

# **INDIA-PAKISTAN CONFERENCE:**

## **A ROAD MAP TOWARDS PEACE**

10<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> January, 2010, New Delhi, India

### **THE INAUGURAL SESSION**

#### **KULDIP NAYAR**

The partition of India is not something that can be analysed or discussed since it invokes memories that are mostly painful and the same can be said about India-Pakistan relations. The course of India Pak relations has never run smooth. Kashmir has been the biggest thorn in the flesh of Indo-Pak relations and the narrow vision of political leaders and bureaucrats on both sides seeking immediate political gains has only widened it. Following the 'keep-them-divided' foreign powers have only contributed in keeping the two countries preserving their spheres of influence and 'areas of interest' maintaining the so called 'balance of power' in the region. Lack of leaders of stature like Jinnah, Gandhi and Nehru has also contributed to worsening of the relations. If Gandhi and Jinnah had been alive the relations might have been better. But the problems run deeper than just Kashmir as Nehru pointed out that 'Kashmir is only a symptom of a disease and the disease is the hatred of India'. Conference like this will strengthen bonds between the people away from the battle fields of politics, terrorism and fundamentalism. The subcontinent can carve out its own destiny if the foreign powers let it do so and the two nations are allowed to look within, not without. Normalisation is the most important factor in this relation. It may even help the cause of democracy in Pakistan and also strengthen India's secularism because anti-Pakistan feelings turn into anti-Muslim feelings if one keeps harping on the partition sentiments.

Kashmir is not an unsolvable problem. It needs mutual cooperation, understanding and accommodation. Trade and commerce, communication and transport and people -to -people contact are required to mitigate the mistrust. Terrorism should be handled jointly and there is no option but to abandon war or such thinking since there is no alternative to peace.

### **SESSION I: A ROADMAP TOWARDS PEACE**

#### **ADMIRAL L RAMDAS**

Previously, there have been many such events and now we stand in a position to question this situation and find answers to what exactly went wrong in the past and what are the posed

challenges for India and Pakistan. It is significant to know the positions that our respective governments hold both being a democracy. There is distrust among the two governments which is definitely a misfortune for the bilateral relations. Therefore there should be a beginning of trust and belief among the people and the current generation should not be held guilty based on the past horrors and prejudices. Though India has tried to conceal the relations very hard, something negative happens and pulls the carpet underneath the developments made till any point of time. Another major problem is that of terrorism or extremism which never benefits anybody and needs to be dealt with great concern. Now the question lies in every mind how do we exactly bring back the circle to a stage of mutual cooperation and trust? There is a hope that one day the headlines will talk about peace breaking between India and Pakistan and not a war. Kashmir is another extremely crucial area of conflict for both the countries. There is a need to change the Siachin situation which is such a beautiful place on earth. A brand new chart should be drafted and the troops should be taken back from the glaciers of Siachin. There should be joint patrolling of the region by both India and Pakistan. Also, the third parties should not be allowed to interfere or fiddle with the bilateral ties of these two extremely sensitive countries. People to people contact should be increased and government should be pressurized through peaceful demonstration. One should always remember that peace and justice can never be separated.

### **MANI SHANKAR AIYAR**

It is the government's role to make war or peace with any nation. It is an irony to know that India has excellent relations with Paraguay but not with Pakistan which is the country's immediate neighbour. Intermittently, there are talks with Pakistan when it is least required and on a contrary no talks happen when it is truly important. The diplomatic dance between India and Pakistan has been going on for years and it always happens that if India takes one step forward it has to take two steps backward later for certain. This has been the greatest deterrent in Indo-Pak relations till today. It was a gross mistake on India's part to enter the nuclear weapon race which automatically instigated Pakistan to become a nuclear power. One must remember that the world's greatest human tragedies are not calculative but accidental in nature. For instance, the First World War was not a planned war but occurred due to the blind love of Archduke Ferdinand with his wife. The fact is that nothing can prevent a war. We have been dealing with the mechanics for years and not exactly looking for solutions to the existing problems. There should be uninterrupted intergovernmental dialogues on a priority basis. There are many hostile elements which play a negative and destructive role and become a factor in the occurring of wrong things. Terrorism is one of the significant issues which need government attention to find a solution. Since 26/11 things have got worse with India Pakistan bilateral relations. As a solution the Wagah-Atari border should be opened for round table talks so that the delegates from both the country can meet without leaving their respective countries and discuss important issues. Replicating the way the Americans and the Vietnamese delegations met every Thursday in Hotel Majestic during the Vietnam War. The India Pakistan border talks should include mutual issues of concern and grievance in the discourse. There should be a single interlocutor rather than eight to ten dignitaries of equal stature discussing the problem. It is a hope that once such dialogue is permitted a solution to

every existing problem in the bilateral relations will be reached as both nations understand each other due to shared cultural and historical ties.

### **MEHBOOBA MUFTI**

At this juncture of India Pakistan relations the leadership of each country should take charge and try and experiment with the presence of a youthful leadership to move away from the beaten track. A stable Pakistan is in the interest of India as well or else Kashmir might become the worst example of a splintered region. Currently people of Pakistan are united and perhaps this is the opportune moment for India to initiate peace talks. This conference should serve its purpose and commence a dialogue between the two nations if possible. Post 26/11 it is important to understand that any terrorist attack has a goal to sabotage a dialogue as they know that there is no substitute for a dialogue to find solutions. Kashmir has become a very crucial key word for both the countries. India is a large country and it can hold over Kashmir through applying military and paramilitary forces, but a lot depends on what route it applies. The whole world is changing with the very recent fall of the Berlin Wall and so is Kashmir. There is a need of a result oriented joint dialogue between India and Pakistan. The people of Kashmir seek freedom in every sense from mental, emotional, economic and political cease. Democracy in the region should aim to go beyond the process of voting and joint councils should be established between both the Kashmirs. The water problems of Kashmir should also be resolved and the strategic location of the region should be enough to transform it into an economic free trade zone in future.

### **AITZAZ AHSAN**

South Asia is replete with numerous problems which are enormous in their nature. Mercifully India and Pakistan has not fought many wars but on a contrary are always ready for a war. The defence budget clearly displays the eagerness to start a war among the countries on any issue of conflict. India is simply incredible and has the potentials to rise among the world powers. But India as a nation has many boulders attached to it in the form of disturbed neighbourhood like Pakistan. Pakistan has always endorsed passionate support and love for India as well showcased in many of the most intense cricket matches held at Lahore where Pakistani's have celebrated the Indian victory. The peace process must go on and a dialogue should be reached by the two governments. It is also important to recognize the problems that exist in the horizon. Water can be the next cause of contention if not handled seriously. India is a great country because of its diversity and plurality. But even then sometimes Indian system breaks down to the incidents such as the Babri Masjid demolition, Godhra and Punjab. Similarly, the Kishan-Ganga Dam issue can rise as a serious bone of contention between India and Pakistan further aggravating the whole situation in Kashmir. Terrorism on the other hand is a common enemy and Pakistan also wept with Mumbai during 26/11 as it was actually a South Asian grief. But to halt dialogues and other consortiums is not the solution for improvising India Pakistan ties. India should also recognize the native sleepers who accomplice the Pakistani's and punish the guilty instead of playing a blame game. The two nations should open up markets for both the consumers to freely extract the benefit from mutual manufacturing sector without any policy of reciprocation. There should be a common

body with specified curriculum to deal with problematic issues. Both the nations should embrace and include their minorities as any incident like Gujarat leaves a scar on the psyche of the people which later instigate incidents such as 26/11. The countries should urge and create an atmosphere to bring down the defence budget as even a five percent cut can save up to billions of dollars annually. Media being a significant factor should strive to facilitate friendship and cooperation and telecast minimal message of hate. The 'Aman Ki Asha' initiative by both countries media is truly commendable. Pakistan is a South Asian Muslim state and not a Middle Eastern territory. Henceforth, India and Pakistan share similar aspirations and dreams which should be made a reality in years to come.

### **COMMENTS**

- Aspirations of the people of Kashmir as India's integral part of discourse
- Rule of law, separation of power etc. As supporters of Indian democracy
- Free judiciary has been proactive to what extent in Pakistan
- Peace movement and civil society
- The governments can or cannot be pressurized
- Recognition of the vested interests of India and Pakistan in Kashmir
- A contradiction between open talks and back channel diplomatic dialogues
- Simulations on the India Pakistan doom's day scenario
- Reduction of defence expenditure and united stated military aid contradiction for Pakistan.
- The results of the suggestions about border talks made earlier to the governments.
- Issue of minority rights

### **RESPONSE**

- It is extremely difficult to get governments moving towards any cooperative dialogue or a composite dialogue. Also, not any place can be recognized where diplomacy takes place.
- The system is neither opaque nor translucent. The media faces a serious attention problem syndrome.
- The meaning of freedom or independence has different connotations in Kashmir and after every war between India and Pakistan the security goes up.

- The judicial phenomenon is important for Pakistan as the country has fought for it unlike India which had it since the very beginning.
- The nuclear war is not a welcome development and its effects hold strange kind of thinking among the people of the both nations.
- Morality is one of crucial factors in formulating the foreign policy or any other policy of the government.
- In terms of minority rights enormous amounts of work has been done by various organizations. The movement towards secularism and a secular society has been well propagated and the Sachchar Committee Report is a masterpiece in this regard.

## **SESSION II: PEACE AND SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA**

### **KAMAL MITRA CHENYOY**

The problems of South Asia are vast and India has a huge responsibility since it is a large state that is nuclear and contending to be a great power. But its foreign policy is not welfare oriented. The contesting notions of nationalism, where one is secular and the other upholds that Muslim majority should live in Kashmir, do not help the cause of Kashmir either. Two-stage democracy in Kashmir is also not conducive for the cause of common people since in the first stage, people are allowed to participate by voting and in the second stage only the elected party negotiates. Also, local people in the valley face alienation, rigging and constant military rule which foment insurgency and in Kashmir the 'Rule of Law' does not hold. When democratic dissent is suppressed it will show in other ways.

Article 370 should be reinstated and there should be soft border between the two Kashmirs to enable the people to interact freely in trade, commerce and currency. The centre can look after defence and foreign affairs. A.G. Noorani's suggestion is valuable in this regard that there should be a tribunal to redress grievances regarding violations of agreements, constitutional guarantees and human rights and to solve the disputes between the two Kashmirs. Self rule for the people of Kashmir is a must and India cannot make Kashmir a vessel state. Kashmir is not a military problem and the political leadership has to prove its secular credentials to ensure that the oppression of this Muslim majority state is mitigated. Only self determination can guarantee welfare of the people and this should be the basis of India's national interest. South Asia needs an economic, political, moral and cultural agreement and hence 'culture of the gun' should be replaced as it foments patriarchy and oppresses the marginalised. Emulating the foreign policy ideals of Nehru and Gandhian values should be our motive as Rousseau said that 'no people who oppress the others can themselves be free'.

## **IQBAL HAIDER**

To achieve peace, war is not an option. The Siachin war is a senseless and lunatic war in the history of universe since it is destroying the reservoirs of water for our future generations. Armies of the two countries must withdraw from the glaciers to save water. The other issue is terrorism due to which Pakistan is bleeding profusely. Those in India who are cynical about engaging with a crisis ridden Pakistan must understand that if the terrorist forces succeed in breaking Pakistan, they will spill over to India. Since the two countries have suffered hugely at the hands of the terrorists they should come together at all costs to defeat them.

On the issue of Kashmir, flexibility is needed by both the governments. Free media is a prerequisite to mitigate the resentment in the people and the governments. Like Palestine the road map for peace should contain three concrete phases i.e. the open borders, visa on arrival and open markets. The civil society initiative in Pakistan for 'unity for peace' held rallies across fifty cities showcasing the burning desire of the people to uphold the principle of peace. Both Pakistan and India have common enemy in the barbaric, inhuman terrorists. The civilian or the military leaders on both the sides need to observe restraint in making threatening speeches as it only bolsters the confidence of the extremists and hinders the peace initiatives. Lastly, a nuclear weapons free South Asia is need of the hour.

## **SALMAN HAIDER**

The road map for peace already exists but it has been imposed from outside. Although there have been various sequential events pushing for agreements, in any such talks, the unresolved agenda of Kashmir has been the top most. To bring a host of other issues in a concrete framework, continuous dialogue is required. Kashmir being a core issue in the bilateral relations needs 'out of the box' thinking. There has already been a positive change in this as permeability has increased and translucency of ideas has appeared. Though it is the governments that agree upon concrete frameworks yet the value of civil society interaction is no less since these facilitate cross LOC (Line of Control) movements. These help to advance in the direction of 'open borders'. There are certain tangible ideas emerging, the task is to materialise them. This can be achieved by encouraging and persuading the governments rather than pressurizing (which would only push the governments towards resisting the ideas) them. The time has come to capture these signs of change and lower the incidence of suspicion and institutional hostility. Voluntary organisation contributed a lot to persuade and the ceasefire in Kashmir has made things easy. On the negative side, insurgencies have not ceased. Even then, these have not escalated tension. The civil society must capitalise on this opportune moment to further the peace process.

## **A. H. NAYAR**

India-Pakistan relations cannot be analysed in isolation since it is an issue spanning a substantial part of South Asia. The problem of terrorism is affecting the whole subcontinent badly. Terrorists have prospered since some components of state in Pakistan have helped them and we are not sure whether they have stopped their help. There is no surety of the fact

either that the Indian state is free of terrorist element. But it is also true that Pakistan is suffering badly and the whole society is in an extremely perturbed stage.

The uppermost requirement is demilitarisation of the border to foster an environment of peace conducive for peoples' welfare. A military build up on the Indian side and an increase in the defence expenditure compels Pakistan to emulate India even though it cannot afford thus pushing it to acquire nuclear weapons. There is a very palpable danger of nuclear conflict in South Asia that hinders any peace initiative.

## **COMMENTS**

- It is laudable that India and Pakistan are coming together but still a concrete roadmap for peace is not visible.
- Support for the peace process by army leadership, political representatives and civil society in India and Pakistan.
- The question of nuclear disarmaments is separate from other host of issues.
- Increment in defence expenditure also indicates suppression of civil society in the two countries.
- In India, the stray statements by the army personnel hold no value when it comes to taking a real stock of relations between the two countries. In case of Pakistan they may be true as military is one of the centres of power among many others.
- There shall be a website/ blog maintained by the civil society to mitigate the perceived threats and suspicion generated by such statements.
- Kashmir's hydropower potentially grossly underdeveloped due to faulty Indus Water Agreement.
- The conference should act as a bridge connecting the civil society with both the people and the governments.
- Restoration of Bradley Hall in Lahore as a heritage building.

## **RESPONSE**

- India's nuclear build up is not just vis-a-vis Pakistan but also China since the only war in which India has been defeated was with China.
- The confidence building measures on Kashmir depend on the strength of the democratic processes.
- Specifics of India-Pakistan agreements become a hostage to over all conditions within the two countries.
- Old processes of peace -building should be continued and new vistas of cooperation shall be opened.
- A study group should be formed to study the issue of hydropower generation in Kashmir dealing with lack of transparency in the Indus Water treaty.

## **INDIA PAKISTAN PEACE CONFERENCE**

### **DAY 2**

#### **SESSION I: MULTICULTURALISM AND FEDERALISM IN SOUTH ASIA**

##### **NEERA CHANDOK**

There is a need to locate the whole theme of pluralism and federalism in India-Pakistan relations. Principle of self determination plays a significant role. Historically, Woodrow Wilson came up with the grand idea or concept of national self determination during the time of League of Nations. Which was actually refuted and not accepted by the League of Nations and Woodrow Wilson was wrong in his assessment. The whole notion of ethno-nationalism then gradually gained significance. The United Nations has included the concept of self determination but the element of people is absent from the concept. Bangladesh has been by far the only successful case of secession. The concept of nation itself is problematic. Various efforts to create nations based on languages, ethnicity such as Sri Lanka has proved politically suicidal. Creating a nation state has its own problems. States need to be democratic, should have an independent judiciary, informed media, rule of law etc. There is a requirement to be open to other traditions to be able to provide a self critique. Monoculturalism is not the option but a plural society is a possibility. A plural society can provide a platform to move beyond a state and aim for a South Asian regional community where meetings can be held based on humanitarian grounds. Ethno federalism can provide the same kinds of rights to people who are deprived of any role in the centre decision making process. For instance, Spain as a nation deals with the regional elite in Catalonia. Even India Pakistan should cooperate and search for a new framework altogether. Other examples from the world includes nations like, Greenland, Luxemburg, who have fought for autonomy. The debate on ethno federalism remains inconclusive as it has the natural propensity to breakdown.

##### **BIZENJO HASIL KHAN**

Historically the rulers of India and Pakistan have been much better than the subcontinent's political leaders. Even political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Jinnah were great visionaries. The partition of the subcontinent was not actually the Asian need but the fruition of the American political ambitions. Multiculturalism is widespread in this part of the globe. From India to turkey we find such societies. In India particularly it can be experienced from the state of Telangana to Mizoram. It is a major South Asia problem which needs to be resolved and a lot depends on what means these states want to use to reach this aim. One should always remember the birth of Pakistan or Bangladesh has been over thousand of dead bodies and gross bloodshed. The new world is also involved in a new war of resources. India is aligning with the potentially great and strong powers like that of China and United States. It is also a matter of concern that today South Asia is engulfed with the

presence of world's largest armed forces in several conflicting territories. There can be a dream to have one bloc with China, India, Pakistan and Afghanistan together. Energy is also one of the important resources in Baluchistan currently. There have been multinational companies competing in Baluchistan as it is world's largest reserves of gold and copper which is mostly being traded to Chile and Australia. There should no mindset of being a nuclear power among nation and no arms race should be in agenda. China being an integral part of Asia should be made an active part of the discourse between India and Pakistan. South Asia should try and form one unit and must remember that any war is not a solution and nobody wins or loose but die in it.

### **MALIK SIRAJ AKBAR**

There are many misconceptions and misinformation regarding Baluchistan in the first place. There are many facts that are required to be known by the world. Baluchistan as a state is a much older entity than Pakistan. The important question is that what Pakistan will do without the presence of Baluchistan. The statistics shows about 46 percent of land in Pakistan is covered by Baluchistan. It is a region which is highly rich in resources though economically backward. Natural gas was discovered in 1951 and since then it has been the major source of the successful working of the Pakistani industries. The question here lies that why Pakistani identity should be enforced on Baluchistan's who should be actually given autonomy.

## **SESSION II: ISSUE OF AUTONOMY: KASHMIR**

### **RAJENDRA SACHCHAR**

Indo-Pak relations have inbuilt tensions since its inception. In 1947 the whole problem started with issue of Kashmir being a part of India. There were many discussions between Indian maharaja and Rashid in terms of accession of Kashmir. Either Kashmir could have been a part of India or Pakistan. There was an absence of a third choice for the maharaja. Now it is just not a possibility for India or Pakistan to solve this problem mutually and walk out Kashmir on peaceful negotiations.

### **YASIN MALIK**

Since the partition of India Kashmir has always encountered conflict with almost three generations being punished till now. India and Pakistan should understand that Kashmiri people are not selling objects that can be sold at any shop. Kashmiri people the natives have no history at all of any violence. It is a shame to experience a lack of space for any kind of peaceful democratic and non violent peace process in the land of Mahatma Gandhi. By 1992 Kashmiri people were actually forced to sought violence as a measure and propagate an armed struggle. But later they even decided to go for a unilateral ceasefire which was a crude decision. Again during the 'Amaranth Yatra' incident the Kashmiri people were providing hospitality to the pilgrims and no instance of violence was reported by them. It has been 62

years that the two governments of India and Pakistan are suggesting the peace process or dialogue must go on but they should consider the sentiments of the suffering Kashmiri people and find a solution to it. There is an urgent need to solve the Kashmir conflict before the fourth generation also experiences the same environment of conflict and chaos. The leaders of both India and Pakistan are competing among themselves for their individual stakes in Kashmir. The surveys done by BBC, NY Times, India Today, Outlook etc very well proves the fact that the majority people of Kashmir want autonomy or complete independence. Kashmir is ready to accommodate the genuine concerns of both India and Pakistan but they should also understand the aspirations of the native Kashmiri also. The leading parties of both India and Pakistan should start a joint coalition committee in Kashmir and come up with a common goal. The blame game played by both the governments should be ended as the only sufferers or victims are the local Kashmiri people. Public level peace constituency should be established so that the situations do not force them to take the violent path again. Media which has become even stronger than the state nowadays should be responsible to play a constructive role rather than a destructive one. As far as the issue of Kashmiri pundits is concerned they constitute a class but not a community.

### **SAJJAD LONE**

Both India and Pakistan have been playing the game for a very long time with the critical issue of Kashmir. The two nations should realize that such extreme positions in case of Kashmir will never help to resolve the problem. Both have a strong army clout and are proclaimed nuclear powers making the situation even worse. Deteriorating relations between India and Pakistan is proving detrimental for Kashmir as a splintered region. A convergence between India and Pakistan should be reached and the hypothetical model of independence should be followed for the Kashmir issue. Though majority of Kashmiri people are in favour of complete autonomy, there exists a variance in local sentiments on ground reality. Like the India-Nepal relations the people of Kashmir should be provided similar rights by both nations. The concepts of autonomy and self rule talk about establishing a power sharing structure. Autonomy and devolution have different connotations in regards with Kashmir. The traditional subjects of defence, foreign currency and foreign affairs should remain with the state and the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. Economic sovereignty also plays a significant role for the state of Kashmir. The obvious question arises about how to unite these two nations for the welfare of Kashmir. Though quite utopian but the idea of creating a bilateral economic union through trade could be possible. A dialogue should aim towards evolving concepts of sovereignty. The economic initiative should be propagated as a crucial cross border agenda. Currently issues of climate change are also extremely important for the two nations of South Asia and demands pressing attention. Demarcation of Kashmir will also result in natural and ecological imbalance and problems. India and Pakistan should take the example of Northern Ireland in terms of perseverance as despite of several failures the country provides us many models to learn and emulate from for handling the sensitive issue of Kashmir.

## **COMMENTS**

- The Kashmiri pundits as the victims in the conflict.
- Strategic location of Kashmir and the vested interests of both India and Pakistan
- Governor rule in Gilgit Balkistan and Pakistan's plan to annexe
- Pakistan's double standards need to be abandoned.
- Changing of names of Hindu places in Pakistan to Muslim
- Majority population is Muslim in Kashmir

## **RESPONSE**

- The relation with Kashmiri pundits have been revived successfully and one needs to update their facts regarding the same.
- There has been no change of names of any Hindu place, monument or mountains. These misconceptions need to be clarified.

## **SESSION III - CLIMATE CHANGE AND ITS IMPACT ON INDO-PAK RELATIONS**

### **LALITA RAMDAS**

To avert the environmental crisis, a completely new architecture of cooperation is needed in the India-Pakistan subcontinent. If the political leadership is unwilling it is the task of peoples' group to ensure it because if it is given up then all the other agendas become meaningless. It is a false charge that environment activists neglect the ground realities of abject human conditions because ecology is not just about water, land and environment but also includes human beings. Climate sceptics belittle all scientific findings whereas scientific facts provided by the Inter Governmental Panel of Climate Change (IPCC) Report specifically refer to South Asia where water, eco systems, agriculture, forests, coastal areas, settlements, industry, fisheries and health are endangered components. All the major rivers in the India-Pakistan region are rain fed and monsoonal disturbances could wreck havoc with these countries. The shrinking of glaciers (from 5000 km to 100 km by 2035) at a catastrophic rate would be the major cause.

Hence India and Pakistan have an agenda cut out for them, that of exploring new field of cooperation. An endangered environment has provided new opportunities to the people of the subcontinent to come together and change their otherwise collectively doomed destiny due to

climate change. Koran and Vedas all quote the eternity of rivers and highlight the essence of water in the human being. It is up to us to avert the imminent crisis that this precious commodity faces. This is to be achieved by collective effort by Pakistan and India where the new solutions found would add to the peace dividend.

### **ABID SULERI**

Some of the dimensions of climate change are pressure on natural resources due to high population growth, disturbances in the Monsoonal cycle, sea water intrusion, glacial melting, floods and drought, interventionist trade- effects of dumping and the cascading effects like seasonal extremes, variations and rise in temperature.

The IPCC Report has highlighted the most important fact that human activities are responsible for climate change and hence focus should not only be on science but to move towards socio-economic issues as well. Natural calamities are unavoidable, however right policies (human activities) may stop natural calamities turning to human tragedies. Policy led vulnerabilities reduce our resilience to Climate Change. A case study depicting climate change is the Siachin Glaciers. It is planet's second largest glacier apart from the polar caps and is also world's highest battle ground (6000 m above sea level) where 30,000 troops are deployed. It is also going to be the world's filthiest glacier. The Siachin is retreating at the rate of 110 meter per year. The extraordinary melting of Siachin and other major tributary glaciers is caused by human activities. It has not only led to formations of glacial lakes and snow hole, but is responsible for destructive snow avalanches on both side of Saltoro ridge. Indian Army base Camp-1 Near Nubra River, with functional airport, activities like dropping troops and melting ice by helicopters, cutting the ice at Kumar base, heavy traffic at Manali – Leh road; all have led to the deterioration of glacier' ecology. On the Pakistani side the story is the same as glacial lakes have either contributed to flood, draught or totally disappeared.

South Asia is world's poorest region being home to 40 % of the worlds poor. Over 600 million people are below the poverty line. It is world's most illiterate region and is home to half of all illiterates in the world. Here, more children are out of school than the rest of the world, combined and two-thirds of these are female. It is the most militarized place on earth with two declared nuclear powers. These statistics reveal the failure of any welfare scheme that has been taken so far.

Pakistan bought three Agosta 90B submarines from France for \$ 1 billion: for this amount (for one year) primary education for all 17 million children now not enrolled could be achieved; safe drinking water for 67 million people without clean water could be arranged; family planning services for 9 million couples could be achieved. Similarly, India bought modern jetfighters worth \$ 4.5 Billion: for this amount, (for one year): primary education for all 45 million children now not enrolled could be achieved; safe drinking water for 226 million people without clean water could be provided and essential medicines for 135 million people with no health facilities could be arranged. Hence, priority setting through policy ensuring the interconnected concepts of individual, national, regional and global security is required. Climate Change issues are a security threat rather than merely an environmental

concern. It can be competed through reducing the vulnerabilities of people. Hence, road map for peace should be a “no-regrets” approach including reduction in defence budget to spend more on welfare programmes, declaration of Siachin as a peace park and a joint monitoring of glacier; a focus on the poor (the most vulnerable, who have limited resources, and their assets and livelihoods are tied to climate-sensitive factors of production) and lastly, investment in knowledge.

### **VANDANA SHIVA**

Environment ministry has just announced that there is no retreat of Siachin. Hence there is a gross misrepresentation of facts due to vested interests and large manipulation of data is being done. There have been reports of hacking systems of IPCC to manipulate the reports as well. Knowledge monopoly is very dangerous so peoples’ organisations have to come forward for participatory research. There have been facts that have escaped the attention of the people totally, like the disappearance of an entire village in Himalayan region due to flood. The anomaly of flood and draught occurring simultaneously has left people puzzled. The true facts need to be presented through scientific explorations and research. The report ‘Climate Change of the Third Pole’ is a step in that direction. State research cannot be transparent because it reflects security calculus as well. A startling fact is that 70% of the Himalayan streams have disappeared and hence planning for mitigation and adaptation is required. People at ground level have started doing that. Military conflicts need to be sidestepped since one of the future agendas of conflict would be water.

To mitigate this crisis, practices triggering environmental degradation need to be shunned. One of these is monoculture package of chemical agriculture. Basmati bio-piracy and other such issues need to be checked. Seed-sharing across the borders could be one of the joint ventures. People have to make an effort to reclaim knowledge for the cause of peace. If climate change is a force that breaks globalisation then a bio region should be evolved to work upon peoples’ trade, community’s trade and commerce. The best way to utilise the opportunity provided by climate change (of that of bringing people together in India-Pakistan region) is to shift identity politics to bio regional politics.

### **FAROOQ TARIQ**

Water is a common issue. It is not an individual cause. Governments after governments in Pakistan and India have failed to provide basic civic facilities to people like education, industrial opportunity and infrastructure among others. To hide that, the leaders harp on issues of ecology. But their concerns are short term. The Indus Water Treaty which has been faulty since the beginning is one such example. Since the water resources are depleting, the injustices of that water treaty manifest themselves with renewed galore. The dictatorial leadership of Pakistan did not pay heed to the unjust nature of this treaty then being devised. Now the scarcity of water may even propel the two countries towards war if the crisis is not averted. Need of the hour is to negotiate the injustices in the treaty so that the solution is acceptable to both the sides. For this independent water policies need to be evolved instead of just the ones that International Monetary Fund and the World Bank dictate. Water

infrastructure that is very poor needs to be developed in both the countries. All these provide excellent opportunities of cooperation, only a broader perspective is required. New ideas, new cultures of cooperation and new perspectives are the key to this.

### **AMB. CHANDRASHEKHAR DASGUPTA**

The Twenty First century has been a paradigm shift in the sense that abject poverty has been reducing. By the end of this century, in Asia also mass poverty would have reduced albeit individual poverty may still be manifest. The positive outcome is possible only when there is a collective human endeavour to surmount the menace of climate change and global warming. It needs cooperation since climate change recognises no international boundaries. It is an issue confronting the whole humanity. India and Pakistan can join hands due to these factors. The signs of climate change include increase in temperature, irregularities in Monsoon, melting of glaciers etc.

The areas needing cooperation are joint studies (precisely sub-regional in nature) on the impact of climate change, joint ventures in glaciology, data sharing because contested information is available all around, climatology itself with special emphasis on climate change, shared adaptation and mitigation mechanism to reduce Green House Gases' emission. One needs to learn from experiences of sea level rise, extreme weather conditions, water scarcity in many areas like Ran of Kachch etc. The national interests of both India and Pakistan are identical on the issue of climate change hence cooperation in international negotiations is easy. The objective of India-Pakistan peace initiative is laudable but both peace and cooperation are required, just peace is not enough.

### **COMMENTS**

- Revival of water bodies through conservation, uplifting of water aquifers and watershed management.
- Rainwater harvesting, ground water replenishment, planting trees and such other activities should be encouraged by the governments by giving incentives.
- Injustices of Indus Water Treaty need to be looked into and the matter needs to be resettled.
- Traffic along Karakoram highway should be controlled as it is affecting the ecology of the area.
- Indus Water Treaty is a sub-optimal treaty and Indus Water Treaty II is required. This would encourage the two countries to explore new vistas of cooperation and help them move towards 'shared sovereignty' as the new framework of peace and cooperation.
- The issue of awareness of farmers about the genetically engineered crops is significant.
- The attitude of European Union (EU) towards accepting India-Pakistan Peace initiatives and their shared agenda on climate change.

## **RESPONSES**

- Revision of water treaty needed not because India has violated any terms but because the base line figure needs revision due to global warming and also bad policy practices.
- The farmers are aware to the level the information reaches them. In this regard, it is the state+ corporation versus the people and hence civil society initiatives need to work towards the proliferation of information about genetically engineered crops and their dangers.
- There is a disconnect between human welfare and the development goals. Development needs should be shaped around gross human welfare as has been done by countries like Bhutan.
- Organic farming should be popularised.
- The EU is extremely supportive of peace between India-Pakistan and not so much of their shared agenda on climate.
- Information sharing is important to negotiate the Indus water Treaty.
- Capitalism is incompatible with ecological sustainability.
- Renewable resources need to be explored and there is a need to device the 'vulnerability' index.
- All-round cooperation by various agencies such as people, security establishments and the governments is required.

## **SESSION IV - TRADE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF PEACE**

### **MUCHKUND DUBEY**

Trade has multiple positive effects as it helps in process of development, leads to restructuring of economy in ideal manner by phasing out incompetent industries and evolving optimal structures. It also becomes an instrument of peace between people. The present situation of trade between India and Pakistan is optimistic even though the two countries do not trade much (they trade far below their capabilities). The trade between the two has been increasing constantly but the problems persist due to many reasons. India maintains a high tariff than Pakistan, within the framework of Most Favoured Nation (MFN) this needs to be negotiated. There are fears that if Pakistan opens itself to Indian goods, it will be swamped and there may even be decentralisation. But these are baseless fears as it is the developed countries that have done more harm to the markets of developing countries like Pakistan and India.

As far as the disappearance of certain industries is considered, some of the incompetent ones can be sacrificed as it is the 'rule of survival' of the competent ones. Restoration of normal relations between the two countries is the first prerequisite to burgeoning trade and regional

integration in South Asia because it helps in strategic negotiation with other countries and opens access to vast markets. The MFN principle should be restored. Even in static framework if trade is continued, by 2020 it will be close to \$20 billion. If it is dynamic then sky would be the limit.

### **RAVI WIG**

It is true that earlier there was less trade and now there is more because liberalisation has opened borders on both the sides. It is ironical that the two countries looked outside but not towards each other. Because of the continuing animosity between the two, there have been distortions in the framework of MFN scheme. An example of this is the dual policies of Pakistan, one for India and the other for the rest of the world. Trade will happen only when both sides cooperate equally. The government should investigate and help the business chambers in India to identify the items that could be exported from Pakistan. Trade Expos and Trade Fairs should be held across cities in both India and Pakistan. The Wagah border needs to be opened to reduce distances and enhance cost effectiveness. Construction projects can be taken up jointly as the two countries have complementary advantages in this area. Transit facilities, technology transfers, banking facilities, product standardisation and business visa facilities are the other areas that can be jointly explored by the two countries. Lastly, trade is a temporary love affair whereas joint venture is a marriage that brings stability between the two partners. What India and Pakistan need is a marriage alliance to foment long lasting stability.

### **S. AKBAR ZAIDI**

History tells that trade is not necessarily an instrument of peace in the context of India-Pakistan relations. Trade and peace may co-exist and if peace is there then trade will be there but vice versa does not hold true. Trade has always been continuous between India and Pakistan except between 1965-72 but peace has been elusive. India has also emerged as the fourth largest trading partner of Pakistan despite the two having a history of many wars and severe visa problems. One needs to keep the idea of peace separate from trade. Owing to changes in regimes on both the sides, encouragement to trade has been lacking, yet in times of scarcity of any essential commodity, the two turn to each other readily. The nature of trade therefore, is strange and defies the logic of standard international theories.

Trade between the two countries benefits Pakistan more since India is larger in terms of export and import capacity. There have been a number of studies in Pakistan underlining this fact. Pakistan imports large volume of raw material from India. Although it could trade with other countries to fulfil this demand, the cost effective analysis favours trade with India. Hence there is a huge lobby in Pakistan that champions the cause of Pakistan-India trade. There is a need to understand that Pakistan is more dependent on India. Though the peace process does not entirely depend on trade, the latter may facilitate it. For this, keeping in mind the difference between the capabilities of the two countries, India should open its borders for Pakistan unilaterally. Pakistan may not be able to reciprocate at the moment

because of 'swamping fears' (which is unlikely to happen as China has already swamped the Pakistani markets), nevertheless this would help the cause of peace.

## **COMMENTS**

- Economic cooperation will be most important peace building measure as it helps in stake creation.
- Introduction of gender dimension while analysing trade and its various components is very important. Only then a South Asian trading community can be visualised as women are the prominent workers in this region.
- The possibility of South Asian Free Trade Area needs to be explored even if peace and trade are two separate agendas.
- Vested interests behind the continued impasse over the opening of Wagah border.
- Visa facilitation process to be initiated by Indian for visiting Pakistani physiologists, educationists, lawyers, agriculturalists, traders and others.
- India- Pakistan trade should be analysed within the framework of Strength-Weakness-Opportunity-Threats (SWOT) analysis where strength and opportunity should be focused upon. The targets should be to move towards the new Letters of Credit rather than the old Line of Control.

## **RESPONSES**

- Security obsessed nations need no other vested interests to hinder the peace process; the perceived threat is more than sufficient.
- Normalisation of economic and political relations is the bed rock of any peace agreement.
- Worldwide there has been a shift in the economic balance and the locus has shifted to Asia. There will be a time when India-Pakistan economic relations will be at par with the India-US economic relations.
- Peace is the most significant issue. On its own trade is gathering momentum, it will get augmented by peace and not vice versa.
- Regimes and vested interests hamper the both trade and peace dialogues.
- Time has come to do away with the negative list of items referring to the list of tradable items between India and Pakistan.
- Trade will grow no matter what happens on the political front, there is a need to look beyond trade and invite investment and facilitate other forms of cooperation.

## **INDIA PAKISTAN PEACE CONFERENCE**

### **Day 3**

#### **SESSION 1: MILITANCY, JOINT MECHANISM AND THE ROLE OF UNITED STATES**

##### **AMITABH MATTOO**

In a very famous poem by Agha Shahid Ali the India-Pakistan relations were described as a 'country without post office'. The conflict between India and Pakistan is painful. The relations are often described in regards with enduring rivalry, sustained conflict and other negative feelings. The India-Pakistan relations and conflict is a result of many factors like history, sovereignty, prejudices, ideology, trust, betrayal, territory etc. There is a need for a process of reconciliation in a systematic way. The state should try and formulate such a process of reconciliation and generate certain momentum. Political leadership should be willing to take initiative and should write a new chapter in history in the year 2010. Peacemaking is really a very risky process and an establishment is required along with the bureaucracy. Reconciliation is a grand design which should be instrumental in its execution. There are three different communities within Pakistan based on their aspirations and thoughts about India namely, the Subedars (anti-Indians), the Saudagars (promote business opportunity between the two countries) and the Sufis (intellectual class such as Kuldeep Nayar). The basic question arises in terms of strategizing this relationship. There should be joint mechanism among India and Pakistan to handle the most crucial issues. For instance, the anti terror joint committee could not really work successfully and has not been able to help much. Ideally at the state level a joint group of politicians is required. As far as the role of United States is concerned in the region the popularity has really nosedived since Bush era. Only 16 percent of the Pakistani people are in favour of the United States and other regard the Americans as enemy. Surprisingly enough, Barack Obama is less popular than Osama Bin Laden. Even in India the data shows the same trend against the United States. But, the fact remains that despite great loss and some erosion of the American hegemony the United States is still the super power and will remain so in years to come. As a result, militancy in the name of counter insurgency will continue as part of the Af-Pak policy which is completely flawed as a policy. Afghanistan has already become an archipelago and nobody is clear of the fact as to till when the Americans will stay in the region. They even fear the day United States push back their troops as it will result into a situation of chaos and disorder especially in the case of the civil society. There is a need to delegitimize violence as a challenge to South Asia.

##### **AYESHA SIDDIQUA**

There are five major points of concern as the theme suggests namely, militancy, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and the United States. There is an urgent requirement for a joint committee or mission to address the rising issues and challenges. There are possibly two

areas namely, trade and education where the two nations can engage largely. There is a need to take this India Pakistan peace process to the ordinary people and common man rather than making it an elitist initiative. There has been a trend off late where the peace processes have lost their importance in the eyes of the people. The situation in Afghanistan is absolutely chaotic post recent elections. This situation is extremely problematic as there is no alternate plan after United States exits from the region. There are always fears among people for a future more insecure rather than secure. As far as India is concerned there is reduced constituency for peace. Now the current generation lacks any experience of 1947 and therefore an absence of any emotional affiliation can be seen. These issues are somewhere holding back India from emerging as a global or regional power. Pakistan has been an irritant for India which has caused enough frustration to the people of India particularly the middle class. There is definitely a need to change the security order. Excessive participation in such peace processes by mostly retired military officials has been responsible in evolving a typical thought process in India. The media was much better in the 1980's rather than currently. There has been immense proliferation of media in the recent years and it mostly echoes jingoism. Also in the past couple of years there has been a weakening of democracy in India. In Pakistan on the other hand, the establishments have strengthened and the conditions of war prevails. There is not a single explanation about the existing terrorists groups or Jihadis. The United States used its military might at a time when these countries were quite cautious. The question arises about whether the united states possess the capacity of to have a dialogue between these regions of conflict and the answer echoes a no.

### **RAJIV SIKRI**

It is significant to explore and understand the numerous kinds of militancy existing in the region of south Asia in regards with India Pakistan Taliban Kashmir etc. There is also a view that militancy in most of the parts is inspired by the misguided values of Islam among the Muslims. There always exists a few assumptions regarding India Pakistan relations and the root of the problem lies with the deliberate encouraging of the wrong values. Assumptions such as one, that india and Pakistan will always remain enemies, two that a weakened india is in the interest of Pakistan, three that Afghanistan is an exclusive sphere of Pakistan and india plays no role in it, four that anything done in the name of Islam is always right, and finally that Pakistan's future lies with the West and not india. The situation Pakistan is facing today is simply terrible. The country has taken up a Curzonian legacy. The militancy is also helping to peddle soft the drug fuelling insurgencies in the region. India has interest in Afghanistan but not on the cost of Pakistan. In any democracy there is a need to have people support at every point. India as a nation needs to be extremely careful about the problems in Kashmir and should address and resolve them as soon as possible for the improvisation of India Pakistan relations. Ideally in this whole process the role of United States should be zero as most of the problems have been aroused by them. If India Pakistan builds up a normal relation among themselves there is absolutely no role for the united states in south asia. The region needs to redefine the role of other significant Asian actors like china and Saudi Arabia in future.

## **SAJJAD LONE**

Violence is the greatest menace in Kashmir. Before Kashmir was never a region that would sought to violence as a measure, the first incident of violence was experienced in 1989 when the Kashmiri youth started a armed struggle in Kashmir. There has been a replacement of social sanctity by social stigmatization which cannot be achieved without the use of violent forces. Either there are grievances or aspirations among the people. The problem with aspirations is that it cannot be achieved within the system. Militancy uses structural response to validate their point. Every single day many Kashmiri are using violent methods and demonstrations. There is an irony in the statements which say the Kashmir issue will never be resolved until the india Pakistan relations are improved and vice versa. Even media is not playing a very constructive role nowadays. The media has actually grown even bigger than the state and has been evolved as white collar stone pelters due to perhaps an overdose of democracy. There need to be a solution for the growing militancy in Kashmir.

## **ASMA JAHANGIR**

Through Track II diplomacy, civil society has a major role to play in bringing about peace in the subcontinent. Pakistan is a country where the democratic movement has been strengthened by a proactive civilian movement in the form of lawyers' movement. It may be a nascent stage yet, it the tradition to struggle for rights is continued. Where as in India the democracy is staling as even in the parliament there are many elected members with tainted records. There is also the problem of increasing communalisation of society an there are no movements to stop that.

On the question of militancy in Pakistan it can be said that the alliance between Pakistan and the US is like a bad marriage that has produced troubled children. In this case these children are the various strands of militants. What Pakistan needs from India is not sympathy but understanding and then help. If Pakistan is troubled and is not able to deal with militancy, even India will not be spared by the scourge of militancy. Civil society has a major role in bridging the gap between these two countries in terms of understanding.

## **COMMENTS**

- The creation of militants in Kashmir is a big challenge.
- Option of plebiscite as the only viable option for resolving the Kashmir issue
- The significance of benchmarks in the Kerry-Lugar bill
- Need to differentiate between two kinds of militancy in Kashmir and in Pakistan separately.
- The proposed SAARC convention should be revived and worked upon

## **RESPONSE**

- The benchmark issue of the Kerry-Lugar Bill is not significant as the consequences are still awaited. Though the purpose for which the Bill was created seems defeated. Although theoretically it was assumed that it will be a success though the reality is still unknown.
- There are a lot of differences among the Kashmiri and the Pakistani militants. Any activity of political violence or conflict in Kashmir also showcases the concept of sacrifice. But still the risk and plight of the Kashmiri is even worse than the Pakistanis as they can't commiserate.
- Kashmir has been declared an integral part of India by the Indians already and therefore it results in fallouts.
- The middle class of India recognizes the importance of stability in Pakistan as the spill over effects is detrimental for Indians.
- There is a need for a strong Ministry of Defence to be established in Pakistan.

## **SESSION II - ROLE OF MEDIA AND CULTURE IN WAR AND PEACE**

### **VED BHASIN**

Normally the media is critical about others and analyses their roles. It is seldom that media introspects and this is perhaps very much needed at this juncture. It needs to take in account its own failures and shortcomings but unfortunately they are very touchy about the whole issue. Media should be the part of the solution but it has become a part of the problem and its positive role in the peace building process has been negated. Instead, there has been an ultra-nationalist, hawkish media full of jingoism on both sides of the border. Many agreements like the Siachin, Sherm-Al-Sheikh and others have been sabotaged by this negative role of media. The media today is fed by mobocracy, establishment like bureaucracy, security communities so it is no more a free media. The media has contributed to the alienation of Kashmiri people from the mainstream public discourse. The people have been deprived of freedom, Human rights, and right to plebiscite; there have been rigged elections, draconian rules, military interventions and puppet regimes imposed by the Indian establishment. All throughout the media has by and large supported the Indian establishment. The media should help to reach a solution that is satisfactory for India, Pakistan and Kashmir.

### **B. MURLIDHAR REDDY**

The biggest stumbling blocks in the success of peace talks are the Indian foreign office and the intelligence agencies in India. The Right to Information Act has benefitted the people immensely yet, the Indian foreign office and the intelligence services have not been brought

under its purview. They misuse power by denying visa indiscriminately, blacklisting people and creating problems in people's movement across the borders. A thorough observation of peace and conflict related news items over a long period reveal that the media toes the line of administration. The media needs to abandon the membership of this mutual admiration society with respect to administration if it wants to bring any qualitative change in its otherwise negative role. It has the responsibility to lessen the tensions across the borders not highlight it. People need to move beyond the media and the establishment constructed walls to reach out to each other.

### **LIAQAT ALI TOOR**

The most negative development in the realm of media is the trend of paid journalism. The empire of media has expanded tremendously in the recent years. So much so that it has become larger than the state. This has been unprecedented in the history of India, Pakistan and South Asia. The monster of media is constructive as well as destructive. In the context of India- Pakistan relations, it has largely been destructive. It has increased the amount of trust deficit and paranoia about each other. People of India and Pakistan do not know much about each other and media has been least helpful instead goes on to suppress the facts. By doing this, it is punishing the people of South Asia at large since people are entirely dependent on media for information in this regard. The role of media to boost the India-Pakistan ties should include more foreign correspondent being posted in the two countries, coordination between the media's of the two countries, joint press councils and a total abstinence with regards to the circulation of hate material and propaganda.

### **MAHESH BHATT**

History of any nation is the story of its people. India and Pakistan have seen a history full of suspicion and mistrust for each other. It becomes a non-patriotic thing to criticise the government in India because being a nationalist would mean that one is bloodthirsty of one's perceived enemy. Terrorist acts escalate tension and hate propaganda so much so that any peace initiative so far loses its significance. Post 26/11 scenario was the same. In such times, talking about peace and cooperation between the organisations becomes a passé. One thing needs to be understood that the governments lie and if intellectuals, academicians or civil society at large tries to step out of the box and speak against government, it is branded as treason. As far as the popular war rhetoric goes, there is no such thing as a 'good war'. As a patriot one is wedded to the 'values' of humanity and the values that India stands for, not to the politicians or the institutions. Job of the media is to serve people by protecting them from war. As Gandhi said that if India and Pakistan do not solve their problems and continue to hate each other, the fate of the people of entire subcontinent is doomed; it is time to follow the path of reconciliation shown by him.

### **MADEEHA GAUHAR**

Peace process between India and Pakistan is not just driven by external influences but many people from arts, theatre, literature and cultural fields also influence it. In the cultural context, the collective memory that the people share is that of partition which has left behind a legacy

of blood thirsty and hatred driven migration and displacement. In Pakistan, then a new state, ideologues had to develop a new identity of the state. They did so by creating a narrow minded identity placing Pakistan vis-à-vis India and deliberately downplaying the common ties rooted in cultural expressions such as arts, music, literature, language, theatre and common values. As a result these common referral points were suppressed to be replaced by a monism in cultural realm. Pakistan was essentially understood as non-India causing pathological denial of self assertions of the people. This resulted in the surrender of all forms of arts in relation with India. A total exodus of Sikh and Hindu artists from Sind and Lahore created a cultural void. Conservative media has only augmented the cause of the state apparatus. Now the people's movement and initiatives are doing their bid to fill this void. Cross-border initiatives like plays involving children from Lahore as well as Amritsar, the phenomenal power of immensely influential plays (like Sufi Bulla) and music are such examples.

### **KULDIP NAYAR**

To increase cooperation there should be voluntary press council (which is non-governmental in nature) should be there. This body should meet at regular intervals and point out the correctives about shared information and peace processes. The newly emerged trend of 'paid journalism' is very dangerous and undermines the credibility of media. Hence a code of ethics needs to be evolved. South Asian News Services would be a step in decentralising power in the mechanisms of media.

### **COMMENTS**

- Mainstream media depicts negative features of Pakistan instead the positives need to be stressed upon.
- The significance of social cultural diplomacy in the peace process is significant and indispensable.
- The media should stop funding itself from the capitalists then only it would become independent.
- Cultural sphere is the first to be suppressed in an oppressive regime.
- Impact of militancy on Indian Muslims need to be figured out.
- Extremely biased media does more harm than the curse of ignorance.

### **RESPONSES**

- The Indian film industry has gained more in terms of acquiring the market rather than Pakistan having gained much inspiration from Indian cinema.
- It is heart breaking to see what the media has abandoned (peace) and what it has embraced (war)