

KASHMIR In INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS: PERSPECTIVE PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR POLICY, BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS CONFLICT RESOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

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 has passed, but there is no final agreement that can be accepted by both parties. If 1947 is the day of independence for India and Pakistan, then that year is the beginning of the suffering of the people of Kashmir. Pakistan as the party that has the right to make Kashmir as part of its territory feels the need to continue to raise this issue even though it has to develop nuclear though.
Keyword : Kashmir in India-Pakistan Relations, pakistan's nuclear policy.

INTRODUCTION

Interactions between countries in the contemporary system are many and varied. These interactions are often classified according to issue areas, such as trade, international security, tourism, technical cooperation, cultural exchange, nuclear weapons control, and so on. Interactions that occur will form a number 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 all be seen from the extent to which these countries are able to shape the interactions that occur between them. The interaction does not only occur in the scope that is limited by its geographical aspect. A country is able to interact with one or more countries outside of their region. However, a country will generally prioritize interactions with countries that are located close together. Of course, this choice is still based on the priorities and direction of the country's foreign policy. In this coexistence, usually two countries experience a number of problems, for example, concerning national borders. This region is important considering the extent of territorial boundaries is part of the sovereignty owned by a country. For Pakistan, which is geographically close to India, it also has a number of problems. The most important problem for Pakistan is regarding the dispute over the Kashmir region which has yet to be resolved. At least

that is what Pakistan still holds to this day. What is important to note is what steps are being taken by Pakistan to overcome this problem and what impact it has on its bilateral relations with India especially on the development of the Kashmir dispute.

Before India and Pakistan won their independence from Britain, two major political parties in India, which represented a large part of the Hindu community and another major party representing Muslim aspirations, had experienced opposition about the direction of politics 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 supervise the expropriation that power. Kashmir itself is one of the 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 their religion. The three princely states are, Junagadh, Hyderabad, and Jammu-Kashmir. Junagadh is a small country with 80% Hindu population, but its ruler is a Muslim who tends to be pro-Pakistan. Hyderabad is predominantly Hindu with a Muslim ruler but not inclined to either Pakistan or India. While Jammu-Kashmir has a Muslim majority population of 90% and is inclined towards Pakistan, but its Hindu ruler then brought Jammu-Kashmir into India. Junagadh eventually united with India through the plebiscite, while Hyderabad through military occupation. However, the Jammu-Kashmir region itself cannot be resolved until now. The Kashmir region was initially controlled by Raja Gulab Singh who is Hindu while the majority of his citizens are Muslim. During his reign Singh was considered to have an attitude that weighed on his citizens by forcing tax payments. At the same time, in the socio-cultural field (since 1850) Singh continued to pressure Muslim Kashmir by launching the Suddhi alias Hinduisasi program. This movement is an attempt to "return" back the Muslims to the original religion of their ancestors namely Hinduism.

This attitude which was burdensome for the citizens caused upheavals which opposed Singh's rules. Every citizen who does not obey the rules will immediately be strongly responded and imprisoned. In such situations an internal resistance movement is born. This resistance to Singh even spread to the entire Poonch district, where thousands of Muslims who were WWII veterans lived and mobilized. This situation of rebellion has even stimulated border tribes in Pakistan with their religious zeal to support the struggle of the Kashmir people. As a result of feeling the condition of his territory increasingly out of control, Singh then asked for Indian help to

overcome the upheaval. It was at 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 greater catastrophe emerged, namely the first war between India and Pakistan in 1947.

The first war that took place between India and Pakistan made the UN intervened to mediate the ongoing problems. The UN itself then issued resolution 47 in 1948. This resolution mandates that the resolution of the Kashmir problem will be resolved through democratic means, namely a plebiscite free for the people of Kashmir to choose whether to join India or Pakistan. India itself responded that its occupation in Kashmir was only to restore the situation and if conditions were possible a referendum would be carried out as written in the UN resolution. But apparently it never happened.

In fact, India secretly launched political steps that led to the control of the Kashmir region over India. For example, the Jammu-Kashmir constituent assembly which was a puppet government made in India, for example, on 6 February 1954 ratified the integration of Kashmir into India. On 19 November 1956 the same institution also approved a constitution which states that the state of Kashmir is an integral part of India. On January 26, 1957 India then formulated the terms of this transfer of power and stated that the provisions could not be contested let alone to be canceled. What is done by India will give the impression to the UN that the problem of moving Kashmir has been completed properly and in accordance with existing provisions. This engineering shows that the Kashmir region seems to choose to join with India over Pakistan.

This unjust attitude angered Pakistan and finally reignited fighting between the two sides. The war that took place in 1965 ultimately did not mean anything to Pakistan. Since then Kashmir is still controlled by India and Pakistan is only in control of one third of the region. The atmosphere in 1972 was a situation that was reached when the Shimla Agreement was reached. After the agreement, the relations between the two countries are relatively good. It's just that the opportunity was used by India to give an opinion to the international world that the problems between India and Pakistan (again) have been able to be resolved properly.

PAKISTAN NUCLEAR POLICY

A. Beginning of Pakistan's Nuclear Program

The atomic nucleus has an extraordinary amount of power. For example, one gram of U-235 (one of the nuclear-active radioactive materials) can be used to supply the television's electricity needs for more than 15 years with the

assumption of usage for 12 hours per day. Even with the same calculation, one gram of U-235 can be used to meet the electricity needs of a household with 900 watts of power for more than one and a half years with the assumption of maximum usage for 12 hours every day.

The extraordinary power possessed by this atomic nucleus certainly encourages experts to be able to master this technology which in the future can be utilized to support human daily needs in terms of energy. This is precisely what Pakistan has adopted, as a poor country which is trying to utilize nuclear technology for its citizens. The limited capital to start this nuclear program is not an obstacle for Pakistan. Pakistan was able to start this program by utilizing 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 by placing Dr. Nazir Ahmed as chairman. After standing, the agency immediately made plans for the construction of an electric powered nuclear treatment reactor. In its development, PAEC has not been running properly and has not yet made a meaningful contribution to the nuclear program due to the weak support provided by the government at that time.

This program made little progress 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 chairman of PAEC in the same year. The Ottomans were given the task to prepare optimally all the needs needed for Pakistan. During his new term, an institute was established under the name Pakistan Institute of Science and Technology (Pinstech). One progress made by the Ottomans was a program for potential Pakistani youth to be selected and sent abroad to undergo training. Between 1960 and 1967, six hundred of the participants returned home with doctorates.

Pakistan's nuclear energy program experienced a considerable step forward when in 1965. Bhutto - who this year has been foreign minister since 1963 - began to think of creating nuclear weapons in response to efforts being made by India using nuclear power 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 able to produce electricity but also has been able to produce plutonium that can be used for military use. Until 1974 Canada no longer continued sending experts, information technology, fuel and equipment as a result of fears of weak supervision at the facility. Meanwhile, since India's

nuclear test in 1974 nuclear proliferation has become a serious international concern.

To get plutonium material - which is needed as a basic material for nuclear weapons - Pakistan needs additional facilities in the form of plutonium separation facilities. At the end of the 1960s Pakistan signed a cooperation contract with British Nuclear Fuels Limited (BNFL) and Belgonucleaire for the cooperation in the design of the BNFL facility which is capable of separating up to 360 grams per year. Pakistan's ambitions did not stop until in 1973 Pakistan successfully signed a new cooperation contract with the Saint-Gobain Techniques Nouvelles (SGN) company from France. This collaboration is needed to build facilities on a larger scale than KANUPP, a facility known as Chasma. The Chasma facility is able to produce 200 kg of plutonium annually.¹⁵ However this collaborative effort was unable to materialize 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 will try to make nuclear weapons. If only the Pakistan-SGN collaboration is successful, Pakistan will produce plutonium material which is quite large and it will certainly be dangerous if it does not get enough supervision.

The end of the collaboration with Canada and continued with SGN made Pakistan try to find other alternatives, namely using HEU as a basic material. The effort that Pakistan wants to achieve is not easy given the need for a sizable technology that is the existence of a rotating machine (centrifuge) to enrich uranium to get 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 lack of export control to obtain basic components to make ultracentrifuge separately from various countries. Khan's ability is certainly not separated from the experience he had while still working at URENCO which is a collaboration between the Netherlands, Germany and Britain. During this time Pakistan was able to carry out the process of enrichment and development of nuclear technology in its own country by utilizing Khan's potential.

B. Missile Weapons

The capability achieved by Pakistan in mastering 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 pushing 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 gave support and finally two years later this work has been completed.

Pakistan's first missile making was named Hatf-1 which has a range of 80 km. The first test run in April 1988 showed the weakness of this type of missile which is only able to reach unsatisfactory distances. Hatf-2 which 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 Hatf-3 which has the same flaw, namely improper accuracy. The weakness shown in the previous missiles made Pakistan try to develop new types of missiles. PAEC decided to cooperate with China to purchase M-11 type 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 carrying capacity of 500 kg. while for Shaheen-2 it has a distance of up to 2000 km. In July 2000 PAEC claimed that both types of missiles had the ability to carry nuclear capable). If PAEC cooperates with China, then Khan is looking for other alternatives in his efforts to develop missile capabilities. Khan chose a different route by approaching 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 claimed to be capable of carrying a load of 700 kg. After adopting technology from North Korea, Pakistan tried to develop it by successfully producing Ghauri-2 and Ghauri-3 with capabilities of up to 2000 and 3000 km respectively. This distance gives Pakistan the ability to reach targets in India. Ghauri-2 was tested on April 14, 1999, 3 days after India conducted an Agni-2 missile test. Ghauri-2 was launched from a mobile nuclear launch in Dina, about 60 km east of Pakistan, the capital of Islamabad and landed in Jiwani, west of Balochistan Province.

Aircraft owned by the Pakistani Air Force are on average used to launch nuclear weapons, especially US-made F-16 fighters. Other aircraft such as the Mirage-V or A5 made in China are also capable of this purpose. Some F-16s may have been modified to have the ability to launch nuclear weapons used in Squadrons 9 and 11 at Sargodha, 160 km North of Lahore City. The F-16 has a range of 1600 km or more and can be used to transport up to 5450 kg externally at 1 under the fuselage and six under the wing center. Like Pakistan, India also produces missiles namely Pritvi with a load capacity 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 2000 km and a greater haulage of 1000 kg. Even India is also developing an intercontinental missile (ICBM) under the name Surya with a range of 12,000 km.

C. Nuclear as Deterrence

The threat to use force has continuously 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 the previous ones. 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 their relationships. The essence of the deterrence policy is how actor A is able to show his intention to actor B. The amazing destructive ability of nuclear weapons has made the cost of its use a barrier except in the case of extreme provocation. Because there are very few, if any, political goals that can be achieved through nuclear war, the main function of this weapon is only as a threat to possible enemies. Deterrence, which is used by decision makers of a nation aims to prevent certain actions from enemies that may exist and can be considered as a way to influence other nations.

For Pakistan itself, nuclear can be used for political purposes. Although to obtain it requires funds that are not small. An external threat that threatens national security is one of the considerations that is driving Pakistan to develop its nuclear capabilities. India, which since 1974 has succeeded in carrying out a nuclear test has made the South Asian region a real threat. Especially in Pakistan which has problems against India. In the context of conflict, it is natural that Pakistan feels threatened and tries to protect its country from this threat. The strategy taken by Pakistan is a nuclear strategic policy step that is used as the best deterrence strategy for the enemy. As Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf also said that as long as Kashmir is still a concern of Pakistan, this will remain and will be a united security interest of Pakistan. This has been the 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 war from occurring through total deterrence and diplomacy.

NUCLEAR TRIAL 1998

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) victory, party Indian right-wing Hindu nationalists in March 1998 brought Atal Behari Vajpayee to the position of prime minister replacing I.K Gujral. The BJP in its political agenda re-evaluated the possibility to develop and make 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 Rajasthan region. This

event is considered as India's effort 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 reaction. Pakistan seeks to translate the intentions of India and of course in the context of the conflict that has been happening, Pakistan is able to read the intentions of India properly. It's just that it takes a mature process for Nawaz Sharif to decide what reaction Pakistan will take and predict what consequences will be received if Pakistan conducts or does not conduct this nuclear test.

Pakistan is faced with two choices, namely to remain under pressure from India with the consequence that India will continue to regard Pakistan as a weak country or try to answer the "challenge" of Indian forces even though it must face embargoes from other countries such as the threat of economic sanctions from the United States, Australia, Japan , and Sweden which 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. Pakistan's choice shows that the value of security is still a higher price compared to the economy. Economic activity will run well if a conducive atmosphere has been achieved. Especially if you have to look at past experiences relating to security issues with neighboring countries. In addition, this choice also shows that India is still a real threat to Pakistan's security.

The realization of the decision was finally able to be implemented. A few days later, Pakistan conducted a nuclear test six times to counter what was done by India. This trial was divided into two periods, namely on 28 times five times and followed later on 31 May 1998 with one trial. This trial is a high point where Pakistan wants to show its ability not only to India but also the world that Pakistan has declared itself in the ranks of countries with nuclear capabilities. For Pakistan this trial has strategic and psychological value. Pakistan's decision to conduct a trial has given strategic value in terms of deterrence as a policy. Pakistan itself has felt that it does not have the ability to increase the strength of its conventional weapons to face the greater Indian power. However, India's superiority in conventional weapons capabilities does not mean to make Pakistan always feel inferior in defense because defense has a different function than deterrence.

As a strategy, deterrence serves to prevent opponents from carrying out attacks, if deterrence fails then defense forces will play a role in destroying enemies. However, this cannot be interpreted that Pakistan does not need to strengthen and develop its defense forces. Defense forces are still needed to face a number of attacks or to anticipate if there is a limited war. In 1999-2000,

Pakistan was able to develop its military strength even though that year Pakistan had nuclear weapons. Compared to 1971-1972, in 1999-2000 Pakistan's military power had increased to almost double the strength of 1971-1972 (see table 1). This shows that the defense force is also still needed despite deterrence

Tabel 1. Perbandingan Kekuatan Militer Pakistan

Military Strength 1971-1972 1999-2000

Military Strength	1971-1972	1999-2000
Total Military Personnel	392.000	1.100.000
The Power of the Military		
<i>Main Battle</i>	100.000	247.000
<i>Tank</i>	1.170	2.320
<i>Towed Arty</i>	1.120	1.590
<i>Submarine</i>	4	10
<i>Combat</i>		

Source: The Military Balance 1999-2000, p. 163178.

The psychological value given by the deterrence strategy has two components, namely communication and perception. This trial event is a method used by Pakistan for a means of "communication" to India that Pakistan is not just nonsense about its nuclear power and shows also that Pakistan's nuclear power does exist and can be relied upon to give a number of threats to India. If India is able to test five times, then it is not difficult for Pakistan to equalize that number, even Pakistan is able to conduct six trials which means superior to India. During the period before 1998 India was not convinced by Pakistan's nuclear capabilities. Pakistan's nuclear capability at that time was limited to statements issued by Pakistani leaders. Therefore, this opportunity is the right time to convince India that Pakistan has indeed been able to develop its nuclear capabilities. Demonstration of this power also had an effect on the emergence of perceptions that would be accepted by India in the form of threats. This threat will succeed when Pakistan is able to communicate its intentions so that a perception arises in India that Pakistan is a country to be reckoned with and 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 weapons, but in a function

of the challenger's perception of 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 power in suppressing Pakistan. However, the condition of Pakistan is now very different from the conditions at that time. At that time, Pakistan only relied on conventional forces far smaller than India. It was also seen as a compulsion for Pakistan since there was no other choice of power that could be relied on at the time. As a result, India was able to defeat Pakistan on all fronts. After developing its nuclear capabilities, Pakistan occupies a strategic position to be able to counteract India so as not to carry out large-scale aggression as before.

CONFLICT SETTLEMENT PROCESS

During the Commonwealth Conference on October 17, 1991, PM Pakistan and India, Nawaz Sharif and Narismha Rao held a bilateral meeting. On this occasion the two Prime Ministers discussed various issues in general. Even though the meeting did not produce anything meaningful, at least the meeting indicated that there was a good foundation to restart the relationship after experiencing tension in the previous year. The re-election of Nawaz Sharif as The Prime Minister on 3 February 1997 reopened the opportunity for the resumption of bilateral talks at the level of Foreign Secretary, which has been stalled since then. On the occasion of attending the 9th SAARC Summit in Maldives on May 12, 1997, PM Nawaz Sharif and PM IK Gujral had held talks. As a result of the talks, it was agreed that a Working Group would be formed to discuss the problems that were hampering and would continue the Foreign Secretary level talks in June 1997

Further discussions took place in Islamabad on June 20-23, 1997 which resulted in 8 agenda items to be discussed at the next meeting, namely:

- a. Peace and Security, incl creating CBMs
- b. Jammu-Kashmir
- c. Siachen Glacier
- d. Wullar Barrage Project
- e. Sir Creeek
- f. Counter terrorism and narcotics
- g. Economic and trade cooperation
- h. Information exchange in all sectors

The continued discussion of the level of Foreign Secretary on 15-18 September 1997 in New Delhi did not produce anything and did not obtain significant progress. At that meeting India also avoided discussing the formation of a Joint Working Group that was formed specifically to discuss the Kashmir issue. The point of tension of relations between the two countries peaked when India conducted a nuclear test on May 11, 1998, which was then returned by Pakistan on May 28 and 30, 1998. Mutual retaliation followed by statements by the leaders of the two countries that threatened each other could damage the strategic balance in the South Asian region. This event, besides bringing disaster to both countries with the embargo imposed by the US, has also created suspicion between the two. This condition will certainly be counterproductive to efforts that have been under development by the two countries.

Relief of tensions between the two countries began when Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee both took advantage of their presence at the UN High School in New York in September 1998 to hold bilateral meetings. As a follow up, Pakistani Foreign Ministry Secretary General Shamsad Ahmad and his Indian counterpart K. Raghunath in Islamabad on 16-18 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 of Foreign Secretary of the two countries which was held after being stopped for 13 months. At the October 16 meeting in talks on Peace and Security, the Indian side had rejected all agendas offered by Pakistan, namely non-use of force, peaceful settlement of disputes, nuclear restraint and nuclear stabilization regime and

CBMs. In the Jammu-Kashmir issue discussed on 17 October, India rejected all topics offered by Pakistan, namely regarding peaceful settlement of disputes, no repression and reduction of conflict. On that occasion India continued to convey its position so far, namely Kashmir is an integral part of India, non-disputes, and infiltrated terrorism of Pakistan. Hopes returned after February 20 Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee paid a visit to Pakistan. This visit has great significance for relations between the two countries because Vajpayee's visit is the first visit of India's prime minister in 10 years. On this occasion Vajpayee launched "Bus Diplomacy", namely the opening of a bus line that crosses the Pakistan-India border. 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. Not only that, this event was also considered as evidence of India's desire to maintain regional stability.

Indications that led to improved 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 entitled "Declaration

Lahore ", while the second concerns cooperation in increasing 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 has also created a climate conducive to the creation of peace, security and stability in the South Asian region. The aim of the two leaders is at least to give a message to each of their people to stay away from violence and keep trying to foster a more harmonious relationship. An agreement to increase mutual trust is urgently needed by the two neighboring countries which recently strained each other, following a nuclear weapons test conducted by the two countries in 1998. Of course, the issue of Kashmir which has solved the war between the two countries since 1947 was discussed. However, the two leaders are not yet willing to relax the position. The commitment of the two leaders was limited to a war of mutually accusing statements.

Like the previous situation, the hope of establishing a better relationship did not have a long time. A few months later there was another tension which made the two countries return to using gun violence. This event was triggered by the violation of the Line of Control (LoC) by India by increasing its troops and carrying out attacks in Pakistani territory. India has initiated violations first, forcing Pakistan to respond. The violations committed by India certainly threaten the dialogue process that is being initiated by the two countries in accordance 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 that the military under General Musharraf as the architect of Mujahideen infiltration into the Kargil region last May. In fact, the biggest thing that hindered India-Pakistan relations is the Kashmir problem. Negotiations conducted with India often do not bring maximum results because of the conflicting points of view shared by both parties. India views the Kashmir problem as a bilateral issue, while Pakistan considers it an international problem. Pakistan's vision is based on a resolution issued by the United Nations in 1948 on the resolution of Kashmir through the plebiscite.

India-Pakistan relations at the end of 2001 nuanced against the eradication of international terrorism has been used by India to continue to corner Pakistan with the classic accusation of sponsoring "cross-border terrorism" in the Kashmir region. The state of relations between the two countries was the culmination of the failure of a summit between President Pervez Musharraf and PM Vajpayee in Agra on July 19-17, 2001. The meeting took place without a clear agenda, even though each party had prepared its agenda. Pakistan considers the Kashmir problem as a "core issue" which must be resolved first as a way to resolve other problems. While India itself tends to be more interested in discussing trade issues, "cross border terrorism", visa convenience, cross border attacks and other issues before discussing Kashmir. This shows that in India's view the issue of Kashmir is not an urgent issue to be discussed

immediately. Although this meeting did not produce a concrete agreement, at least this meeting could be considered as a step that shows the good will of both parties to break the ice of the two countries after the armed conflict in Kargil.

Relations between the two countries were marked by incidents of attacks on the Indian parliament building that were blamed on Pakistan. By using the shooting incident India decided to deploy its troops on a large scale on the Pakistan border. In addition, India also decided to withdraw its ambassador in Islamabad and close land and air routes with Pakistan so that trade between the two countries was cut off. In meeting India's demand, Pakistan also withdrew half of its embassy staff in New Delhi, but did not include its ambassador.

Pakistan's foreign policy has always been dominated and linked by its relationship with its nearest neighbor, India. Prime Minister Jamali continues his predecessor's foreign policy of placing the Kashmir problem on Pakistan's foreign policy agenda. However, in 2002 India again deployed its troops in large numbers around the border. India's attitude certainly makes Pakistan criticize and be prepared to fight. Pakistan has prepared its troops in combat but it is Pakistan's principle that the country will not start a war and want to pursue a peaceful path. But this cannot be interpreted that Pakistan is weak in dealing with India. Pakistan just wants to show its good intentions and try to always resolve it peacefully. The Indian government itself can read Pakistan's good intentions. India's attitude is demonstrated by the reopening of Indian airspace for Pakistani civil flights which have been closed since January 2002. Pakistan did not immediately respond to the actions taken by India. On the contrary, Pakistan urged India to take other steps to reduce the escalation of tensions between the two countries, especially regarding the withdrawal of Indian troops in the border region and continued with dialogue between the two countries where Pakistan is ready to accept the role of a third party as a mediator.

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The development of the normalization of relations between India and Pakistan in 2003 has improved. The offer to re-do peace talks between the two countries which began with a peaceful helping by the Indian PM was immediately welcomed positively by Pakistan. Indeed, this offer immediately raises new hopes for the realization of tensions between the two countries and reduces the anxiety of some

countries in the region about the worst possibility of an open war. This Indian cooperative attitude had a positive impact on the creation of CBM. The two parties have also restored diplomatic relations at the Ambassador level and opened land and aviation transportation routes to enable interaction between citizens. As is known, with its own background and various motivations, India's peaceful offer requires Pakistan to cooperate in curbing militancy and stopping "cross-border infiltration" activities in Kashmir. On the other hand, Pakistan wants every peace dialogue with India to include the main issue regarding the Kashmir dispute as a prerequisite.

The peace process both continues to experience dynamics. On 19-20 June 2004 the two countries held a meeting to discuss security in New Delhi. They agreed to establish a peaceful and safe environment from the possibilities that arise. In addition they also held a secretary-level meeting of foreign ministers on June 27-28, 2004 as a dialogue to discuss security and peace as well as the 'Jammu-Kashmir' issue. They also reiterated their commitment to live the principles and objectives of the UN Charter and the implementation of the Simla Agreement. The summit of the two leaders of the country this year also took place on September 28. At the meeting in New York the two leaders made a new step by discussing the Kashmir issue again as well as efforts to build mutual trust.

CONCLUSION

The long history of the Kashmir conflict has given color to the dynamic journey of India-Pakistan relations. War and peace always take turns filling their positions. Nuclear policy taken as a strategic step for Pakistan has brought a new dimension in its relations with India. India previously prioritized military action rather than negotiating avenues. This is all based on the belief that India has a power superior to Pakistan. Pakistan does not stop there in the face of India's superiority ... However, Pakistan seeks to take the right steps to overcome this problem through nuclear policy. This policy has proven to be able to prevent India from using its military power against Pakistan and bring India to be more cooperative in resolving problems between the two countries, especially the Kashmir dispute which is the main problem.

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