



**BRUEF**  
EMPOWERING GROWTH

### Airspace Closure

Air India Chairman and Managing Director (CMD) Ashwani Lohani has expressed confidence that the national carrier will be able to meet all even-odds in case Pakistan decides to go ahead with the air space closure yet again.

"We would handle it the same way as last time."

### LoC Trade Suspension

The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) on Thursday suspended the cross-Line of Control (LoC) trade in Jammu and Kashmir, citing "hostelling of terrorists, narcotics and fake currencies as reasons.

The move will immediately impact around 300 traders, and over 1,200 jobs in the region.

LoC trade has been suspended since 2008 by sending Facilitation Centres in Srinagar, Salamatbad in Baramulla and Chakkan-da-Bagh in Pulwama.

Pakistan has termed the LoC trade suspensions as a violation of the 1972 Shimla Agreement and resolutions of the United Nations and the Organisation for Islamic Cooperation. While announcing the suspension of bilateral trade, Pakistan also objected to India's decision of bifurcating Kashmir into two Union Territories.

Lohani, however, refused to comment on the "situation" would be enabled by financial aid.

Operations to Europe, US and Gulf from India were majorly impacted with this move. The travel time increased by 2-4 hours as airlines had to make an extra fuel-stop.

The national carrier was forced to cut down on certain routes. Passengers were angry with the extra hours that they had to travel and new routes that were put into play.

Pakistan trade experts to India said a MFN withdrawal would hurt Pakistan's economy significantly.

India's import duties are 495% of Pakistan's and India's exports to Pakistan are valued at USD 45 billion, while Pakistan's exports to India are valued at USD 2.6 billion in March-July 2019.

These decisions were taken at a high-level meeting chaired by Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan in response to the Narendra Modi government's move to scrap the special status awarded to Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

Worse view is past new to trade government

### MFN Withdrawal Duty Hike

India on Saturday biked the customs duty on all goods imported from Pakistan to 200% with immediate effect, a day after it revoked the most favoured nation (MFN) status that it had given its neighbour in 1996.

"India has withdrawn MFN status to Pakistan after the Pulwama incident. Upon withdrawal, basic customs duty on all goods exported from Pakistan to India has been raised to 200% with immediate effect." Pakistan Minister Arif Alvi said on Saturday.

Amritsar is landlocked, is not a metropolitan and traditionally has no significant industry. Hence, any impact on it...

# UNILATERAL DECISIONS BILATERAL LOSSES

Afaq Hussain | Nikita Singla

### Trade Ban

Relations between India and Pakistan worsened on Wednesday when Pakistan decided to downgrade diplomatic ties with India, recall its high commissioner from New Delhi, expel the Indian envoy to Islamabad and suspend bilateral trade.

These decisions were taken at a high-level meeting chaired by Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan in response to the Narendra Modi government's move to scrap the special status awarded to Jammu and Kashmir under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

But this changed with time. Economic relations between the two countries became a casualty of their continued differences over the Kashmir region, and wars in 1965 and 1971.



Since February 2019, India-Pakistan relations have been sliding downhill. Escalating tensions between India and Pakistan led their governments to take successive unilateral decisions - impact trickling down to the trade communities in both the countries.

International trade as a subject, for policy making as well as research, is generally focused on, from a macro level. This book is an attempt to understand trade at a micro level in terms of the dependence of border economies on cross-border trade. This has been done by assessing the socio-economic impact of trade suspension, through field research in Punjab, and Jammu and Kashmir. As the trade communities, and the citizens at large, stand by the decisions of the government, it is crucial to identify adequate measures that could be taken towards sustaining the people and the border economies, in the absence of cross-border trade.

**Mohammed Saqib**  
CEO, BRIEF

## UNILATERAL DECISIONS BILATERAL LOSSES

Assessing the impact of the face-off between India and Pakistan  
in 2019, on border economies

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Afaq Hussain & Nikita Singla

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Abbreviation	Details
ATS	Air Traffic Service
B2B	Business-to-Business
CBM	Confidence Building Measure
CHA	Custom House Agent
CWC	Central Warehousing Corporation
DRI	Directorate of Revenue Intelligence
EMI	Equated Monthly Instalment
EMS	Express Mail Service
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GST	Goods and Service Tax
HS Code	Harmonized System Code
ICP	Integrated Check Post
IGST	Integrated Goods and Service Tax
IICCI	Indian Importers Chambers of Commerce and Industry
INR	Indian Rupee
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
JKJCCI	Jammu and Kashmir Joint Chamber of Commerce and Industry
JNPT	Jawaharlal Nehru Port Trust
JWG	Joint Working Group
LoC	Line of Control
LWB	Lorry Weighbridge
MFN	Most Favoured Nation
MT	Metric Tonnes
NOTAM	Notice to Airmen
PITEX	Punjab International Trade Exposition
PKR	Pakistani Rupee
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Area
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SOP	Standard Operating Procedure
TATA	Trade and Travel Authority
TDAP	Trade Development Authority of Pakistan
TFC	Trade Facilitation Center
TFO	Trade Facilitation Officer
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UPU	Universal Postal Union
US/USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WTO	World Trade Organisation

## Acknowledgements

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Post-February 2019, amid a deterioration in India-Pakistan relations, we traveled to Amritsar in the Indian state of Punjab, 28 kilometers from the border with Pakistan. The visit was aimed at gathering an on-the-ground understanding of how local stakeholders were affected by India's withdrawal of the status of Most Favored Nation granted to Pakistan, and hike in customs duties. Seeing their plight, we felt the need to document the socio-economic impact of the latest India-Pakistan face-off, so that adequate measures could be taken towards ensuring the survival of people and border economies. Most of our on-the-ground research has been conducted in India – Amritsar, Delhi, Mumbai, and Jammu and Kashmir, along with some telephonic interviews with traders in Pakistan.

We express our sincere gratitude to Pardeep Sehgal and Rajdeep Uppal – senior representatives of the trade community in Amritsar for supporting us ever since we conceived of writing this book, and proactively connecting us with all relevant stakeholders. We thank all the stakeholders—custom house agents; traders; Central Warehousing Corporation (CWC) at the Integrated Check Post (ICP) in Attari, a border village of Indian Punjab; and the Attari truck union, among others—for sharing with us their insights and data. In addition, we thank the traders and trade facilitation centres in the districts of Baramulla and Poonch in Jammu and Kashmir region for their cooperation. We also thank traders in Pakistan for sharing their insights and stories with us.

We express our sincere thanks to Manpreet Singh Badal (Finance Minister, Punjab, India), Arun K Singh (former Indian Ambassador to the United States, France and Israel), and Lt. Gen Satish Dua (a former Corps Commander in Kashmir, who retired as Chief of Integrated Defence Staff) for sharing their thoughts on the book.

We are very thankful to Mohammed Saqib (CEO, BRIEF) for his overall guidance while writing this book; and Samit Chakraborty, Priya Arora, Drishti Bansal and Aakanksha Nehra of the BRIEF team for supporting us throughout this research.

## About BRIEF's 'Partnering for Prosperity' Program and the Authors

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Bureau of Research on Industry and Economic Fundamentals (BRIEF) is a New Delhi based research and policy think tank with a focus on international trade and regional cooperation in South Asia. Over the last few years, in order to strengthen the dialogue on economic engagement between India and Pakistan, we have initiated parallel programs focusing on multiple strands of economic cooperation between India and Pakistan including both mainstream bilateral trade and cross-Line of Control trade, and other Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) between the two countries. As a part of these programs, the main focus of our work is building research repository, creating positive constituencies, engaging and interacting with key stakeholders at multiple levels, and developing cross-border linkages – that help shape a positive narrative about India and Pakistan, nationally, bilaterally, as well as at a regional level in South Asia.

This book - which is a micro level analysis of the impact the face-off between India and Pakistan in 2019 has had on their border economies – is an outcome of one of our ongoing programs “Partnering for Prosperity: through enabling trade and connecting communities between India and Pakistan”, which seeks to generate momentum for an overall (re)engagement process by not just providing impetus to trade but bridging the trust deficit.

### **Afaq Hussain, Director, BRIEF**

Afaq has over fifteen years of experience working on International Trade and Logistics, and Regional Cooperation in South Asia, with a special focus on India and Pakistan. Most of his work has been on trade, non-tariff barriers, trade facilitation reforms and informal trade in South Asia. Prior to BRIEF, he was leading research on non-tariff barriers and free trade agreements at Indian Council for Market Research.

### **Nikita Singla, Associate Director, BRIEF**

Over the last decade, Nikita's engagements have spanned across Regional Cooperation, International Trade and Logistics, and Overseas Development Assistance with a focus on South Asia. Prior to BRIEF, she worked with the World Bank Group's South Asia Regional Integration unit, based in Washington DC. She is an Engineer from Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) Delhi and studied International Economic Policy from Sciences Po Paris.

## At a Glance - Unilateral Decisions and Bilateral Losses

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In February 2019, in the wake of a militant attack in the Pulwama district of Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian government decided to withdraw the status of Most Favored Nation (MFN) for trade granted to Pakistan since 1996. Subsequently, it increased customs duty on all goods imported from Pakistan to 200%. Following the airstrikes in the Balakot region (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province) later in February, Pakistan and subsequently, India barred each other from their respective airspaces, with Pakistan extending the ban for nearly five months. In April that year, the Indian government suspended trade across the Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu and Kashmir region citing misuse of the trade route by Pakistan-based elements. Four months later, it enacted the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Bill, reorganising the former Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir into two union territories—Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh<sup>1</sup>. Pakistan, thereafter, reduced diplomatic and economic ties with India — expelling the Indian envoy, partially shutting its airspace, and suspending bilateral trade and postal services.

Escalating tensions between India and Pakistan led their governments to each retaliate through successive unilateral decisions. Each decision, while targeted at hurting the neighbor, caused losses in both countries. As in the past, traders in both countries were affected, albeit much more severely this time around.

*“Post Kargil times were difficult times too, but we survived that. This time the situation looks much grimmer. As they say, you stop supplies and your money dries. Our survival is at stake”*  
— *Trader in Amritsar, Punjab, India*

Trade between India and Pakistan has fluctuated but persevered over the years, surviving the jolts of the Kargil conflict in 1999, and terror attacks on India’s parliament in 2001 and city of Mumbai in 2008, among other incidents. Sometimes, it was about more than just survival, as sudden surges in bilateral tension were followed by determined efforts to resume normalcy. For example, after the bombing of Samjhauta Express—a train service connecting India and Pakistan via the Attari-Wagah border—in February 2007, modalities to allow trucks to move across this border were chalked out in August that year, and this transit was initiated two months later in October.

Bilateral trade has immense potential to spur development in both countries, but politics continues to trump economics. Following the deterioration of India-Pakistan ties in February 2019, traders and citizens, at large, have stood by their respective governments. But the India-Pakistan face-off has had more repercussions than foreseen. Traders have lost much business, especially those in the countries’ border economies; dry dates—commonly referred to as the poor man’s dry fruit—have gotten dearer; prices of many goods, like cement and rock salt, that had been kept under check by the balancing out of international-trade mechanisms, have experienced fluctuations<sup>2</sup>; suspension of cross-LoC trade—an important Confidence Building Measure (CBM) between India and Pakistan—has disrupted the livelihoods of those dependent on this trade over the last decade; and the airspace bans severely affected the activities of airline operators and associated businesses, causing inconvenience to passengers.

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<sup>1</sup> All mention of Jammu and Kashmir in this book refers to the newly formed union territory of Jammu and Kashmir, as there are no crossing points for travel or trade across the LoC in the union territory of Ladakh

<sup>2</sup> As of 20 November 2019, tomato prices hit PKR 400/kilogram in Pakistan; Dry dates became expensive by 300%, Price of a cement bag in India shot up from nearly INR 275/bag to around INR 375/bag between February and May 2019.



Border economies in India—including those of Punjab, and Jammu and Kashmir—and export clusters in Pakistan, like Punjab and Sindh, have been hit the worst. The numerous spinning mills of Ludhiana, a district of Indian Punjab, have lost access to Faisalabad, a district in Pakistani Punjab that provides a valuable consumption base less than 300 kilometers away. There's a similar story on the Pakistani side, where for example, rock salt that was primarily exported to India, lost a huge market next door.

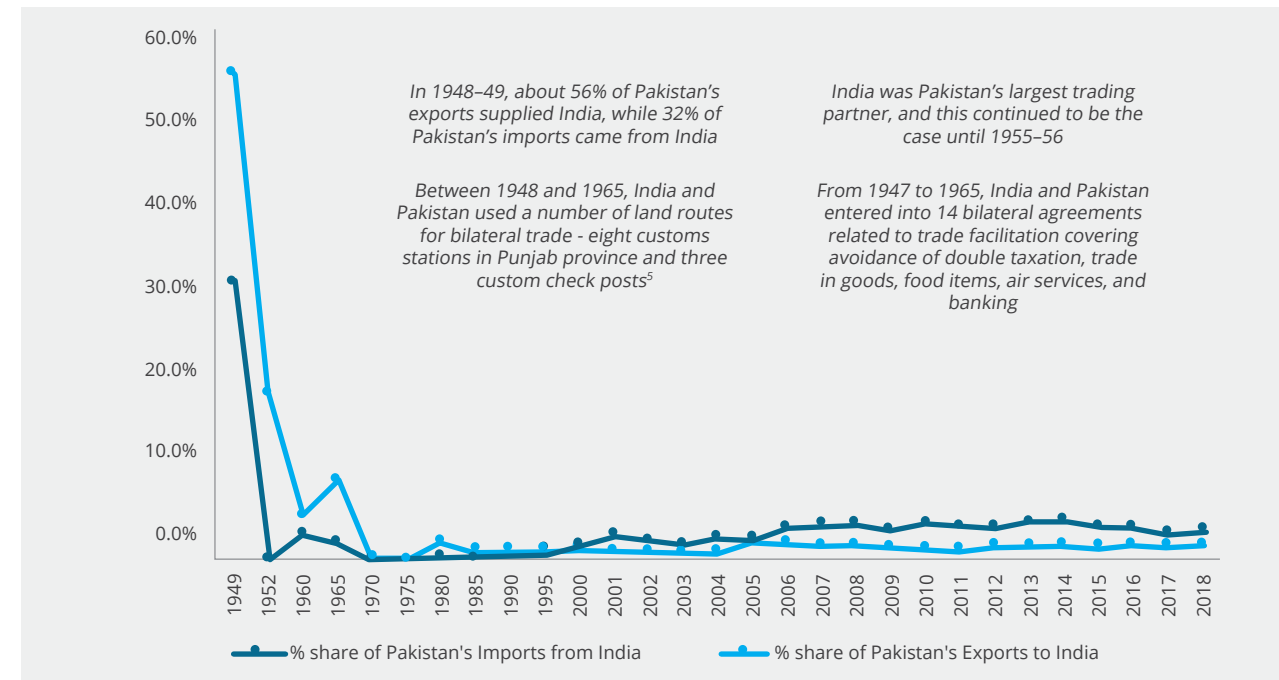
For many traders in Amritsar's Majith Mandi or Srinagar Mandi, the politics of trade seized their only source of livelihood. The current face-off has left these trade communities wondering if they are being penalized for having traded with their Pakistani counterparts, after being nudged initially to trade across the border in order to push bilateral engagement further.

Any form of border trade creates its own economic ecosystem and emotional capital. Today, this ecosystem seeks support from the governments and peoples of India and Pakistan. While the bilateral trade between India and Pakistan was relatively small<sup>3</sup> for its suspension to have any significant impact on the two countries' national economies, their local economies are suffering significantly. So, until bilateral trade resumes, what are the alternative sources of livelihood that can be generated to support the border economies?

## The Story of India-Pakistan Trade: An Interplay between Politics and Economics

Trade between India and Pakistan has remained hostage to politics for years. Strikingly, however, even amid the unimaginable violence and bloodshed that accompanied the creation of the dominions of India and Pakistan in 1947, their respective political leaderships managed to keep trade and economic issues separate from politics.

### Pakistan's Trade with India, 1949 - 2018<sup>4</sup>



But this changed with time. Economic relations between the two countries became a casualty of their continued differences over the Jammu and Kashmir region, and wars in 1965 and 1971.

*Even in 1965, nine branches of six Indian banks were operating in Pakistan<sup>6</sup>.*

*And after the India-Pakistan war in 1971, the Simla Agreement was signed, under which the two sides agreed to resume trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields as far as possible.*

<sup>3</sup> Back in 1948–49, Pakistan's exports to India accounted for 56% of its total exports, while 32% of Pakistan's imports came from India. Today, as per 2018-19 data, these have reduced to 2.1% and 3.4% respectively. For India, its exports to and imports from Pakistan are 0.63% and 0.10% of its total exports and imports, respectively

<sup>4</sup> "FY 1948 - 49 from J.A Klam, India Pakistan Trade Relation, IOSR Journal of Business Management, Vol 5, 2012, p.1; FY 1949 - 2002 from Dr. H Ahmed, S.J Burki and M.Imran, A Primer: Trade Relations between Pakistan & India (1947 -2012), USAID Trade Project, 2012, p.24, 35; 2003-18 from International Trade Centre; Kugelman, Michael. Hathaway, Robert. Pakistan-India Trade: What Needs To Be Done? What Does It Matter?. 2013. Wilson Center, [https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ASIA\\_121219\\_Pakistn%20India%20Trade%20rptFINAL.pdf](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ASIA_121219_Pakistn%20India%20Trade%20rptFINAL.pdf)."

<sup>5</sup> These included eight customs stations in Pakistan's Punjab province at Wagah, Takia Ghawindi, Khem Karan, Ganda Singhwala, Mughalpura Railway Station, Lahore Railway Station, Haripur Bund on River Chenab, and the Macleod Ganj Road Railway Station. There were three custom checkpoints in Sindh at Khokrapar, Gadro, and Chhor

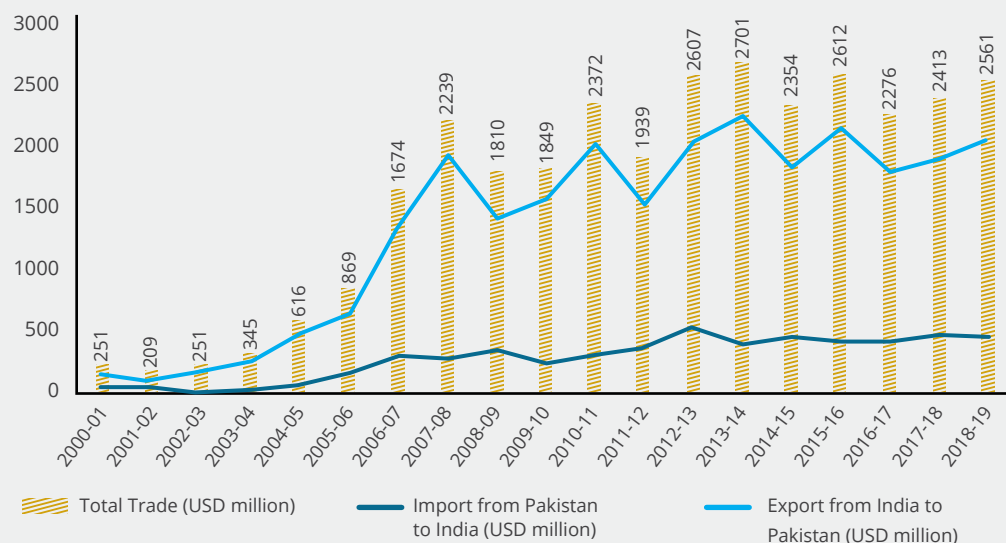
<sup>6</sup> "Kugelman, Michael. Hathaway, Robert. Pakistan-India Trade: What Needs To Be Done? What Does It Matter?. 2013. Wilson Center. [https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ASIA\\_121219\\_Pakistn%20India%20Trade%20rptFINAL.pdf](https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ASIA_121219_Pakistn%20India%20Trade%20rptFINAL.pdf)."



Since then, several attempts have been made to revive peaceful and cooperative relations between the two nations, but these efforts have been repeatedly thwarted. These included the Lahore Declaration of February 1999 that sought peaceful resolution of bilateral disagreements but was let down a few months later by the Kargil War; the Agra Summit in July 2001 that proposed reducing nuclear arsenals, resolving differences over the Jammu and Kashmir region and curbing cross-border terrorism but was followed by the bombing of the state legislative complex in Jammu and Kashmir, and an attack on the Indian parliament later that year; the initiation of cross-LoC trade in October 2008 that came under scrutiny after the Mumbai terror attacks a month later; and, in 2015, hug diplomacy—a new effort at diplomacy by Narendra Modi, the Indian prime minister, who made a brief stopover in Pakistan for the birthday of Nawaz Sharif, the former Pakistani prime minister (2013-17)—which fizzled out after the 2016 militant attack on an Indian airforce station in Pathankot, a border district of Indian Punjab. These, among other incidents, continued the game of ‘snakes and ladders’ between India and Pakistan.

The geographical proximity, cultural similarity, linguistic commonalities and prerogative of economic development shared by India and Pakistan should naturally propel bilateral trade and economic cooperation. Traders of both countries have ceaselessly shown an inclination towards doing business with each other. The commencement of bilateral trade by road; amendments in the maritime protocol that provided impetus to sea trade between the two neighbours; inking of the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) agreement, which sought to liberalize trade in South Asia; and the initiation of dialogue in 2011 on normalizing India-Pakistan trade have all created new opportunities for enhancing bilateral trade. Had these factors translated into tangible gains, India and Pakistan could have realized their full trade potential, which is an estimated USD 37 billion a year according to a recent World Bank report<sup>7</sup>. However, in 2018-19 bilateral trade stood at an abysmal USD 2.6 billion. Over the last 5 years, this trade has remained low—between USD 2.2 billion and USD 2.6 billion annually—and is currently suspended.

### India-Pakistan Trade, 2000-2019 (USD million)



Source: Department of Commerce, Government of India

<sup>7</sup> "Kathuria, Sanjay. 2018. A Glass Half Full: The Promise of Regional Trade in South Asia. South Asia Development Forum. Washington, DC: World Bank. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/30246>."

In the last two decades, various initiatives have prompted the trade communities of India and Pakistan to come together in order to improve bilateral economic relations. In 2005, amendments in the maritime protocol that allowed vessels from India and Pakistan access each other's ports in order to lift cargo destined for a third country, and the opening of Wagah-Attari border for bilateral trade, provided impetus to both sea and land trade. Later, in 2008, trade began across the Line of Control, that was followed by the terror attacks in Mumbai only 35 days later. Yet, this trade survived the recurring political impasses to thrive for more than a decade. Further, in 2011, the 5th and 6th rounds of talks on commercial and economic co-operation between commerce secretaries of India and Pakistan pushed for speedy normalization of bilateral trade, development of associated infrastructure, new commerce initiatives, more business-to-business interactions and dismantling non-tariff barriers. Bilateral trade was thus encouraged, increasing from USD 1.93 billion in 2011-12 to USD 2.60 billion in 2012-13. It was accompanied by other measures as well, such as setting up of the Integrated Check Post (ICP) at the Attari-Wagah border; Pakistan substituting a positive-list import regime, which allowed import of 1,946 goods from India, with a negative-list scheme, which barred 1,209 items from this bilateral trade; and building traders' confidence and dispelling misapprehensions over cross-border trade through comprehensive dialogue between business chambers and associations in India and Pakistan. In addition, in 2012, authorities from both countries agreed on issuing a larger number of multiple-entry visas to citizens from the neighbouring country, and sportingly organized a bilateral cricket series in India.

Yet, India and Pakistan remained far from realizing the full benefit of their proximity and potential. In 2014 a new government was elected in India. Narendra Modi, the former chief minister of the Indian state of Gujarat, was sworn in as the country's prime minister in a ceremony attended by Nawaz Sharif, Pakistan's prime minister at the time. There was new hope for peace and prosperity in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), an intergovernmental body and geopolitical union of South Asia. This belief was strengthened by dialogue between the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan in July 2015; the Indian prime minister's surprise visit to his Pakistani counterpart in December 2015, wherein they announced plans to resume peace talks; and the extension of the maritime cooperation memorandum in February 2016. However, building on these efforts was notably impeded by militant attacks in Indian Punjab - in the Gurdaspur district in July 2015, on an airforce station in Pathankot district in January 2016; and a terror attack near the town of Uri in Jammu and Kashmir in September 2016.

The numbers and voices on the ground have always stood as testimony to the substantial potential for India-Pakistan trade yet to be tapped, but these untoward incidents pushed India-Pakistan ties downhill again, reaching a new low in February 2019.

## It all goes downhill: India-Pakistan Fallout Post February 2019

**14<sup>th</sup> February 2019**

A militant attack in the Pulwama district of Jammu and Kashmir

**16<sup>th</sup> February 2019**

**Decision:** The Indian government withdrew the status of Most Favoured Nation (MFN) for trade granted to Pakistan since 1996. Subsequently, it increased customs duty on all goods imported from Pakistan to 200%

**26<sup>th</sup> February 2019**

Airstrikes in the Balakot region (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province).

**Decision:** Pakistan and subsequently India barred each other from their respective airspaces, with Pakistan extending the ban for nearly five months

**18<sup>th</sup> April 2019**

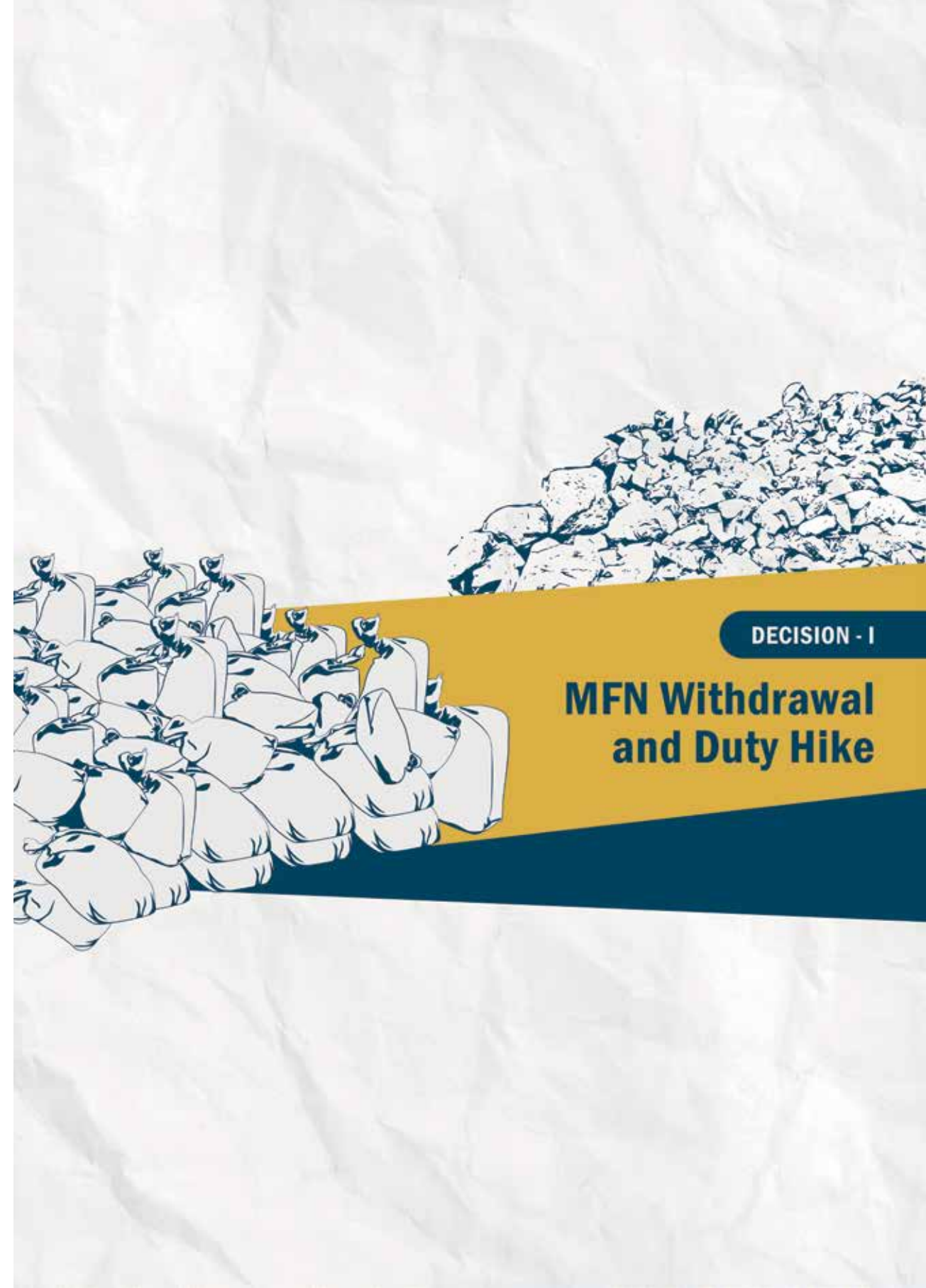
**Decision:** The Indian government suspended trade across the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir region citing misuse of the trade route by Pakistan-based elements

**5<sup>th</sup> August 2019**

The Indian government enacted the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Bill, reorganising the former Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir into two union territories—Jammu and Kashmir, and Ladakh

**9<sup>th</sup> August 2019**

**Decision:** Pakistan, thereafter, reduced diplomatic and economic ties with India — expelling the Indian envoy, partially shutting its airspace, suspending bilateral trade on 9 August 2019 and postal services on 27 August 2019.



## Decision I: MFN Withdrawal and Duty Hike

**[TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE GAZETTE OF INDIA, EXTRAORDINARY, PART II,  
SECTION 3, SUB- SECTION (i)]**

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
MINISTRY OF FINANCE  
DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE

Notification No.05/2019-Customs

New Delhi, the 16th February, 2019

G.S.R. ....(E). – WHEREAS, the Central Government is satisfied that the import duty leviable on all goods originating in or exported from the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, falling under the First Schedule to the Customs Tariff Act, 1975 (51 of 1975) (hereinafter referred to as the Customs Tariff Act), should be increased and that circumstances exist which render it necessary to take immediate action.

NOW, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 8A of the Customs Tariff Act, the Central Government, hereby directs that the First Schedule to the Customs Tariff Act, shall be amended in the following manner, namely:-

In the First Schedule to the Customs Tariff Act, in Section XXI, in Chapter 98, after tariff item 9805 90 00 and the entries relating thereto, the following tariff item and entries shall be inserted, namely: -

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
"9806 00 00	All goods originating in or exported from the Islamic Republic of Pakistan	-	200%	-".

[F.No.354/40/2019 -TRU]

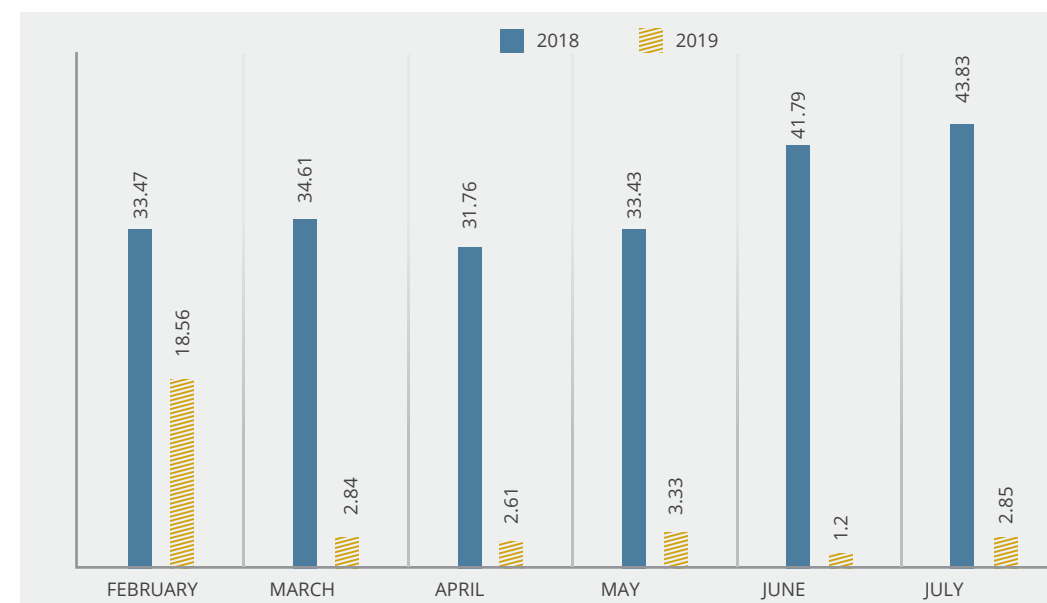
(Gaurav Singh)

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

Barely a day after the Pulwama attack on 14 February 2019, the Indian government announced its withdrawal of the MFN<sup>8</sup> status for trade accorded to Pakistan since 1996. On 16 February 2019, it issued a gazette notification (number 05/2019), which hiked the import duty leviable on all goods—listed under the first schedule to the Customs Tariff Act, in section XXI, in chapter 98—originating in or exported from Pakistan to 200%.

This led to a significant drop in Pakistani exports to India. In 2018-19, bilateral trade between India and Pakistan was valued at USD 2.6 billion; India's exports to Pakistan accounted for USD 2.06 billion and India's imports from Pakistan were at USD 495 million. The Indian government's decisions—withdrawal of MFN status and imposition of 200% duty—hurt Pakistan's exports to India, that fell from about USD 45 million per month in 2018 to USD 2.6 million per month in March-July 2019.

### Pakistan's Exports to India (USD million)



Source: Department of Commerce, Government of India

*"India and Pakistan have a preferential trading arrangement under the South Asia Free Trade Area (SAFTA) agreement. Could we have withdrawn MFN status granted to Pakistan but still honored SAFTA? Amidst a political bilateral impasse, have we, in reality, disregarded a multilateral agreement like SAFTA?"*  
— *Trader in Amritsar, Punjab, India*

The extent of loss incurred by traders in India and Pakistan has varied based on the nature and route of trade. For example, through the Wagah-Attari land route, bilateral trade was heavily in favor of Pakistan; in the last two financial years 2017-19, India's imports from Pakistan accounted for 82% of the trade through this land route. Since February 2019, most of this trade has been badly affected, and only a

<sup>8</sup> Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status is given to an international trade partner to ensure non-discriminatory trade between all partner countries of the WTO. A country which provides MFN status to another country has to provide concessions, privileges, and immunity in trade agreements. It is the first clause in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

handful of items—including rock salt—continue to be imported from Pakistan - through Wagah-Attari land route till August 2019 and later through sea routes, for example, via the UAE<sup>9</sup>, after the trade was suspended.

Unlike national economies, border economies, by virtue of their geographical location, depend on cross-border economic opportunities. These economies generally experience expansion or contraction on account of political changes, trade bans, and fluctuations in prices, taxes and foreign-exchange rates. Most costs and benefits are mutual to these economies, on both sides of the border. Efforts elsewhere, such as the inception of border *haats*<sup>10</sup> along the India-Bangladesh border, showcase the interdependence of the local economies along the border, much more in cases such as Amritsar where major economic activity is largely dependent on border trade with Pakistan.

Amritsar is landlocked, is not a metropolis and traditionally has no significant industry<sup>11</sup>. Hence, any decision on India-Pakistan trade has a direct impact on the local economy and the people of Amritsar. Since February 2019, according to interviews conducted on-the-ground, over 9,000 families have been directly affected in Amritsar because of their breadwinners' dependence on bilateral trade. Traders and their employees, customs house agents (CHAs), freight forwarders, labourers, truck operators, dhaba owners, fuel-station operators, and other service providers are going out of business and closing shop. Of the nearly INR 30 crores that was being added to the local economy of Amritsar every month, the estimate now is that three-quarters of it has been lost post February 2019.

Upsetting the cross-border trade apple cart can often have more repercussions than foreseen. Trade disruptions often cause fluctuations in the price of goods that would have otherwise been kept under check by the balancing out mechanisms of international trade. For example, gypsum, imported from Pakistan, was being used in India as well as in Nepal as raw material for their cement plants. To avoid empty backhauling, trucks carrying these consignments brought back other products such as yarn from mills in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh to Indian Punjab. In the absence of gypsum trade, the per-kilogram freight rate of trucks transiting from Uttar Pradesh to Indian Punjab has increased, from INR 3 to INR 7 as per on-the-ground estimates; this has made a single trip cost as much as the entire journey did before February 2019.

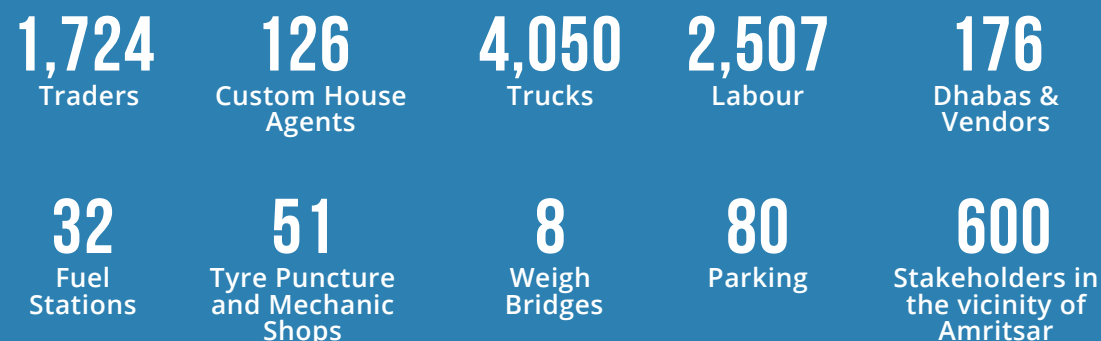
With Pakistan deciding to completely suspend bilateral trade, exports of cotton from India to Pakistan are affected the most, eventually hurting Pakistan's textile industry - especially lawn cloth and home textiles business, which has to source pricier cotton from alternative markets (raw cotton from the United States, Australia, Egypt or Central Asian countries and yarn from Indonesia, Central Asian countries and other spinning clusters). In addition, there is a high possibility that Indian cotton, along with other products, is being routed through third countries such as the United Arab Emirates, thereby increasing the share of indirect trade which is estimated to be more than double the direct trade between India and Pakistan.

Overall, there has been a loss in business, rise in prices, lack of alternative sources of livelihood for many, as well as an expected increase in bank defaults. Individual cases, for example, of a clearing agent in Amritsar, who has no means to pay the equated monthly instalment (EMI) for his home loan, highlight the hardship of locals dependent on border economies.

<sup>9</sup> Imports of Pakistani goods are not banned by India, and are hence allowed via third country on the payment of 200% duty  
<sup>10</sup> "Singla, Nikita. Kathuria, Sanjay. Connecting Communities through India and Bangladesh's Cross-Border Markets. 2018. World Bank. <https://blogs.worldbank.org/endpovertyinsouthasia/connecting-communities-through-india-and-bangladeshs-cross-border-markets>."  
<sup>11</sup> Limited manufacturing of various goods including textiles, woollen fabrics, chemicals, and machinery, and some rice mills

# EFFECTS AND THE AFFECTED

**9,354** Families directly affected in Amritsar because of breadwinner's dependence on bilateral trade



Nearly **INR 30 crores was being added** to the local economy of Amritsar every month, the estimate is that three-quarters of it is lost.  
**Loss to the tune of INR 75 lakhs every day**





**391 Traders** in Majith Mandi<sup>12</sup> and **40 traders** outside Majith Mandi with a **staff<sup>13</sup> of at least 3 each**

**1,724** Families Affected

**21 Custom House Agents** in Amritsar<sup>14</sup> with a staff of **at least 5 each**

**126** Families Affected

(Only CHAs with licence in Amritsar, other CHAs outside Amritsar, for example in Ludhiana, also impacted)

**A total of 4 Pumps** in the vicinity of Attari border catering to the trucks going in and out of ICP Attari.

**Each filling station had an owner along with 6-8 delivery boys**

**32** Families Affected

**1433 Porters and 1014 Helpers<sup>15</sup>**

Labor turn every alternate day, making INR 400/day; Post-February, turn every 15 days if lucky. In addition, **60 labourers** outside ICP.

**2,507** Families Affected

There are a **total of 8 Parking spaces** available for trucks waiting to enter ICP Attari

**80** Families Affected

Of the **7 Mechanic shops** near ICP Attari, **only 2 are open now**. Each mechanic shop had **at least 2 staff each**

**21** Families Affected

# 9,354 FAMILIES AFFECTED

Of the **10 Tyre Puncture shops** near ICP Attari, **only 4 are left**. Each shop had at least **2 staff each**

**30** Families Affected

There were **27 Dhabas** in the close vicinity of the border which were dependent on truck drivers to earn a living, **of which 26 are shut and only 1 is still open**, staff of **at least 5 each**; along with **14 vendors**.

**176** Families Affected

**4 Weigh bridges** with one helper each

**8** Families Affected

**450 Trucks** with an owner, driver and a helper each

**1,350** Families Affected

**218 trucks surrendered** from February to November 2019

**40% trucks surrendered** in **40 days** from February to March 2019

**Nearly 900 Trucks** outside Attari Truck Union

**2,700** Families Affected

On the **10 major routes** with different districts of Punjab connecting to Amritsar, considering a minimum of **5 fuel stations, dhabas, tyre puncture and mechanic shops** with a **staff of 2-3 each**, that were primarily dependent on this trade

**600** Families Affected

12 All traders listed in Annexure F

13 All mention of staff refers to employed staff, excluding the owner

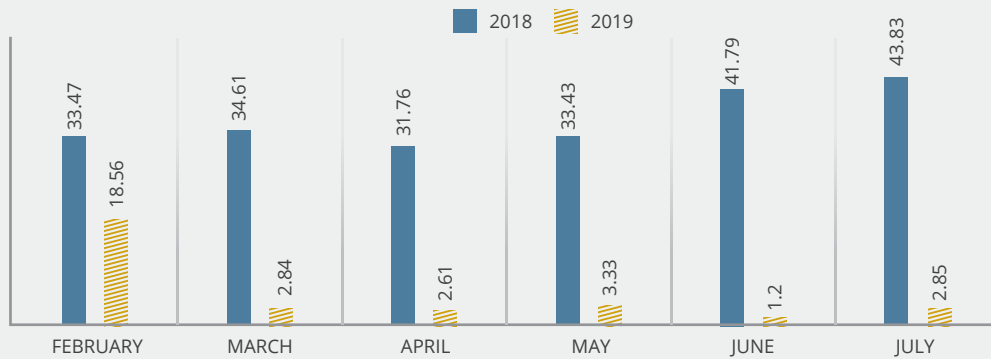
14 All CHAs listed in Annexure F

15 All porters and helpers listed in Annexure F

## Pakistani products into India

Pakistan's exports to India fell from an average of USD 45 million per month in 2018 to USD 2.6 million per month in March-July 2019.

### Pakistan's Exports to India (USD million)



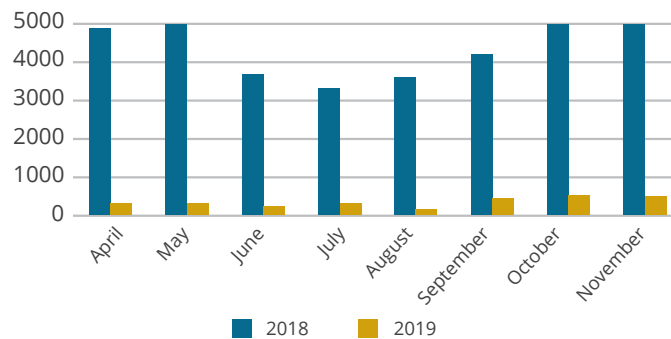
Source: Department of Commerce, Government of India

## Trucks crossing Wagah Attari

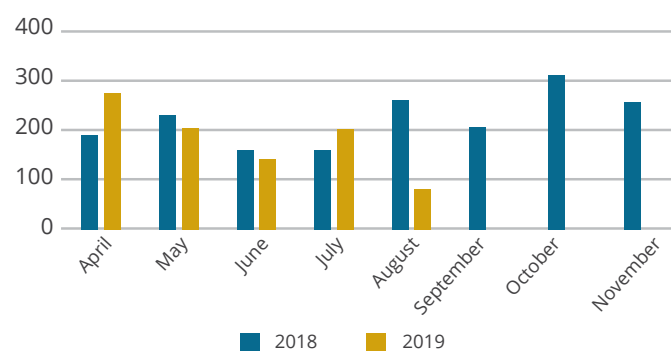
Monthly average of trucks crossing from Wagah to Attari fell from 4,381 in April-November 2018 to 348 in the same period in 2019.

(Post the trade ban in August 2019, the trucks crossing over from Pakistan into India originated from Afghanistan)

### Trucks carrying Imports from Pakistan



### Trucks carrying Exports from India



Source: Central Warehousing Corporation, ICP Attari

## Commodities traded – Shift from Jan 2019 to July 2019

### Number of trucks from Pakistan to India

JAN 2019  
**5,102**

- 2271 Gypsum
- 1479 Cement
- 280 Dry-Fruits
- 249 Dry-Dates
- 241 Lime Stone
- 168 Rock Salt Loose
- 119 Salt Bags
- 79 Aluminium Ore
- 67 Soda
- 35 Sajji Khar
- 120 Others

JULY 2019  
**309**

- 93 Rock Salt Loose
- 67 Salt Bags
- 52 Dry-Fruits
- 44 Jeera
- 24 Mulathi
- 8 Gugal
- 8 Cotton
- 7 Ratan Jot
- 3 Melon
- 2 Others

### Number of trucks from India to Pakistan

JAN 2019  
**227**

- 200 Cotton Yarn
- 27 Plastic Granules

JULY 2019  
**203**

- 178 Cotton Yarn
- 25 Plastic Granules

Source: Central Warehousing Corporation, ICP Attari



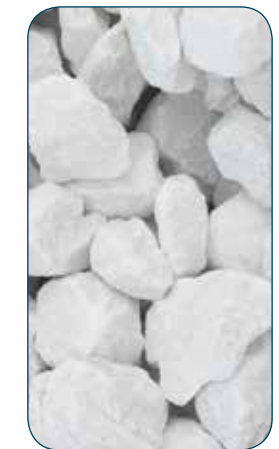
ROCK SALT



DRY-DATES



CEMENT



GYPSUM

Rock Salt – one of the most imported products from Pakistan to India – continued to cross the border in March-August 2019, but other products like gypsum, cement and dry dates have taken a massive hit since the fallout in February 2019.

“Seeing the spiked potential of India Pakistan trade, I bought 3 trucks for INR 24 lakhs each in 2016, already sold off two at INR 6.25 lakhs each. In cases where bank instalments are pending, we are surrendering trucks to the banks, the situation is such that even banks are refusing to take them back. Some of us got rid of them for the price of the trash”  
**- A truck owner at Attari Truck Union**

“There were normally 4 labourers working to unload and load one truck. In a day, they made approximately 10 bags of cement from the spillover, selling them outside at INR 150/bag, making nearly INR 1500 income/day. A father and all his 3 sons were into this - now all of them are out of work, and the only ‘literate’ son managed to find a job as a Granthi (priest) for a 2-hour shift at Gurudwara Sahib making INR 250/day on which the whole family survives”  
**- A labourer outside ICP Attari**

## LESS WORK, MORE LOSS

“Our 450 trucks of Attari truck union were buying close to INR 30 lakhs of diesel every month, now it has reduced to INR 1.5 lakh every month. On an average, sales have gone down from INR 20 lakhs/month/pump to INR 65,000/month/pump”  
**- Accountant, Attari Truck Union**

“94% of the monthly income<sup>16</sup> of ICP Attari was lost from the first half of February 2019 to second half of the month. Amongst CWC staff, only 3 of the 15 officers are working now, rest have been transferred”  
**- A CWC Staff, ICP Attari**

“Before February 2019, we were making nearly 2 drums of black oil every month, every drum of 400-500 litres. We were selling black oil at about INR 20/litre, making nearly INR 18,000 every month. Now our income has gone down to INR 2000 per month”  
**- A mechanic shop owner in Attari**

“We had a turnover of nearly INR 35,000-40,000/month, now at about INR 3500-4000/month, its very difficult to survive, I used to pay monthly rent of INR 1500 for my shop, now rent of nearly 8 months is pending. I will be kicked out any day”  
**- A tyre puncture shop owner at Attari**

“We had about 40-50 trucks/day parked with us, paying INR 100/truck for 24 hours, now its zero, my staff of 10 people is reduced to 4 now”  
**- A parking manager, Attari**

“Back in the days, I got permanent residency in Hong Kong. In 2010, I decided to move back to Amritsar seeing the potential of trade via Wagah- Attari. I got 30 trucks employing 30 drivers, 30 helpers and 12 extra for makeshift - because there was so much demand. Now of the 72, I only have 12 people with me - that too retaining with great difficulty”  
**- A truck owner at Attari Truck Union (previously a permanent resident of Hong Kong)**

### Education suffers

“I had such a great life, thanks to the trade. I was making INR 400/ working day so technically INR 200/day that was enough to live a respectable life. Now I am trying to survive my 5-member family on INR 400/15 days. Life is becoming difficult, I have moved one of my children from private school into a government school, because I cannot afford to pay tuition fee, the other two children are moving towards drugs and I feel so helpless”  
**- A porter at ICP Attari**

### Rising crime and drug menace

“On 18 February 2019, 3 days after the duty hike, the electricity pole on the main Amritsar-Attari highway had gone missing; a few days later a tea stall owner outside Dana Mandi was robbed of everything; it’s a situation of self-imposed curfew after 8 PM in Attari, we are looking at a rapidly worsening law & order situation in Amritsar, with many of our children resorting to drugs”

**- A stakeholder in Dana Mandi in Attari**

## MONETARY LOSS IS NOT THE ONLY LOSS

### Weddings get called off

“One of my staff was getting married on 18 February 2019. Post Pulwama, when the trade stopped, the bride’s family called off the marriage mentioning that the groom doesn’t have any source of livelihood now. My boy - he neither has a job, nor a family today”  
**- A contractor at CWC weigh bridge**

### Loss of people to people connect

“There is a direct link between trade and people-to-people connect, one leading to another. To promote regional cooperation in South Asia, we need more of both. Regional cooperation in South Asia, which is primarily driven by the bilateral relations between India and Pakistan, will be negatively impacted because of the current situation”  
**- A trader in Amritsar**

<sup>16</sup> Monthly income comprising of Handling Charges, Import Storage Charges, Indian truck parking charges, India LWB (Lorry Weighbridge) Charges, Pakistan LWB Charges and Pakistani truck parking charges.



CASE STUDY I

# DRY DATE — THE POOR MAN’S DRY FRUIT, GETS DEARER

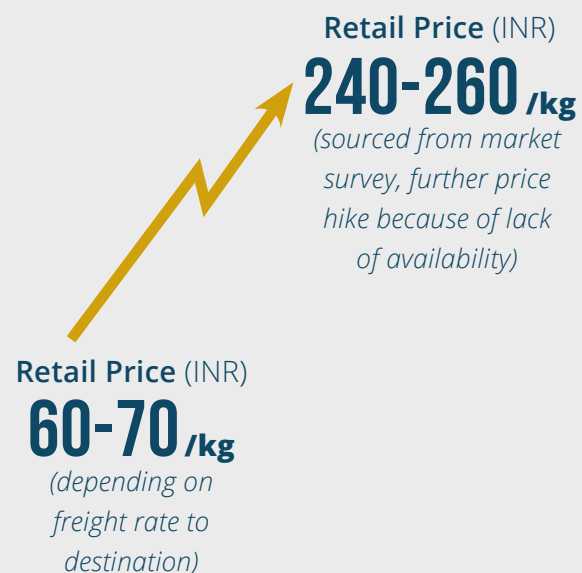
Of India’s total dry date imports, Pakistan’s share in 2018 - 2019

**99%**

Duty Hike: Customs duty hike of 200% actually translated into a hike of ~1600%<sup>17</sup> for a truck of 24 tonnes  
**Total Duty/ Truck**  
 (1 truck of 24 tonnes)



**Consumer Impact**  
 Most dry fruits in the Indian market are priced at INR 800-900 per kilogram. However, dry dates, sold at INR 30-100 per kilogram, are one of the few economical options available, rightly called the poor man’s dry fruit. Post February 2019, prices of dry dates have increased by almost 250-300%.



Pakistan is the only South Asian country that grows dates on a commercial scale. Following Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Pakistan is the world’s fifth largest date producer. Nearly 98 percent of its dried dates’ exports go to the huge market next door—India.

Hard dry dates (*chhohara* or *kharek*—HS Code 08041030) had been one of the principal commodities India sourced from Pakistan, its imports from Pakistan almost entirely meeting its requirements; data from India’s Ministry of Commerce and Industry indicates that the share of India’s imports from Pakistan was 99% of its total imports from the world for fiscal years 2017-18 and 2018-19.

Date palm is the third-largest produced fruit crop in Pakistan, after mango and citrus. The fruit is grown in all four provinces of Pakistan, and over 160 varieties of date palm are found in the country<sup>18</sup>. Pakistan’s Balochistan and Sindh provinces contribute most of the country’s production of dates. Aseel, a popular date variety from Sindh province—largely produced and dried in its Khairpur district—is exported majorly to India.

Other countries exporting dry dates to India include Oman, Iraq, Israel, Iran and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

**Table 1: India’s Imports of Hard Dry Dates (HS Code 08041030) USD Million**

Exporters	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
World	100.92	89.70	127.44	112.13	101.23
Pakistan	98.27	87.84	125.80	111.30	100.50
Oman	2.44	1.84	1.64	0.82	0.70
Iraq	0.16	0.02	-	-	0.01
Israel	0.03	-	-	-	0.01
Iran	0.01	-	-	-	0.00
United Arab Emirates	-	-	-	0.01	-

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India

17 Duty Calculation in Table 2

18 “Menon, Ahmed, Noor. India Major Importer of Pakistani Dried Dates. 2018. Dadabhoy Institute of Higher Education. <http://foodjournal.pk/2018/PDF-January-February-2018/Dr-Noor-Dates-2018.pdf>.”

The commodity – comprising a fifth of India’s imports from Pakistan<sup>19</sup> – has been sourced over the years through the Wagah-Attari route. However, India’s imposition of a 200% customs duty on dates from Pakistan – a substantial hike from the erstwhile rate of 5% – adversely affected their bilateral trade. Interviews with traders located in Khari Baoli market in Delhi and Majith Mandi in Amritsar indicated that nearly 500 traders across India sourced dry dates from Pakistan, and were heavily dependent on trade of this single commodity. They have been deeply affected by the halt in India-Pakistan trade, and most of them have gone out of business.

“I was sourcing dry dates worth INR 1 crore per month from Pakistan, and became jobless overnight. I need something to sustain my business.”

— *Trader, Khari Baoli, Delhi, India*

“About 70% of Majith Mandi was dependent on dry dates. Customers coming to buy dry dates would also buy other stuff. Now the mandi looks like a barren land. Moreover, we can’t afford to retain the rental warehouses for stocking dry dates.”

— *Trader, Majith Mandi, Amritsar, Punjab, India*

The earnings of traders, their staff, clearing agents, freight forwarders, labourers and truck operators have been hit by the deterioration in India-Pakistan ties since mid-February 2019. The most severely affected appear to be the numerous women from slums around Amritsar that had scrimped together a living from this bilateral trade.



**Nearly 1,000 women were dependent on hand-cutting of dry dates to make a living.**

“A woman typically made around INR 150/day from hand-cutting of dry dates coming from a single trader. All women catered to multiple traders, a living of close to INR 300-400/day per woman has been lost.”

— *Dry-date importer, Majith Mandi, Amritsar, Punjab, India*

As per a survey in the retail markets in Delhi and Amritsar, the dry-date variants priced at INR 30/kilogram and INR 70/kilogram soared to INR 100/kilogram and INR 250/kilogram, respectively. The table below shows how the customs-duty hike pushed up the final retail price for Sukkur dry dates—the most commonly imported variant via the Wagah-Attari route, from Sukkur, a city in Sindh.

<sup>19</sup> The share of dry dates in India’s overall imports from Pakistan has been 23% and 20% in 2017-18 and 2018-19 respectively, as per data from Export Import Data Bank, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, India

**Table 2: Costing and pricing of Sukkur dry dates imported via Wagah-Attari (INR/kilogram)**

	Pre-Feb 2019	Post-Feb 2019
Invoice value	60 cents <sup>20</sup> (INR 43.20)	60 cents <sup>21</sup> (INR 43.20)
Enhanced value for duty calculation	67 cents (INR 48.24)	67 cents (INR 48.24)
Basic customs duty	5% (INR 2.41)	200% (INR 96.48)
Cess	10% (INR 0.24)	10% (INR 9.65)
Integrated goods and service tax	12% (INR 6.10)	28% (INR 43.22)
Total duty	8.75	149.34
Other charges (Central Warehousing Corporation/Clearance)	1.50	1.50
Landing price	53.45	194.04
Margin	1-2	1-2
Wholesale price	55-56	195-196
Retail price	60-70 (depending on freight rate to destination)	240-260 (sourced from market survey; further price hike because of lack of availability)
Total duty / Truck (1 truck is 24 tonnes)	INR 2.10 lakh	INR 35.85 lakh

Source: Direct interactions with dry-date importers in Amritsar

In this way, the Indian government’s hike in customs duty charged on goods imported from Pakistan, to 200%, actually translated into a hike of ~1600% for a truck of 24 tonnes of dry dates. Most dry fruits in the Indian market are priced at INR 800-900 per kilogram. However, dry dates, usually sold at INR 30-100 per kilogram, offered a more economic option, and were thus renowned as the poor man’s dry fruit. Post-February 2019, prices of dry dates have increased by almost 250-300% in Amritsar as well as in other cities - Delhi, Lucknow, Kanpur, Indore - the main markets for the commodity. This has also affected the prices of other products dependent on dry dates. For example, the price of a betel-leaf paan has shot up by 50%, from INR 20 to INR 30 as of November 2019, because the betel nut (commonly referred to as supari) used in the preparation became pricier, increasing from INR 100/kilogram to INR 220/kilogram. Based on a survey in November 2019, the dry-date stocks in the Indian markets had become unaffordable and, in most cases, there was no stock in these markets, as the duty hike led to its non-availability.

<sup>20</sup> USD 1 has been taken as INR 72 for this calculation

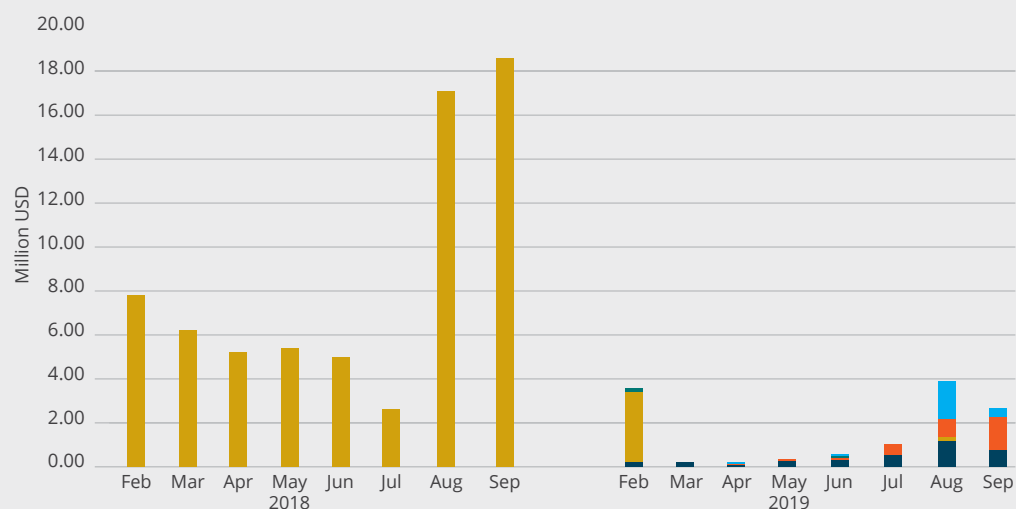
<sup>21</sup> For comparison, same invoice value and same exchange rate has been used

The question arises, where are the dry dates available in Indian markets being sourced from?

An assessment of import patterns for an eight-month period, February-September 2018, shows that the commodity was exported to India primarily by Pakistan. However, data from February-September 2019 shows that dry-date imports from Oman witnessed a progressive increase from March 2019 onwards, whereas there was no import of the commodity from Pakistan; for example, the value of India's dry-date imports from Oman increased to USD 280,000 in June 2019 from USD 40,000 in June 2018, displaying an increase of USD 240,000. This difference forms around 5% of Pakistan's exports of dry dates to India in June 2018, some of which seems to be routed through Oman to India.

Further, Dubai, an emirate of the UAE, has been an 'open secret' destination for routing goods from Pakistan to India, and vice versa. Successive month-on-month increases in the value of dry dates India imported from the UAE were recorded in April-September 2019, during which timeframe imports from Egypt and Iran commenced as well. The Indian government's imposition of incremental duties on Pakistan—and eventual ban on bilateral trade by Pakistani government—led to a drastic decrease in the overall import of the dry dates, as per official data and trader interviews.

### India's import of dried dates (HS Code - 08041030) by country, February-September 2018 vs February-September 2019



	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
IRAN	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
EGYPT	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
UAE	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
PAKISTAN	7.68	6.05	5.19	5.32	4.87	2.52	17.01	18.43
OMAN	0.07	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.05

0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.00	1.61	0.33
0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00
0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.12	0.51	0.99	1.54
3.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00
0.21	0.21	0.07	0.22	0.28	0.55	1.20	0.75

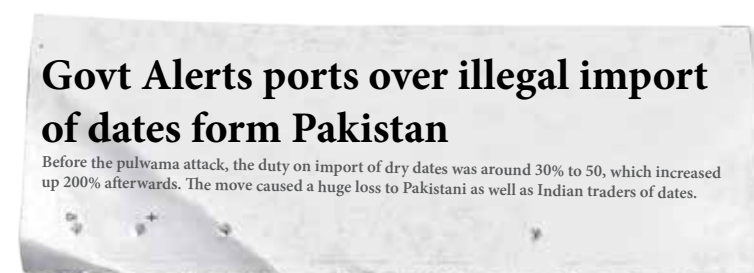
Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India

The harvesting season for fresh dates in Pakistan starts in July and runs till September, hence August—January is the main season for dry dates. Dry dates produced in Pakistan only have a few markets, the biggest being India (98% of Pakistan's dry-date exports go to India) followed by Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Dry dates are mainly used for religious rituals in India, and are also consumed as a dessert and sweet, given they are free of cholesterol and fat. In the wake of the current escalation of India-Pakistan tensions, dry-date stocks have accumulated in Pakistan, and farmer prices—paid usually by middlemen who buy in bulk—have decreased up to 40%<sup>22</sup>. This leaves Pakistani exporters with two options: find substitute markets or alternate routes to reach the Indian market.

- a) **Substitute markets:** Pakistan was exploring exporting dry dates to Sri Lanka<sup>23</sup> as of August 2019, when a delegation of dry-date importers from Sri Lanka arrived in Sukkur on invitation of the Pakistan government's agency for promoting international trade, the Trade Development Authority of Pakistan (TDAP). Sri Lanka may not be able to replace India, but is a potential market for Pakistan. Moreover, catering to Sri Lanka's demand for dry dates could potentially allow Pakistan to reroute exports into India, given that the island country is a transshipment hub to India, and prior studies have revealed Sri Lanka as an informal trade route between Pakistan and India.



- b) **Alternate routes:** As per official data and our interactions with traders, we gathered that the Indian government's imposition of 200% duty on Pakistan, led Pakistani traders to reroute dry-date exports through countries such as Oman. In early September 2019, Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI) Mumbai zone officials arrested four local businessmen for allegedly importing over 400 tonnes of dry dates—worth nearly INR 9 crore—illegally to the Jawaharlal Nehru Port Trust (JNPT)<sup>24</sup>, located in the Indian state of Maharashtra. Following the arrest, Indian authorities issued an alert across all ports in the country regarding illegal import of dry dates from Pakistan via Oman.



22 "Hanif, Usman. Pakistan turns to Sri Lanka for dry date exports. 2019. The Express Tribune. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2028954/2-pakistan-turns-sri-lanka-dry-date-exports/>."

23 Ibid.

24 "Yadav, Kumar, Vijay. Govt alerts ports over illegal import of dates from Pakistan. 2019. Hindustan Times. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/govt-alerts-ports-over-illegal-import-of-dates-from-pakistan/story-iprUgAEVhXJbtvIFGodUKN.html>."

“While in June 2019, the Indian customs authority permitted re-exporting dried date shipments stuck at Attari checkpost, 400 tonnes (8,600 bags—each bag of 50-70 kilograms) were stuck there, incurring demurrage at the rate of INR 1,50,000 per month, and cleared only in October 2019.”

—**Trader, Majith Mandi, Amritsar, Punjab, India**

“Given the demand, we are ready to pay 200% duty and source Pakistani dry dates via a third country, but we fear what if the duty is waived off overnight just as it was imposed? We will have to sell our stock at a massive loss.”

—**Trader, Majith Mandi, Amritsar, Punjab, India**

“The situation is such that while there is accumulation of stocks of dry dates in Pakistan, and there is no soybean meal coming from Indore, we are now using dry dates for animal feed.”

—**Trader, Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan**

“May to September is a harsh season, given the climate in Pakistan. We need cold storage to be able to save our accumulating stocks, and value-addition techniques so as to meet our local demand with the existing stocks.”

— **Trader, Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan**

While Pakistan is the fifth largest producer of dates in the world, local traders believe that they need to improve upon farm management, pre-harvesting, harvesting and post harvesting practices. Pakistan produces dry dates in surplus, which is why it has to export. According to Sindh Abadgar Board<sup>25</sup>, dry date producers in Pakistan did not develop their product over the years, which is why they don't have much choice in terms of market other than India, and Pakistan has to import dates for its own population, especially for Ramazan. Dry dates dominate in the country's exports because of high demand in India. Importers in other countries continue to buy Pakistani dates only to add value and then re-export. This value is being missed by Pakistan's agri-value chain<sup>26</sup>.

There are no immediate substitutes to imports from Pakistan as far as dry dates are concerned. If the trade ban or imposition of significant trade barriers between India and Pakistan continues, traders on both sides may continue exploring informal trade routes. Meanwhile, market forces will keep pushing up dry-date prices in India while, conversely, pulling them down in Pakistan. When the two countries start looking at reviving bilateral relations, revival of trade could be given prominence to ensure relief for the trading community as well as meet existing consumer demand.

25 “Hanif, Usman. Pakistan turns to Sri Lanka for dry date exports. 2019. The Express Tribune. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2028954/2-pakistan-turns-sri-lanka-dry-date-exports/>.”

26 “Dates Production in Pakistan. 2019. Pakistan Defence Forum. <https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/dates-production-in-pakistan.617337/>.”

CASE STUDY II

# CEMENT AND GYPSUM – DRYING PAKISTANI SUPPLIES PUSHING INDIA FOR ‘SURVIVAL OR REVIVAL’

Of India’s total cement imports, Pakistan’s share in 2018 - 2019

**86%**

Had traders continued to import cement via Wagah-Attari, duty hike of 200% would have actually translated into a hike of ~1005%<sup>27</sup>

**Total Duty/ Truck**  
(1 truck of 70 tonnes)

INR lakhs  
**8.20**

INR  
**74,200**

**Consumer Impact**  
As per traders, cement was being sourced from Pakistan at around INR 175 per bag (50 kg bag). The prices shot up:

INR/ bag  
**375**

(INR/ bag)  
**250-260**

Portland cement (HS code 25232910) is one of India’s principal imports from Pakistan, which has always had a relative advantage in producing this commodity; Pakistan’s Portland cement, reportedly, does not contain fly ash and is thus of superior quality to that produced in India. Of the 21 countries India imported Portland cement from in 2018, Pakistan was its largest supplier, providing quantities worth USD 59.92 million. According to data from India’s Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Pakistan’s share in India’s overall import of the commodity in 2017-18 and 2018-19 was 90% and 86%, respectively. Further, India’s import of Portland cement in 2017-18 and 2018-19 formed 16% and 12%, respectively, of its total import from Pakistan. Though India is the second-largest producer<sup>28</sup> of cement in the world, there is considerable demand for cement from Pakistan in the Indian market due to its high quality.

To produce cement, gypsum is needed. Gypsum is often called the white gold of Pakistan. In 2018, raw gypsum, reportedly, became one of Pakistan’s most traded items with India via the Wagah-Attari border. For the month of January 2019, of the total 5102 trucks crossing Wagah-Attari from Pakistan into India, 2271 carried gypsum.

In Pakistan, there are installed capacities for cement in various locations in Punjab, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Sindh provinces<sup>29</sup>. Apart from demand from destinations such as India, South Africa, Iraq and Afghanistan among others, there is considerable domestic demand in Pakistan owing to rapid urbanization and infrastructure development plans. The major gypsum mines in Pakistan include Dadukhel Mine, Dera Ismail Khan Mine, Khewra Mine, Kohat Mine, Mawand Mine and Rakhi-Munh Mine.

Cement and gypsum producers in India have expressed concern that their domestic industry—which is reeling from low demand, and high goods and service tax—has long been hurt by cheaper imports from Pakistan. The Indian government had refrained—prior to February 2019—from levying customs duty on cement imports from Pakistan since 2007, rendering these supplies cheaper and more competitive than the Indian product. But, with the ban on India-Pakistan trade drying up supplies from Pakistan, will India’s cement and gypsum market pursue imports from other countries or will demand for locally-produced cement and gypsum increase?

Our interactions on the ground in Indian Punjab revealed that the primary reason for sourcing cement and gypsum from Pakistan had been the cost benefit in terms of logistics—acquiring these commodities via the Wagah-Attari route was much cheaper than domestic routes from Indian states such as Rajasthan. Though the price difference has decreased in recent years, the demand for Pakistani cement remains as it provides greater value for money. Before the 200% duty hike, ordinary Portland cement from Indian locations such as Rajasthan was over INR 40/bag more expensive than its import from Pakistan. Indian importers normally have to make advance payments to source cement from Pakistan. Despite delays in recovery of payments from end users, acquiring these commodities from Pakistan is more economical for them as the logistics cost is lower than if sourced domestically.

27 Duty Calculation in Table 4

28 Monthly cement production in India was 26 million tonnes in October 2019 as per Office of Economic Advisor, India

29 All Pakistan Cement Manufacturer Association



**Table 3: India's imports of cement and gypsum, in USD million**

India's imports of ordinary Dry Portland cement (HS Code 25232910), in USD million					
Exporters	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
World	50.25	55.61	90.36	85.80	69.91
Pakistan	44.44	48.61	83.42	77.48	59.92
Bangladesh	5.80	6.70	6.33	5.65	3.95
Bhutan	0.01	0.16	0.20	0.10	3.40
United Arab Emirates	0.00	0.13	0.39	2.47	2.57

India's imports of natural gypsum and anhydrite (HS Code 25201010), in USD Million					
Exporters	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
World	97.18	75.13	77.19	111.65	114.94
Oman	67.04	44.51	40.89	49.03	53.47
Pakistan	19.54	17.63	16.23	17.90	18.72
Iran	6.29	8.98	14.85	36.67	19.85
Thailand	2.30	1.45	3.15	5.20	6.08
UAE	0.87	2.55	1.53	1.53	14.40
Bhutan	-	-	-	-	1.27
Others (South Africa, China, Korea, Italy, Germany, Morocco, Singapore, Korea)	1.13	0.01	0.58	1.30	1.09

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India

**Table 4: Costing and pricing of cement imported via Wagah-Attari (INR/MT)**

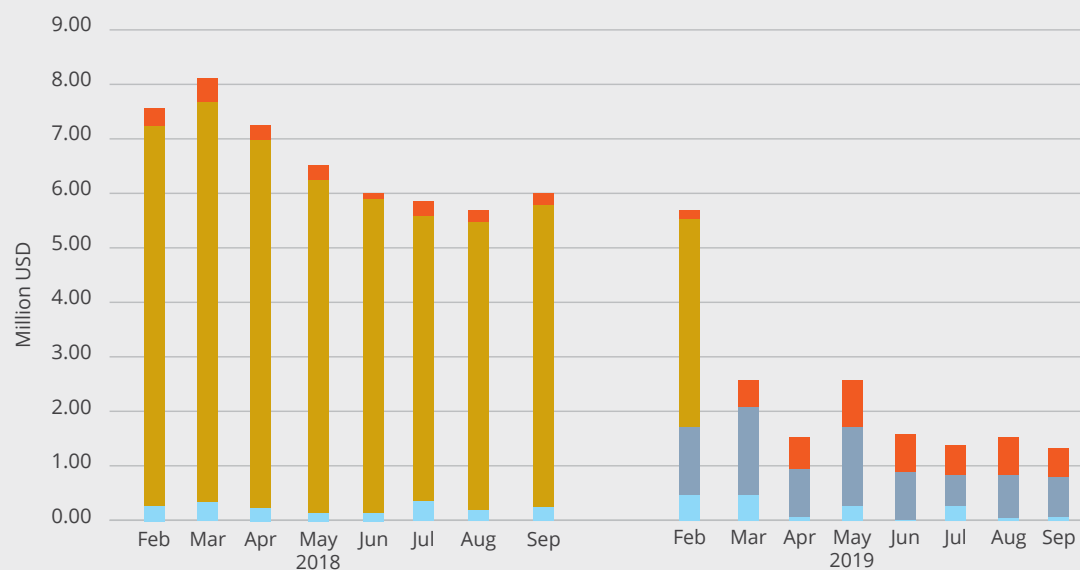
	Pre-Feb 2019	Post-Feb 2019
Invoice value	52 USD/ MT (3620 INR/MT or 175 INR/bag)	52 USD/ MT (3620 INR/MT or 175 INR/bag)
Enhanced value for duty calculation	3786	3786
Basic Customs Duty	0%	200% (INR 7572)
Cess	0%	10% (INR 757)
IGST	28% (INR 1060)	28% (INR 3392)
Total Duty	1060	11721
Other Charges (CWC/Clearance)	260	260
Landing Price	4940	15601
Margin	60	60
Wholesale Price	5000 INR/MT or 250 INR/bag	15661 INR/MT or 783 INR/bag
Retail Price in Amritsar	5240 INR/MT or 262 INR/bag	15900 INR/MT or 795 INR/bag
Retail Price in Delhi	302 INR/bag (Freight rate Amritsar to Delhi 40 INR/bag)	835 INR/bag (Freight rate Amritsar to Delhi 40 INR/bag)
Total Duty / Truck (1 Truck is 70 tonnes)	74,200	8,20,470

Source: Direct Interactions with Cement Importers in Amritsar

Many traders have reported that following the stoppage of imports from Pakistan, there have been sustenance issues, for Indian importers—especially in places like Amritsar—who have been heavily dependent on cement and gypsum from Pakistan. As per traders, cement was being sourced from Pakistan at around INR 175 per bag (50 kilogram bag) and sold in the market at INR 250-260 per bag. This had shot up to INR 375 per bag post February 2019. Wall putty and tile flooring businesses that are based on white cement have been impacted as well by the non-availability of cement from Pakistan. Our interactions with traders indicate that after trade with Pakistan was barred, there was an increase in local sourcing and augmented imports from alternative sources, including from Bhutan and the Middle East.

Many a time, upsetting the apple cart can have more repercussions than intended. For example, gypsum imported from Pakistan was being used by cement plants in India as well as Nepal. To avoid empty backhauling on the return journey to Indian Punjab, trucks carrying these consignments brought back specific products such as yarn from mills in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. In the absence of gypsum trade, the freight rate of trucks from Uttar Pradesh to Punjab, as per the ground reports, has increased from INR 3 to INR 7 per kilogram, with a single trip absorbing the cost of the entire journey.

### India's import of Portland cement (HS Code - 25232910) by country, February-September 2018 vs February-September 2019



	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
UAE	0.32	0.42	0.24	0.23	0.12	0.29	0.28	0.23
Seychelles	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Qatar	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
PAKISTAN	6.87	7.26	6.68	6.03	5.69	5.12	5.21	5.45
Bhutan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bangladesh	0.30	0.36	0.27	0.19	0.17	0.39	0.20	0.28

	0.11	0.48	0.63	0.88	0.69	0.58	0.70	0.52
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	3.78	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	1.23	1.59	0.80	1.40	0.85	0.55	0.77	0.72
	0.51	0.49	0.11	0.30	0.05	0.27	0.06	0.06

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India

India's import of Portland cement in February-September 2019—post stoppage of its supply from Pakistan—increased from Bhutan, which emerged as an alternative source, supplying considerable amounts of the commodity in 2019. India's Portland cement imports originating from the UAE surged considerably month on month in March-September 2019. As per our primary interactions, many of the consumers have facilities in countries such as the UAE, which offer an alternative option for sourcing the commodity, entering into India from ports like Kochi and Tuticorin.

As far as gypsum is concerned, it is a commodity very sensitive to logistics. As rerouting is not an option, it remains to be seen how the local production picks up. For example, there are around 160 million metric tonne reserves of gypsum in the districts of Baramulla, Doda and Ramban of Jammu and Kashmir<sup>30</sup>. Aiming to optimally harness the gypsum-rich mines of Jammu and Kashmir, especially in light of the construction of the Sawalkote hydroelectric dam in Ramban, proposals were sought for mining and exporting of 7 million tonne gypsum in that area<sup>31</sup>. This is an alternative some of the traders in Amritsar have already been eyeing in partnership with locals in Jammu and Kashmir. Following the passage of the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Bill of 2019, there could be more influx towards the mines in Jammu and Kashmir.

30 "India Brand Equity Foundation. Jammu & Kashmir. 2016"

31 "J&K aims to harness mineral resources to boost economy. 2017. Outlook The News Scroll. <https://www.outlookindia.com/newscroll/jk-aims-to-harness-mineral-resources-to-boost-economy/1202652>."



CASE STUDY III

# ROCK SALT – THE PINK GOLD OF PAKISTAN, WITH NO SUBSTITUTES IN INDIA

Of India's total rock salt imports, Pakistan's share in 2018 - 2019

**99.7%**

**Total Duty/ Truck**

(1 truck of 33/ 40/ 70 tonnes)  
Customs duty hike of 200% actually translated into an introduction of new duty of INR 3-6 lakh/ truck based on the truck size, soaring prices by almost 100%.

**33 Tonnes** (INR lakhs)   **40 Tonnes** (INR lakhs)   **70 Tonnes** (INR lakhs)

**2.8**   **3.4**   **5.9**



**Consumer Impact**  
Retail Price in Amritsar (INR/kilogram)

**Piece**  
**12.15-13**



**Crushed**  
**18-20**



(sourced from market survey)

Rock salt is another commodity which India imports primarily from Pakistan. As per 2018-19 data from India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, though rock salt formed around 1% of India's overall imports from Pakistan, India's requirements of the commodity were almost entirely sourced from its western neighbour. Rock salt from Pakistan has been imported by road over the years, and is preferred over sea salt primarily because of its health benefits<sup>32</sup>.

Pakistan has some of the world's best rock-salt variants, which are up to 99% pure. The commodity is primarily mined in Pakistan's Punjab province, in ranges stretching from Kalabagh to Jhelum. Rock salt mines are found in areas such as Khewra, Warcha and Kalabagh. The Khewra rock-salt mine, located in Pakistani Punjab's Jhelum district is the country's largest, and the world's second largest. Much of Pakistan's rock-salt produce has been exported to India over the years.

**Table 5: India's imports of rock salt (HS Code 250100200), in USD million**

Exporters	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
World	1.55	2.39	2.28	2.99	3.59
Pakistan	1.53	2.37	2.27	2.98	3.58
Afghanistan	0.003	-	-	-	0.001
China	0.01	-	-	-	-
Germany	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
United Arab Emirates	0.001	-	-	-	-

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India

Apart from Pakistan, Germany has been a regular rock-salt supplier for India over the years, and there have been instances of some minor import from Afghanistan, China and the UAE.

Over 98% of India's rock-salt import demand was met by sourcing Pakistani salt through the Wagah-Attari route over the years. For all these years, no customs duty was levied on rock-salt imports. Thus, the Indian government's imposition of 200% customs duty on goods from Pakistan was not a hike for the rock-salt importers, but an introduction of duty instead. Interviews with traders in the Indian cities of Amritsar (Majith Mandi), Delhi and Indore showed how dependent the Indian market is on Pakistani salt.

"Despite 200% duty, rock salt was the only product to have survived the 'Pulwama jolt' and continued to be traded, because a) there are no substitutes for this and b) it's a low-value, transport-sensitive commodity."

— **Trader in Majith Mandi, Amritsar, Punjab, India.**

<sup>32</sup> It is believed that Pakistani rock salt is one of the purest salts available, is lower in sodium and consists of trace minerals, such as potassium, magnesium and calcium

As per a survey in the retail markets of Amritsar in November 2019, the price of crushed rock salt rose from INR 12/kilogram to INR 20/kilogram, and has been rarely available since February 2019. The table below shows how the hike in customs duty on goods from Pakistan affected the final retail price for rock salt imported via the Wagah-Attari route.

**Table 6: Costing and pricing of rock salt imported via Wagah-Attari route (INR/kilogram)**

	Pre-Feb 2019	Post-Feb 2019
Invoice value	2.75	2.75
Basic customs duty	0%	200% (INR 5.5)
Cess	0%	10% (INR 0.55)
Integrated goods and services tax	0%	28% (INR 2.46)
Total duty	0	8.5
Other charges (CWC/Clearance)	0.50	0.50
Landing price	3.25	11.75
Margin	0.05-0.25	0.05-0.25
Wholesale price	3.30-3.50	11.80-12.00
Retail price in Amritsar	5-6 (piece) 10-12 (crushed)	12.15-13.00 (piece) 18-20 (crushed) (sourced from market survey)
Retail price in Delhi	11.50-13.50 (crushed) (Inclusive of freight rate of INR 1.5/ kilogram from Amritsar to Delhi)	19.50-21.50 (crushed) (Inclusive of freight rate of INR 1.5/ kilogram from Amritsar to Delhi)
Total Duty / Truck (1 truck is 33/40/70 tonnes)	0	INR 2.8 lakh (33-tonne truck) INR 3.4 lakh (40-tonne truck) INR 5.9 lakh (70-tonne truck)

Source: Direct interactions with rock-salt importers in Amritsar

In this way, India's customs-duty hike of 200% on goods from Pakistan actually translated into an introduction of new duty of INR 3-6 lakh/truck based on the truck size, raising prices by almost 100%. Rock salt is often called the pink gold of Pakistan as it is globally renowned for its flavor and reported health benefits. While it is India's most demanded food additive, as table and cooking salt, it also has other unique properties giving it an additional niche market—cattle, which are fed rock salt by dairy farmers across the country. It is reported<sup>33</sup> that rock salt provides a range of vital minerals, boosting animals' overall health and efficiency, also reducing cud and risk of frothy bloat. Cattle have shown a 13% increase in milk yield when fed a diet supplemented with rock salt. Thus, Pakistani rock salt is popular in goshalas—protective shelters for cows in India.

“Shri Pathmeda Godham Mahatirth—the world's largest cowshed, located in Rajasthan—was sourcing about 25 trucks (of rock salt) per year from us at a heavily discounted rate of INR 60,000 for a 20-tonne truck, now the same truck costs INR 4,00,000.”  
—leading rock-salt importer in Amritsar, Punjab, India.

Rock salt is often used in spas and for home-décor, and rock-salt lamps are said to provide health benefits because they are natural ionizers and believed to relieve all kind of allergy symptoms. Those who struggle with asthma, bronchitis and other respiratory issues<sup>34</sup> claim to benefit from Himalayan rock salt—a variety from Pakistan's Punjab province. Before February 2019, rock-salt lamps were imported at 30% duty compared to zero duty on rock salt, hence lamp factories had started to come up in the Indian cities of Amritsar, Saharanpur, Delhi and Ahmedabad, among others.

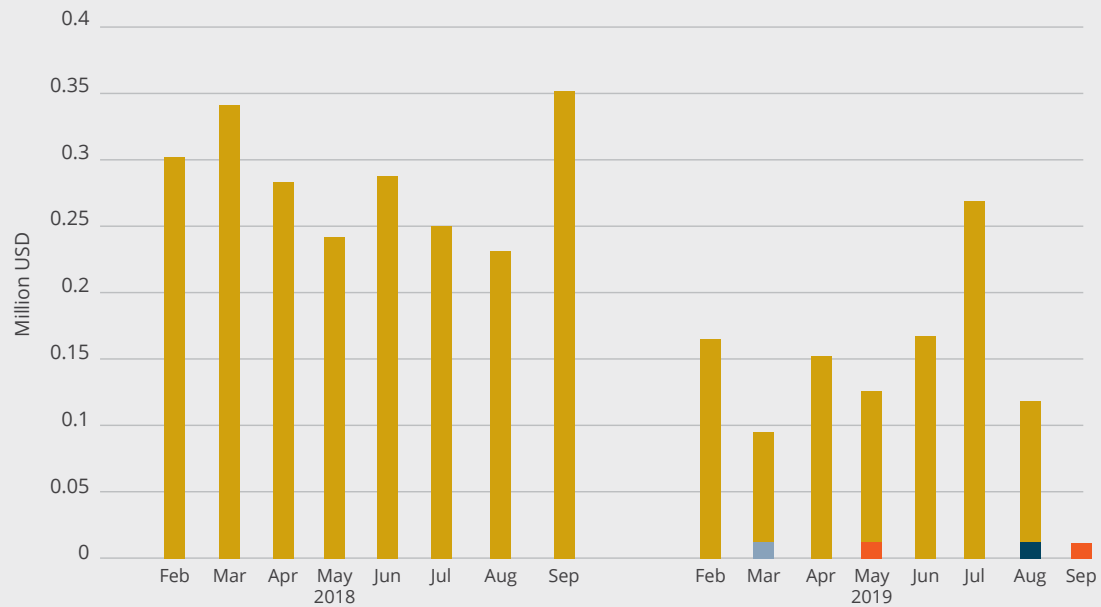
In order to ascertain the effect of imposition of incremental duties by the Indian government and, subsequently, the stoppage of bilateral trade by Pakistan, India's rock-salt import in February-September 2019 was assessed. Pakistan had been the sole source of rock salt a year earlier, in February-September 2018. In 2019, though there were instances of import of the commodity from Germany (in March) and the UAE (in May and September), rock salt continued to be sourced from Pakistan through Wagah-Attari land route till August 2019 and later through sea routes like the UAE<sup>35</sup> after the trade was suspended. This persistence in bilateral trade can be attributed to the fact that rock salt is a low-priced import from Pakistan. The cost of procuring rock salt from Pakistan had been around INR 3/kilogram prior to February 2019, but after the imposition of 200% duty, it rose to around INR 12/kilogram.

33. “Himalayan Rock Salt: Why we should feed it to our cattle. 2017. <https://www.thatsfarming.com/news/himalayan-rock-salt-benefits>.”

34. “Twelve Reasons to Keep a Himalayan Rock Salt Lamp in Every Room of the House. 2019. The Jerusalem Post. <https://www.jpost.com/PromoContent/12-Reasons-To-Keep-A-Himalayan-Salt-Lamp-In-Every-Room-Of-The-House-443379>.”

35. Imports of Pakistani goods are not banned by India, and are hence allowed via third country on the payment of 200% duty

**India's imports of rock salt (HS Code - 25010020) by country, February-September 2018 vs February-September 2019**



	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep
Iran	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
UAE	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Germany	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
PAKISTAN	0.30	0.33	0.27	0.24	0.28	0.25	0.23	0.35	0.16	0.08	0.15	0.12	0.17	0.27	0.11	0.00

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India

Before February 2019, the major flow of bilateral trade was from India to Pakistan (USD 2.06 billion in 2018-19)—which did not take place under the ambit of MFN—while the export from Pakistan to India was low (~USD 494 million in 2018-19). These Pakistani exports got severely hit by the Indian government’s MFN withdrawal and duty hike in February-July 2019, followed by the complete suspension of trade by Pakistani government in August 2019. There was a major decline in Pakistan’s direct exports to India since February 2019, but some products like rock salt continued to be traded directly till August 2019. Others were routed through third countries, like the UAE and Oman, increasing the share of indirect trade, which is estimated to be almost double the direct trade between India and Pakistan. Though more difficult than ever before, India-Pakistan trade through third countries is still an option, that too a viable one. Goods from India and Pakistan continue to successfully enter each other’s markets across their shared border as the trade mechanisms of indirect trade are more organized than the mechanisms of direct trade. This reflects a continuous inclination of the traders on both sides towards doing business with each other.

However, despite the drops in monthly imports of rock salt in February-September 2019, there were no indications of this trade being rerouted till Pakistan banned trade in August 2019. It can be gauged, therefore, that rock salt—which is a low-cost and high-volume product—is not cost-sensitive but logistics-sensitive. Despite tariff barriers and the presence of alternate sources, rock salt from Pakistan continues to be a highly cost-effective alternative to that exported by other countries to India, thereby justifying the inclination of Indian traders towards sourcing the commodity from Pakistan.

“There are no substitutes for Pakistani salt, hence it is being rerouted but that has zero benefit to the land economy, the whole supply chain is moving away to the seaports.”  
**—Rock salt importer, Amritsar, Punjab, India**



DECISION - II

## Suspension of Cross-LoC Trade

## Decision II: Suspension of Cross-LoC Trade

**F.No.13026/04/2018-K.III**  
Government of India  
Ministry of Home Affairs  
Department of Jammu and Kashmir Affairs

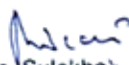
**Most Immediate**

North Block, New Delhi  
Dated 18<sup>th</sup> April, 2019

**Subject:- Suspension of LoC Trade at Salamabad and Chakan-da-bagh in J&K – reg.**

The Government of India has received reports that cross LoC Trade routes in Jammu & Kashmir are being misused by Pakistan based elements. This misuse involves illegal inflows of weapons, narcotics and currency.

2. The LoC trade mechanism is therefore being suspended pending the putting into place of a stricter regulatory regime. This is to ensure that only bonafide trade takes place, for the benefit of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, through this mechanism.

  
(Mrs. Sulekha)  
Director  
Telefax: 011 2309 2696

To

1. Chief Secretary, Govt. of J&K, Jammu
2. Joint Secretary (PAI), M/o External Affairs, South Block, New Delhi
3. Joint Secretary (FTSA), M/o Commerce, Udyog Bhawan, New Delhi
4. Joint Secretary (Trade), Ministry of Agriculture, Krishi Bhawan, New Delhi
5. JS (G), Ministry of Defence, South Block, New Delhi
6. Joint Secretary, Cabinet Sect.,
7. Joint Director, IB, North Block
8. Commissioner (Customs), CBEC, M/o Finance (D/o Revenue), North Block
9. Principal Secretary (Home), Govt of J&K, Jammu
10. Secretary/Commissioner, Industries and Commerce, Govt of J&K, Jammu
11. DGP, Govt of J&K, Jammu
12. ADGP, CID, Govt of J&K, Jammu
13. Custodian, Salamabad,
14. Custodian, Chakan-da-Bagh

Copy for information to:-

PPS to HS / PPS to AS (J&K)

On 18 April 2019, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, announced the suspension of cross-LoC trade via its two trade facilitation centres - Salamabad and Chakan-da-Bagh - in Jammu and Kashmir. It cited concerns about misuse by Pakistan-based elements, involving illegal inflows of weapons, narcotics and currency into India. In addition, the Indian government was, reportedly, concerned about the zero-tariff barter arrangement with Pakistan being violated through under-invoicing and the exchange of third country items<sup>36</sup>.

The LoC between India and Pakistan was conceived as a part of the Simla Agreement in 1972. It was 33 years later that the governments of the two nations decided to set wheels in motion; on 7 April 2005, the then Indian prime minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, flagged off the first cross-LoC bus service—titled Karwaan-e-Aman, or peace caravan—that connected Srinagar to Muzaffarabad. The cross-LoC bus service was a humanitarian reform that helped reunite the divided families and friends on either side of the LoC.

Later, in 2008, the governments of India and Pakistan decided to further exploit the potential of existing transport routes by establishing cross-LoC trade. In May 2008, the respective foreign ministers of the two countries decided to finalize modalities of intra-Kashmir trade and truck service. Cross-LoC trade, established as a barter, began five months later, across two routes—Uri-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakot. Traders on either side of the LoC were permitted to exchange 21 mutually-agreed items. On 21st October 2008, the first truck, carrying rice, turmeric and red chillies, reached Uri by crossing the Jhelum river via the Kaman Aman Setu bridge. A signboard at the bridge, across the LoC, echoed the people-to-people connect shared between locals on both sides, notably stating, 'From home to home, we extend a very warm welcome to our Kashmiri brethren'.

Given the underlying conditions, trade was seen as an important measure to build confidence and foster peace in the Jammu and Kashmir region. It was aimed at tapping the social interconnectedness of the two sides along the LoC in order to develop commercial interdependence. Cross-LoC trade has been an important CBM towards promoting economic and social development in the frictious regions along the LoC. Many traders, businesses, transporters and labourers have benefitted from this trade, and are invested in keeping the trade process active.

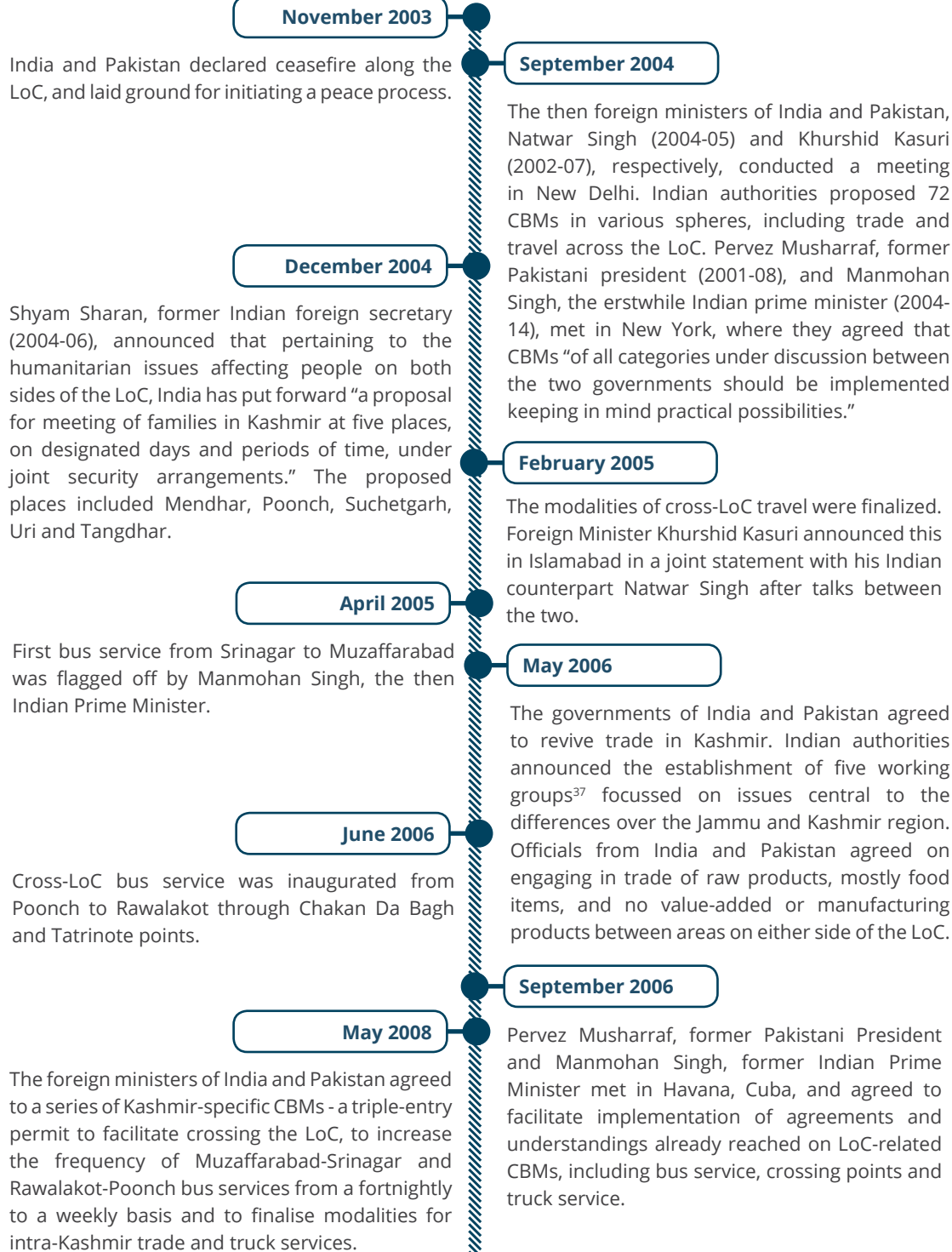
Cross-LoC trade would have died in its infancy if not for the spirit of the people involved. It is much more than a mere commodity exchange. This cross-LoC barter was not set up to be an isolated economic activity, but to open a new chapter of building bridges and (re)connecting communities. Despite many negative allegations, wrong perceptions, and intermittent suspensions - including indefinite suspension in April 2019 - associated with cross-LoC trade, this CBM has survived more than a decade, based on the following features:

- ♦ Two trade routes were identified, Uri-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakot. The two routes were developed taking into consideration the ease of conducting trade on pre-existing bus transport routes.
- ♦ The most unique feature of this trade was that it followed barter system, where goods were exchanged for goods. There was no financial transaction involved, and barter between trade-in and trade-out was balanced every three months.
- ♦ A list of 21 tradable items was mutually agreed between India and Pakistan. The list included items like fruits, vegetables, carpets, medicinal herbs and dry fruits. The list was not based on HS code.
- ♦ It was a 'zero duty trade', traders were not charged any kind of trade duties on either side of the LoC.
- ♦ The trade took place 4 days a week. A total of about 70 trucks were exchanged every day.

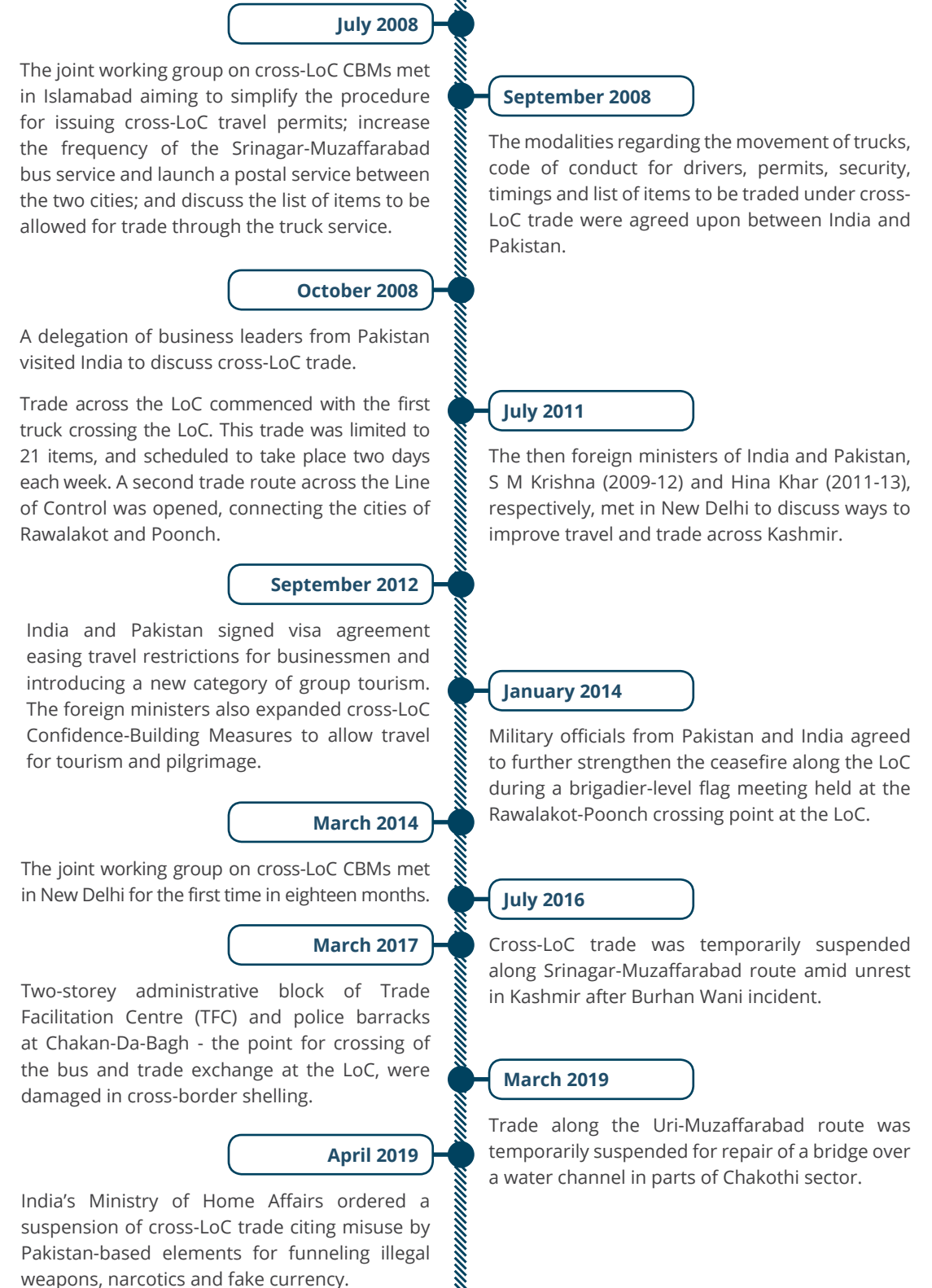
<sup>36</sup> "Line of caution: On Suspension of cross-LoC trade. 2019. The Hindu.<https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/line-of-caution/article26914676.ece>."



## Cross-LoC Exchanges since 2003



<sup>37</sup> The first working group focusing on confidence building measures, the second focusing on strengthening relations across the LoC, the third dealing with the economic development of the state, the fourth aiming to provide good governance to people and the fifth aiming to strengthen centre-state relations.



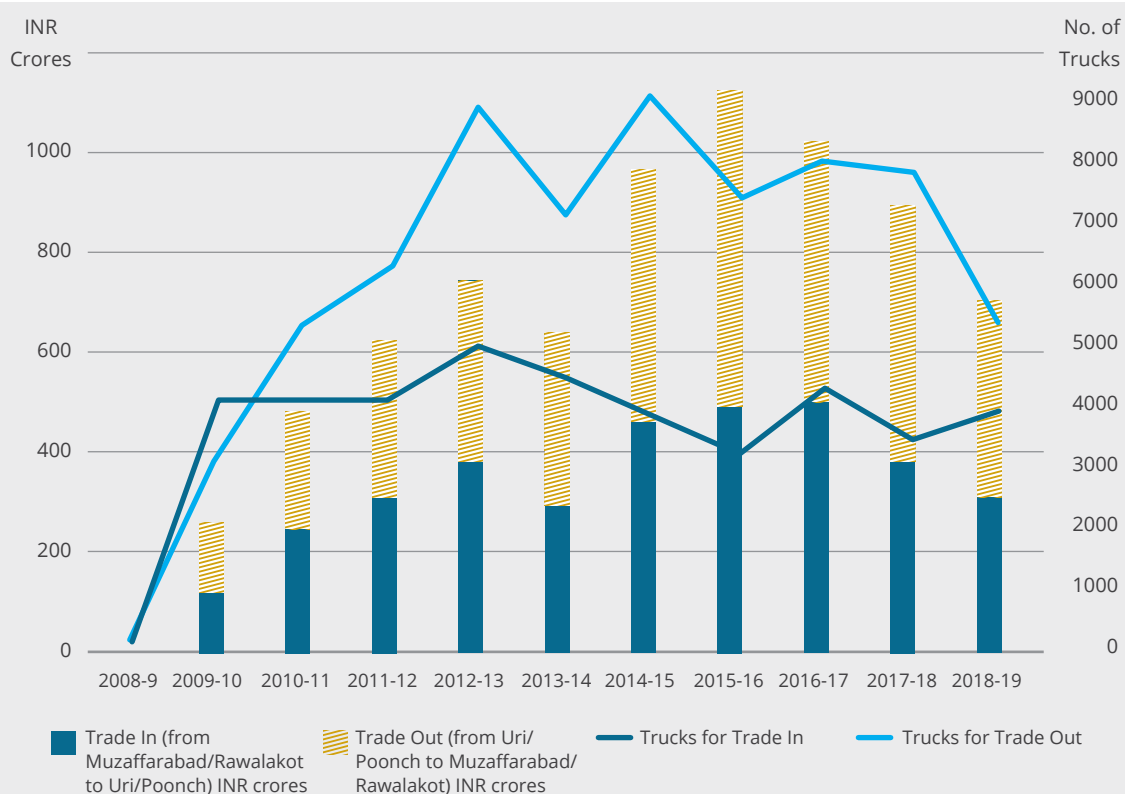
Source: Media Releases; The Stimson Centre

To ensure smooth trade across the LoC, trade facilitation centers were set up at four posts (Chakothi, Tatrinate, Salamabad, Chakan-Da-Bagh) for safe and easy movement of goods across the LoC. After an order was placed with a trader on the Indian side, the truck loaded with goods moved to a trade facilitation center. Here, the truck underwent a security check, before being issued a permit, and was then moved across the LoC. After delivering the goods, the trucks returned to the Indian side the very same day. A number of institutions are involved to ensure cross-LoC trade functions efficiently. At the apex level, India's Ministry of Home Affairs and Pakistan's Trade and Travel Authority (TATA) take decisions on facilitating cross-LoC trade and transit. The Jammu and Kashmir Joint Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JKJCCI) is another prominent institution that works to facilitate cross-LoC trade.

## A Decade of Cross-LoC Trade

Despite intermittent suspensions and ceasefire violations, cross-LoC trade and bus service had survived more than a decade, until this trade was suspended by India in April 2019. Between 2008-19, INR 7,500 crores worth of trade was recorded across the LoC. This trade generated more than 1,70,000 job days, and freight revenue of about INR 66.4 crores for transporters in Jammu and Kashmir, on account of 1,11,113 trucks exchanged so far and INR 90.2 crores paid to labourers. While these numbers may be only a minuscule part of India's overall economy, the impact of such CBMs go beyond standard metrics; the cases of thriving businesses and reunited families on both sides of the LoC stand testimony to the effectiveness of these measures.

### Decade of Cross-LoC Trade



Source: Data Collected from Trade Facilitation Centres, Uri and Poonch, 2019 : All data in Annexure E

Since October 2008, besides direct benefit to traders, cross-LoC trade has also resulted in:

- ◆ **Employment generation:** Cross-LoC trade has helped generate employment for the locals of the Jammu and Kashmir region on both sides of the LoC. On the Indian side, from 2008-19, more than 1,70,000 job days were generated, cross-LoC trade providing various employment opportunities—truck loading-unloading, driving and transiting cargo and working at trade facilitation centers, among others.
- ◆ **Peace Building:** Cross-LoC trade was not coined to be an isolated economic activity. It also aimed at opening a new chapter of building bridges and (re)connecting communities. Over the last decade, cross-LoC trade was seen as an important measure to build confidence and foster peace in the Jammu and Kashmir region.
- ◆ **Regional co-operation:** Cross-LoC trade and travel has not only facilitated commercial interdependence but also social interconnectedness, creating a noteworthy link between trade, trust and people-to-people connections. The mutual trade of goods enabled people on either side of the LoC to connect with each other, thereby adding to the dynamics of India-Pakistan relations, which drive regional cooperation in South Asia.
- ◆ **Formal institutes of co-operation:** Institutions like the Jammu and Kashmir Joint Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JKJCCI) were formed as a by-product of cross-LoC trade. Trade and industry stakeholders on both sides of the LoC came together through the common platform offered by the JKJCCI, suggested reforms and subsequently implemented many of those measures. In terms of spirit and role played, JKJCCI is the first-of-its-kind, with its presidency rotating between Chamber of Commerce and Industry Jammu, Kashmir Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Mirpur Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Cross-LoC trade became a celebrated CBM between India and Pakistan, but there have been concerns around transparency in the standard operating procedure, invoicing, taxation and trader registration, among other aspects, that have hurt this trade over the last decade. Though cross-LoC trade has made headlines since its inception in 2008, the nature of media coverage it received significantly changed over the following decade; there was a lot of euphoria associated with cross-LoC trade back in 2008, but this soon subsided, amid questions over its economic viability, sustainability and national security implications.

## Breaking Bridges and Losing Livelihoods at LoC

After three wars between India and Pakistan, the opening of the line of control in 2005 came as a step towards freer movement of people across the line of control. It held emotional value for the people of Jammu and Kashmir on both sides, particularly for the divided families. Till 2005, the divided families did not have any formal arrangement of crossing the LoC to visit their families. Opening of LoC for travel in 2005 was followed by opening for trade in 2008. This barter trade achieving a turnover of INR 7500 crores in ten years, saw over one lakh trucks crossing the LoC. The common cultural heritage along with the longing to see one's ancestral home or place of birth across the line of control, was critical in giving the initial impetus to this trade and travel resulting in stronger bonds between the people on both sides. Given the absence of any monetary exchange for goods, vulnerability to frequent trade suspensions and limited interactions between the traders of two sides, some of the economic success of this barter trade, often referred to as blind trade, can be attributed to the trust between the people on both sides.

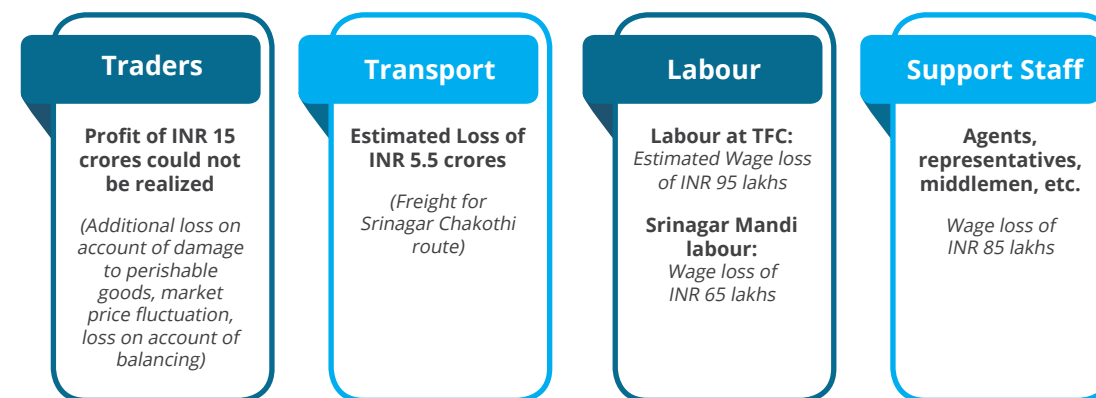


The sudden and indefinite suspension of Cross LoC trade on 18 April 2019 might eventually weaken the bridges gradually built through the exchange of goods and people to people contact. Trade community, mostly belonging to the border areas of Baramulla and Poonch, have suffered losses because of the suspension of trade. Over the last decade, the volume of trade vis-à-vis the two concerned routes, Uri-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakot, accounted for more than INR 7,500 crores, showcasing the economic capital created through this trade.

On-the-ground interactions with stakeholders reveal that about 600 merchants and 300 labourers that were all directly involved in the day-to-day trade operations across the LoC were most hit by the trade ban. In addition, there has been an indirect impact on: manufacturers and farmers that provided goods for this trade; end consumers, who now have to pay higher prices for same commodities; and shops, restaurants and mechanics in the border area that depended on this trade and transit. Economic activity—in this case, cross-LoC trade—helped enhance connectivity for the otherwise far and isolated border areas of the districts of Poonch and Baramulla. It connected them not just across the LoC, but also to other local districts such as Jammu and Srinagar.

**Case study—Uri-Muzaffarabad route:** A deeper analysis—based on interactions with stakeholders, including traders, transport and labour communities—of losses incurred due to the suspension of cross-LoC trade via the Uri-Muzaffarabad route, substantiates the concerns of the participants. Estimates of cross-LoC trade in 2008-19 and interactions with merchants at Uri suggest that about 7,340 trucks would have been used to transit goods via the Uri-Muzaffarabad route for 31 weeks since 8 March 2019<sup>38</sup> in the absence of the trade ban; of these vehicles, 3,000 would be used for trade-in of goods and 4,340 for trade-out of goods. With so many trucks crossing over the LoC, potential freight earnings of INR 5.5 crores from trucks transiting to and fro via the Srinagar-Chakothi route were lost. Assuming that traders average a profit of INR 20,000 per truck, potential profit of INR 15 crores for the 7,340 trucks that would have crossed the LoC, could not be realized by the traders in Uri. In addition, they faced losses on account of barter balances; damage to perishable goods that remained in transit; and market-price fluctuations after the cross-LoC trade was suspended.

Beyond the trading and transport communities, an estimated loss of over INR 85 lakhs was incurred by concerned support staff, daily-wage labourers, middlemen and agents in 31 weeks after 8 March 2019. Interactions with labourers suggest they cumulatively lost about INR 160 lakhs – wage loss of INR 95 lakhs by the labour at the Salamabad trade facilitation centre and nearly INR 65 lakhs foregone in labour wages at the Srinagar mandi, where many trucks are loaded and unloaded. The trade ban has not just affected the wages of these labourers, but has rendered most of them unemployed amid few alternative job opportunities. As cross-LoC trade is a barter, the financial implications—including disturbed payment cycles—from not closing barter balances between traders on either side of the LoC make shifting to completely new business avenues difficult for these merchants.



**Table 7: Losses at Uri-Muzaffarabad route due to suspension of LoC trade (31 weeks post 8 March 2019)**

	Post 8 March 2019	Movement of Trucks	Traders	Transport Community	Labour
Route		Uri-Muzaffarabad	Uri-Muzaffarabad	Srinagar-Chakothi	Srinagar-Chakothi
Trade In		3,000	INR 6 crores	INR 1.2 crores	INR 48.6 lakhs
Trade Out		4,340	INR 8.68 crores	INR 4.34 crores	INR 46.8 lakhs
Assumptions, if any			INR 20,000 Profit per truck	INR 4000 for a truck used for trade-in, INR 10,000 for a truck used for trade-out	Amount given to labour: INR 1.8/kilogram on truck used for trade-in, INR 1.2/kilogram on truck used for trade-out; Weight: 900 kilograms
Total Loss			INR 15 crores	INR 5.5 crores	INR 95 lakhs

Source: Direct Interactions with LoC traders in Uri

<sup>38</sup> Trade along the Uri-Muzaffarabad route temporarily suspended on 8 March 2019 for repair of a bridge over a water channel in parts of Chakothi sector

## From Line of Control back to Line of Commerce

When the two countries start looking at reviving the confidence building measures across the LoC, it will be crucial to address the concerns around transparency of cross-LoC trade. A revised strategy will be needed to re-initiate this trade, for which a few modifications in trade operations and the standard operating procedure (SOP) have been suggested below:

- ♦ **HS-Code based product list:** The present commodity list of 21 product categories should be replaced with a mutually agreed list of items based on HS code, addressing the issue of misinterpretation and misrepresentation of commodities.
- ♦ **Verification of traders:** A monitoring cell may be constituted of officials from state and central agencies, to keep a check on merchants and trade practices associated with cross-LoC transactions. This team can periodically study day-to-day cross-LoC trade practices—registration of traders, invoicing, exchange of goods, and trade balancing, among others—in order to ensure transparency. Trade data and other relevant information pertaining to each registered trader should compulsorily be recorded in electronic formats by a trade-facilitation officer, and shared with the cell regularly for analysis and other real-time checks. The requirements for registration and verification should be detailed, and traders should be mandated to register. Past bank statements; income-tax returns; trade records; and details regarding goods and services tax registration numbers, and tax identity cards—such as permanent account number card—among other required documents, should be scrutinized in order to ensure all traders are verified. All traders should be required to submit their income-tax returns to the trade-facilitation officer annually.
- ♦ **Digitization of barter management:** Setting up an IT platform would be a major step towards enhancing transparency in cross-LoC trade. All the transactions of trade-in and trade-out should be recorded as digital invoices pertaining to the concerned traders. A record of details regarding commodity, value, and buyer information, among other particulars should be kept. Apart from the time limit of 3 months, there should be an additional value limit on the outstanding amount for barter in order to ensure timely and transparent completion of transactions. For example, if a limit of INR 50 lakhs is set and the trader crosses that limit in terms of the outstanding amount across the LoC, his/her next invoices should not get accepted in the system for trade out till the outstanding barter is brought below the threshold.
- ♦ **Base price for commodities:** A committee for setting base prices for commodities should be organized at trade facilitation centres. Such a body would help address concerns of under-invoicing. A base price will ensure a bare minimum is paid, thus keeping traders from lowering prices beyond the minimum in order to avoid taxes.
- ♦ **Capacity building of traders:** Developing the competency and capacity of traders, for example, on accounting practices, documentation, taxation and use of digital platforms is crucial to help enhance transparency of cross-LoC trade.

- ♦ **Currency conversion rate:** Conversion rates between INR and PKR to be used for the invoicing should be formally announced at TFC every 15 days. Given that the US Dollar is being used as the medium for this conversion and both INR and PKR fluctuate greatly against USD, fixing of the conversion rate every 15 days will help traders with accurate conversions as well as reduce room for wrong doings based on currency conversion.

Concerns over transparency have plagued cross-LoC trade over the last decade. These apprehensions need to be addressed across the complete trade ecosystem, including enhancing transparency in the standard operating procedure, invoicing, goods and service tax (GST) norms, and trader registration. Clarifications on HS codes to prevent misrepresentation of commodities; setting up a rules of origin framework to avoid import of third-country goods; devising rules pertaining to goods and services tax rates and inter-state taxation to prevent evasion; and trader-registration policies to ensure credibility of the traders involved are immediate steps that need to be taken in order to address long-standing concerns over cross-LoC trade.

Digitization of systems and procedures at trade facilitation centers is an important step that can help boost cross-LoC trade. Globally, when we look at trade facilitation, international as well as domestic, digitization of procedures and lower human intervention are the two major pillars that drive trade across borders. And today, more than ever before, there is an increasing focus on improving ease of doing business ranking in India. Hence, similar steps are needed with respect to cross-LoC trade as well. Digital platforms to monitor invoicing, traders' records, barter balancing and truck information, among other details, will enable real time check by the authorities, leaving lesser room for misuse.

The current suspension of cross-LoC trade could be seen as a window of opportunity to address these issues and revive this trade in a stronger and more organized manner.

When the governments of India and Pakistan decide to begin talks over cross-LoC CBMs, putting forth stronger and more transparent cross-LoC trade mechanisms could give greater economic incentive to find amicable solutions. Cross-LoC trade in this improved framework could continue to affirm the liberal economic theory of peace-through-trade.



DECISION - III

# Airspace Closure

## Decision III: Airspace Closure

### Major Events related to the Airspace Ban

**26 February 2019**

Pakistan's civil aviation authority issued a Notice to Airmen (NOTAM) for full closure of the country's airspace, until 28 February 2019 after airstrikes by India's airforce in Pakistan's Balakot region. The airstrikes were in retaliation to a militant attack in Pulwama district in Jammu and Kashmir on 14 February that year.

**27 February 2019**

Pakistan's airforce conducted retaliatory airstrikes; the Indian government closed nine airports (located in the districts of Srinagar, Jammu, Leh, Pathankot, Amritsar, Shimla, Kangra, Kullu Manali and Pithoragarh) in the country's north for a few hours.

**1 March 2019**

Pakistani government extended the closure of its airspace to India; it partially opened airspace to commercial flights in four major domestic airports (located in the districts of Karachi, Islamabad, Peshawar and Quetta).

**26 March 2019**

Pakistani government opened its airspace for all flights except for the cities of New Delhi (India), Bangkok (Thailand) and Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), pertaining to security reasons.

**4 April 2019**

Pakistan opened one of its eleven air routes for west-bound flights from India. Airlines such as Air India and Turkish Airlines started using the opened routes.

**21 May 2019**

Pakistan granted special permission to Sushma Swaraj, the then Indian Minister of External Affairs, to fly to Kyrgyzstan directly through Pakistani airspace in order to attend the foreign ministers' meet at the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a regional security bloc.

**31 May 2019**

Indian airforce announced the removal of all temporary restrictions imposed on the country's airspace after the Balakot airstrikes.

**11 June 2019**

Pakistani authorities granted special permission to Narendra Modi, Indian prime minister for his flight to use Pakistani airspace on an official trip to Kyrgyzstan in order to attend a summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). However, it was not put to use.

**13 June 2019**

Pakistani government extended a partial airspace ban along its eastern border with India till 28 June 2019.

**28 June 2019**

Pakistani government extended its eastern airspace ban for commercial flights to and from India till 12 July 2019.

**16 July 2019**

Pakistan opened its airspace for civilian aircrafts on 'published ATS (Air Traffic Service) routes' after 140 days. Consequently, India also issued a revised NOTAM. Thus, normal air traffic operations resumed between India and Pakistan.

**22 August 2019**

Narendra Modi, Indian prime minister used Pakistani airspace for the first time since February 2019 to fly to France, his first stop in his three-nation visit to France, the UAE, and Bahrain.

**28 August 2019**

Pakistani authorities closed three aviation routes over Karachi until 31 August 2019. The closure was a result of the high tension running between India and Pakistan after the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Bill 2019.

**7 September 2019**

Pakistani government refused Indian government's request to allow Ramnath Kovind, President of India, to use Pakistani airspace for his flight to Iceland.

**18 September 2019**

Pakistani authorities rejected India's request to allow the Indian prime minister's flight to use Pakistani airspace for his visit to the United States of America (USA) via Germany.

**27 October 2019**

Pakistani authorities denied India's request to allow the Indian prime minister's flight to use Pakistani airspace enroute to Saudi Arabia.

Source: Media Releases

Unilateral decisions by India and Pakistan in 2019 that resulted in bilateral losses also include barring each other from their respective airspaces. Airlines of Pakistan and India are estimated to have incurred losses of over USD 53 million and USD 80 million, respectively, during the ban between February and July 2019. In addition, airlines and associated businesses faced various operational hassles, causing inconvenience to passengers.

In February 2019, after airstrikes by the Indian airforce in Pakistan's Balakot region in response to a militant attack in the Pulwama district, Pakistan's civil aviation authority completely closed the country's airspace. The Pakistani airforce retaliated with airstrikes which led Indian authorities to close nine of the country's airports for a brief period. The series of developments that followed added to the uncertainty over airline operations. Pakistani authorities repeatedly extended a partial ban on using the country's airspace, which was finally opened for all civilian aircrafts only in July that year. However, another partial closure—of three aviation routes over Karachi—followed a month later, after the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Bill 2019. As a consequence, an array of flights had to be rerouted time and again, affecting the activities of airline operators and associated businesses. The closure of Pakistani airspace to commercial flights between Kabul and New Delhi, the capital cities of Afghanistan and India, respectively, decreased Afghanistan's exports—dry fruit, vegetables, fresh fruit, carpets, and handicrafts, among others—to India by 30%<sup>39</sup> between February and June 2019. Afghan airlines, reportedly, routed flights via Iran and China to India, making these operations more expensive and time-consuming for airline companies.

The following section aims at highlighting some of the key issues faced.

## Rising Turbulence: Impact on airlines and people

### On Service Providers

- i) **Cost escalation:** The losses suffered by airlines during Pakistan's airspace ban have been significant. For the duration of airspace ban between February and July 2019, losses for Air India, India's flag-carrier, which primarily flies to Europe, the US, and Gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia, reached about USD 71.65 million; SpiceJet, which covers countries such as Afghanistan, Oman, the UAE and Saudi Arabia, were estimated at USD 4.48 million; IndiGo, with flights to Turkey, the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman and Kuwait, among others, were around USD 3.66 million; and GoAir, whose overseas destinations include Oman, UAE and Kuwait, were approximately USD 300,000. These four Indian airlines cumulatively lost over USD 80 million<sup>40</sup> and Pakistani airlines have also endured losses of over USD 53 million. Augmented operational and maintenance costs; increased consumption of fuel—which comprises around 40% of an airline's operational costs—amid a rise in its price<sup>41</sup>; and deployment of additional manpower/man hours all contributed to the jump in expenses incurred by airlines of the two countries.
- ii) **Disruptions in operation:** The non-availability of Pakistani airspace affected flights from India to Gulf countries, the US and Europe. As per Air India, each day around 21 flights to these destinations were adversely affected during the ban. Overall, around 400 Indian flights per day suffered longer routes and

higher expenses due to the closure of Pakistani airspace. Majority of these were rerouted via Oman's airspace, while around 100 flights were added to the already-congested air corridors of Iran. The rerouting of flights led to the usage of longer routes. This entailed inflated costs, and midway halts for refuelling as well as deployment of additional pilots and cabin crew, given that their duties are regulated. Flights from other countries also got affected, such as those of Air Canada and United Airlines that were hit by flight cancellations to the region. Other international airlines that were forced to reroute include Singapore Airlines, Finnair, British Airways, Aeroflot and Thai Airways. For instance, around 451 kilometers got added to the flight circuit from London to Singapore once the Oman route was taken, adding to the cost and flight duration.

- iii) **Service-level delays:** Avoiding Pakistani airspace led to longer routes and in some cases, an additional stop, causing delays for airlines and their passengers. The flight duration for most common destinations, such as the Gulf, the US and Europe increased by 2-4 hours due to rerouting and additional stoppages for fuel. For example, Air India rerouted its flights from New Delhi over the Indian cities of Mumbai and Ahmedabad, and across the Arabian Sea, to head via Muscat, Oman's capital city, to destinations in Europe and the UAE, thereby increasing flight times by around 1.5 hours and 1 hour, respectively<sup>42</sup>. Some of the most affected routes for Indian airlines included flights from New Delhi to Kabul (Afghanistan), Moscow (Russia), Tehran (Iran) and Astana (Kazakhstan).

## Case Study: Air India's US Routes impacted because of airspace closure

For Air India, the flag carrier airline of India, India-US routes were impacted due to the closure of airspace between India and Pakistan. Already long flights took even more circuitous routings.

### AIR INDIA (INDIA-US ROUTES)<sup>43</sup>

S.No.	From (India)	To (US)	Routed via; Purpose	Return
1.	Delhi	Chicago	Via Vienna (Earlier routed via Sharjah); Purpose: Refuelling, Crew-change	Non-stop due to tailwinds
2.	Delhi	New York JFK		
3.	Delhi	San Francisco	Non-stop (operates via Pacific so not impacted by closure of Pakistani airspace)	Non-stop (as usually operated by 777-200LR - longest range plane); Stop at Sharjah for re-fuelling (when operated by 777-300ER)
4.	Delhi	Washington	Via Mumbai Purpose: Refuelling	Non-stop due to tailwinds
5.	Mumbai	New York JFK	Launched in December 2018, and route suspended due to issues related to the closure of airspace	

39 "Pakistan airspace closure reduces Afghan exports to India, says official. 2019. The Economic Times. [https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/pakistan-air-space-closure-reduces-afghan-exports-to-india-says-official/articleshow/69712280.cms?from=mdr&utm\\_source=contentofinterest&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=cppst](https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/pakistan-air-space-closure-reduces-afghan-exports-to-india-says-official/articleshow/69712280.cms?from=mdr&utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)."

40 "Hashim, Asad. Pakistan Reopens Airspace Months After India Standoff. 2019. Aljazeera. [https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/07/pakistan-reopens-air-space-months-india-standoff-190716062219180.html?xif=](https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/07/pakistan-reopens-air-space-months-india-standoff-190716062219180.html?xif=))."

41 "Sinha, Saurabh. How Pakistan's Airspace Ban has Hit India's Airlines. 2019. The Times of India. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/how-pakistans-air-space-ban-has-hit-indias-airlines/articleshow/69155746.cms>."

42 "Sinha, Saurabh. How Pakistan's Airspace Ban has Hit India's Airlines. 2019. The Times of India. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/business/how-pakistans-air-space-ban-has-hit-indias-airlines/articleshow/69155746.cms>."

43 "Air India adjusts US Flights due to Pakistan Airspace Closure. 2019. One Mile at a Time. <https://onemileatathetime.com/air-india-pakistan-airspace/>."



## On Passengers

**i) Delays and layovers:** Rerouting of Indian flights through alternative airspaces led to the introduction of an additional stop for refuelling, replacement of pilots and airline staff, and managing other bottlenecks. Apart from longer routes and more travel time, the duration of layovers increased as well. For instance, the flying time for flights to the US (New Delhi to Chicago and New York JFK) increased by around 90 minutes, necessitating refuelling to cover the long distance. These US-bound flights, therefore, halted at Vienna, Austria's capital city<sup>44</sup>. IndiGo, India's largest domestic carrier by market share, faced similar issues with flights to Istanbul, Turkey's capital city. These flights, which took a longer course over the Arabian Sea following Pakistan's airspace ban, had to be refuelled in Doha, Qatar's capital city, thereby adding to the delay.

"I flew from New Delhi to London on 14 July 2019. The journey took 11 hours. In a little bit longer, one could have reached New York. But after Pakistan opened the airspace on 16 July 2019, the flight on the way back from London to New Delhi was 7 hours 45 minutes. I paid about INR 20,000 more than what a usual Delhi to London flight costs,"

**- Nikita Singla (Personal experience of the author)**

**ii) Increased fares:** Indian airlines' higher operational costs on being barred from Pakistani airspace increased fares, adding to the woes of the passengers. Fare escalations have largely been driven by inflated fuel cost due to rerouting. For instance, a Boeing 747 burns around 1 gallon (~4 litres) of fuel every second. Therefore, during a 10-hour flight, it can use up to 36,000 gallons (~1,50,000 litres). In terms of distance, as per Boeing, a 747 utilises around 5 gallons of fuel per mile, which is approximately 12 litres per kilometre. Therefore, longer routes forced airlines to increase ticket prices.

Besides barring access to the country's airspace, on 27 August 2019, Pakistani authorities unilaterally suspended its postal services with India. The move came after the Indian government enacted Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Bill 2019. Pakistani government contended that the decision by its Indian counterpart violates international law. The Indian government maintains its actions in Jammu and Kashmir are legal under domestic and international law, and an 'internal matter'. Meanwhile, Indian authorities pointed out that Pakistan's suspension of postal services between the two countries is in direct contravention of international norms. Postal exchanges between countries are governed by rules framed by the United Nations' Universal Postal Union (UPU); these rules oblige a country suspending postal services to another country to notify the latter's postal-system operator of the same, specifying the duration for which these services are being stopped. Beyond these rules, India and Pakistan have three bilateral agreements in place regarding their postal exchange, namely the Exchange of Value Payable Article of 1948, Exchange of Postal Article of 1974, and International Speed Post Agreement of 1987.

In addition to suspending postal services with India, Pakistani authorities curtailed the freedom for Indian postal items—previously guaranteed—to transit through Pakistan on the way to other countries. Suspension of India-Pakistan postal services had never happened before, even during wars<sup>45</sup>. Jatin Desai, a member of the Pakistan India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy explained, "For instance, if an Indian fisherman is arrested, the power of attorney that has to be sent to his lawyer cannot be couriered. And courts do not accept emails."<sup>46</sup> Hence, official communication between the two countries is legally mandated to take place through postal services.

As of 20 November 2019, nearly three months after Pakistan unilaterally stopped postal exchange with India, the Director General of Pakistan Post had issued orders to partially restore the service, only to the extent of letters and Express Mail Service (EMS) documents.

44 "Time Lost & Increased Costs: What India Stands to Lose if Pakistan Completely Shuts Down its Airspace. 2019. News18.com. <https://www.news18.com/news/india/time-lost-increased-costs-what-india-stands-to-lose-if-pakistan-completely-shuts-down-its-airspace-2287661.html>."

45 "Chandrashekar, Anand. Did Pakistan's Suspension of Postal Services to India Break International Rules. 2019. Swissinfo.ch. [https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/mail-spat\\_did-pakistan-s-suspension-of-postal-services-to-india-break-international-rules-/45318690](https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/mail-spat_did-pakistan-s-suspension-of-postal-services-to-india-break-international-rules-/45318690)."

46 "Article 370 Fallout: Pakistan is No Longer Accepting Mail from India. 2019. The Wire. <https://thewire.in/external-affairs/india-pakistan-post>."

## Surviving the unilateral decisions and bilateral losses

Be it in Punjab or Jammu and Kashmir, the ripples of the India-Pakistan face-off have been felt by stakeholders across social and economic fronts on both sides of the border/LoC. The Indian government's imposition of 200% duty hurt Pakistan's exports to India, which fell from an average of USD 45 million per month in 2018 to USD 2.5 million per month between March and July 2019. According to our interactions in Amritsar, more than 9,000 families were directly affected because of their breadwinners' dependence on bilateral trade; and every month, two-thirds of nearly INR 30 crores that was being added to the local economy was lost. Similarly, our study in Uri indicates that a profit of INR 15 crores that nearly 230 India-based cross-LoC traders could have cumulatively made in 31 weeks after 8 March 2019, along the Uri-Muzaffarabad route could not be realized.

The situation in Amritsar, Baramulla and Poonch, owing to the suspension of trade, stands testimony to the sufferings of the border economies as traders lost business and local livelihoods of those dependent on trade were affected.

India-Pakistan relations have been sliding downhill since the militant attack in Pulwama in February 2019, putting the skids under border trade. However, other bilateral developments offer hope. Amidst the trade, airspace and postal-services ban, the Kartarpur corridor—a land route giving pilgrims direct and visa-free access from India to a shrine that is located in the Pakistani town of Kartarpur—was opened ahead of the 550th birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev. The opening of the Kartarpur corridor can hopefully prove to be an important confidence building measure, if both India and Pakistan tread with caution. The biggest beneficiary of any thaw between the two neighbors would be the people of the Punjabs on either side of the border.

*“Naam Japo, Kirat Karo, and Vand Chhako are three pillars of Sikhism formalized by Guru Nanak Dev Ji meaning contemplating God's name, working diligently, and sharing with others. While Kartarpur corridor offers us the first pillar of 'Naam Japo' at Gurudwara Darbar Sahib, the shrine in Kartarpur in Pakistan, the final resting place of our Guru, the ban on trade keeps the other two pillars at bay. We urge both the governments to open trade, that will be true justice to the sentiments and the livelihoods of the Punjabis”*

*— Trader in Amritsar, Punjab, India.*

Ample studies are available to highlight that there exists substantial untapped potential for India-Pakistan trade and that the two countries' respective trade communities have continuously shown inclination towards doing business with each other. Research studies have pointed out deficiencies and made policy suggestions on strengthening India-Pakistan trade. However, post-February 2019, India and Pakistan seem far from translating any of these policy suggestions into economic gains for their respective countries.

The politics of trade has seized the only source of livelihood for many traders in Amritsar's Majith Mandi and Srinagar Mandi. After India's withdrawal of the MFN trade status granted to Pakistan, and imposition of 200% duty on all goods imported from the latter country, the trade communities of both countries became even more apprehensive to engage across their shared border. After Pakistan suspended trade with India in August 2019, even the most optimistic traders on both sides learnt the hard way that betting livelihoods on politics was much riskier than was assumed.

*“Trade is not a switch-on or switch-off phenomenon. While it can be switched off overnight, like in February 2019, switching on will depend on the willingness of traders to engage again”*

*—Trader in Amritsar, Punjab, India.*

Any form of border trade creates its own economic ecosystem. Today, this ecosystem along the India-Pakistan border is looking to their respective governments for support—seeking collective measures to roll back duties and lift the ban on bilateral trade, and a remedial action plan in the interim. Formal resumption of India-Pakistan trade, can help policymakers focus on addressing other trade-related issues—non-tariff barriers, lack of connectivity, technical and operational knowledge gaps, limited direct interactions between traders, among others. In addition, for cross-LoC trade to flourish there is a need for a revised strategy towards its re-initiation; and addressing concerns over transparency across the complete trade ecosystem, including regarding the standard operating procedure, invoicing, rules of origin, accurately representing commodities, goods and service tax norms, and trader registration, among others. Reform measures to facilitate even an incremental growth in trade could support the ecosystem along the India-Pakistan border, weaving the social fabric into well-meaning economic activities.

So, until bilateral trade resumes, stakeholders have proposed faster execution of the Patti-Makhu rail project—a 25.47-kilometer-long rail link across Punjab, between the Patti area in the district of Tarn Taran and the Makhu region in Ferozepur district—that would reduce the distance travelled to Mumbai from the cities of Amritsar and Jammu by 240 kilometers and 277 kilometers, respectively, thereby opening a new array of economic opportunities. This rail link will be a boon for traders in Indian Punjab's Majha and Malwa regions; cut short the distance between northern states; and connect Punjab and Jammu with major trade centres in other states such as Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The Patti-Makhu rail project was conceived of in 2004, but took almost a decade to be approved by Indian authorities, securing a budget of INR 147.8 crores. Later, during the fiscal year 2017-18, Niti Aayog—a policy think tank of the Indian government—approved sanctioning of INR 299 crores for this project. However, after several hiccups that have deterred the implementation of this project, in September 2019, the government of Indian Punjab disclosed that INR 40 crores had been sanctioned for acquiring land to construct this rail link. Speedy acquisition and, thereafter, transfer of this land to India's railways



ministry is imperative for commencing construction of the rail link, which can potentially connect the associated border economies to alternative sources of livelihood.

A shorter rail route could help in reviving business in Indian Punjab amid the India-Pakistan trade ban, which has rendered many unemployed. This project can connect traders and businessmen to better economic opportunities, and even engage locals, who are more mobile, in constructing this railway line, thereby easing some of the hardships these communities have suffered due to the trade ban. Moreover, the new rail link could prove vital for defence purposes as two strategic bridges—Beas (named after the river it crosses) and Sutlej (at Harike where two rivers Beas and Sutlej meet)—have aged significantly, and have no capacity to support heavy traffic or high-speed trains. The Patti-Makhu rail link could thus be a valuable transit line for defending this border area.

As discussed earlier, while the bilateral trade between India and Pakistan was relatively small for its suspension to have any significant impact on the two countries' national economies, the local economies are suffering significantly. They need immediate attention.

When the governments of India and Pakistan resume talks, these economic interventions and other favourable developments, such as the opening of the Kartarpur corridor, can help generate momentum for an overall re-engagement process between the two countries, providing impetus to trade, bridging the trust deficit, and thereby fostering peace.

## Until bilateral trade resumes, border economies need to be supported, some of which could be through:

### *Patti-Makhu Rail Link*

Expediting the execution of Patti-Makhu rail project—a 25.47-kilometer-long rail link across Punjab, between the Patti area in the district of Tarn Taran and the Makhu region in Ferozepur district—that would reduce the distance travelled to Mumbai from the cities of Amritsar and Jammu by 240 kilometers and 277 kilometers, respectively, thereby opening a new array of economic opportunities through shorter and easier access to seaports like Mundra and JNPT for onward trade with other markets.

Exploring opportunities for direct air connectivity from the International Airport in Amritsar to Afghanistan, the Middle East, and the Central Asia, for regular cargo flights that will provide new market avenues via alternate trade routes for high-value and perishable cargo. A permanent perishable cargo center at Amritsar airport could turn Amritsar into a hub for movement of perishables by air and cater to the requirement of air freighting of perishables in northern India.

### *AIR Freighting*

### *Exploring new MARKET LINKAGES*

Exploring new market linkages by sea and by air, for example, with Central Asia, by connecting traders in Amritsar with relevant consolidators (given the small trade volumes for most of the traders in Amritsar). This will help traders remain in trade and related sectors. When the India-Pakistan trade resumes in future, it will be relatively easier for them to continue the trade relationship across the border, and the option of alternate markets will help mitigate the risk of similar political and economic disruptions in future.



When the governments of India and Pakistan decide to begin talks over trade, the following measures will be key to re-strategizing and re-initiating the trade between India and Pakistan, as well as the Cross-LoC trade:

#### India-Pakistan Trade

- Re-initiating the dialogue on economic cooperation by:
- Increasing stakeholder constituency through multi-level interactions and engagements with decision makers, policy influencers and other concerned parties
  - Addressing knowledge gaps and building capacities of key stakeholders
  - Facilitating a joint business chamber for promoting and creating a positive ecosystem for bilateral trade
  - Promoting product-specific collaborations between business associations and chambers of commerce (for example, between Surgical Instruments Manufacturing Association of Pakistan, in Sialkot and Association of Surgical Instruments Manufacturers and Suppliers in Jalandhar)
  - Developing an online portal (an interactive business-to-business (B2B) platform) that will facilitate cross-border traders and association-level interactions
  - Increasingly tapping the soft power afforded by people-to-people connections through platforms like Lifestyle Pakistan – Pakistan’s first-ever lifestyle exhibition in India in 2012 and PITEK – annual Punjab International Trade Exposition

Overall, a policy framework on trade between India and Pakistan is key for addressing their trust deficit and misapprehensions—on an economic front; non-tariff barriers; anti-dumping complaints; lack of connectivity; technical and operational knowledge gaps; and limited direct interaction.

Given the zero duty nature of barter trade across the LoC, concerted efforts between traders at LoC and in Punjab are needed to dispel any misapprehensions around distorted gains or losses for either trade community. Building linkages between traders in Punjab, and Jammu and Kashmir, to explore stopgap arrangements for survival is important. After trade restarts, establishing common ground between cross-LoC traders and mainstream India-Pakistan traders will be key for both trades to cordially co-exist.

*Continued economic interventions can help generate momentum for an overall re-engagement process, providing impetus to trade while bridging the trust deficit.*

#### Cross-LoC Trade

- Enhancing transparency in standard operating procedure by:
- Mutually agreeing on tradeable items based on HS code
  - Establishing a trader registration policy, and constituting a monitoring cell for registration and verification of traders, in order to ensure credibility of merchants involved
  - Digitizing barter management, wherein transactions against each trader/invoice are recorded digitally
  - Setting a base price for commodities in order to address concerns around under-invoicing
  - Capacity building of traders in terms of accounting practices, documentation, taxation and use of digital platforms
  - Formally announcing prevailing currency conversion rates between INR and PKR on a regular basis
  - Clarifying goods and service tax rates, and inter-state taxation to avoid tax evasion

Concerns over transparency have negatively impacted cross-LoC trade over the last decade. These need to be addressed across the ecosystem of trade, to strengthen this barter to be more transparent and organized. This could continue to prove the merits of a peace-through-trade policy.

# ANNEXURES



## Putting the skids under border trade

The India-Pakistan face-off is having more repercussions than intended, with border economies the worst hit



AFZAQ HUSSAIN & NIKITA SINGLA

In February 2019, in the wake of the Pulwama attack, India decided to withdraw the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to Pakistan; subsequently, it imposed 200% customs duty on all Pakistani goods coming into India. After the Balakot airstrikes, again in February, India and Pakistan closed their airspace with Pakistan keeping the ban in place for nearly five months. In April, India suspended trade across the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir citing misuse of the trade route by Pakistan-based elements. And more recently, post the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill, Pakistan cut off diplomatic and economic ties with India — expelling the Indian envoy, partially shutting airspace and suspending bilateral trade.

**Plunging trade**  
Escalating tensions between the two neighbours naturally led to the announcement of retaliatory unilateral decisions, one after the other. Like in the past, the impact has trickled down to trade relations between both the countries; this time it is much more severe.

In 2018-19, bilateral trade between India and Pakistan was valued at \$2.5 billion — India's exports to Pakistan accounted for \$2.06 billion and India's imports from Pakistan were at \$495 million. India's decision vis-a-vis withdrawal of MFN status and imposition of 200% duty has hurt Pakistan's exports to India, falling from an average of \$45 million per month in 2018 to \$2.5 million per month in the last four months.

### Western border trade

The quantum of loss that has been incurred by traders in both India and Pakistan has varied according to the nature of trade and the trade route. For example, through the Wagah-Attari land route, bilateral trade was heavily in favour of Pakistan; in the last two years, India's imports from Pakistan accounted for 82% of the total trade through the land route. After February, most of this business has been badly affected with only a handful of items including rock salt, continuing to be imported.

Unlike national economies, border economies owe their existence to cross-border economic opportunities. These economies generally experience a sudden boom-bust cycle on account of political changes, trade bans, price and exchange rate and tax fluctuations. As seen elsewhere in South Asia such as via the inception of India-Bangladesh border haats, the costs and benefits are mutual to the border economies on both



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...sides; much more in cases such as Amritsar where major economic activity is largely dependent on border trade with Pakistan.

Amritsar is land-locked, is not a metropolis and traditionally has no significant industry. Hence, any decision on India-Pakistan trade has a direct impact on the local economy and the people of Amritsar.

Since February, according to estimates on ground, 5,000 families have been directly affected in Amritsar because of breadwinner dependence on bilateral trade. Traders and their staff members, customs house agents (CHAs), freight forwarders, labour force, truck operators, dhaba owners, truck stations, and other service providers are closing shop and going out of business. Of the nearly ₹25-30 crore that was being added to the local economy of Amritsar every month, the estimate now is that three-quarters has been lost in the last six months.

Many a time, upsetting the trade apple cart can have more repercussions than intended. For example, gypsum, imported from

Pakistan, was being used in India as well as in Nepal for the cement plants there. To avoid empty back-hauling on the return journey, trucks carrying these consignments brought back specific products such as yarn from mills in Uttar Pradesh to Punjab. In the absence of gypsum trade, the freight rate of trucks from Uttar Pradesh to Punjab, as per the ground reports, has increased from ₹3 to ₹7 per kg, with a single trip absorbing the cost of the entire journey. Earlier, prices of tradable goods which were kept under check owing to the balancing out mechanisms of international trade, are experiencing fluctuations now because of the trade disruptions.

### Pakistan takes a hit too

There is gloom on the Pakistani side too. With Pakistan deciding to completely suspend bilateral trade, exports of cotton from India to Pakistan are expected to be affected the most, eventually hurting Pakistan's textiles; the lawn industry which will now have to source pricier cotton from alternative markets in the United States, Australia, Egypt or Central Asia; or there is a high possibility that Indian cotton, along with other products, will be routed through third countries such as the United Arab Emirates and Singapore, thereby increasing the share of indirect trade which is estimated to be more than double the direct trade between India and Pakistan.

Hence, while the overall economies of the two countries may very well manage to stay afloat despite the suspension of economic ties, it is the local economies that will suffer the most and are already perishing. In this connection, there has been a loss in business, rise in prices, lack of alternative sources of livelihood, as well as an expected increase in bank defaults. There are also individual cases, for example a CHA in Amritsar, who has no means to pay the equated monthly instalment for his home loan, highlighting the hardship of locals dependent on border economies.

In the spirit of nationalism, the trade fraternity on both sides, by and large, has stood by their respective governments. But locals in border economies on both sides have mouths to feed, which calls for a solution. What are the alternative sources of livelihood that can be generated to keep border economies afloat? Is there a sword hanging over the future of other bilateral arrangements such as the transit of goods from Afghanistan through Pakistan into India?

While it's about damage containment for now, one can only hope that the appetite for trade engagement still remains.

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The Hindu, 4 September 2019



## A time-tested way to trade away conflict

Trade strengthens peace and there needs to be a revised strategy towards restarting cross-Line of Control trade



AFZAQ HUSSAIN & NIKITA SINGLA

Eleven years ago, on October 21, 2008, a truck loaded with rice, turmeric and red chillies crossed the Jhelum river at the Line of Control (LoC) to reach Uri. The banners at Kaman Aman Seta ('bridge of peace') read: "From Home to Home, we extend a very warm welcome to our Kashmiri brethren."

Such was the spirit and the emotion of people on both sides of the LoC. A fresh beginning, it also brought with it the hope of reuniting friends and families across the LoC. This marked the beginning of cross-LoC trade.

### Confidence building measure

It was in 1972 that the LoC between India and Pakistan was thought of as a part of the Shimla Agreement. Though the LoC was almost always an issue of contention, it was 33 years later that the two governments decided to take a giant leap. On April 7, 2005, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh flagged the first cross-LoC bus, called 'Karwaan-e-Aman', from the Sher-i-Kashmir stadium in Srinagar towards Muzaffarabad.

This Confidence Building Measure (CBM) came as a humanitarian reform reuniting divided families and friends.

In 2008, a significant year, the two governments decided to further exploit the potential of existing transport routes by establishing trade. In May that year, the Foreign Ministers of India and Pakistan decided to finalise the modalities of intra-Kashmir trade and truck service. Cross-LoC trade, following barrier system, thus began in October that year, across Uri-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakot, for a list of 21 mutually agreed tradable items. Given the underlying conditions, trade was seen as a ray of hope to establishing peace. This measure was aimed at converting social inter-connectedness into commercial interdependence of the two similar yet separate sides of the LoC, rightfully presuming that trade would flourish on the basis of the emotional capital of the people living on either side. The LoC gave rise to hope in the virtuous cycle between trade, trust and people-to-people connect.

Cross-LoC trade would have failed in its infancy had it not been for the sentiments of the people attached to it. It was much more than a mere commodity exchange. The whole concept of exchange across this border was not coined as isolated economic activity but, instead, to open a new chapter of



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building bridges and (re)connecting communities. And cross-LoC trade did manage to connect the two divided sides of Jammu and Kashmir, thereby creating a constituency of peace in an otherwise tense region.

### More than metrics

Till April 2019, when cross-LoC trade was suspended by India, both bus links and trade had survived for more than a decade despite intermittent suspensions and ceasefire violation. Between 2008-2018, trade worth ₹7,500 crore was transacted across the LoC, generating more than 1.7 lakh job days and an approximate freight revenue of ₹66.4 crore for transporters in J&K, on account of 75,114 truck crossings and ₹90.2 crore paid to labourers. While these numbers may be minuscule when looked at through the lens of the overall trade of India, the impact of such CBMs go beyond standard metrics. The case of thriving

businesses and reunited families on both sides of the LoC stand testimony to the story of change. A sizeable community of traders, businesses, transporters and labourers have benefited from this trade and have a stake in keeping the trade process active.

### Steps for a revival

Given the present situation in J&K, it is imperative that India plans an outreach connecting all stakeholders from across the spectrum including the ecosystem of cross-LoC trade. However, there is need for a revised strategy towards reinitiation of cross-LoC trade. Concerns around transparency have negatively impacted this trade over the last decade. The lack of transparency needs to be addressed in the complete ecosystem which includes the standard operating procedure, invoicing, Goods and Services Tax (GST) norms, and trader registration. Other steps such as clarifications on harmonised system codes to avoid misrepresentation of commodities, rules of origin to avoid third country goods, GST rates and inter-State taxation rules to avoid tax evasions, and a trader registration policy to ensure credible traders are involved in this trade, are needed to address long-standing concerns around cross-LoC trade.

Digitisation of systems and procedures at the trade facilitation centres at Uri and Poonch is another important step to help take LoC trade to the next level. Globally, when we look at trade facilitation — international as well as domestic — digitisation of procedures and lower human intervention are the two major pillars that drive trade across borders. And today, more than ever before, there is increasing focus on improving India's 'ease of doing business' ranking. Hence, similar steps are needed with respect to cross-LoC trade. Digital platforms to monitor invoicing, traders' records, balancing and truck details will ensure real time checks by the authorities, leaving lesser room for misuse.

The current suspension of LoC trade could be seen as a window of opportunity to address these issues and revive this trade in a stronger and more organised manner.

As talks begin for a revival of normalcy in J&K, strengthened and more transparent cross-LoC trade mechanisms could be put on the table as a part of the economic package. Cross-LoC trade in its new avatar could continue to prove the value of a peace-through-trade policy, and one that has stood the test of time globally.

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The Hindu, 21 October 2019



## Annexure - B Snakes and Ladders of India-Pakistan Relations

Years	Positive Developments	Negative Developments
1947-65	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>India and Pakistan entered into 14 bilateral agreements related to trade facilitation; Multiple land routes were used for trade – including eight customs stations in Punjab province and three custom checkpoints in Sindh</li> <li>In 1965, there were nine branches of six Indian banks operating in Pakistan. Habib Bank of Pakistan had a branch in Mumbai</li> </ul>	
1965	1965 war: Customs officers at Wagah-Attari post became the first civilian prisoners of war, and banks in both countries were seized as enemy properties	
1971-1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Simla Agreement 1972</li> <li>India unilaterally discontinued its positive list for trade in goods with Pakistan, upon signing of WTO agreement in 1995.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Negative perception, due to the non tariff barriers, was created. This happened as Pakistan started to export more product categories after India removed the condition of trading on positive list.</li> </ul>
2001- 02	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Agra Summit collapsed, Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly car bombing, attack on Indian Parliament and suspension of the Delhi-Lahore bus services (Sada-e-Sarhad)</li> <li>India deployed its troops to Kashmir and Punjab, the largest mobilisation since 1971</li> </ul>	
2003- 04	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>India and Pakistan declared ceasefire along the LoC</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Jammu and Kashmir State Assembly passed resolution for abrogation of the Indus Water Treaty, 1960</li> </ul>
2004- 05	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilateral meeting at the sideline of SAARC Summit in Islamabad</li> <li>Positive list by Pakistan expanded from 600 items in 2000 to 767 items</li> <li>Foreign Ministers meet at the ASEAN Regional forum in Jakarta where Pakistan is formally accepted as a member of the ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) after India drops its objections</li> <li>4 rounds of 'Composite Dialogue Process (2004 in Islamabad, 2005 in New Delhi, 2006 in Islamabad, and 2007 in New Delhi); Foreign Secretary level talks on Kashmir issue, development of peace and security (regular hot talk between DGMOs and military maneuvers); cross-LoC bus from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad was agreed upon; Musharraf 4-point agenda on Kashmir</li> </ul>	
2005- 06	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wagah Attari land route opened for limited commodities in 2005, 58 years after its closure during partition</li> <li>India appoints Satinder Lambah to lead secret back-channel talks with Pakistan's Tariq Aziz, resulting in a framework to settle the differences over the Kashmir region by 2007</li> <li>As a confidence building measure between India and Pakistan, bus service from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad started</li> <li>Governor of the Reserve Bank of India and the Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan signed an agreement to open branches of two Indian banks in Pakistan, and two Pakistani banks in India.</li> </ul>	

Years	Positive Developments	Negative Developments
2005- 06	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pakistan increased its positive list to 1075 items.</li> <li>Bus service from Lahore to Amritsar began, making it the third bus service connecting India and Pakistan; 'The Thar Express' between Munabao in Rajasthan and Khokhrapar in Sind resumed after 40 years; The night bus service from border areas of Ferozepur and Fazilka to Ludhiana-Chandigarh in Punjab, which had been discontinued during the days of militancy, resumed; and Amritsar-Nankana Sahib bus service flagged off</li> <li>During the third round of Composite Dialogue process discussions in March 2006, both countries agreed to discuss the new shipping protocol, the deregulation of air services, the joint registration of basmati rice, an increase in the size of Pakistan's positive list, proposals for information-technology-related medical services and export insurance by India, and work on a memorandum of understanding for cooperation in capital markets by Pakistan.</li> </ul>	
2006- 07	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 Jammu and Kashmir Roundtables in New Delhi and Srinagar</li> <li>India and Pakistan signed a revised shipping protocol that removed restrictions on lifting third country cargo, in place since 1975.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Samjhauta Express bombings</li> </ul>
2007- 08	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wagah-Attari truck movement - the first overland truck route between India and Pakistan opened in 60 years. Indian and Pakistani trucks were allowed to unload cargo on each other's territory</li> <li>India and Pakistan signed an agreement allowing regular contact between India's Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA) and Pakistan's Institute for Strategic Studies (ISS).</li> </ul>	
2008- 09	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>India joined a framework agreement between Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan on a USD 7.6 billion gas pipeline project.</li> <li>Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh formally announced the opening of several trade routes between the two countries: Wagah-Atari road link, Khokhrapar-Munnabao rail link, as well as cross-LoC Srinagar-Muzaffarabad and Poonch-Rawalakot roads</li> <li>Cross-LoC trade commenced, limited to 21 items and two days a week</li> <li>Economic Coordination Committee (ECC) of Pakistan permitted the Commerce Ministry to increase the number of items traded between the two countries from then 1938 in a phased manner; trade through the road link restricted to 14 items.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mumbai attacks of 2008</li> </ul>
2009- 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Positive list increased to 1934 items; Pakistan lifted the ban on importing diesel from India but did not allow import of petrol.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh ruled out the resumption of the Composite Dialogue Process.</li> </ul>

Years	Positive Developments	Negative Developments
2010- 11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Afghanistan and Pakistan signed an amended transit trade agreement, the Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA). It allows Afghanistan products to be exported to India through Pakistan via the land route. However, the APTTA does not allow India's exports to Afghanistan through Pakistan.</li> <li>Composite Dialogue resumed; Indian Prime Minister invited his Pakistani counterpart to watch the World Cup semi-final in Mohali, India.</li> </ul>	
2011- 12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The 5th round of India -Pakistan Commerce Secretary level talks took place in Islamabad, establishing a working group dedicated to addressing and resolving sector-specific barriers to trade. It was decided that Pakistan would remove its restrictions on trade by land route as soon as the infrastructure in Wagah was ready. The scope of cooperation was expanded to include electricity, petroleum, cotton seeds, banking, visas, railways, and the integration of chambers. More importantly, the joint statement mentioned that the granting of MFN status to India would help increase bilateral trade.</li> <li>Customs Liaison Border Committee (CLBC) was setup. It was decided to set up a telephone hotline at Attari International Railway station for improved communication.</li> <li>Anand Sharma, Indian Minister for Commerce and Industry, invited his Pakistani counterpart to New Delhi. This was the first visit by a commerce minister from Pakistan to India in 35 years. The major outcome of this visit was the political ownership of the trade normalization process. The two ministers agreed to: full normalization of trade relations, dismantling of NTBs, full implementation of obligations under SAFTA</li> <li>To allay the fears of Pakistani exporters, interactive sessions were arranged between Indian import regulators and private sector companies. The first one was held in New Delhi on September 29, 2011.</li> <li>Pakistan approved Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status for India as part of a plan to normalise bilateral trade with India. During the 6th Round of Commerce Secretary Level Talks in November 2011 at New Delhi, both countries agreed to develop mechanisms to address issues of Non-Tariff Barriers. The two countries initialed three agreements i.e., Customs Cooperation Agreement, Mutual Recognition Agreement and Redressal of Trade Grievances Agreement. The sequencing of trade normalization was chalked out, and it was decided that following a move to a negative list by February 2012, the negative list would ultimately be phased out by the end of 2012.</li> <li>Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced his intention to move toward a Preferential Trade Agreement with Pakistan under SAFTA that will lead to zero customs duty on all traded goods by 2016</li> <li>The 6th SAFTA ministerial meeting was held in February 2012. This coincided with the holding of the "Made in India" exhibition in Lahore, where large numbers of Indian exhibitors participated. At about the same time, following an invitation from his Pakistani counterpart, the Indian commerce minister—along with a business delegation—visited Pakistan from February 13–16, 2012. This marked the first-ever visit by an Indian commerce minister to Pakistan. The announcement of a switch-over from a positive to a negative list was to be made during this visit.</li> </ul>	
2012- 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ICP Attari inaugurated jointly by the Union Home Minister of India and Chief Minister of Punjab. Pakistan agreed to remove its present restriction on the number of commodities traded by land route through Wagah, once the construction of new infrastructure is completed.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>During the Indian Commerce Minister's visit to Pakistan, announcement from positive to negative list not made by Pakistan. However, the two ministers agreed that when Pakistan notifies its negative list, India would reduce its sensitive list, per SAFTA strictures, February 2012</li> </ul>

Years	Positive Developments	Negative Developments
2012- 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Exhibition 'Lifestyle Pakistan' in India in April, where Pakistan's commerce minister was accompanied by a trade mission of more than 100 businessmen</li> <li>India officially overturned its ban on foreign investment from Pakistan, except for defense, space, and atomic energy</li> <li>India and Pakistan signed visa agreement easing travel restrictions for businessmen and introducing a new category of group tourism. The Foreign Ministers also expanded cross-LoC CBMs to allow travel for tourism and pilgrimage</li> <li>Pakistan abolished its positive list of 2000 items and replaced it with negative list of about 1209 goods</li> <li>New Delhi removed a ban on Pakistani businesses setting up operations inside India</li> <li>Islamabad announced new measures to boost capacity on its side of the Attari-Wagah border, including the installation of additional scanners and weighbridges, and the deployment of more customs officials</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pakistani government announced that it could not conclude an oil trade deal with India.</li> <li>After Pakistan removed agricultural goods from its negative list, farmers – a large component of Pakistan's labour force – threatened to block agricultural imports from India.</li> </ul>
2014- 15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Commerce Ministers agreed to establish reciprocal Non-Discriminatory Market Access (NDMA), January 2014</li> <li>India Show held in Lahore to promote Indian products in Pakistan, February 2014</li> <li>Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif joined swearing in ceremony of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Both held talks expressing willingness to begin a new era of bilateral relations.</li> <li>Indian Foreign Secretary S Jaishankar and his Pakistani counterpart Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry met for foreign secretary-level talks.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Indian Commerce Minister Anand Sharma scheduled to be present at the inauguration of India Show in Lahore, cancelled his visit on the ground that Pakistan had not responded to New Delhi's letter on expeditious implementation of its concerns, including NDMA, February 2014</li> <li>India cancelled talks with Pakistan's foreign minister after the Pakistani high commissioner in India met with separatist leaders from J&amp;K</li> </ul>
2015- 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met for diplomatic talks in Ufa, Russia; they decided to hold NSA-level talks and Narendra Modi accepted the invitation to visit Pakistan for the SAARC summit in 2016; Another meeting on the sidelines of the CoP21 meeting in Paris, signaling an attempt to normalize relations</li> <li>Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj joined Heart of Asia conference in Islamabad and expressed Indian willingness to join Afghanistan-Pakistan trade and transit agreement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NSA level talks in Delhi cancelled after the Pakistan High Commission in India insisted on inviting Hurriyat leaders for a reception in honor of Pakistan NSA</li> <li>On Eid, Pakistani troopers refused to accept sweets from their Indian counterparts at the Wagah-Attari border, breaking tradition.</li> </ul>



Years	Positive Developments	Negative Developments
2015- 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Indian Prime Minister made a surprise visit to Lahore on Pakistan Prime Minister's birthday and wedding of his grand-daughter</li> <li>India and Pakistan extended agreement related to rail communication until January 2019 in respect of both goods and passenger traffic; and extended maritime cooperation memorandum of understanding for five years</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attack in Gurdaspur and on Pathankot Air Force Station in Punjab in India</li> </ul>
2016- 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attack in Uri in Jammu and Kashmir in India</li> <li>19th SAARC Summit to be held in Islamabad got cancelled after Uri attacks, leading to indefinite postponement of the summit</li> </ul>	
2018- 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prime Minister Imran Khan laid the foundation stone for the Kartarpur Corridor linking Darbar Sahib with Dera Baba Nanak</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attack in Pulwama in Jammu and Kashmir</li> <li>MFN Withdrawal and Customs duty hike to 200% by India</li> <li>Balakot air strikes followed by airspace closure by Pakistan and subsequently, by India</li> </ul>
2019-20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>After complete trade ban in August, Pakistan allowed trade of life saving drugs with India</li> <li>Inauguration of Kartarpur corridor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Suspension of cross-LoC trade by India</li> <li>Suspension of bilateral trade by Pakistan post the Jammu and Kashmir Reorganization Bill</li> </ul>

## Annexure - C Brainstorming with Stakeholders

Location	Category	Details
Amritsar	Stakeholder Groups	Dry Date Importers Cement Importers Gypsum Importers Rock Salt Importers Customs House Agents (CHAs) Attari Truck Union Dhaba Owners in Attari Fuel Stations in Attari and Chidden Mechanics and Parking Managers, Attari
	Market Survey	Majith Mandi
Jammu & Kashmir	Stakeholder Groups	Traders in Uri Traders in Poonch
Delhi	Chambers	Indian Importers Chambers of Commerce & Industry (IICCI)
	Market Survey	Khari Baoli INA Market
Indore	Chambers	Soyabean Processors Association of India (SOPA)
	Market Survey	Siyaganj Market Choithram Mandi
Hyderabad	Stakeholder Groups	Textile Importers Gem & Jewelry Exporters
	Market Survey	Madina Market Lakdi ka Pul Market Afzal Gunj Abids Commercial Centre
Mumbai	Stakeholder Groups	Customs House Agents (CHAs)
	Market Survey	Crawford Market Mohammed Ali Road

## India's Imports from Pakistan (Month-on-Month) USD million

HS Code	Commodity	Feb, 2018	Feb, 2019
25232910	Ordinary Portland Cement, Dry	6.87	3.78
8041030	Dry Dates Hard (Chhohara Or Kharek)	7.68	3.24
9109914	Ajwan Seed (Bishop Seed)	0.16	0.99
27139000	Othr Resdus Of Petrlm Oils/Of Oils Obtained From Bituminous Minerals	-	0.71
63109010	Woollen Rags	1.01	0.55
63109040	Synthetic Rags	0.77	0.42
41044900	Other Grain Of Bovine In Dry State (Crust)	0.63	0.36
26060090	Other Aluminium Ores And Concentrates	1.82	0.19
25201010	Natural Gypsum And Anhydrite	1.78	0.8
41071900	Other Whole Hids/Skins	1.28	0.02
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>33.47</b>	<b>18.56</b>

HS Code	Commodity	Mar, 2018	Mar, 2019
52094200	Denim	0.18	0.57
63109010	Woollen Rags	0.79	0.32
61046200	Trsrs,Bibs,Brc Ovrlls,Brchs,Shrts Of Cotn	0.01	0.14
63109010	Synthetic Rags	0.61	0.14
25010020	Rock Salt	0.33	0.08
22072000	Ethyl Alchl And Othr Spirits Denaturd Of Anystrunghth	0.17	0.1
25232910	Ordinary Portland Cement, Dry	7.26	-
8041030	Dry Dates Hard (Chhohara Or Kharek)	6.05	-
26060090	Other Aluminium Ores And Concentrates	2.53	-
25201010	Natural Gypsum And Anhydrite	2.36	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>34.61</b>	<b>2.84</b>

HS Code	Commodity	Apr, 2018	Apr, 2019
25010020	Rock Salt	0.27	0.15
22072000	Ethyl Alchl And Othr Spirits Denaturd Of Anystrunghth	0.11	0.12
52094200	Denim	0.7	0.07
61046200	Trsrs,Bibs,Brc Ovrlls,Brchs,Shrts Of Cotn	-	0.06
28352690	Other Calcium Phosphate	0.04	0.06
25232910	Ordinary Portland Cement, Dry	6.68	-
8041030	Dry Dates Hard (Chhohara Or Kharek)	5.19	-
26060090	Other Aluminium Ores And Concentrates	2.38	-
27101990	Other Petroleum Oils And Oils Obtaine Frombituminous Minerals Nes	2.27	-
25201010	Natural Gypsum And Anhydrite	2.15	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>31.76</b>	<b>2.61</b>

HS Code	Commodity	May, 2018	May, 2019
12074090	Other Sesamum Seeds W/N Broken	-	0.43
62159010	Ties,Bow Ties And Cravats Of Cotton	-	0.41
52094200	Denim	0.46	0.17
22072000	Ethyl Alchl And Othr Spirits Denaturd Of Anystrunghth	0.2	0.16
25010020	Rock Salt	0.24	0.12
25232910	Ordinary Portland Cement, Dry	6.03	-
8041030	Dry Dates Hard (Chhohara Or Kharek)	5.32	-
26060090	Other Aluminium Ores And Concentrates	3.25	-
25201010	Natural Gypsum And Anhydrite	2.45	-
41071900	Other Whole Hids/Skins	1.25	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>33.43</b>	<b>3.33</b>

HS Code	Commodity	June, 2018	June, 2019
52094200	Denim	0.4	0.53
25010020	Rock Salt	0.28	0.17
22072000	Ethyl Alchl And Othr Spirits Denaturd Of Anystrunghth	0.1	0.16
60063200	Othr Knitd Or Crochetd Fbrcs Of Syn Fibrs, Dyed	-	0.07
8023100	Walnuts Frsh Or Dried In Shell	-	0.05
25232910	Ordinary Portland Cement, Dry	5.69	-
8041030	Dry Dates Hard (Chhohara Or Kharek)	4.87	-
26060090	Other Aluminium Ores And Concentrates	1.55	-
25201010	Natural Gypsum And Anhydrite	1.54	-
28362020	Disodium Carbonate Light	0.84	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>41.79</b>	<b>1.20</b>

HS Code	Commodity	Aug, 2018	Aug, 2019
8023100	Walnuts Frsh Or Dried In Shell	0.06	0.21
25010020	Rock Salt	0.23	0.11
8041030	Dry Dates Hard (Chhohara Or Kharek)	17.01	0.05
29329900	Other Heterocyclic Compnds With Oxygen Hetero - Atom/S)	-	0.03
52094200	Denim	0.3	0.03
22072000	Ethyl Alchl And Othr Spirits Denaturd Of Anystrunghth	0.15	0.1
25232910	Ordinary Portland Cement, Dry	5.21	-
26060090	Other Aluminium Ores And Concentrates	1.46	-
28362020	Disodium Carbonate Light	0.96	-
40040000	Waste,Parings And Scrap Of Rubr(Besides Hardrubr) And Pwdr 9 Grnls Obtained Therefrom	0.92	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>66.49</b>	<b>1.46</b>

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India

HS Code	Commodity	July, 2018	July, 2019
52094200	Denim	0.28	1.01
25010020	Rock Salt	0.25	0.27
38089199	Other Insecticide Nes	-	0.12
22072000	Ethyl Alchl And Othr Spirits Denaturd Of Anystrunghth	-	0.1
13019039	Other Gum Resins	0.07	0.05
25232910	Ordinary Portland Cement, Dry	5.12	-
8041030	Dry Dates Hard (Chhohara Or Kharek)	2.52	-
26060090	Other Aluminium Ores And Concentrates	1.53	-
25201010	Natural Gypsum And Anhydrite	1.11	-
63109010	Woollen Rags	0.84	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>43.83</b>	<b>2.85</b>

## India's Exports to Pakistan (Month-on-Month) USD million

HS Code	Commodity	Feb, 2018	Feb, 2019
52010015	Indian Cotton Of Staple Length 28.5mm (1.4/32) And Above But Below 34.5mm	70.5	21.13
52052410	Grey2401	6.75	5.16
29173600	Terephthalic Acid And Its Salts	2.86	4.69
39021000	Polypropylene	9.03	2.48
39011010	Linear Low Density Polyethylene (Lldpe)	0.94	2.34
10071000	Seed	1.79	2.19
72023000	Ferro-Silico-Manganese	4.87	1.88
12099190	Vegetable Seeds For Planting N.E.S.	2.53	1.4
54072090	Othr Wven Fbrcs From Strip/The Like	0.16	1.55
29024300	P-Xylene	15.01	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>222.49</b>	<b>126.49</b>

HS Code	Commodity	Mar, 2018	Mar, 2019
29024300	P-Xylene	15.38	27.73
52010015	Indian Cotton Of Staple Length 28.5mm (1.4/32) And Above But Below 34.5mm	64.16	13.87
84452013	Cotton Spinning Ring Frames	2.82	5.15
39021000	Polypropylene	3.11	4.73
52052410	Grey2401	5.84	4.28
10051000	Maize Seed	2.27	4.07
72023000	Ferro-Silico-Manganese	6.15	1.74
9093129	Other Seeds Of Cummin Excl. Black; Neither Crushed Nor Ground	5.01	1.59
30022029	Other Mixed Vaccine	4.04	0.01
7132000	Chickpeas (Garbanzos) Dried And Shld	9.01	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>251.54</b>	<b>171.34</b>

HS Code	Commodity	Apr, 2018	Apr, 2019
29024300	P-Xylene	23.58	50.56
52052410	Grey2401	4.21	6.57
73082011	Towers For TransmissiOn Line W/N Assembled	-	4.28
76141000	Stranded Wire,Cbls Etc Wth Steel Core	-	4.24
29024100	O-Xylene	1.91	4.08
17019990	Othr Refnd Sugar Includng Centrifugal Sugr	0	3.52
72023000	Ferro-Silico-Manganese	4.87	3.36
9093129	Other Seeds Of Cummin Excl. Black; Neither Crushed Nor Ground	4.85	3.05
10071000	Seed	2.28	1.98
29214290	Other Amino Sulphonic Aniline Etc Nes	2.12	0.96
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>202.73</b>	<b>177.68</b>

HS Code	Commodity	May, 2018	May, 2019
29024300	P-Xylene	20.91	10.59
84452013	Cotton Spinning Ring Frames	0.19	5.95
39021000	Polypropylene	3.5	5.9
17019990	Othr Refnd Sugar Includng Centrifugal Sugr	-	5.7
52052410	Grey2401	4.22	4.9
52010015	Indian Cotton Of Staple Length 28.5mm (1.4/32) And Above But Below 34.5mm	42.23	3.91
9093129	Other Seeds Of Cummin Excl. Black; Neither Crushed Nor Ground	3.14	3.63
72023000	Ferro-Silico-Manganese	4.77	2.22
29024100	O-Xylene	4.42	1.73
10051000	Maize Seed	4.23	1.33
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>62.24</b>	<b>58.67</b>

HS Code	Commodity	June, 2018	June, 2019
29024300	P-Xylene	10.67	12.22
17019990	Othr Refnd Sugar Includng Centrifugal Suger	0	10.2
52052410	Grey2401	4.15	4.01
39021000	Polypropylene	8.78	3.16
52051310	Grey	2.04	2.86
30022029	Other Mixed Vaccine	0.6	2.71
72023000	Ferro-Silico-Manganese	2.72	2.05
9093129	Other Seeds Of Cummin Excl. Black; Neither Crushed Nor Ground	3.2	0.89
63079090	Othr Made Up Artcls Othr Thn Cotton	2.71	0.06
29173600	Terephthalic Acid And Its Salts	4.37	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>164.97</b>	<b>126.39</b>

HS Code	Commodity	Aug, 2018	Aug, 2019
29024300	P-Xylene	12.84	11.59
39021000	Polypropylene	2.55	4.57
73082011	Towers For TransmissiOn Line W/N Assembled	-	4.15
52010015	Indian Cotton Of Staple Length 28.5mm (1.4/32) And Above But Below 34.5mm	10.1	2.03
27101950	Fuel Oil	1.85	1.79
72023000	Ferro-Silico-Manganese	2.48	1.51
52051310	Grey	4.92	1.04
52052410	Grey2401	6.45	0.57
29214290	Other Amino Sulphonic Aniline Etc Nes	3.23	0.19
30022019	Other Single Vaccine	5.35	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>155.73</b>	<b>52.32</b>

Source: Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India

HS Code	Commodity	July, 2018	July, 2019
29024300	P-Xylene	23.18	30.54
17019990	Othr Refnd Sugar Includng Centrifugal Suger	-	3.67
54072030	Dyed Wven Fbrcs From Strip/The Like	0.12	3.54
52052410	Grey2401	4.48	2.86
84452013	Cotton Spinning Ring Frames	0.55	2.77
39021000	Polypropylene	2.16	2.69
29024100	O-Xylene	4.49	2.52
30022029	Other Mixed Vaccine	5.17	0.62
52010015	Indian Cotton Of Staple Length 28.5mm (1.4/32) And Above But Below 34.5mm	6.54	0.45
29173600	Terephthalic Acid And Its Salts	7.6	-
	<b>Monthly Total</b>	<b>156.27</b>	<b>120.71</b>



### Cross-LoC Trade, by Value 2008-19

Year	Salamabad, Uri		Chakan-da-Bagh, Poonch	
	Trade In PKR	Trade Out INR	Trade In PKR	Trade Out INR
2008-09	2,46,00,000	1,36,25,000	54,63,545	34,51,486
2009-10	92,41,49,000	71,80,46,000	1,21,62,67,025	68,24,76,513
2010-11	2,60,43,39,000	1,56,47,56,000	1,74,16,82,975	92,92,56,112
2011-12	4,07,72,28,000	2,44,35,43,000	1,25,13,88,511	74,88,43,111
2012-13	5,66,74,89,000	3,24,72,51,000	91,00,39,104	47,96,73,394
2013-14	4,05,26,95,000	2,72,38,84,000	1,08,35,25,075	75,20,43,792
2014-15	6,11,19,82,000	3,77,75,50,000	1,99,81,37,421	1,31,07,68,404
2015-16	6,51,57,29,000	5,32,36,51,000	2,00,78,14,534	1,08,17,44,092
2016-17	5,95,98,61,000	3,64,30,72,000	2,62,18,56,217	1,63,08,64,325
2017-18	5,12,46,00,000	4,07,91,90,000	1,01,40,24,122	1,10,23,46,775
2018-19	4,45,73,60,000	3,23,11,33,000	63,38,99,283	74,64,30,997
<b>Total</b>	<b>45,52,00,32,000</b>	<b>30,76,57,01,000</b>	<b>14,48,40,97,812</b>	<b>9,46,78,99,001</b>

Source: Data Collected from Trade Facilitation Centres, Uri and Poonch, 2019

### Cross-LoC Trade, by Value, 2008-19 (in USD mn)

Year	Salamabad, Uri			Chakan-da-Bagh, Poonch			Total Yearly	Exchange Rate	
	Trade In	Trade Out	Total	Trade In	Trade Out	Total		USD/ INR <sup>47</sup>	USD/ PKR <sup>48</sup>
2008-09	0.33	0.30	0.62	0.07	0.08	0.15	0.77	45.93	75.61
2009-10	11.12	15.14	26.25	14.63	14.39	29.02	55.27	47.44	83.12
2010-11	30.47	34.34	64.82	20.38	20.40	40.78	105.60	45.56	85.46
2011-12	46.23	50.99	97.22	14.19	15.63	29.82	127.03	47.92	88.2
2012-13	59.13	59.69	118.82	9.49	8.82	18.31	137.13	54.4	95.85
2013-14	39.39	45.02	84.41	10.53	12.43	22.96	107.37	60.5	102.89
2014-15	60.59	61.79	122.38	19.81	21.44	41.25	163.63	61.14	100.87
2015-16	62.69	81.33	144.01	19.32	16.53	35.84	179.86	65.46	103.94
2016-17	56.91	54.37	111.28	25.03	24.34	49.38	160.66	67	104.73
2017-18	47.41	63.12	110.52	9.38	17.06	26.44	136.96	64.63	108.1
2018-19	34.13	46.26	80.39	4.85	10.69	15.54	95.92	69.85	130.61
<b>Total</b>	<b>448.38</b>	<b>512.34</b>	<b>960.73</b>	<b>85.7</b>	<b>89.27</b>	<b>309.47</b>	<b>1,270.20</b>		

Source: Data Collected from Trade Facilitation Centres, Uri and Poonch, 2019

### Number of Trucks crossed for Cross-LoC Trade, 2008-19

Year	Salamabad, Uri			Chakan-da-Bagh, Poonch			Total Yearly
	Number of trucks for trade-out	Number of trucks for trade-in	Total	Number of trucks for trade-out	Number of trucks for trade-in	Total	
2008-09	180	219	399	42	23	65	464
2009-10	1,830	2,662	4,492	1,492	1,560	3,052	7,544
2010-11	3,650	2,413	6,063	1,836	1,626	3,462	9,525
2011-12	4,406	2,960	7,366	2,020	1,255	3,275	10,641
2012-13	7,519	4,119	11,638	1,514	905	2,419	14,057
2013-14	5,152	3,299	8,451	2,151	1,231	3,382	11,833
2014-15	5,476	2,458	7,934	3,675	1,296	4,971	12,905
2015-16	4,323	2,179	6,502	3,220	1,063	4,283	10,785
2016-17	4,726	2,653	7,379	3,418	1,682	5,100	12,479
2017-18	5,193	2,539	7,732	2,770	999	3,769	11,501
2018-19	3,912	3,251	7,163	1,494	722	2,216	9,379
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>46,367</b>	<b>28,752</b>	<b>75,119</b>	<b>23,632</b>	<b>12,362</b>	<b>35,994</b>	<b>1,11,113</b>

Source: Data Collected from Trade Facilitation Centres, Uri and Poonch, 2019

47 Source: Reserve Bank of India

48 Source: USD PKR Historical Data, www.investing.com

## List of Product Categories Allowed to be Traded Across the LoC

S. No	Trade-In Products (to Uri/Poonch)	Trade-Out Products (from Uri/Poonch)
1	Rice	Carpets
2	Jahnamaz and Tusbies	Rugs
3	Precious stones	Wall hangings
4	Gabbas	Shawls and stoles
5	Namdas	Namdas
6	Peshawari leather chappals	Gabbas
7	Medicinal herbs	Embroidered items including crewels
8	Maize and maize products	Furniture including walnut furniture
9	Fresh fruits and vegetables	Wooden handicrafts
10	Dry fruits including walnuts	Fresh fruits and Vegetables
11	Honey	Dry fruits including walnuts
12	Moongi	Saffron
13	Imli	Aromatic Plants
14	Black Mushrooms	Fruit bearing plants
15	Furniture including walnut furniture	Dania, moongi, imli and black mushrooms
16	Wooden handicrafts	Kashmiri spices
17	Carpets and rugs	Rajmah
18	Wall hangings	Honey
19	Embroidered items	Papier mache products
20	Foam mattresses, cushions and pillows	Spring, Rubberised coir/foam mattresses, cushions, pillows and quilts
21	Shawls and stoles	Medicinal herbs

Source: Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, India

## Top Products Actually Traded across the LoC (2018-19)

S. No	Trade-In Products		Trade-Out Products	
	To Uri	To Poonch	From Uri	From Poonch
1	Kinnow (Mandarin hybrid)	Hard-shelled Almond	Banana	Jeera (Cumin)
2	Mango	Medicinal Herbs	Jeera (Cumin)	Imli (Tamarind)
3	Medicinal Herb	Walnut	Chilli flakes	Banana
4	Walnuts		Embroidered items	Grapes
5	Dates		Almond Giri (Kernel) & Almond	Pineapple
6	Pista (Pistachio)		Seasonal Fruits and Vegetables	

Source: Direct Interaction with traders in Uri and Poonch, 2019

## Number of Registered Traders (2018-19)

TFC	Number of Registered Traders
Chakothi (Muzaffarabad)	120
Tatrinote (Rawalakot)	350
Salamabad (Uri)	230
Poonch	380

Source: Direct Interaction with traders in Uri and Poonch, 2019

PORTERS

Bikramjit Singh	Jaspal Singh	Rajinder Singh	Saijan Singh	Sukhwant Singh	Saab Singh	Lakhbir Singh	Ranjit Singh	Gulzar Singh	Sukhwinder Singh	Dilbagh Singh	Gurmit Singh	Jasbir Singh
Gain Singh	Tarsem Singh	Major Singh	Sahab Singh	Balbir Singh	Gurbhej Singh	Sukhwant Singh	Balbir Singh	Kashmir Singh	Baldev Singh	Tarlok Singh	Buta Singh	Amarjit Singh
Ranjit Singh	Major Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Major Singh	Malkit Singh	Sukhchain Singh	Harpreet Singh	Major Singh	Sawinder Singh	Amarjit Singh	Partap Singh	Kuldeep Singh
Samser Singh	Anokh Singh	Ladi Singh	Satnam Singh	Shinder Singh	Rinku Singh	Parshotam Singh	Varinder	Balwinder Singh	Lakhwinder Singh	Karnail Singh	Hardev Singh	Samma Singh
Resham Singh	Sukhchain Singh	Fagan Singh	Heera Singh	Sahab Singh	Dharm Singh	Kulwant Singh	Dharam Singh	Prem Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Balwinder Singh	Rachpinder Singh	Harpal Singh
Nirvail Singh	Jaimalsingh	Baldev Singh	Samail Singh	Baldir Singh	Balbir Singh	Sawinder Singh	Jatinder Singh	Sawan Singh	Sukhram	Raju	Kulwinder Singh	Gurpeet Singh
Surjit Singh	Surjit Singh	Gurmeet Singh	Dilbagh Singh	Sukha Singh	Kashmir Singh	Dalbir Singh	Malkit Singh	Tarsem Singh	Manohar Singh	Karamjit Singh	Sarwan Singh	Gurdev Singh
Harjit Singh	Malkit Singh	Vinay Singh	Raju Singh	Partap Singh	Surjit Singh	Rajinder Singh	Jatinder Singh	Balwinder Singh	Mukhtiar Singh	Balwinder Singh	Resham Singh	Narinjan Singh
Iqbal Singh	Harjit Singh	Mukha Singh	Bikramjit Singh	Jagmohan Singh	Ranjit Singh	Sukhwinder Singh	Arwinder Singh	Sakhwinder Singh	Bakshish Singh	Jagtar Singh	Balwinder Singh	Sarwan Singh
Sukhdev Singh	Gurmukh Singh	Harvinder Singh	Ranjit Singh	Jagtar Singh	Pargat Singh	Mohinder Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Sulakhan Singh	Subeg Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Surjit Singh	Balwinder Singh
Sukhwinder Singh	Bunty	Dalbir Singh	Tarlok Singh	Sawinder Singh	Harjinder Singh	Varyam Singh	Jaspal Singh	Buta Singh	Gurpeet Singh	Paramjit Singh	Harjit Singh	Sham Singh
Sardool Singh	Sukhwinder Singh	Mangal Singh	Pargat Singh	Angrej Singh	Joginder Singh	Jagir Singh	Harpal Singh	Mehar Chand	Hardeep Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Hardev Singh	Sahib Singh
Jaspal Singh	Partap Singh	Tarsem Singh	Gurdip Singh	Charanjit Singh	Major Singh	Sukhwant Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Dayal Singh	Hardeep Singh	Rajinder Singh	Subeg Singh	Diyal Singh
Dilbagh Singh	Jatinder Singh	Kashmir Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Inderjit Singh	Sukhwinder Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Narinderpal Singh	Rattan Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Pal Singh	Hi Ra Singh
Sawinder Singh	Baldev Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Sukhraj Singh	Balbeer Singh	Sandeep Singh	Kharak Singh	Sahib Singh	Baldev Singh	Amrik Singh	Sahib Singh	Sarbjit Singh	Vijay Singh
Vasan Singh	Harjit Singh	Kala Singh	Nirmal Singh	Gulshan Singh	Lakhwinder Singh	Lal Singh	Mandeep Singh	Angrej Singh	Hira Singh	Sahib Singh	Kaptan Singh	Jaspal Singh
Jagjit Singh	Gurbachan Singh	Vahegurupal Singh	Partap Singh	Puran Singh	Chanchal Singh	Sahib Singh	Harjinder Singh	Gurvail Singh	Kala Singh	Sukha Singh	Pargat Singh	Harpreet Singh
Arunbir Singh	Sarmail Singh	Puran Singh	Gurdeep Singh	Balwinder Singh	Swaran Singh	Ninder Singh	Raval Singh	Karaj Singh	Gurdial Singh	Kulwinder Singh	Ram Singh	Amrik Singh
Jaswant Singh	Sahib Singh	Sarwan Singh	Sarmail Singh	Swaran Singh	Paramjeet Singh	Balwinder Singh	Kuldip Singh	Gurjit Singh	Gurmukh Singh	Jagtar Singh	Balwinder Singh	Ranjit Singh

Mangal Singh	Sakatar Singh	Sawinder Singh	Massa Singh	Lovejit Singh	Vagir Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Baljinder Singh	Paramjit Singh	Ranjit Singh	Satnam Singh	Karaj Singh	Baj Singh
Nirmal Singh	Balwant Singh	Gurcharan Singh	Sham Singh	Avtar Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Jagtar Singh	Dilbag Singh	Mangal Singh	Sawinder Singh	Pargat Singh	Dalbir Singh	Prem Singh
Sinda Singh	Ram Singh	Roshan Singh	Amrik Singh	Paramjit Singh	Lakhwinder Singh	Captain Singh	Kashmir Singh	Jasbir Singh	Kuldip Singh	Surjit Singh	Balwinder Singh	Rajinder Singh
Bitta Singh	Balwinder Singh	Kartar Singh	Tara Singh	Davinder Singh	Amrik Singh	Resam Singh	Satnam Singh	Nishan Singh	Desa Singh	Arjan Singh	Malkeet Singh	Mukhtatar Singh
Gurpal Singh	Major Singh	Gurvel Singh	Jaspal Singh	Rubinder Singh	Jaspal Singh	Balbir Chand	Sukho	Balwinder Singh	Sawinder Singh	Paramjit Singh	Kashmir Singh	Shamsher Singh
Jassa Singh	Ravinder Singh	Surjit Singh	Sandeep Singh	Jaspal Singh	Mahil Singh	Paramjit Singh	Chanan Singh	Chand Singh	Resham Singh	Mukhtiar Singh	Balwinder Singh	Jagraj Singh
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Gurcharan Singh	Hardev Singh	Prem Singh	Guljar Singh	Gurpal Singh	Jasbir Singh	Sawinder Singh	Baljinder Singh	Mewa Singh	Balwinder Singh	Resham Singh	Saijan Singh	Jagtar Singh
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Sherbir Singh	Karam Singh	Sormail Singh	Harjeet Singh	Parkash Singh	Jagir Singh	Kashmir Singh	Pargat Singh	Baldev Singh	Mangat Singh	Sarwan Singh	Gora Singh	Kabir Singh
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Source: Direct Interactions with Central Warehousing Corporation (CWC), ICP Attari



## HELPERS

Balkar Singh	Surjit Singh	Pargat Singh	Satnam Singh	Gurbinder Singh	Swaran Singh	Gurjit Singh	Daljit Singh	Pargat Singh	Sukhraj Singh	Balwinder Singh	Sukhchan Singh	Akash-deep Singh
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Bikramjit Singh	Diwan Singh	Petar Singh	Jagtar Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Soni Singh	Nirmal Singh	Kabal Singh	Dilbag Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Partap Singh	Hardeep Singh	Kuldeep Singh
Gurjant Singh	Gurjit Singh	Sukhraj Singh	Harpal Singh	Ajy Singh	Ranjit Singh	Savinder Singh	Manjit Singh	Gursahib Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Dilbagh Singh	Harpreet Singh	Akash-deep Singh
Sartaj Singh	Jaswinder Singh	Ranjit Singh	Harwinder Singh	Gurmeet Singh	Jaspal Singh	Jatinder Singh	Gurvinder Singh	Harjinder Singh	Dhar-minder Singh	Hardev Singh	Baou Singh	Ranjeet Singh
Surjit Singh	Mandeep Singh	Gurjant Singh	Darbara Singh	Bhagwant Singh	Rakesh Kumar	Sukh-winder Singh	Raja Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Gurjeet Singh	Lakhbir Singh	Resham Singh	Soni
Naresh Singh	Gurjant Singh	Harpreet Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Jagdish Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Nishan Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Karma Singh	Pritpal Singh	Narinder Singh	Surrender Singh	Chand Singh
Sher Singh	Harjinder Singh	Harpreet Singh	Harman Singh	Paramjit Singh	Harjinder Singh	Bikramjit Singh	Ranjit Singh	Ajaypal Singh	Mangal Singh	Mejar Singh	Sawinder Singh	Davinder Singh
Nand Singh	Surjit Singh	Randeep Singh	Harpal Singh	Hardeep Singh	Rajvinder Singh	Bhagwan Singh	Sukhwant Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Gurcharan Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Balwinder Singh	Hardev Singh
Sukhraj Singh	Pargat Singh	Amarjit Singh	Balwinder Singh	Harpal Singh	Major Singh	Savinder Singh	Rashpal Singh	Gurpar-tap Singh	Daljit Singh	Sahib Singh	Mandeep Singh	Palwinder Masih
Jodha Singh	Dilbag Singh	Vijay Singh	Neeta	Vicky Singh	Baldev Singh	Jaideep Singh	Resham Singh	Ranjit Singh	Jagtar Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Man-jinder Singh	Harpreet Singh
Gurpreet Singh	Harpal Singh	Surjit Singh	Jasbir Singh	Gurdev Singh	Sajjan Singh	Sukh-winder Singh	Avtar Singh	Jobandeep Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Kuldip Singh	Gurbej Singh	Gurlal Singh
Sukh-preet Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Sukhchan Singh	Gurwinder Singh	Mehal Singh	Mangal Singh	Hardev Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Sawinder Singh	Shlo Singh	Baljit Singh	Satta Singh	Talwinder Singh
Gurjant Singh	Gurpatap Singh	Jagdeep Singh	Sarwan Singh	Karaj Singh	Pawn Singh	Ajaypal Singh	Mangat Singh	Sharan-jeet Singh	Savinder Singh	Heera Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Gurpreet Singh
Mantej Singh	Sharanjit Singh	Ranjit Singh	Kulbir Singh	Sonu Singh	Surjit Singh	Nishan Singh	Rajwinder Singh	Tarsem Singh	Lab Singh	Mandeep Singh	Jaswant Singh	Amrik Singh
Sukhdev Singh	Mangal Singh	Ranjit Singh	Badasha	Harjinder Singh	Surjit Singh	Karnail Singh	Sunny	Gursewak Singh	Rana Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Raja Singh	Kala Singh
Bikar Singh	Jagjit Singh	Raghbir Singh	Jiwan Singh	Lubha Singh	Mangal Singh	Partap Singh	Baaz Singh	Harcharan Singh	Malkit Singh	Nirmal Singh	Sonu Singh	Sarwan Singh
Gurpreet Singh	Harpreet Singh	Prem Singh	Malkit Singh	Dharambir Singh	Amrik Singh	Hardeep Singh	Amrik Singh	Gurpal Singh	Yograj Singh	Sona Singh	Sarwan Singh	Rajwinder Singh
Gora Singh	Harpal Singh	Bikramjit Singh	Nirvail Singh	Gurtej Singh	Rashpal Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Harpreet Singh	Gurbhaj Singh	Gurjant Singh	Ranjit Singh	Mangal Singh	Sagar Singh
Parveg Singh	Mandeep Singh	Gagan-deep Singh	Malkeet Singh	Ajay Singh	Rinku Singh	Jagpreet Singh	Lavepreet Singh	Tarsem Singh	Surjit Singh	Jaspal Singh	Major Singh	Harpreet Singh
Jagjivan Singh	Rajinder Singh	Jaskaran Singh	Gurmeet Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Mangal Singh	Geja Singh	Manpreet Singh	Angrej Singh	Mandeep Singh	Jugraj Singh	Gurbhej Singh	Ram Singh
Sukh-winder Singh	Satnam Singh	Karmjit Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Satnam Singh	Manpreet Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Davinder Singh	Mintu Singh	Rattan Singh	Mehak-deep Singh	Sukh-chain Singh	Manjit Singh
Shamsher Singh	Bhagwan Singh	Sab Singh	Madan Singh	Soni	Amrik Singh	Malkeet Singh	Dharampreet Singh	Hardiyal Singh	Aman Singh	Onkar Singh	Harpreet Singh	Shamsher Singh
Sakkatar Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Rana Singh	Resham Singh	Ravail Singh	Ranjit Singh	Gur-bakhsh Singh	Baljit Singh	Deepak Singh	Jagwinder Singh	Dilbag Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Malkit Singh
Partap Singh	Gurdev Singh	Narvail Singh	Amrat Singh	Jatinder Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Sawinder Singh	Karamjit Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Sunny	Akash-deep Singh	Raja Singh	Gagan-deep Singh
Harkawal Singh	Gurpratap Singh	Ranjit Singh	Gurdeep Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Angrej Singh	Mangta Singh	Suba Singh	Gurwinder Singh	Balbir Singh	Davinder Singh	Sona Singh	Jagdish Singh
Gurpreet Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Rashpal Singh	Kashmir Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Sher Singh	Jagtar Singh	Sonu Singh	Jagraj Singh	Rashpal Singh	Dilbag Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Balwant Singh

Balwinder Singh	Hardev Singh	Satwinder Singh	Akash-deep Singh	Harjinder Singh	Ram Lubhaya	Sahib Singh	Davinder Singh	Yudhbir Singh	Sukh-winder Singh	Harpal Singh	Nirvair Singh	Mahinder Singh
Heera Singh	Jagtar Singh	Sukh-winder Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Mangal Singh	Sukhjinder Singh	Gurjinder Singh	Sona Singh	Joban Singh	Ranjit Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Harjit Singh	Avtar Singh
Jaspal Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Surjit Singh	Pitar Singh	Vishal Singh	Sarbjit Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Major Singh	Jaideep Singh	Harnek Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Jagbir Singh	Harpreet Singh
Kaka Singh	Ravail Singh	Sukhbir Singh	Sawinder Singh	Bagga Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Sukha Singh	Pachhora Singh	Manjit Singh	Jaspreet Singh	Jasbir Singh	Parmjit Singh	Amarjit Bawa
Gurpreet Singh	Navteer Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Varinder Singh	Parmjit Singh	Harjinder Singh	Parmjit Singh	Sukhraj Singh	Sukh-winder Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Sukhraj Singh	Kuldip Singh	Palwinder Singh
Daler Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Mukand Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Resham Singh	Tarsem Singh	Harpal Singh	Jitender Singh	Sawinder Singh	Ranjit Singh	Kulwant Singh	Daya Singh	Mangal-jeet Singh
Kabal Singh	Gurjinder Singh	Jagpreet Singh	Tirath Singh	Gagan-deep Singh	Harjinder Singh	Dilbag Singh	Jagmohan Singh	Gursahib Singh	Satnam Singh	Sukh-winder Singh	Jaj Singh	Pargat Singh
Lakh-winder Singh	Nishan Singh	Karanbir Singh	Harpal Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Nirvail Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Hira Singh	Harpreet Singh	Jagroop Singh	Fuman Singh	Kulwant Singh	Joban Singh
Dhar-minder Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Satnam Singh	Darshan Singh	Harbhej Singh	Satnam Singh	Dilbag Singh	Malkit Singh	Varinder Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Harpreet Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Gurwinder Singh
Gurcharan Singh	Satnam Singh	Harpal Singh	Mangal Singh	Nirvail Singh	Saroja Singh	Jagdish Singh	Malkeet Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Harmandeep Singh	Dilbag Singh	Sandeep Singh	Sawinder Singh
Harjinder Singh	Major Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Satnam Singh	Captain Singh	Surinderpal Singh	Marak Singh	Chamkor Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Parmjeet Singh	Harwinder Singh	Balbir Singh	Harpreet Singh
Baldev Singh	Satnam Singh	Sukhraj Singh	Major Singh	Manpreet Singh	Harpal Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Avtar Singh	Jagdeep Singh	Sandeep Singh	Manbir Singh	Gurwant Singh	Gurdip Singh
Prabhjit Singh	Sonu Singh	Heera Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Punjab Singh	Baldev Singh	Shamsher Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Gurjinder Singh	Harpreet Singh	Jagtar Singh	Palwinder Singh	Malkit Singh
Jaswant Singh	Shobh-dita Singh	Gurcharan Singh	Bitu Singh	Lakhwinder Singh	Jarnail Singh	Gurbhej Singh	Ranjit Singh	Baldev Singh	Sajanpreet Singh	Rajwinder Singh	Sunny Singh	Remesh Singh
Davinder Singh	Jaspal Singh	Harjinder Singh	Pargat Singh	Jagpreet Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Deepak Singh	Roshan Singh	Roman Singh	Akash-deep Singh	Sona Singh	Satnam Singh	Rajinder Singh
Jagat Singh	Tega Singh	Jasbir Singh	Satnam Singh	Rajwinder Singh	Gurdev Singh	Jagtar Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Jaspal Singh	Rajinder Singh	Harpal Singh	Nirvail Singh	Lakhbir Singh
Buta Singh	Mandeep Singh	Sanga Singh	Gursewak Singh	Darshan Singh	Bachiter Singh	Partap Singh	Rashpal Singh	Sajan Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Inderjeet Singh	Charanjit Singh	Anoop Singh
Darinder Singh	Nirmal Singh	Karan-deep Singh	Ranjit Singh	Harjinder Singh	Mejar Singh	Gursewak Singh	Gurdev Singh	Lakhbir Singh	Hard-winder Singh	Rinkall Singh	Nishan Singh	Inderjeet Singh
Agayapal Singh	Kulwinder Singh	Mithu Singh	Tejbir Singh	Jagmohan Singh	Jaj Singh	Kammo Singh	Gurwinder Singh	Sahib Singh	Ranjodh Singh	Sukhjinder Singh	Jasbir Singh	Sukhdev Singh
Lakh-winder Masih	Jagpreet Singh	Resham Singh	Gurwinder Singh	Gursharan Singh	Kuljit Singh	Akash-deep Singh	Subeg Singh	Mangal Singh	Gurmit Singh	Sukhdev Singh	Rajwinder Singh	Happy Singh
Baljit Singh	Roshan Singh	Sharanjit Singh	Buta Singh	Sahib Singh	Harjinder Singh	Mota Singh	Lakh-winder Singh	Pritam Singh	Gurjinder Singh	Jaswant Singh	Gurpreet Singh	Jasbir Singh
Rajinder Singh	Dar-minder Singh	Jaspreet Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Jaswant Singh	Joginder Singh	Kuldeep Singh	Harpal Singh	Mandeep Singh	Surinder Singh	Pinder Singh	Roshan Singh	Gopal Singh
Sarabjit Singh	Manpreet Singh	Khajan Singh	Gurbir Singh	Khajan Singh	Gurdeep Singh	Arshdeep Singh	Kashmir Singh	Lawaljit Singh	Harbhajan Singh	Sukhhpal Singh	Balwinder Singh	Harpreet Singh
Ajay Singh	Savinder Singh	Raman-deep Singh	William Masih	Balwinder Singh	Virsa Singh	Daler Singh	Gurjit Singh	Kulbir Singh	Majar Singh	Kartar Singh	Gursewak Singh	Kuldip Singh
Harpreet Singh	Tarsem Singh	Sukh-jinder Singh	Lovepreet Singh	Gurvel Singh	Baljit Singh	Harpreet Singh	Bachitar Singh	Sahib Singh	Santokh Singh	Sajan Singh	Nishan Singh	Sher Singh
Harpreet Singh	Harmesh Singh	Sarabjit Singh	Balraj Singh	Baldev Singh	Dalbir Singh	Sukhdeep Singh	Sonu Singh	Vikramjit Singh	Amarjit Bawa	Harpal Singh	Ranjit Singh	Sukh-chain Singh

Source: Direct Interactions with Central Warehousing Corporation (CWC), ICP Attari

## MAJITH MANDI KIRANA ASSOCIATION TRADERS

A .B Trading Co. Grd. Mkt.Asr.	S.K.Vipan Kumar Prtp.G. Mm. Asr	Brijesh Enterprises Mm.Asr.	J.R.Traders ' Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Mohit Enterprises N.M.G. Kndh, Mm. Asr	Sham Sunder Banwari Lal Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.
Aditya & Company Mm. Asr.	S.Kumar Traders Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.	B.R.Arora & Co.Mm. Asr.	J.Rahul Traders Mm. Asr.	Mohar Singh Swarn Singh Mm. Asr.	Sharma Agency Rdhk. Mt. Mm. Asr.
A.G. Exports B.G. Jhs. Mm. Asr .	Sohan Lala Sons Bz.Guj.Mm.Asr	B.S.Corporation Mm. Asr .	J.Subhash T.Co. Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr	Moti Lal Sachin Kumar Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Sheetal Trading Co. Mm.Asr.
Aggarwal Trading Co. Mm. Asr .	Sohan Singh Harjit Singh Mm.Asr.	B.V. Corporation Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr .	Jugal Kishore Broker G.Tlan W. Nm. Asr.	M.R.Tandon Kt. Hrs. Mm.Asr.	Shiraj International Mm. Asr
Ajay Enterprises Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Subhash Chander & Brothers Mm.Asr.	Chiman Lal & Sons. Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Jyoti Traders Prtp.G. Mm. Asr.	Nagpal Sales Corpora-tion Bz. Nrsgh. D. Asr.	Shiv Shakti Trad-ers(Abhishek) Grnk. Mt. Bz Guj W Asr.
Amar Nath Baldev Saran Bz. Gndw. Mm. Asr.	Sunder Singh & Co. Mm.Asr	Chopra Tea Traders Dgl.Mt.Kt.Awla .Asr.	Kabul Trading Co. Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Narain Das Jugal Kishore Bz .Guj. Mm.Asr .	Shiva Ditta Mal & Co. Mm.Asr.
Amir Chand Om Prakash Mm. Asr.	Sunder Singh Jasbir Singh Mm.Asr.	Chawla Brothers G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Kahan Chand Arun Kumar Mhwr.Mt.Bznrsgh. Asr.	Narang Traders Mm.Asr.	Shri Krishan Traders Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.
Amit Trading Com. Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr .	Sudarshan Kumar Surunder Kumar Mm. Asr.	Chuni Lal Jagdish Kumar Mm. Asr.	Kahan Chand Rohit Kumar G.Gvdn..Mm. Asr.	Naresh Kumar Puri (Broker ) Bz. Bgtwla.Asr.	Shri Chatanaya Over-seas Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.
Amritsar Haldi Sales Corp. Gbb. Btr. Asr.	Suman Trading Corp. Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	Das Mal Om Prakash Mm. Asr .	Kalu Mal Moti Ram Mm.Asr.	Narinder Balwinder & Co. Prtp. G. Lllm. Asr.	Shri Radhey Enterprises (Rajan) Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.
Aman Overseas Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Sunil Kumar & Brother Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Das & Co. Gndwl.Mm.Asr.	Kalu Mal Sukhdev Raj Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr	Narinder Kumar Gupta & Co. Mm.Asr.	Shri Nath Ji Enterpris-es Dhb. Wst. R. Asr.
Amrit General Stor E Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr .	Sunil Traders Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr .	Deepak Bawa & Co. Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr .	Kalyan Singh Mohan Lal Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Narinder Pal Singh ( Broker ) Mm. Asr.	Shankar & Co. Mm.Asr.
Amar Nath Nano Lal Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.	Sunil Vermani ( Broker ) G. Jesa. S. Cwk. Moni. Asr.	Devi Dayal & Sons. G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Kamal Traders Gnk Mkt.Bz Guj. Mm.Asr	Naval Kishore & Brothers Mm. Asr.	Sikka Brothers Mm.Asr.
Anup Kumar (Broker) Mm. Asr .	Surinder Kumar Satish Kumar Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Devki & Company Mm.Asr	Kamboj Spices Gnk. Mt. Bz Guj. Mm. Asr.	Naval Kishore ( Broker ) Bz.Bgtwla . Asr.	Simran Traders G. Gvdn.Mm.Asr
Anuradha Trading Co. Mm. Asr .	S.V.Traders Mm.Asr	Dharam Pal Anil Kumar Mm. Asr .	Kanaya Lal Broker K-3 Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Navdurga Trading Co. Bz. Guj.Mm. Asr.	Sindhi Dry Fruit Corner Mm.Asr.
A.P. Enterprises Nwa. Ktr. Om. Mm.Asr.	Swastik Enterprises Mm. Asr.	Dhari Ram Tek Chand Mm. Asr .	Kapil Traders Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	Naveen Bhatia Mm. Asr.	Sita Ram Anand Loha. M.Asr.
Arora Enterprises Grom. Mm.Asr.	Teneja Hardware G. Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Dharam Pal & Co. Mm. Asr.	Kapoor Brothers Prtp.G. Mm. Asr.	Navyug Enterprises Mm.Asr.	S.K.Behl & Sons. Mm.Asr.
Arora Overseas Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.	Tarun Kumar Chetan Kumar Am. Bhvn, Mm. Asr.	Dharam Pal Aggarwal & Sons Dal. M. Asr.	Karam Chand Skattar Lal Dal. Mm. Asr .	Navrattan Spices Pvt. Ltd. Dal. M.Asr.	S.K.Rajinder Kumar Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.
Arora Traders Mm. Asr .	The Amritsar Grinder Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.	Dilwari Exports Corpora-tions Mm. Asr .	Kashmir Drug House Mm. Asr.	N.D Malhotra Mm. Asr .	S.K.Varinder Kumar Mhwr. Mt. Bz. Nrsgh. Asr.
Aryaans Herbs Mm. Asr .	Tondon Enterprises Kt. Hrs. Asr.	Dinesh Trading Co. Mm. Asr.	Kasturi Lal Ashwani Kumar Bghs. Nvrg. Mm. Asr.	Neelu Traders Prtp.G. Mm. Asr.	Sham Das Manish Ku-mar Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.
A .S Enterprises Mm.Asr	S.Jaspal Singh Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Dittu Mal Jagan Nath Mm. Asr.	Kay Bee & Company Gs.Bwn. Bty. Ave. Asr.	Neeraj Dheeraj & Co. Mm. Asr .	Sham Sunder & Co. Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.
Ashadeep Trading Co. Near Boi. Mm. Asr.	Tulsi Das Goverdhan Das G. Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	D.M Desa Singh Mm. Asr.	K.B. Enterprises L Nrng. Mt. Mm.Asr.	Nimish International Bg. Jhs. Asr.	Sham Sunder & Sons. Mm.Asr.
Ashish Traders Mm. Asr.	Tulsi Das Kishan Lal Mm.Asr.	Dwarka Das Narang & Co. Mm. Asr.	K.C.Gulzari Lal Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Nitish Enterprises Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Raman & Company Mm.Asr.
As Hok Karyana Bhandhar Mhwr. Mt. Bz. Nrsgh. Asr.	Vadhik Chand & Sons Mm. Asr.	East India Trading Co. Nw.Sbm.Wla .Asr	K.C.Ravinder Kumar () Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Nitish Kumar Aneja Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Raman Kumar & Sons. Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr .
Ashok Kumar Mm. Asr.	Vashno Das Broker Prtp. G. Mm.Asr .	Eastman International Rdk.Bwn.G.Prtp. Asr.	K.Gourav Kumar Grd. Mkt.Asr.	Om Parkash & Brothers Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Raman Kumar Pawan Kumar G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr
Ashok Kumar Mohan Lal Mm. Asr.	Vigky Bhatia Dry Fruit Mm. Asr	Etin Impex Mm. Asr.	Kimti Lal & Company G.Gnd. Wl. Mm. Asr.	Om Parkash Arun Ku-mar Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	Ramesh Kumar Prem Kumar Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.

Ashok Kumar Naresh Kumar G.Attr.Sg. Mm. Asr.	Vicky Mehta ( Broker ) G. Tlan. W. Nm.Asr.	Fairways Trading Co. Mm. Asr .	Kishan Chand & Bros. G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr	Om Parkash Rohit Kumar Prtp. G. Mm. Asr.	Ravi Tradtng Co.(Ggn) G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr .
Ashoka Trading Co. Mm. Asr.	Vijay Kumar Dogra ( Broker ) G. Drbr. S. Kubi Beri. Esr.	F.T.C. Overseas Mm. Asr.	Kishan Chand & Sons. G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Pankaj Enterprises Mm. Asr.	R.Gopal Impex Pvt.Ltd. Gnk.Mt. Mm. Asr.
Ashu Kaula (Broker) Qla.Bujin. Kb. Asr.	Vikas Tradtng Co. Mm.Asr.	Ganpat Ram Vishwa Mittter Mm. Asr .	Kishan Chand Ashok Kumar Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Pankaj Kumar Puri ( Broker ) Bz. Bgtwla. Asr.	R.G.International G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.
Ashwani Kumar Gu-lat(Broker) G.Munsh. Bgtwla. Asr .	Vikram Enterprises Dhb. Wst. R. Asr	Ghanshann Das Mo-han Lal Mm. Asr.	Kishan Chand Suman Kumar Mm. Asr	Pankaj Puri ( Broker ) Jgdba. C. Mj. R.Asr.	R.G Overseas Mm. Asr.
Avinash Traders Bz.Gndw. Mm. Asr.	Vikram Traders Swnk . M. Asr.	Gian Chand Ram Gopal Mm.Asr.	Kishan Chand Vaishno Das Prtp. G. Mm. Asr.	Pankaj Traders Mm.Asr:	R.H.& Company Dal. M. Asr.
Avtar Singh & Bros. Mm. Asr .	Vikrant Traders Mm. Asr.	Girdhari Lal Ramesh Kumar Bz.Guj. Mm.Asr.	Kishore & Company Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Paramjit Soni Mm. Asr.	Rishab Enterprises Rdk. Bhnw. Mm. Asr.
Ayush Gupta & Company Am.Bhvn. Mm. Asr.	Vishal Enterprises Mm.Asr.	Giriraj Enterprises Mm. Asr.	K K. Traders Mm. Asr.	Paras Ram Inderjit Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.	M.M.Trading Co. Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.
Bal Kishan Raj Kumar Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	Vishal Kumar Broker Mm. Asr.	Goyal Brothers Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	K.L.Mehta & Sons. K. Bz. Whn. Wl. Asr .	Paras Ram Tara Chand Mm.Asr.	M. Madan Lal & Co. G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.
Bal Kishan & Sons Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	Vishal Mehra (Broker) Mm. Asr.	Gopal Das & Sons. (Mm) G.Attr.Sg.Mm. Asr.	Kohli Brothers Mm. Asr.	Parma Nano Arora Mm.Asr.	Mohan Lal & Sons. Mm. Asr.
Bankey Behari Sachdev Mm. Asr	Vishal Trading Co. Mm. Asr.	Gopal Das Ashok Kumar Mm. Asr .	Krishna Enterprises Pvfld. Mm. Asr.	Parminder Singh Broker Mm. Asr.	Mohan Lal Dharam Pal Msri. Bz. Asr.
Bansal Sales Rdk.Bvn.Prtp.G. Mm. Asr.	V.K. Ravinder Kumar Prtp. G. Mm. Asr.	Gopal Dass Kirti Parkash Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr	Krishna Enterprises (Bz Gujran) Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Pawan Kumar Arora ( Broker ) Shkt. Ngr.Asr.	Mohan Lal Rajiv Kumar Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr .
Bawa Drug House Mm. Asr.	Ati Enterprises 83 Gug. Mm. Asr.	Gopal Dass Kirti Parkash Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr	Krishna Trading Co. G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Prem Lal Harish Kumar & Co. Mm.Asr.	Satguru Enterprises Mm. Asr.
Bawa Enterprises Bz.Guj. Mm: Asr.	Jagdish Kumar Ra'iv Kutar Mm. Asr.	Goverdhan Das Giriraj Saran Udo.Rm.Bld Mm Asr,	K.S.Teinder Singh Nk.Dal. Mm. Asr	Prem Kumar Upal & Sons. Loha.M.Mm. Asr .	Satija Enterprises Mshri. Bz. Asr.
Behari Lal Krishan Kumar Db.Wt.Rm. Asr.	Jagtar Singh Arjun Singh Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Giverdhan Traders G.Gvdn.Mm.Asr	Kumar Traders Mm. Asr.	P.G International Crlr Rd.Opp Bsnt Ave. Asr,	Satkar Dry Fruits Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.
Behari Lal Sunil Kumar Mm. Asr.	Jai Gopal luakheeraja & Sons. G.Attr.Sg. Mm. Asr.	Goyal Subhash & Sons. Bz.Guj. .Mm.Asr	K V Sandeep Kumar Nrm. M. Tund. Tla. Asr.	P.L.Trading Co. G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Seema Traders Bg. Jhs.Mm. Asr.
Bhagwati Charan Khurana & Co. Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr	Jai Shree Ram Tmders Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	G.R Traders G.Gvdn .Mm.Asr	Lakhu Mal Amarnath G.Gvdn. Mm.Asr.	Pritam Das Vijey Kumar Mm. Asr.	Sewa Ram Jagdish Chander Kt. Hrs. Asr.
Bhagwati Dry Fruit Center Bzgnw. Mm. Asr	Jai Singh Traders Prtp.G. Mm. Asr.	Grovers Traders Bz. Gndw.Mm.Asr	Lal Chand Mohkam Chand Bz. Gndw. Mm. Asr.	Pritam Singh & Co. F Mm. Asr.	Inder Kumar Tondon Mm. Asr.
Bhajan Lal & Sons. Bg.Jhs . Mm. Asr.	Jai Singh Kulbir Singh Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Gulati Di Hatti Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	Laxmi Narain Naresh Kumar Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr	Pritpal Singh Gurbax Singh F Swnk. M. Asr.	Ishan Enterprises Dal.M. Asr.
Bhola Nath Brij Lal Bhatia Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr .	Janak Raj & Company Mm.Asr.	Gupta Brothers Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	Longani Brothers Mm.Asr.	P.S.Rattan Hari Dal. M.Asr.	In. International Bz.Guj. Asr.
Bhupinder Kumar (Broker) Mm. Asr.	. Janki Das Satish Kumar Mm. Asr.	Gurditta Mal Parshotam Das Bz.Nrsgh .D. Mm. Asr.	Logani International Trad. Swank. M. Mm. Asr.	Puran Chand Jagdish Mittal Prtp. G. Mm. Asr .	Jagan Nath & Sons Mm. Asr.
Bishan Das & Co. Bg.Jhs. Mm.Asr .	Jay Sai Impex Mm.Asr	Guraj Chetikal Works Bzguj. Mil. Asr	Maa Santoshi Traders Trl. Mt. Mm. Asr.	Radhey Gobind Trading Co. Mm. Asr	Jagan Nath Aggarwal & Co. Mm.Asr.
Brij Mohan & Sons Nrm.M.Tund.Tla. Asr.	Jetha Nano Jai Kishan Dass Mm. Asr.	Gurpreet Singh & Brothers . Mm. Asr.	Maohu Ram Mohan Lal Bg. Jhs. Mm.Asr.	Radhey Sales Corporation Mm. Asr.	Jagan Nath Chaman Lal Mm. Asr
R.V. Trading Co. Nrm. M. Tund.Tla.Asr.	J.H.B.Enterprises Mm.Asr.	Guru Nanak Traders Bzguj. Mm. Asr	Malhotra & Co. Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Radhu Mal Mohan Lal Mshri. Bz. Asr.	Jagan Nath Drugs Prtp.G. Mm. Asr.
Sagar Enterprises Mm. Asr.	Joginder Nath Behl & Sons. Kt.Hrs. Mm. Asr	Gurwinder Singh & Company Nw.Sm. Wla.Asr.	Malik Narain Das & Sons. Bzguj. Mm. Asr.	Raghav Traders Rdk. Bwn.G. Prp.Asr.	Jagan Nath Janaki Das Bzguj. Mm. Asr
Sai Das Ravi Mohan Am.Bhvn, Mm.Asr.	J.P.&Co.(Dr.)Broker S.S.Mkt.Bz.Guj.Mm Asr	Handtraders Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Mangal Singh Harbans Singh Mm. Asr.	Rahul Trading Company Prtp. G. Mm. Asr.	Jagdish Chander Sharma M.M.Asr
Saligram Maheshwari & Sons. G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Rishab Overseas Bg.Jhs.Mm.Asr.	Happy Enterprises Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Mangat Ram Bhandari & Sons. Bg.Jhs. Mm.Asr.	Raj Kumar Ajay Kumar Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Jagdish Kumar Inder Kutar Mm.Asr

Sadhu Ram & Sons. Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Rishi Internationa L Mm. Asr.	Harbans Singh & Bros. Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr .	Manish Kumar Puri! ( Broker ) Bz. Bgtwla. Asr.	Raj Kumar Ashish Kumar Mm. Asr.	Sanjay Traders ( Bw ) Kt. Hrs. Mm. Asr.
Brij Lal Ramesh Kumar Mm. Asr.	R.K.Hari Sharn G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Hardeep Singh ( Broker ) Grd. Mkt.Asr.	Manmeet Trading Co. Mm.Asr.	Rajat Trading Co. Cwk. Chtprni. Mnd. Asr.	Sanjay Trading Co. Bg.Jhs. Mm.Asr.
Internationaltraders Mm. Asr .	R.K.Sandeep Kumar G.Gvdn. Mm.Asr.	Hardit Singh Kirpal Singh Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	Manohar Lal Gupta Bz. Guj. Mm Asr.	Rajesh International G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Sanjeev Enterprises G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.
Bobby Trading Co. Mhvr.M. Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	R.K Arom & Sons Ch.Mls. Mm.Asr.	Hari Ram Amar Nath G.Attr.Sg.Mm. Asr.	Manoj Aggarwal (Broker) Swk. Mdi. M.M. Asr	Rajesh Goyal Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Sanjeev Kumar (Broker) G. Drbr. S. Kubi Beri. Asr.
Milap Sales Corporation Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Rm.Traders Mm.Asr.	Hari Ram Ram Chand Loha.M. Asr.	Manmohan Rai & Sons Bg. Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Rajinder Kumar Rajesh Kumar G.Attr. Sg.Mm. Asr.	Sanjeev Kumar ( Broker ) G. Drbr. S. Kubi Beri. Asr.
Bobby Traders Mm. Asr	Roop Lal Puran Chand Mm.Asr	Hari Singh Sant Singh Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Manohar Singh Avtar Singh Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Rakesh Kumar Anil Kumar Jain Prtp. G. Mm.Asr.	Saran Singh Gajinder Singh Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.
Ram Sharan & Sons. Kt. Chrt. S. Asr.	Rs.Kamal Kishore Bg. Jhs.Asr.	Hari Singh Sant Singh & Co. Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Manoj Enterprises G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.	Rakesh Kumar Kabali (Broker) Bz Borian. Lohri G. Asr.	Saran Singh Juneja Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.
B.N.Traders Bg.Jhs . Mm. Asr.	R.S. Traders Mm. Asr.	Harish Kumar ( Broker ) Bz.Gndw. Mm. Asr.	Manu Khurana ( Broker ) Mm. Asr.	Ram Kishan Vijay Kumar Mm. Asr.	Sardari Lal Satish Kumar Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.
H.S. Manohar Singh & Co. Kt.Hrs. Mm. Asr	R.S. Rice Mills Tt.Rd. Off. Mm.Asr.	Heena International Mhvr.M. Bz.Fuj. Mm. Asr.	Mathur.A Das Amolak Ram Mm. Asr.	Ram Murti & Bros. Mm. Asr.	Sareen Di Hatti Mm.Asr.
H.S.Randeep Singh Bz.Guj. Mm. Asr.	R.T. Trading Co. Grd. Mkt.Asr .	Herbotech Pharma-ceticals V.P.O Pndri Wrch. Mm.Asr.	M.B.Pharma Prtp. G. Mm. Asr.	Rameshwar Das Banwari Lal Cwk. Mlah. S. Mm. Asr.	Sat Pal Arun Kumar Bg.Jhs. It'im. Asr.
H.S.Sohan Singh Mm. Asr.	Rubby Enterprises Bz. Guj. Mm.Asr.	H.K.Tmders Bz.Gndw. Mm. Asr.	M.Devi Son Overseas Swnk. Mm. Asr.	Rashit Enterprises Bz. Guj. Mm. Asr.	Bishan Das Ravin Kumar Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.
Mehra Drug House Nvrg. Mt. Mm. Asr.	Ram Rakha Mal Jugal Kishore Mm. Asr. '	H.S.Herbs. Bg.Jhs. Mm. Asr.	Mehra Brothers Mm. Asr.	Ram Kumar & Co. G. Tlan. W. Nm. Asr.	Bishan Das Kanshi Ram Bz.Gndw. Mm. Asr.
Mehra Export Corporation Bz. Whn. Wl. Asr.	B.K Sandeep Kumar Mm. Asr.	B.K International O/P Hrbns.Hl. Mm.Asr.	Ram Lal Mool Chand Cwk. Fulan. W. Asr.	Ram Kumar Dhani ( Broker ) Burt. Ngr. Btla. Rd. Asr.	B.K International Krtr. Ngr. Chrta . Asr.
Mehra Trading Co. G.Gvdn. Mm. Asr.					

Source: Direct Interactions with Association Members in Majith Mandi, Amritsar

### CUSTOMS BROKERS AMRITSAR

M/S R.B.Ram Nath Lambah & Sons Majith Mandi, Amritsar	M/S Quick Carriers 552n L-3, Majith Mandi,Amritsar	M/S International Clearing Agency Post Office, Majith Mandi,Amritsar	M/S. Kishore International Lawrence Road, Amritsar	M/S. R.K.Khanna & Co., Room No. 3, Khanna Market, Bazar Wahian Wala Amritsar	M/S.Vikas Rai & Co. (Customs House Agent Licence No. 01/M-II/2011) 308, 1 St Floor, Ganpati Towers,Lawrence Road,Amritsar
M/S Supreme Freight Forwarders Majith Mandi , Amritsar	M/S Puri Brothers S2211093, 1st Floor, Majith Mandi, Amritsar	M/S. Intercontinental Carriers Post Office, 52, Akali Market, Amritsar	M/S. K.L.Gupta Consultants Pvt. Ltd 25 Mahindra Colony, Court Road, Amritsar	M/S Qimati Lal Sharma Katra Hari Singh, Amritsar	M/S. J.S.Exim 206, Basant Avenue, Amritsar
M/S Avtar Singh & Co. Aka I Market, Amritsar	M/S. Sabharwal & Sons Majith Mandi, Amritsar	M/S Jogindera Company 57, Hide Market, Amritsar	M/S. Gaurang Logistics Private Limited 489/VL-3, Bazar Gujran Majith Mandi, Amritsar	M/S Kay Ess International 211d Floor, 52 Akali Market, Amritsar	M/S. Amritsar Clearing Agency Hide Market, Amritsar
M/S Vinod Brothers 10-A Mcleod Road, Amritsar	M/S Vijay Kumar Sarbharwal Majith Mandi, Amritsar	M/S. Neeraj Kumar & Co. 571/ Vi-3, Majith Mandi, Amritsar			

Source: Direct Interactions with Ram Nath Lambah and Sons, Majith Mandi, Amritsar



Peace Building Formal Institutes of Co-operation Trade  
Trade **Trade** **Employment Generation**  
Peace Building People-to-People Connect **People-to-People Connect**  
Peace Building **Business-to-Business** **Peace Building** Trade  
Formal Institutes of Co-operation Employment Generation Peace Building  
**Regional Co-operation** **Trade**  
**Business-to-Business** Trade **Regional Co-operation**  
**People-to-People Connect**  
Formal Institutes of Co-operation Trade Peace Building  
Trade **Formal Institutes of Co-operation**  
Business-to-Business People-to-People Connect **Formal Institutes of Co-operation**  
**Peace Building** **Business-to-Business** Trade  
Business-to-Business Trade **Employment Generation** Trade  
**People-to-People Connect** Peace Building  
Regional Co-operation



“ German Statesman Otto Von Bismark once remarked "the road to Berlin lies through Vienna." I sincerely feel that the road between New Delhi and Islamabad lies through Punjab. For Punjabis, a lot is at stake given their proximity to the shared border. Trade at Wagah-Attari had made this shared border a point of cooperation and interdependence. Highlighting the losses on ground because of the suspension of trade, this book makes it evident how over time, trade has become crucial for the survival of the border economies, revival of which could lead not just to prosperity but also lay the foundation for peaceful relations between India and Pakistan. ”

***Manpreet Singh Badal, Finance Minister, Punjab, India***

“ India-Pakistan relations are said to be “accident prone”, and subject to sudden and unexpected swings towards renewed engagement or reinforced estrangement. This study by Afaq and Nikita has drawn attention to some of the micro level impact of broader policy decisions, in this instance focussing on trade related restrictions imposed in February 2019. While the larger decisions have their own logic, the local level impact on people and business certainly needs attention for mitigation, if people are to be enthused to get involved again if and when the upswing phase returns. ”

***Arun K Singh, Former Indian Ambassador to the United States, France and Israel***

“ Having served in Jammu and Kashmir for decades, I have witnessed from the closest possible realm how intertwined politics and economics are for border economies. While this book focuses on two most politically fractious neighbors, I compliment the authors for successfully restricting their research on the socio-economic ripples created in the border economies due to suspension of trade. The findings of the research make a compelling argument to start looking at trade from the lens of livelihoods. ”

***Lt. Gen Satish Dua, a former Corps Commander in Kashmir, who retired as Chief of Integrated Defence Staff***



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