

ANUMUKTI

A Journal Devoted to Non-Nuclear India

Volume 12 Number 3

December 1998 / JTW

F

The Imperiled Paradise

For more than 50 years, India and Pakistan have been arguing and periodically coming to blows over one of the most beautiful places in the world. The Mughal emperors thought Kashmir as paradise on earth. As a result of this unending quarrel, Paradise has been partitioned, impoverished and made violent. Murder and terrorism now stalk the valleys and mountains of a land once so famous for its peacefulness that outsiders made jokes about the Kashmiris' supposed lack of fighting spirit. I have a particular interest in the Kashmir issue because I am more than half Kashmiri myself, because I have loved the place all my life and because I have spent much of that life listening to successive Indian and Pakistani governments, all of them more or less venal and corrupt, mouthing the self-serving hypocrisies of power while ordinary Kashmiris suffered the consequences of their posturings.

Pity those ordinary, peaceable people, caught between the rock of India and the hard place that Pakistan has always been!

And, as the world's newest nuclear powers square off yet again, their new weapons

making their dialogue of the deaf more dangerous than ever before, I say, A plague on both their houses. "Kashmir for the Kashmiris" is an old slogan, but the only one that expresses how the subjects of this dispute have always felt; how, I believe, the majority of them would still say they feel, if they were free to speak their minds without fear.

India has badly mishandled the Kashmir case from the beginning. Back in 1947 the state's Hindu maharaja "opted" for India, and in spite of United Nations resolutions supporting the largely Muslim population's right to a plebiscite. India's leaders have always rejected the idea, repeating over and over that Kashmir is "an integral part" of India. (The Nehru-Gandhi dynasty is itself of Kashmiri origin.)

India has maintained a large standing military presence in Kashmir for decades, both in the Vale of Kashmir where most of the population is based and in mountain fastnesses like the site of the present flashpoint. This force feels to most Kashmiris like an occupying army and is greatly resented.

Yet until recently the generality of Indians, even the liberal intelligentsia, refused to face up to the reality of Kashmiris' growing animosity toward them. As a result, the problem has grown steadily worse, greatly exacerbated by laws that threatened long jail sentences for any Kashmiri making anti Indian statements in public.

Pakistan, for its part, has from its earliest times been a heavily militarised state, dominated by the army even when under notional civilian rule and spending a huge part of its budget — at its peak, around half the total budgetary expenditure—on its armed forces. Such spending, and the consequent might of

the generals, depends on having a dangerous enemy to defend against and a "hot" cause to pursue.

It has therefore always been in the interest of Pakistan's top brass to frustrate peace making initiatives toward India and to keep the Kashmir dispute alive. Thus, and not the alleged interests of Kashmiris, is what lies behind Pakistan's policy on the issue.

These days, in addition, the Pakistani authorities are under pressure from their country's mullahs and radical Islamists, who characterise the struggle to "liberate" (that is, to seize) Kashmir as a holy war. But Kashmiri Islam has always been of the mild, Sufistic variety, in which local pirs, holy men, are revered as saints. This open hearted, tolerant Islam is anathema to the firebrands of Pakistan and might well, under Pakistani rule, be at risk.

Thus, the present-day growth of terrorism in Kashmir has roots in India's treatment of Kashmiris, but it has equally deep roots in Pakistan's interest in subversion. Yes, Kashmiris feel strongly about the Indian "occupation" of their land; but it is also almost certainly true that Pakistan's army and intelligence service have been training, aiding and abetting the men of violence.

The fact that India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons makes urgent the need to move beyond the deadlock and the

moribund 50-year-old language of the crisis. What Kashmiris want, and what India and Pakistan must be persuaded to offer them, is a reunited land, an end to Lines of Control and warfare on high Himalayan glaciers. What they want is to be given a large degree of autonomy; to be allowed to run their own lives.

The Kashmir dispute has already exposed the frailty of the cold war theory of nuclear deterrence, according to which the extreme danger of nuclear arsenals should deter those who possess them from embarking even on a conventional war. That thesis now seems untenable. It was probably not deterrence that prevented the cold war from turning hot, but luck.

So here we are in a newly dangerous world, in which nuclear powers actually are going to war. In such a time, it is essential that the special-case status of Kashmir be recognised and used as the basis of the way forward. The Kashmir problem must be defused once and for all, or else, in the unthinkable worst-case scenario, it may end in the nuclear destruction of Paradise itself, and of much else besides.

Salman Rushdie

The New York Times June 3, 1999



**हिन्दी में उपलब्ध है।
अवश्य पढ़ें और मित्रों को
ग्राहक बनायें।**

**सम्पर्क पता:
अणुमुक्ति मंडली संपूर्ण क्रांति
विद्यालय, वेडघी 394641**

■ From The

The Broader Question

We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. Muslims are a separate nation by virtue of their distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of values and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and tradition, and, therefore they are entitled to a separate, sovereign existence in a home-land of their own,

M.A.Jinnah

I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large number of her children... You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood. If I accept it, I would have to subscribe to many more claims and face an insoluble problem.

M.K.Gandhi

The conflict in Kashmir arises from the fundamental difference in these two viewpoints which despite the creation of Pakistan, has not been resolved till now. India is not a 'homeland*' for Hindus alone and cannot survive as a nation of diverse cultural and linguistic units if it "gives away" Kashmir and no government in Pakistan can survive if it publicly stops trying to change the status quo. Are we then condemned to go on and on killing our finest youth time and again?

There are some who feel that one can impose a "final solution" by not keeping in the shelf the greatest achievement of their respective 'scientists'. These people certainly deserve wide exposure. Unless the threat of total destruction that they convey becomes widely appreciated, these ideas will not of themselves die a natural death.

Even some otherwise sensible people have felt that one cannot have friendship with a rogue country that has waged a relentless war of terror within our borders over the past twenty years. The notion of "rogue" countries is a post Reagan US invention that needs to be thrown into the dustbin. There are no rogue countries: there are rogues within every country and quite often they hold power within governments. It is necessary for men of goodwill to relentlessly work to disempower these rogues within their own spheres and help other likeminded people in other countries to do the same. Working for peace is not merely a peacetime activity. It becomes even more relevant during times of strife when war-profiteering rogues have a field day.

Even before the war in Kargil began, activists walking in the Global Peace March from Pokran to Samath were abused and attacked with stones for having the temerity to talk of peace. Later there were requests from some that the march be postponed till after the elections, since with the hostilities in Kargil, it had become irrelevant—a dishonour to our brave dead. There is no doubt that those who have made the supreme sacrifice deserve the highest honour. But honouring their bravery and valour, does not mean that one support a state of affairs where such sacrifices are a periodic necessity. The finest tribute one can pay to these young men is to ensure the establishment of genuine peace.

Surendra Gadekar

Anumukti Volume 12 Number 3

HEADS THEY WIN, TAILS WE ALL LOSE

M. V. Ramana

For the first time since the 1971 war, Indian airplanes have been involved in combat. Both armies started

exercises near the border and the navies were on high alert. Of special concern, however, is the fact that this escalation has happened soon after India and Pakistan have taken major steps towards developing a nuclear arsenal.

But in the middle of this crisis there have been statements that because both countries possess nuclear weapons the conflict will not escalate. While one has to be thankful if this does hold true, nuclear weapons do not provide any basis for such confidence. Such statements are no-lose propositions. If the war does not escalate, then the pro-nuclear advocates can claim credit for having advocated nuclear weapons. If the war does escalate, they can claim that it is the lack of full-fledged nuclear capabilities. Depending on who you ask, what is required to prevent war could be a 'minimum deterrent', a 'second-strike capability' or a triad. It does not matter how exactly these terms are defined because they keep changing continually. And, despite having nuclear weapons, if the war really becomes a full-scale one, then, of course, we are all losers. It does not matter that the pro-nuclear advocates were wrong at that point.

This notion that nuclear weapons prevent war, usually termed nuclear deterrence, has several inherent problems. Rather than anything physical, nuclear deterrence is just a psychological mind game. The idea is to ensure that one's nuclear and military might always intimidates the opponent. To keep the opponent in that state, every now and then one has to flex one's muscles. At such points, things can easily go wrong. In the current context, there are four points that are relevant.

First, the recent escalation in Kashmir is in itself a failure of nuclear deterrence. If nuclear deterrence were to hold in the way it is supposed to, then the two countries should never have gone to war. Even if one were to

excuse the recent events as not quite a war, it does point to the fact that the leadership is willing and does take their people to the brink of the nuclear abyss.

Second, a careful look at the US-Soviet experience, far from showing that nuclear weapons prevented war, showed that the two were willing to fight numerous proxy wars, especially in the third world. Over the decades they showed their willingness to fight it out to the last Vietnamese, the last Afghan and the last Angolan. India and Pakistan seem to be willing to do the same. With the Kashmiris.

Third, as Kanti Bajpai points out, even the success of deterrence is actually "a colossal failure of the political imagination." If deterrence is successful, and remember that this is a big IF, then there is no incentive to work out problems with the "adversary." And, by freezing problems, nuclear weapons only entrench those on both sides who have an interest in permanent enmity. There are then no possibilities for normalisation and building friendships, the only way to have lasting peace. 11K people of India and Pakistan have, of course, no innate predisposition to hate and are quite capable of friendship. Hostility and mistrust is only a result of deliberate propaganda by groups and parties that thrive on hatred. Among the citizens of the two countries, by and large, there is genuine affection, or at least curiosity, about the citizens of the other country. This is proved by the fact the Pakistan India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy, a group of independent citizens, meets every year, (spending their own money) and have reached consensus on supposedly contentious issues like Kashmir, nuclear weapons and religious fundamentalism.

Fourth, one cannot conclude that nuclear weapons keep the peace from the evidence so far. This is best illustrated by the old anecdote about a person falling off a tall, hundred-floor building. As he passed the 50th floor, another person asked him how he was doing. His reply was "Fine, so far." In the same way as this

person would be crashing into the ground in a few seconds, the fact that nuclear war has not broken out so far does not mean that it is not likely to do so in the future,

What then are the implications of the continuing clash in Kargil and what should be done? The obvious answer is that India and Pakistan should stop the war and normalise relationships between themselves. In particular, it is vital that the Kashmir problem be solved. And any solution of the problem should involve the people of Kashmir. As in the case of the Pakistan-India People's Forum, different people's groups have proven more capable than the governments in establishing the basis for friendly relations. Around the time of the Hague Peace Conference last month, a large number of Kashmiris, from Pannun Kashmir to pro-Mujahideen, groups met for the first time. They called for an end to all violence, for free dialogue between Kashmiris, and return to Kashmir's traditions of peaceful co-existence. It is for the governments to help full-fill these dreams.

However, solving the Kashmir problem alone will not rid us of the nuclear dangers that confront South Asia. Witness the case of the US and Russia, where thousands of nuclear weapons are still waiting to be launched at each other within a matter of minutes despite the end of the cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union over a decade ago. Like wise, India and Pakistan may well persist in holding on to their nuclear arsenals even after the Kashmir problem. And, then it would just be a matter of waiting for the next crisis before these weapons are unsheathed and used.

Dr M. V. Ramana is a post doctoral fellow working at the Centre for Energy and Environmental Studies, Princeton University

Law Rather Than War On Kashmir

Dr Zia Mian

The long running low intensity conflict in Kashmir was bound to escalate. It was only a matter of time. At one level, the current fighting is simply another bloody interlude in a fifty year pattern of India and Pakistan alternately negotiating and fighting over Kashmir. However, things are made more dangerous by both states now having nuclear weapons and policy makers sharing a reckless strategic presumption that their respective nuclear shield protects them from the outbreak of real war or the possibility of defeat.

Kashmir is a symptom of a deeper underlying problem, as everyone knows. Think of the periodic chills and fever that are associated with malaria. More to the point, the disease is serious and given to chronically recurring. So far at least, the fatal complications common to untreated malaria have not set in. But this is not the occasion to dwell on this infectious disease as a model for nationalism, nor to try identifying the human analogues of the mosquitoes who bear this disease from one place to another and across generations, or the parasites who feed of the body politic and are responsible for fever. The need now is to seek help.

The major problem facing any effort to break the impasse between India and Pakistan over Kashmir is that the two states disagree fundamentally on the terms for talking about the issue. Pakistan insists any discussion has to be based on the 1948 and 1949 UN resolutions on Kashmir; coming after the 1947 war, they envisaged the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan supervising a settlement "in accordance with the will of the people" of the region. India claims primacy lies with the 1972 Simla Agreement; signed after the 1971 India-Pakistan war the treaty commits the two states to settle their disputes "through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them" and makes no mention of the UN. Kashmiris are rarely consulted by either state or the international community.

These positions have stalled any effort at a settlement and in fact contribute to the resort to force. Fighting along the Line of Control allows Pakistan to ask for international mediation, For hard-liners here, the more severe the fighting the greater the incitement (they hope) for the international community to talk about Kashmir. Thus Pakistan fans the flames. This however creates pressure for Indian hard-liners to settle the issue directly by force of arms. No Pakistani support for Kashmiris, no problem.

There may be a way to break out of this potentially terminal dynamics. It requires intervention. But not necessarily intervention of the kind that Pakistan has traditionally aimed for, nor India traditionally refused. Rather than a single state or group of states riding to the rescue on Kashmir as if they already knew what the answer to the Kashmir dispute was and imposing it by force, the United Nations General Assembly could take a legal initiative. The General Assembly could choose to ask the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on the standing within international law of India and Pakistan's claims over Kashmir, the existing UN resolutions on Kashmir, bilateral treaties and agreements dealing with the dispute, and the right to self-determination of the Kashmiris.

The International Court of Justice (otherwise known as the World Court), based at The Hague in Holland, is the highest legal authority within the United Nations system, and thus within the international community. The UN Charter provides the General Assembly the right to ask the World Court for an "advisory opinion" on "any legal question." This "opinion" is not directly binding on the UN or its member states or even enforceable. It is however understood to be authoritative as a statement of the law. There is precedent for the United Nations General Assembly using its power to ask the World Court for such an "advisory opinion." Most recently the General Assembly asked the World Court whether the

threat or use of nuclear weapons was permitted under international law. The World Court ruled in July 1996, declaring the threat or use of nuclear weapons to be generally illegal.

The bottom line is that the UN General Assembly simply has to pass a resolution asking the World Court for an "advisory opinion." It has to be said that the World Court can refuse a request, but only if there "compelling" reasons. It would be hard to see what "compelling" reasons may arise in the case of Kashmir.

This is not the place to consider what either India or Pakistan may do, what arguments they may put in front of the Court, or the justifications they may offer for refusing to speak to the Court, or even the possible eventual opinion of the Court. The point here is to offer a suggestion about a process. It offers no shortcut to a solution. The process would seek to clarify what could be a shared basis for the international community for a solution to Kashmir.

It could be argued that since the World Court would offer only an "advisory opinion" it would make no difference either to India or Pakistan. They could choose to ignore it, and the status quo would prevail. However it is the fact that the UN General Assembly would be taking the action that gives this proposal significance. For want of a better institution, it is the closest thing to a forum for expressing collective aspirations and understanding by the system of states. Once the General Assembly sets out to seek a legal basis for the international community to take a position on Kashmir the context within which India and Pakistan argue their case about Kashmir would change. India and Pakistan would have to decide whether they were prepared to defy the wish of the world community and by so doing jeopardise what international support presently they may have for their position.

Depending on the Court's judgement, India or Pakistan (or even both) may well find itself isolated on Kashmir. This would be a big blow that either would not be able to accept indefinitely, especially if the international community kept insisting that the Court's judgement be used to take some action. The Court's

judgement on the general illegality of nuclear weapons has been the basis for nuclears manding disarmament that now connect some 130-150 supporters in the General Assembly, increasingly' isolating the nuclear weapons states. If this should start to happen on Kashmir, it would be hard if not impossible for India, or Pakistan, (or both, depending on how the Court decides) could remain defiant for very long. They would be taking on the whole international community backed up by international law.

Using the opinion of the Court, whatever it happens to be, the international community could make it clear to both India and Pakistan that there existed a new legal basis for a legitimate solution to the Kashmir dispute and they would have to work within it if they expected any support from the rest of the world. At the same time, a solution based on an independent interpretation of international law could help politicians in South Asia • if they wanted it to. For the first time there would be an alternative to the long held positions that could be argued to be even more legitimate. Leaders in India and Pakistan would have the opportunity to modify their positions and justify this to their constituencies on the grounds the World Court decision left no alternative. In this, for once, they would be right. There should be no alternative to resolving international disputes except through law.

*From: The News on Sunday (Pakistan),
June 13, 1999*

**ANUMUKIT? No Way,
Neither is it ANUSHAKTI
It is and remains**

ANUMUKTI

There has been a lot of confusion regarding our name. So much so that even we blundered and called ourselves Anumukit on the banner in the last issue. But no one noticed That shows the amount of familiarity our name has achieved Hopefully it hasn't bred contempt.

LETTERBOX

The editorial appearing in the RSS mouthpiece "Panchajunya" (June 20). makes alarming reading. It raises serious questions about India's security. The editorial openly advocates dropping of nuclear bombs over Pakistan, as a solution to long standing Pakistani hostility. It also asks in a rhetorical fashion as to why India carried out tests of nuclear weapons in it

was not meant to be used. It calls upon Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpeyee to be the man of destiny by dropping nuclear bombs on Pakistan and to go down in history as the man who brought about the "final solution"

The total unconcern regarding destruction of human life on a massive scale displayed in the editonal is not just appalling but extremely treightening as well, It shows abject moral bankruptcy and reveals a mindset which, it given opportunity, would think nothing of erecting concentration camps and gas chambers.to "solve cultural and civilisational" problems.

This view is equally disturbing even from a purely tactical point of view The ev- boration reveals an abysmal ignotance about the apocalyptic nature of nuclear explosions Not only that, the editornal also shows criminal disregard of the fact that such insane oueries would radically increase the possibility of a pre-emptive nuclear strike more so, given the fact that there is no dearth of lunatic and cowardly elements within the Pakistani ruling establishment as well.

In ordinary times, one would dismiss these views as intolerant outpourings of mentally deranged men and ignore them. But in the present contest to do so will be suicidal as the RSS happens to be the de- facto extra-con- stitutional centre of power in India, In view of the above, the nation has a right to know from the Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee a self- confessed RSS man. as to what is his stand on the use of nuclear weapons. In fact. Mr Vajpayee, must forthwith openly and categorically dis- sociate himself from the RSS view in clear and unequivocal terms Failing this, the President shall secure his removal from the office of the

Prime Minister, because the country is not safe even for a moment in the hands of a man who holds such views on nuclear weapons

*Dr. Smita Puniyana
IIT Bombay*

A Call For Sanity and Amity

The Indian and Pakistani forces have for many years, exchanged fire along the Line of Control in Kashmir. The ongoing Border War in the Kargil Sector of Jammu and Kashmir has been a matter of grave concern, as this may well lead to an all-out war, with disastrous consequences for the peoples of both nations As both countries have now become nuclear weapons capable, there is serious risk of these weapons being used, by accident or design thereby adding an unimaginable new and horrifying dimension to this entire conflict

The current violation of the LOC by the Mujahideens/infiltrators, assisted by Pakistani Armed Forces, has led to this unfortunate situation. However the root cause for these recurrent violations lies in the non resolution of the long standing Kashmir question ' Despite being signatories to both the Simla Agreement and the recent Lahore Declaration, which specifically highlights the resolution of all disputes by peaceful means and negotiation, we find ourselves locked in yet another round of hostilities.

Before things get out of hand, we would like to impress upon the political leadership in both our countries the urgent need to cease all military activities, and to take steps to restore peace and stability in the region This, we believe, can only be achieved by resorting to negotiations in the spirit of the Simla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration, to arrive at a permanent and acceptable political resolution of the dispute.

*Admiral L Ranulas
Chairperson India Chapter
Pakistan-India Peoples Forum
for Peace and Democracy
June 18, 1999*

The Nuclear Danger Is No Fantasy

Praful Bidwai

However one looks at its genesis and its remarkably inept handling by New Delhi, the Kargil crisis highlights, as nothing else, the sub-continent's strategic volatility and the fragility of the Lahore process. If the Indian army had to wait till May 6 to be informed of the unprecedented large-scale intrusion by a shepherd, and then took six days to report this to the defence ministry, and if the ministry two days later still said the infiltrators only occupied "remote and unheld areas", then there is something deeply wrong with our security decision-making. The sudden switch from smugness and inaction to high-profile air strikes with their high-risk escalation potential testifies to the same flaws. One year after Pokaran-II, these put a huge question-mark over nuclearisation's claimed gains. The Bomb has comprehensively failed to raise India's stature, strengthen our claim to a Security Council seat, expand the room for independent policy-making, or enhance our security.

India stands morally and politically diminished: a semi-pariah state to be equated with Pakistan, and periodically reminded of Security Council Resolution 1172. Most Third World countries see India as contradictory: a nation that for 50 years rightly criticised the hypocrisy of the Nuclear Club, only to join it; a country that cannot adequately feed its people, but has hegemonic global ambitions. Our neighbours, crucial to our security, see us as an aggressive, discontented state that violated its own long-standing doctrines without a security rationale.

After prolonged talks with the U.S., in which we put our "non-negotiable" security up for discussion, India remains a minor, bothersome, factor in Washington's game-plan as a non-nuclear weapons-state. South Asia's nuclearisation has enabled Washington to grant Pakistan what Islamabad has always craved, and which New Delhi has always denied it, viz parity with India. Today, India and Paki-

stan act like America's junior partners. Washington last August drafted both to smash the unity of the Non-Aligned in the Conference on Disarmament on linking PMCT talks with the five NWSs agreeing to discuss nuclear disarmament. If nuclearisation had enhanced our capacity for independent action, we would not

Security based on deterrence is nothing but hope masquerading as strategy!

have been mealy-mouthed on the U.S. bombing of Sudan and Iraq nor capitulated to unreasonable U.S. demands on patents. Nuclearisation has put India on the defensive in SAARC and ASEAN, in NAM and the World Bank. Damage control remains the main preoccupation of our diplomacy one year after the mythical "explosion of self-esteem". Worse, nuclearisation has drawn India into dangerous rivalry with Pakistan and China. India has eight times more fissile material than Pakistan. But in nuclear, more isn't better. The truth is, India has become for the first time vulnerable to nuclear attacks on a dozen cities, which could kill millions, against which we are wholly defenceless.

By embracing the "abhorrent" doctrine of nuclear deterrence, we have committed what we ourselves used to describe as a "crime against humanity" This article of faith assumes that adversaries have symmetrical objectives and perceptions; they can inflict "unaccept-

able" damage on each other; and will behave rationally, 100 per cent of the time. These assumptions are dangerously wrong. India-Pakistan history is replete with asymmetrical perceptions, strategic miscalculation, and divergent definitions of "unacceptable". For fanatics, even a few Hiroshimas are not "unacceptable". Deterrence breaks down for a variety of reasons: misreading of moves, false alerts, panic, and technical failures. The U.S. and USSR spent over \$900 billion (or three times our GDP) on sophisticated command and control systems to prevent accidental, unintended or unauthorised use of nuclear weapons. But the Cold War witnessed over 10,000 near-misses. Each could have caused devastation. Gen. Lee Butler, who long headed the U.S. Strategic Command, says it was not deterrence, but "God's grace", that prevented disaster.

Generally disaster-prone India and Pakistan will have no reliable command and control systems for years. Their deterrence is ramshackle, if not ram-bharose. A nuclear disaster is substantially, qualitatively, more probable in South Asia than it ever was between the Cold War rivals. Kargil starkly highlights this. It would be suicidal for India and Pakistan to deploy nuclear weapons and then "manage" their rivalry. They must never manufacture, induct or deploy these weapons. India must not erase her own memory. For decades, she correctly argued that deterrence is illegal, irrational, strategically unworkable, unstable, and leads to an arms race. The "minimum deterrent" proposition does not weaken this argument's force. Minimality is variable and subjective, determined not unilaterally, but in relation to adversaries. Embracing deterrence means entering a bottomless pit. That is why the NWSs' "hard-nosed" realists ended up amassing overkill arsenals—enough to destroy the world 50 times. The danger that India could get drawn into an economically ruinous and strategically disastrous nuclear arms race, especially with China, is very real.

Doing Unto Others

K.P.S. Gill

Consider the larger truth. Nuclear weapons do not give security. Because of their awesome power, their use, even threat of use, is determined less by military, than by political, factors. That is why America cannot translate its enormous atomic prowess into real might. Nuclear weapons have never won wars or decisively tilted military balances. Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Falklands, the Balkans, all expose their a-strategic nature. They are not even effective instruments of blackmail. State after state, from tiny Cuba to China, has defied nuclear blackmail attempts. Nuclear weapons are false symbols of prestige. But they are ruinously expensive. To build and maintain a tiny arsenal, about a fifth of China's, will cost about Rs. 50,000 crores. This will further inflate our bloated military budget. Already, New Delhi spends twice as much on the military as on health, education and social security put together.

With Pokaran-II, and now Kargil, Kashmir stands internationalised. It is widely seen as a potential flashpoint for a nuclear confrontation. Largely symbolic events like Lahore, while welcome, do not alter the causes or conditions of Indo-Pakistan rivalry. The Lahore agreements do not even commit the two to slow down nuclear and missile development, only to inform each other of their tests. Such limited confidence-building can easily collapse, as Kargil vividly demonstrates.

Add to this debit side the enormous social costs of militarism, tub-thumping jingoism and male-supremacist nationalism; of further militarisation of our science; legitimisation of insensate violence; and psychological insecurity among the young. The Pokaran balance-sheet looks a deep, alarming, red. But there is good news too: nuclear weapons aren't popular. According to recent polls, 73 per cent of Indians oppose making or using them. After November's "Pokaran- vs-Pyaaz" state elections, politicians know that nukes don't produce votes. And now, Kargil should induce sobriety. For sanity's sake, the nuclear genie should be put back into the bottle. What human agency can do, it can also undo.

The Times of India, June 2, 1999

Ig the emergency and for some years after that as well, (I belong to the generation which can still remember the emergency!), Arun Shourie was one of my heroes. But read him now! The guy wants that we should supply arms and encourage insurgency in Pakistan, Have we learnt nothing from the sorry episode in Sri Lanka, Therefore it is a special pleasure to publish the following article from the most unlikely source. K.P.S. Gill is the person most closely connected with the police rule in the Punjab during the insurgency there.

is tempting and there are some who now vociferously advocate that we do to Pakistan what they are doing to us. It would be easy to arm and instigate the growing armies of malcontents in Pakistan, pushing that nation into a spiral of violence and anarchy. The Punjabis dominate the armed forces and governance in Pakistan. The people of Sindh, Balochistan and NWFP are alienated. So are the Mohajirs. Even the minority Islamic sects like the Shias and the Ahmediyas have serious grievances. It would be easy to inject a spark of provocation into this incendiary mix of mutual animosities.

This is an option that India has consistently, and rightly, refused to exercise. The proof of the sagacity of this choice is available in Pakistan itself. Pakistan celebrates the destruction of Afghanistan through its strategy of Talibanisation as a great victory; but this is the beginning of its own eventual probable disintegration. As the ravaging armies of Islamic fundamentalism return to Pakistan, their attention may be temporarily diverted to Kashmir and India; but they will in time inevitably claim what they now regard as their own. In our age, when nations provoke and support campaigns of violence and terrorism in their own neighbourhood, they inevitably fall victim to the scrooge themselves. A victory for terrorism anywhere in the world today is a victory for terrorism everywhere.

That is why the pursuit of peace if India's best, indeed only, option. And that is why, to a realist, the conflict in Kargil only reiterates the fact that, in a war between India and Pakistan, there never can be a victory, we must defeat the fundamentalist ideologies that threaten to plunge the entire region into a con-

flagration that may well destroy us all. The greater war that we must now engage in is the war for minds.

All fundamentalist creeds preach an identical message of exclusion and hatred. These malignant doctrines, and not Islam, motivate what the fanatics in Pakistan and their supporters elsewhere, call the jihad in Kashmir. The mullahs of Pakistan have reduced the teachings of one of the great religions of the world to a travesty, brainwashing young men - many of them mere children - to commit murder, and to die, in wayward wars of aggression on foreign soil. But this blasphemous creed of hatred and slaughter offends against all religion. Indeed, if Pakistan seeks a righteous cause for jihad it would find it within its own borders - for Islam is far more secure in India today than it is there. But such a jihad, must be conceived of in terms of an act of spiritual purification, not the intolerant and spiteful violence of the bigots who presently pervert the destiny of Pakistan through a falsification of their faith.

India has an immense advantage in the ideological war against extremism, the tolerance and diversity of its Constitutional creed. But this creed must be translated into policies that will create a society less inequitable and far more humane than the one we have today. If we can achieve this, we will win votaries to this faith even among those who have, beyond our borders, been nurtured on a hatred of the very idea of India. And that would, indeed, be a great victory.

From: The Times of India

Plastic Patriotism in Wartime

Nivedita Menon

WTAR brings super-profits to arms-dealers. And to patriots. Overnight, individuals quick to seize the opportunity have publicised their own names on hoardings in Delhi, urging our boys to die anonymous deaths in the icy wastes of Kargil — *dekhna hai zor kitna bazu-e-quatil mein hai*, they declaim. Kill a thousand, the enemy is warned, we have thousands more where these came from. Thousands of young men for whom the army means a livelihood, a way of looking after desperately poor families

his village in Kerala, "All the boys dying there are my sons, Indian and Pakistani. What is the use of this war?"

Of course our soldiers are patriotic and self-sacrificing. They do it for the rest of us, who can prove our patriotism by putting up bill boards. Or by clicking on web sites. Or take the boys of Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, who organised a function in Delhi University to give their blood for Bharat Mata. Solemnly they cut their thumbs and applied tilak to the cardboard forehead of a cardboard figure. Cardboard patriotism.

but that we do not want the G-8 to come barging in. (How drearily unsurprising the very media which trumpeted its anti-imperialism in welcoming the bomb is bursting with pleasure and pride now that Uncle Sam has patted us on the head with his own bloodied hands)

Logic of Borders

The Kashmir issue is internationalised already. The question is do we now cave in to the world police? Or can we move towards forging new links in the Third World? Through Asian, particularly South Asian intervention, and through the mediation of world leaders of stature like Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Yasser Arafat. Every day someone's son is killed in Kargil. Does his death really mean nothing to us if the flag covering his body is their green and not our tricolour? But "they" tortured "our" men. That is truly horrifying, and the pain of the families unimaginable. But are we still talking of war here? And of armies?

For wars are fought to win. If you don't win, you lose — there are no awards for fine sportsmen. The point of a war is that whoever is fought against is the enemy, whether it is another country or "anti-national elements" within our own. That precisely is the business of the army, to win by any means possible. If these things have never bothered you, why the sudden invocation of courtesy and codes of conduct? But there are many of us whom these things do and have bothered, and we have always protested the violation of human rights by the state. We simply don't see the logic of borders which must, be defended to the last citizen. For ours is the doubtless quirky belief that people are the nation, not borders, not big dams, not nuclear might. What is yours? Identical twin mushroom clouds over intact borders?

From Tunes of India

(The author was involved in the data collection during the survey of health effects at Rawatbhata nuclear power plant in 1991)

Since April 13, 1984, Indian and Pakistani troops have engaged with one other, eyeball to eyeball, for control of the 76-km long glacier. At Rs 3 crore per day, the Indian Army's expenditure for maintaining control over the icy heights, over 5557 days amounts to a whopping Rs 16,601 crore

New Links

Do I care at all that young men are being killed in terrible ways out there in inhospitable, uninhabitable terrain? That the bland phrase hand-to-hand combat means intimate, terrifying face-to-face death? It is because we do care that hundreds of thousands of us protested at India's bomb in towns and cities all over the country, anonymous people, students and housewives, professionals and workers, academics and journalists. We protested because our patriotism lies in a longing for peace, for a world in which we do not have to send our young boys to kill and be killed, and because we knew that the bomb would destabilise the region and create a series of confrontations. We were derided by the strategic experts who said the bomb meant peace. They said having the bomb meant both parties would be more circumspect.

It gives us no joy at all in being proved right. But we were. And I believe that we are right now, those of us who say that this particular episode cannot be seen in isolation that Kashmir is an issue which has to be resolved, and diplomatically, not by irresponsible warmongers flexing their muscles and sending other people's sons to their deaths. That it clearly cannot be handled bilaterally any more,

When Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw made a public statement to this effect a couple of years ago, all his tested and proved patriotic valour was set at naught, and everyone, from retired army generals to politicians, was baying for his blood. Strip him of his titles was the mildest demand from men who were greater patriots than poor Sam could ever be. Greater patriots they, than the mother of the soldier killed at Kargil, who, dry-eyed, said to reporters when his body was brought home to

Real War is Against Hate and Anger

Rajani Bakshi

Violence we are told is sometimes necessary. Thus, killing (the intruders on our borders is not only justified, it is a heroic act. After all, they attacked us. There is valour in defending yourself with the able use of weapons.

While our soldiers do the actual killing, moreover, it is considered necessary for the rest of us to hate the 'enemies' vigorously, zealously cultivating and maintaining anger against them. Therefore, we have the phenomenon of fire-crackers being burst to 'celebrate' the defeat of Pakistani team in the World Cup final. There seems to be an almost vicious glee at that crushing defeat of our brothers turned neighbours turned enemies.

Still, let us pause to consider the Puranic tale about two great warriors who were locked in hand-to-hand combat. Both were highly trained Kshatriya princes. They fought long and hard, until one of them fell to the ground. As the would be victor raised his sword to strike the final blow in the conflict, he saw a cringing fear in the eyes of his opponent. This made him angry, A Kshatriya warrior is not permitted to feal or show fear.

Immediately, the victorious warrior withdrew. "Go," he said to his flattened opponent. "I cannot kill you in anger." In that prince's world-view, a fair martial contest, even leading to the death of one participant, is a fulfillment of his swadharma or duty. But the moment anger or hatred enter into such an action, it is reduced to violence and thus becomes sinful.

Cannon Fodder

The same story appears in the Japanese tradition. A warrior set out to find and punish the man who assassinated his guru. For two years he searched high and low, finally tracking down the culprit in a forest cave. At the end of a bitter duel, the assassin fell and was about to be struck dead. At the last moment, the fallen man spat in the face of the victor, who became enraged and immediately pulled back. He

could not carry out even a deserved punishment in anger. Instead, he let his opponent go, vowing to track him down yet again and carry out the execution in a fating manner.

Such stories offer little comfort to the modern soldier, who seldom comes face to face with his opponent, but fights with, and falls to, long-range weaponry. Is this why anger and hatred are now regarded as necessary weapons on both sides? In the absence of these emotions, we might begin to realise that soldiers on both sides end up being used as cannon fodder.

Instead, we seek to give meaning to the death of 'our' soldier by remembering his everyday humanity. In doing this, we make ourselves forget that the same is true for 'their' soldier. Perhaps we fear that, if we think about the children on both sides whose daddies will never come home, our anger against the bad guy, 'Other' will be sapped,

Even if it is true that their violence came before ours, hatred and anger are *never* neutralised by counter-hatred and counter-anger. It is anger itself which is the only real 'bad guy' in the story

Not Utopian Idealism

It seems sacrilegious to suggest that the fallen soldiers and innocent civilians on both sides are actually the victims of those who foster anger and conflict. For, once we have accepted this, we all become accessories to the crime. Haven't most of us joined in the easy practice of hatred at some point?

One possible escape from this into recognise that the real enemy is a mind-set which holds strife to be the inevitable lot of humankind. But, to contradict that now famous piece of pop lingo, "We are not like that only "

There is an enormous power behind the conviction that we are here to pursue a higher evolutionary destiny. It is not utopian ideal-

ism to believe that the human species is slowly but surely evolving towards higher levels of being. Neither is this an esoteric and remote ideal. We can all participate in it by our daily actions. We can do this by seeing the conflict on our borders differently by refusing to participate in a seemingly endless cycle of conflict and hatred.

.....

The best tribute to the soldier who is laying down his life is not to vow further 'vengeance. Rather, we can work to ensure that his family will live in peace and his children will never be called to serve on any battlefield. Enough of us have to feel this way on both sides of the border, and act on our convictions, to prevent governments or terrorist groups from warring - either on our behalf, or against us

.....

South Asia: A Plea for Peace

The never-ending process of defence build-up in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent, will have to be, no matter what the ground situation, carefully scrutinised and a balance struck between perceived military threats and the real risk of a dramatic economic crash.

Despite the crushing poverty of their respective populations, the two countries are spending approximately \$ 30 billion a year on defence, twice as much as Saudi Arabia, a country 25 times wealthier. Both countries have six times more soldiers than doctors, in a region where epidemics, disease, starvation and death are rampant. How tragically comic that after bleeding their economies, the two governments, despite high and lofty slogans of breaking their respective begging bowls, continue to beg and submit to all sorts of conditionalities from IMF, World Bank and other international lending institutions.

Nations have no strength when their people starve, groan and grieve under immense economic hardships. South Asia trails behind while the rest of the developing world surges ahead. 800 million South Asians do without elementary sanitation, hilly 380 million are illiterate, and 300 million drink from ponds rather than taps. South Asia is just not prepared to enter the 21st century. It does not invest enough in its people.

India hopes to be a regional superpower, but cannot become one with the scale of sheer poverty that exists. The lesson of Cold War rivalry is not that capitalism triumphed over communism, but that political power not backed by economic strength is unsustainable. The Soviet Union collapsed because it could not feed its people. All its tanks, submarines and secret service meant nothing in the ultimate analysis.

Economic policies being pursued in the region are unlikely to improve the conditions of the vast majorities in these countries. The defence budgets of the region devour an overwhelming amount of revenues, followed by

loan servicing and maintenance of a huge inefficient bureaucracy, with very little left for the social sector. For instance, Pakistan's military spending for the year 1996-97 was Rs. 115 billion. This means spending Rs. 316 million every day, Rs. 13 million every hour, Rs. 219,280 every minute and Rs. 3,654 every second, on the military. A day's saving on military spending can be spent on the development of one city. It costs about a million rupees to build a primary school in a village. By saving on arms we can pay for building over 100,000 schools in one year. It costs Rs. 2 lakhs to install a new tubewell for a village. By saving on arms we can pay for installing over half a million tubewells in one year.

Economic growth is not enough; there has to be distributive justice. Three decades ago, Pakistan had one of the highest rates of growth in the developing world - seven per cent a year. So why were people protesting on the streets? The reason was that economic growth had not touched their lives • Income distribution was skewed against the poor. The lesson was clear: you have to put people at the centre, enrich their lives, and provide them with options.

Amidst all the gloom, South Asia itself provides examples of the dynamism that can be released when human lives are made the focus. In Bangalore, once they started training people in computers, the industry took off and India is now the second largest exporter of software in the world. Before 1971, what was then East Pakistan, did not have significant industry. Today Bangladesh has out-competed India and Pakistan; it exports \$2 billion worth of garments to North America and Europe. India and Pakistan must take the lead and turn South Asia away from the abyss.

The SAARC organisation has remained an exercise in protocol without substance. Beyond the realm of mutual distrust and consensual antagonism, SAARC must be energised and revitalised. Instead of issuing Utopian declarations at the culmination of each

meeting, a down-to-earth approach should be adopted. Each member of SAARC must agree under a multilateral agreement to cut live per cent of military spending annually, and to earmark the money released for education and health. Having proved beyond doubt that they are established nuclear powers, India and Pakistan must also come to an understanding on the nuclear issue. Now is the time to act in a sensible, rational and prudent manner, sit down and talk about 'human' and 'social' issues, so that the enormous resources can become available for social needs.

The existing political structures of India and Pakistan are not conditioned to accept proposals such as these. For this reason, the people should take the lead, through energetic advocacy and use of the increasingly powerful and border-less media. It is time for civil society to conduct a 'bypass operation' around reluctant politicians, who are never willing to stake their lives and reputations for social justice. Those who seek to restore normal dialogue and bring down the walls that separate people, can begin from a base that has survived years of undue, tension and confrontation. Participants in the Indo-Pakistan People's Forum, for example, or the Neemrana initiative, recognise a simple truth, that political obstacles to a normalisation of relations will be removed only by a demonstration of popular will by ordinary citizens. Today, the people of both sides of the divide have the opportunity to replace the language of confrontation with the vocabulary of reconciliation, to bring the sufferings of the Kashmiri people to an end, to reverse the economic deterioration of a region with enormous potential and to join the rest of the world in dealing with the threat we inevitably face and the promise we can all share.

Of course, there are tremendous vested interests in the power structures of the two countries. There is little understanding of the social opportunity costs of buying more and more sophisticated armaments. But why should we assume these are immutable? Eve-

ry where outside our subcontinent, people are leading change, which comes about much faster today because ideas cross borders much more easily. We should, therefore, let the talk of missile development and nuclear proliferation give way to talk of human development. Let the job of building confidence begin and the history of mistrust and suspicion come to an end. Let the great civilisation of this extraordinary part of the world flourish once

again. Let the voice of its poets speak of peace. Let merchants and traders of business interact ; let good now freely between markets. Most important, let our children live, without fear and without rancour, united in hope, speaking the common language of a people at peace with themselves.

*Ahson Saeed Hasan
The Nation Wednesday. July 7.1999*

Shame On Us

In a new report published on July 16, Human Rights Watch charged that human rights violations by all parties in Kashmir have been a critical factor behind the conflict.

The report says that if those violations had been seriously addressed at any time over the last ten years, the risk of a military confrontation between India and Pakistan might have been reduced. The escalation in fighting has made it urgent that the international community put pressure on India to end widespread human rights violations by its security forces in Kashmir, and on Pakistan to end its support for abusive militant groups.

"The diplomats have focused on getting India and Pakistan each to stay behind the so-called "Line of Control," said Patricia Gossman, senior researcher with Human Rights Watch. "But repression and abuse on both sides are keeping this conflict alive. Unless there is pressure on both India and Pakistan to end the abuses, international diplomacy to defuse the conflict is bound to fail."

The 44-page report, *Behind the Conflict in Kashmir*, focuses on the border areas in southern Kashmir where militant forces have been crossing over from Pakistan. The report documents several of the massacres of Hindu civilians carried out by these groups and their local counterparts, in which more than 300 civilians were killed between 1997 and mid-1999.

In response to these attacks, Indian forces in the area have retaliated against local Muslims whom they accuse of supporting the

militants. The brutal tactics they employ — including summary executions, "disappearances," torture and rape'— have provoked widespread alienation from India.

The Indian army has aggravated the situation by recruiting ex-servicemen, who for historical reasons are almost exclusively Hindu, to serve in Village Defence Committees (VDCs) that assist the army in military operations. In Doda and the border districts, where the population is nearly evenly divided between Hindus and Muslims, there is growing concern that tensions between the two communities might ignite a wider communal conflict.

Although fighting has waned elsewhere in the Kashmir valley and the Indian government has claimed that "normalcy" has returned, abuses by the army, federal paramilitary forces and a newly constituted police force are rife. Human rights defenders have been killed, tortured and threatened, while detentions and "disappearances" have left residents fearful of speaking out.

Indian forces have also continued to arm counter militant militias to work with the army and other security forces, but without any official accountability. These militias have assassinated human rights activists and journalists and have threatened and assaulted other civilians.

Custodial killings — the summary execution of detainees—remain a central component of the Indian government's counterinsurgency strategy. In this report, Haman

Rights Watch documents nine that occurred in 1998 and one that occurred in 1997. The killings continue because senior Indian officials say there is no other way to counter a serious "terrorist" threat.

"Disappearances" of detainees also remain a serious problem. Not only has chetiractice continued, but there has been no accountability for hundreds of cases of "disappearances" that have taken place since 1990. Indian security forces also engage in brutal forms of torture which likewise have the sanction of senior officials. The latter privately justify the practice on the grounds that there is no other way to obtain information from a suspect. In fact, torture is also routinely used to punish-suspected militants and their supporters, and to extort money from their families.

Methods of torture include severe beatings with truncheons, rolling a heavy log on the legs, hanging the detainee upside down, and use of electric shocks. Indian security forces have raped women in Kashmir during search operations, particularly in remote areas outside of major cities and towns.

Prosecutions of security personnel responsible for abuses are rare. The United Human Rights Commission's work is severely hampered by the fact that it cannot directly investigate abuses carried out by the army or other federal forces. Although government officials claim that disciplinary measures have been taken against some security personnel, criminal prosecutions do not take place.

Militant groups operating in the Kashmir valley have also targeted civilians, assassinating political leaders, civil servants and suspected informers. They have massacred Hindu families and threatened others in an attempt to drive Hindus from the region.

The report is based on a mission to Indian-controlled Kashmir in October 1998. India does not officially permit international human rights organizations to conduct investigations, the report is available at Human Rights Watch's web site:

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/kashmir/>

Not An Inch Of Our Land But What About The People?

Rashme Sehgal

A huddle of 30 dishevelled children sits on the cold floor of an improvised classroom overlooking the snow-capped moun-

tains whose slopes dip sharply into the turbulent Sindh river. They have no textbooks, no pencils. But their teacher Ghulam Mohiuddin, from the village of Matayan in the Kargil district, holds classes every morning. The children repeat their multiplication tables in an attempt to pretend things are normal.

Mohiuddin, 52, looks on sternly. He does not hesitate to thump a child if he gets too frisky. "It would have been better if the local administration had provided these children with text books so that they do not lose a crucial year. But since they have not visited us even once to find out whether we are dead or alive or even bothered to give us essentials like rice and kerosene or money with which to buy them, expecting them to fork out school books is asking for the moon," he says.

The village of Matayan has 400 inhabitants. On the night of May 13, the Pakistani army started shelling this settlement. The terrified villagers, the majority of whom are Muslims, trekked down the Zoji Lapass, making their way down to the safety of the village of Kulan, located at 8000 feet.

"We left our homes in panic. We brought nothing, not even our warm clothes. We left behind our cooking utensils, our grains and our animals, certain that the government would help us till we could return home" says 50-year-old Noori.

"But we have become beggars in our own country," she laments. "We would have starved were it not for the kindness of the local villagers. They have fed us and allowed us to live in their homes. We are grateful for that." The people from her village nod in quiet agreement. They have yet to come to terms with such bureaucratic callousness.

"Most of the villagers who have migrated from Matayan are suffering from malnutrition, gastro-enteritis and scabies," says Dr Shabir, a medical officer with the Jammu and Kashmir state government working at a nearby dispensary. "Were it not for the locals, things would have been worse."

If Matayan is the first village that you encounter crossing the Zoji La pass, Pandrass, at 10,000 feet, is the second. The villagers from there, now living in the village of Gagan Gir, have an equally harrowing tale of state neglect.

The shelling of Pandrass began on May 6. The villagers hoped it would end quickly, and so initially refused to leave. The Indian army, unwilling to take chances with their safety, provided them with transportation up to Neelgral, from where it was a three-day march down to Gagan Gir. The journey was a nightmare. The nights were biting cold and this group of 200 doughty villagers — many with their children — were forced to sleep in the open.

Still they were better off than their brethren from Matayan. The J&K Power Development Board had a number of offices lying vacant in Gagan Gir and they were given permission to stay here. But Faiz Ahmed Kari, district project officer in Kargil, who was forced to leave his home and move here with his family, complains of the lack of other support.

"For 60 years, we have looked after the borders. In winter, the temperature here drops to minus 50 degrees Celsius. We live in mud houses that are completely sealed off for seven long winter months. We live with our cattle on the same floor for the warmth of their bodies. We stock up food like 'sattu' (roasted barley flour) and survive on salt lea with yak milk.

"Now we have come away, leaving our homes empty. Our animals are at the mercy of half-wild dogs. Surely the government owes

us something. A few government functionaries have visited us but have extended no aid whatsoever. Shabir Shah is the only leader who has been to our camp and has given Rs 500 in cash to each family. Surely the government should realise that we need special assistance," Kari adds.

Wherever one goes, there is a smouldering anger at how a diligent and stoic people, unafraid of coping with extreme weather and negligible natural resources, have been given the short shrift by the state government.

Some compare their flight with that of the Kashmiri pandits in Jammu. Abdul Wahid, an agricultural officer in Kargil points out, "When the Kashmiri pandits left the valley, look at the hue and cry created in the press. Today every Kashmiri pandit family forced to leave is receiving Rs 2,500 per month from the government. In comparison, the only aid we have received is five kilos of rice per family and four kilos of kerosene. How far will that get us?"

Many of the villagers simply want to be allowed to go back to their homes to bring back essentials. "Surely the army should grant us permission to get some stock to help us survive," is a common refrain.

The Kargilis face an uncertain future. The farmers fear the loss of their animals. The children fear the loss of a year of their education. And together, they fear the winter that will set in, come September. Drass is the second coldest inhabited place in the world. Matayan and Pandrass are no less uninviting. They have learnt to fight the adversity of nature, but the indifference of the local government? That hurts.

The Tunes of India Review, July 4, 1999

A Way Out of Kashmir Quagmire

S. P. Udayakumar

It will soon be minus fifty degrees celsius in the heights at Kargil, Even urinating is a - painful activity at such temperatures. Our soldiers no doubt deserve the best to cope with the conditions. But what about the people who live there year in and year out. Don't they too deserve our help? Are they not Indians?

There is no dearth of patriotic fervour, nationalistic rhetoric, strategic analysis, and mindless moralising on Kashmir but one can hardly find any concrete proposals to get out of this quagmire that has sapped the resources, energies and vitality of both India and Pakistan.

Probable Solutions

There are a range of possible solutions:

- 1) Either of the countries having whole of Kashmir
- 2) Both not having it
- 3) Both having parts of it.
- 4) Both having the whole of it.

Neither India nor Pakistan would even think of letting the other have Kashmir completely. If one of them were to do that, we would not have this conflict at all.

The other option of both countries having parts of Kashmir has not worked. India has controlled two thirds of Kashmir as the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and Pakistan the remaining one third of it as Azad Kashmir (after acceding Shaksgam and a few other pockets of land to China which also controls Aksai Chin area). This unofficial division along the Line of Control has always been considered by both India and Pakistan as some kind of an interim arrangement before they acquire complete control over the whole of Kashmir. Kargil episode demonstrates all this amply well.

There are powerful groups who demand reunification of Kashmir and complete independence from both India and Pakistan. Can all the Kashmiris together form a viable country of their own? Both India and Pakistan are united in refusing to even consider this possibility.

It leaves us then with only one option both India and Pakistan having the **whole** of Kashmir. One may wonder how on earth is it

possible for the two age old archenemies together to administer peace and justice to the Kashmiris? One may argue that religious antagonism, communal mistrust, social myths, historical traumas, and military wars are not conducive to this arrangement. But South Asians are in a situation where they need to choose between swimming together or sinking together.

As the first step, both the Indian and Pakistani elites should come to grips with reality. Instead of concentrating on the strategic, political, historical and cartographic anti-theses from their viewpoints, the elites should open up the arena for popular discussions.

When the "ordinary citizens" of India and Pakistan begin to debate openly and freely that will free up our political creativity and enhance our ability to find an amicable settlement for the issue.

There are many ways for India and Pakistan to have the whole of Kashmir. Joint administration of the reunified Kashmir of each country administering specific departments in the reunified Kashmir's government, or divided administration that is area specific, period specific, duration specific and so forth.

India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh would need to undertake a bold Constitutional reform program, give greater autonomy to all of their provinces and retain only some key areas such as defence, foreign affairs, currency matters, environmental policy and so forth for the federal government in New Delhi, Islamabad and Dhaka. The most practical way would be India's and Pakistan's area specific administration of Jammu and Kashmir and Azad Kashmir that are coupled together in a broader framework. As Kashmiris of both Jammu and Kashmir and Azad Kashmir manage their own affairs jointly under the new Constitutional reform programme, India and Pakistan can hold on to the portions they have right now.

for administering defence, foreign affairs, and other federal responsibilities in close consultation with each other.

Make Kashmir the Subcontinent's Antarctica. The area that has kept us all divided and poor can be made into a stepping stone for a new beginning for friendship, dignity and development.

The 26 states and six union territories of India, the four provinces, Azad Kashmir, 'tribal areas' and federally administered areas of Pakistan, and the five divisions of Bangladesh can create a loose regional confederation of "Union of Subcontinental States" with economic co-operation, free travel, educational and cultural exchanges and other such confidence building and development enhancing measures.

All this may sound very idealistic or even naive. But then ending the cold war, abolishing apartheid, or bringing the Israeli Jews and Palestinians together all sounded naive and idealistic not too long ago.

The Hindu, July 01, 1999

*"But friend I am just mad"
By reading hooks and piling up
knowledge,
I tortured my mind, gaining nothing
Never did I lighten the lamp of my
heart
Thus always chose the crooked path
Never shared the pain of the
oppressed
Only scattered around words cheap
and meaningless
was mad all life through*

Inayatullah

Breaking Out of the Suicide Pact

More than 500 enthusiastic peace-mongers gathered in Karachi recently — in the first conference of its kind in the region — to demand an end to the nuclearisation of the region and a no-war pact between India and Pakistan as a follow-up to the message of peace and goodwill generated by the meeting of the Prime Ministers of both countries in Lahore recently.

Organised by the Pakistan Peace Coalition (PPC), a national body formed following the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests of May 1998, the two-day Pakistan Peace Conference had a distinctly South Asian flavour, with the attendance of some 30 Indian delegates who got Pakistani visas literally at the last minute. Participants included activists from Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal besides over 400 from all over Pakistan.

PPC comprises the various organisations working for social justice in different Pakistani cities. Its members are basically activists who found their agendas overtaken by the nuclear issue following the May 1998 tests. Delegates to the conference, besides NGO representatives, included economists, film-makers, journalists, lawyers, doctors, trade unionists, women's rights activists, scholars, retired army personnel, students and artists.

There is a symbolic significance in choosing Karachi as the venue, said conference convener B M Kutty, pointing out that this city has been in the news as a violence-prone area. This conference sends out the message that this city and its people ardently desire peace, not only for themselves, but also for all those who live in this country and in the region. Peace in this city is essential to the emergence of a meaningful peace movement in Pakistan.

Until May 1998, all those working for peace and justice presumed a continuity of state and society, commented Zia Mian, a Pakistani physicist currently teaching at Princeton University, USA. Nuclear weapons threaten that continuation as nothing else has ever done.

Also from the USA was journalist and researcher Lawrence Lifshultz, who co-edited a book published last year — Hiroshima's Shadow, an anthology that explodes the 'myth of Hiroshima' — popular beliefs that justify the USA's nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. 'The gathering here has interrupted my pessimism,' commented Lifshultz, who is currently working on another publication on nuclearisation.

What's very encouraging is that the demands of the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy, considered Utopian just a year ago, have infiltrated the official agenda — people-to-people contact, reducing tensions and negotiating through dialogue. So what's happened at this conference could also influence what happens at policy or state level.

Talking about the principal tool the state has employed to subdue civil society — the bogey of national security — PPC organising committee member and Director of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, I A Rehman, in his keynote address commented that the nuclear tests had delivered a most foul blow to people's interests by raising the spectre of their extinction.

Perhaps it was this spectre that galvanised the spirit of voluntarism so evident at the conference, to attend which most Pakistani and overseas participants had paid for their own travel — with the organisers only taking care of room and board in addition to the registration fee of PKR200.

The spirit of cooperation was also very evident in the response to Bombay-based filmmaker Anand Patwardhan's announcement of the peace march due to start from Pokharan on 11 May, the anniversary of the first Indian nuclear test last year. Hundreds of participants signed the petition he circulated, along with donating at least one rupee each to contribute towards the march, totalling over R 1.000 by the time the conference ended.

The Role Model

Many justify the nuclear tests of last May by saying that a balance of terror has been created and therefore the danger of war between India and Pakistan has disappeared. A view that IA Rehman is not prepared to give credence to because 'I am not prepared to credit the apparatuses governing us with the ability to break out of the suicide pact they have painstakingly created.'

Besides the element of human error, he noted, was the point that nuclear weapons have nowhere created a balance in favour of sanity — they have only unleashed a mad race for deadlier weapons for mass destruction. Above all, they do not cause havoc only when they are used in war; their presence in a country itself causes grave harm to the state and the civil society.

Nine working groups, ranging from 25 to 60 participants each, deliberated various questions from the nuclear issue perspective. The idea, rather than announcing a charter of demands, was to spell out what society wants and to give a direction to the struggle to achieve it, explained conference organisers, who are hoping that participants would return to their areas armed with a better understanding of what peace means in today's conditions, and how best to politically mobilise people around a peace agenda. This conference is a rare opportunity for activists to get together, commented scholar Hasan Gardezi, who, like many, is wondering if the peace movement in Pakistan can become an agent of social change.

Islamabad-based political activist and development economist Kaiser Bengali agreed. "There is a need to link movements like this in the larger effort. Isolated, stand-alone efforts don't bear fruit," he said, as charged participants did a symbolic round of the conference venue on the last night, singing songs, and holding aloft flaming torches and white flags.

"We need to make it part of a larger political effort to restructure the state, otherwise it will just be part of what I call Pepsi politics — there's a bit of fizz and then everything settles down. This mustn't be allowed to fall by the wayside like previous efforts.'

Beena Sarwar

In May, India and Pakistan celebrated their first anniversaries as declared nuclear weapon states. On June 11, the United States will continue to celebrate 54 years as a nuclear weapon state by dedicating a facility that will be used to conduct more nuclear explosions. This celebration will be by dedicating to the nation a facility known as "National Ignition Facility" (NIF) at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) in northern California.

The National Ignition Facility's goals include achieving contained thermonuclear explosions and maintaining the US's nuclear weapons capabilities. *The* NIF clearly violates the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which commits the United States 'not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion.' And, since the achievement of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was an explicit decision made in connection with the 1995 extension of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, any activity which violates the Test Ban also violates the Non-proliferation Treaty "

LLNL, managed for DOI- by the University of California, is one of the nation's two premier nuclear weapons research and development institutions. The National Ignition Facility (NIF), a stadium-sized inertial confinement fusion project now under construction at LLNL would be the world's largest laser facility. It is the centre-piece of the \$45 billion (10 year price-tag) "Stockpile Stewardship" program to maintain and enhance U.S. nuclear weapons design capabilities under the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) signed by President Clinton in September 1996. The NIF would operate by focussing 192 powerful laser beams onto a pea-sized capsule of radioactive tritium and deuterium, forcing the two heavy isotopes of hydrogen to combine through compression, and causing a momentary thermonuclear explosion that will create extremely high temperatures approaching those reached in full scale underground nuclear tests. If this works — controversy still exists within the scientific community, "ignition" will be achieved, producing a self-sustaining fusion reaction and resulting energy gain.

In May, in a massive display of nuclear nationalism, the government of Pakistan ordered 10 days of celebrations to mark the anniversary of its first nuclear tests. May 28, 1998 The Ministry of Sports and Culture arranged special events across the country and the National Council of the Arts organised a national competition to commemorate the tests. May 28, the day of the anniversary was a national holiday. It began with a 21 gun salute, followed by special prayers of thanks at the mosques, and a minute of silence followed by the national anthem at the precise moment Pakistan detonated its nuclear tests. The prime minister addressed a public rally at the mausoleum of the founder of Pakistan, and later presided at an award ceremony to honour Pakistan's nuclear weapons scientists. India commemorated the anniversary of its own nuclear tests in a more understated manner, focussing on the purported benefits of science and technology.

"The only thing that separates the United States from Pakistan is 54 years of nuclear explosions and the enormous wealth of the most powerful country on earth," noted Jackie Cabasso. India, which really became a nuclear power in the 1970's, in part through its own inertial confinement fusion program, demonstrates its longer experience in the quality of its propaganda, which more closely resembles that of the U.S." She explained, This NIF 'dedication' ceremony is nothing but a trumped up public relations gimmick to divert attention from our real national security concerns — security of people in their daily lives. The major threat to global peace and security is the United States' continuing drive for global domination through displays of massive high-tech military force backed up by the threatened use of nuclear weapons, as we've just seen in Yugoslavia. The NIF is part and parcel of that system "

The French Atomic Energy Commission Department of Military Applications, which has worked with LLNL since 1981 on co-operative laser fusion programs is currently collaborating with Livermore to build the

Megajoule laser facility, virtually identical to the NIF, in Bordeaux, France. On June 4, 1996, U.S. and French officials signed a memorandum of agreement extending the range of nuclear weapon information they can share. A section on Stockpile Stewardship authorises co-operation on "theoretical, numerical, and experimental simulation methods." Another section permits information exchanges on research, development, testing, fabrication, transportation, and disassembly of both nuclear and explosive components. U.S. and French scientists will also have extensive access to each other's laboratories. The agreement provides for co-operative use of, and "long term visits or assignments or technical personnel to participate in joint projects."

U.S. and British weapons labs also have for many years enjoyed a close relationship, even sharing underground testing facilities in Nevada. Their joint working groups discuss nuclear warhead physics, nuclear weapons engineering, nuclear weapon code development, computational technology, and other related subjects. In 1997 it was reported that the UK Ministry of Defence was actively talking with the U.S. and France about above ground experiments and computer simulation. It was also reported that technical discussions between Britain and France on hydrodynamic experiments, laser plasma physics, computer simulation, and possible arrangements for peer review, were taking place. At the 1995 Anglo-French summit, a joint statement was issued, noting, "the considerable convergence between our two countries on nuclear doctrine and policy."

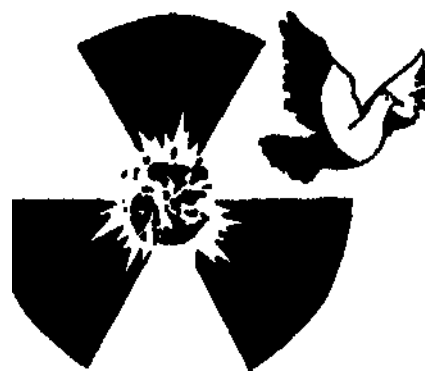
According to Sally Light, "Given the sensitivity around the current allegations of foreign espionage, it is astonishing that the DOB is advertising its close co-operation with France and Britain. Who decides which countries are the good guys and which are the bad guys? The only country that's ever used nuclear weapons?"

In February of this year, a letter was presented to the Regents of the University of California urging the University to declare a moratorium on construction of the NIF at LLNL. The letter, which was signed by 116 organisations and individuals, including aca-

demics and scientists, advised the Regents that contained thermonuclear explosions to be conducted in the NIF "may be considered illegal under the CTBT," which prohibits "any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion." The CTBT also requires parties to "prevent" nuclear explosions in their jurisdictions. The letter concludes, "the Regents should take whatever action is necessary for the Laboratory to suspend work on the NIF project until the legal questions are resolved...The Regents could also use the time during the work suspension to conduct a university-wide debate on the appropriateness of one of the world's greatest universities continuing with nuclear weapons research. This should be a matter of far wider debate within the academic community and the country as a whole. We urge that you use the occasion of the NIF review to initiate that debate."

In a related effort, Ms. Light, with the input of American and French colleagues, has drafted an international petition, available in both English and French, calling on the U.S. and France to respect their commitments to the CTBT and the NPT by immediately halting NIF and Megajoule construction and declaring an end to all such projects.

Sally Light summed up, "The U.S. National Ignition Facility and the French Megajoule laser not only violate the CTBT, they also threaten the current international ratification process of the CTBT, and jeopardise nuclear non-proliferation efforts by encouraging other countries to undertake similar programs." Jackie Cabasso added, "In short, N.I.F. means Nuclear Insanity Forever."



Join
numukti
Fight for a
Nuclear-Free

World

■ Subscription Information

Rs. 36/- per year (6 issues) only within India
Single Copy: Rs 8/- only
U.S. \$ 15/- per year or equivalent in other
currencies for airmail overseas
Rs. 360/ for life (only within India)

Subscriptions articles, general chit-chat should be addressed to:

Editor Anumukti
Sampoorna Kranti Vidyalaya
Vedchhi, 394 641 India
Tel: 02625-20074
Admin@Anumukti.ilbom.ernet.in

Demand drafts should be Made in the name of "Editor Anumukti" and drawn on the State Bank of India, Valod (Code: 0531)
For cheques and drafts drawn on other banks, please add Rs 10/- collection charges

Anumukti Team: Hansa, Daksha, Ranjit, Prashant, Philips, Kalpesh, Sanghamitra and Surendra

Published by
S.Gadekar for Sampoorna Kranti Vidyalaya
Publication Date: July 31, 1998

Printed at:
Ashish Offset, Sankeshwar Complex, Surat

** * * Printed Books * * **
(Clause 121/1 of P &T Guide