, and security. On this front, there are a growing number of organizations that target both national and cross-border enhancement of women’s status, or which otherwise try to mobilize women to bring human rights and peacebuilding issues into broader social and political consciousness.

- **Voice:** The impact of cross-border women’s initiatives is constrained by the unwillingness of bureaucratically entrenched individuals and institutions to listen. Even while multi-track processes have either been initiated by women's groups or have incorporated them (such as efforts by CDR), and while some initiatives have shown impressive convening power, our interviews suggest their lasting impact in terms of India-Pakistan relations is on the level of informal people-to-people interaction. Women’s voices are not present enough at the official level of negotiation.

- **Synergy:** Women’s groups share much in common across borders and thus develop natural synergies with each other and with other human rights and peace-oriented NGOs. These synergies transcend ethnic, class, and caste boundaries and have been mobilized most strongly around campaigns opposed to violence and religious extremism. Women's issues have thus incubated many India-Pakistan peace initiatives over the last three decades that have varying degrees of longevity, as well as many other cross-border interactions on issues that aren't the exclusive domain of women such as the environment, security, conflict resolution, education, and NGO capacity building.

- **Access:** Some of our interviews suggest women's groups may be subject to fewer restrictions on cross-border travel compared to other peace efforts, although visa restrictions remain an issue common to all such initiatives. A notable example of this is in Kashmir, where women were exceptionally proactive in initial cross-border dialogues even in the midst of changing and unstable security dynamics. Women's issues might be considered less contentious in nature and thus cross-border efforts enjoy a relative laxity in scope and access. Supporting such efforts may therefore be one of the best opportunities for sustained cross-border engagement.

- **Capacity:** Even despite their tremendous successes, women's NGOs and peace initiatives could benefit from strengthened online capacity and publicity. For example, the status of WIPSA that organized or supported some of the most visible India-Pakistan peace initiatives is unclear. Despite evidence of continued activity at least as recently as 2013, the initiative appears to have no official online presence. Relatedly, when cross-border initiatives taper off, a lack of expertise and capacity has been cited by some experts as the central reason for their failure, particularly if these cross-border efforts are remote or have limited operating space for civil society in general (e.g. Kashmir). Some women’s initiatives that possess certain longevity stem from larger organizations or think tanks that are able to provide the capacity and expertise necessary to renew these initiatives year after year.
**Recommendations**

- **International NGO partnerships.** Women's groups supporting India-Pakistan peace initiatives could benefit from more international partnerships to ensure their long-term sustainability. For example, Zubaan Books organized three major programs on partition with the Heinrich Boll Foundation.

- **Facilitate religious dialogue.** Militancy, violence, and extremism occur in proportion to the loss of religious pluralism, particularly in Pakistan. Facilitating more visible and open dialogue between women of different faiths, as well as between women's groups and prominent religious schools such as Barelvi and Deoband, could do much to strengthen the operating space of women's NGOs in Pakistan that must contend with entrenched religious attitudes.

**3. KASHMIR**

Despite being untouchable from a security and sovereignty perspective, Azad Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir (henceforth AJK) have been the focal point of significant but small-scale cross-border peace, reconciliation, and economic initiatives since February 2004 when comprehensive peace talks were committed to by Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf. While there is a widespread desire to strengthen an intra-Kashmir dialogue process on both sides, NGO efforts have not always proven sustainable. Track Two initiatives by the Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation, the Jinnah Institute, the Delhi Policy Group, and Pugwash in the United States have all sought to strengthen the free movement of trade and people, but have also encountered obstacles that undermine the incentives, capacity, and longevity of intra-Kashmir trade and peace initiatives.

**Notable Initiatives**

- **AJK Women for Peace (AJKWP):** AJKWP participated in the Cross-LoC Dialogues and is one of the few homegrown women's organizations AJK that is looking to sustain the dialogue process. Organizations such as this could benefit from more external support.

- **Delhi Policy Group:** The Delhi Policy Group has undertaken a number of efforts in AJK including the Civil Society Dialogue and, in cooperation with the Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation, Intra-Kashmir Dialogues from 2003-2005.

- **Centre for Dialogue & Reconciliation (CDR):** With support from the European Union, CDR has conducted comprehensive Track Two dialogue processes, including the current India & Pakistan Dialogue on Regional Peace and Stability, alongside a number of other initiatives including the India-Pakistan Trade Dialogue and India-Pakistan Water Dialogue. In past years, it conducted the Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) Inter-Community Dialogue, J&K Youth Leadership Programme, Cross-LoC Women's Dialogue, and Cross-LoC Civil Society Dialogue.

- **Kashmir Institute for International Relations (KIIR):** With a particular emphasis on faith-based reconciliation in AJK, KIIR is involved in capacity building and conflict resolution efforts and has a consistent record of collaboration with international NGOs including the US Institute of Peace.
• **Jammu and Kashmir Joint Chamber of Commerce and Industry:** This cross-LoC joint chamber is likely essential for the long-term prospects of intra-Kashmiri trade. It plays a role in advocacy, lobbying, and publicity for all cross-LoC trade matters and consists of businesses and trade groups from both sides, yet faces significant problems in terms of capacity and coordination (Yusuf 2009).

**Lessons Learned**

Confidence-building measures which have limited effect on trade in the short-term may also have unpredictably positive effects in the future in terms of the operating space of civil society in general, which may make trade the most essential component of an intra-Kashmir reconciliation process. The following lessons about intra-Kashmir trade are notable:

• **Trade Optimism:** A study being conducted between the Indus Research Foundation and the Centre for Peace, Development, and Reforms has analyzed the potential for cross-LoC trade to enhance ties and peace initiatives. It found that as many as 60 percent of traders on both sides are interested in establishing confidence-building measures that facilitate trade and tourism. Despite the significant hurdles, cross-LoC trade has created a new but limited frontier of economic opportunity, with an estimated 10,000 employment opportunities created as of 2011 (IRF 2012).

• **Trade Pessimism:** Most problematic for intra-Kashmir processes is that there is not a clear advantage to trade between the two regions despite the relatively high optimism that exists for it among Kashmiri business owners. Since both Azad Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir produce similar goods (mostly textile and food), neither side really has a comparative advantage that could justify the high entry costs for cross-border market access.

• **Symbolism over Substance:** Capacity building measures to facilitate trade are regarded by many as “more [of] a symbolic affair” since infrastructural problems with cross-LoC trade are more substantial than any symbolic gesture is equipped to solve (Akhtar 2012, 21). Aside from the limited number of items that are considered tradable goods, there is a lack of proper communication links and banking facilities to make trade worth the already significant market entry costs. There are some indications that Delhi and Islamabad are even actively discouraging such trade because of competition with Indian and Pakistani traders outside the region (2012, 24).

• **Women & Capacity:** As with many other issue-areas, women in AJK have proven important for keeping dialogue processes open even in the midst of changing political circumstances and security dynamics. However, as with other peace initiatives in the region, women’s initiatives rely heavily on external support without enough on-the-ground capacity or expertise. The women’s initiatives started by CDR have not been sustained in recent years, and institutional support for intra-Kashmir dialogues from Delhi-based think tanks or international NGOs will therefore be essential for the short- and long-term.

**Recommendations**

• **Indirect support for third-party actors:** Since Kashmir is a highly politicized issue that is anathema to foreign involvement, supporting institutions outside AJK (such as think tanks in Delhi and
Islamabad) that have initiated intra-Kashmir dialogues in the past may prove helpful for sustaining these dialogues into the future. While these dialogues have been largely successful as short-term engagements, our interviews indicated that outside organizations lack the capacity to support regional partners in AJK over the long term.

4. SECURITY & DEFENSE

Indian and Pakistani individuals and NGOs have engaged over issues of security and defense for decades in order to mitigate tensions between the two countries. These initiatives—Track Two dialogues, workshops to share best practices, technology-based efforts, and exchanges of retired military officials—are often underwritten by international governments, foundations, and individual donors.

Notable Initiatives

Numerous Track Two dialogues and security-oriented initiatives have taken place in recent years. Based on conversations with security experts and those who have participated in security-related forums, as well as a review of scholarly and journalistic literature on these issues, we elected to explore some of the more durable and highly regarded ongoing efforts:

- **Ottawa Dialogue**: Launched in 2009 by Peter Jones, associate professor at the University of Ottawa and a former Canadian diplomat, five dialogues now exist, facilitating exchange over nuclear, military, intelligence, water security and regional security matters.

- **Chaophraya Dialogue**: A joint initiative of the Australia India Institute and the Jinnah Institute begun in 2008, the meetings—more than a dozen have taken place to date—address a wide range of issues, including terrorism and extremism, Kashmir, economic cooperation and nuclear stability.

- **South Asian Voices**: Launched in 2013 by the Stimson Center, the website serves as a platform for younger Indian and Pakistani analysts and academics to publish work and debate pressing security matters, in an effort to encourage innovative thinking and virtual exchange.

- **Regional Workshop on Effectively Countering Terrorism**: Led by the Global Center on Cooperative Security and the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) since 2008, the initiative brings together judges, prosecutors and police officers from across South Asia.

Other notable Track Two and security-oriented initiatives include the Pugwash Conferences, the Neemrana Dialogue, the efforts of the Balusa Group, the exchanges facilitated by the Pakistan-based Jinnah Institute and the India-based Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation, the dialogues coordinated by the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies in New Delhi, and youth workshops at the Regional Center for Strategic Studies in Sri Lanka. A handful of these initiatives persist, while others have folded or occur only irregularly; while significant attention has been paid in this report to the first four organizations, the analysis that follows draws lessons from all of the organizations listed above.
Lessons Learned

Which factors have made some of the above initiatives fruitful, and, conversely, why have many Track Two efforts fallen short? Policymakers and international actors interested in India-Pakistan normalization should keep the following in mind:

- **Advocates and Skeptics:** Advocates see Track Two initiatives as arenas for maintaining lines of communication between the two parties, fora for cultivating new ideas to manage the decades-old conflict, a means of generating a sense of collaboration between the parties that can be publicized to war-weary publics, and as a mechanism for passing valuable, practical policy prescriptions along to government actors. Skeptics, while allowing that dialogue and brainstorming are useful, caution that the dialogues often provide elder statesmen with a platform to merely rehash old ideologies and air stale grievances, or generate false hopes for improved ties. Due to funding constraints, dialogues may also lack the ability to foster long-term, persistent engagement.

- **Non-Intervention:** International actors must tread lightly. While participants in aforementioned initiatives say they appreciate the convening power and financial support of foreign actors, many Indians and Pakistanis with a belief or stake in continued conflict are quick to dismiss (or even disrupt) such efforts as foreign meddling. Recent moves to curb the work of foreign-funded groups in India prove this point. International actors must be careful not to try to influence the deliberations that take place under their banner; Indians and Pakistanis are keen to solve their own dispute.

- **Patience:** Ripeness is key. Governments are not likely to immediately take up ideas floated in an informal setting. Years—sometimes decades—might go by before officials, placated by time or prompted by the urgency of unfolding events, are willing to consider proposals hashed out by non-governmental actors. Track Two participants must also be ready to adapt to conditions on the ground, taking up issues that are priorities for the governments involved, not only those interesting to an initiative’s participants or those hashed out in years past.

- **Prudence:** Those involved in Track Two initiatives must have a sober outlook, an awareness of the tremendous obstacles that stand in the way of normalization and a humble understanding that incremental tweaks and the seeding of constructive ideas may be all that is in the offing. Few instances are as straightforward as the Neemrana Dialogue playing a role in easing India-Pakistan travel restrictions (Malhotra 2010).

- **Participation:** A small group of committed, formerly high-ranking officials is essential. Seasoned figures—not hawks or doves, but those willing to engage in constructive conversation—with enough distance from their prior jobs to speak freely, but close enough to key policymakers to quietly pass along proposals and lessons from dialogues, are good candidates. Institutional knowledge and familiarity are vital; new blood is important, but only in limited doses and carefully selected. Those we interviewed were generally (not uniformly) suspect about the role that younger figures can play in established dialogues. However, there is widespread support for efforts cultivating aspiring policymakers. Stimson’s South Asian Voices gives young scholars space to
publish, debate and hone ideas; a forthcoming initiative providing online education for Indian and Pakistani defense scholars may also prove valuable.

- **Persistence**: Track Two initiatives are long-term engagements; they must be seen by those supporting them to be long-term investments. It takes years to build strong relationships, especially between those on either side of an intractable conflict, and ideas take time to gestate into full-fledged government policies (if they ever do). Cold War experience has taught that persistent engagement can help to prevent arms races and stave off conflict; Track Two participants and their supporters must heed these lessons—not only during Track Two meetings, but year-round. Further, the shaping of public narratives around this long-running dispute is a battle that must be fought day in and day out. Pressure from donor governments and foundations for quick, tangible outcomes may preclude those very results and hinder the arguably more important long-term prospects for normalization; conversely, the loss of funding for Track Two efforts and civil society-led initiatives risks squandering the foundations for rapprochement that engagements took years to build.

**Recommendations**

In looking to lay the groundwork for improved ties between India and Pakistan, international actors, including governments, foundations and think tanks, who are looking to engage might consider:

- **Providing technical expertise**: Some Track Two engagements cover highly technical and sophisticated military and scientific matters. While India and Pakistan both boast impressive capabilities in these areas, international technical experts, available to advise Track Two participants, can share important insights and best practices.

- **Creating joint research appointments**: An international academic institution or think tank could offer joint fellowships for one Indian and one Pakistani defense scholar to conduct research and work collaboratively on Indo-Pak normalization issues.

- **Facilitating transmission of Track Two ideas**: South Asian policy scholars should make a point of meeting regularly with leading Track Two participants to stay abreast of creative and constructive policy ideas. Aware of the delicateness of security-related matters, these ideas could nevertheless be shared (prudently) by those with government connections in their own meetings with Indian and Pakistani officials, as a further means of transmitting ideas and enabling their consideration.

- **Using a wider lens**: India-Pakistan normalization need not only take the form of direct talks between the two parties alone. The Ottawa Dialogue’s “India-Pakistan-Afghanistan Dialogue,” the earlier South Asian Regional Dialogue, and the Global Center’s regional counterterrorism workshops for law enforcement (see above) demonstrate—and, some might argue, as Prime Minister Modi’s emphasis on SAARC diplomacy shows—broad regional engagement can provide a venue for dialogue and exchange between Indians and Pakistanis. Supporting initiatives with a more multilateral focus could generate new opportunities for improved ties.
South Asia remains the least economically integrated region in the world (Cohen 2013), and SAARC has failed to increase regional trade largely as a result of tensions between India and Pakistan (Mediratta 2014). While significant growth in bilateral trade has occurred over the last decade, rising from $600 million in 2005 to $2.8 billion in 2014, such numbers are only a fraction of its estimated potential of $18 billion annually (The News International, Pakistan 2015), and a disproportionate amount of this trade is Indian exports (Dash 2013). Given the high trade potential, NGOs have emerged to facilitate partnerships, disseminate knowledge, and encourage trade through seminars, trade shows, and venues for people-to-people interaction.

**Notable Initiatives**

Recognizing the potential for increased trade between the states and the technical and logistical barriers that persist, economists and business leaders in both countries have coalesced to lobby their governments, enhance public interest, and develop cross-border linkages, including initiatives led by the following organizations:

- **Chambers of Commerce**: The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and the Pakistan Chamber of Commerce facilitate inter-organizational trade partnerships.

- **Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER)**: In 2004 ICRIER initiated “India Pakistan Trade,” a project studying methods to increase trade. They commission studies, disseminate newsletters and undertake surveys measuring perceptions, host conferences, and advise the Indian government.

- **Trade Fora**: These efforts include the Indo-Pakistan Trade Forum, the India-Pakistan Business Council, the Pakistan Business Council and the Atlantic Council’s India-Pakistan Trade and Business Forum sponsored by the US Department of State. These initiatives promote trade by increasing company brand recognition, cultivating partnerships, and by hosting conferences, trade shows, and lectures.

**Lessons Learned**

Given the constraints established by government policy, the ultimate impact of non-government business and economic organizations must be observed critically:

- **Advocates and Skeptics**: Strong partnerships have been established and markets have been tested through public exposure to goods in trade shows (Dash interview 2015), but skeptics suggest that unless new legislation is passed and infrastructure is developed to support border openings, trade will never realize its potential (Kripalani interview 2015). NGOs can facilitate partnerships, but they cannot evade the hurdles established by governments. Experts point to the role of the Pakistani military and opposition groups to suggest that these external pressures undermine the Pakistani government’s ability to liberalize their trade policies.
• **Access:** Both states have restrictive visa regimes that are over-regulated, inefficient, and hinder collaboration between businesses and people. India retains high tariff barriers for many Pakistani goods, and Pakistan remains unwilling to grant India Non-Discriminatory Market Access (NDMA), (limiting the products that can be imported into Pakistan (Aurangzeb and Asif 2014). As political economist Dr. Nisha Taneja suggests, "Talks slow, but trade doesn't" (Taneja interview 2015). Although expanded trade hinges on policies related to access, it is nevertheless true that, today, there are more partners actively engaged in the process. Taneja and others attribute this change to the amplified efforts of NGOs in this sector.

• **Investment:** Experts have suggested that trade is insufficient for long-term growth. Cross-investment is also essential not only for enhancing economic ties but for the prospects of peace in general (Hussain interview 2015). NGO activity should focus equally on advocating liberalized trade as well as liberalized investment across borders.

• **Regional Approach:** Trade has been privileged in some regions compared to others. Prime Minister Modi’s plan to devolve more authority to states provides an opportunity for cross-Punjab efforts, including infrastructure projects and border checkpoints, to be replicated along the borders of Rajasthan and Gujarat (Hussain interview 2015). Political economist Trividesh Maini explains that economic demand at the local level drives chambers of commerce to action and enables them to overcome regulations (Maini interview 2015). The success of regional efforts have been extolled by both governments, signifying that they may be more amiable to sub-national efforts.

• **Untapped Opportunities:** Trade promotion between the two countries has centered on creating partnerships between large business owners. They have tremendous clout, but due to their participation in global markets, they are not desperate to enhance bilateral trade (Hussain interview 2015). Women and mid-sized businesses are typically not involved in cross-border trade efforts, yet they are uniquely positioned to profit from an increase in regional opportunities, and their inclusion in future fora is vital (2015). Ensuring chambers of commerce and trade organizations are more representative would increase their legitimacy and influence.

**Recommendations**

• **Convening women and mid-sized business owners:** Many mid-sized business owners and women in both India and Pakistan are interested in entering each other’s markets but lack the capacity or expertise to do so. Redoubled efforts should build upon the work of the Atlantic Council’s India-Pakistan Trade and Business Forum, and the SAARC Chamber Women Entrepreneurs Council. Indian and Pakistani diaspora communities around the United States and internationally should be galvanized to support the foundation of India-Pakistan trade and business fora that focus on connecting women and mid-sized business owners in both countries. The expertise and resources of diaspora leaders could be leveraged to offer training and best practices for efficient market entry for women and mid-sized business owners.

• **Virtual Banking System:** Businesses establishing partnerships have been stifled by the inability to transfer funds directly between countries and the lack of banking integration (Dash 2013). This has
led to billions of dollars in black market trade and required that trade be conducted in USD, or third party banking, leaving businesspeople on both sides susceptible to fraud, currency exchange fees, and the depreciation of their tender. Discussions regarding establishing cross-border banks have been ongoing, with no results. Given technological innovation in banking methods in recent years, options should be explored to create a virtual banking system that would allow business leaders direct access to financial services on the other side of the border.

- **Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in Punjab:** Although there is disagreement regarding its feasibility and utility, establishing a SEZ in Punjab is a prospect that has not been widely studied in recent years (Jain and Bimal 2014). At the same time, the prospect has garnered considerable interest in recent months and Punjab Chief Minister Muhammad Shahbaz Sharif has even announced that the government intends to establish such a zone (The Nation 2015). Efforts by the Transnational Strategy Group evaluating the economic potential and feasibility of an SEZ should be replicated by other think tanks both within and outside India and Pakistan. Additional research should also survey the interest of expatriate communities to test the Pak-India Business Council’s hypothesis that the creation of SEZs would lend themselves to increased investment and collaboration with these communities (Jain and Bimal 2014).

### 6. WATER

Since Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammad Ayub Khan inked the Indus Waters Treaty in 1960, the agreement has served as a model for resource management between warring parties. However, population growth, the building of new dams and hydroelectric projects, and changes in use of the water of the Indus River and its tributaries, to name just a few factors, are putting tremendous pressure on the Treaty and its ability to mitigate conflict. As scholars from Pakistan and India recently reported, “The Treaty as it is being interpreted now is fundamentally incapable of handling ‘variability’ arising from uncertain weather patterns, changing climate conditions, economic growth and the consequent pressure on demand for water” (Observer Research Foundation 2011, 6). The fallout will have far-reaching consequences. “In Central and South Asia,” a report for the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations warned, “the impacts of water scarcity are fueling dangerous tensions that will have repercussions for regional stability and U.S. foreign policy objectives” (Committee on Foreign Relations 2011).

#### Notable Initiatives

With such high stakes for regional security, water has been a regular topic of discussion at security-focused Track Two dialogues and exchanges, including many of those referenced in this paper. At the same time, non-governmental organizations and individuals have been working on water issues in their own right for many years.

The India-based Observer Research Foundation and Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation and the Pakistan-based Lahore University of Management Sciences and Sustainable Development Policy Institute are among the most actively engaged in leading water-focused Track Two dialogues, task forces and academic workshops. The Washington-based Atlantic Council and Stimson Center have also been active in
bringing Indian and Pakistani experts and practitioners together to explore ways of managing access to and stemming conflict around this vital natural resource.

These initiatives have brought together former diplomats, scientists and technical experts, academics, activists, journalists and, in some cases, government officials; they have explored the sharing of environmental data, water-usage monitoring, natural disaster preparation and relief, agriculture, climate change, glaciology, economic development and a host of other issues. These efforts have been funded by Indian and Pakistani foundations, as well as international donors like the Ploughshares Fund, the Skoll Foundation and the UK Department for International Development, among others.

Lessons Learned

Like much of the commentary on security-oriented dialogues noted earlier, scholars are mixed about the value of these activities. A number of those we interviewed pointed to the importance of maintaining dialogue, shedding light on areas of both potential conflict and possible collaboration, and exploring new trajectories for policy.

- **Divorced from the General Public**: Some experts were quite dismissive of unofficial engagement over water issues, complaining that such efforts tend to have little resonance beyond the scholarly community, that they are typically sponsored by Western countries and institutions, and that they bring together only an English-speaking elite that lacks a real stake in the issues.

- **Unintended Consequences**: While the above concerns were leveled about initiatives in other sectors, water issues have another unique dimension: the Indus Waters Treaty, itself. As one leading water security scholar explained, the existence of the Treaty—with its formulas governing water rights and its apolitical mechanisms for dispute management, as well as its proven track record over several decades—actually gives policymakers an excuse to shun non-governmental efforts that might appear to sidestep the Treaty. “You are wasting your time,” a high-ranking Indian government official responsible for water issues reportedly told Track Two participants, “we’re following the Treaty.”

- **Government-to-Government Issue**: Water, much like trade and security, tends as well to be deeply enmeshed in official policy, with less room for non-state actors to play a role. One scholar noted a small handful of local “farmer-to-farmer” initiatives that touched on water issues (in the context of a broader agricultural dialogue) that have worked to change narratives among participants on either side of the Indo-Pak border, yet these efforts are few and far between, and with limited scope and payoff.

Recommendations

Taking the above into account, water seems to be an area most ripe for official government involvement; while ongoing efforts are admirable and important in contributing to dialogue, improving scholarly and scientific ties, and creating a broader knowledge base about resource pressures—and they should certainly be given the opportunity to continue—it seems water should be less of a priority for those international
actors looking to engage at the non-governmental level. That said, there is one area where water-oriented initiatives could use some support:

- **Enabling publicity and media coverage**: Water initiatives tend to reach the ears of only a handful of elites. Similarly, the current narratives around water security in the Indian and Pakistani public tend to focus on threats and tensions. While such concerns are very real, as demonstrated considerable collaboration already exists. Financial support for media—through travel grants, for instance—or the financing of water-related journalistic positions could help to cut through the picture of animosity generally peddled in the press, exposing each country’s citizens to a more nuanced picture of their relationship as it pertains to water and drawing attention to the efforts of Indians and Pakistanis to find collaborative solutions to emerging challenges.

- **Promoting local solutions and knowledge exchange**: While large-scale water projects remain the purview of central governments, innovative water-use and conservation approaches are taking place on the ground in both India and Pakistan. Such lessons have been shared through farmer exchanges; these types of local efforts should be scaled up, while other forms of cross-border engagement around agricultural issues deserves additional support. The United Nations Development Programme and other multilateral agencies addressing water and resource issues in both countries could be a conduit for such cross-border exchange.

### 7. YOUTH & EDUCATION

India and Pakistan are experiencing a significant youth bulge, with over one-third of Pakistan and India’s populations under the age of 14 (34 percent and 30 percent respectively) (Friedman 2014). Not only does youth bulge present great challenges to political and economic stability of a country, but Indian and Pakistani youths know little of one another, dimming the hope for peace even further. Youth exchange programs and fora therefore offer the opportunity for meaningful and positive change in the perceptions that Indian and Pakistani students have of their counterparts, making the youth sector a vital component of civil society. The hope is that the youth participants of these exchanges become advocates in their communities to remove emotional barriers deeming neighboring peoples as the “other.” In 2014, Pakistan High Commissioner Abdul Basit said exchanges between the youth of India and Pakistan were vital for the future of peace and stability in the bilateral relationship.

**Notable Initiatives**

There are a handful of youth exchanges that began in this millennium. Despite the plethora of small-scale Internet-based exchanges, we looked primarily at large-scale exchanges that take the form of student-to-student correspondence exchanges, travel exchanges, and youth leadership fora, as they tend to have the greatest impact on participants’ perceptions:

- **Citizens Archive of Pakistan and Routes 2 Roots (Exchange for Change)**: This program has linked over 11,000 students aged 10 to 15 in India and Pakistan. The students exchange letters, photographs and audio narratives, with a handful traveling to the other’s country. The high commissions in both countries have endorsed Exchange for Change, and the program is funded by business leaders and foreign governments through grants from their embassies.
• **Seeds of Peace (SOP):** Seeds of Peace is a US-based NGO that brings together youth from countries that are in conflict to a summer camp in Maine, and continues engaging the alumni in peacebuilding activities and forums after they return home. Their program successfully garners trust amongst the young people it brings together, and its South Asia program (focusing on India, Pakistan and Afghanistan) has been active since 2001. Seeds of Peace is funded by mostly US-based private donors, with 10 percent of its revenue coming from the US government.

• **Asia Society and the Jinnah Institute (India-Pakistan Regional Young Leaders Forum):** The India-Pakistan Regional Young Leaders Forum consists of approximately 12 young leaders under the age of 40, who “convene, connect and catalyze,” according to the forum’s leader, Sanjeev Sherchan of the Asia Society. The group meets and spends an entire year working on a public service project that is trans-border in nature. Launched in 2012, it is organized in conjunction with the Asia Society and Jinnah Institute.

• **Indo-Pak Youth Forum for Peace:** This forum came about as a result of the World Youth Peace Summit, convened in Bangkok in 2004 by the Jordanian government. Since its inaugural gathering it has organized exchange programs that focus on youth opportunities in business entrepreneurship, interfaith dialogue, and government. Other youth fora, such as the **Youth Forum for Kashmir**, are proactive in cross-border efforts where other initiatives have not been as successful.

**Lessons Learned**

Our interviews and research suggest the following to be key criteria for fruitful youth exchanges:

• **Sustained Engagement:** Engagement following the youth exchange program is critical for a long-lasting impact on participants’ perceptions. The Seeds of Peace model is the most sustainable of the organizations in this arena, with alumni programming continuing past the participants’ time in the United States. Moreover, Exchange for Change finds that its one-year program of engaging pen pals in India and Pakistan has a profound difference on the perceptions of each other country before and after, with 70 percent of the students reporting a “major positive increase [in attitudes]” towards their counterparts.

• **Overcoming Government Suspicions:** Government bureaucracy and skepticism present barriers to implementation of youth exchange programs in government schools in India and Pakistan. The exchange programs are therefore largely limited to private schools, with government-run schools proving to be too bureaucratic and politicized. Second, foreign funding may fuel rumors on both sides of a “foreign agenda,” prompting criticism and politicization of the exchange program in question. The lack of government financial support for these programs also frustrates the longevity of these programs, which instead must rely on yearly donations from private businesses, donors, and foreign governments.

• **Collaboration:** The Exchange for Change program in Pakistan has seen its schools assisting other interested schools in the program implementation process. The potential for collaboration exists, and the stakeholders—students, their parents and the schools on both sides of the border—have
shown a great interest in the programs, even in the midst of bilateral tensions, such as after the 2008 Mumbai attacks.

Recommendations

In looking to improve ties between India and Pakistan, international actors might consider actions that promote the sustainability of youth exchange programs either possess or need a strong alumni base. We recommend the following actions therefore be taken:

- **Facilitate alumni participation in other exchange and collaborative efforts**: Having established the importance of keeping youth engaged in peacebuilding work, youth exchange practitioners might consider other forms of India-Pakistan peacebuilding to find new and meaningful opportunities for alumni to take part in. For instance, exchange alumni with an interest in pursuing a career in foreign policy might have the opportunity to observe a Track Two dialogue, or those interested in a career in theatre might be engaged in creating the next India-Pakistan theatrical production. Such opportunities would serve to keep youth from both countries involved in collaborative work, give them something tangible to create, and enable them to continue working together long after the end of their initial exchange.

- **Aid in developing a robust and active alumni base**: When students who have participated in Seeds of Peace programs return to their home countries, SOP field offices continue to engage them in community forums, volunteer activities, and mentorships. Other organizations creating youth exchanges, as well as those funding such programs, would do well to mirror these efforts, keeping alumni engaged and leveraging their enthusiasm to enhance future programs.

- **Develop multi-year youth exchange grants that allow for longevity**: The recommendations listed above require consistent resources, rather than the year-to-year uncertainty that plagues many NGOs and initiatives. As international actors set out to support initiatives to engage youth, they should do so with an eye toward keeping participants engaged long after the end of their formal exchange. Foundations and governments should prioritize multi-year grants that allow for the creative flexibility and initial investment necessary to develop new programming and sustain that which has already yielded results.

C. PROMISING PATHWAYS FOR ENGAGEMENT

1. ENERGY

The convergence of interests between India and Pakistan on energy raises hopes that cross-border collaboration could be possible. Both countries are starved for resources as a result of rapid economic growth, antiquated infrastructure and years of political and technical mismanagement. While at the government-to-government level, initiatives like a “peace pipeline” and the provision of Indian electricity to Pakistan have been considered, little has come of such projects for a host of strategic, economic, political, and symbolic reasons. USAID’s South Asia Regional Initiative for Energy Integration does show promise, having begun in 2000 with the purpose of promoting trade, investment, and access to clean sources of energy amongst countries that include India and Pakistan.
As energy is a highly regulated and largely government-run sector in both countries, there is little room for direct collaborative action by non-governmental actors. That being said, aligned interests do create the potential for civil society organizations and experts to press government to act: scientists could be convened by a multilateral institution to draw attention to joint energy concerns; economic interest groups could be supported in their push for action on infrastructure development and modernization; and Track Two participants might consider exploring novel ways of safeguarding energy supplies, fostering energy-related innovation and exploring mechanisms to build confidence around potentially threatening energy-sector developments.

2. ENVIRONMENT & CLIMATE CHANGE

The environment, particularly as it relates to the possibility of dramatic climactic change, will be one of the most pressing domestic and security issues facing South Asia in the coming century. As a whole, the region is considered one of the most susceptible in the world due to the potential for conflict over falling crop yields, lack of water, and vulnerable populations and infrastructure. The Indus River system that is shared by China, India, and Pakistan is fed by melting glaciers throughout the Himalayan ranges. Shrinking glaciers are likely to accelerate over the next decade, creating social and economic problems for the entire region that may eventually require a trilateral resolution mechanism between the three countries. So far, however, even while there have been many discussions about cooperation on the environment, little or nothing has been done at the state level to proactively resolve or mitigate these future problems. The Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SPDI) has pursued a series of Track Two dialogues on climate change and energy focused on spurring peacebuilding between the two countries, first in 2010 with follow-up dialogues in 2012 and 2013. It is unclear whether these initiatives have been renewed as of 2015, but such efforts should be continued by more organizations in the future.

3. HEALTH

A potential area of cooperation between India and Pakistan is the health sector. Polio eradication is of concern to most countries in the region; however, there have not been significant joint efforts. With India becoming polio-free last year, it offered Pakistan full cooperation to eradicate polio. At the SAARC summit last year, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi offered polio vaccines to Pakistan. Although talks concerning health initiatives have been ongoing, practical steps have not been taken.

Recognizing the need for regional cooperation in the health sector, a group of health professionals in the region established the South Asian Public Health Forum (SAPHF) in 1999. The objective of SAPHF is “to improve communication between public health professionals and encourage them to discuss and to share important health issues of the region quickly and without interference from governments” (Asghar 2006). The forum’s main activity is to collect and circulate news articles on health issues. Its main impact has been in its growing membership of nearly 700 health professionals and in major news agencies that have utilized information from the forum to write articles on health issues (Asghar 2006). Indian and Pakistani health professionals may consider working together on providing emergency care following natural disasters. India’s sizeable pharmaceutical sector could be mobilized to provide medication to those in need in Pakistan.
In light of the recent earthquake in Nepal, the need for cooperative disaster management has been reawakened especially in risk-prone India and Pakistan. There are precedents for cooperation in responding to natural disasters. Strong examples include: 1) Pakistani military’s aid to India after the 2001 Gujarat earthquake (Ravishankar 2015); 2) India’s $25 million dollars of aid (Dhar 2010) in response to 2010 floods in Pakistan; and 3) cooperation regarding the 2014 floods in Kashmir (Tharoor 2014). In the case of Nepal, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and other international NGOs, including Save the Children, Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), and Oxfam, had pre-developed national and regional disaster response plans. However, government coordination on these efforts has rarely occurred in this region despite their susceptibility to natural disasters. The need for relief and future planning in disaster response and risk reduction will only increase due to global warming. Prime Ministers Nawaz Sharif and Modi have called for joint response to the situation in Nepal. The regional coordinating mechanism through SAARC's Disaster Management Centre should incorporate existing civil society disaster relief efforts. Both countries should also consider collaborating on joint exercises and developing a preparedness plan for preemptive disaster reduction.
SECTION III: COMPREHENSIVE FINDINGS & RECOMMENDATIONS

A. FINDINGS

At a time when surveys show that roughly 70 percent of Pakistanis desire peace and 60 percent of Indians are optimistic about improved ties with Pakistan, peace efforts remain tempered by pessimism about entrenched institutions and attitudes at the official level. Disaffection at this level, as well as political and regional shifts that threaten to widen the geopolitical rift between the two countries, makes this moment doubly important for dialogue and innovative recommendations to improve the bilateral relationship. In support of these goals, our findings reflect an analysis of peace efforts in spaces where civil society has shown both considerable promise and notable shortcomings. These common successes and fault points inform the need for a broader, integrated strategy of visible, multi-sector collaboration with an eye toward mass mobilization.

Civil society peacebuilding efforts are not a panacea for improved ties between India and Pakistan. Huge obstacles stand in the way of rapprochement: a legacy of mistrust and interstate violence; continued clashes over identity; entrenched interests of powerful groups, including the military; religious extremism and terrorism; strategic and resource concerns; and a deep suspicion of international meddling, are but a few of the forces standing in the way of improved India-Pakistan ties. These forces make traditional dialogues extremely difficult. While such dialogues remain a cornerstone of peace efforts, they are tasked largely with changing intransigent attitudes rather than mobilizing the willing, and they are susceptible to a highly reactive bilateral relationship. With this in mind, proactive civil society initiatives that are oriented around need-based convergence, and which are activated through savvy utilization of media and technology, may have greater potential to succeed.

By identifying areas of convergence, and by innovating processes to meet needs and incentives, a common platform can emerge to support a broader narrative of peace that has the potential to endure a history of mistrust and enmity between India and Pakistan. Such a platform would not be possible, however, without criteria for potential and success. Those organizations that have been the most consequential in enhancing the relationship between India and Pakistan—and between Indians and Pakistanis—demonstrate a number of related attributes. Our research has highlighted the following as key drivers of impact for individuals and non-governmental efforts aimed at normalizing India-Pakistan ties (and, consequently, primary obstacles to those efforts that have been less fruitful in doing so):

- **Sustainability**: Seeding ideas, changing narratives and chipping away at decades (or longer) of animosity take time, sustained effort, persistent engagement, and long-term funding. Those initiatives that continue for years tend to have greater chance of creating lasting change in ways that “one-off” efforts do not. This longevity is incredibly important, particularly for Track Two dialogues that require consistent participation, but larger fora (such as PIPFPD and other conferences) may confuse maintenance for sustainability, and would therefore benefit from a focus on sustained impact that includes broader participation and public engagement.

- **Coordination**: The exchanges, dialogues, workshops, and cross-border collaborations that have shown promise and achieved tangible results often benefit from the convening power and
expertise of third-party actors (e.g. think tanks in Delhi, Islamabad, or abroad). Further, those organizations with the ability to effectively marshal disparate knowledge, resources, and access to decision-makers, as well as an ability to adapt with the winds of political change—often with the support of international actors—show the most promise.

- **Collaboration:** Impactful peacebuilding work is being done by organizations in various sectors in both countries. This expertise should be shared with smaller, less mature organizations, as well as those in other sectors, to give them the tools they need to thrive. In addition to direct advising and partnerships that can rejuvenate and refocus more established organizations, updating and documenting initiatives and research in a way that is widely accessible online is one of the easiest (but often overlooked) ways of facilitating the exchange of ideas and preserving institutional memory.

- **Publicity:** While some initiatives are best pursued behind closed doors—like those pertaining to security affairs or economic negotiations—many efforts aimed at shaping public discourse lack exposure to large swaths of the Indian and Pakistani publics. The question of how to socialize ideas that are kept largely behind closed doors or within discreet channels is one that must be addressed by peace initiatives. Campaigns to inform and educate broader segments of the public can help to counter some of the misinformation that exists on both sides, fostering a momentum for peace and an environment for reconciliation.

- **Access:** Countless initiatives falter due to the strict visa regime in place between India and Pakistan. Barring movement by both governments toward less rigid travel restrictions, cross-border collaborations that can transcend this issue—by taking place in third countries, for instance, or by utilizing digital tools—are destined to be more valuable.

### B. RECOMMENDATIONS

Several common threads present themselves throughout our analysis centering on the lack of capacity, longevity, and visibility in peace initiatives. We have set out to equip peacebuilding constituents in relevant sectors with skills and resources needed expand the reach and scope of their efforts, find new and innovative ways of mobilizing civil society, and reach broader segments of the Indian and Pakistani publics. Each module below attempts to do so by discussing specific challenges addressed, presenting a recommendation, and benchmarking that approach against existing initiatives that might serve as models:

#### 1. STRATEGY FORUM IN MULTILATERAL CONTEXT

**Problem Addressed:** While there have been peace initiatives that convene people from multiple civil society sectors, they remain highly susceptible to politicization and visa restrictions. Furthermore, despite successes, some experts consider conventions and dialogues mere fora for airing and re-hashing old grievances, and the placement of these conferences in India and Pakistan may fail to establish the neutral ground necessary to avoid feelings of home turf that factors into agenda setting. Lastly, some existing, convention oriented efforts such as PIPFPD have not grown considerably since their inception in the mid-
1990s and do not focus on enhancing access or visibility, suggesting the need for a fresh start with coordinated, jointly resourced campaigns and more democratic participation.

**Recommendation:** A strategy, "design thinking" forum that is convened around a multilateral summit such as SAARC in a neutral location, and which is not oriented around dialogue about multiple competing issue-areas that hinge on India-Pakistan normalization, may do much to define a larger, integrated peace campaign. Our interviews have indicated that common ground between Indians and Pakistanis is sometimes easier to cultivate in an environment geared toward multilateral, need-based cooperation. One such need is strategic: the lack of a coordinated strategy to generate mass momentum for peace. In addition to peace, the forum might have one rotating topic geared toward solving a pressing need—such as a pressing health or environmental concern—with break-off sessions that convene NGO leaders with experts in strategy and design thinking.

**Benchmarking:** Experts could be drawn from institutions such as the Stanford Design School that has developed a model for their Innovation Masters Series that caters to business leaders who wish to have social impact. Through their workshops they foster innovation, collaboration, and communication across sectors in order to address social, cultural, economic, and environmental issues. Such "design thinking" programming would encourage new approaches to the challenges NGOs face in achieving sustainability, coordination, collaboration, publicity, and access.

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### 2. DIGITAL CAPACITY INITIATIVE

**Problem Addressed:** The online presence and capacity of many civil society peace groups is severely limited and impacts the institutional memory needed to sustain long-term engagements. Organizations do not routinely update their websites about the status of current initiatives, and information is often sparse or inconsistent. Other initiatives or organizations which have been noted in academic literature or by experts may have no website or central information hub whatsoever, and even initiatives which are considered seminal in having brokered enhanced civil society ties (such as PIPFPD) may have websites with incomplete information that have not been updated in years, or which are non-functional despite evidence of their continued importance as peace fora.

**Recommendation:** An online, user-generated information clearinghouse for all peace initiatives between India and Pakistan would enable individual organizations to keep each other apprised of current efforts in a user-friendly, collaborative way using a standard content management system. A closed access forum could further facilitate interactions at the informal level, and a section for news/media information and updates on India-Pakistan relations could present opportunities for journalists and experts in both countries to blog regularly about the potential and process of bilateral rapprochement. A third-party actor, such as a foundation or foreign think tank, might be needed to provide design, hosting, and management.

**Benchmarking:** On the more rudimentary level, initiatives such as My Citizen (www.ngo.mycitizen.net), a catalogue of NGOs that highlights key initiatives and provides contact information, could facilitate communication between organizations and help assess the broader scope of the work being undertaken and the stakeholders involved. Combining this model with a platform that solicits expert and media contributions would do well to resemble the Stimson Center's South Asian Voices initiative.
(www.southasianvoices.org), which gives greater visibility to a "rising generation" of analysts between India and Pakistan through collaborative research projects, blog posts, and other commentary.

3. MULTI-MEDIA WORKSHOPS

Problem Addressed: The value of publicity in a modern multi-media world is under-appreciated for peace initiatives that may require mass mobilization of people, ideas, and resources to be truly successful. Some experts note that, for many such fora that are valuable and that draw from a variety of disciplines and experts, they are often too academic in nature and fail to mobilize social and media consciousness around the broader objective of peace. A lack of visibility and expertise in publicity may make such efforts more routine than useful in advancing a broader peace project. The measure of success for those engaged in peace processes must therefore shift from merely counting conference attendees and visas granted to hard, web-based analytics and other measures that are less subject to routine government interference and problems of physical mobility, such as the sharing of multimedia content and presence on social media.

Recommendation: This initiative would convene peace constituents with experts and organizations that possess a consistent record of successful multi-media campaigns. Workshops could be part of a broader collaborative forum facilitated by an outside organization, or as individualized consultancies with NGOs in India and Pakistan. The initiative would bring multiple NGO leaders together with the goal of organizing a central multi-media campaign resourced by a variety of organizations both within and outside the region. For example, such a workshop could be organized in conjunction with the annual PIPFPD conference.

Benchmarking: BBC Media Action specializes in hosting and facilitating similar programs, offering training in media, technology, and advocacy to grass-roots activists globally. A separate model of a successful, innovative, and mass multi-media effort might resemble the “#NotABugSplat” Twitter campaign that was a collaboration of NGOs and artists to bring awareness to drone strikes in Pakistan. Similarly, the “#IndiawithPakistan” campaign and CocaCola’s "Small World" campaign embody the ambition and scope needed to persuade a young and growing generation of Indians and Pakistanis.

4. TECHNICAL EXPERTISE HUB

Problem Addressed: Efforts at collaboration often touch on highly technical issues; similarly, many smaller NGOs with fewer resources lack capacity to engage high-level practitioners with specialized expertise in nuclear affairs, environmental issues, and capacity building. While India and Pakistan both boast impressive communities of scientists, researchers and scholars, engagement with qualified experts from abroad in the context of cross-border collaboration can be lacking.

Recommendation: An online hub of technical experts from third countries, convened by a top academic institution with a presence on the subcontinent, could provide innovative ideas, expertise, and mediation capacity, assisting Indians and Pakistanis as they work through complex issues. Such a hub could overcome the confines of borders and resources by convening individuals to share knowledge and best practices.

Benchmarking: The University of Wisconsin’s Experts Guide for News Media, an online database of authorities on diverse issues, could serve as a model. Additionally, efforts such as iknowpolitics (www.iknowpolitics.org) provides access to expert advice and tools to facilitate engagement, making
knowledge on technical issues more accessible. Ensuring unbiased knowledge is accessible can bolster peace initiatives and dialogues when less funding and other means of external support are available.

5. INDIA-PAKISTAN PEACE LAB

Problem Addressed: Highly qualified Indians and Pakistanis with unique professional skills outside the areas of policy, economics, and the arts tend to lack structured spaces within which to collaborate. Resources for bridge-building programs that bring Indians and Pakistanis together—not with an eye towards traditional peacebuilding, but with more practical, need-based outcomes in mind—appear to be scarce.

Recommendation: An international academic or educational institution would create a "peace lab" and select two fellows—one Indian and one Pakistani drawn from fields like engineering, medicine, architecture, and more—to spend one year working at the institution on a joint project to enhance cross-border collaboration. The goal would be to produce plans for something tangible that would showcase India-Pakistan collaboration and aim to solve an ongoing problem of mutual concern to both countries. Projects might include design for a mobile or social media application enhancing cross-border connections, products engineered for household energy efficiency, innovative tools for disaster response in mountainous or flood-prone areas, landscape and architectural designs for a "peace park," and so on. If run out of an institution like Columbia University, fellows could have access to teams of students to assist with their work. Indian and Pakistani diaspora communities could also be engaged to provide funding and expertise, build business connections, assist with publicity, and make available other resources that could help bring the ideas from conception to reality.

Benchmarks: Stanford University operates a Peace Entrepreneur in Residence program, which enables an individual entrepreneur to spend a year at the institution building a new technology that can bring people together. Myriad artistic residencies also create opportunities for artists to engage with new spaces, people and ideas. Both of these models could serve as starting points for this peace-oriented collaborative fellowship.

6. DIASPORA PEACE & BUSINESS FORUM

Problem Addressed: While Indian and Pakistani businessmen have struggled to meet due to visa restrictions and banking issues, the highly educated and successful Indian-American and Pakistani-American diaspora communities have developed strong, but largely separate networks. Many have founded organizations that promote their culture and business interests. Such organizations have even played key roles in expanding trade and developing policy, and given their impact and remittances, can play an important role in facilitating transactions and business innovation between in India and Pakistan.

Recommendation: An India-Pakistan peace and business forum organized around a prominent commercial and technology hub like Silicon Valley that convenes diaspora business leaders with business interests from both India and Pakistan. These communities have a history of collaborating on a range of business activities in both countries, and a new forum can embolden them to leverage their considerable resources and commercial acumen that to facilitate cross-border exchanges. Resourced by this highly educated and high-tech South Asian diaspora community, the forum could seek innovative means of getting around informal, non-tariff barriers to market access, increasing foreign investment, and lobbying for improved import-
export policy, liberalized currency transactions, and streamlined regulatory frameworks. The initiative could also target mid-sized business owners or businesswomen that are historically underrepresented in business fora.

**Benchmarking:** A similar effort, the Silicon Valley India-Pakistan Peace Coalition, was formed in 2002 by Ras Siddiqui, a Pakistani-American business leader, and Dinesh Chandra, an Indian peace activist. However, the initiative appears to not have been sustained, and a weightier emphasis on business to enhance peace would give the forum a context-driven purpose and narrower scope in order to leverage the unique expertise and interests present in Silicon Valley or other business hubs.

### 7. MECHANISM TO COORDINATE INDIA-PAKISTAN NORMALIZATION POLICY

**Problem Addressed:** Our research and interviews revealed considerable gaps in collaboration and disparities in prioritization vis-à-vis the India-Pakistan issue among US government officials working on India and Pakistan, specifically. While this is to be expected, it comes at the expense of pursuing a unified, coordinated and determined effort at normalizing ties between India and Pakistan.

**Recommendation:** The State Department in collaboration with the National Security Council (NSC) should initiate a working group focused squarely on India-Pakistan affairs that would include representatives from different State Department offices. It should include amongst others: the Bureaus of Public Affairs, Education and Cultural Affairs, and South and Central Asian Affairs. The aim of this working group would be to consider the impact of various India- and Pakistan-specific policies on the broader relationship between the two countries; explore areas of mutual cooperation and interest between India and Pakistan; and coordinate government-led initiatives, such as exchanges and educational programs, to ensure that normalization remains an element of future India and Pakistan related programming. Given the role of the NSC as coordinator of international policy within the US government, it may play a key role in facilitating such discussions. We appreciate the sensitivity required to establish such a mechanism without alienating either Indians or Pakistanis. Care must be taken, and the connotations associated with establishing a Special Representative, Special Coordinator, or Policy Coordinator should be noted and the establishment of such posts avoided. If such coordination is undertaken discreetly, it would promote synergy between US government initiatives, increase communication, and curtail inefficiencies. Increased coordination regarding India-Pakistan policy would enable the US government to realize its programs more effectively and nurture peace constituencies in both countries.
SECTION IV: CONCLUSION

The historical impasse and the changing political dynamics in India-Pakistan relations presents a unique opportunity to strengthen and innovate peace movements between citizens on a transnational level. Civil society has made significant strides in a number of areas over the past two decades, yet all such efforts face similar obstacles when evaluated for their long-term impact on perceptions, policy, and diplomacy. This chasm between proactive citizen-based initiatives and reactive government-to-government interactions needs to be bridged if the narrative of peace is to prevail over mistrust and obstruction on the bilateral level.

This report has aimed to identify innovative pathways of engagement that can improve upon the successes of civil society peace constituencies between India and Pakistan. Through a broad and sector-by-sector analysis of peace efforts and NGO linkages, the report highlighted the consistent obstacles organizations encounter in starting and maintaining peace processes, as well as recent initiatives and issue-areas that show the greatest potential for building a visible peace narrative that can withstand the fluctuations of a volatile bilateral relationship.

While each sector has its own narrow findings and recommendations, the common successes and fault points between these sectors inform the need for a broader, integrated strategy of multi-track and multi-sector collaboration on a more massive scale and with the aid of modern tools and technologies. By identifying areas of convergence, and by innovating processes to meet needs and incentives, we believe a common platform can be built among civil society organizations to support a burgeoning narrative of peace between India and Pakistan.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: REFERENCES

RESEARCH BIBLIOGRAPHY


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INTERVIEWS

Barve, Shushobha (Executive Director, Centre for Dialogue & Reconciliation). March 13, 2015.


Butalia, Urvashi (Founder, Zubaan Books; women's rights activist). March 17, 2015.

Cohen, Stephen (Senior Fellow, The India Project, Brookings Institution). February 17, 2015.

Coll, Steve (Dean & Henry R. Luce Professor of Journalism, Columbia University School of Journalism). March 6, 2015.


Evans, Alexander (Coordinator of a UN Special Political Mission). February 26, 2015.

Hasan, Shahrurkh (Chief of Aman ki Asha and Managing Director of Jang Group). March 5, 2015.

Hashmi, Salima (Dean of School of Visual Arts, Beaconhouse National University). March 16, 2015.


Jacob, Happymon (Assistant Professor, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University). March 26, 2015.

Jahangir, Asma (Founding Member, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan; human rights lawyer). March 12, 2015.

Jones, Peter (Associate Professor, University of Ottawa, The Ottawa Dialogue). March 10, 2015.


Krepon, Michael (Co-Founder, Stimson Center). March 6, 2015.

Kumar, Radha (Director General, Delhi Policy Group). March 17, 2015.

Maini, Trivadesh (Fellow, the Jindal School of International Affairs, OP Jindal Global University). March 6, 2015

Nadeem, Shahid (Director, Ajoka Theatre). April 6, 2015.

Nawaz, Shuja (Distinguished Fellow, South Asia Center, Atlantic Council). March 5, 2015.

Powell, Lydia (Head, Centre for Resources Management, Observer Research Foundation). March 9, 2015.

Muhammad, Rana (Executive Director, Citizens Archive of Pakistan). March 15, 2015.

Rangoonwala, Tariq (Chair, Pakistan International Chamber of Commerce). April 10, 2015.

Schneider, Cynthia (Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University). April 1, 2015.


Zaidi, Salman (Deputy Director, Jinnah Institute). March 12, 2015.
## APPENDIX 2: ORGANIZATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Contact Information</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Culture and Arts</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>News Media</td>
<td>Aman ki Asha</td>
<td>A major joint venture for peace initiated by two leading media corporations in India and Pakistan, the Jang Group of Pakistan and the Times of India Group.</td>
<td>2nd Floor, Jang building I.I. Chundrigar road, Karachi <a href="mailto:info@amankiasha.com">info@amankiasha.com</a> 92-21-32637111 <a href="http://amankiasha.com/">http://amankiasha.com/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>Lahore Literary Festival</td>
<td>An annual literary festival held in Lahore featuring Indian and Pakistani writers.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.lahorelitfest.com/">http://www.lahorelitfest.com/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>ZEE Jaipur Literature Festival</td>
<td>An annual literary festival held in Jaipur featuring Indian and Pakistani writers.</td>
<td>Mansarover Building, Plot No 336 Min Sultanpur, New Delhi, India 91-11-26805477, 91-11-26801477 <a href="http://jaipurliteraturefestival.org/">http://jaipurliteraturefestival.org/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performing Arts</td>
<td>Tehrik-e-Niswan</td>
<td>A Pakistani women's organization based in Karachi that utilizes theater and dance to promote peace between India and Pakistan.</td>
<td>GF-3, Block 78, Sea View Apartments DHA, Phase 5, Karachi, Pakistan <a href="mailto:tehrik@gmail.com">tehrik@gmail.com</a> 92-21-5851790, 92-21-5851852, 92-333-2155736; <a href="http://www.tehrik-e-niswan.org.pk/default.asp">http://www.tehrik-e-niswan.org.pk/default.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performing Arts</td>
<td>Ajoka Theatre</td>
<td>A Pakistani theater group based in Lahore promoting exchanges between Indian and Pakistani performers.</td>
<td>24-B Sarwar Road Lahore Cantt. Pakistan <a href="mailto:ajokatheatre@gmail.com">ajokatheatre@gmail.com</a> <a href="http://ajoka.org.pk/">http://ajoka.org.pk/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Youth</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Youth Exchange</td>
<td>Citizens Archive for Pakistan (CAP)</td>
<td>CAP is a non-profit organization dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Pakistan's culture and history. They began &quot;Exchange for Change&quot; between grade school students from India and Pakistan to learn about the other's culture and shared history. The exchange involves letter and internet interactions, as well as a select few traveling to each country. Began in 2010 and continues today.</td>
<td>Karachi, Pakistan 92 321 4513289 <a href="http://www.citizensarchive.org/">http://www.citizensarchive.org/</a>; <a href="mailto:info@citizensarchive.org">info@citizensarchive.org</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Exchange</td>
<td>Routes 2 Roots (R2R)</td>
<td>R2R is the Indian counterpart to the Exchange for Change Program, and the organization works with the Citizens Archive for Pakistan to facilitate the exchanges.</td>
<td>New Delhi, India +91-11-41646383; <a href="http://www.routes2roots.com/about.php">http://www.routes2roots.com/about.php</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth Forum</td>
<td>India-Pakistan Regional Young Leaders Forum (IPRYLF)</td>
<td>This forum consists of young leaders under the age of 40, who &quot;convene, connect and catalyze.&quot; The group meets and spends an entire year working on a public service project that is trans-border in nature. It has been organized in conjunction with the Asia Society and Jinnah Institute. Began in 2012 and will end at the end of 2015 as the grant is running out.</td>
<td>725 Park Avenue, New York, NY; <a href="mailto:info@asiassoc.org">info@asiassoc.org</a> <a href="http://www.asiassoc.org">www.asiassoc.org</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Youth Exchange

**Seeds of Peace (SOP)**

Seeds of Peace is a nonprofit organization that has programs all around the world to build peace by providing young people and educators from regions of conflict with an opportunity to meet at its International Camp in Maine. Its South Asia Program brings together citizens of Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, to find common ground for peace. The Seeds for Peace programme for South Asia was initiated in collaboration with the U.S. State Department in 2001, and 8% of SOP’s revenues currently stem from government (mainly USAID) funding.

New York, NY; South Asia Programs
awista@seedsofpeace.org
212 573 8040
seedsofpeace.org

### Human Rights, Women, & Kashmir

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Think Tank</th>
<th>Delhi Policy Group</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Human Rights</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pakistan Human Rights Commission</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Human Rights, Peacebuilding</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pakistan India Peoples’ Forum for Peace &amp; Democracy</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Kashmir, Peacebuilding</strong></td>
<td><strong>Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Kashmir, Peacebuilding</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kashmir Institute of International Relations</strong></td>
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</table>

In addition to its Women in Peacemaking Program, DPG has had a successful multilateral approach to women and peacebuilding that included the SAARC South Asian Charter for Peace.

HRCP is one of the leading human rights organisations in Pakistan. The HRCP also works in peacebuilding, working to resolve conflict in Baluchistan and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, as well as reducing tensions between Pakistan and India.

PIPFPD is based in both countries with offices in Lahore and New Delhi, and its membership is open to nationals of respective countries who subscribe to the ideals of the group. The major activity of the PIPFPD is to organise a convention of 100-200 delegates from each country, alternatively in India and Pakistan. Since 1995, PIPFPD has organised eight conventions, four in each country’s major cities. The group has also facilitated the exchange of peace activists between the two countries and has organised meetings, seminars and workshops to promote peace and friendship among the people of India and Pakistan.

The Center for Dialogue and Reconciliation organizes workshops/meetings in J&K on peace education for Kashmiri youth affected by terrorism. Ms. Bharve also works with organizations in J&K that run orphanages and works with women who are victims.

With a particular emphasis on faith-based reconciliation in AJK, KIIR is involved in Kashmiri capacity building and conflict resolution efforts and has a consistent record of collaboration with international NGOs including the US Institute of Peace.

Core 5-A, 1st Floor, India Habitat Centre Lodhi Road, New Delhi, 110003
Tel: +91- 11- 24649571
gooffice@delhipolicygroup.com
www.delhipolicygroup.com

Tel: +92-42-35864994 Fax: +92-42-35883582
E-mail: hrccp@hrccp-web.org
URL: www.hrccp-web.org
Sohra Yusuf, Chairperson

2nd floor, 7/10, Sarvapriya Vihar New Delhi-110017
Tel. No: +91-11-46051314
Fax no: +91-11-41673258
e-mail - cdr@cdr-india.org

No. 11, 2nd Floor, Victory Tower Plaza, F-8 Markaz, Islamabad- Pakistan.
Ph: 92-51-2287288-9
Fax: 92-51-2287290
Email: info@kiir.org.pk , kiir@kiir.org.pk
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kashmir, Peacebuilding</th>
<th>Kashmir Foundation for Peace and Developmental Studies Institute for Reconciliation</th>
<th>The Kashmir Foundation for Peace and Developmental Studies provides broad support services, including for terrorist victims and their families.</th>
<th>Phone: 0194-248-1641, 0194-244-1374</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Sangat (Jagori)</td>
<td>A project of the Delhi-based women's rights organization Jagori, Sangat is a South Asian feminist network that is a continuation of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization's NGO South Asia Programme. Sangat is notable primarily for its month-long capacity building courses.</td>
<td>Jagori, B-114</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Shivalik, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi - 110017 +91 11 26692166 <a href="mailto:sangat@sangatsouthasia.org">sangat@sangatsouthasia.org</a> <a href="http://www.sangatsouthasia.org">www.sangatsouthasia.org</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Center</td>
<td>The Pakistan-based Shirkat Gah was the organizer of the groundbreaking Women's Action Forum in the 1980s and, since then, has demonstrated a consistent record of regional engagement and NGO collaboration.</td>
<td>Lahore Office:+92-42-35838815</td>
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<td>+92-42-35886267-68+92-42-35832448</td>
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<td><a href="http://www.shirkatgah.org">www.shirkatgah.org</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women in Security, Conflict Management, and Peace</td>
<td>WISCOMP seeks to cultivate non-traditional approaches to peace and security. Its annual Conflict Transformation Workshop focuses on training third-generation men and women between India and Pakistan in peacebuilding. Its Diplomacy Initiative also focuses on encouraging synergies between civil society and Track One diplomacy efforts among women diplomats and parliamentarians.</td>
<td>Core 4A, Upper Ground Floor, India Habitat Centre</td>
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<td>Fax: 91-11-24648451</td>
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<td>Email: <a href="mailto:wiscomp2006@gmail.com">wiscomp2006@gmail.com</a></td>
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<td><a href="http://www.wiscomp.org">www.wiscomp.org</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>AJK Women for Peace</td>
<td>AJKWP participated in the Cross-LoC Dialogues and is one of the few homegrown women's organizations AJK that is looking to sustain the dialogue process.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ajkwfp.org/">http://www.ajkwfp.org/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Research</td>
<td>Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations</td>
<td>Economic policy think tank that undertakes research aiming to improve India’s interface with the global economy. They have written numerous reports on India-Pakistan trade with the hopes of strengthening research and promoting multi-level dialogue for trade normalization between India and Pakistan.</td>
<td>indiapakistantrade.org, <a href="mailto:info@indiapakistantrade.org">info@indiapakistantrade.org</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Promotion</td>
<td>Pakistan Business Council</td>
<td>Business policy advocacy platform that represents 46 of the largest private sector businesses. They conduct research of opportunities for expansion of trade between India and Pakistan and advocate for government policy reform.</td>
<td>pbc.org.pk/indo-pak-joint-forum/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Research</td>
<td>Bureau of Research on Industry and Economic Fundamentals</td>
<td>Is a market research and consulting organization that studies the impact of policies and programs; primarily focusing on work done in the both on the Indian and Pakistani side of the Punjab.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.briefindia.com/">http://www.briefindia.com/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Partnership Development</strong>&lt;br&gt;India-Pakistan Business Council</td>
<td>Dedicated to increasing India-Pakistan trade by assisting companies and professionals develop partnerships through introductions. It offers its members visa help, networking opportunities, workshops, sector based reports, legal consultancy and help establishing trademarks and patents.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.inpkbc.com">www.inpkbc.com</a>; <a href="mailto:info@inpbc.com">info@inpbc.com</a>; +91-11-25891079,</td>
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<td><strong>Partnership Development</strong>&lt;br&gt;Pakistan-India business council</td>
<td>Works to promote trade by building partnerships between businesses. It hosts trade shows and meetings to solidify these partnerships</td>
<td><a href="mailto:info@pakistanindiabuisnesscouncil.com">info@pakistanindiabuisnesscouncil.com</a></td>
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<td><strong>Trade</strong>&lt;br&gt;The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry</td>
<td>It is the oldest and largest business organization in India. FICCI provides a platform for networking and consensus building within and across sectors and is the first port of call for Indian industry, policy makers and the international business community.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.ficci.com/index.asp">http://www.ficci.com/index.asp</a>; 91-11-23738760-70; <a href="mailto:ficci@ficci.com">ficci@ficci.com</a></td>
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<td><strong>Trade</strong>&lt;br&gt;Confederation of Indian Industries</td>
<td>Works to create and sustain an environment conducive to the development of India, partnering industry, Government, and civil society, through advisory and consultative processes.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.cii.in/">http://www.cii.in/</a>; <a href="mailto:info@cii.in">info@cii.in</a>; 91 11 45771000</td>
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<td><strong>Trade</strong>&lt;br&gt;Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry</td>
<td>Facilitate our members to prosper and succeed through a proactive working partnership with businessmen, traders, all levels of government and community organizations. They also partner with other chambers of commerce to develop conferences and trade fairs</td>
<td><a href="http://www.kcci.com.pk">www.kcci.com.pk</a>; <a href="mailto:info@kcci.com.pk">info@kcci.com.pk</a>; 92-21-99218001-09</td>
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<td><strong>Trade</strong>&lt;br&gt;The Federation of Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry</td>
<td>Promotes Pakistani trade interests globally. Specifically developed SAARC related initiatives that strive to increase collaboration within the region.</td>
<td><a href="http://fpcci.org.pk/Default.aspx">http://fpcci.org.pk/Default.aspx</a>; <a href="mailto:info@fpcci.com.pk">info@fpcci.com.pk</a>; 021-3-5873691,93-94</td>
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<td><strong>Trade Forum</strong>&lt;br&gt;Atlantic Council's India-Pakistan Trade Business Forum</td>
<td>The India-Pakistan Trade and Business Forum creates an ongoing dialogue between high and mid-level business leaders in both countries. They will explore ways of creating sustainable economic ties between the neighbors.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/">http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/</a>; <a href="mailto:Info@AtlanticCouncil.org">Info@AtlanticCouncil.org</a></td>
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<td><strong>Trade Forum</strong>&lt;br&gt;SAARC Chamber Women Entrepreneurs Council</td>
<td>works towards facilitating cooperation and networking among the women entrepreneurs of the SAARC region. It focuses on development of women entrepreneurship for economic development building trade links among the women of the SAARC region. Since the inception of SCWEC a number of workshops, round table conference, seminars, training programs.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.scwec.com/">http://www.scwec.com/</a>; 977 01 4247682 / 9841589441; <a href="mailto:chairperson.scwec@gmail.com">chairperson.scwec@gmail.com</a></td>
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<td><strong>Trade Forum</strong>&lt;br&gt;Indo-Pakistan Economic Conference</td>
<td>This event organized by Aman Ki Asha and the Jang Group, two media conglomerates was founded to promote Indian and Pakistani compliance with SAFTA</td>
<td>See above</td>
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<td>Trade Research</td>
<td>Gateway House</td>
<td>India’s leading corporations and individuals in debate and scholarship on India’s foreign policy and the nation’s role in global affairs. Gateway House writes extensively about India-Pakistan trade.</td>
<td><a href="http://www.gatewayhouse.in/">http://www.gatewayhouse.in/</a>; <a href="mailto:info@gatewayhouse.in">info@gatewayhouse.in</a></td>
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<td>Track Two Trade</td>
<td>Pakistan- India Joint Working Group</td>
<td>Holds meetings between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Pakistan and the Ministry of External Affairs from India to discuss trading across the LoC.</td>
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| Track Two Diplomacy | The Ottawa Dialogue | Based at the University of Ottawa, the Ottawa Dialogue organizes Track Two engagements around issues of nuclear security, military, intelligence, water security and regional security.  
120 University Social Sciences Building, Room 5058, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; OttawaDialogue@uOttawa.ca; 613-562-5800, ext. 1876; http://socialsciences.uottawa.ca/dialogue/eng/ |
| Think Tank | The Pakistan Institute of International Affairs (PIIA) | A leading research institute in Pakistan, PIIA focuses on international politics, economics and law.  
Aiwan-e-Sadar Road, Karachi 74200, P. O. Box 1447, Pakistan; info@piia.org.pk; +92-21-35682891; www.piia.org.pk |