

Kashmir in India-Pakistan Relations: Perspectives Pakistan's Nuclear Policy, Background and Development Towards conflict resolution

Souma Tawkeel

University of Karachi

Email: tawkeel55@gmail.com

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The conflict between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir problem still seems to be an obstacle in their relations. It has been 58 years since the dispute passed, but there is no final agreement that can be accepted by both parties. If 1947 is the independence day of India and Pakistan, then this year is the beginning of the suffering of the people of Kashmir. Pakistan, as the party that has the right to make Kashmir part of its territory, feels the need to continue to raise this issue even though it has to develop nuclear power.

Keyword: *Kashmir in India-Pakistan relations, Pakistan's clear policy*

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A. INTRODUCTION

Interactions between countries in the contemporary system are many and varied. These interactions are often classified according to thematic areas such as trade, international security, tourism, technical cooperation, cultural exchange, nuclear arms control and so on. The interactions that occur will form a series of characteristics of the interaction itself. The classification of interactions can be divided into two, namely in the form of harmony or conflict. This assessment can be perceived insofar as these countries are able to shape the interactions that occur between them. The interaction does not only occur within the scope that is limited by its geographical aspect. A country can interact with one or more countries outside its region. However, a country generally prioritizes interactions with countries located close to each other. Of course, this choice is still based on the priorities and directions of the country's foreign policy. In this coexistence, two countries usually experience a series of problems, for example, in relation to national borders. This region is important considering that the extension of territorial boundaries is part of a country's sovereignty. For Pakistan, which is geographically close to India, there are also a number of problems. The most important problem for Pakistan concerns the dispute over the Kashmir region, which is still unresolved. At least that's what Pakistan still maintains to this day. What is important to note is what measures are being taken by Pakistan to overcome this problem and what impact this has on its bilateral relations with India, especially on the development of the Kashmir dispute.

Before India and Pakistan gained their independence from Britain, two major political parties in India that represented a large part of the Hindu community and another major party that represented Muslim aspirations had faced opposition over

the direction of policy between them. . The Indian Muslim Association led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah wants a separate homeland for Indian Muslims. In the end, the British agreed to divide India into two independent states, but the problem was that they did not oversee the expropriation of that power. Kashmir itself is one of many regions where British decolonization had the opportunity to choose between two countries with different religious backgrounds. More than 500 princely states can freely determine their future to join one of the existing countries. However, at that time there were three areas that were difficult to make choices considering that the three princely states did not have uniformity between the authorities and the majority of their citizens in terms of religion. The three princely states are Junagadh, Hyderabad and Jammu-Kashmir. Junagadh is a small country with an 80% Hindu population, but its ruler is a Muslim who tends to be pro-Pakistan. Pakistan Hyderabad is predominantly Hindu with Muslim ruler but has no inclination towards Pakistan or India. While Jammu-Kashmir has a 90% Muslim majority population and leans towards Pakistan, its Hindu ruler then brought Jammu-Kashmir to India. Junagadh ended up joining India through plebiscite, while Hyderabad through military occupation. However, the Jammu-Kashmir region itself cannot be resolved so far. The Kashmir region was initially controlled by Raja Gulab Singh who is a Hindu while most of its citizens are Muslims. During his reign, Singh was considered an attitude that weighed on his citizens by forcing the payment of taxes. At the same time, in the socio-cultural field (since 1850) Singh continued to pressure Muslim Kashmir with the launch of the Suddhi program known as Hinduisasi. This movement is an attempt to "return" Muslims to the original religion of their ancestors, namely Hinduism.

This attitude, which was burdensome for the citizens, caused revolts that opposed Singh's rule. Every citizen who does not obey the rules will be immediately answered and arrested. In such situations, an internal resistance movement is born. This resistance to Singh even spread throughout the Poonch district, where thousands of Muslims who were World War II veterans lived and mobilized. This rebellious situation has spurred even border tribes in Pakistan with their religious zeal to support the struggle of the Kashmiri people. As a result of feeling that the condition of his territory was increasingly out of control, Singh turned to the Indians for help in overcoming the turmoil. It was during this time that India's role in the Kashmir region began. Singh and India agreed that if India was able to overcome the situation in Kashmir, Singh would be willing to join India. As a result, a bigger catastrophe emerged, namely the first war between India and Pakistan in 1947.

The first war that took place between India and Pakistan caused the UN to step in to mediate the ongoing issues. The UN itself then issued resolution 47 in 1948. This resolution determines that the resolution of the Kashmir problem be resolved by democratic means, ie a free plebiscite for the people of Kashmir to choose whether they want to join India or Pakistan. India itself responded that its occupation of Kashmir was only to restore the situation and if the conditions were possible, a referendum would be held as written in the UN resolution. But apparently that never

happened. In fact, India secretly launched policy measures that led to the control of the Kashmir region over India. For example, the constituent assembly of Jammu-Kashmir, which was a puppet government made in India, for example, on February 6, 1954, ratified the integration of Kashmir into India. On 19 November 1956, the same institution also passed a constitution which states that the state of Kashmir is an integral part of India. On January 26, 1957, India formulated the terms of this transfer of power and declared that the provisions could not be challenged, let alone cancelled. Whatever is done by India will give the impression to the UN that the problem of moving Kashmir has been dealt with adequately and in accordance with existing arrangements. This engineering shows that the Kashmir region appears to be choosing to join India rather than Pakistan. This unfair attitude angered Pakistan and finally reignited the fighting between the two sides. The war that took place in 1965 ultimately meant nothing to Pakistan. Since then, Kashmir is still controlled by India and Pakistan only controls a third of the region. The atmosphere in 1972 was a situation that was reached when the Shimla Agreement was reached. After the agreement, relations between the two countries are relatively good. It turns out that India took the opportunity to give an opinion to the international world that the problems between India and Pakistan (again) could be properly resolved.

B. METHOD

The psychological value given by the deterrence strategy has two components, namely, communication and perception. This trial event is a method used by Pakistan as a means of "communicating" to India that Pakistan is not just nonsense about its nuclear power and it also shows that Pakistan's nuclear power exists and can be relied on to give a range of threats to India. If India can test five times then it is not difficult for Pakistan to match that number even Pakistan is capable of conducting six tests which means superior to India. During the period before 1998, India was not convinced by Pakistan's nuclear capabilities. Pakistan's nuclear capability at the time was limited to statements issued by Pakistani leaders. So this opportunity is the right time to convince India that Pakistan has indeed been able to develop its nuclear capabilities. The demonstration of this power also affected the emergence of perceptions that would be accepted by India in the form of threats. This threat will succeed when Pakistan manages to communicate its intentions so that the perception arises in India that Pakistan is a country to be reckoned with and that India is able to be more rational and discourage its intentions to use violence in dealing with Pakistan, both in the form of policy and action. Credibility is not inherent in the weapons, but a function of the challenger's perception of the weapons and the intent and motivation of their owners. If in the wars of 1947, 1965 and 1971, India still dared to use its military might to suppress Pakistan. However, the condition of Pakistan now is very different from the conditions then. At that time, Pakistan relied only on much smaller conventional forces than India. It was also seen as a compulsion for Pakistan as there was no other choice of power that could be trusted at the time. As a result, India managed to defeat Pakistan on all fronts. After developing its nuclear capabilities,

Pakistan occupies a strategic position to be able to neutralize India so as not to carry out large-scale aggression as before. During the Commonwealth Conference on 17 October 1991, Pakistan and India PM, Nawaz Sharif and Narismha Rao held a bilateral meeting. On this occasion, the two prime ministers discussed various general matters. Even if the meeting didn't produce anything of significance, at least the meeting indicated that there was a good foundation on which to restart the relationship after experiencing tensions the previous year.

The re-election of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister on February 3, 1997 reopened the opportunity for the resumption of bilateral negotiations at the level of the Foreign Secretary, which has since stalled. On the occasion of participation in the 9th SAARC Summit in Maldives on 12 May 1997, PM Nawaz Sharif and PM IK Gujral held talks. As a result of the negotiations, it was agreed that a Working Group would be formed to discuss the problems that were hampering it and that negotiations would continue at the Foreign Secretary level in June 1997. The ongoing discussion on the Foreign Secretary level in 15-18 September 1997 in New Delhi produced nothing and made no significant progress. At that meeting, India also avoided discussing the formation of a Joint Working Group formed specifically to discuss the Kashmir issue. The sticking point in relations between the two countries peaked when India conducted a nuclear test on May 11, 1998, which was returned by Pakistan on May 28 and 30, 1998. Mutual retaliation followed by statements by the leaders of the two countries that threaten each other can undermine the strategic balance in the South Asia region. The event, in addition to bringing disaster to both countries with the embargo imposed by the US, also generated distrust between the two. This condition will certainly be counterproductive to the efforts that have been developed by both countries. The easing of tensions between the two countries began when Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee took advantage of their presence at the UN Secondary School in New York in September 1998 to hold bilateral meetings. As a follow-up, Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs Secretary General Shamsad Ahmad and his Indian counterpart K. Raghunath in Islamabad from 16 to 18 October 1998 discussed two main agendas namely Peace and Security including CBMs and the Jammu-Kashmir issue. This meeting was the 10th level of discussion by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of both countries that was held after 13 months of stoppage.

At the October 16 meeting in the Peace and Security talks, the Indian side rejected all the agendas offered by Pakistan, namely, no use of force, peaceful dispute resolution, nuclear restraint and nuclear stabilization regime, and CBMs. On the Jammu-Kashmir issue discussed on 17 October, India rejected all topics offered by Pakistan, namely regarding peaceful dispute resolution, non-repression and conflict reduction. On that occasion, India continued to convey its position till now, that is, Kashmir is an integral part of India, without disputes and terrorism infiltrated from Pakistan. Hopes returned after Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee paid a visit to Pakistan on 20 February. This visit is of great significance for relations between the two countries as Vajpayee's visit is the first visit by the Prime Minister of India in 10

years. On that occasion, Vajpayee launched "Bus Diplomacy", that is, the opening of a bus line that crosses the border between Pakistan and India. The opening of this bus line is the first step taken by Vajpayee to reconnect with Pakistan after he served as the new Indian PM, replacing PM Gujral. Furthermore, this event was also considered as a testament to India's desire to maintain regional stability. The indications that led to the improvement of relations between the two countries strengthened after a few days later, there was a high-level meeting between PM Nawaz Sharif and PM Atal Behari Vajpayee. At the meeting, the two leaders produced two agreements, namely the first agreement on the Summit itself, titled "Lahore Declaration", while the second concerns cooperation to enhance mutual trust (CBMs). The India-Pakistan Summit was considered successful because it provided a better understanding between the two parties. Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan also created a climate conducive to the creation of peace, security and stability in the South Asia region.

The two leaders' objective is, at the very least, to send a message to each of their peoples to stay away from violence and keep trying to promote a more harmonious relationship. An agreement to increase mutual trust is urgently needed between the two neighboring countries, which have recently put pressure on each other after a nuclear weapons test conducted by the two countries in 1998. Of course, the Kashmir issue, which resolved the war between the two countries since 1947 was discussed. However, the two leaders are still not willing to relax the position. The engagement of the two leaders was limited to a war of declarations of mutual accusation. As in the previous situation, the hope of establishing a better relationship was not long. A few months later, there was another tension that made the two countries use armed violence again. This event was triggered by India breaching the Line of Control (LoC), increasing its troops and carrying out attacks on Pakistani territory. India initiated the violations first, forcing Pakistan to respond. The violations committed by India certainly threaten the dialogue process being initiated by the two countries in line with the Lahore Declaration. In 2000, Pakistan was seen as playing an active role in initiating dialogue between the two countries. However, India is still reluctant to accept Pakistan's invitation because it considers General Musharraf's military to have been the architects of the Mujahideen infiltration of the Kargil region last May.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The atomic nucleus has an extraordinary amount of power. For example, one gram of U-235 (one of the nuclear radioactive materials) can be used to supply the television's electricity needs for over 15 years with the assumption of use for 12 hours a day. Even with the same calculation, one gram of U-235 could be used to meet the electricity needs of a home with 900 watts of power for over a year and a half with the assumption of maximum usage for 12 hours every day. The extraordinary power of this atomic nucleus certainly encourages specialists to master this technology which, in the future, could be used to meet the daily needs of human beings in terms of energy. This is precisely what Pakistan has adopted as a poor country that is trying to

utilize nuclear technology for its citizens. Limited capital to start this nuclear program is not an obstacle for Pakistan. Pakistan managed to initiate this program using the agenda launched by President Dwight Eisenhower, who in 1954 proposed the use of atoms for peace (Atoms for Peace Proposal). As a first step, Pakistan established the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) in 1956, placing Dr. Nazir Ahmed as President. After standing up, the agency immediately made plans to build an electricity-powered nuclear treatment reactor. In its development, the PAEC has not functioned properly and has yet to make a significant contribution to the nuclear program due to the weak support provided by the government at the time. This program saw little headway with the emergence of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as Minister of Natural and Mineral Resources in 1960 and the appointment of Dr. Ishrat H. Usmani became the new president of PAEC in the same year. The Ottomans were given the task of preparing in the best possible way for all of Pakistan's needs. During his new tenure, an institute was established under the name of Pakistan Institute of Science and Technology (Pinstech). One step forward made by the Ottomans was a program for potential young Pakistanis to be selected and sent abroad for training. Between 1960 and 1967, six hundred of the participants returned home with doctorates.

Pakistan's nuclear energy program took a considerable step forward in 1965. Bhutto - who this year has been foreign minister since 1963 - began thinking about creating nuclear weapons in response to efforts made by India using nuclear energy for military purposes. Bhutto's desire grew stronger after the India-Pakistan war in 1965. The government reached an agreement with Canada to build a nuclear reactor under the name Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP). But in the course of this KANUPP received supervision from the IAEA because the reactor is not only capable of producing electricity but was also capable of producing plutonium which can be used for military use. By 1974, Canada was no longer sending specialists, information technology, fuel and equipment due to fears of poor supervision at the facility. Meanwhile, since India's nuclear test in 1974, nuclear proliferation has become a serious international concern. To obtain plutonium material - which is needed as a basic material for nuclear weapons - Pakistan needs additional facilities in the form of plutonium separation facilities. In the late 1960s, Pakistan signed a cooperation agreement with British Nuclear Fuels Limited (BNFL) and Belgonucleaire for cooperation in designing the BNFL facility, which is capable of separating up to 360 grams per year. Pakistan's ambitions did not stop until 1973, Pakistan successfully signed a new cooperation contract with the French company Saint-Gobain Techniques Nouvelles (SGN).

This collaboration is needed to build facilities on a larger scale than KANUPP, a facility known as Chasma. The Chasma facility is capable of producing 200 kg of plutonium annually.¹⁵ However, this collaborative effort fell through after the President of France, Giscard D'Estaing, abruptly canceled the contract in 1977. This French attitude was the result of pressure exerted by the United States, through its foreign minister, Henry Kissinger, who continued to pressure France to cancel its cooperation contracts with Pakistan.¹⁶ This US concern was based on US fears that

Pakistan tried to make nuclear weapons. If only the Pakistan-SGN collaboration succeeds, Pakistan will produce plutonium material which is quite large and will certainly be dangerous if not given enough oversight. The end of the collaboration with Canada and the continuation of the SGN made Pakistan try to find other alternatives, namely using HEU as a basic material. The effort that Pakistan wants to undertake is not an easy one, given the need. This technology is the property of a rotating machine (centrifuge) to enrich uranium to obtain the right composition.¹⁷ This technology is owned by Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan who is willing to help his country in this player engine technology. Khan makes use of the lack of export controls to obtain basic components to make ultracentrifuges separately from various countries. Khan's skill is certainly not separate from the experience he had while still working at URENCO, which is a collaboration between the Netherlands, Germany and Great Britain. During that time, Pakistan was able to carry out the process of enrichment and nuclear technology development in its own country, utilizing Khan's potential. Pakistan's ability to master nuclear technology is growing. After being able to produce HEU, Pakistan needs a missile capable of carrying nuclear warheads. India's growing capability in terms of missile possession is putting pressure on Pakistan to do the same. Khan in 1982 told Zia that he was able to enrich HEU and now he wants to make missiles. Zia then supported and finally two years later this work was completed. Pakistan's first missile build was called the Hatf-1, which has a range of 80 km. The first test carried out in April 1988 showed the weakness of this type of missile, which can only reach unsatisfactory distances. The Hatf-2 that is tested at the same time can reach 300 km, but this type of missile is not reliable and the development continues with the birth of the Hatf-3 that has the same flaw, that is, inadequate precision.

The weakness shown in previous missiles made Pakistan try to develop new types of missiles. PAEC decided to cooperate with China for the purchase of M-11 missiles. This missile is named by Pakistan as Shaheen, which means Eagle. The ability to explore Shaheen-1 reaches a distance of 800 km with a payload of 500 kg. while for Shaheen-2 it has a distance of up to 2000 km. In July 2000, the PAEC stated that both types of missiles had the capability to carry nuclear capability). If the PAEC cooperates with China, then Khan is looking at other alternatives in his efforts to develop missile capabilities. Khan chose a different path as he approached North Korea. North Korea sent parts of the Nodong missile, while Pakistan sent money and rice in return. Ghauri-1 was tested in April 2000 with a range of up to 1500 km. This missile is considered capable of carrying a payload of 700 kg. After adopting technology from North Korea, Pakistan tried to develop it by successfully producing Ghauri-2 and Ghauri-3 with capacities up to 2000 and 3000 km respectively. That distance gives Pakistan the ability to hit targets in India. The Ghauri-2 was tested on April 14, 1999, 3 days after India conducted an Agni-2 missile test. The Ghauri-2 was launched from a mobile nuclear launch in Dina, about 60 km east of Pakistan, capital of Islamabad, and landed in Jiwani, west of Balochistan province. Aircraft belonging to the Pakistani Air Force are, on average, used to drop nuclear weapons, especially American-made

F-16 fighters. Other aircraft, such as the Chinese-made Mirage-V or A5, are also capable of this purpose. Some F-16s may have been modified to have the capability to drop nuclear weapons used by 9 and 11 Squadrons at Sargodha, 160 km north of the city of Lahore. The F-16 has a range of 1,600 km or more and can be used to carry up to 5,450 kg externally in 1 under the fuselage and 6 under the center wing. Like Pakistan, India also produces missiles, namely Pritvi, with a payload of 1500 kg and a range of 150 km. In addition, India is developing Sagarika missiles with a range of 300 km that can be launched from submarines. Agni which is a medium-range missile reaches 2,000 km and a larger transport of 1,000 kg. Even India is also developing an intercontinental missile (ICBM) under the name Surya with a range of 12,000 km.

The threat of the use of force has always played a role in international relations, and the development of military technology has had an important impact on the structure and processes of the political system. Thermonuclear weapons and long-range missile systems are not only quantitatively different from before. The system also has qualitative equipment that has and will continue to have a significant impact on the international system, its member units and the nature of its relationships. The essence of the policy of deterrence is how actor A is able to convey his intention to actor B. The incredible destructive capacity of nuclear weapons has made the cost of their use a barrier, except in the case of extreme provocation. Since there are very few, if any, political objectives that can be achieved through nuclear warfare, the main function of this weapon is only as a threat to potential enemies. Deterrence, which is used by the decision makers of a nation, aims to prevent certain enemy actions that may exist and can be considered a way to influence other nations. For Pakistan itself, nuclear energy can be used for political purposes. Although to obtain it, funds are not small. An external threat threatening national security is one of the considerations driving Pakistan to develop its nuclear capabilities. India, which since 1974 has managed to carry out a nuclear test, has made the South Asia region a real threat. Especially in Pakistan, which has problems with India. In a context of conflict, it is natural for Pakistan to feel threatened and try to protect its country from this threat. The strategy adopted by Pakistan is a step away from the strategic nuclear policy which is used as the best deterrent strategy for the enemy. As the President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf also said that as long as Kashmir is still a concern of Pakistan, it will remain and will be a common security interest of Pakistan. This is a right of the Pakistani nation since its separation from India. He further said that this was actually a response outlined in Pakistan's foreign policy, which put India in a position as a real threat. Therefore, in such a situation, it is important for Pakistan to prevent the war from taking place through total deterrence and diplomacy.

Victory of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a right-wing Indian Hindu nationalist party in March 1998, brought Atal Behari Vajpayee to the post of Prime Minister replacing I.K Gujral. The BJP in its political agenda has reassessed the possibility of developing and making India one of the nuclear nations. This agenda was proven by conducting nuclear weapons tests on 11 and 13 May 1998 five times in Pokaran, near the Rajasthan region. This event is considered an effort by India to

strengthen its power so far and at the same time put its own pressure on Pakistan whose position will further weaken the Kashmir problem. This Indian action had an effect on Pakistan and caused a significant backlash. Pakistan seeks to translate India's intentions, and of course, in the context of the ongoing conflict, Pakistan is able to read India's intentions properly. It just so happens that it takes a mature process for Nawaz Sharif to decide what reaction Pakistan will have and predict what consequences will be received whether or not Pakistan conducts this nuclear test.

Pakistan faces two options, namely, remain under pressure from India, with the consequence that India will continue to consider Pakistan as a weak country, or try to respond to the "challenge" of Indian forces, while having to face embargoes from other countries, such as the threat of economic sanctions from the United States, Australia, Japan and Sweden, who have also threatened to impose military sanctions on Pakistan. Japan itself, which is Pakistan's biggest donor, has threatened to delay its aid package. Pakistan seems to choose the second option, which has a risk value for the domestic economy. Choosing Pakistan shows that the value of security is still a higher price compared to the economy. Economic activity will work well if an enabling atmosphere is achieved. Especially if you have to look at past experiences related to security issues with neighboring countries. Furthermore, this choice also shows that India is still a real threat to Pakistan's security. The implementation of the decision was finally implemented. A few days later, Pakistan conducted a six-time nuclear test to counter what was done by India. This rehearsal was divided into two periods, namely 28 times five times and followed later on May 31, 1998 with a rehearsal. This trial is a high point where Pakistan wants to show its capability not only to India but also to the world that Pakistan has declared itself among the nuclear capable countries

D. CONCLUSION

Sulla base dei risultati dello studio si può concludere che la maggior parte degli adolescenti con sovrappeso e obesità tende a soffrire di iperuricemia. È necessario educare gli studenti a stili di vita sani regolando modelli alimentari sani ed equilibrati ed esercitandosi regolarmente. Necessità di ridurre il peso corporeo per prevenire l'iperuricemia.

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