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POVERTY AND ENVIRONMENT A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Dr. Qais Aslam¹

Babar Naseem Khan²

Introduction:

The discussion and controversy regarding inter-linkages between poverty and environment has been ongoing from some time, and a consensus between different points of views is far from being achieved. This is so, may be, because the relation between poverty and environment is found to be complex and not as well understood, as it needs to be. It is our contention that causality runs both ways: poverty causes environmental degradation and environmental degradation causes poverty. It is also our contention that affluence also causes environmental damage and still environmental damage causes poverty in return.

It has been rightly observed that the people most gravely affected by environmental problems are generally the poor. This may be seen in terms of rising health bills due to water borne and air borne diseases; or in case of water logging and salinity; or in terms of desertification and drought. For instance, a poor farmer tilling ecologically fragile land is too resource poor to make required investments in resource conservation. Hence, he keeps farming this already degraded land, which results in complete loss of fertility. In this way, the poor become poorer, or in other words, by tilling ecologically marginalized land the person himself/herself becomes

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economically marginalised. All these problems hurt the poor the most and in response poor are bound to revert to unfriendly environmental practices. It might be true that poverty causes environmental degradation, because poor people have no choice but to live a life under some 'set rules' that their 'absolute poverty' dictates. There are other equally important causes to environmental degradation. It is also an equally important statement that the rich and affluent also cause environmental damage with their over-consuming life-styles and less care for their surroundings. Lack of education, lack of knowledge about the environment and lack of know how about environment friendly techniques on both the opposite rings of the socio-economic ladder can cause serious and irreplaceable damage to the environment.

It should also be noted here for record that in the end when mother earth is one big ship silently sailing in the universal ocean of space, all of us – the rich and the poor alike - are passengers and sailors of that ship. When the ship sinks due to serious environmental damage to the social, economic and ecological environment there will be no life rafts that might save one kind of people and not the other – we all sink. Therefore it is also our contention that the economically lucky among us have to help save both the environment and those that are not so lucky among us in order to save mother earth from serious environmental degradation and damage. It is important that this habitat of ours keeps on being alive and healthy and a livable planet (for all-living organisms and humans). It is also important that there is economic prosperity and a reasonably decent standard of living for all. Most important there should also be an *inter a generational equity* and sustainability for the future. All this needs not only a certain level of education, a certain level of knowledge about our environment, but also a

certain level of environmental friendly technology, a certain level of change in our consumption and production behaviors of both the rich and the poor alike. Most importantly it needs to reduce marginalisation of the poor themselves, and a certain level of their empowerment so that they can not only sustain themselves, but also help sustain the environment and development processes for this and for future generations.

Coming back to our debate of environment and poverty, there are numerous examples in which causality is seen to run both ways. But here a clarification is in line that in no way are we emphasizing that only the poor are responsible for environmental damage. As it is explained in later sections of the paper, in a lot of places, poor are seen as the very people involved in environment friendly practices. Moreover, ecologists have always condemned the rich that it is they who in pursuit of higher consumption patterns have harmed the environment the most. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to analyze the linkages between poverty and environment. We believe that environmental protection is as much of our concern as of the developed countries. We also believe that environmental protection and poverty alleviation should be as much concern of the developed world as of the less developed world. We also believe that policies aiming at poverty alleviation also in turn help preserve the environment, if they are pointed in the right direction. In other words: a) This paper may be considered as an attempt to clear this misconception that environment is not a concern of the less developed countries and is just a fashionable fad! b) We have tried to analyze historically the doubts that existed in the minds of the third world about the environmental movement. And c) we have also

focused on Pakistan and the environmental problems it faces.

Historical Context to Environmental Awareness

People have been living in different parts of the world in different stages of relative and absolute poverty and affluence, practicing different believes, having different cultures and pursuing through different ways and techniques in their quest for economic sustenance and development. Most of these methods and believes were regional in character, also were sustainable both to human environment as well as to the natural environment around them. With industrialization and technological development came both the rapid production techniques, as well as the dependence on the market economic system. This brought about affluence and prosperity in many parts of the world, especially the North, where industrial / technological development had taken roots and sown the seeds of market economic system. Soon the quest for expansionism started. With this the replacement of centuries old sustainable techniques of production and consumption with modern capital intensive techniques of production and commercialism. The world was fast becoming one in many aspects of the word. With prosperity also came exploitation and degradation – both of human as well as natural environmental resources. Thus poverty and environmental degradation both became synonymous to the Third World or the less developed South (as it is recently called).

Since the beginning of the 20th century the problems of cross border pollution and environmental degradation had become matters of concern in the developed North, although the use of the word environment is quite recent. Early vivid examples of the

growing concern of the world about environment degradation and the need for a uniform and collective effort to solve them are the 1909 treaty between USA and Canada respecting *Boundary Waters*. In the 1940's - the 1940 *Convention on Nature Protection Wildlife Preservation in the Western Hemisphere* and 1946 *International Convention on Whaling*. In the 1950's - the 1954 *International Convention for the Preservation of Pollution of the Sea by Oil* (OILPOL '54), the 1958 *UN Convention on the Law of the Sea* and in 1959 the *Antarctic Treaty*. All these treaties show that care for our natural and economic environment had become a part of international economic, political and diplomatic concern. None of them had poverty as its cause. Air pollution became an international issue in 1960s, although, the phenomenon of acid deposition had been known since 1872 when it was linked to the burning of fossil fuels in a book titled '*Air and Rain*' published in Britain. But in 1962 the publication of the '*Silent Springs*' by Rachel Carson shook the Western world to awakening on environmental issues. The first modern warning signs appeared in Sweden and Norway in late 60s, when some lakes in that region could no longer support normal biological processes, including plant and animal life due to cross-border industrial pollution and acid rain. Thus due to this and other growing international environmental concerns Sweden offered to host *United Nations Conference on Human Environment* (UNCHE) in 1972. UNCHE or '*Stockholm Conference 1972*' served as a landmark and set a precedent by becoming the largest conference on environmental issues till then. Both developed and developing countries participated in the conference with enthusiasm and zeal. From Stockholm to Rio de Janeiro 1992 the *United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development* (UNCED or the *Rio Summit*). And the adoption in the same year of *United Nations Framework*

Convention on Climate Change and the *United Nation Convention on Biological Diversity* there is an array of environment related treaties, conventions, dialogues and making of organizations to combat such issue of human and natural development and survival. Most important about *Rio Summit 1992* is that a new era of relationship between environmental degradation and economic development had started. A shift from the realization that economic prosperity brings environmental degradation and that environmental conservation brings about poverty and a decrease in standards of living.

Development and Environmental Movement

In developing nations of the South there has traditionally been a great deal of distrust of the environmental movement. It was viewed as a new way of colonization and is still sometimes referred to as neo-colonialism. Third world countries saw it as a movement, which suspiciously rose when these countries had broken off the yolk of colonization and were embarked on the path of rapid industrialization in order to develop themselves and compete with their developed counterparts. Environmentalism was seen as another ploy to retard the pace of development in the former colonies and make them conserve the natural resources, which they could exploit to grow as the industrially developed North did in their own respective growth period. These suspicions are, to an extent, justified, since industrially developed countries of the North have numerous times, used environmental standards to exclude developing countries of the South's goods from the First world's markets. For the less developed countries, economic development has always been the overriding priority and any environmental fallout is unfortunate, but comparatively insignificant, side effect. And when industrially developed countries used

environmental standards to render the products of developing countries incompetitive in the world market, they saw environmentalism as a mere threat to their advancement and development. The countries of the South have had in mind a long history where the countries of the North practiced exploitation abroad in colonies combined with protectionism at home. The developing world has always been convinced of the need for care of a threatened environment but they were wholly unconvinced by the motives of those who urged such care upon them. It appeared to some that the environment might become a brake on economic development long before availability of capital or foreign markets. But in spite of all these suspicions about environmental movements, by the 70s most developing nations were encountering severe environmental problems such as self-inflicted flooding and drought, urban blight, and industrial pollution. Moreover, development theories, which were prevalent in the past decades, were the ones advocating the 'growth' phenomenon. Growth models like *Harrod-Domar* and *Solow* advocated capital accumulation at all cost in order to attain high levels of GNP and GDP. And in pursuit of such high levels of economic growth, the concern for environment never surfaced. Third world economists termed environment as a 'superior good' and referred to it as concern of the rich. The literature that existed then also supported the paths of industrialization.

In the development field, it had already been recognized by the late 60s that policies aimed at the maximization of economic growth did not have the anticipated effects on the alleviation of poverty, both within and between nations. It could be seen that rapid and unprecedented growth lead to greater inequality but at the same time it still served to achieve high GNP rates.

But this led the change from simply '*growth*' to '*redistribution with growth*'. Later in 70s, the debate shifted to '*basic needs approach*', but environment was never a concern. One of the best examples which confirmed the aims of developing countries regarding development was the survey conducted by Wassily Leontief¹ and a team of collaborators in 1973, sponsored by the United Nations. The initial objective of the study was environmental, being concerned with projecting to the year 2000 the interrelationships between population, resources, environment and development. The world economy was desegregated into fifteen regions, and within each region forty-five sectors of economic activity were described, linked by the inter-regional flow of forty classes of goods and services, capital flows, aid transfers and foreign interest payments. Interestingly, the principal environmental issues taken into account were those concerning pollution, constraints on the extraction of mineral resources and the production of food. Leontief and his colleagues concluded that there were no physical barriers to accelerated developments during the rest of the century. That a much higher rate of development, accompanied by heavy industrialization, is a necessary condition if the average income gap between the developing and the developed countries is to be reduced. Regarding the food production they suggested that to feed the growing world population, it would be necessary to increase the area under cultivation in developing countries by some thirty percent in thirty years, while at the same time productivity should be doubled or multiplied. Leontief was confident that this could be done, given institutional changes. He also concluded that contemporary pollution-abatement technology was sufficient to hold emissions at current levels, at a cost of 1.5 and 2 per cent of GDP. According to him, developing countries did not have a serious problem at present, and

therefore need not suffer any penalty if their per capita GDP was below 700 dollars. A fundamental philosophy towards environmental protection was clearly stated as: "For developing regions planning a limited implementation of pollution-abatement techniques, a realistic estimate of the share of investment diverted from other purposes would not, on the average, be larger than 2 or 4 per cent." ²

This report was severely criticized but at the same time it served as an argument in favor of the developing countries who wanted to accelerate their growth process and considered anything which came in the way as a deceleration and hindrance. But Leontief's projection about food production was regarded as correct, and demand for major increases in productivity and further development of unutilized arable land was seen as just. About the pollution problem, Leontief seemed to believe that the problem was associated with industrialization only and at that time there were many who agreed with him. The economists of the developing countries agreed with Leontief and were of the view that developing nations could afford to ignore pollution, or at least treat it as a relatively minor problem in the course of their early industrialization. The famous Pakistani economist, Dr. Mahbub ul Haq raised the question of a geographical redistribution of industry arising from the growing concern over pollution. He wrote: "There is absolutely no reason why the developing countries should not increasingly concentrate on some of the industries which the developed countries find too "pollutive" or too costly in their context. This, after all, is the basic principal of international division of labor and the shifting comparative advantage. The developing countries, on the whole, have imposed a relatively low demand on their environmental resources in the past so that they can accommodate a

greater volume of waste products, or residuals, at this stage of their development. At the same time, there is no reason why they should not put in some safeguards against major environmental degradation arising out of these industries. These safeguards are obviously going to be much less stringent and, in many cases, relatively less expensive than in the developed countries. As such, the developing countries do not have to give up their concern with environment while specializing in some of these so-called pollutive industries. In fact, a historic opportunity has opened up for them. The developed countries, in their anxiety to grow fast, ignored some of the social costs of their industrialization and these postponed costs have accumulated by now to pose difficult choices for their present generation. If this contributes to slow down the growth of some of these industries in the developed countries and to encourage a move toward a better geographical redistribution of industries toward the developing countries, which were left behind in the race for development, it would only be a just redressing of the international economic balance."³

Stockholm and Rio (and *Agenda 21*) laid down principles that give a guideline on how countries and communities can maintain a reasonable standard of living, eradicate poverty and at the same time preserve the environment for this generation without compromising the needs of the future generations (sustainable development). *Stockholm Declaration* proclaims that, "Man is both creature and moulder of his environment, which gives him physical sustenance and affords him the opportunity for intellectual, moral, social and spiritual growth. In the long and tortuous evolution of the human race on this planet a stage has been reached when, through the rapid acceleration of science and technology, man has acquired the power to transform his

environment in countless ways and on unprecedented scale. Both aspects of man's environment, the natural and the man-made are essential to his well-being and to the enjoyment of basic human rights – even the right to life itself".⁴ Principle 2 of the *Stockholm Declaration* states that, "The natural resources of the earth, including air, water, land, flora and fauna and especially representative samples of natural ecosystems, must be safeguarded of the benefit of present and future generations through careful planning or management, as appropriate".⁵ Principle 3 of the *Rio Declaration* states, that "The right to development must be fulfilled so as to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations".⁶ And Principle 4 of *Rio Declaration* further states that, "In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it".⁷

Environmental Policy Aimed At Poverty Alleviation; Case For Developing Countries:

The most common observation regarding developing countries is that they are poor as well as densely populated. Two third of the world population lives in developing countries of the South out of which mostly are poor. And in most of the countries, rural areas are more poverty ridden than the urban areas. Income opportunities are biased in favor of urban areas as most of the economic activity takes place in urban areas. In rural areas, most of the people earn their livelihoods through their association with agricultural activities and other traditional modes of production and exchange. Most of them are small farmers who have small plots that are used for subsistence farming. There are studies that point to the role of agricultural expansion by poor farmers as the cause of deforestation and other environmentally

damaging land use changes⁸. The argument goes that poor farmers usually have access to ecologically fragile land⁹. The literature points out the 'vicious circle' between poverty and degradation. This circle is *Malthusian* in inspiration, where farmers, pushed by population increase and poverty, extend cropping onto fragile marginal lands, thus, degrading them. The latter reduces the yield, which further impoverishes farmers.¹⁰ The implication of the focus on vicious circle of poverty and degradation is that poverty alleviation will necessarily reduce degradation of the environment, and its inverse, that arresting and reversing environmental decline will help the poor¹¹. It is argued that in an environmentally degraded situation, poorest sections of the society are most adversely affected. According to Dasgupta¹², the vulnerable are often the users of marginal resources and also the most dependent on the common resources of the community in which they live in. Hence the causality runs in both the directions. Poverty causes harm to the environment and environmental degradation affects the poor. Poor are also at a disadvantage regarding agricultural intensification. Boserup¹³, in 1965, outlined a number of technologies and investment paths to agricultural intensification that farmers follow in the wake of increased land constraints and demand for land. Two broad paths can be distilled from Boserup's framework. i) Labor-led intensification path where farmers merely add labor to the production process on given land, allowing them to crop more densely, and weed and harvest more intensively. And ii) the other path is the capital-led intensification path where farmers augment their labor with variable and capital inputs, in particular fertilizers, organic matter and capital that facilitates land improvement. Boserup identifies the second path as having higher land productivity than the former. Similarly, Matlon and Spencer¹⁴ note that the capital-led path is

more sustainable and productive in fragile, resource-poor areas as the fertility-enhancing input use helps the farmer to avoid exhausting the soil during intensification and the capital (land improvements) help avoid erosion and runoff. Therefore, in situations of fragile and degrading environments and land constraints, and lack of opportunity to extensify, poverty-ridden households are unable to make the requisite investments for the capital-led intensification path and find themselves amongst increasing rate of degradation and vulnerable to its productivity consequences.

It is known that population is inversely related to the level of income. Poor tend to have larger families as each child has an economic and financial value in the Third World culture and tradition. Also, due to high infant mortality rates prevalent in developing societies, population tends to be higher. Population dimension relates to poverty and then to the environment.¹⁵ There is no doubt about the fact that larger population exerts greater pressure on the natural environment as natural resource base is fixed and as more and more people demand their use, the pressure on it increases resulting in exploitation and decline in environmental quality.¹⁶ Hence policies aimed at population reduction, in turn, help release the pressure on the environment too. There is considerable evidence to suggest that education especially female education, the level of agricultural employment and level of nutrition and the extent of civil liberty all act to reduce total fertility and thereby, pressure on the environment and natural resource base. Some of these also help reduce poverty. Economic growth has been negatively associated with the level of population growth and so it has been argued that in this way economic growth will be helpful for the environment in the long run. Dasgupta¹⁷ has shown how sections of the

community dependent on natural resources may get locked into a cycle of poverty where high fertility rates are maintained and that in turn exacerbate the pressure on the natural environment. He argues that as common resource management systems break down, then individuals are more able and willing to make family size decisions that do not take full account of the social costs of child rearing, with the use of common resources treated as a free good. With the passage of time, the natural resource gets increasingly depleted and the family unit requires more members to achieve the same level of welfare. Thus a cycle of increasing degradation is initiated.

The Concept of Investment Poverty

Reardon and Vosti¹⁸ introduce the concept of '*investment poverty*' while explaining the linkage between rural poverty and environment. They argue that whenever the poverty-environment linkage is discussed for a range of zones and environmental problems, 'poverty' is usually treated as a single concept. Rarely asked is how the type of poverty influences the poverty-environment link. They say that the range of types of poverty is the range of lack of various assets and income flows derived from them, like:

- 1) human resource assets,
- 2) natural resource assets
- 3) on-farm physical and financial assets,
- 4) Off-farm physical and financial assets.

A household might be well endowed in one asset but poor in another and that the type of poverty can influence the environment-poverty links. They differentiate between what they term as '*welfare poverty*' and investment poverty. They argue that usually in the

environment literature, poverty is measured according to income, consumption, or nutrition criteria as is common in the poverty and food security literature. However, the criterion for poverty in environment-poverty analyses should be the ability to make minimum investments in resource improvements to maintain or enhance the quality and quantity of the resource base, to hinder or reverse resource degradation. A household below this line is termed by the authors as investment-poor to differentiate it from being welfare-poor. They also state that a welfare-poor household is necessarily investment-poor but the converse may not be true as even if a household is above the poverty line, his expenditure patterns may not allow him to indulge in conservation measures or his priorities may not include resource conservation. In the long run, if the household is investment-poor but not welfare-poor, it may lead to natural resource degradation that eventually causes the household to become welfare-poor, i.e., vicious circle may set in. By this analysis, the authors try to show the areas on which policy should concentrate. Its not only by decreasing income-poverty which is helpful for the environment but environment relates to being poor or ignorant about conservation techniques.

Poverty as a Proximate Cause of Environmental Degradation

After advocating that poverty is the worst enemy of the environment, we now argue that its converse, namely, affluence can also be under certain circumstances detrimental for the environment. The idea that poverty is bad for the environment so getting rich is the solution, is not sound. The experience of the rich industrial nations is a lesson in itself for the developing world. Numerous studies have shown that one third of the world population is using the whole world's

resources. To ecologically sustain the consumption patterns of the developed world, an additional arid area of the size of the earth is required.¹⁹ Thus if the third world also attains the same consumption patterns as the developed world which they are aspiring to do, it would end up in ecological breakdown and a catastrophe at large scale. Although economists like Grossman and Krueger²⁰ have tried to show that the relation between economic growth and environment is the same as the relation between economic growth and income distribution, i.e., at initial levels of growth income inequality increases, so does environmental degradation but as nations get richer, income inequality and environmental quality improves. Their model was referred to as *Environmental Kuznets Curve* (after the conventional *Kuznets Curve* in economics). But this is largely criticized by the environmentalists and ecologists that this may be true in case of a number of pollutants but this also remains a fact that during this phase of rising and then decreasing degradation, many damages can take place which may be irreversible. So the slogan of "grow now, clean later" is absurd.

Poverty may not be the only driving force behind environmental degradation but there are a lot of other factors involved too. In a study done by Jaganathan,²¹ between rates of deforestation and the level of poverty in West Java, very little evidence was found that poverty was the predominant cause of deforestation. Likewise, Duraippah²² found that main factors driving land use change in two regions of Nigeria were infrastructure projects such as roads, market incentives, such as increased producer prices for food, and institutional factors that determined access to land. Poverty as such appeared to have played a little part. There are examples where poor have proven to be more concerned about

environmental management. One study from Nigeria²³ showed how small farmers adopted sustainable management strategies on new land even when the short term costs of doing so were high. Another from Kenya²⁴ showed how, over a long period going back to the 1930s, land had been better managed from an environmental point of view, in spite of a five fold increasing population.

In rural areas, livestock husbandry is a major way of earning livelihoods. This is mainly done in the commons or in open access lands, and activities are usually labor-intensive and require little capital. The reliance on livelihood activities based on the use of commons and on open-access lands has often led observers to blame the poor for overgrazing and over-foresting open access lands. Although livestock are indeed important to the poor, but the poor household usually cannot afford to own many animals. Since poor usually have limited sources of income so the cash or any other income which they have is usually spent on making the ends meet rather than investing in more livestock. Hence individual poor households put less pressure on semiarid pasturelands than do individual rich households. As absolute importance of livestock holding increases with household income, and as income rises in rural areas, one should expect households to invest in more livestock and place greater pressure on the commons.

Poverty, and Environmental Degradation in Pakistan

Population of Pakistan in 1999-2000 was 136.5 million.²⁵ World Bank report 2000-2001 shows that Pakistan is a low-income nation both in South Asia as well as in the World.²⁶ *The Report* shows that Pakistan has a population density of 175 people per square km in

1999. A GNP of US\$ 64 billion, and ranks 44 in the world in GNP in 1999 with an average annual growth rate of GNP 3.6 per cent in 1998-1999. A per capita income of US\$ 470 the same year, ranking 160 in the world in per capita GNP, with an average annual growth rate of GNP per capita as 1.2 per cent and ranking 159th in the world as GNP per capita at PPP (Purchasing Power Parity Index). In quality of life Pakistan has an average annual growth rate in private consumption during 1980-1998 of 2.0 per cent. Prevalence of child malnutrition of children under the age of 5 in 1992-1998 was 38 per cent. Under-5 mortality rate in children in the country in 1980 was 160 per thousand children, in 1998 it was 120 per thousand. Life expectancy at birth in Pakistan was 61 for males and 63 for females in 1998. Adult literacy rate of people (15 years and above) in 1998 was 42 per cent for males and 71 per cent for females. Access to sanitation in urban areas was 53 per cent between 1990-1996. Under the national survey of 1991, Pakistan's population below the national poverty line in rural areas was approximately 37.0 per cent, in urban areas 28.0 per cent – a total of 34 per cent for the country. During 1996 survey, there were 31.0% people living in the country below the international poverty line of US\$ 1 per day, poverty gap at US\$ 1 per day was 6.2 per cent. During 1996 survey, Population in the country living below International poverty line of US\$ 2 per day was approximately 85 per cent, with poverty gap of US\$ 2 a day at 35.0 per cent. In 1996-1997, 31.2 was the *Gini Coefficient* for Pakistan. Lowest 10 per cent in the country had per capita consumption and income share of 4.1 per cent. Lowest 20 per cent had per capita consumption and income share of 9.5 per cent. While the highest 20 per cent in the country had per capita consumption and income share of 41.1 per cent and the highest 10 per cent had per capita consumption share of and income 27.6 per cent. At the same time public

expenditure on education as percentage of the country's GNP was 2.1 per cent in 1980 and 2.7 per cent in 1997. Public expenditure on health as percentage of GDP was 0.9 per cent between 1990-1998. 60 per cent of the population in 1990-1996 had access to improved water sources was. 30 per cent of the population in 1990-1996 had access to sanitation. Only 24 percent of the women between the ages of 15 and 49 use contraceptives or any scientific form of birth control between 1990-1998. There is approximately 5.0 average births per woman in the country, while mortality rate of women at childbirth in the country is also very high.²⁷

Total land area in Pakistan is 88.2 million hectares, 20 million hectares of which is cultivated area, 12 million hectares cultivable waste, another 26 million hectares land is not available for cultivation. Forest area is 4.5 million hectares and another 25 million hectares is not classified. There are approximately 51.3 million hectares of Rangelands in the country. It is Estimated that 40 thousand hectares of land is destroyed annually due to water logging and salinity. There are approximately 80 million livestock in the country. The rate of urbanization in the country is 5 per cent per annum. The urban population in 1989 was 28 per cent,²⁸ which has gone up to 50 per cent in 1999. Due to this accelerated pace of urbanization prime agricultural land is being eaten away by city dwellers and there is almost no arable land left within city limits. An inevitable consequence of modernization and industrialization is the capital intensity of the productive techniques. In Pakistan per capita urban absorption costs are typically 4 to 6 times of the rural retention costs. Thus rapid urbanization entails a resource crunch over a period of several decades until higher urban productivity provides the investment pool for formal urban infrastructure and

services. During this period in serviced squatters' settlements proliferate. Currently, one fourth of Pakistan's urban population resides in unserviced squatter settlements.²⁹ According to the national Human Settlements Policy Study the share of squatter settlements could exceed 60 per cent in 2003.³⁰ In Pakistan land under permanent crops was 0.7 per cent of the total land area in 1997. Irrigated land was 81 percent of the total cropland in 1995-1997. Arable land hectares per capita in 1995-97 was 0.17 percent. There were 13 tractors per thousand agricultural workers in the country in 1995-1997. And agricultural productivity (added value per agricultural worker) in 1996-1998 was US\$ 626. While food production index was 136.2 in 1996-1998 (with 1989-1991 as base year = 100).³¹

Pakistan has abundant fresh water resources from surface water of the five rivers and their tributaries, local rainfall, ground water and glaciers. 70 per cent of the area covered by river basin comes from Indus basin, 15 per cent from Makran coast basin and another 15 per cent from Kharan Coastal Basin. Under the Indus basin Treaty 1960, Pakistan got only the waters of Rivers Indus, Jhelum and Chenab which gives an average flow of 172 billion cubic meters yearly. 90 per cent of this water is used for irrigation and 5 per cent for municipal and industry purposes each. Ground water pumps a total of 44.6 MAF and covers 40 million acres of land through 200,000 tube wells. Major use of water apart from agriculture irrigation (95.0%) includes human consumption for drinking and sanitation (3.0%) and industrial development (2.0%).³² In 1998 total fresh water resources in the country were approximately 2,000 cubic meter per capita. While annual fresh water withdrawal was 155.6 billion cubic meters, which is 61 per cent of total resources. (96 per cent of the total fresh water

resources were spent for agriculture, 2 per cent for industry and 2 per cent for domestic use in 1998. With the development of cheap hydroelectric power the use of traditional water systems has been neglected resulting in a rise in water table. Evaporation results in salinity and water logging (60.0% of total Cultivable Command Area was waterlogged and another 24.0% area has salinity in 1985. Ground water in the Indus basin gradually becoming saline as the distance from the recharge source increases. Large-scale withdrawal of ground water is resulting in lateral and vertical movement of saline water into fresh water zones polluting non-saline aquifer zones. Due to the inadequacy of the water supply and sewage disposal systems in almost all industrial cities of Pakistan sewage is carried by surface flow into open drains, which ultimately discharge into streams, rivers or the sea. Massive pollution overloading of rivers occurs at various points on Pakistan's river system. River Ravi around city of Lahore has a sewage dilution of a ratio of 1:1 and the river is now merely a sewage carrier void of any marine life around Lahore. Apart from municipal waste, river water also carries pollution from industrial waste that is also thrown into the water system usually untreated. Pollution on the coasts of Pakistan is limited to the Karachi harbor where virtually every type of pollution is found, the most important being oil from ships and from oil terminals, industrial zones and domestic waste. The greatest threat to marine life and environment is from oil pollution and oil spills from the Persian Gulf region.³³ In 1996 only 52 per cent of the rural population and 77 per cent of the urban population had access to improved water resources in the country.³⁴

There were 4.58 million hectares of forests in Pakistan, which constitute 5.2 per cent of the total land area of the country, or 0.05 hectares per capita forest

area in 1984. One of the reasons for such a small area of the forest in the country is that Pakistan did not inherit a very rich forest resource, more that 70 per cent of the forest area in the country is arid and semi-arid. Land once cleared does not respond to aforestation or reforestation positively. Another reason for the small forest area in the country is incessant cutting of trees. There is around 2 million cubic meters of demand for wood in the country, while the production of wood in 1984 was 1 million cubic meters. A major cause of deforestation in the country is not poverty, but the construction of dams and barrages, because of which million of acres of land was cleared of forests. Another cause is increase in agriculture in the country, clearing forests for agriculture purposes. With the increase in agriculture and 90 per cent of the water resource in the country being used for irrigating agricultural use and purposes, and with a fast growing population, the water budget for irrigated plantation has been erratic and insufficient for normal tree growth. More trees were cut down for expanding towns and cities, roads and markets in the country. Wood based industry catering for the consumption needs of the rich, for building luxury items, trucks, bus bodies, railway coaches, boats etc also require a constant supply of wood, which means deforestation. Nearly 50 per cent of the heating and cooking requirements are met by 20.88 cubic meters of fuel wood consumed every year, this is so because cheaper and alternate fuel source – natural gas – was supplied to the affluent, rather than the poor. Lastly the 80 million or so livestock and other animals are dependent on forest vegetation.³⁵ Annual deforestation in 1990-1995 was 550 square km. that was at a rate of approximately 3.0 per cent a year during this period.³⁶ Nationally protected areas in Pakistan in 1996 were 37.2

thousand square km., which were approximately 5.0 per cent of the total land area of Pakistan.³⁷

Major mountain ranges in Pakistan are the Karakoram, the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. Highest peaks in the country are K-2 (8613 m) Nanga Parbat (8126 m) Gasherbrum I (8068 m) Broad Peak (8047 m) Gasherbrum II (8035 m) and others. Mode of life on the mountains is nomadic, semi-nomadic where main economic activity is agriculture and cattle breeding. 36 per cent of the land in the mountain areas is affected by water erosion. Rate of siltation in the Tarbela Reservoir is 168 million cubic meters per annum and in Mangla Reservoir is 48 million cubic meters per annum. In Pakistan trees in the mountain areas are indiscriminately cut and sold on a large scale for fuel wood and timber consumption causing extensive deforestation. Deforestation in the watersheds is a major ecological threat to the nation. Where the tree cover is lost on slopes, top soils fertility is reduced and increases silting of water reservoir down stream choking the irrigation channels and increasing severity of floods in the country. Around 11 million acres of Pakistan are threatened by water erosion and are directly effected by a loss of productivity, gulling and mass wastage.³⁸ Major desert areas in Pakistan are Thal and Cholistan in the Punjab, Thar in Sindh and Kharan in Baluchistan. In all the dry land area in the country, there is approximately 27 million hectares of arid, 16 million hectares of semi-arid land, 1 million hectares sub-humid and 44 million hectares non-dry land. The extent of area under threat of desertification in the arid zone is 27 million hectares or 30.0 per cent of total area. The patterns of degradation are loss of vegetation due to grazing of livestock, erosion of soil by wind resulting in desertification and salinity of land.³⁹

Classical source of air pollution is factory smoke, bleaching smoke, which are visible sources of air pollution. Statistics show that in 1997 there was approximately 57 million metric tons of commercial energy (oil equivalent) use in Pakistan, which is per capita 442 kg of oil equivalent energy use in the country, an average annual growth rate between 1990-1997 of 1.7 per cent. Net energy imports in the country were 26 per cent of the total commercial use of energy in 1997. The carbon dioxide emissions in 1996 were a total of 94.3 million metric tons, which were 0.8 per cent per capita metric tons.⁴⁰ The truly dangerous and more harmful source of air pollution arises primarily from non-stationary sources. For example, motor vehicles and railway engines account for three-fourth the sulphur dioxide, hydrocarbons (91%), nitrogen oxides (73%) and carbon monoxides (96%) in the city of Lahore. For practical purposes there are no controls of waste emissions by industry in Pakistan. The material that the industry spews into the air, discharges into the water sources, or dumps on the ground is frequently toxic. These discharges poison rivers, poison air, and poison the land killing fish, effecting the health of humans and animals and rendering waste and uncultivable thousands of acres of land through pollution. The most effected are the poor, who can not afford not to live or work in and around these industrial zones and then can not afford the health bill that comes with advanced levels of pollution. Nor can they afford the loss of labor hours because of pollution related illnesses, because of which they lose much needed incomes that further pushes them into the vicious circle of poverty.

Presently, agricultural fertilizers and deforestation are the biggest source of environmental degradation in the country, followed by vehicular and industrial pollution

and pollution caused by municipal and hospital waste. Poverty and affluence combined with lack of education and knowledge of environment friendly techniques are also the cause of pollution and environmental degradation. Most importantly, inefficiency and inability of government institutions to enforce environmental protection regime and laws as well as lack of political will are the cause of the public and private callousness towards sustainable development and environment protection in Pakistan. As seen from the above statistics and information no where poor people are effecting the environment adversely to the extent of its becoming dangerous except in the form of population bomb which is an effect by itself on the fragile ecology and slow rate of economic growth in the country. On the other hand extensive chemicalization of agricultural for enhancing its productivity, building huge dams for economic purposes, industrialization in order to enhance economic growth, increase in petrol driven motor vehicles etc. are all activities to promote unsustainable economic growth and increasing the consumption patterns of the rich and powerful. This unplanned, uncontrolled by law and unsustainable economic activity degrades the environment as well as increases the risk of poverty of the poor in the country. Statistics show that as the debt of the country has reached 100 per cent of its GDP, the economic growth levels have decreased to 4.8 per cent. At the same time the pollution levels have increased, the poverty level has increased in the country in the past decade and now 80 per cent of the people in the country live below US\$ 2 poverty line, half of which live below US\$ 1 poverty line. The difference between the upper 10 per cent and the lower 10 per cent of the population in income distribution has increased substantially. Till such time the sustainable development policies and structural adjustment programmes are not implemented and

serious concern about environmental as well as poverty issues is taken in Pakistan soon the country's economics as well as environment will go beyond critical laves.

Conclusion:

The importance of environmental considerations in the planning of development has now been recognized. By signing *Agenda 21 of United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992*, in Rio de Janeiro, countries of the world have committed themselves to sustainable development. A lot has changed since the first UN conference of 1972 at Stockholm. Environmental movement is at its full maturity, in developed world as well as the developing world. But the difference between the commitment levels of the states remains. Developed world has followed the path of environmental regulation and is trying to control emissions of dangerous substances like CFC's in wake of international agreements such as *Kyoto Protocol*, etc. But still there is a lot to be done on their part especially with threats like global warming in the air.

As far as developing world is concerned, poverty remains a severe problem. But they have realized the adverse effects of environmental degradation. Self inflicted floods, landslides, droughts, famines, lower agricultural productivity; all have been proven to be human induced numerous times. Most of these countries have inducted public awareness programs and have formed environment ministries. But this is not enough. In our opinion, poverty is a serious problem in all aspects. Poor are mostly the most vulnerable. Policies aiming at poverty alleviation have multiple effects for a country. Educating the masses enables them to have information that is a cornerstone for civil liberty. Controlling population rates lessens the pressure on resources

thereby guaranteeing greater productivity. To expect from poor that they would protect as well as use their resources in a sustainable way is naïve. The priorities of a poor household do not at all include environmental protection or resource sustainability. So we believe that poverty alleviation is the cure to most ailments of the third world. But poverty alleviation does not necessarily mean faster unprecedented growth rates. A growth path, which fulfills a sustainable and dynamic mechanism of distribution of wealth as well as a safe and healthy environment, is conceivable. Public awareness programs and general education are the key to success. Enlightened and educated people are in a better position to help form a good healthy environment and a better society. Once the people are educated and are well informed they can themselves decide their future and help design such policies, which are over all benign.

Notes:-

1. Leontief, et al., 1977, p.7
2. Ibid
3. Haq, M. ul. 1976, p.117.
4. *Stockholm Declaration*, United Nations Conference on the Human Environment Stockholm, 1972, p 1
5. Ibid., p 4
6. *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 1992, p 1
7. Ibid.
8. Southgate, 1988; Mink, 1993
9. This view is also supported by Blaikie and Brookfield in their historic work on the concept of 'Political Ecology' where they put forward the idea of marginalization which says that people who are politically and economically marginalised are usually ecologically marginalised too. For details, see Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987, '*Land Degradation and Society*'.
10. This has been shown by Dasgupta and Maler, 1994, Pearce and Warford, 1993, Mink, 1993
11. Leonard, 1989, Cleaver and Schreiber, 1994.
12. Dasgupta, 1993, 1996
13. Boserup 1965
14. Matlon and Spencer, 1984
15. Aslam, Qais *Economic Journal*, Lahore 1992
16. Aslam, Qais *Political Science Journal*, Lahore 1998
17. Dasgupta, 1995, 1997
18. Reardon and Vosti, 1995
19. Wackernagel and Rees,
20. Krueger and Grossman, 1991; World Bank, 1992
21. Jaganathan, 1989
22. Duraippah, 1996
23. Mortimore, 1989
24. Tiffen et al., 1994
25. Economic Survey of Pakistan 1999-2000, *Statistical appendix*, p 7
26. World Bank Report 2000-2001 p 334
27. Ibid. pp. 275- 287
28. IUCN *Fact Sheet on Land* 1989
29. Nasim Anjum ed. 1992, pp 227-261
30. IUCN *Fact Sheet on Land* 1989

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31. World Bank op-cit. p 289
 32. IUCN *Fact Sheet on Water* 1989
 33. Ibid. 1989
 34. World bank Report 2000-2001 p 291
 35. IUCN *Fact Sheet on Forests* 1989
 36. World Bank op-cit. p 291
 37. World Bank op-cit. p 291
 38. IUCN *Fact Sheet on Mountains* 1989
 39. IUCN *Fact Sheet on Deserts* 1989
 40. World Bank op-cit. p 293

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MILITARY CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Saima Qayyum*

On the eve of the next millennium, the strategic environment of South Asia presents a rather pessimistic scenario. In terms of economic development, political stability and national security, the South Asian countries stand exposed to predictable disasters. The crisis of confidence prevailing in different segments of South Asian society vis-a-vis significant challenges tend to diminish the feelings of optimism for a better future for the people of the region. India and Pakistan are the core states of the region and the unresolved conflicts directly influence the regional security environment. While negative indicators are noticeable in domestic spectrum of South Asia, the most important source of concern and alarm in this region is sustained traditional ideological and nuclear confrontation between these two core states, comprising 85 per cent of the area, population and resources of the region.

Table 1 population and area of India and Pakistan.

Country	Population (Million), 2000	Area (thousands of Sq. km)
India	1,000	3,288
Pakistan	137	796
Total	1,370	4,084

Source: World Bank, World Development Report
Washington DC., 1996, p. 188,

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RELEVANCE OF CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (CBMs)

The total population of Pakistan and India is 1.15 billion. 31 % of Pakistani labor force and 44.2% of Indian labor force is getting less than \$ 1 a day. 13% of Pakistani and 22% of Indian labor force are unemployed. Both countries are facing a very miserable position in basic health facilities. 45% Pakistani and 51% Indian population are deprived of basic health facilities. According to the international standard only 30% and 16% population of Pakistan and India respectively have been provided basic sanitation facilities.¹ According to official statistics there was only one doctor for 1,578 persons in Pakistan in 1999-2000, and in India - one doctor to every 2,083 persons. Pakistan and India are spending 0.9% and 0.6% respectively on health in each country. Whereas developing countries spend 1.9 % average of their total national income on the health of their people. 40% people in Pakistan and 19% people in India do not have safe clean drinking water.² In Pakistan (infant mortality rate) 112 out of one thousand children and in India 98 out of one thousand children die till they reach the age of five. At the age of one year 33% Indian children and 25% Pakistani children are under weight. At the age of five 38% children in Pakistan and 53% in India are under weight. During the half-decade of 1995-99 58% Pakistani children of the age of one year and 69% Indian children of the same age have been given drops and injection for the cure of polio, black cough. During the same period million of infants were deprived of these basic facilities. 19% delivery cases in Pakistan and 35% in Indian have been handled by untrained nurses.³ As far as education field is concerned on one side Pakistani and Indian students are getting the higher education in the universities of Canada, America and Australia and they are proving their capabilities among all the students of

the world. On the other side, 55% adults of more than 15 years in Pakistan and 42% in India are illiterate. The drop out rate at primary level is 50% in Pakistan and 48% in India. Illiteracy rate in Pakistan at the age of above 15 is 41% in male and 70 % in female and in India 32 % male and 56% female of the same age.⁴ 7 million children of school going age in Pakistan and 28 million in India are deprived of primary education.⁵ Pakistan's military spending is estimated to be 125 percent of the combined education and health expenditures. While India's military spending is estimated to be 65 percent of its combined education and health expenditures.⁶ India has the largest number of people living in absolute poverty (350 million, or 26 percent of the world total), India spends 3.5 % of its GNP on education and has an adult literacy rate of 50%. Translated in real terms, this means that India has the largest number of illiterate adults (272 million in '1992) in the world. Pakistan spends 3.4 % of its GNP on education and only 45 million people or 36 % of its total adult population is estimated to be illiterate. In India, where life expectancy at birth is 59.7 years, 3-5 million children die before reaching the age of five, while another 69.3 million in the same age group remain malnourished. In Pakistan infant mortality rate is 99 per 1000 live births and the number of malnourished children under five is estimated to be 3.7 million. In India and Pakistan, approximately 844 million people have no access to sanitation facilities and an estimated 281 million have no access to safe drinking water.⁷ India and Pakistan are ranked 135 and 137 out of 173 states on the Human Development Index (HDI) designed by the United Nations Development Program.

The nuclear environment, which has been made by India and Pakistan after their nuclear explosions in May 1998, has disturbed the regional security environment. The unfolding scenario has created mistrust

between the governments and people of the two countries, which is bound to worsen their relations. It is the same mistrust, which has existed in both India and Pakistan ever since the independence of these two sovereign nations in 1947. These conditions of mutual mistrust have already culminated into three wars between these two countries and a number of smaller cross border skirmishes like the Kargil episode. The perpetuating mistrust against each other is kept alive in the form of Kashmir dispute (issue) and other related issues like cross border terrorism etc. With an ever-increasing spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the South Asian region has become a nuclear keg ready to blast and take away security of the rest of the world with it. The most important reason contributing to the 'cold war' nature of relations between the two countries is the absence of basic trust and confidence that is the outcome of the crisis of confidence in the approach and perception of the two countries. It is the need of time that they must sit on a negotiating table to conclude some concrete and well-defined Confidence-Building Measures. CBMs are easier to negotiate and implement than formal arms agreements.

Recently the two traditional rivals have adopted measures to built confidence, peace and security in the environment of nuclear proliferation. It is primarily the 'trust and confidence' factor, which paved the way for the adoption of several confidence-building measures (CBMs) between India and Pakistan during the 1990s. The issue of CBMs has become serious to prevent escalation of border tension between the two nuclear rivals.

India and Pakistan need to remember the fact that today human security has become the most important element in national security and it cannot be guaranteed

when weapons accumulate and people starve. Security cannot be assured when generals run the day-to-day affairs of the nation, politicians take a back seat and the people are illiterate and uneducated. Both countries have six times more soldiers than doctors. The budget on military hardware is considered more important than investing on technologies that bring prosperity to the people, giving education to the children or protecting the health of the weak and the infirm. These facts call our attention to the ground reality that CBMs are more needed in the context of Indo-Pakistan rivalry than elsewhere. The release of tension will pave the way for a better understanding between the two adversaries and would provide them an opportunity to allocate their resources for the uplifting the standard of living of the masses. According to Michael Krepon, President, of Henry L. Stimson Center, *"In conflict prone region like South Asia, CBMs assume the dual role. In the absence of political reconciliation in this tense region, the negotiation and implementation of CBMs have been critical in maintaining the peace and preventing the use of weapons of mass destruction"*.⁸

CBMs cannot take off unless the parties involved in that process agree to the need and relevance of that approach for the task of conflict resolution. In recent years India and Pakistan have adopted military CBMs as an instrument of war avoidance while they have adopted a number of non-military CBMs in order to prevent the outbreak of hostilities between the two countries. Confidence-Building Measures between India and Pakistan stand on two pillars - the military CBMs and the nonmilitary CBMs. Both pillars support each other and cannot work properly without the cooperation of each other.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF MILITARY CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

The two countries took serious measures in the military field to tone down the war fever between them. These measures include among others, the border security measures, no war pact, peace and friendship treaty proposals, communication & contacts, Nuclear Risk-Reduction Measures, joint declaration, pre-notification regimes, data exchange measures, observation on borders and other security measures.

Soon after their Independence, the two nations had their first armed conflict over Kashmir in 1948. After this conflict the United Nations intervened and the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) was established to monitor peace in Jammu and Kashmir.

THE BORDER SECURITY MEASURES

The first military CBM between the two newly independent countries was the New Delhi Inter Dominion Conferences (IDC) held in December 1948 and then the Karachi agreement subsequently held in January 1949.⁹ The IDC reached decisions on the boundary disputes and other humanitarian issues. In order to avoid border clashes between these two countries the Karachi Agreement of 1949 was concluded. This agreement established a Cease-Fire Line (CFL) measuring 800 miles between the two borders. The CFL was meant to ensure troops of both countries to keep a distance of five hundred yards from CFL and sought to freeze force levels around the CFL to a predetermined minimum. After the 1965 and 1971 wars, the CFL was re-established, with some changes. In 1960 there was another land mark

military CBM – the 1960 Indo-Pakistan Agreement on Border Disputes establishing ‘ground rules’ which would be operative on the West Pakistan – India border,” and settled some important outstanding border disputes in the Punjab sector between the two countries.

India and Pakistan had long disagreed over the demarcation of their border in the area of Rann of Kutch¹⁰ on the Gujrat – Sindh border. After the 1965 fifteen days war both sides agreed to refer the disagreement to binding international arbitration in order to limit tensions and remove an irritant to relations. The result was the Rann of Kutch Tribunal Awards 1969.

After the 1971 war between India and Pak (and resulting in separation of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh), the leaders of both nations signed an accord at Simla in 1972, resolving ‘that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations’. It was agreed at Simla that the Line of Control (LOC) dividing the disputed territory of Kashmir between India and Pakistan was to be demarcated by military representatives of both side between July and December 1972. The LOC, is some 720 km long, divides the disputed territory of Kashmir into two parts, - 101, 283 sq. km of area administered by India, and 78, 114 sq. km of area administered by Pakistan.¹¹ The LOC is under constant patrol and surveillance by both sides.

Since many years a quite ongoing-armed conflict has been going on in the highest peaks of the Himalayas at Siachen glacier. The end of the 1990's took the issue to the table, from the battlefield. During the eight round of negotiations that followed, in November 1998 the Indian side proposed a package of CBMs, which lead to a “comprehensive cease-fire” in the Saltoro range region. Once the cease-fire had been agreed to in principle

between the two conflicting armies, specific "modalities" which could make the cease fire durable were to be discussed in a mutually "agreed framework". Recently India has decided to fence the border along the Kashmir disputed LOC from Akhnur to Paharpur. Pakistan's objection against this fencing is that there is no official border in this region, rather a LOC, therefore India is out of its legitimate jurisdiction to fence its border in this particular region.

COMMUNICATION AND CONTACTS

Communication links between the Indian and Pakistani DGMOs were first established after the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War, but these links were not used culminating in the Indo-Pakistani war in December 1971. Direct Communication links (DCL) or hotline¹², between the Pakistani and Indian Director Generals of Military Operations (DGMOs) were again established in December 1971 after their War between these two South Asian rivals. The voice links between the two DGMOs were re-established in 1972. The lack of trust between the Indian and Pakistani governments has seriously eroded the use of hotlines.¹³ During Brasstack military exercises, November 1986, Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo negotiated with Indian Prime Minister and the ultimate result was that on 21st December 1986 both foreign secretaries signed an agreement for mutual observation and monitoring of indo-Pakistani borders. On 2nd March 1987 Indian foreign secretary Gopal Salvaiz and Pakistani foreign secretary Abdul Sattar signed an agreement in Islamabad. According to this agreement India withdrew her forces from two sectors and till 17th March 1987 they withdrew more than 70% of their forces. From 26 to 28th December 1987 a three days conference was held between the officers of both sides of Wagha border. In December

1990, following a period of heightened tension in Kargil, it was agreed that both DGMOs would use the hotline on a weekly basis if only to exchange routine information. Voice links have proved useful in resolving routine border disputes and addressing bilateral tensions but in some cases, they have failed to avert major hostile confrontations between Indian and Pakistani border forces.¹⁴ The two countries in recent years have decided to revive these linkages, and re-establish regular telephonic Communications between the two Director Generals of the Pakistan Rangers and the Inspector general of the Indian Border Security Forces. The intention of this communication was to 'reduce hostile rhetoric, increase contact between military commanders, share information on military exercise, prevent airspace violations by military aircraft, and open negotiations on a wide range of outstanding issues' both sides agreed to resume 'foreign-secretary level talks'. Communication links are also in place between sector commanders along the western sectors of the line of control (LOC) that divides Kashmir. These links do not appear to be permanently 'on-line' but can be activated quickly.

Article 5 of the 'Agreement on Prevention of Air Space Violations on 6 April 1991' between India and Pakistan states clearly that, *"In matters of safety and any air operations in emergency situations, the authorities designated by the respective Governments should "Contact" each other by the quickest means of Communications available. The Air Advisor shall be kept informed of such contacts. Matters of flight safety and urgent air operations should promptly be brought to the notice of the other side through the authorities designated by using the telephone line established between the Army headquarters of the two Countries."*¹⁵

During Kargil Crisis May–June 1999, the (military Communication) DGMO hotline was used almost everyday. It didn't bring the Conflict to a stop, but the moment the political leaders decided they weren't going to continue, the next telephone call stopped the whole thing.

A week before the summit both countries had started the communication links. Indian Director General of Military Operations (DGMO) Lt. General G. S. Sihota on 9th July contacted his Pakistani counter part Ashfaq Pervaiz Kiyani for talks to promote peace between the two countries. He urged him to set up an early meeting to discuss the military issues along the LOC and Siachen glacier. According to reports; Indian DGMO Lt. General C.S.Chagoda was scheduled to arrive in Pakistan 10th July 2001 for talks with his counter parts. Only once in 1971 an Indian DGMO had visited Pakistan along with Indian Field Marshal Gen. Manek Shah to discuss Military CBMs with Pakistan's Chief Of Army Staff Gen. Tikka Khan. The Simla Summit followed the visit between Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi. If materialized, this was the second visit of any Indian DGMO to Pakistan during the last 54 years of hostile relation.

NO WAR PACT, PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY PROPOSALS

India and Pakistan have both offered No-War Pacts – a vow not to initiate military action – to each other, although this offer has served different purposes at different times. Mohammad Ali Jinnah (the founder father of Modern Pakistan and its first Governor General) expressed his beliefs in March 1948, which it was of vital importance to both Pakistan and India, as independent sovereign states, to collaborate in a friendly way. He believed these two nations to jointly defend their frontiers

both at land and sea against any third party aggression. He believed that this would only depend on the condition that these two nations resolve their own differences and domestic issues first and foremost. Jawaharlal Nehru's (the first Indian Prime Minister) No-War proposal of August 1949 was the first initiative of its kind. Liaquat Ali Khan (the first Prime Minister of Pakistan) in consequence informed the Pakistani Constituent Assembly that *"the only way to promote peace is to resolve major disputes"*. In February 1950, Prime Minister Nehru revealed a draft declaration between the two countries, it read, *"the Governments of India and Pakistan hereby declare that they will not resort to war for the settlement of any existing or future disputes between them. They further agree that the settlement of such disputes shall always be sought through peaceful methods of negotiation and mediation, and if these should fail to bring settlement, by resort to arbitration"*.¹⁶

Pakistan's Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Choudhury made Muhammad Ali Jinnah's offer of 'joint defense in South Asia' again, in virtually identical terms, in April 1953. In April 1959, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan suggested to India the 'joint defense of South Asia'. (Ayub's offer was clearly prompted by his concern that the Chinese entry into Tibet constituted a security threat to South Asia). India termed Pakistan's offer for a joint defense as unrealistic, Pakistan deemed India's No-War Pact proposal to be equally unrealistic. Indian Prime Ministers Lal Bahadur Shastri made a proposal similar to Nehru's proposal of No-War Pact to Pakistan in 1965. Later, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1968 and 1972, and Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai in 1977 also made such proposals. According to Indira Gandhi, *"India had always extended the hand of friendship towards Pakistan"*.¹⁷ India laid out seven principles for the suggested pact. These were strict adherence to the

Simla Agreement; provision. 1) Provision of a better life for their people. 2) Creation of a tension-free atmosphere between the two countries. 3) Commitment to Panchsheel ("peaceful co-existence"). 4) Equality, mutual benefit and bilateralism in relations between the two countries. 5) Eschewing of war and threat of use of force so as to settle all disputes bilaterally and peacefully. And 6) adherence to non-alignment – the essence of which is non-involvement in great power confrontation. This offer of pact was also forwarded by the Indian foreign minister Narasimha Rao once again in 1980. Independent analysis on the region show that a No-War Pact would enlarge the volume of trade and exchange of technology between the two countries, encourage freer travel of intellectuals and professionals on both sides, improve regional stability, and reduce external interference in South Asia. Pakistan refused to accept any of these offers because it was Pakistan's view that acceptance of a No-War Pact with India would in reality be an acceptance of LOC in Kashmir as an international boundary between the two states. The autumn of 1981 was marked by frequent clashes between Indian and Pakistani armed forces along the border amid reports that Pakistan was covertly importing nuclear equipment from abroad. On 15 September 1981, Pakistan offered India a Non-Aggression Pact. The offer went as follows, *"If India is inclined to banish its unfounded fears it shall not find us wanting in fully reciprocating to any gesture on its part for establishing good-neighborly relations. On our part we are prepared to enter into immediate consultations with India for the purpose of exchanging mutual guarantees of non-aggression and non-use of force in the spirit of the Simla Agreement"*.¹⁸ Officially, India reacted positively, declaring that India stood by its original No-War Pact offer to Pakistan. India was willing to enter into a Friendship Treaty with Pakistan similar to

the one it shared with the Soviet Union.¹⁹ Indeed, India had offered a Friendship Treaty to Pakistan at Tashkent. While the agreement renouncing the use of force did not materialize, an important decision was taken to establish a joint Indo-Pakistani commission to expand bilateral relations in the areas of trade, travel, communications, and cultural exchanges. The two countries also agreed to explore the No-War Pact - Friendship Treaty proposals at a future meeting between the two foreign secretaries. A tension thus existed between Pakistan's effort to focus narrowly on a simple declaration and India's attempt to enlarge the declaration's scope to include other issues. A great deal of diplomatic maneuvering marked these exchanges. The substance of these proposals was a pledge to avoid conflict and resolve Indo-Pakistani disputes by peaceful negotiations. The late 1980s witnessed a considerable heightening of Indo-Pakistani tensions and instabilities. Hostility was accentuated over nuclear issues, the Sikh militancy in the Punjab, war hysteria and the heightened tensions over Kashmir. The general atmosphere was hardly conducive for a Non-Aggression Pact or a Friendship Treaty. Consequently, these proposals faded away. After May 1998, India categorically declared that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons against other nuclear weapon states, and that it would never use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries. Pakistan subsequently also declared its readiness to accept a No-War Pact with India.

NUCLEAR RISK-REDUCTION MEASURES

India and Pakistan both subscribe to site or material specific safeguards agreements modeled on the IAEA's Information Circular 66 (INFCIRC/66). These safeguard agreements have emerged out of the purchase of foreign nuclear technologies. Table 2 lists

Indian and Pakistani facilities under IAEA safeguards. The safeguard agreements are designed to prevent the diversion of nuclear material from peaceful uses to weapons-oriented uses.

Table 2 Indian and Pakistani Facilities
Under IAEA Safeguards

Country	Type of Facility	Abbreviated Name of Facility	Location
India	Power reactors	RAPS-Rajasthan Atomic Power Station	Rawatbhata, Rajasthan
		TAPS	Tarapur, Maharashtra
	Fuel fabrication plants	Select areas of the Nuclear Fuels Complex (NFC)	Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh
	Chemical reprocessing plants	PREFRE-Power Reactor Fuel Reprocessing Facility	Tarapur, Maharashtra
	Separate storage facilities	AFR-Away From the Reactor nuclear fuels storage facility	Tarapur, Maharashtra
Pakistan	Power reactors	KANUPP	Karachi, Sindh
	Research reactors and critical assemblies	CHASNUPP-1-Chashma Nuclear Power Plant	Kundian, Punjab
		PARR-1	Rawalpindi, Punjab
	Separate Storage facilities	PARR-2	Rawalpindi, Punjab
		Hawks Bay Depot	Karachi, Sindh

There is no legal obligation on either India or Pakistan to strengthen existing IAEA safeguards. However, there are many voluntary steps that each country could take in this direction. A simple first step could involve releasing data each supplies to the IAEA for review by the other. Further, facilities not under safeguards could be temporarily opened for IAEA inspection, especially for safety audits and reviews.

The 1971, Indo-Pakistani wars and dismembering of the eastern wing of Pakistan did not help decrease tensions and mistrust between these two traditional rivals. The period after 1971 till the nuclear blast by both nations in May 1998 is a period of repeated crisis between these two neighbors. The Brasstacks (1986-87) and Kashmir-related (1990) crises briefly described the situation and reflected the dangers inherent in large-scale movements of armed forces in the vicinity of the Indo-Pakistani border, either for military exercises or internal security purposes. These events provided an opportunity to re-evaluate the need for CBMs in order to prevent crises sparked not by design but by accident or misperception. More significantly, these crises highlighted the lack of communication, or the recurrent breakdown of communication, between the political and military leaderships of the two countries. Still the hope for peace and will for regional security was stronger than the repeated moments of crisis, therefore some form of CBMs were established and agreements reached to tone down hostilities.

Agreement on Prohibition of Attack against Nuclear Installations and Facilities (1988) is the first of its kind. In this agreement, India and Pakistan pledged to *"refrain from undertaking, encouraging or participating in any action aimed at causing the destruction of, or damage to, any nuclear installation or facility in the other*

country.”²⁰ Both countries are required to exchange lists identifying their installations and facilities annually, and to inform one another of any changes made to these lists. Under this agreement, it is presumed that all nuclear facilities and installations in the two countries have now been declared. Yet, in the absence of an inspection procedure, it cannot be determined whether the lists are complete, or if sensitive installations and facilities – specifically, small enrichment plants – have been concealed. (Implementation of this agreement was delayed considerably).²¹

The bilateral Agreement on the Prohibition of Attack against Nuclear Installations and Facilities, 1991 (the No-Attack Agreement) prohibits attack, directly or indirectly, against nuclear installations or facilities in either country. This agreement is a unique bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan and ensures what no other hostile countries have yet emulated. It expands the scope of Articles 56 and 15 of the first and second protocols to the Geneva Convention.²² The scope of the Indian and Pakistani No-Attack Agreement is much broader than the Geneva Convention. Nuclear installations or facilities against which attack is prohibited are defined in the Indian and Pakistani agreement. They are “nuclear power and research reactors, fuel fabrication, uranium enrichment, isotopes separation and reprocessing facilities as well as any other installations with fresh or irradiated nuclear fuel and materials in any form and establishments storing significant quantities or radioactive materials.” Also each year on January 1st, each country provides the other with a list of the latitude and longitude of its nuclear installations and facilities. There are other benefits to sharing this list. The existence of an officially exchanged list creates an excellent framework for nuclear information sharing. From an information-sharing perspective, the officially exchanged

list forms an excellent common basis of a geo-spatially-referenced database. This database could provide the backbone of an Indian and Pakistani nuclear information sharing process. The No-Attack Agreement has relevance to the issue of preemptive strikes also. The agreement has created safe locations for India and Pakistan to store nuclear weapons, and thus has reduced the fear of preemptive strikes if storage of weapons is done at locations only from among the declared facilities. The No-Attack Agreement also limits the choices of safe storage locations, creating an incentive to avoid forward deployment of nuclear weapons.

Importance of this agreement is that this agreement has started institutionalize transparency in Indo-Pakistani relations. Other attempts have been made to extend this agreement. India and Pakistan exchanged "non-papers" in early 1994 in which several CBMs were suggested for consideration. One of the non-papers presented by India suggested that the No-Attack agreement be extended to population centers and economic assets. Another Indian non-paper proposed that both countries declare a No First Use of Nuclear Capabilities an agreement freezing the nuclear capabilities of the two countries. These non-papers, however, have yet to materialize into agreements.

'Control of Cross Border Crime Agreement' was made between the two countries in 1989. This accord called for biannual meetings between designated officials of the Pakistan Rangers and the Indian Border Security Force to review border infractions such as smuggling, drug-trafficking, and illegal crossings, and to promote interaction between the two paramilitary forces that police the Indo-Pakistani border. These forces are under the command of the ministries of the interior and home in Pakistan and India, and have gained ascendancy over

the years as internal security problems have heightened. The biannual meetings envisaged under this agreement have been held only sporadically and they have not proved helpful in controlling the smuggling of drugs, alcohol and arms.

'Agreement on Prevention of Airspace Violations and for Permitting Over flights and Landings by Military Aircraft' was signed in April 1991 between India and Pakistan. This measure prohibits the flying of armed, fixed-wing aircraft within ten nautical miles of the international border, armed rotary aircraft within one nautical mile, and any other kind of aircraft within one thousand meters of the border. It also calls on India and Pakistan to give one another advance notice of any air exercises or special air activity in the Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ). The agreement does allow aircraft to operate within one thousand meters of the border after due notification in special circumstances, such as during mercy missions. Military aircrafts are also permitted to fly through each other's airspace after giving advance notice and are subject to pre-conditions regarding flight routing and non-carriage of photographic equipment and war ammunitions.²³

'Agreement on Advance Notice of Military Exercises, Maneuvers, and Troop Movements' was also signed in April 1991 between the two countries. This notification measure commits India and Pakistan to make prior declarations of major exercises and deployments by land, naval, and air forces. Information regarding these major exercises and force deployments must be transmitted, in advance, to the other side within a specified time frame, and in considerable detail.²⁴ The agreement stipulates that the redeployment of division-size forces within 150 kilometers of the border for either

internal security or non-military duties requires prior notification.

'Joint Declaration on the Complete Prohibition of Chemical Weapons' was signed in August 1992 between India and Pakistan. In this agreement, both countries forswore the development, production, acquisition, and use of chemical weapons. They also pledged to cooperate with each other in the finalization and adoption of a comprehensive Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and to become original parties to that convention when it was finalized. Both India and Pakistan subsequently entered and ratified the convention, with India joining as an original party and Pakistan entering after CWC came into force. The joint declaration proved effective in committing both countries to enter the Chemical Weapons Convention after it was enacted. There were the CWC declarations subsequently made by both countries – India declared (a previously unacknowledged) stockpile and Pakistan declared that she possessed no such stockpile of chemical weapons. In 1993, direct communication links between the Pakistani and Indian Air Forces, and Communications between naval vessels / aircraft of the two navies (when entering the proximity of the other) were also established. It is interesting to note that the built up of nuclear proliferation between India and Pakistan have brought both the adversaries on common viewpoint regarding international and bilateral nuclear related agreements and treaties like CTBT etc.

Table 3 lists the nuclear-related agreements (in alphabetical order) involving India and Pakistan and the dates of signature and accession (if applicable).²⁵

Table 3 Nuclear – Related Agreements
involving India of Pakistan

Treaty / Convention / Agreement (Section in paper in which the agreement is discussed)	India		Pakistan	
	Date of Signature	Date of Accession	Date of Signature	Date of Accession
Agreement on the Prohibition of Attack Against Nuclear Installations and Facilities (2.1)	12/31/1988	1/1/1991	12/31/1988	1/1/1991
The Antarctic Treaty (A.1)		8/19/1983		
Code of Practice on the International Transboundary Movement of Radioactive Waste (A.2)		9/21/1990		9/21/1990
Convention on Assistance in the Case of a Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency (A.3)	9/29/1986	2/28/1988		10/12/1989
Convention Concerning the Protection of Workers Against Ionizing Radiation (A.4)		11/17/1976		
Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident (A.5)	9/26/1986	2/28/1988		10/12/1989
Convention on the Liability of Operators of Nuclear Ships (A.6)	5/25/1962	Not in force		
Convention on Nuclear Safety (A.7)	9/20/1994		9/20/1994	9/30/1997
Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter (A.8)				4/8/1995

Food and Agriculture Organization/United Nations – nuclear projects ²⁶ (2.3)		10/1964		10/1964
Lahore Memorandum of Understanding	2/21/1990		2/21/1999	
International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (A.9)		6/16/1976		4/10/1985
Regional Co-operative Agreement for Research, Development and Training in Nuclear Science and Technology in Asia and the Pacific (2.2.)	6/7/1972	6/7/1972	9/6/1974	9/6/1974
Safeguards Agreements with the IAEA (2.4)		Various times ²⁷		Various times
Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies (A.10)	3/3/1967	1/18/1982	9/12/1967	4/8/1968
Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (A.11)	8/8/1963	10/10/1963	12/10/1982	3/3/1988
Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof (A.12)		7/20/1973		
United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (A.13)	12/10/1982	7/29/1995		

In October 1964, the FAO and the IAEA established a Joint Division of Nuclear Techniques in Food and Agriculture. These agreements were entered into at various times, as each country procured foreign technologies that were sold under conditions of safeguards

India and Pakistan are members of the FAO of the United Nations. In October 1964, the FAO teamed with the IAEA to develop a joint Division of Nuclear Techniques in Food and Agriculture. These technologies have been used in food and agriculture for plant mutation breeding, sterile insect techniques for pest control, food irradiation for improving crop and livestock production, and improved soil and water management using, for example radioactive isotopes as tracers. The Indian and Pakistani membership in the FAO provides an opportunity for technological collaboration in nuclear fields.²⁸ The FAO suggests setting up small, highly mobile units with trained personnel and relatively simple portable equipment to detect any significant rise in radioactivity, e.g., in rainfall over pasture or crops. Such units could visit worried communities, communicate in simple language, and obviate unnecessary suspicion or alarm. These suggestions of the FAO provide opportunities for Indian and Pakistani nuclear collaboration. The FAO / IAEA Joint Division of Nuclear Techniques in Food and Agriculture has a project involving India and Pakistan the "Management of nutrients and water in rain-fed arid and semi-arid areas for increasing crop production" that includes participation by Indian and Pakistani research institutes. The Nuclear Research laboratory of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in new Delhi is working on the *"Use of nuclear techniques to improve management practices and increase crop production in rain-fed areas with limited water resources."* In Pakistan, the Nuclear Agriculture

Division of the Nuclear institute for Food and Agriculture in Peshawar is working on *"Increasing crop production in rain-fed areas by improved water and nutrient management using nuclear techniques."* Such joint Indian and Pakistani involvement in common FAO nuclear-related projects could be nurtured to deal increasingly with more sensitive subjects. Some Nuclear related agreements between India and Pakistan are: Agreement on prohibition of attack against nuclear installations and facilities 1988, Agreement on prevention of airspace violations and for permitting over flights and landings by military aircraft (April 1991), agreement on advance notice of military exercises, maneuvers, and troop movements (April 1991) and Agreement on the complete prohibition of chemical weapons (August 1992).

TRANSPARENCY MEASURES

Transparency measures are those measures that are taken between adversaries to reduce the tension. The IAEA works in collaboration with Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka on a variety of projects, providing a structure for greater south Asian nuclear transparency. Indian research reactors are not under IAEA safeguards. Two of Pakistan's research reactors (Pakistan Atomic Research Reactors 1 and 2 – PARR-1 and PARR-2) in Rawalpindi are under IAEA safeguards. Pakistan joined the RCA on September 6, 1974 (three months after India's first nuclear explosion). An example of Pakistani involvement in the RCA is the workshop hosted by Pakistan in 1999 on a "Review Meeting to Analyze a Regional Database on Marine Radioactivity." Given the involvement of India and Pakistan in the RCA, as well as that of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, the RCA provides a structure within which a sub-regional grouping could focus on South Asian issues. The founding statute of the IAEA states, among other rights and

responsibilities, that the IAEA requires the "observance of any health and safety measures prescribed by the Agency." Having facilities under IAEA safeguards requires India and Pakistan to provide operational data, material accounting, and environmental release data from these facilities to the IAEA. This opens up the possibility that such information could also be shared bilaterally. However, a question that arises is, under what framework or existing agreement should India and Pakistan share environmental or effluent release data of any sort from the nuclear facilities as given in the inspection reports of IAEA safeguards. Because IAEA safeguards reports are not made public and, therefore, supplement safeguards would be needed for India and Pakistan to share IAEA inspection data bilaterally.

There are two types of transparency measures: Prior Notification Measures and Data Exchange Measures.

a) Prior-Notification Measures.

Pakistan and India have also opted for some pre-notification measures. An Agreement on prior notification of military exercises, maneuvers and troop movements was concluded in April 1991 between the two countries. According to its Article 3 *"both sides will provide notice regarding exercises of land Forces as follows. All exercises / concentrations of Division level in area (specified at paragraph 1.a.2 of the agreement). All exercises / concentrations at corps level within a distance of seventy-five km in areas (specified at paragraph 1.a.1 and 2 of the agreement). All exercises above Corps level irrespective of the distance"* will be prettified to the other party. According to article 4 of the agreement both sides will give fifteen days prior notice when formations with defensive roles are moved to their operational locations for periodic maintenance of defence. The schedule of

major exercises with troops will be transmitted in writing to the other side through diplomatic channels in advance. *"Air exercises at Regional Command level and above - fifteen days pre-notification. Divisional level exercise, and major naval exercises involving six or more ships of destroyed frigate size and above, exercising in company and crossing into the other's EEZ²⁹ - thirty days pre-notification. Corps level exercises: sixty days pre-notification. Army level exercises: ninety days pre-notification. Provided that the above provisions relate to the commencement of moves of formations and units from their permanent locations for the proposed exercises".* Article 7 of the agreement states that, *"In case some change in exercise area / grouping of participating formations from the previously notified composition in necessitated, the country carrying out the exercise will intimate the details of changes so as to reach the other country at least 'thirty days' in advance in respect of Corps level exercises and above. And 'fifteen days' in advance in respect of divisional level exercises and Naval exercises. In respect of Air exercises, if minor changes to the previously notified details are necessitated, an advance notice of 'Seven days' will be provided."*

Agreement on Prevention of Air Space Violations and for permitting over Flights and Landings by Military Aircraft was concluded on 6 April 1991 between India and Pakistan. Article 4 of the agreement states that *"In order to avoid any tension being created, 'prior notice' be given with regard to air exercises, or any special air activity proposed to be undertaken close to each other's airspace including ADIZ".³⁰* The limits to the pre-notification are laid down in Article 2. The agreement further states that *"Military aircraft may fly through each other's airspace with the prior permission of the other country and subject to conditions specified in Appendix A*

to this Agreement".³¹ *"Notwithstanding paragraph 1 of the Article, each country has the sovereign right to specify further conditions, at short notice, for flights of military aircraft through its airspace".*³²

A major CBM soon after the nuclearisation of South Asia was the 'Lahore Declaration in February 1999. A Unique feature of the Lahore Declaration was the "Memorandum of Understanding" signed by Indian Foreign Secretary K. Raghunath and his Pakistani Counterpart Shamshad Ahmed, emphasized measures to improve nuclear security and prevent an accidental nuclear exchange. Agreeing to resolve remaining "technical details" in bilateral agreements by mid-1999, New Delhi and Islamabad Committed to several steps to reduce the nuclear danger on the subcontinent. MOU is a *"Memorandum of Military understanding because eighty percent (80%) of all that was said in it related to military actors – navy, army, and nuclear."*³³ Pakistan has, for several years, proposed the idea of a South Asian Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (SANWFZ) that India has not accepted, India has, however, supported the concept of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (IOZP). Such a zone is proposed to restrict nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean.

On February 21, 1999, in Lahore, Pakistan, the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan signed the Lahore Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) that calls for nuclear-related measures. One of these seeks to prevent accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons. Another calls for the creation of communication mechanisms similar in some aspects to those required by the Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident. According to the Lahore Memorandum of Understanding the two sides are fully committed to undertaking national measures to reducing the risks of

accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons under their respective control. The two sides further undertake to notify each other immediately in the event of any accidental, unauthorized or unexplained incident that could create the risk for both sides. The MOU further undertake to notify each other immediately in the event of an outbreak of a nuclear war between the two countries, as well as to adopt measures aimed at diminishing the possibility of such actions, or such incidents being misinterpreted by the other. The two sides shall identify and establish the appropriate communication mechanism for this purpose.

On 27th, May 1999 Pakistan shot down two Indian fighter jets - a Mig-21 and a MiG-27 - that crossed into its territory along the disputed Kashmir border. One pilot was killed, the other was captured by Pakistan. The incident came as India carried out further air strikes against infiltrators inside Indian-administered Kashmir. The shooting marked a new level of conflict between Pakistan and India and Pakistan had put its army on high alert.

b) Data Exchange:

Another transparency measure is that both rival states should exchange the data regarding military activities and nuclear installations and facilities. Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto signed an "Agreement on Prohibition of Attack against Nuclear Installations and Facilities" in 1988. It was ratified in 1991 and implemented in January 1992. The agreement requires an annual exchange of lists detailing the location of all nuclear-related facilities in each country. The measure further pledges both sides not to attack listed facilities. Both countries are required to exchange lists and to inform one another of any changes made to the lists. When lists were exchanged in

1992, each side reportedly left off one enrichment facility.

³⁴ The agreement begins to institutionalize transparency in Indo-Pakistan relations. In 1994 India and Pakistan exchanged "non-Papers" in which several CBMs were suggested for consideration. One of the non-papers presented by India suggested that the non-attack agreement be extended to population centers and economic assets. Another Indian non-paper proposed that both countries declare a no first use of nuclear capabilities – an agreement freezing the nuclear capabilities of the two countries. These non-papers, however, have yet to materialize into agreements.

According to "Agreement between Pakistan and India on Advance Notice on Military Exercises, Maneuvers, and Troop Movements 1991", it is necessary that data should be exchanged which inform the other party regarding the following aspects of major exercises. Type and level of exercises agreed upon are, the General area of the exercise on land, air and sea. In respect of air and sea exercises, these will be defined in latitude and longitude. The planned duration of the activity, the number and type of formations participating, and any shifting of forces from other commands / corps / strategic formations envisaged. The move of strategic formations, particularly armored division, mechanized divisions, particularly armored division, mechanized divisions, air assault divisions / reserve infantry formations and artillery divisions / air defense artillery divisions. Provided that in respect of major Air and Naval exercises, only the information at paragraphs a to c need be intimated. Article 9 of the Agreement (CBM) states that, *"Each country will be entitled to obtain timely clarification from the country undertaking military maneuvers / exercises concerning the assembly of formations, the extent, direction of the exercise and the duration"*.³⁵

CONSTRAINT MEASURES

As far as the 'Constraint Measures' CBMs are concerned Agreement on Advance Notice on Military Exercises, Maneuvers and Troop Movement 1991 binds and constrain both sides. The constraint is that they may not conduct exercises of land forces at Divisional level and above within five Kilometers of the areas specified at paragraph 1.a.1 and 1.a.2.³⁶ Article / paragraph 8 of the above mentioned agreement clearly mentioned that any induction / concentration of additional troops of a division size force and above, within one hundred and fifty km. of areas specified at paragraph 1.a.1 and 1.a.2., for Internal security duties and / or in aid of civil power will be notified to the other side at least two days before the start of their movements, whenever possible. In case of immediate movements, information may be passed on hot line logistic bases / installations and armor / artillery. Paragraph 10 deals with naval ships and submarines. It states that the naval ships and submarines belonging to the other country are not to close less than three nautical miles (NMs) from each other so as to avoid any accident while operating in International waters. In order to avoid the 'Air Space Violation' India and Pakistan also levy some restraints on each other. Article 2 of the agreement stated subject to Articles 3, 4 and 6, the following restrictions are to be observed by military aircraft of both the forces. Combat aircraft (to include fighter, bomber, reconnaissance, jet military trainer and armed helicopter aircraft) will not fly within 10 km of each other's airspace including ADIZ. No aircraft of any side will enter the airspace over the territorial waters of the other country, except by prior permission. Unarmed transport and logistics aircraft including unarmed helicopters and Air Observation Post (AOP) aircraft will be permitted up to 1,000 meters from each other's airspace including ADIZ. Combat aircraft (as defined in Article 2.a. above)

operating from the air bases specified below will maintain a distance of 5 km from each other's airspace. On the Indian Side the airfields defined are Jammu, Pathankot, Amritsar, and Suratgarh. On the Pakistani side the airfields defined are Pasrur, Lahore, Vehari, and Rahim Yar Khan.

OBSERVATIONS

Allowing of 'observation' is another military conflict Avoidance Measure (CAM) adopted between India and Pakistan. When Pakistan undertook its 1989 military exercises, "Zarb-e-Momin", Indian and other foreign military attaches were invited to observe in order to confirm non-hostile intent. During the spring of 1990, tensions were fueled by large-scale violence in Kashmir. The Indian government moved troops into Kashmir to contain disturbances, but the Indian side kept their tank deployments behind the Indian Gandhi Canal so as to signal an intention not to cross the Pakistani border. Moreover, to clarify their peaceful intent a monitor force was deployed. In the first week of December 2000 there were the 10-day joint Indian army – navy - air force maneuvers staged across the Rajasthan desert (and along the Goa coast). The exercise was a two-part affair each under two different code-names - The Shiv Shakti and Triumph '98. These exercise were the biggest such operation since Brasstacks of 1986-1987. Shiv Shakti boasted strength of 60,000 soldiers, 4,500 junior commissioned officers and 1,800 officers. As many as 600 tanks, 400 heavy artillery guns – including the Bofors – armored personnel carriers, radar and communication systems, missile launchers, anti-aircraft guns, Jaguars, MIG 27s, and attack helicopters were deployed in the exercise. On the nuclear side, the artillery is already said to have, geared for a nuclear war scenario. The T-72 Ajeya tanks were fitted with sensors that detect nuclear

radiation as well as dangerous chemicals. The sensors activate a mechanism that seals off the tank even as air filters ensure that the crew gets uncontaminated air. According to Indian Lt. Gen. H.M. Khanna, the GOC-in-C of the Southern Command: *"The exercise assumes additional significance because it offered an opportunity to crank in elements and conduct a decisive offensive operations in the desert"*.³⁷ The Indian side not only informed the Pakistani side of its intended exercises, it also invited observers both from Pakistan and other nations as USA etc.

CONCLUSION

In principle CBMs are supposed to create trust between antagonistic parties for the management and resolution of their conflicts but in case of India and Pakistan the absence of trust is the basic impediment for the successful application of Confidence-Building Measures. There exists basic mistrust, suspicion and paranoia between India and Pakistan on historical, religious, cultural and political grounds. Any initiative, which is taken for the betterment of Indo-Pak relations, is unsuccessful because leaders of the two countries do not stick to act with honest rules of the game. There exists lack of professionalism in the two countries for understanding basic concepts, approaches and theories related to the task of conflict resolution and peace building. Policy makers in India and Pakistan express lack of interest to learn from external experiences.

The chances of war in the subcontinent had receded after the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests, and the groundwork has been laid to build a stable relation between the two countries. While the overall picture about CBMs in South Asia appears to be very pessimistic, one should understand the fact that India and Pakistan and other SAARC countries have in the

past succeeded in resolving some of the intractable disputes through negotiations. Though it is true that past endeavors towards conflict resolution and CBMs between India and Pakistan cannot be described as a 'success story,' the two countries have not entirely failed in dispute resolution. India and Pakistan have agreed in principle on an arrangement to avoid a nuclear conflict though "unauthorized and accidental use". Several practical proposals for improving communications and the exchange of information at political, civilian and military levels can be considered. It would be sensible, therefore, for technical groups from both sides to work immediately on the details of these and to develop other similar measures.

Further more, reintroduction of long-established 'flag-meetings' between local commanders on weekly basis; Director General Military Operations (DGMOs) should not only have 'hot line' but should have also an 'open line' on which they too could speak at least weekly. Other CBMs, which are suggested to institutionalize a framework of conflict-de-escalation, are, visits of Indian and Pakistani nuclear scientists. Better coordination between the nuclear command and control system. Exchange of ideas on the strategic doctrines. Exchange of information and joint activities to deal with the threats of nuclear radiation and nuclear accidents. Deployment of international observers in sufficient number along the sensitive areas of LOC. Visits of military officials to each other staff colleges. Practical measures to follow the policy of non-interference and non-intervention in their internal affairs. Kashmir dispute should be dealt with in a humane manner so as to alleviate the plight of Kashmir's. Opportunities for the exchange of students, teachers, media men, scientists, artists, businessmen and traders should be created. Such steps will help the gradual de-escalation of tension between the two countries.

Future priorities for non-proliferation should be threefold: repairing, sustaining, and broadening. These are overlapping, not mutually exclusive requirements. South Asian nuclear de-weaponization will take center field for a time. There are two basic reasons for the less successful history of the South Asian confidence building measures. Firstly it should be remembered that CBMs do not work in the absence of a political will to reduce tensions. Secondly, there is a relative lack of success, because India and Pakistan have used CBMs more as "competition building measures" than as confidence building measures. Kashmir remains the stumbling block. With so much to do by way of putting in place specific military CBMs it would be wise to set up a permanent structure for the purpose. It should be remembered that a dialogue is an extended process and therefore should be taken in its spirit of "agreeing to disagree" and then move forward on areas where there is a mutual agreement of the two sides. The implementation of the CBMs has been seen as a "zero sum" game and they have been used as a means of gaining advantage over the other rather than for creating an environment for peace. A regular interaction could help remove the decade of mistrust. What is of value, therefore, is the realization that the process should not be stalled. It is necessary that both sides lay their cards on the table so that there is a clearer understanding of each other's positions. What is required in the first instance is to boost confidence in the willingness of the two unfriendly neighbors to live in peace. To break the impasse, India and Pakistan need to define for themselves, in broad terms, the kind of agreement they can live with, and explore through diplomatic back channels whether there is sufficient common ground to make a dialogue fruitful.

The choice for the policy makers of nuclear India and nuclear Pakistan is coexistence or no existence.

CBM must focus on formalizing nuclear restraint, a greater understanding of each other's nuclear doctrines, increased transparency through exchange of information, reliable modes of continuous communication, regular high-level military exchanges, and mechanisms to review the implementation of existing CBMs.

It would appear that the modern application of confidence-building measures is tending to strike a reasonable balance between non-military and military measures. These measures are inseparable; Military CBMs (Communication and Contact measures, Border Security Measures, No War Pacts, peace and Friendship Proposals, Nuclear Risk Reduction Measures, Transparency Measures, Prior Notification measures, Data Exchange Measures, Constraint Measures and Observation Measures.) cannot themselves provide the necessary level of confidence in the military activities of states in isolation from political moves made to dispel suspicion. A broad interaction of military and non-military measures makes CBMs dynamic and can effectively influence a political-military situation. Military CBMs provide the procedure and structure element to avoid war while the non-military CBMs along with procedural element provides psychological clement to work toward building of confidence in the limited period of war and peace.

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9 Sarrepalli Gopal, Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru, 2nd ser, vol. 9, 20 December 1948-15 February 1949. (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1990), 245n.2

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11 Brain Cloughley, "Nuclear Risk Reduction measures in Kashmir, in "Nuclear Risk-Reduction Measured in Southern Asia, The Henry L. Stimson Centre, Report No. 26, November 1998, PP: 59, 225-226.

12 Hotline is the installation and use of Indo-Pakistani voice links

13 This Crisis developed as a result of a serious deterioration of the internal situation in the India held Kashmir in the later half of 1989. In order to confront the serious law and order problems in the State, India moved three divisions and large bodies of paramilitary forces into Kashmir in the spring of 1990, alarming Pakistan, which then took counter-movements, and "defensive" measures. Increased political tensions between the two countries gave rise to fears of a military confrontation, but leaders on both, sides, wisely, soon began to de-escalate the sense of crisis.

14 This Crisis ensued from large-scale military exercises held by India near the Indo-Pakistan border, Code-named "Brasstacks". It was followed by military countermeasures being taken by Pakistan and "Defensive" movements by India, leading to a confrontation between the two armies. A major Conflict by an accident or design seemed imminent at this stage, but it was averted by the good sense displayed – although belatedly – by the two leaders president Zia-ul-Haq and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. There is some evidence also that US President Ronald Reagan Persuaded the two leaders to defuse this serious crisis.

15 Lt. Gen. (Retd.), V.R. Raghavan, "Confidence-Building measures After Kargil: Possibilities", Delhi Policy Group, The Henry L. Stimson Center Asian Security Luncheon Series, September 14, 1999, p. 2

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20 The complete text of the Agreement can be found in Sumit Ganguly, "Mending Fences" in Michael Krepon and Amit Savik (eds), "Crisis Prevention, Confidence-Building and Reconciliation in South Asia" New Delhi, Marous, 1996, PP, 254-5

21 Ironically, information regarding these installations and facilities has long existed in the public domain

22 Geneva Convention states that, "Works or installations containing dangerous forces, namely dams, dykes and nuclear electrical generating stations, shall not be made the object of attack, even where these objects are military objectives. If such attack may cause the release of dangerous forces and consequent severe losses among the civilian population".

23 The complete text of this agreement can be found in Micheal Krepon and Amit Savik (eds.), *Crisis prevention*, op-cit, pp 255-57

24 This agreement can be found in *ibid.* , PP 257-258.

25 Existing nuclear-related agreements that neither India nor Pakistan has signed (in alphabetical order):

- Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
- Convention on the Establishment of a Security Control in the Field of Nuclear Energy (restricted to Western European nations)
- Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials

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- Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution from Land-Based Sources
 - Convention on Supplementary Compensation for Nuclear Damage
 - Convention on Third Party Liability in the Field of Nuclear Energy and Associated Protocols
 - Convention Relating to Civil Liability in the Field of Maritime Carriage of Nuclear Material
 - Joint Convention on the Safety of Spent Fuel Management and on the Safety of Radioactive Waste Management.
 - Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
 - Vienna Convention on Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage and Associated Protocols (e.g., Protocol to Amend the Vienna Convention on Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage)

•Various treaties on nuclear weapons free zones at different locations around the world

26 In October 1964, the FAO and the IAEA established a Joint Division of Nuclear Techniques in Food and Agriculture

27 These agreements were entered into at various times, as each country procured foreign technologies that were sold under conditions of safeguards

28 The FAO Soils Bulletin 61 presents a detailed review of issues related to "Radioactive fallout in soils, crops and food" (FAO 1989). The FAO has recognized the importance of early action in mitigating the effects of radioactive fallout and is a party to the IAEA international conventions on "Early notification of a Nuclear Accident" and "Assistance in the Case of a Nuclear Accident or Radiological emergency." Intervention levels have been determined for food and crops that have increased radioactivity levels after a nuclear accident. Joint experiments on monitoring airborne emissions of radio-nuclides could be conducted within a 150-km radius of nuclear power plants as a start towards planning for mitigating the effects of an accident on food crops. These experiments could demonstrate radio-nuclide samplers, data logging, and telemetry technologies.

29 EEZ: Exclusive Economic Zone

30 ADIZ: Air Defense Identification Zones

31 Appendix A of the Agreement on prevention of Air space violations deals with the "Conditions for Grant of Flight Clearance for Military Aircraft of Both Countries

32 Michael Krepon & Amit Sevak, op. cit., and the Daily Nation, Lahore, 7 April 1991 & The Daily Hindu, New Delhistan Times, New Delhi, 7 April 1991

33 Let. Gen. (Retd.) V.R. Raghavan, "Confidence-Building Measures after Kargil: Possibilities", Delhi Policy Group, the Henry L. Stimson Center Asian Security Luncheon Series, September 14, 1999

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KASHMIR: ITS STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE FOR INDIA AND PAKISTAN

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Miss Rabia Khan

Introduction:

Geo-strategy as an omnibus concept entails a whole array of geo-political and geo-economic determinants. Conceptualizing it in simple terms would mean strategic management of geo-political and geo-economic interests of a country. Kashmir with its 12 million people is not only a land of snow covered Himalayas with its breath taking lakes, rivers, valleys and pine-forests but a strategic bowl surrounded by the ex-Soviet Union to the North, China to the East and Pakistan to the West with Iran and Afghanistan not far away. Thus, India, despite its military power, faces a strategic dilemma. It wants to retain Kashmir, but the Kashmiris pose a big hurdle. They have always been considered an "enemy" and "pro-Pakistan". The Kashmir issue has been the heart of the conflict between Pakistan and India. It is a matter of the significance and deep emotional appeal for both states, and for that reason thrice in two decades India and Pakistan have gone to war over it.¹ The outcome of these armed conflicts is a continuing stalemate and the Kashmir issue remains the major obstacle to a peace settlement in the sub-continent. Pakistan considers Kashmir as its core political dispute with India. So does the international community, except India. Although the Indian security forces are practicing an unprecedented reign of terror in occupied Kashmir which is being reported worldwide. The Indian Government, currently lead by Hindu nationalist Bhartiya Janta Party, is neither willing to negotiate the issue

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multilaterally-through international mediation – nor is it ready to sort it out with Pakistan through bilateral negotiations. The objective of this study is mainly to highlight the geo-strategic significance of Kashmir territory for both of the rival states of the sub-continent due to which major portions of their economies are swallowed by the huge military presence on both sides of the 'line of control'.

Historical Perspective

Buddhism and Hinduism penetrated into Jammu and Kashmir at an early date, from the 9th to the 12th century AD. The region appears to have achieved considerable prominence as a center of Hindu culture. It was brought under the Muslim rule in 14th century, and it remained so for some centuries until Sikh and then Dogra ruler assumed control in the 19th century. (The Sikhs are a religious community of Northern India).

The state of Jammu and Kashmir in its contemporary form, dates from 1846, when by the treaties of Lahore and Amritsar at the conclusion of the first Sikh war, Raja Gulab Singh, the Dogra ruler of Jammu was became ruling prince of an extensive, but some what ill-defined Himalayan Kingdom to the East ward of the river Indus and West ward of the River Ravi. For the British, the creation of this Princely, protected state helped to safe-guard their Northern Flank in their advance to the Indus and beyond during the latter part of 19th century. The state thus formed a part of a complex political buffer zone inter-posed by the British between their Indian Empire and the Empires of Russia and China to the North. For Gulab Singh, confirmation of title to these mountainous territories marked the culmination of almost a quarter of a century of campaign and diplomatic

negotiation among the petty hill Kingdom along the Northern borderlands of the Sikh Empire of the Punjab.²

Geographic Location of Kashmir

The territory of Jammu and Kashmir, situated in the Northern part of Indian sub-continent in the vicinity of the western Himalayan mountain range is the reason for dispute between India and Pakistan since the partition of India in 1947. Formerly one of the largest princely states of India, Kashmir is bounded on the North-West by Afghanistan, on the north by the Sinkiang-uighur autonomous region of China, on the east by Tibet (The Tibetan Autonomous region), on the south by the Indian states of Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab, and to the west by Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Punjab. The state has a strong genetic relationship with the Himalayan complex, which exercises an important influence on its geographical personality.³

The territory has an area of 86,023 square miles (222,798 sq. kilometers), it is divided by a "Line of Control", agreed on in 1972, that leaves an area of 32,358 sq. miles (83,806 sq. K. Meters) in the north and west to Pakistan and the remainder, amounting to 53,665 sq. miles (138,992 sq. K. Meters), under Indian control. Repeated United Nations attempts to settle the dispute by holding a Plebiscite have been unsuccessful. As Plebiscite has not been held, the dispute has been further complicated by Chinese incursions into the territory from the north. N.C. Chatterjee, a Hindu member of the Indian Parliament pointed out "the geographical situation of the state was such that it would be on all sides surrounded by the new dominion of Pakistan."⁴

The population of Jammu and Kashmir is believed to be about 5,900,000. The inhabitants of the Indian sector were estimated to number 4,600,000 in 1971 and those in the Pakistan sector were estimated at 1,300,000. The administrative capital of the Indian sector is Srinagar in summer and Jammu in winter, while the administrative capital of the Pakistan sector is Muzaffarabad. The vale of Kashmir, located in the Indian sector, is renowned for its beauty and facility.

Some attempts were made in the 19th century to define the boundaries of the state, but precise definition was in many cases defeated by the nature of the country and by the existence of huge tracts lacking permanent human settlement. In the far north, for example, the Maharaja's authority certainly extended to the Karakoram Range, but beyond lay a debatable zone on the borders of the Turkistan and Sinkiang regions of central Asia and the boundary was never demarcated. There were similar doubts about the alignment of the frontier where this northern zone skirted the district known as Aksai Chin, to the east, and joined the better known and more precisely delineated boundary with Tibet which had served for centuries as the eastern border of the Ladakh region of what is now Jammu and Kashmir.⁵ The pattern of the boundaries of Northwest became clearer in the last decade of the 19th century, when Britain delimited boundary in the Pamir region in negotiation with Afghanistan and Russia. At that time Gilgit, always understood to be part of Kashmir for strategic reasons, was constituted as agency in 1889 under the British agent.

Physio-graphically, the territory comprises of number of zones that are closely associated with the structure components of the western Himalayas. From

Southwest to Northwest, these zones consist of the plains, the foothills, the Pir Panjal range, the vale of Kashmir, the central Himalayan zone, the upper Indus valley and the Karakorm range.⁶

The narrow zone of plains country in Jammu and Punch is characterized by Inter-locking Sandyalluvial fans (Fan-shaped accumulation of debris) that have been deposited by streams discharging from foot-hill and by a much-dissected pediment covered by loam's and looses of the Pleistocene epoch⁷. Rainfall is low, amounting to about 15 or 20 inches a year and it occurs mainly in the form of heavy but infrequent showers in the summer, when the monsoon winds blow. The countryside has been almost entirely denuded of trees and thorn, scrub and coarse grass are the dominant forms of vegetation.

The foothills of Himalayas, rising from 2000 to 7000 feet comprise on outer-zone and an Inner-zone. The outer-zone consists of sandstones, clays, silts and conglomerates, influenced by Himalayan folding movements and eroded to form long ridges and valleys. The inner-zone consists of more massive sedimentary rock, including red-stone of the Mircene epoch that has been folded, fractured and eroded to form steep spurs and plateau remnants. River valleys deeply in used and terraced and faulting has produced a number of alluviums filled basin, such as those of Udhampur and Punch.⁸ Rain fall increases with elevation and the lower scrubland gives way to Pine-forest at higher altitude.

The Pir Punjal Range constitutes the first rampart associated with Himalayas. It has an average crest line of 12,500 feet, with individual peaks rising to 15000 feet consisting of an ancient rock core of gramites, gneisses, quartz rocks and states. It has been subject to

considerable uplift and fracturing and was heavily glaciated during the Pleistocene epoch. The range receives considerable winter snowfall as well as summer rain and has extensive areas of pasture above the tree line.⁹

The vale of Kashmir is a deep asymmetrical basin line between the Pir Panjal and the central Himalayan ranges at an average altitude of 5,300 feet.¹⁰ It is filled by lacustrine sediments and alluvium deposited by the upper Jhelum river at elevations of upto some 6000 feet above sea level. Soil and water conditions vary considerably and the climate is characterized by an annual rainfall of about 30 inches, some of which is derived from the summer monsoon winds and some from winds associated with winter depressions. Average minimum temperature of about 11 degree of Fahrenheit (-12 degree centigrade) occur in January and average maximum temperature of 99 degree of Fahrenheit (37 degree centigrade) in July. Upto 7000 feet, woodlands of deodar, blue-pine walnut, willow, elm, and poplars occur from 7000 to 10,500 feet, coniferous forests with fir, pine and spruce are found 10,500 to 12,000 feet birch is dominant and above 12,000 feet there are meadows with rhododendrons dwarf willows and honey suckle.¹¹

Geographically complex and topographically immense, the Central Himalayan Zone has ranges reaching more than 20,000 feet and remote valleys.

The valley of the upper Indus is a well defined feature that follows the geological strike west-ward from the Tibetan border to the point where it rounds great mountainous mass of Nanga Parbat to run south-ward in deep gorges cut across the strike. On its upper reaches it is flanked by gravel traces, each tributary builds a alluvial fan out into the main valley. The town of leh in the Indian

sector stands on such a fan, 11,500 feet above sea level, with a climate characterized by almost total lack of rainfall, intense insulation.

The great granite-gneiss massifs of the Karakoram contain some of the world's highest peaks, including K2 and Mount Everest. Godwin Austin with an altitude of 28,250 feet, at least 30 other peaks exceed 24,000 feet. The Karakoram region is aptly named the "Roof of the World". 12 Wild animals include ibex, urial, the Kashmir stag, black and brown bears, and many gamebirds, including vast numbers of migratory duck.

Kashmir is of the Vale and Highlands

The vale of Kashmir with its surrounding highlands has always retained something of its own individuality. Of the 2,000,000 Kashmiris in the vale, the vast majority—about 90% are Muslims, culturally and ethnically, links are closest with the northwestern highlands. The Kashmiri language is influenced by Sanskrit and belongs to the Dardic group of Aryan language.

The majority of the Kashmiri population is occupied in agriculture of diverse kinds; each adapted to local conditions. Rice, the staple crop, is planted in May and harvested in late September. Maize, miller, pulses, cotton and tobacco are with rice, the main summer crops, wheat and barley are the chief Spring crops, many temperate fruits and vegetables are grown in areas adjacent to urban markets or in well watered areas with rich organic soils. Lack margins are particularly favoured, and intensive cultivation of vegetables is practiced in reclaimed marshland, the pressure of population on land is everywhere. The lakes and rivers provide fish, water, and chestnuts power. The mountains supply many kinds

of timber, pasture for sheep and dairy cattle, and such snow sports center as that at Gulmarg. The region has mineral resources, including several small coalfields and bauxite deposits in the Udhampur district, but these are virtually un-exploited.

Under three five year plans, the Indian central government has made a huge investment in developing almost 3700 miles of highways and communication which is the result of the India Pakistan dispute over Kashmir. The blocking of the Jehlum valley route, which runs 200 miles from Srinagar to Rawalpindi, transformed the longer and more difficult banihal passcart road into a motor-road for all weathers linking Jammu with the vale. This necessitated the construction of one of the longest tunnels in Asia-the Jawahar tunnel. In the early decades there were schemes for extended communications from railhead at the Mudhapur in the Indian Punjab into the vale.

Importance of Geography for Pakistan

North of Radcliff line, the boundary follows the old line separating the province of Punjab from the princely state of Kashmir. It marked the separation between the open Punjab alluvium and the hill grits, rough and beautiful mountainous state. The very fact that the area of Kashmir 84471 sq. miles is bigger than that of the bigger province of Pakistan is quite significant.¹³ Strategic and political considerations are important still the peripheric location of the territory its hydrographic control on Pakistan, the naturalness and invincibility of its defence line, the contact which it enjoys with the big powers and its richness in men of quality are factors which determine its vital importance. Coupled with its natural position with Pakistan, the significance of Kashmir is enhanced when it is perceived as the meeting place of

4 powers i.e. India, Afghanistan, China and Russia. So far greater strengthening of its vicinal location, Pakistan must have a full active stand for Kashmir. The length of Pakistan-Kashmir border, 350 miles, is not much but it is here that the real geographical, economic orientation is towards Pakistan.¹⁴

The means of communication of Kashmir also open towards Pakistan. The route from Abbotabad northward through Kashmir valley via Chilas to Gilgit is capable of serving as a strong link between Pakistan and Russia and China via Kashmir. The river Indus formidable at Chilas and Gilgit, the route bifurcates into two branches-one following the Gilgit valley reaches Gilgit agency and other leads upto Russian Turkistan through Hunza. This road can be destined to play a significant role in fostering better political relations between Pakistan and USSR. The Prime Minister of Pakistan described Kashmir's strategic value to Pakistan in the following words in 1951. "Kashmir is very important and vital to Pakistan, to India it is what you might call a luxury, with us it is a vital necessity for our survival."¹⁵

Strategically Kashmir and the northern territories today provide that stability for Pakistan's existence, which its four provinces do not. The constant threat to its security that Pakistan feels due to the presence of Indian troops in Kashmir will no longer be there if Pakistan can get Kashmir. Other than that Kashmir also has a lot of natural resources, which Pakistan can exploit for its own use.

Importance of Geography for India

The partition made Kashmir geographically contiguous to both India and Pakistan, besides Tibet,

Sinkiang, Soviet Union and Afghanistan. Kashmir is contiguous to India by a small 30 miles stretch. The evidence of India's interest in Kashmir strategically is to be found in the following extract, "India without Kashmir could cease to occupy a pivotal position on the political map of Central Asia. Strategically Kashmir is vital to the security of India. Its northern Province gives us direct gateway to the northwest province of Pakistan and northern Punjab."¹⁶ It is India's only window to the Central Asian Republics of USSR in the north, China in the east and Afghanistan on the west. Nehru explained this in following terms:

"The Indian view is that the Dogra Rulers made Kashmir Valley as we find it today. They give it peace and security, encourage its cottage industries, improved its agriculture and gave it all the modern touches. They linked it with Jammu and Punjab by building a motorable road across the high Pir Punjal mountains and thus opened it to the Indian visitors on whom its economy now depends to a good extend".¹⁷

So in regard to these developments, India deserves it 'more' than Pakistan. India claimed Kashmir's accession to herself simply on the basis of the Hindu Ruler of the State. The Maharaja's personal inclinations were towards India.¹⁸ Judged from an impartial point of view there was not least justification of Kashmir's accession to India except for dozen miles near Pathan Kot, where the boundaries of India and Kashmir are contiguous. As far as the "Geographical Situation" is concerned, the Maharaja came up with the flimsy excuse that Kashmir is geographically more contiguous with India than Pakistan. While the actual reasons are the

rivers and natural resources which have much attraction for Indian economy to control over Kashmir.

Counter-Claims of India and Pakistan

As long as the existence of the state was guaranteed by the United Kingdom, the weaknesses in its structure and along its peripheries were not of any consequence. Following the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from South Asia in 1947, however, they become apparent. By the terms agreed upon for the partition of the sub-continent between India and Pakistan, the rulers of princely states were given the right to opt for either Pakistan or with certain reservations to remain independent. The Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh, initially believed that by delaying a decision he could maintain the independence of Kashmir, but caught up in a train of events that included a revolt against his rule by the Muslim subjects along the western border of the State and the intervention of Pathan tribes-men, he signed an Instrument of Accession to the Indian Union on October 26, 1947. This was the signal for intervention both by Pakistan, which considered that the state was a natural extension of Pakistan and by India, which intended to confirm the act of accession. Localized war continued during 1948 and was terminated when a cease-fire was called for by the United Nations, which took effect in January 1949. In July of the same year, India and Pakistan defined a cease-fire line that divided the administration of the territory. This let Jammu, together with part of the district of Punch and Mirpur, the vale of Kashmir and the Ladakh region go under Indian control and western Punch (which together with Muzaffarabad and part of Mirpur, formed Azad Kashmir), Gilgit and Baltistan under Pakistan's authority. Regarded merely as a temporary measure, this part along the

cease-fire line still existed in the early 1970s, through warfare between the two contestants W.S. briefly resumed in 1965, 1971, despite many proposals put forward to end the dispute.

Guerilla Warfare in Kashmir:

The vale of Kashmir due to long terrain, hills, mountains and vast and deep jungle is considered heaven for guerrilla fighters. The atmosphere in Kashmir is best for the guerillas to conduct operations. The members are properly trained in the training centers and are equipped with weapons and send to the operations. In this period, guerillas adopted the "Hit and Run Policy" and used light weapons while Pakistan provided them "Hot Pursuit".¹⁹

They have established their "base areas" and after completing action they come to the protected areas in terrain and thick jungle. Indian army cannot use heavy weapons against the insurgents while guerillas make full use of it.²⁰ The Kashmiri people always supported the Kashmiri freedom fighters and also participated in the rallies for self-determination. They provide shelter, food, clothes and money to guerillas. When they are in trouble or need. Public opinion is strongly against the Indian government and her policies in the state.²¹

Passion among the masses to get freedom is increasing rapidly. Women, too, now come out in the streets to show their support for the freedom movement. Not only this but they are even ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause.

Role of Military, Geography and Kashmir in Nuclear Era:

Nuclear weapons have changed the entire situation of South Asia and crisis emerging from the long-standing Kashmir dispute is not helping much in stabilizing the situation in the region.

Stabilizing effect of nuclear weapons may be there but what assurity is there that Kashmir Issue has acquired a fundamental position and has become the focus of international community regarding regional disputes. The issue, however, has been given a totally new dimension when movement for Independence is vigorously going on and contending parties have acquired nuclear weapons capability.²² The Kashmir issue has raised the question for the west that South Asia might turn into a nuclear battlefield. One dimension of the issue is that now with the acquisition of weapons of mass level destruction there may be an increase in the probability of low intensity conventional conflict.

However, problem may be posed by immature command and control system and due to the lack of strategic nuclear doctrine. Adhocism in nuclear politics is the worst problem, which may result in the extinction of civilization. Moreover, some technical aspects are the cause of concern. Apart from chances of accident, perception that other nuclear installations are vulnerable may create crisis, instability and can even end up with a pre-emptive strike against each other's nuclear capabilities. Situation is gloomier, as both these states are geographically contiguous.²³ Thus the possession of nuclear weapons by parties that already have fought three wars and have come close to fighting on three other occasions signals for an urgent need to think about

through the risk and opportunities confronting these regional states.

Conclusion:

Significantly, Kashmir has a great importance for Pakistan and India because of its strategic location, natural resources, water resources, security concerns and its geographical configuration. But with the advent of nuclear weapons, Kashmir has brought a spotlight on this region and this issue may lead to a nuclear war. Because of its geographical location, it makes both countries' security vulnerable due to limited time period, lack of stable deterrence and mature nuclear doctrine.

Both countries are acquiring proper command and control structures and hence any low intensity conflict can lead them to a nuclear holocaust. Therefore, it is the need of time that both Pakistan and India should feel their responsibilities and should avoid any low intensity and conventional conflicts. Now military geography has got much importance in the nuclear era and it has also limited the striking capability of both countries. Therefore, both should try to remove misperceptions and miscalculations by proper communication methods for the peace and security of the region.

Now, that both India and Pakistan have acquired nuclear-weapons potential, the possibility of a third war between them over Kashmir involving the use of nuclear weapons cannot be ruled out. The international community can avert the likely nuclear disaster in South Asia, the cause of which can be the Kashmir conflict, with timely intervention. Such an intervention is urgently required to put an end to Indian atrocities in occupied Kashmir and prepare the ground for the implementation

of UN Resolutions, which call for holding a plebiscite to determine the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the future status of Kashmir.

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A POLITICAL STUDY OF TEHSIL WAZIRABAD (1970-1997)

Dr. M. Iqbal Gondal

Tehsil is an administrative sub-division consisting of residential units i.e. Villages and Towns. "It is such a part of a district covering the area of four to six hundred square miles."¹

Tehsil Wazirabad is one of the tehsils of District Gujranwala in the Punjab Province of Pakistan having its headquarters at Wazirabad city. Its electoral area consists of one Constituency of National Assembly and two constituencies of the Punjab Assembly.

The Majority of the Population are inhabitants of the rural area and has taken up agriculture as a profession. Politically, the Cheemas and Chathas are two dominant races of the Tehsil. Many of the villages bear the names of these local races, i.e. Dilawar Cheema, Ladhawala Cheema, Manchar Chatha, Alipur Chatha and Bucha Chatha etc. In Wazirabad constituency the influence of particular classes, families and baradries is as dominating as it is in other parts of Pakistan. Here the Raja Family of Wazirabad City, the Hamid Nasir Chatha Family and the Baradaries of the Cheemas and Chathas are politically leading forces. "All the three are so strongly rooted that no political party can hope to succeed by ignoring these forces."² Being the cultivating landowners, they dominate the politics of the area. For this reason it is said, "the politics of Tehsil Wazirabad revolves around "Jatism – the political hold of land owners, the Cheemas and the Chathas."³

Among the Chathas, Hamid Nasir Chatha is the top political personality and is the exclusive prominent

figure of Pakistan Muslim League (PML) in the area. From this political platform, he gained so much political popularity during eighties that it was asserted that PML's influence or popularity in Tehsil Wazirabad is mainly due to Hamid Nasir Chatha.⁴ He is regarded as the chief of the race and is the symbol of political unity of the Chathas. The Chathas say: "our tehsil politics had been led by Salahuddin Chatha and now his son Hamid Nasir Chatha is the leader. We the Chathas salute this family and our vote is based on this baradrism. Hamid Nasir Chatha is the chieftain and the Chatha baradri supports him on this ground."⁵ "Despite this strong influence of baradrism, sometimes personal interests and baradri feuds create local rivalries resulting in baradari defections and shifting affiliations."⁶

The Rajas consist of only few families in Wazirabad city and have no big "Baradari", yet they still enjoy the political leadership in one of the constituencies i.e. p.77 of the Tehsil on the basis of their traditional role in the past."⁷

Besides the dominant races that have already been mentioned, the Arains, the Kashmiries, the Mirzas the Rajputs and the other small races, mostly dealing in business, have some political clout, especially in towns and cities of Tehsil Wazirabad. But owing to the socio-economic structure of this area, none of them has succeeded in getting to the top, however, in the local politics of towns, their political authority as political workers has been recognized. Such groups enjoy chairmanship of local bodies institutions and it is due to this reason that the tehsil leadership cannot ignore this 'non-jat' community and builds up close relations with them to get their political support in general elections.⁸

On the other hand obviously one cannot deny the importance of Political Parties in the area. A number of political parties have been working in Tehsil Wazirabad, but the previous few general elections prove that only two political parties are dominant in this area i.e. P.M.L and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). The office bearers of these two political parties at Tehsil level are mostly Cheemas and Chathas.⁹

Besides these two political parties, Jamat-I-Islami, Jamiet Ullamah-I-Islam and Jamiet Ullama-I-Pakistan which are the religious political parties hold offices but their success in Politics of the area is not very commendable.

In Tehsil Wazirabad no maulvi or religious scholar is politically very successful. The People like to listen to their speeches but do not like to vote for them. So religious political parties cannot be successful independently. However, in the form of political alliances, they provide good support to their allies.¹¹

The history of the politics of the area is also very interesting. In the early years of seventeenth century a chieftain of Chathas, established here the Chatha state, when Mughal Emperor in India was in crisis and the Chathas remained in power till the rise of sikhs (1799) in Punjab. During British rule the political authority of the Chathas was again restored as they were appointed 'Zaildars' in 'Zaildari system'.¹²

During that period 'Zalis' were considered the basis of political power. The Cheemas also enjoyed this status but the Chathas had the upper hand due to their leadership which established the village Ahmad Nagar as a strong political centre.

When Pakistan Movement was at its peak, the head of the Chathas and the Rajas Ch. Salahuddin and Raja M. Abdullah Khan respectively were very active at the platform of Muslim League. When in the elections of 1945-46, the Muslim League nominated the former as its candidate, Raja opposed this party decision. After this Raja was welcomed by the unionist party and was declared its candidate. Now both the politicians of Tehsil Wazirabad affiliated with Muslim League were contesting against each other from different political platforms and obtained 7872 and 6332 votes respectively.¹⁴

Not only in the above mentioned elections, but even afterwards the Raja's leadership has been changing its Party affiliation. In this scenario, both the political forces have not only been opposing but also supporting each other, keeping into consideration their vested interests.

Before the 1970 elections only two political forces were considered, third political force – the Cheemas moved ahead by joining the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). Approximately 90% Cheemas supported the baradari Candidate, Major (retired) Ghulam Haider Cheema nominated by PPP for the National Assembly.¹⁵

Before the nomination of Major, the party ticket was being allotted to tehsil president of PPP, Bava Nazir Hussain Bhinder who was mainly responsible for introducing the party in this area. But in view of local social structure this decision was withdrawn as he did not belong to the traditional political races in Tehsil Wazirabad. At this PPP workers protested but the wise party workers managed to control the situation.¹⁶

Quiet interestingly no one except 'Major' Cheema could have dared to contest against Ch. Hamid Nasir Chatta because of his political hold in the area.¹⁷

Major Ghulam Haider Cheema won the elections of 1970 and he and his son Colonel (Retired) Ghulam Sarwar Cheema thrice defeated Chatha whom the big Cheemas were hesitant to contest due to the fear of defeat. This success of Cheemas against Chathas was the result of the united Baradari role of Cheemas and especially the contribution of votes from the lower class who considered 'Bhutto' as their saviour.¹⁸

In the 1970 elections the factors of Bradarism, and Jatism could be seen particularly in one of the constituencies of provincial Assembly. Where the Cheemas were in majority and thus had great influence. Here the candidate of PPP was non-jat and non-Cheema. This was against the local political set-up. Resultantly, instead of supporting 'PPP', although people did support PPP's candidate of National Assembly, the Cheemas upheld the independent candidate of their own 'Baradari' and paved the way for the sure victory of the Muslim League candidate.

For the second seat of Punjab Provincial Assembly, 'PPP' failed to seek its candidate in Tehsil Wazirabad, where Chathas were effective. Here two influential candidates were the Chathas and both were affiliated with Muslim League. One was nominated by the party and the other, after not being able to get party ticket, was contesting independently. When 'PPP' won the seats of National Assembly with an overwhelming majority, the independent candidate announced to join PPP thus defeating the opponents.²⁰

The second general elections of 1977 were contested between PPP and Pakistan National Alliance (P.N.A) comprising of nine political parties. In these elections, the candidates were the same as in 1970 but unlike 1970 elections, the candidates of provincial Assembly nominated by PPP were those who had contested for the same seats as the candidates of council Muslim League in 1970.

In the Politics of 1977, the Raja family of Wazirabad city was divided in two groups which were affiliated with PPP and PNA and it is interesting to note that both political parties nominated their candidates out of the same family (Rajas) for one of the seats of provincial Assembly in Tehsil Wazirabad. Such a scenario clearly indicates the Political monopoly of the big families. Both the trusted political parties trusted the same family for their sure success. This family (the Rajas) was considered important by the British and the people have been psychologically impressed by the superiority of such families and consequently instead of electing talented political workers, they cast vote in the favour of the candidates belonging to big families. Political parties also followed this trend while nominating their candidates in elections, and it may take a sometime to curb this trend.²¹

The elections of 1977 were considered controversial due to the rigging charge by PNA. Eventually, this scenario paved the way for martial law in the country and after the political silence of eight years the non-party elections were held in February 1985 under martial law government. In these elections, two political groups were established in Tehsil Wazirabad.

- (1) Hamid Nasir Chatha group (H.N.C)
- (2) Anti Hamid Nasir Chatha group (A.H.N.C)
led by big Cheemas

Though A.H.N.C group was not in a sound position yet even the thought of Hamid Nasir Chattha enjoying unopposed victory was unbearable for them. So 'A.H.N.C' group prepared Saif Ali Chatha for the contest.²² The candidate of 'A.H.N.C' group captured 37.18% votes from Wazirabad east and 25.27% from Wazirabad west where Cheemas and Chathas reside respectively. (See table I). Although 'H.N.C' group swept this election but with poor turn out from the areas where Cheemas are more effective which shows the baradari (clan) political cleavage between Cheemas and Chathas.

Another important inference can be made from the following data of 1985 elections of Punjab Provincial Assembly in one of the constituencies of Tehsil Wazirabad.

	<u>1st Candidate</u>	<u>2nd Candidate</u>
Votes obtained from urban area	15727	2934
Votes obtained from rural area	15444	13463
Total	<u>31171</u>	<u>16397</u>

The above results show that the first candidate won a large Majority from urban voters but the difference of votes obtained by both candidates from the rural areas is very small as compared to the votes from urban areas. This clearly shows the different political behaviour or culture of urban and rural areas because in village

politics voters become divided into two groups due to local personal clashes among big ones or chaudhries of the villages resulting in less difference of votes obtained by the contesting candidates.

The political history of Pakistan from February 1985 to February 1997 is called the period of elections as during these twelve years, elections were held for five times. Being unsatisfied by the performance of assemblies and governments, the presidents of Pakistan dismissed the assemblies again and again before the completion of the tenure of five years exercising the power vested in them through article 58(2)(b) of the constitution of Pakistan.

After the non-party elections of 1985 the elections of 1988 and 1990 were held on party basis. The candidates of National Assembly remained the same in both the elections. They were Ch. Hamid Nasir Chatha and colonel Rtd. Ghulam Sarwar Cheema. The latter was the son of Major Ghulam Haider Cheema, a PPP leader who contested in 1970 and 1977 against Hamid Nasir Chatha — a PML leader. However, the candidates for provincial Assemblies were changed. In 1988 PPP decided to award party ticket to Saif Ali Chatha for the constituency PP-78. Here the main active worker was Muhammad Arif Chatha who had been put behind bars many times for his political activities against the Martial Law regime. He opposed the party decision and feeling dishonoured, he joined PML.²³

In 1990 Saif Ali Chatha was not awarded PPP's party ticket because after his success as the member of the Punjab Provincial Assembly in 1988 from PPP's platform, he started favouring Nawaz Sharif government in the Punjab province. Now a new candidate was

nominated by PPP for the constituency PP-78. PPP also changed its candidate for PP-77, the 2nd constituency of the Punjab Provincial Assembly in tehsil Wazirabad. Both the candidates of PPP were new comers. The main drawback of these nominations was that both the candidates were non-Chatha and non-Cheema and the candidate of PP-78 was also non-Jat (business man) and these factors caused the defeat of both of them. The non-Jat candidate explains the cause of his defeat in the following words:

My experience of the 1990 elections has showed to me that the chattas cannot tolerate it if we have an upper hand in politics. If they have three or four houses in a village, even then they do not allow the poor to cast vote by their own free will. Here the democracy is only for the jats (land owners) or chaudhries. I have obtained sufficient votes in towns of my constituency because here jats have less political hold. Can you imagine that the jats or chaudhries of PPP were not willing to support me because they felt that if a non-jat is elected as a member of Provincial Assembly that would eclipse their scope in Politics.

The analysis of the elections of 1988 in Tehsil Wazirabad establishes that PPP gained majority in towns, cities and rural area within the range of police station (p.s) Wazirabad, where the majority of the inhabitants are Cheemas inhabitant. Contrary to this, in the rural area of P.S. Ahmed Nagar and P.S. Alipur Chatha, where Chathas are residing, PML earned a better position. So it is obvious in the elections 1988 that the popularity of PPP was more in cities, towns and among Cheemas: the candidate of PPP was a Cheema

and PML was supported by Chathas as the chieftain of this clan was the candidate of PML (See table II).

As regard the political platform, the politics of Tehsil Wazirabad continued without any change from 1970 to 1990. During these twenty years, two big ones of PML and PPP i.e. Ch. Hamid Nasir Chatha and Major (Retd) Cheema had been parallel candidates. But after the resignation of Chatha from the cabinet of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on 29 March 1993, the politics of this tehsil took a new turn. A new political party named Pakistan Muslim League Junejo PML (J) was established and the resigner was elected as its head. In the elections 1993 Chatha was the candidate of 'PDF' (the alliance between PPP and PML (J). This was very perplexing change for the people of the area as Chatha had been the greatest opponent of PPP for the last twenty years, but he justified it by saying that: "This alliance is not for personal gratification but for national interests. The Political Parties can change their interests but national interests can never be ignored."²⁵

Table - I

ELECTION 1985

Results of National Assembly

S.No.	Electoral Division	Candidate / Percentage	
		Hamid Nasir Chatha (H.N.C)	Saif Ali Chatha (A.H.N.C)
1.	Tehsil Wazirabad East	61.82%	38.18%
2.	Tehsil Wazirabad West	74.73%	25.27%

TABLE – II**GENERAL ELECTIONS 1988***Results of National Assembly Constituency NA-74*

Electoral Division	Name of candidate / percentage of votes		
	Hamid Nasir Chatha (PML)	Col. Ghulam Sarwar Cheema (PPP)	M. Akram Jawenda (Independent)
Urban	46.22%	53.32%	0.45%
Rural			
P.S Wazirabad	43.07%	56.14%	0.78%
P.S Ahmed Nagar	51.94%	47.45%	0.59%
P.S. Alipur Chatha	50.36%	49.01%	0.63%

SOURCE: Election records

Table shows that 'PPP' is more popular in urban areas and the rural areas of P.S Wazirabad where Cheemas are in majority. Contrary to this, position of Hamid Nasir Chatha is more sound in P.S. Ahmed Nagar and P.S. Alipur Chatha i.e. the residential units of Chathas.

Colonel (Retd) Ghulam Sarwar Cheema, the ex-minister of the state for defence and the head of PPP in Tehsil Wazirabad, dissented the party decision as he could not get along with Hamid Nasir Chatha so, he remained in the field as an independent candidate. Here PDF won all the seats and after the elections, the Cheema joined PML (N) (Pakistan Muslim League headed by Nawaz Sharif). Thus, this astonishing change in the year 1993 established a new political setup in this Tehsil.

Being the chief of PML (J) Hamid Nasir Chatha was very close to the Benazir Bhutto government. This time the Government had been considered very strong. Therefore, at the occasion of opposition strike on 20 September 1994, Hamid Nasir Chatha predicted, "the Government is in strong hands and will complete its tenure because now there is no Zia and Ishaq."²⁶ But unfortunately the same action was repeated, again the assemblies were dissolved and the Government was made to go home by the president of Pakistan. A new date, 3 February 1997 was fixed for elections.

In these elections, Hamid Nasir Chahta was again the candidate of PPP (PDF) and colonel Cheema who, and his late father, had been the leader of PPP nearly for twenty-seven years was now nominated by PML (N) to contest with Chatha. Both these candidates had been the traditional opponents since 1970 but now with newly adopted political platforms. Another surprising situation was that Rajas, a chief family of Wazirabad city, which was considered the symbol of success for every political party in this electoral area, for the first time was not awarded party ticket for the constituency PP-77 by any political party. It was assessed that this situation was created due to the family disunion after the death of Raja Khaliq-ullah Khan.²⁷

PML (N) won all seats in Tehsil, Wazirabad (one seat of National Assembly NA-74 and two seats of the Punjab Provincial Assembly PP-77 and PP-78), whereas it was predicted by the newspapers, "that Hamid Nasir Chatha was in comfortable position due to his Baradari (clan) support as well as alliance with PPP and partly due to the faulty distribution of tickets by the PML (N). On the other hand, Saif Ali Chatha, the actual leader of PML (N) since the elections 1993 had been campaigning against

Col. Cheema; and also party machinery was not ready to reconcile with Cheema, strengthening the position of Big Chatha even further. This scenario reflected that the whole panel of 'PDF' was safe and secure as compared to its counterpart, P.M.L. (N).²⁸ But the results were totally against the above reporting.

In elections, 97 the candidate of PML (N) Col. Ghulam Sarwar Cheema won two seats, NA-74 and PP-77. He vacated the second seat for which bi-elections were held. In this constituency Cheemas are effective, but the candidate of PML (N) was non-Cheema or non-Jat. The results were entirely different as from general elections. Col. Cheema won this seat by 12560 votes while the new candidate Mr. Zafar Iqbal won it only by 936 votes, that is, PML (N) lost 11625 votes only within seventy days.²⁹ The contest was so tough that first PML (J) or PDF claimed its success, but final result was in favour of PML (N). At this 'PDF' charged rigging against PML (N). No matter what the actual situation was, but one thing was clear that PML (N) lost a large number of votes in a short period. This did not mean the decline of the popularity of PML (N), but the reason was that the nomination of the candidate was contrary to the Political affiliations of the general public. Resultantly, local political monopolists and activists withdrew their support from PML (N) giving poor results for the winning political party.³⁰

This study shows that although party politics does exist in this Tehsil because an independent candidate has never succeeded yet the nominations for elections made by the political parties reveal manifestly the monopoly of the two local land owner clans, the Cheemas and the Chathas in order to avoid defeat.

The Leading contesting candidates for National Assembly in the Constituency of Tehsil Wazirabad (1970-1997)

S.No.	Year of Election	Candidate/Political Parties/Votes obtained	
		1	2.
1.	1970	Hamid Nasir Chatha Council Muslim League 62672	Major (Rtd) Ghulam Haider Cheema PPP 90662
2.	1977	Hamid Nasir Chatha P.N.A. 65512	Major (Rtd) Ghulam Haider Cheema PPP 68182
3.	1985	Hamid Nasir Chatha Non-Party Elections 80834	Saif Ali Chatha Non-Party Elections 39779
4.	1988	Hamid Nasir Chatha P.M.L. 66181	Col. (Rtd) Ghulam Sarwar Cheema PPP 72240
5.	1990	Hamid Nasir Chatha P.M.L. 89326	Col. (Rtd) Ghulam Sarwar Cheema PPP 50095
6.	1993	Hamid Nasir Chatha (Alliance) 78913	Saif Ali Chatha P.M.L. (N) 59319
7.	1997	Hamid Nasir Chatha P.D.F. 45823	Col. (Rtd) Ghulam Sarwar Cheema PML (N) 68236
Source: Elections Records.			

Particulars of Councillors in Local Bodies

Category	Particulars				Total
Age in Years	<u>25-40</u> 178 *	<u>41-49</u> 77	<u>50-above</u> 135		390
Education	<u>Illiterate</u> 97	<u>Primar</u> <u>y/Middl</u> e 157	<u>SSC/HSSC</u> <u>Graduate</u> 122 14		390
Bradri/ Race	<u>Chatha</u> 60	<u>Cheema</u> 94	<u>Rajput</u> 33 175	<u>Arian</u> 16 <u>Kashmiri</u> 12 <u>Others</u>	390

Source: Offices of local bodies in Tehsil Wazirabad, Files General informations.

* Number of Councillors.

In between the above general elections, the local bodies elections were also held. Although these were non-party elections yet the local grouping was mostly known as PPP and PML and the workers of political parties also took an active participation in these elections, especially in the period of 1983-87, the PML was in power in Pakistan and its local leadership took keen interest to win the majority for its affiliated groups. Local office bearers of political parties also participated as candidates. Muslim Leaguers won the majority and hence enjoyed Chairmanship of local bodies institutions. Resultantly, the popularity of PML was enhanced at local level. PPP affiliated candidates were also elected as councillors, but having less seats few of them joined Muslim Leaguan groups through bargaining and succeeded in winning the offices of Chairman and Vice-Chairmen-owing to these shifting political loyalties, PPP had to suffer a loss (in numbers) of its active political workers – because these PPP workers started supporting PML in future elections.³¹

This study also shows that whereas local bodies politics strengthened the 'PML' at local level, it also caused many complications for 'PML' candidates in general elections. The elections of local bodies councillors and the nominations of Chairmen made by the 'PML' leaders in the tehsil created misunderstandings, personal grudges and local political cleavages. In addition to other causes, it were these factors that disturbed the local political affiliations of local influentials in towns and villages of the tehsil and brought about the defeat of 'PML' in the general elections 1988. Thus this study of tehsil Wazirabad clearly shows the close 'relationship of influence' between non-party politics of the local bodies and the 'party politics' of general elections.³²

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WOMEN EMPOWERMENT A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Fatima Awan*¹

INTRODUCTION

“Through a haze of heat and pain, the new mother hears the Midwife mutter: “another daughter”, and she bursts into loud sobs. Burdened with guilt for having two girls already, during this pregnancy she had prayed desperately for a son...” (UNICEF, 1992)¹

As the world moves forward to meet the challenges of the 21st century, women too struggle to get their share of human rights. Women all around the world feel a stronger need today to empower themselves and stand on an equal footing with their male counterparts. On the other hand one cannot ignore the fact that even today, **“to many the term feminist still evokes the images of hairy legged, humorless extremists who view men as enemy.”**²

The achievements of women’s rights movements individually in their countries and on a global level are undoubtedly impressive. Recently on 8th March 2001, a women’s seminar reproached the conference on disarmament for the opportunities lost in the past few years towards achieving the goal of eliminating the international arms race.³ Thus asserting that women too had a voice in the nonproliferation regime.

In the present age every girl in the world knows that although she is being deprived of her basic rights but at the same time she holds that her condition is better than those before her. But is that it? Does it fulfill the

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aims of the long struggle of thousands of women? Is being better than women in the past enough? The answer of course is in negative. The exploitation and discrimination against women is as rampant today as it was in the 18th century when most of the women's rights movements started.

Many of the recent reports of the UN and the Human Rights Watch unleashed the truth behind the illusion of women empowerment. One report of the UN concluded that domestic violence was the most common form of violence against women. Even in an open society like the USA, only one out of hundred women would tell someone about the violence she confronted.⁴

Women might be assured of getting nearer to their destination of getting an equal status but reality is a far cry from this farce. According to the National Crimes Reports Bureau (India), in 1998 there were 15,031 reported rapes, 16,381 abductions of women, 69,17 dowry deaths, 41, 318 reported cases of molestation and 81,23 cases of sexual harassment.⁵ The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan concluded that 80 percent of the women in that country were victims of domestic violence.⁶ In Finland, during one year, 90,000 women are exposed to violence or to threatening by a man.⁷ The situation is fueled by the indifference of state officials and the failure to take the issue seriously. In Peru and South Africa, even today police fail to respond to sexual assault as a crime unless the victim is a virgin, the offender is a stranger or the violation entails the infliction of serious and visible injury.⁸

All the debates on empowering women seemed like a hollow claim when one observed the fact that the women in the US (The country from where the first

organized women's rights movement started) have still not been able to get the Equal Rights Amendment ratified by the state legislatures. The aim of this amendment basically was to assert the principle and embody the idea that sex should not determine the legal rights of men and women.⁹

The decisions of the International Tribunal For Former Yugoslavia on 22nd February 2001 to convict three Bosnians for war crimes against women was hailed as a great achievement, but what about the thousands of Kosovo women who suffered sexual violence at the hands of Serbian police, soldiers and paramilitaries? They still await justice with no hope in sight.¹⁰

The Human Rights Report in March 2001 concluded that in schools across South Africa, thousands of girls of every race and economic group were encountering sexual violence and harassment. Because of government's failure to protect these girls, they had accepted this reality as a part of their lives and had given up their education.¹¹

Women's rights or the status of women has always been a topic of interest for philosophers, writers and intellectuals. Driven by this interest many great writers of their times gave women due share in their writings. Some of these writings actually determined the course and nature of the women's rights movements in many parts of the world. **The fact was that the initial expression of feminism in every country of the world was literary.**

Plato gave an equal status to women in the "laws" and the "Republic". The lives of these women were active and quite contradictory to the Athenian women of his

times. In the Republic Plato laid down the principle that **"sex is itself" not "a proper basis for differentiation of occupation and social function."**¹² By introducing revolutionary ideas about temporary marriages or companionship (communism of wives) he tried to give women a sense of individuality.

Modern feminism, however, was an out shoot of enlightenment,¹³ when in the 18th century due to advancement in scientific technology almost all the accepted ideas were called into question by the writers.¹⁴ Leading intellectuals such as Denis Diderot (1713-1784) in France and Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) in Scotland were notable in particular. They out rightly challenged and criticized the ways in which women were oppressed by the law and by the institution of marriage.¹⁵

The outstanding advocate of women's rights among the philosophers of that time was Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794), who saw education as a key to women's advancement and believed that the notion of the "rights of man" should be extended to women, including political rights.¹⁶ In 1789 a French actress turned writer Olympe De Gouges published a "Declaration of the rights of women" to protest French revolutionist's failure to mention women in their "declaration of rights of man".¹⁷ The most famous Feminist polemic however to owe its inspiration to the French Revolution was Mary Wollenstonecraft's (a British) *A Vindication of the Rights Of Women* published in 1792.¹⁸ She focused on the failure of the French Revolution to give equal rights to men and women, although both fought for the same.¹⁹ The book did not have an immediate impact but later it was a particular influence on American Women's Rights Pioneers such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Margaret Fuller.

In 1794 the famous German writer Theodore Gottlieb Von Hippel produced a book titled *On the Civil Improvement of Women*. His book, which was a somewhat eccentric piece of work, was regarded as the beginning of the literary debate on women's place in society in Germany.²⁰

The first American woman to write something of enormous impact was a reporter Margaret Fuller who wrote "women in the nineteenth century" in 1845. She argued that people of either sex had unlimited capacities and when people's roles were defined according to sex, human development was severely limited.²¹ This writing like many other writings of the 19th century reflected the newborn liberalism. The liberalists fought for individual freedom²² and the classic statement of its application on women was given by one of the greatest liberal theorist, John Stuart Mill. J.S. Mill's essay "The Subjection of Women" published in 1869 was termed as the female bible.²³ By 1883 the Swedish translation of the essay was forming the center of discussion for a group of women in Helsinki, who founded the Finnish feminist movement as soon as they finished reading the book.²⁴

America was the country from where the first Women's Rights Movement started in the early 19th century. The First Women's Rights Convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848.²⁵ As a result feminists, especially those in Europe looked towards the US for inspiration. British feminism was chronologically the second after the American movement to emerge in an organized form.²⁶ The women in the US as well as Europe came a long way by the end of the 20th century and gained considerably in political and legal fields.

WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS:

"When we are isolated we are weak. How can there be a noise from a single hand? But if we form a group and then clap, a loud noise can be made."²⁷
(Working Women's Forum/UNICEF film)

The voices of the women's rights activists all around the world become one on the platform of the UN. Therefore the successes and failures of the women's rights movement can best be gauged by reviewing what women have gained and lost on the floor of the UN. The following debate on women empowerment and the UN goes to prove that the efforts of women have been fruitful but the fight of course is still going on. The pace of actual implementation of all the plans and programs of action, however, has been slow and the attitude of the states has not been very commendable. When the UN came into existence, the Women's Rights movement in some countries of the world especially in Europe and America were already at its peak. The women in these countries had proved to the world that they no longer were willing to live with the long standing forms of discrimination ... from certain divorce laws to physical abuse. The right to family planning methods, education and other ... services.²⁸

Keeping this in view and acknowledging the fact that women deserved and wanted much more than being treated as unequal or subordinate to men the Preamble of the UN reaffirmed that it shall, "place no restriction on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any

capacity and under conditions of equality ... in its principle and subsidiary organs."²⁹

Due to the efforts of the female delegates in the first General Assembly meeting women's issues were given special attention. Most importantly the Economic and Social Council established a sub commission of the commission on Human Rights on the status of women. This sub commission became a full commission in 1946.

Women unlike before were now given special reference in the most important declarations concerning Human Rights. The prime example of this was the Universal Declaration on Human Rights 1948 which openly opposed discrimination by emphasizing that "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth ... without any distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex..."³⁰ This article has given women the basic framework on which they develop their stance of equality.

In 1950s the efforts of the feminists paid off with respect to "family life and rights of women" when in 1955 the ILO issued a convention on maternity protection. Less than two years later the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Regulation of Marriage Laws was adopted to ensure by national legislation equal rights for both spouses.³¹

In the political field too women were able to make a breakthrough in 1966 when the General Assembly adopted the International covenant on civil and political rights and the covenant on economic, social and cultural rights. These covenants clearly stated, "The rights that they set forth should be applicable to all persons without distinction of any kind including sex. State parties should undertake to ensure equal access of men and women."³²

Although all that women had achieved on the UN platform from the political rights convention to the first world conference on women in 1975 were great successes but the greatest of all achievements till this time was the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 by the UN General Assembly. It is often described as an International bill of Rights for women. It entered into force on 1981 by the ratification of 20 states and till March 2001 had 167 state parties as members.³³

The title of the convention itself said a lot but the whole text was much more vocal and binding. CEDAW defined discrimination against women as, "Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, employment or exercise by women ... political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."³⁴ The definition of "discrimination" thus was all-encompassing and the American women looked at it as a "Global Equal Rights Amendment."³⁵

The CEDAW also aimed at eliminating the traditional roles given to men and women, which impeded the intellectual growth of women and confined them to the four walls of the house. The CEDAW demanded from all its contending parties to "modifying the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices ... based on the idea of inferiority or superiority or the superiority of the sexes."³⁶ This of course was emphasized in full detail keeping in view the fact that the inequality in the public arena often reflected the inequality in the household. The convention suggested that encouraging co-education

was one way of doing away with the stereotyping of women. Also it encouraged "the same conditions of career and vocational guidance ... professional and higher technical education ... the same examinations, teaching staff ... and school programs."³⁷

The CEDAW accepted that "The right to work" was an "inalienable right of all human beings."³⁸ The convention dedicated a whole article to make sure that the "State parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure ... that they participate in and benefit from rural development."³⁹

The convention thus covered all the areas where women faced discrimination, whether it was the field of education, health, employment, marriage and family life, economic and social benefits, representation, sex role stereotyping or political and public life. A committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women was also formed "for the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the ... convention."⁴⁰ The committee was to meet annually to report to the UN General Assembly on its working and to lay out the future course of action.

The obligations entailed in the convention were no doubt impressive but the real question was that how much impact did the CEDAW actually have on the women in the world? For some scholars the answer was easy, "At its best, CEDAW is unnecessary. At its worst, CEDAW unravels .. families and forces women to model themselves after global feminist ideal image."⁴¹ The fact of the matter was that even the US, a country, which is known for its fight for human rights, refused to ratify the convention. The explanation was simple: the founding

fathers of America believed that any ratified treaty should be in line with the principles of the constitution of the Republic therefore the CEDAW's "use of overly broad language ... allows the UN to invade the most personal relations between men and women."⁴² Hence the founding fathers, the Americans argued certainly would have rejected such a treaty. All this rhetoric about CEDAW being an encroachment on US sovereignty was nothing but an eyewash. The fact was that the US did not want to bind itself by signing a document that gives an equal status to women. If any president of the US would have wanted to sign the CEDAW, he could have done so even with the opposition of the senate. For example when the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was ratified in 1992, only five senators were present. Majority leader George Mitchell conducted proceedings and made the motion to approve the Treaty. Another senator seconded the motion and the chair, Ray Rockefeller called for a vote. He asked a gallery of empty chairs of any opposition and the Treaty passed with no opposition.⁴³ This sad fact said volumes about the reality that majority of the states are run by men who want to curtail the powers and the inborn rights of women even if it is a state like the US, which accuses other countries of human rights violations.

The United Nation's Cairo Conference on Population and Development, 1994 was also hailed as a great achievement for women seeking empowerment. The Cairo conference was not an isolated event but two population conferences had already been held in 1974 and 1984. The 1994 Cairo Program of Action was built upon the growing International consensus which had emerged since the 1974 Bucharest Conference on the basic right of couples and individuals to make informed choices about child bearing and on the responsibility of

the societies to help them achieve their reproductive rights. It set an agenda for world population for the next two decades. It also pledged to, "mobilize institutional and financial resources to implement the goals of the action plan."⁴⁴

The most important aspect of the ICPD from women's perspective was that it was the largest intergovernmental conference on population and development ever held with eleven thousand registered participants who agreed to the, "centrality of women in all discussions of population and development."⁴⁵ As Dr Nafis Sadik pointed out a whole new approach was taken on the issue which aimed at, "empowering women and providing them more choices through expanded access to education and health services, skill development and employment and through their full involvement in policy and decision making at all levels."⁴⁶ Therefore paragraph 4.1 to 4.14 of the Cairo Program of Action was dedicated to the "Empowerment and Status of Women."⁴⁷

All through the deliberations of the Cairo Conference the member states endorsed and emphasized the link between empowerment of women and attainment of a quality life. But, when it actually came to implementing the Cairo Program of action the steps taken by the states were halfhearted and meek. The result, hence ironically was that the population of Cairo itself increased by a million only three years after the conference, equating the size of Manchester, England. Apart from this the other signatory states too backed off from their duty of both population control and empowering women on one pretext or the other.⁴⁸ This was mainly due to the fact that the Document and deliberations of the Cairo conference themselves gave the right to the signatory states to make religion, ethical

values and culture legitimate excuses for not putting into practice the text of the document they had pledged to uphold. The ICPD program of action was meant to be implemented only if it was "consistent with the national laws" and "religious and ethical values and cultural backgrounds" of all the signatory states.⁴⁹ But what happens "when a government seeks to implement the ICPD program of action's recommendations by enacting policies which are consistent with national laws but inconsistent with international human rights laws?" The ICPD document did not comment or even tried to deal with this problem.⁵⁰ This was where the force of the states took over and the program of action of the UN seemed like a farce. This was highly unfair with women because why would the women come to plead their cases at the UN floor or ask UN for help and assistance if they could get the same securities from their respective states. Leaving the implementation of an important document like that of Cairo's plan of action on the morality of the states which are mostly run by chauvinistic males was like playing a trick on women. This statement is much more than mere rhetoric it is a fact that women all around the world cannot get their basic rights because the men in their societies are not willing to stop the exploitation of women. Women can only empower themselves if men decide to stop overpowering them. In this context I would like to quote the example of Iran by explaining its attitude in the Cairo conference and what actually is happening with women inside Iran even after the country signed the Cairo program of action.

Iran was one of the chief opponents of all the articles relating to principles that deal with sexual relations outside marriage and other acts, which were inconsistent with Islam. To handle this criticism the UN declared that any country which held any article of the

ICPD inconsistent with its national law or religious practices was entitled to practice it in a way consistent with its laws.⁵¹ Although the Iranian women played a very active role in the 1979 revolution but since then they have been exploited in the name of religion and have to scum to male hegemony.

Women are constitutionally barged from playing any part at the helm of affairs in Iran, as women are specifically excluded from the presidency in the constitution. Yazdi who was the head of judiciary, commented on Dec 15, 1986 "No matter at what stage of knowledge, virtue, perfection, and prudence a woman is she does not have the right to rule ... even if a righteous accredited woman possesses all qualifications, she cannot, assume leadership position nor can she pass judgment ... *because she is a woman*".⁵² Even though the Cairo plan of action aimed at giving women and girls good and easy access to education, the situation in Iran seems to be quite contrary to this as the drop out rate for girls in 1999 in rural districts was 90 percent.⁵³ Islam seems to provide a logical explanation for these rulers but how would they explain this? Because Islam too lays special emphasizes on education. This goes to prove that these self-claimed religious scholars look at their society and the rest of the world with sex tinted glasses.

This was just one example of the sad fact that States might have alot to say on women empowerment and might make tall claims but when it comes to practicality it are these States that take over all the rights of women on the pretext of state sovereignty. Hence they treat women like objects under their control.

The next major advance for women's rights under the UNO came in the form of the Fourth Women

Conference in Beijing in September 1995. The Beijing Conference in its program of action set targets that went beyond basic needs, to meet, "strategic gender needs" focusing on women's full participation in economic and political decision-making and examining inequality between the sexes as a human rights issue. It also aimed at intensifying efforts to eliminate all forms of discrimination and violence against women.⁵⁴

The Beijing Conference was considered by many as the greatest event ever with reference to women's rights. The Beijing platform identified twelve critical areas of action needed to empower women and ensure their human rights. The twelve areas of action were women and poverty, education and training of women, women and health, violence against women, women and armed conflict, women and the economy, women in power and decision-making, institutions mechanism for the advancement of women, human rights of women, women and the media, women and the environment and the girl child.⁵⁵ The aims of the Conference thus were all encompassing and high.

It seemed that many governments were genuinely interested in removing the obstacles in the way of women. Nevertheless, the general feeling among women rights activists and impartial observers was that the Beijing Conference ended in a compromise. The US added its own unique reservations to the document while the Palestinians welcomed the Document's acknowledgement that human rights violations occurred in foreign occupied territories. The US of course was not very happy with this, therefore the US delegation argued that while it agreed that violations did occur in occupied territories, they did not like the implication that foreign occupation was necessarily a human rights violation.⁵⁶

This went to prove that most of the important countries of the world came to Beijing to defend their policies rather than to help the women of the world. However, that did not change the fact that the Beijing Conference was termed as a landmark event and the Beijing program of action obligated governments to do more for women than any other document ever had.

Five years after the Beijing Conference in June 2000, the delegates from 188 countries gathered at the UN to review progress of the Beijing Program of Action and these Proceedings were known as Beijing + 5. Sadly these delegates did not come to boast about what they had practically done to make Beijing Program of Action a success, but they came to rid themselves of the obligation they had put themselves into by signing the document. As the executive director of the women's rights division at the Human Rights Watch Reagan Ralph commented, "the gains we made at Beijing are in danger today. Some governments have come to New York with the clear intent to dismantle what progress we've made."⁵⁷

In the negotiations at Beijing + 5, some governments argued that women do not and should not enjoy reproductive rights, rather than tackling the problems such as violations of women's human rights, some governments asserted that concern with women's reproductive and sexual autonomy represented the radical agenda of Western activists and did not merit further attention.⁵⁸ The governments of South Asia, the Middle East and Africa in particular were not willing to even talk about the changing of the traditional role of men and women especially as husband and wife. They held the view that it was perfectly justified that a husband

should have the power to discipline his wife in whatever way he deemed fit.

The South African government proudly declared its commitment to Beijing+5, yet thousands of South African women farm workers had no right to establish work contracts independently of their husbands.⁵⁹ Similarly in Russia, which was another signatory state of the Beijing plan of action, the women were not protected against domestic violence. In a press release in the year 2000 the Human Rights Watch concluded that In Russia 12,000 women died every year as a result of domestic violence.⁶⁰ Yet Russians refused to pass legislation specifically criminalizing domestic violence and refused to provide federal funding for crises centers to assist their work.⁶¹ The situation in India was no different either. Five years after the Beijing Plan of Action was signed by India the females still had a higher mortality rate than men at all levels, including female infanticide and sex selective termination of pregnancies.⁶² Domestic violence also seemed to be as rampant in the years after the Beijing conference as it was before. According to a 1996 survey in Uttar Pradesh, 30 percent of married men acknowledged physically abusing their wives. In a survey of 10,000 women released during the same year, more than half of the women said that violence was a normal part of married life.⁶³ Dowry deaths also remained a common practice in India and most dowry deaths involved lower and middle classes. According to National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) statistics, 6,917 dowry deaths occurred in the country in 1998, including 2,229 dowry deaths in Uttar Pradesh, 1,039 in Bihar, 598 in Madhya Pradesh, 500 in Andhra Pradesh, 420 in Maharashtra, 200 in Karnatka, 176 in Tamil nadu and 21 in Kerala.⁶⁴ On average at least fourteen women are

murdered in India everyday by their husbands because of some petty dispute.⁶⁵

So many years after the Beijing Conference working women even today face discrimination and insecurity in their work places. Firstly in all of the countries of the world some jobs are specified for men alone or several others like Sudan have been trying to put a ban on women working in public places.⁶⁶ Thus women in this way do not get the same opportunities as men do to prove their mettle or work for their families even if they want to. Another problem faced by the working women is that of wage gap. On average women the world over receive 30 to 40 percent less wages than men for work of comparable value, whether in cash or kind, in benefits or food.⁶⁷ The third major problem faced by women at the workplace is that of sexual harassment. The male bosses or colleagues exploit women and they usually have to put up with exploitation because they are in severe need of a job. Similarly employers often consider women's reproductive and productive roles to be incompatible and governments are not ready to challenge them. It has been noted that in the year 2000 many transnational co-operations in Mexico regularly required women to undergo pre-employment pregnancy testing with the aim of denying pregnant women work.⁶⁸ Because of these problems faced by women the ILO adopted a new international convention on Maternity and Protection in the year 2000. But unfortunately until now only a few governments have changed their laws slightly to redress this issue. Otherwise the scenario is no different from the past.⁶⁹

Thus it can be concluded that the UN has performed its functions or obligations towards women by introducing all the documents and making organizations

to benefit women and to empower them. But it has no real force to ensure that the contending parties of these documents necessarily abide by them. Whenever the UN tried to even assert that these documents should be carried out the sovereignty of the states with their cultural and religious excuses stood as a great obstacle. But at the same time, all these efforts by the UN have always provided a platform and plan for action for those who actually want to do something to empower women. With the United Nations' conviction to stand by women, women will always have an international forum to fight from.

THE ROLE OF 'WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

The most active agents of change and the most ardent advocates of women's rights have always been the various women's rights organizations working all around the globe. There is a whole network of these organizations operating at different levels and having number of objectives. These women's rights organizations were the one responsible for bringing into limelight and solving the problems faced by women in their respective countries. It would also not be an exaggeration to write that all of the initiatives taken by the UN to empower women have been a fruit of the labour of these organizations and groups. Not only this but after getting the Cairo and Beijing Platform for Actions passed these organizations took charge to do their best to ensure that the signatory states followed the documents. Hence the role of women's rights organizations to empower women since the very first day has been indispensable. No movement can survive too long if it is not organized properly. These women's rights organizations have always provided strength and

momentum to the women's rights movements everywhere.

The women's rights organizations work primarily at three levels; International, regional and national. These organizations work independently as well as under a government or the United Nations.

International women's organizations are open for membership for any state, as long as that state is willing to abide by the rules of the organization and work for its goals. An example of such an organization can be that of The Global Fund for Women (GFW). It is an international network of men and women committed to a world of equality and social justice. It advocates and defends women's human rights by making grants to support women's groups around the world. Although the organization is based in the United States, yet it provides help to women's rights groups outside the US. Most of the members of the organizations too are from countries outside the US.⁷⁰

Similarly on the global level countries with like-minded objectives or those in which the women face similar problems have also established women's rights organizations to work together in order to empower women. One example of such an organization is that of the Third World Organization for Women in Science (TWOWS). It is an independent, non-profit and non-governmental body based at the office of the Third World Academy of Sciences in Italy. It is also the first international forum to unite eminent women scientists from the South.⁷¹

The second level on which the women's rights organizations operate is the regional level. These

organizations benefit women belonging to a certain region only. Asia Pacific Women's Watch (APWW) is one such organization. The APWW is a regional network that monitors and co-ordinates NGO activities for the review of Beijing Platform for Action. It also actively lobbies for Asia Pacific women's perspective to be included in the UN documents and processes. During the fourth session of the UN Commission on the status of women, APWW convened the Asia Pacific caucus and led the regional NGO intervention.⁷²

On the national level, hundreds of women's rights organizations work in almost all the countries. These organizations are led by one or a number of persons and they are also governmental. But most of the active national women's rights organizations have always been non-governmental bodies e.g. Shirkaat Gah in Pakistan and American Women League of USA in the United States.

National women's organizations having more or less the same objectives also form coalitions to strengthen their force. An example of such a coalition could be that of the Coalition of Australian Participating Organizations of Women. It is a network of sixty-three women's rights organizations and works to create linkages between NGOs and governmental departments. It also monitors national implementation of the Beijing Plan for Action.⁷³

Apart from operating at different levels, these innumerable organizations also have objectives that differ from one another. While the underline purpose is the same i.e. to empower women by eliminating all sorts of discriminations against them. Some of these organizations are specific while others more general. The

organizations with specific objectives are those, which work only for some specific kind of victims. The example of one such specific organization at the national level can be that of Women Against Rape (WAR) based in London. General organizations are those, which are there to fight for women's rights on all fronts. However, if put briefly all women's rights organizations on whichever level they may be operating have the following objectives:

1. Increase women's autonomy, access to resources and decision-making.
2. To monitor areas concerning women's development and work to change policies and attitudes towards women.
3. To effect legislation in a way so as to ensure protection of law for women and to provide justice to them.
4. To increase awareness of or interest in women's issues by using the media and through women's studies.
5. To conduct courses and seminars for women to improve self-confidence, communication skills and assertiveness training.
6. To eliminate stereotypical thinking about women and challenging harmful traditional practices.
7. To ensure sustained monitoring and implementation of all the documents signed by their state concerning women.
8. To mobilize public opinion against policies that hinder women empowerment.
9. To create a more conducive environment for women to live as equal members of the society by stopping women's exploitation and violence against them.

Hence the women's rights organizations perform all the functions from creating awareness about women's

issues to challenging governmental policies that impede women's development. Unfortunately these organizations face the same dilemma, as does the UN. These groups and organizations can work within their own spheres doing the best they can to fulfill their objectives but there is very little that they have been able to do when it actually came to affecting governmental policies. For example the women's rights organizations all around the world surely strive for the objective of criminalizing violence against women but there are very few countries in the world where violence against women is considered a crime. Similarly, though United States is the heart of all the women's rights movements yet even with the two-decade long struggle of the women's rights organizations, the Equal Rights Amendment remains unratified. All the women's rights organizations also struggle to end the discrimination against women but the governmental policies still seem to be discriminatory. This goes to prove that the decades long efforts of these organizations all around the globe are victims of the governments and the will of those at the helm of affairs.

Although the women's rights organizations have not been able to achieve all their goals yet it is because of them that people the world over are more aware of women's rights. It is because of the efforts of these organizations that women have come as far as they have but they still have to fight against the odds as strongly as they had to years ago. Their destination seems nowhere in sight but these women's rights organizations provide hope and a platform to work from.

CONCLUSION

The facts about the exploitation of women brought to light in the preceding discussion of women's rights were of course just a glimpse of the wide spread

injustices faced by women. But they were enough to substantiate my hypothesis that all the steps taken in the forward direction to give women their due rights have been few and far between, especially when contrasted with the scale of ongoing violations of women's most fundamental human rights.⁷⁴ Unfortunately the "representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth" (Simon De Beavoir). Therefore these men who represent the world and run most of its administrative machinery set out to master the language of women's human rights, but at the same time try to undermine the power of the idea. They have always risen highly charged slogans to make women believe that they are at their side. This enabled them to win the confidence of women and thus it was always easier for them to exploit these women who trusted them.

The men at the helm of affairs have always aimed to fulfill their short-term goals of satisfying their egos by refusing to change the prevailing state laws that from centuries have marginalized the role of women by making them dependent on men. But, while doing so these men forget that they are endangering the more important goal of the development of the world they live in. What they fail to understand is that women empowerment would not only benefit women but elimination of social barriers and anti discriminatory policy reforms have instrumental value for development and poverty reduction.⁷⁵

The basic reason for the ongoing discriminations against women is that majority of the women around the world are unaware of their fundamental rights and they have been led to believe that being born a female means

living in the discriminatory and unjust conditions in which they live. Therefore those who are fighting for women's rights should inculcate awareness among women, especially those belonging to the underdeveloped or developing part of the world, about their rights. The women's rights organizations should reach out to those women who live in rural areas and make them aware of the fact that they are entitled to a better living and that it is their basic right to challenge those who deprive them of their rights. Once this objective is accomplished then each woman would be able to fight for her own cause until those who violate the human rights of women know that women will no longer put up with exploitation and injustices. The women's rights organizations should also deal with discriminatory state laws with a heavier hand. They should try their best to abolish the already prevailing unjust laws and should not let new laws that violate women's rights come into force because often the ratification of international treaties has encountered great difficulties in many states where state laws do not condone international standards.

Therefore the need of the hour is that efforts should be made to change people's attitudes, gender values and beliefs. It is a task that needs perseverance and is very difficult to accomplish but until the mindset of the people does not change, women empowerment will forever be an unfulfilled dream.

END NOTES

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BOOK REVIEW

Revolution: The entrance of a New World into Western Political Discourse.

By: Ilan Rachum.

New York University Press of America: 1999.

Price: Not given, Pages: 304 Paperback

Revolution: - Conceptualized.

In the story of rise and fall of civilization, development of education and scathing analysis of various phenomena continues. Process of change is natural and an inbound mechanism of socio-political fabric of the society. Happening of events, behavior of individuals or groups and interaction of institutions generate a new dimension of cognitive input. Consequently, new concepts come in the limelight. They are used in common discussions and political parlance. These concepts as Hempel, puts it are the names, which are given to phenomenon, after observing its features. Revolution is one of the concepts, which emerged out of a process of change in society.

It is a catchy concept. It becomes synonymous with faith and hope to some and it arouses hate and fear in others. Its rhetoric attracts youth and infuses an undying spirit in ideologists and ideologues.

It becomes a commonly used word with unclear meaning or confusing phrasological outpour. Revolution has been an inspiration, an objective, a condition and a process for many.

It existed when Peneloponnesian wars were fought and concepts of revolution and counter-revolution were used to explain the tumultuous conditions. Socrates brought forth an intellectual revolution. Aristotle saw it in the failure of the constitutions. Machiavelli observed it in the changing of governments. Hegel sensed it in the dialecticism of idea and march of God on the earth. Karl Marx viewed it in proletarian efforts of overthrowing bourgeoisie.

The concept of revolution is taken by wise men in different contexts. It has gone through several meanings and expressions and is still in search of its identity. Ilan Rachum in the book 'Revolution' has made a serious effort to find the roots, its traveling and contents. He, like Riggs did accept that for a right kind of a concept, a great deal of traveling is necessary. Rachum stated that the concepts of revolution at least had to travel almost fifteen hundred years to make itself acceptable in the political science literature.

Rachum has expressed that for a change of government through extra legal means was depicted with different lexical meanings. Moreover, various cultures shaped it with multi-notations; Plato used STASIS to gauge a changing scenario of the Greek World, Aristotle textured it with failure and cycle of governments. Romans used revolt, Italians expressed it in terms of rebellion, and some took it in the "coup de etat". It will not be an exaggeration to write that Rachum has given this concept a real basis and expression to be accepted in the academic spheres of Europe. He has discussed it in the language and culture of Italy, he has endeavored to locate it in the French soil and thinking processes. He has pointed its movements in the English traditions and

linguistic richness. He has pointed out its journey in the freedom movements and conflicts of Europe.

Rachum has not stopped here; he has worked in orthodoxes and radicalism of the West. It is interesting to note that most of the intellectuals give meanings and name to a particular phenomenon and later try to operationalize on all the situation of change or changes which are akin or closer to the concept. War of Independence of USA has been taken to be an American Revolution. Changes occurring on the basis of technological developments are labeled as "Scientific Revolution". Transfers of regimes have been popularly known 'Glorious Revolution'. If there is more vegetation, it is to be accepted as 'Green Revolution'. All such expressions are loosely used.

No politician or scholar in the remote past tried to give genuine meanings and identity, the enthusiastic way, they used this concept, Rachum has made concerted research to unearth roots of this concept. He wrote that Italians academicians derived two words out of Latin, 'revolutio'. They were 'rivoluzione' and 'rivolgimento'. The twin words, "attained the meaning of an extraordinary, change, alteration of government by force. This expressin was generally used in slang and had not become the part of the political literature. The abrupt changes in France and England in the middle of the seventieth century paved grounds for scholars and intellectuals to use the concept of revolution.

Political discourse of France was studded with the concept of revolution by Fronde (1648-1653), but it could not become a popular one till French Revolution. As a matter of fact, the war of Independence of United States was taken to be a revolution by French writers. Though it

was incorrect because dimensions of the phenomenon were intrinsically different. Yet, there was perhaps something on the mind of Mirabeau in 1784 when he called it 'the most amazing revolution the only one which philosophy will admit'. Nevertheless in the post French revolution, writings of Retz, Scarron, Mezeray and many others popularized this concept.

American intellectuals further circulated this concept and gave a special place to "revolution". No doubt, the word 'revolution' has been acknowledged by students and the teachers, but it is still looking for its meanings and identity. Ilan Rachum has invested time and energy in finding out the roots of this term, pointing out methods by which change of government or conspicuous changes, are conceptualized to be a revolution and explicating the intricacies of philosophical foundations of the concept. It is a commendable work, which has laid down foundation for the development, construction and operationalization of the concept of revolution.

It is an excellent book, which can acquaint readers with the development and evolution of "revolution" as a concept. It also directs researchers and sages of different ages to untangle the conceptual knots and bring forth tangible results of changes by using it as an effective tool.

J.A.S

Notes For Authors

- 1- Manuscripts of research articles, notes, review articles, comments, rejoinders and book reviews- in English only - should be sent in duplicate together with floppy in MS - Word to the Editor, Journal of Political Science, Government College Lahore. Each request for a book review in the journal must be accompanied by one copy of the book concerned.
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