CHAPTER V
THE NON-MILITARY CBMs: POTENTIAL AND PROSPECTS
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We have noted earlier that CBMs between India and Pakistan have been applied so far mainly to the military and technical spheres. They are far from accomplishing their objective of bringing about transparency, stability and trust in bilateral relations. As argued in the preceding chapter, this is mainly due to the constraints imposed by historical, psychological and political conditions. It is, therefore, vital for the working of CBMs that strategies are devised to overcome these constraints and create a context conducive to their effective function. Non-military CBMs are considered a key strategy for achieving this. They alter hostile attitudes and promote goodwill among adversaries.

5.1 THE INADEQUACY OF MILITARY-TECHNICAL CBMs

The theoretical and philosophical foundations of non-military CBMs are qualitatively different from those of technical-military CBMs. Non-military CBMs are not based on a rejection of the relevance of military CBMs. They are inspired by a belief that building trust between India and Pakistan is more a function of psychology, economics and culture than of regulating military force or providing reassurance about military intentions through technical measures. The distrust between India and Pakistan is not just due to the lack of timely and clear information about the military activities of the other side. It is rooted in hostile attitudes, perceptions, images, ideological differences and historical traditions. Defining CBMs as “arrangements designed to enhance...
assurance of mind and belief in the trust-worthiness of states and the facts they create”, the Norwegian statesman Johan Jorgen Holst cautions that “confidence is the product of much broader patterns of relations than those which relate to military strategy…. (CBMs) have to be woven into a complex texture of economic, cultural, technical and social relationships”.

Pointing out the limitations of military CBMs, Adam-Daniel Rotfeld comments that “while military-oriented CBMs have a role to play in alleviating tensions and promoting confidence, they are inherently unable, by themselves, to address the underlying causes of suspicion and mistrust, i.e., the deeply rooted contest of specific national and alliance interest…. ” Such measures are negative in character as they aim at avoiding war rather than assuring peace in the long term. Even if military CBMs meet with full success, this will only ensure a de-escalation of military tensions rather than reduced risk of a future war or long-term strategic stability.

If politicians, diplomats and military officers alone are involved with their conduct, CBMs between India and Pakistan may not even take off in a real sense as these sections have a vested interest in the persistence of this conflict. They lack imagination and motivation to break away from the inherited frameworks of thought and offer alternatives to enmity. Even if they are willing to make peace, the entrenched policy-making structures, bureaucratic politics or jingoism of fundamentalist groups may not allow them to break radically from the past. Therefore, unless the imperative of transforming the attitudes and mindset of people is addressed and the confidence building process is broadened to bring in the masses, the goals of CBMs may not be realized. Without popular interest in peace the collective interests of the political-bureaucratic-military class or popular stereotypes might not slacken. Non-military CBMs are also easier to put into action as they skirt contentious issues like Kashmir that cannot be solved in the near term. Starting from the periphery, they make a slow movement towards
inducing such psychological and structural changes that make resolution of contentious issues free from hitches.

5.2 INVOLVEMENT OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE CONFIDENCE BUILDING PROCESS

Activism and empowerment of civil society are considered essential for democratic states. Civil society is a site of interaction between the state, society and economy. A strong and conscious civil society acts as a check against the excesses and injustice committed by the state and contributes positively to its functioning by offering popular support to its transformational agenda.

Lately, civil societies have begun playing a critical role in conflict avoidance and resolution efforts. The civil society organizations employ a wide spectrum of approaches and non-formal methods of intervention to bring about reconciliation. One of the reasons for the success of CBMs in Europe was the involvement of society in the peace process. Popular pressure and public education helped the political leadership move forward towards reconciliation. A remarkable recent case of the efficacy of civil society's intervention in conflict resolution process is the settlement of Irish conflict. Human rights groups, church, research institutes, private peace initiatives etc. facilitated and strengthened the political and governmental efforts to formalize a peace agreement. The peaceful end of apartheid in South Africa was also largely due to the participation of various civil society organizations. Empowerment and active participation of civil society are, therefore, essential for the success of confidence building between India and Pakistan. As the sources of this conflict are societal and psychological, it makes sense to search the potential of conflict resolution within the Indian and Pakistani societies.
Such broadening of CBMs is also predicated on a change in the quality and pattern of policy making process. Both in India as well as in Pakistan, policy making on security issues is not permeated by inputs from civil society. It is wholly under the control of experts, military strategists and political executive. Neither the elected representatives and legislative institutions nor the civil society groups and individuals have much latitude to put across to policy makers their perceptions on national security. National security is too critical a matter to be left to experts alone. Ultimately it is the people who pay for these decisions, both in financial and human terms. If the common people were made adequately aware and educated about foreign policy and national security issues, their capacity to have some bearing on decision-making through institutional and non-institutional channels would improve.

Despite differences in their political development, India and Pakistan remain elite-governed societies. The elites of the two societies – in business, media, education and politics - have been accused of consciously blocking progress towards normalization of relations and confidence building.\(^3\) Although all Indians and Pakistanis do not exhibit mutual antagonism, the hostile perceptions of the elites in India or Pakistan are generalized as the perceptions of all citizens. It is assumed that the political-military class and the media in Pakistan speak for all Pakistanis, or the Indian political parties, leaders and media speak for all Indians. Though reliable public opinion surveys are rarely conducted on India-Pakistan conflict, it is believed that Punjab is more intensely anti-India and pro-Kashmir than other regions of Pakistan like Baluchistan, North-Western Frontier Province or Sind.\(^4\) Even in India, people of northern and western India reveal greater bitterness towards Pakistan as compared to the eastern or southern India. The perceptions about the Kashmir problem and its solution also vary considerably from state to state. If such variation in the perspectives and perceptions of the civil societies of India and Pakistan were appropriately projected, it would help redefine and reinterpret this conflict.
Confidence building takes place in an information environment. It is necessary to manage that environment favourably for CBMs to be effective. Media is an important player in civil society - informing, educating and enabling the public to make its own judgments on public affairs. A range of media can be made use of dexterously for facilitating conflict resolution. Journalists and other media persons can be involved in the confidence building programmes, Track II diplomacy and civil society initiatives for peace. The media groups can also take initiatives to build networks across the borders. In the past, most if not all, Track II initiatives involving journalists in India and Pakistan have concentrated on the English language press whose circulation is restricted to the bigger towns and cities and is read by the elites. Only a few indigenous language journalists have been invited for the Travelling Seminars organised by USIS as well as in the conferences organized by the International Centre for Peace Initiatives and South Asia Media Association in Sri Lanka. As the vernacular media of India and Pakistan influence the attitudes of the masses and plays a critical role both in aggravating tensions as well as in preventing conflicts, it is essential to motivate it to think along pro-peace lines.

5.2.1 Participation of NGOs

The awakening and growth of civil society has led to a proliferation of voluntary sector in South Asia. A large number of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have come up in India and Pakistan due to the insufficiency of the state organizations to deliver welfare, development and justice to people. Many NGOs function as complementary to the state agencies, taking up tasks that the government cannot fulfill. Networking among NGOs beyond the state boundaries is also a reality today. Though it remains restricted in scope, an inchoate networking among NGOs active in specific sectors at the South Asian level has been achieved over the last few years. South Asian
regional conferences of NGOs have been organized to deliberate and work on common
issues in collaborative projects.

When governments negotiate and implement agreements for cooperation in social
and cultural sphere, they do so in a competitive rather than cooperative spirit. In
comparison, NGOs are not weighed down by considerations of popularity or votes and
less prone to organizational constraints that limit the options available to politicians and
diplomats. Hence, the non-military CBMs in economic, social and cultural spheres can be
implemented more effectively through the participation of NGOs rather than the
government agencies.

If NGOs - especially those active in areas like environmental protection, human
rights, women's and children's welfare, rural development, healthcare, academic and
educational activities etc. - are involved in the conceiving and executing of non-military
CBMs between India and Pakistan, this will give added strength and legitimacy to peace-
building efforts. Environmental degradation, malnutrition and mortality among children,
injustice and unfair treatment to women, inadequate healthcare facilities, AIDS,
population explosion etc. are problems common to India and Pakistan. These are also
non-political and non-contentious issues in which a large number of NGOs are active in
both the states. Cooperation among them should be of great benefit not only in improving
social and economic conditions of people but also in reducing the resistance from civil
society to the normalization of India-Pakistan relations. The involvement of NGOs will
also expand confidence building from the elites to the masses.

5.2.2 People-to-People Contacts

Lack of free and frequent communication among people is the main source of
misunderstandings and misperceptions that cause a conflict. The ruling classes usually
seek to restrict such communications, fearing that if people meet freely, it might lead to the questioning of myths they have nurtured to justify their adversarial policies. Exposure to each other’s society and culture, and the understanding of harmony between them, could make people realize that their prejudices and biases about the adversary are baseless or unnecessary. In the formal and state level interactions, such scope for diluting misunderstanding and misperceptions is restricted.

People-to-people contact or citizen diplomacy is, therefore, proposed as a confidence building measure between India and Pakistan to weaken the biases and psychological impulses that accelerate their conflict. Citizen diplomacy is defined as “an entire class of informal and unofficial procedures for application at international or inter-communal level where there are different cultures and an apparent need for better understanding that can be achieved through more formal contacts and interactions....The processes (of citizen diplomacy) are widely varied, including citizen exchange visits, rock concerts, twin city bonds, educational exchanges, joint research, humanitarian aid, and all manner of informal contacts.” The objective of people to people contacts is to increase the motivation among participants to work for less conflicting relations, foster a bond of trust among them and help establish personal contacts across the line of conflict which can be used when needed.

Citizen diplomacy has been applied in resolving inter-communal or international conflicts. The Quaker Movement, the Moral Rearmament Movement etc. in the West have promoted citizen diplomacy and trust among antagonistic nations through non-political contacts. Such contacts were useful in diluting the impact of negative stereotypes. Despite restrictions imposed by their governments, the American and Soviet citizens participated in many cooperative programmes during the Cold War to share their concerns, hobbies, arts, literature or ideas.
There has been a proliferation of non-official dialogues between India and Pakistan in the 1990s. Such trans-boundary contacts are also called Track II or Track III process by commentators. The Indian government has been more enthusiastic about promoting people-to-people contact than the Pakistani government.\(^7\) Navanita Chadha Behera, Paul Evans and Gowher Rizvi have prepared an inventory of the various non-official dialogues between India and Pakistan.\(^8\) An important reason for the growth of such dialogues is the rise in the consciousness about non-traditional security issues like ecological stability, protection of human rights, migration of populations etc. The peoples' dialogues are finding increasing recognition from the academia, media and political circles. They have also helped create a network among the NGOs, research institutes and scholars of South Asia.

Opportunities for meetings among professionals or activists have increased in recent times with several South Asian conferences on human rights issues, environmental protection, child welfare, strategic studies etc. having taken place in third countries like Sri Lanka and Nepal. More frequent contacts among the Indian and Pakistani professionals - doctors, lawyers, students, teachers, scientists, researchers etc. - could be promoted either in formal conferences or informally through exchange visits. International professional associations can bring citizens from different states on one platform and encouraged goodwill among them. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) can also provide a channel of such conferences and exchange visits.

Suggestions have been made for promoting informal contacts among Indian and Pakistani military officers to alleviate the negative stereotypes inculcated in military training schools. Unofficial interactions among them in the UN peacekeeping operations have had positive influence on their perceptions. The Indian and Pakistani armies are highly professional and comparable to the western armies in terms of competence and
integrity. Hence, such contacts "will also demonstrate how similar the two armies are, despite their five-decades separation. The process will be gradual, but inevitably the strategists in both countries will begin to understand the gains open to the two countries if they were to engage in further cooperation."9

5.2.3 The Peace Forces

The idea of peace requires actors - the peace forces that exert pressure on their governments to refrain from bellicose policies and spread consciousness about the imperative of peaceful resolution of disputes. The people likely to gain from the prevalence of peace in South Asia should be most interested in working for its realization, while those benefiting from the continuation of the India-Pakistan conflict in terms of money, position, power or organizational politics would be least interested in working for peace, no matter how much noise they might make from all available platforms about the need for reconciliation.

As people are the ultimate guarantors of peace, building public consciousness is a better assurance of peace and stability than stockpiles of weapons. It is borne out by the European and South East Asian experience that peace movements are a valuable concomitant of confidence building process. Alarmed by the prospects of a nuclear catastrophe, European peace movements mobilized the masses and pressurized governments to mend decisions that accelerated arms race and tension between Cold War power blocs. Instances of local municipal councils passing resolutions not allowing nuclear weapons in their areas or prohibiting the passage of nuclear materials and fuels were reported. Peace movements flourished more in those NATO member-states which themselves did not possess nuclear weapons but had nuclear weapons stationed on their territory by the alliance. Germany, Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium
witnessed remarkable popular mobilizations in the 1960s and 1970s for denuclearization and rolling back of the policies of confrontation and containment. Later, it was also mainly due to the actions of peace forces and domestic pressure on governments that pace agreements could be worked out in Ireland and the Middle East.

The peace movement in South Asia is incipient and not strong enough to achieve meaningful outcomes. It has remained confined to a few symbolic rallies and conventions attended by the educated and intellectual class in metropolitan cities. The ability of such symbolic actions to bring about required policy changes is virtually non-existent. Among the peace forces in South Asia, Movement in India for Nuclear Disarmament, Pakistan Peace Coalition, South Asia Peace Coalition, Pakistan India Peoples' Forum for Peace and Democracy, Committee on Sane Nuclear Policy, South Asia Forum for Human Rights, Hind Pak Dost, Delhi Policy Group, Citizens Commission for South Asia, India-Pakistan Friendship Society, Indo-Pak Soldiers' Initiative for Peace etc. are more visible. During the Kargil conflict, some Indian and Pakistani pacifists united to form a group called India Pakistan Citizens against Kargil War and put up a special website for disseminating their views. A number of women in India and Pakistan have also begun mobilizing – through groups like South Asia Women's Forum, Women's Initiative for Peace in South Asia and India-Pakistan Women for Peace - for promoting the welfare of women and highlighting the detrimental impact of war and violence on their lives.

A key reason for the weakness of peace forces in India and Pakistan is lack of awareness about the benefits of peace and costs of continuing this conflict. Many will gain from stability and security in South Asia: the poor, the rich, the middle class, Hindus, Muslims and so on. However, all the direct or indirect beneficiaries of a possible thaw in India-Pakistan relations find themselves voiceless and powerless in the political structures of their states. As the concept of peace dividends is almost unknown in South Asia, detailed studies on the social and economic impact of conflict resolution between
India and Pakistan in specific sectors like health, education, social welfare etc. need to be carried out and its results disseminated to the common people. Besides, as a peace movement is essentially a protest movement, its success depends upon the existence and vitality of democracy. Stronger the democracy, more effective is a peace movement. The structural limitations of democracy in India and Pakistan also impede the growth of peace forces in South Asia.

5.2.4 The Need for Liberalized Visa Regime

A major factor inhibiting frequent contacts between Indians and Pakistanis is the difficulties of securing a visa to visit each other, which is indeed a very complex and trying process, and takes longer time than required for obtaining visa for most other states. The Indian or Pakistani visitor has to specify the towns he proposes to visit, on which dates and why. The total number of towns one can visit is also limited. The permission to visit a third country from India or Pakistan is rarely granted.

In comparison to Pakistan, India has a more liberal visa regime for the Pakistani citizens. The number of places that a Pakistani citizen can visit has been raised to 14. Pakistani artistes and performers have been given liberal visas and permission to perform in India. India has also agreed in principle to issue multi-entry visas to Pakistani businessmen coming through recommendation of the SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Pakistan, on the other hand, persists with its archaic visa regime. For entering Pakistan, apart from visa an Indian citizen also requires a clearance document from Pakistan High Commission. The Pakistani citizens intending to visit India require a no-objection certificate from their government, which is not always given easily.
Indian or Pakistani citizens visiting each other are required to report upon their arrival to the local police station. They also need to report before they leave the city. Such police reporting can be traumatic and humiliating; especially for ordinary citizens lacking clout to evade degrading questions from police officials. The assumption that every Indian or a Pakistani visiting the other country is a subversive element, a spy or a threat to national security is atrocious and feeds into the negative stereotypes about each other in the minds of ordinary citizens.

Greater exchanges and contacts between Indians and Pakistanis cannot take place without relaxation of visa formalities. The advocates of people to people contact and non-military CBMs recommend that, “the time is ripe to end the Stalinist regime on travel. Unhindered travel may or may not make us good friends and solve the India-Pakistan quarrel; but it would certainly improve the lives of many Indians and Pakistanis”\(^{11}\) The visa procedure needs to be simplified and liberalized not just for the facility of ordinary citizens but also for promoting trust and harmony between the two countries. A system of country visa instead of a city visa presently followed should be adopted. Longer-term visas with multiple entries as other countries do should also be available to the Indian and Pakistani citizens traveling to each other’s countries. The awful requirement for police reporting also needs to be dropped.\(^{12}\)

5.2.5 Leniency Towards Arrested Fishermen

The impounding of fishing vessels and arrest of fishermen, sometimes for years on end, inadvertently straying into each other’s territorial waters is a common practice by the maritime authorities of India and Pakistan in the major fishing hubs located in the Sir Creek along the Rann of Kutch and the adjoining areas off the Gujarat coast. Earlier, such intruders used to be freed after warning as the authorities followed a “live and let live”
policy in the area. As both the countries have revived a very old dispute over the ownership of this Creek, such arrests are now used to prove their contending claims. In response to the efforts of the fishing associations of the two states, occasional exchanges of fishermen are made by India and Pakistan to serve as a public relations exercise. There is a pressing humanitarian need for a sympathetic consideration of the plight of these fishermen, most of whom are very poor and constitute no threat to any country’s security interests. The suffering endured by them as well as their families can be avoided if Indian Coast Guards and Pakistan’s Maritime Security Agency reach an understanding on dealing with such trespassing and evolve a system whereby they are not detained beyond a limit if found innocent.

5.3 CONFIDENCE BUILDING THROUGH CULTURAL MEASURES

Art and culture can establish an instant rapport among people. The performing artists, musicians, painters, folk artistes, litterateurs etc. act as a link between societies. Books, plays, films, visual art, music, TV programmes and videos, internet content and so on can be helpful in moderating the accumulated feelings of hurt, hate, frustration, anger and mistrust of the enemy. Reconstructing the image of an enemy and learning to see it as a humane rather than a demonic society is a prerequisite in a situation of deep-rooted conflict. Cultural exchanges could, therefore, form an important building block for building confidence between common people. As art is the most influential medium of protest against culture of conflict and war, creation of a culture of peace can induce a climate for conflict resolution.

Cultural commonality can be effective in building and cementing bonds among people and providing a countervailing force to official policies. If the shared goals of two
societies are highlighted in a non-hegemonic way, they could help soften the hard edges of political rivalry between them. The cultures of India and Pakistan have a high degree of compatibility. With a collective history spanning over a millennium, it is not surprising that they share several common practices and beliefs. Indians and Pakistanis can hardly be called alien to each other because few other people have so much in common. In international meetings, they are able to establish an instant rapport and relationship due to such accord. In the words of the former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, “when an Indian and Pakistani meet as human beings in a human encounter....in places like Europe or North America....there is an instant mutual recognition, an affection that wells from an inner core of our existence, an embrace that transcends the passing passions of politics.”

Such a rapport is missing even among citizens of friendly states, e.g. between Pakistanis and Chinese or Indians and the Russians. The lifestyle, food habits, dressing, music, art, sculpture, languages, customs, rituals etc. of India and Pakistan have deep correspondence. Indeed, in some respects, they are indistinguishable. Besides, since language is always a major source of cultural development and shared values, the fact that Pakistan’s main languages - viz. Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi - are also spoken widely in India explains this commonality. The culture and lifestyle of the sizeable Muslim minority of India are also congruent with the Pakistani society.

5.3.1 Academic Exchanges

The record of academic exchanges between India and Pakistan is very poor. A lot of restrictions are imposed on participation of scholars from India or Pakistan in seminars and conferences held in each other’s state. A prior permission from several ministries is required both for the organizers of such meetings as well as for the participants. More often than not, such restrictions put off the organizers from inviting scholars from across the border.
A more liberal and cosmopolitan approach towards academic activities will go a long way in furthering cordiality between India and Pakistan. Networking among various research institutions and universities of India and Pakistan as well as students and scholars exchange programmes can be accomplished through the participation of agencies like Indian Council of Social Science Research, University Grants Commission, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research etc. and their Pakistani counterparts. A foundation along the lines of Fulbright in the US can be set up to fund exchanges of academics, students, artistes and writers. Considering a common history stretching thousands of years and the fact that the Harappan civilization spread to areas that belong to both India and Pakistan today, there is a great potential of undertaking joint archaeological expeditions and excavation projects.

It is suggested that scholars and military officers from across the borders should be invited for delivering lectures in defence academies and colleges. An informal exchange of military staff can also take place in order to cultivate better appreciation of the perspectives of the other side and reduce the scope for misperception. Such military exchanges between the defence colleges of the US and the USSR had shown encouraging results during the Cold War.

Student exchange programmes and group visits school children or university students should be organized either bilaterally or through a multilateral forum like SAARC. Moulding the perceptions and attitudes of young minds and alerting them about the dangers of continued and needless hostility are of great relevance for future of the subcontinent. Similar exchange programmes, organized for the children and youth of America and the Soviet Union during the Cold War produced encouraging results. The participants in these programmes admitted that their fear of the enemy, biases and prejudices were modified as a result of living with the families of the ‘other’ nation. Impressions formed through the experience of inter-societal exchanges can be lasting.
Many times, strong bonds of friendship are built between persons of rival states. Such cohabitation can also help humanize mental images and lead to a realization that all Indians or Pakistanis are not demons. They can be friendly, cooperative and as good or bad as every one else.

5.3.2 Open Access to Sources of Information

Acquiring objective and unbiased knowledge about each other is crucial for initiating a peace process between India and Pakistan. The civil societies would be activated only if they know about each other truthfully and openly. Hence, the need for a free flow of ideas, information and knowledge in South Asia can hardly be overemphasized. Thought technological advancements like internet and e-mail have partly offset the problem of lack of valid information created by official restrictions, the relevance of free access to books and periodicals produced in the other states remains in view of the fact that access to internet itself is extremely limited in most South Asian states.

A proposal for liberalizing import and export of books between India and Pakistan, mooted in the Joint Commission in 1984 and included in the cultural agreements of 1989, has not been implemented at the ground level due to political constraints. Since Pakistan’s publishing industry is very small compared to India, it apprehends that free import of Indian books could adversely affect it, especially in the large educational and Urdu books segment.
5.3.3 The Role of Movies

Films can be influential and eloquent ambassadors of peace. Some excellent peace movies depicting the horrors of World War II cultivated public opinion against war in the US and Europe. Movies are a unifying factor not just in India but also in the whole of South Asia. The huge popularity enjoyed by movies as a medium of mass entertainment in the region and among all sections of society makes them one of the most powerful sources of shaping public behaviour and attitudes. What millions of rupees on a political drama cannot achieve for confidence between India and Pakistan, a few movies can do at much less cost and far more effectively.

The fear of 'cultural invasion' makes Pakistan prohibit the import of Indian movies, music or other artistic products. Somehow, the two societies have to be shown as irreconcilably dissimilar. An exposure to Indian culture and society through films could demonstrate the deep cultural commonalities between them and induce questioning of the myth of unbridgeable historical divide nurtured by rulers so far.

However, in spite of the official ban, the commercial Hindi cinema has penetrated very deep into Pakistan's society like in other neighbouring states like Nepal, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The stories, songs and dance numbers of Hindi movies make them a big draw with Pakistanis. It is commonplace to catch Hindi film songs blaring from shops and houses in Pakistan, or find the photographs of Bollywood stars in the bedrooms of Pakistani youth.

A free exchange of movies between India and Pakistan will not only be a goodwill gesture and an important CBM but will also generate large revenue considering the vast market for them in the two countries. Noted Hindi film lyricist and scriptwriter
Javed Akhtar has suggested co-production of films between India and Pakistan to bring the people closer to each other. Such co-productions can involve artistes, actors, technicians and directors. Film festivals devoted to Indian or Pakistani motion pictures can also be held. Special peace films can be commissioned to counter the jingoistic and war-promoting stuff that seems to have found favour with the audiences nowadays.

5.3.4 Promotion of Tourism

The potential of promoting tourism between India and Pakistan has not been exploited even minimally by the two governments whose policies discourage tourist traffic between the two countries. Despite a bitter history of conflict and unfavourable stance of the two authorities, the number of people traveling to and fro India and Pakistan has always been high, much higher than one would expect between hostile states. This number did not reduce much even during war and crisis situations. The New Delhi-Lahore bus service, for instance, did not report any fall in passengers during the Kargil conflict.

Many Pakistanis visit Islam’s sacred and pilgrimage places located in India. Similarly, several holy Sikh shrines and Gurudwaras attract hundreds of Sikh pilgrims to Pakistan. One of the most sacred Sikh shrines, Nankana Saheb, is situated in Pakistan’s Punjab. Apart from pilgrimage, leisure and historical tourism between India and Pakistan can also be developed. Places related with the Indus valley civilization and centres like Taxilla located in Pakistan could draw the Indian tourists while monuments of the Mughal empire and the earlier Muslim rulers in India could appeal to Pakistanis.

In order to promote tourism, the 1974 protocol on Visits to Religious Shrines needs to be revised to permit Indians to visit more shrines in Pakistan. The number of
persons permitted to visit these shrines can also be increased. Besides, the Hindu or Sikh shrines located in Pakistan need to be maintained well to promote goodwill among tourists and respect their religious sentiments. Conducted tours by recognized tour operators can be organized initially to avoid difficulties on account of security suspicions of the two governments.

5.4 Building Economic Stakes in Peace and Stability

It is no doubt simplistic to expect economic cooperation to mitigate an intractable conflict. However, it would also be misleading not to pay attention to the conflict-mitigating role played by economic growth, cooperation and sharing of the pay-offs of such cooperation. CBMs in Europe cannot be viewed independently of the related process of creating the European Union from the European Coal and Steel Community. As Elliot L. Tepper writes, “the cardinal confidence building measure in Europe is not a military CBM per se, in a strict construction, but the creation of Community.” The parallel actions of regional economic organizations like the European Community and the Association of South East Asian Nations facilitated the adoption and execution of CBMs in Europe and South-East Asia. The deepening of economic ties helped soften conflicts and alter strategic perceptions.

The international systemic changes in the age of globalization have diminished the importance of military capability and increased the significance of wealth and commercially useful technologies as key resources of national power. Most states today realize that military power cannot be achieved under chaotic economic conditions. The rise of trading blocs like NAFTA, EU and ASEAN testifies to the growing weight of economic considerations in foreign and security policies. Hence, CBMs in the emerging world order must recognize this transformation and focus on mutually advantageous
economic and commercial activities among the antagonists. Increased commercial exchanges build stakes in peace and stability, cause greater people to people contacts and help amend misperceptions in peoples’ minds.

5.4.1 The Record of India-Pakistan Trade

A key constraint on confidence building between India and Pakistan is the lack of economic interdependence between them. The enormous potential of trade between India and Pakistan has been only marginally utilized so far. Cooperation beyond trade in the areas of investment, technology transfer or joint projects is non-existent. Both countries seem obsessed with a dogged pursuit of military security at the cost of more vital economic security and growth.

Historically, the economies of India and Pakistan have been part of one integrated economic system and complementary to each other. Indian and Pakistani economies were highly dependent upon each other after Partition. India absorbed about 56% of Pakistan’s exports and provided for about 32% of its imports in 1948-49.19 However, trade started declining immediately thereafter due to political problems. Even this meager bilateral trade was suspended between 1965 and 1974. Though the embargo was lifted in 1974, it did not increase the volume of trade due to various tariff and non-tariff barriers. As the data below indicates, the trade between India and Pakistan for the past several years has constituted only about 1% to 2% of their total global trade.
### Indo-Pak Bilateral Trade since 1996 (in Rs. Crores)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exports to Pakistan</th>
<th>Imports from Pakistan</th>
<th>Balance of Trade</th>
<th>Total Trade</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>257.00</td>
<td>150.09</td>
<td>+106.10</td>
<td>407.90</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>557.83</td>
<td>129.55</td>
<td>-428.28</td>
<td>687.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>+395.47</td>
<td>676.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>405.35</td>
<td>296.74</td>
<td>+108.61</td>
<td>702.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: www.meadev.nic.in/agrasummit/in-paktrade.htm*

The main items imported by Pakistan from India are steel and iron ore, oil seeds, paints and enamels, cosmetics and toiletries, dyes and intermediates, drugs and pharmaceuticals, minerals etc. while the main exports of Pakistan to India are fruits and nuts, textile yarn, metal scrap, raw wool, resins and plastic materials, precious and semi-precious stones etc. The India-Pakistan trade is conducted mainly by medium-sized traders than big companies. Such traders have a vast network of both official and unofficial contacts in South Asia. The profit margin in such category of trade is low, but the traders compensate by greater volumes and make quick gains by exploiting price fluctuation of commodities in the two states.

The volume of illegal trade between India and Pakistan is much higher than the legal trade, resulting in a loss of revenue to both the states. Estimates of illegal trade range from about $1 to $5 billion annually. Goods that cannot be easily identified by nationality like textiles, sugar, coal, spices etc. are the main items of smuggling between the two states. Indian consumer goods – cosmetics, ready-made garments, audio and video cassettes etc.- have also been smuggled across the border. The unofficial trade did
not decline even during the periods of tension like the Kargil conflict or the standoff at the border after terrorist attack on the Indian parliament.

The Joint India-Pakistan Commission on trade has done little to overcome political hurdles in the path of greater economic relations. India and Pakistan have also set up Joint Business Council involving the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI). The council holds periodical meetings between business delegations of the two sides to search ways of augmenting business ties. The Punjab, Haryana and Delhi Chamber of Commerce and Industry (PHDCCI) has been probably the most ardent campaigner for promoting trade between India and Pakistan. It has created a division exclusively devoted to lobbying for this cause, which brings out an information bulletin on India-Pakistan business news. It encourages exchanges with similar bodies of Pakistan and facilitates visits by individual Pakistani businessmen to India.

5.4.2 Pakistan’s Attitude towards Economic Relations with India

Pakistan has always shown indifference to trade relations with India. It has rejected or responded coolly to India’s proposals to permit more imports and exports between the two countries and remove unreasonable restrictions on business activity. Pakistan has also shown apathy for regional economic cooperation through arrangements like South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) and South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). Both India and Pakistan are members of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Under the terms of this organization, India has granted the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to Pakistan. However, Pakistan is yet to reciprocate with a similar status to India. Pakistan has also imposed a number of restrictions on its private sector for business activities with India. Though a large number of businessmen and traders do
not share such approach of the government, they are unable to induce a change in Pakistan's policies.\textsuperscript{23}

The government of Zia-ul-Haq permitted the import of a limited number of goods from India but obligated that such imports be routed through the Trading Corporation of Pakistan. The list of such items, first restricted to only about 42, covered 249 items. Due to persistent efforts by Indian officials, the list of permissible imports from India was further expanded to cover 570 items by the beginning of 1990. However, most of these items were such that India was not in a position to export as there was either no surplus stock or India itself was importing them.\textsuperscript{24}

Pakistan's approach to trade has been guided by political rather than economic logic. It has sacrificed economic benefits for conserving its version of Islamic nationalism and made the resolution of the Kashmir dispute a precondition for opening up of bilateral trade. The well-known Pakistani economist Mahbub-ul-Haq, suggesting a de-linking of political and economic issues, wrote: "There is a feeling in Pakistan that trade will be held hostage to political issues, that this is the only leverage we may have in order to move on other issues like Kashmir and Siachen Glacier. I believe that there must be a de-linkage between political and economic issues....If a powerful country like the United States could de-link economic and political issues in dealing with China, why can't we? Sino-US relations benefited from such a de-linkage and where there is no such de-linking between political and economic relations, as in the case with US-Cuba relations, there has been no progress."\textsuperscript{25}

A political approach to economic and trade issues often hurts Pakistan's economy. Its manufacturers are paying more for the import of iron ore, textile machinery, steel, chemicals and dyes than they would have if these products were imported from India. Pakistan has an annual need for 90,000 tones of tea, but it imports only about 5000 tones
from India, which is major tea-exporting state. It prefers to buy tea from as far away as Indonesia and Kenya at much higher cost. Pakistani businessmen often use a third country route to buy Indian items. India’s textile machinery, for instance, is purchased by Pakistan via Middle East or South East Asia where they are exported from India first and then their Indian markings and brand name erased. The Indian tires are also smuggled into Pakistan through Central Asian republics or Afghanistan.

One of Pakistan’s principal arguments against free import of Indian goods and investments by Indian companies is that because Pakistan’s economy is relatively smaller than India’s, it would not be able to withstand the pressure of competition from abroad, and that due to the lower level of the development of infrastructure and technology, its local goods will be priced out of the market by cheaper Indian goods. Pakistan has also argued that there is no level playing field between the two countries considering that India has liberalized its imports more than Pakistan. Moreover, in contrast to India, which has a large number of companies with net worth above $ 500 million and making it to the list of Fortune 500, Pakistan has only about a dozen business houses with a net worth of more than $ 500 million. India’s business conglomerates like the Indian Oil Corporation, Reliance Industries, Aditya Birla Group and Tata Sons Ltd. have huge turnover as well as operational interests in several countries. There are few Pakistani companies of matching size and reach.

5.4.3 New Areas of Economic Cooperation

Gas is an essential ingredient for economic growth and energy. Economists predict that the 20th century growth was dominated by oil, but gas would dominate the 21st century economy. Pakistan is an important energy transportation corridor between Central Asia, Middle East and South Asia. There is great potential for establishing oil and
gas supply lines between India and Qatar, Iran, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan through the Pakistani corridor.

Project of laying an India-Iran $3.5 billion gas pipeline passing through Pakistan has been negotiated at advanced levels. The deal was expected to be clinched at the Agra summit between Pervez Musharraf and Atal Bihari Vajpayee in July 2001. However, it fell through due Pakistan's intransigent attitude and political differences. This project, if materialized, will pay rich dividends to both India and Pakistan. For India an overland gas pipeline through Pakistan would cost a third of the pipeline under the sea. Overland pipeline will also be more economical to maintain and easier to implement. For allowing this pipeline to pass through its territory and guaranteeing its security, Pakistan could receive $400 million to $750 million in transit fees, apart from gas for its own industry.\textsuperscript{28} India's apprehension that Pakistan might use this pipeline as an economic weapon during a future war to stop the supply of gas and cause damage to Indian industry could be met by effective international guarantees.

Regional or sub-regional cooperation in areas like communication, energy, water resources etc. can also prove beneficial for both India and Pakistan. India can gain from Pakistan in the management of agricultural sector in general, in water resource management, promotion and growth of specific crops like fruit and nuts, cotton, tobacco etc.\textsuperscript{29} Pakistan can also export its surplus electricity to India. The World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have suggested establishment of a power transmission link between Lahore and Amritsar for this purpose.\textsuperscript{30}

What India and Pakistan — and in a wider context the region of South Asia — need is an institutional framework for trade and economic cooperation. Institutionalization will lend continuity and strength to this process. The SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry has not been a very helpful institutional mechanism in this regard. While
SAPTA, under which each SAARC country offered commodities attracting lower import duties, may not lead to major gains for India and Pakistan, SAFTA, which abolishes import duties, could revolutionize the regional trade regime and increase Pakistan's exports to India by about 17%.31

5.4.4 The Settlement of Dispute over Tulbul Navigation Project

One of the irritant in India-Pakistan relations is a dispute over what India calls the Tulbul navigation project and what Pakistan calls the Wullar barrage. The project involves the construction of a 440 feet long barrage on the Jhelum River, downstream of the Wullar Lake at Ningli, 40 kms north of Srinagar to make the river navigable during the lean period between late-October and mid-February. India started constructing the barrage in 1984 in terms of the Indus water treaty which provided that both countries have access to each other's rivers for four distinct purposes: domestic use, agricultural use, restricted use for generation of hydroelectric power through a "run-of-the-river" plant, and non-consumptive use.32 Non- consumptive use includes navigation and other purposes, provided water is returned to the river in undiminished quantity.

The construction of the barrage stopped in 1987 after Pakistan opposed it, arguing that the barrage was not for navigation but storage purposes, and thus constituted a violation of the Indus water treaty, which prohibits both parties from undertaking any man-made obstruction causing change in the volume of the flow of waters. Further, the treaty also specifically bars India, from constructing any storage works on the Western rivers.33 Pakistan has argued that the project will harm its interests in terms of water resources, irrigation and power generation. It also fears that by releasing water from the barrage, India can cause floods in Pakistani Punjab and prevent the movement of its tanks during a war.
Several rounds of talks on this issue have not yielded positive results. A committee of experts from the two sides thrashed out the technical and legal problems in 1991. India agreed to modify the design of the barrage to assuage Pakistan's concerns. It suggested that it would keep 6.2 meters of the barrage ungated with a crest level at EL 1574.90m (5167 ft), and also forgo a storage capacity of 3,00,000 acre feet. In return, the water level in the barrage should be allowed to attain the full operational level of 5177 feet. Pakistan has rejected all the Indian proposals to meet the objections of the Pakistani side. Pakistan added another condition in February 1992 that India should not construct the Kishenganga hydropower-generating unit on the river Neelam, as it affects the Neelam-Jhelum power project in its Punjab province. India has found it difficult to accept this demand.

Though the technical and legal experts can work out a mutually satisfactory agreement on the design of the Wullar barrage, the political differences and a desire not to cooperate have prevented India and Pakistan from accepting a technical settlement. The project is of mutual advantage to both the states and could help them manage water resources more efficiently, control floods and generate hydropower. If India and Pakistan appreciate these economic pay-offs, a relatively simple technical issue like the Tulbul Navigation Project can become an important confidence building measure rather than a bone of contention between them.

5.5 THE CRITIQUE OF NON-MILITARY CBMs

In an environment of skepticism where most people consider it nearly impossible to manage India-Pakistan conflict peacefully, conviction in social, cultural and economic measures to build confidence is bound to invite pessimism and criticism. The critics argue that non-military CBMs count all sorts of actions and interactions in the ambit of
CBMs and dilute the salience and analytical utility of the concept of confidence building. Even if Indians or Pakistanis visit each other for a pilgrimage or for meeting relatives, it can become a non-military CBM! Critics also ask, if all the wished-for collaboration in economic, social, cultural or educational sectors were possible, why would one need CBMs at all? Such multifaceted cooperation is the peak of a cordial and non-conflictual interstate relationship, not of a relationship that is beset with historical, structural and psychological constraints.

When a conflict derives from incompatible strategic goals, it is unlikely that increased understanding and cooperation in non-strategic areas would have an effect on the hard realities of the conflict and contribute to its management and resolution. Where even concerted government efforts and summit meetings have failed, how could a few rallies, slogans, seminars or goodwill visits to 'the other nation' succeed in generating a momentum for peace? Even if the favourable attitudes generated through non-military CBMs have an impact on the nature of the conflict, such impact tend to be indirect, long range and immeasurable.

The advocacy of peoples' approach and civil society initiatives for peace betrays romanticism and conceptual confusion. It does not offer concrete alternatives in terms of ideas and actions. There is little clarity as to how such initiatives by a vertically and horizontally differentiated civil society could transform decades of hostility or positively influence the activities of the politicians, strategists and diplomats. As an editorial in a leading Indian newsmagazine put it, "Peace in the subcontinent has become more of an abstraction wrapped in emotion than a geopolitical expediency...Remember there is no brotherhood of nations, and there has never been....Regional togetherness – as in EU or ASEAN or OIC or the hopeless SAARC – does not translate itself into O-brother bonhomie. National exceptionalism does not dissolve into supranational idealism....India and Pakistan cannot be equal partners, for they are incompatible as nation states....This
incompatibility cannot be repudiated by bombs or the verbal bombast of the peace industry steeped in Partition.  

The advocates of the non-military CBMs tend to interpret India-Pakistan conflict as a government-level conflict, as if the societies of India and Pakistan are dying for peace and brotherhood with each other. Is it that India-Pakistan conflict persists because leaders and elites want it that way? Is there a serious dichotomy in the perceptions of the state and civil society regarding India-Pakistan relations? Such assumptions are very simplistic and ignore the great reservoir of dislike for each other in the subcontinent's social psychology. Election after election has demonstrated that an aggressive stance towards the external enemy fetches more votes than a soft, pacific approach. It is the masses that set the parameters of action by politicians, more so in democratic polities. The cultural commonality on which non-military CBMs harp so much has doubtful value as a confidence-enhancing factor. If such commonality can be supportive of conflict resolution, it can also sometimes act as a hindrance to it. It is easier to make peace or reconcile with those who are emotionally distant than with those who are very intimate. Some commentators also question the value of cultural exchanges between a pluralist and open society like India and a closed and exclusive society of Pakistan.

The critics doubt the efficacy of economic stake building in preventing a military conflict. "Politics divides and economics unites" is a simplistic notion. Prior to Japanese attack on China in 1894, about one fifth of Japan's foreign trade was with China. Yet such heavy economic stake did not prevent the two countries from engaging in a military conflict. Anita Pratap cautions the protagonists of India-Pakistan economic cooperation: "The argument that trade can improve relations is also quite simplistic. Trade, in fact, often aggravates tensions. Pakistan traders can feel cheated and manipulated by Indians. The bania is hated in Nepal, how much more will he be hated in Pakistan? Trade can sour good relations, so the chances of it improving relations between two suspicious and
hostile neighbours are not very bright...instead of optimism, we need a dose of sobering, hard-nosed realism: the primary reason to engage in talks with Pakistan is not to become buddies but to prevent war.\textsuperscript{37}

Non-military CBMs have mostly remained confined so far to sporadic meetings of journalists, intellectuals, retired military persons, artists etc. - many of whom have been socialites, favour seekers and career builders – living in the metropolitan areas. The goodwill generated during peoples’ meetings may prove transitory and unable to withstand patriotic pressures during escalation of tensions. The commitment of the participants in this process has also varied from genuine to casual. A newsmagazine in India comments sarcastically: “Track II-ism, talking shop plus jet lag, has grown so much in size....each one has its own peace mantra, Indo-Pak \textit{bhai bhai} against Indo-Pak \textit{ha ha ha}.”\textsuperscript{38}

Rejecting any role of private parties and Track II personalities (whom he called diplomatic tourists) in the regulation of American-Soviet conflict, President Truman once said, “....until the President of the United States decides what our foreign policy is and says what it is and stays with it, any statements or declarations made by diplomatic tourists serve no useful purpose in our relations with the Communist world. I would caution some of our well-meaning, self-appointed, self-assumed peace makers to be careful lest they forget, in their ardor, that the President makes foreign policy and they may inadvertently lend themselves to the propaganda purposes of our adversaries.”\textsuperscript{39} The realists and statists echo more or less similar sentiments for the Tack II and Track III process to resolve India-Pakistan conflict. They find the logic of non-military CBMs illusory and self-serving. J.N.Dixit, for instance, dismisses Track II as a great opportunity for its participants to expand their networking capacity and a good opportunity to travel abroad, which otherwise you cannot afford.\textsuperscript{40}
The realists also have a jibe at the think tanks, which have mushroomed in the last few years in the name of people to people contacts and Track II. Harinder Baweja writes, "...over there punditry emanating from places like the Brookings Institution and the Rand Corporation can change the climate at Foggy Bottom....the wisdom of a Henry Kissinger or a Samuel Huntington or a Francis Fukuyama has a life outside printed pages. Here think tanks are an employment exchange for the retired and the academically challenged....Indo-Pak brotherhood is their main oxygen sources."  

Notwithstanding the realists' harsh critique of non-military CBMs, the value of extensive and intensive contacts at social, cultural and economic levels between India and Pakistan cannot be denied. The process of non-military confidence building and people to people contacts is slow, difficult and incremental. It does not give instant, spectacular, tangible or measurable outcomes. By fostering sustained exchanges in trade, education, science, and culture and creating stakes in pursuing a peace process, non-military CBMs contribute to the improvement of the environment in which the issues of a conflict are negotiated. If India and Pakistan persist with such exchanges for a fairly long time without bureaucratic and official hurdles, it can significantly alter the perceptual blockages that aggravate tensions between them and push them from one crisis to another. Also, the process of cooperation at non-military levels between India and Pakistan needs to be institutionalized in such a way that it continues independently governmental support and even in times of political crises.
ENDNOTES


3 Moonis Ahmar, *The Road to Peace in South Asia: Relevance and Irrelevance of Middle East Experience* (Karachi: Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, 1999), p. 51.


9 Stephen Cohen, *The Structural Dimensions of Conflict in South Asia* (Colombo: RCSS, 1997), p. 17. See also, Bharat Karnad, “Key to Confidence Building in


12 Ibid.


18 Elliot L. Tepper, “CBMs and the Role of the SAARC” in Dipankar Banerjee (ed.), *Confidence Building Measures in South Asia* (Colombo: Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, 1999), p.109.


23 Ibid., p. 230.

24 Ibid., p. 229.


See Appendix I for the full text of the Indus Water Treaty.


40 Harinder Baweja, *op. cit.*