

Beyond War Study Guide
Readings and Preparation

for

Session 4

War is obsolete

We all live on one planet
We are one

The means are
the ends in the making

WAR IS OBSOLETE

ob so lete /adj:

- outmoded
- no longer current
- regarded as out of date whether in use or not
- implies that there is something better

**“We must learn to live together as brothers
or perish together as fools.”**

Martin Luther King Jr.
Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution
March 31, 1968

Planet Under Threat

In the past, it was possible to destroy a village, a town, a region, even a country. Now it is the whole planet that has come under threat. This fact should compel everyone to face a basic moral consideration; from now on, it is only through a conscious choice and then deliberate policy that humanity can survive.

Pope John Paul II, Speech at Hiroshima

Through Conscious Choice

The conscious choice to take responsibility for the continuation of human life is further complicated by the fact that we are able to respond to it only before it happens. Since after extinction no one will be present to take responsibility, we have to take full responsibility now.

Jonathan Schell

Reading List for Session 4

Essential Reading

Essay: Thinking About the Phrase “War on Terrorism” and Acknowledging that “War is Obsolete”

Focus Questions and Activities

War Will Not End Terrorism

Destiny and War

Hair Trigger Missiles Risk Catastrophic Terrorism

Information About the Costs of War

Nuclear Hypocrisy

A Question to Engage People About the Costs of War: “In Light of the Costs of War...”

Optional Reading

Stories About Land Mines Victims

U.S. Soldiers Bulldoze Farmers' Crops

Kashmir's Crown Jewel Being Destroyed by War

Thinking About the Phrase “War on Terrorism” and Acknowledging that “War is Obsolete”

The more one tries to understand the phrase “War on Terrorism” the less sense it makes. War has traditionally been waged against identifiable people, in specific locations, on the other side’s infrastructure. “Terrorists,” people who want to create extreme fear and destabilize current power structures and situations have too little in common with these traditional elements.

People that we are currently labeling “terrorists” could be more accurately described as violent criminals. An international legal system could more effectively limit the activities of these criminals and bring them to justice than going to war and dropping bombs which kill and maim innocent people. The families of the maimed and dead then turn against the bombers and more support for violence ensues.

When Timothy McVeigh bombed the Federal Courthouse in Oklahoma City, no one went to his home town and dropped bombs. Instead, the United States' legal system went to work, identified him, and brought him to justice. Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols are precluded from acting violently again. War isn't effective in addressing terrorism and the human species cannot continue to go to war and ultimately survive.

War as a survival mechanism is an old mode of thinking, deeply rooted in our ancient survival patterns, but made obsolete by our new environment. It is Stone Age thinking in a nuclear world. With the development of nuclear weapons, we can no longer fight any war without risking annihilation of all life, ourselves included. War has become omnicidal. War has become obsolete.

War is obsolete in the same sense as the calvary. For centuries, the horse-mounted calvary was a critical element in the armies of all major military powers. With its speed and versatility, the cavalry could wheel and pivot, attack suddenly as weak points were discovered and pursue a demoralized enemy who had broken ranks. The cavalry was supreme, the epitome of bravery, gallantry and military effectiveness.

With the development of the machine gun, the cavalry charge became suicidal and obsolete, but it did not immediately become extinct. As late as 1939, when Hitler invaded Poland his tanks were met by eleven Polish cavalry divisions; the Poles were slaughtered. As with the cavalry, war has become suicidal and obsolete before it has become extinct.

One can argue about the time when war became obsolete. Perhaps it was on July 16, 1945 with the first man-made cosmic explosion at Alamogordo, New Mexico. Perhaps it was on August 6, 1945, when 75,000 men, women and children died at Hiroshima, proving that people would use these awesome weapons of mass destruction on civilian populations. Perhaps it was three days later, when Nagasaki proved that Hiroshima was not an isolated anomaly. Perhaps it was sometime in the 1950's when a second nation, the Soviet Union, gained a credible nuclear arsenal. But, regardless of when war first became obsolete, it clearly is obsolete today.

All war is obsolete--full-scale nuclear war, limited nuclear war, conventional war between the superpowers, and “small” wars. The potential ecological consequences of a full-scale nuclear exchange are almost unimaginable. While no one knows

exactly what would happen, scientific studies have given an indication of what is likely to occur. Even a small percentage of the world's nuclear arsenal could usher in a devastating "nuclear winter." Ash and dust from the nuclear explosions and from the resultant fires would block out the sun, causing subzero temperatures for months. Photosynthesis would cease. In the ensuing ecological collapse, humans might well disappear from the earth.

This knowledge of nuclear winter puts to rest the illusion of a "successful" first strike using nuclear weapons. Even if the other nation could be completely destroyed by a first strike and could never fire in return, the explosions necessary to achieve this might well create nuclear winter. The "winners" could die a lingering death from cold and hunger.

"Global war has become a Frankenstein to destroy both sides. No longer is it a weapon of adventure--the shortcut to international power. If you lose, you are annihilated. If you win, you stand only to lose. No longer does it possess even the chance of a winner of a duel. It contains only the germs of double suicide."

General Douglas MacArthur 1961

There is no guarantee that a limited nuclear war would not escalate into a full-scale nuclear war. The stakes are too high to gamble.

"The NATO doctrine is that we will fight with conventional weapons until we are losing. Then we will fight with tactical nuclear weapons until we are losing. And then we will blow up the world."

Morton Halperin
Former Secretary of Defense

Wars exist and will continue to exist until we change our mode of thinking or blow ourselves up. Because each small war has some chance of escalating into the ultimate disaster, there are only those two possibilities. Continuing to wage war guarantees our inevitable extinction. Our only salvation is to abandon all war.

To survive in our new environment, we must now reject war--in all its forms, absolutely, forever. We must make this total, seemingly risky shift in our thinking because we have no other choice. Since the unleashing of the atom, everything to do with war--security, strength, survival and power--has changed irrevocably. Only our thinking is still the same, rooted in 10,000 years of waging war.

Even our language is obsolete. If something can destroy millions of people in a fraction of a second is it merely a "weapon"? If a brief nuclear exchange can destroy the entire life support system of the planet, is it merely a "war"? Or is this "omnicide," the killing of everything?

The possession of weapons must be seen for what it is, a temporary stratagem on our path to a world beyond war, and treated accordingly. Far from viewing weapons as a temporary measure, our current thinking places our ultimate faith in them, so we are not really seeking other possibilities and will not find them. In an ironic twist of fate, we decrease our strength, our security, and our power as we continue our pre-nuclear survival strategy in the nuclear age. Instead of a plan for Mutually Assured Destruction, we need a plan for Mutually Assured Survival.

Focus Questions Related to Readings for Session 4

1. What does it mean to say “war is obsolete”? How is obsolete different than extinct?
2. Why would you want people everywhere to understand that war is obsolete?
3. When most people everywhere turn away from war as an option, what will the benefits be?

Activities to Prepare for Session 4

1. Make journal entries as you experience each reading--or notes on the margins of the pages. Note or highlight the most compelling ideas.
2. Experiment with sharing the ideas with people you know. Think about how to use the listening tools from Session 3 in order to make these conversations satisfying to you and the people with whom you speak.
3. Find a quiet time to think about what war means to you. Make notes.

War Will Not End Terrorism

Whenever I read about destroying the infrastructure of terrorism, I am troubled by the hard fact that terrorism doesn't need any infrastructure to succeed. Indeed, its lack of infrastructure is its main advantage. Historically, terrorist tactics have been exploited by groups without state power, without the capacity to field armies, and without permission to operate in the open.

The same thing is true of criminals at every level, a parallel that ought to give us pause. Our military might, money, and technology toppled the Soviet Empire, but it couldn't stop one guy, or maybe two, from making a bomb out of fertilizer that destroyed a federal building in Oklahoma and killed several hundred people.

Our military might wasn't what stopped the men in Maryland from shooting random strangers with a high-powered rifle.

It couldn't prevent two high school students from slaughtering their classmates at Columbine High School in Colorado. The Columbine shooters then killed themselves, so we couldn't even bring them to justice.

None of these criminals needed their own infrastructure. They used the infrastructure of the society they were attacking.

The same is true of the men who destroyed the World Trade Center on Sept. 11, 2001. They didn't have their own flight schools; they used ours. They didn't have their own airplanes; they used ours. They didn't even make those box-cutters; they bought the ones we made. And they killed themselves in the process of committing their atrocities, so we can't even bring them to justice. To me, they bear frightening similarities to the kids who slaughtered their schoolmates at Columbine.

Why is it then that in our national conversation about terrorism, we use the language of war and not that of crime-busting? I think the war metaphor is based on wishful thinking. Crime is a subtle problem and hard to get a handle on. War, on the other hand, is something we can just declare and wage and win—and we can do it virtually without casualty to our own forces, as we proved in the Persian Gulf, again in the Balkans, and most recently in Afghanistan.

Therefore, wishfully, hopefully, we talk about terrorism as if it were just another nation-state, a monolithic entity. We call it by a single name—Al Qaeda—thereby reducing terrorism to an organization that can be eliminated if only its headquarters and officers can be found. In the first few months after Sept. 11, we even spoke of a single Napoleonic mastermind, Osama bin Laden.

But what if we're operating with the wrong model? What if terrorism is more like crime? The model we're using shapes our assumptions, and our specific responses follow as the night follows day.

Take the "War on Drugs," for example. Merely calling it "a war" suggests the sorts of apparatus needed to solve the problem: infrared night goggles, heat seeking missiles, camouflage outfits, jungle air drops. Has the military approach to the drug problem worked? I'd say the jury is still out.

Repeating the same error with terrorism could be more costly. Again, calling it a war locks us into assumptions about what steps to take. Real war consists of one state going head-to-head with another. Each government tries to destroy the capacity of the other to keep functioning. Whoever loses this capacity first is forced to say, "I give up."

Our proposals for stamping out terrorism come to us without scrutiny from this familiar model. That's why the buzz phrases are "defeating terrorist states" and "destroying the infrastructure of terrorism." In practice, these phrases turn out to simply mean "defeating states" and "destroying infrastructure." The word "terrorism" is just slapped on them to disguise the fact that these are the same old responses to a brand new problem.

After all, suppose we do conquer Iraq and then Iran and then North Korea, and then Sudan and Libya and Syria, and whatever other countries are designated as "terrorist states." Will terrorism end?

The answer is surely no. Terrorism is born of grudge and grievance. Some say the grudges are invalid and the grievances imagined. Those people should get over it, they say. They might be right. And if wishes were horses, such opinions would be relevant. But in the real world, we have to deal with the fact that terrorism does have sources. And we have to confront the fact that terrorism is nourished by dislocation, chaos, impotence, and secrecy.

Reducing functioning societies to anarchy by destroying their infrastructure and killing great numbers of their citizens is likely to increase whatever legacy of grudge and grievance is already in place. It is also likely to increase the number of dislocated individuals living in furious impotence and stewing in secrecy. This may be a price worth paying if the original threat is a foreign government that is out to conquer our country. Go to war with Iraq? Certainly, if the Iraqi government and its ruler Saddam Hussein think they have a shot at conquering the United States and intend to try.

But if terrorism is the problem to be solved, it's a whole different matter. In that case, making war on Iraq and other nation-states may well be the worst possible policy, because it is only likely to make the problem worse.

San Francisco writer Tamim Ansary, the son of a former Afghan politician, is the author of West of Kabul, East of New York.

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Destiny and War

Some very good people feel that war is sometimes justified. Always horrible, but at times appropriate—the “just war” concept that many religions avow. Even Jimmy Carter admitted to that in his Nobel Peace Prize lecture—disastrous, but acceptable as a last resort.

But to many, war is no longer an option if the human race is to have any future. Richard Leakey once observed that we humans are late arrivals on the planet and our place in the scheme of life is not yet assured.

Our species could fail to make it into the future if we grossly maltreat the oceans, the fresh water, the air, the ozone layer—the systems we depend on for survival. Some new virus, even more deadly than HIV or ebola, could move out from the jungle. We could even do ourselves in by ingesting our own man-made chemicals, including those hormone-mimickers that inhibit the development of our children.

Or our demise could come from war. One slip in the Cold War could have wiped out most of civilization. Those same nuclear weapons still exist, ready to launch at a moment's notice. Many nations now have

nukes, and the U.S. threatens to use nuclear weapons in any war.

If it's war that finally does us humans in, it's just as likely it will start at the level of one group of people deciding to kill another. Nation against nation, religious group against religious group, ethnic group against ethnic group. It could be a fight for power, or territory, or dogma, or water, or oil.

If those in power really want a war, it's easy to stir up the emotions of fear and hatred, to create and demonize enemies. The techniques are well known: threats to our way of life, accusations, hurts and injustices of the past repeated endlessly, half-truths, outright lies, fabricated events. The realities of war—death and destruction—are not mentioned. No other solution than war is considered. The talk is only of the reasons for the war and how it will be won—with massive force, brilliant planning, surgical strikes, night-vision goggles, laser-guided bombs with incredible accuracy delivered from unimaginable heights, cruise missiles, bunker-buster nukes. Politicians of all parties fall in line. There is flag-waving, and a national rallying in support of the

It is hard not to be struck by...the hasty way people think about a war in which thousands will be killed. The people killed in an attack on Iraq will not be so different from those in hospital whose lives we treat so seriously. Some will be old; many will be babies and children. To think of just one five-year-old Iraqi girl, who may die in this war, as we would think of that same girl in a medical crisis is to see the enormous burden of proof on those who would justify killing her. Decisions for war seem less agonising than the decision to let a girl in hospital die. But only because anonymity and distance numb the moral imagination.

Jonathan Glover, writing in The Guardian

men and women in uniform. This is the “mythic view” of war.

In the case of the war on Iraq, for months any voices of caution were hard to find. Perhaps the idea of America attacking such a small and weakened country was too far-fetched to be taken seriously. But as the war machine ratcheted up, voices questioning the war began to be heard—from American media and internationally—and increased in frequency week by week. One of the miracles of the Internet is that, by striking a few keys, newspapers from around the world appear magically on one’s computer screen. There are editorials that argue details and concepts, and the “real” reasons for the war. There are editorials that debunk statements made by those who are pushing for war, question the monetary costs, how Iraq will be governed after the war is won, the impact on the Middle East and around the world and on the war against terrorism.

And there are editorials that grapple head on with the human issues that—unless they are resolved by our species—could very well be the end of us. Some titles of recent editorials: “Europe and

America: Some Know More about War;” “War’s Bottom Line: Death;” “Sanitized War Version Wrong;” “How Many Dead Iraqis Will it Take?” “What About the Children?” “Can we Justify Killing the Children of Iraq?”

Charley Reese, of King Syndicated Features, writes: “All of our wars and attacks kill, wound, and impoverish people, and the political talk about peace and democracy is just so much manure.... I hate the phrase ‘collateral damage.’ It is an inhuman euphemism created to disguise murder. If you were a cop shooting at a fleeing felon, and you killed three innocent bystanders, no court in this country would allow you to brush it off as collateral damage.”

An editorial in the Australian newspaper, *The Age*, notes: “So much talk by those pressing for an attack on Iraq is stripped bare of the bloody reality of war. It is clinical, anesthetized, and intentionally devoid of emotion.... We are meant to forget that war is about killing and maiming other people, about destroying their homes and communities. We are meant to ignore the fact that they

continued on next page

are human at all, with the same hopes and fears as we have.... We are asked to consider that they are lesser human beings who somehow deserve their fate and that their death is a reasonable price for us to ask them to pay for our objectives.... The last Gulf War was fought without the grim, brutal reality of war ever being shown to us. It was made to look like a little boy's video game. The military control of the images, the refusal to allow the media anywhere near the action, allowed us to retain the comfortable fantasy of a war without pain.... We need to repudiate the all too ready use of force."

Robert Wetzels writes in the *Capital Times*: "When essayists write about the deaths that will result from an attack, they invariably write about the tens of thousands—as if sheer numbers carry their argument. They rarely write about the 'one.' Even Stalin knew the difference between a tragedy and a statistic. 'One death is a tragedy, one million is a statistic,' is, I believe, what he said. War is about tragedy. The number of barrels of oil beneath the Iraqi desert is a statistic. People will die in this war, not by the tens of thousands, but each, alone—one irreversible death at a time. Bombs will vaporize families as they huddle together and cry and pray.... A child will die whole from a single bullet through the brain or will die anonymously in pieces.

"People will lose their minds in this war, shattered by fear, anxiety, unbearable sorrow, and impotent rage. They will lose their souls and their humanity. Some people will become evil. A few will become saints—but that's no reason for a war." There is more from Wetzels, all hard to

take in. He concludes: "If our country does not have the stomach to read, in unsanitized prose, about the singular tragedies that make a war, then it is only with the most profound hypocrisy that it can wage one."

There are those who believe that the death and destruction are worth it, as Madeline Albright, then U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, was reported to have said when asked about the reports that sanctions have been responsible for the death of a half million Iraqi children. One has to wonder what this kind of thinking holds for us as a human race. There were more wars in the past century than ever before. There are weapons of incredible destruction just waiting to be used, with even more deadly ones in the imagination. There are more AK-47s in the hands of more people than ever before, many of whom are disenfranchised, desperate, fanatical, suicidal, bent on revenge. It is not a thought that makes for a good night's sleep, or portends well for the future.

Einstein could well have been right when he said that either we do away with war, or war will do away with us. Aren't we smart enough to do what is needed for our own survival? What if the option of war were forever denied to us? How would we handle the many disputes, crises, disagreements, threats that seem to multiply as the years go on? I have enough faith in the ingenuity and creativity of the human race to believe we could do a credible job.

All it would take is a change in the way we think. □

FROM THE CENTER FOR DEFENSE INFORMATION

Hair-Trigger Missiles Risk Catastrophic Terrorism

Dr. Bruce G. Blair, CDI President, bblair@cdi.org

While the efforts of the U.S. government to assist Russia in preventing the theft of nuclear materials from storage sites and research institutes have been inadequate, the opportunities for nuclear terrorism presented by U.S. and Russian nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert represent an even greater peril that receives even less attention and effort. In an era of potential nuclear terrorism, the theft of a nuclear weapon from a storage site could spell an eventual disaster for an American city, but the seizure of a strategic missile or group of missiles ready for immediate firing could be apocalyptic for entire nations.

Our two governments have not yet overcome the mutual suspicion that is severely impeding their cooperation in preventing nuclear materials theft. They had better leap this hurdle soon, because even greater cooperation is necessary to protect their populations against the multitude of potential terrorist threats to launch-ready nuclear forces.

The distrust stems partially from disputes such as the Iraq war, but it persists in large part because the United States and Russia remain in each other's nuclear cross-hairs. War planners in both countries remain, believe it or not, preoccupied with preparing to fight a large-scale nuclear war with each other on short notice. Both sides keep thousands of weapons aimed at each other and poised for immediate launch. U.S. spy planes still routinely lurk off the Russian border looking for holes in the air defense network through which U.S. heavy bombers and cruise missiles could fly to drop nuclear bombs on Russia in wartime. Russian missile submarines still find themselves trailed by U.S. submarines as soon as they leave port on patrol. Two massive leadership posts inside mountains in the Urals built to withstand a U.S. nuclear strike are just coming online. Russia is equipping the one at Kozvinsky Mountain with an underground antenna for radioing a launch order to a "dead hand" communications rocket designed to ensure quasi-automatic Russian missile retaliation in the event of a U.S. strike that decapitates the nuclear chain of command.

It behooves the former enemies to kick these old habits and stand down their obsolete confrontation. Nuclear terrorism is the real enemy, and fostering cooperation in tackling it requires that both countries move away from their nuclear confrontation. Taking U.S. and Russian missiles off of hair-trigger alert, moreover, would itself automatically reduce if not remove many of the biggest terrorist threats — which stem largely stem from the extremely high launch-readiness of strategic missiles. Both U.S. and Russian intercontinental ballistic missiles remain fueled, targeted, and waiting for a couple of computer signals to fire. They fly the instant they receive these signals, which can be sent with a few keystrokes on a launch console.

What kind of terrorist threats? The most obvious is the loss of physical control over

such missiles. If scores of armed Chechen rebels could slip into the heart of Moscow and hold a packed theater hostage for days, could terrorists infiltrate missile fields in rural Russia, seize control over a nuclear-armed mobile rocket roaming the countryside, and launch it at Europe or America? It's an open question that warrants candid bilateral discussion of the prospects of terrorists capturing rockets and circumventing the safeguards designed to foil their illicit firing.

Another specter concerns terrorists spoofing radar or satellite sensors, or cyber-terrorists hacking into early warning networks. Could sophisticated terrorists generate false indications of an enemy attack that results in a mistaken launch of nuclear rockets in 'retaliation?' False alarms have been frequent enough on both sides under the best of conditions. False warning poses an acute danger as long as Russian and U.S. nuclear commanders are allowed, as they still are today, only several pressure-packed minutes to determine whether an enemy attack is underway and decide whether to retaliate. Russia's deteriorating early warning network coupled to terrorist plotting against it only heightens the risks. Russia is not the only crucible of risk. The early warning and control problems plaguing Pakistan, India, and other nuclear proliferators are even more acute. As these nations move toward hair-trigger stances for their nuclear missiles, the terrorist threat to them will grow in parallel.

In addition, U.S. nuclear control is also far from fool-proof. For example, a Pentagon investigation of nuclear safeguards conducted several years ago made a startling discovery — terrorist hackers might be able to gain back-door electronic access to the U.S. naval communications network, seize control electronically over radio towers such as the one in Cutler, Maine, and illicitly transmit a launch order to U.S. Trident ballistic missile submarines armed with 200 nuclear warheads apiece. This exposure was deemed so serious that Trident launch crews had to be given elaborate new instructions for confirming the validity of any launch order they receive. They would now reject a firing order that previously would have been immediately carried out.

If Russian and U.S. experts could instill trust in each other, then they could identify the real deficiencies in the system of early warning and control over nuclear forces on high combat alert. They could also allay unwarranted fears. The value of trust was illustrated two years ago when Russian scientists at the renowned Kurchatov Institute alerted their American counterparts in the Department of Energy to software flaws they feared had compromised the U.S. computer system used to keep track of the U.S. inventory of nuclear materials.

The stakes today are too high to let old habits of mind and obsolete practices of nuclear confrontation stand in the way of protecting ourselves against the biggest threat faced by both the United States and Russia. Washington and Moscow need to stop playing Cold War-like games and confront nuclear terrorism instead. Both need ironclad safeguards against the terrorist exploitation of their hair-trigger arsenals. They should each stand down, and work together not only to protect their own arsenals but also to keep other nations off of high alert, before it's too late.

April 29, 2003

Information about the costs of war from:

A Study by the Institute for Policy Studies and Foreign Policy

(<http://www.ips-dc/iraq>)

By Phyllis Bennis and Erik Leaver and the IPS Iraq Task Force

August 31, 2005

Key Findings

- According to current estimates, the cost of the Iraq War could exceed \$700 billion. In current dollars, the Vietnam War cost U.S. taxpayers \$600 billion.
- Operations costs in Iraq are estimated at \$5.6 billion per month in 2005. By comparison, the average cost of U.S. operations in Vietnam over the eight-year war was \$5.1 billion per month, adjusting for inflation.
- Staying in Iraq and Afghanistan at current levels would nearly double the projected federal budget deficit over the next decade.
- Since 2001, the U.S. has deployed more than 1 million troops to Iraq and Afghanistan.
- Broken down per person in the United States, the cost so far is \$727, making the Iraq War the most expensive military effort in the last 60 years.
- More than 210,000 of the National Guard's 330,000 soldiers have served in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- Guard mobilizations average 460 days.
- Nearly a third of active-duty troops, 341,000 men and women, have served two or more overseas tours.

Cost to Iraq

- The U.S. controls 106 military bases across Iraq. Congress has budgeted \$236 million for permanent base construction in FY2005.
- At least 23,589 to 26,705 Iraqi civilians have been killed.
- On average 155 members of the Iraqi security forces have died every month since the January 2005 elections, up from an average of 65 before they were held.
- Suicide attack rates rose to 50 per month in the first five months of 2005, up from 20 per month in 2003 and 48 in 2004.
- Iraq's resistance forces remain at 16,000-40,000 even with the U.S. coalition killing or capturing 1,600 resistance members per month.

The World is Less Safe

- The State Department reported that the number of "significant" terrorist attacks reached a record 655 in 2004, up from 175 in 2003.
- The Iraq War has weakened the UN's authority and credibility.

HIGHLIGHTS

I. Costs to the United States

A. Human Costs to the U.S. and Allies

U.S. Military Deaths: Between the start of war on March 19, 2003 and August 22, 2005 2,060 coalition forces have been killed, including 1,866 U.S. military personnel.

Over 14,065 U.S. troops have been wounded, 13,523 (96 percent) since May 1, 2003.

Contractor Deaths: There have been 255 civilian contractor deaths since the "end of major combat" on May 1, 2003, including 91 identified as Americans.

Journalist Deaths: Sixty-six international media workers have been killed in Iraq as of August 28, 2005. U.S. forces are responsible for at least eleven deaths, including employees from ABC, CNN, Reuters, BBC, ITN, Arab TV stations al-Arabiya and al-Jazeera and Spanish station Telecinco.

B. Security Costs

Terrorist Recruitment and Action: The State Department found that the number of "significant" international terrorist attacks in 2004 reached 655, three times the previous record of 175 in 2003. Terrorist incidents in Iraq also increased by a factor of nine—from 22 attacks in 2003 to 198 in 2004.

Overstretch of Military: Since 2001, the U.S. military has deployed more than 1 million troops for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, with 341,000 or nearly a third, serving two or more overseas tours. In August 2005 Army recruitment remained at 11 percent behind its yearly goal. The Reserve stands at 20 percent behind its goals and the Army National Guard is 23 percent short of its goals.

Security Costs Due to Loss of First Responders: Roughly 48,000 members of the National Guard and Reserve are currently serving in Iraq—making up nearly 35 percent of the total U.S. forces there. Their deployment puts a particularly heavy burden on their home communities because many are "first responders," including police officers, firefighters, and emergency medical personnel. For example, 44 percent of the country's police forces have lost officers to Iraq. In some states, the absence of so many Guard troops has raised concerns about the ability to handle fires and other natural disasters.

Use of Private Military Contractors: The Department of Defense estimates that there are at least 60 private security providers with perhaps as many as 25,000 employees.

Of the 44 incidents of abuse that have been documented at Abu Ghraib prison, 16 have been tied to private contractors. While numerous soldiers have been courtmartialed for their roles in the scandal, no contractor has been brought up on charges.

C. Economic Costs

The Bill So Far: Congress has already approved four spending bills for Iraq with funds totaling \$204.4 billion and is in the process of approving a "bridge fund" for \$45.3 billion to cover operations until another supplemental spending package can be passed, most likely slated for Spring 2006. Broken down per person in the United States, the cost so far is \$727, making the Iraq War the most expensive military effort in the last 60 years.

Long-term Impact on U.S. Economy: In August 2005, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the cost of continuing the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan at current levels would nearly double the projected federal budget deficit over the next ten years. According to current estimates, during that time the cost of the Iraq War could exceed \$700 billion.

Economic Impact on Military Families: Since the beginning of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, more than 210,000 of the National Guard's 330,000 soldiers have been called up, with an average mobilization of 460 days. Government studies show that about half of all reservists and Guard members report a loss of income when they go on active duty—typically more than \$4,000 a year. About 30,000 small business owners alone have been called to service and are especially likely to fall victim to the adverse economic effects of military deployment.

D. Social Costs

U.S. Budget and Social Programs: The Administration's FY 2006 budget, which does not include any funding for the Iraq War, takes a hard line with domestic spending—slashing or eliminating more than 150 federal programs. The \$204.4 billion appropriated thus far for the war in Iraq could have purchased any of the following desperately needed services in our country: 46,458,805 uninsured people receiving health care or 3,545,016 elementary school teachers or 27,093,473 Head Start places for children or 1,841,833 affordable housing units or 24,072 new elementary schools or 39,665,748 scholarships for university students or 3,204,265 port container inspectors.

Social Costs to the Military/Troop Morale: As of May 2005, stop-loss orders are affecting 14,082 soldiers—almost 10 percent of the entire forces serving in Iraq with no end date set for the use of these orders. Long deployments and high levels of soldier's stress extend to family life. In 2004, 3,325 Army officer's marriages ended in divorce—up 78 percent from 2003, the year of the Iraq invasion and more than 3.5 times the number in 2000.

Costs to Veteran Health Care: The Veterans Affairs department projected that 23,553 veterans would return from Iraq and Afghanistan in 2005 and seek medical care. But in June 2005, the VA Secretary, Jim Nicholson, revised this number to 103,000. The miscalculation has led to a shortfall of \$273 million in the VA budget for 2005 and may result in a loss of \$2.6 billion in 2006.

Mental Health Costs: In July 2005 the Army's surgeon general reported that 30 percent of U.S. troops have developed stress-related mental health problems three to four months after coming home from the Iraq War. Because about 1 million American troops have served so far in the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan some experts predict that the number eventually requiring mental health treatment could exceed 100,000.

II. Costs to Iraq

A. Human Costs to Iraqis

Iraqi Civilian Deaths: As of August 22, 2005, between 23,589 and 26,705 civilians have been killed as a direct result of the U.S. invasion and ensuing occupation of Iraq. But the actual death toll may be much higher. The British medical journal, *The Lancet*, reported in October 2004 that Iraq suffered 98,000 "excess deaths" from March 2003 to September 2004.

Iraqi Civilians Wounded: The Project on Defense Alternatives estimates the number of wounded between 100,000 and 120,000.

Iraqi Police and Security Forces Killed: Iraq Coalition Casualty Count reports that 2,945 Iraqi military and police forces have been killed since the war started while other reports estimate up to 6,000 have been killed. Up until December 2004, the monthly death figure was 65 but in 2005 the average has been 155 and the death toll reached a high of 304 in July 2005.

B. Security Costs

Failure to Train Security Forces: In June 2004 the State Department reported that 145,317 Iraqi troops were trained but one year later, State Department reports only note an additional 35,000 security forces were added to the ranks. The readiness of these troops cannot be ascertained. A March 2005 GAO report noted that "the departments of State and Defense no longer report on the extent to which Iraqi security forces are equipped with their required weapons, vehicles, communications equipment, and body armor."

Rise in the Resistance: Despite 40,000-50,000 deaths and arrests, the resistance continues to thrive. The number of resistance fighters in Iraq increased from 5,000 in November 2003 to "no more than 20,000" in July 2005 and Iraq's national intelligence service director estimates there are more than 200,000 sympathizers. Resistance attacks have risen 23 percent in the last four months. The rise in suicide attacks has skyrocketed. In 2003 there were 20, in 2004 there were 48 and in the first five months of 2005 there have been more than 50.

Rise in Crime: Baghdad's central morgue counted 8,035 deaths by unnatural causes in 2004, up from 6,012 in 2003 and 1,800 before the war in 2002. 2005 is turning out to be even deadlier with the Baghdad morgue reporting 1,100 in July 2005.

C. Economic Costs

Unemployment: Unemployment figures today range from 20 percent to 60 percent. By comparison, during the Great Depression, U.S. unemployment peaked at 25 percent. Up to 60 percent of Iraqis depend on food handouts and the average income has dropped from \$3,000 in the 1980s to \$800 in 2004.

Corporate War Profiteering: Most of Iraq's reconstruction has been contracted out to U.S. companies, rather than experienced Iraqi firms. U.S. auditors and the media have documented numerous cases of fraud, waste, and incompetence. The most egregious problems are attributed to Halliburton which has been awarded more than \$10 billion in contracts. Pentagon auditors found that Halliburton failed to account adequately for \$1.8 billion in charges for feeding and housing troops.

Iraq's Oil Economy: Iraq's oil production remains stalled at levels lower than before the U.S. invasion. In 2003, Iraq's oil production dropped to 1.33 million barrels per day, down from 2.04 million one year earlier. In July 2005, oil production remained below pre-war levels. Iraq continues to import half its gasoline and thousands of tons of heating fuel, cooking gas and other refined products.

D. Social Costs

Electricity: By late July 2004, Iraq exceeded its pre-war electricity levels, providing nearly 5,000 megawatts of electricity across the country but since that date, levels have failed to improve; the average production in July 2005 was 4,446 megawatts

Health: A joint Iraqi-United Nations report released in May 2005 found that "the estimated number of persons living with a chronic health problem directly caused by war is 223,000 ... in the ongoing war, more children, elderly, and women have been disabled than in previous wars."

Environment: During the war, water and sewage systems were destroyed, thousands of bombs were dropped leaving unexploded ordnance (UXO) strewn across the country, and the fragile desert ecosystem was damaged by tanks and U.S. temporary military outposts. Post-war looting further contributed to the damage. Three thousand nuclear compound storage barrels were looted and 5,000 barrels of chemicals were spilt, burned, or stolen. It is estimated that more than 12 million mines and UXO units are still present.

E. Human Rights Costs

Despite problems at U.S. detention centers, the use of arbitrary arrests continues.

The average prisoner level in June 2005 was 10,783, up from 7,837 at the time of the January 2005 elections, and double that of the June 2004 level of 5,335. The U.S. is expanding three existing facilities and opening a fourth, at a cost of \$50 million with the goal of being able to detain 16,000 long-term prisoners. Illustrating the problems caused by widespread sweeps of arrests

without cause, review processes indicate that six out of every 10 Iraqis arrested are released without charges.

F. Sovereignty Costs

Economic and Political Sovereignty: Despite the January elections, the country has severely limited political and economic independence. The transitional government has limited ability to reverse the 100 orders by former CPA head Paul Bremer that, among other things, allow for the privatization of Iraq's state-owned enterprises and prohibit preferences for domestic firms in bidding on reconstruction work.

Military Sovereignty: Currently, the U.S. operates out of approximately 106 locations across the country. In May 2005, plans for concentrating U.S. troops into four massive bases positioned geographically in the North, South, East and West were reported and the most recent spending bill in Congress for the Iraq War contained \$236 million for building permanent facilities.

III. Costs to the World

A. Human Costs

While Americans make up the vast majority of military and contractor personnel in Iraq, other U.S.-allied "coalition" troops from the U.K., Italy, Poland and other countries have suffered 194 war casualties in Iraq. The focus on Iraq has diverted international resources and attention away from humanitarian crises such as in Sudan.

B. Disabling International Law

The unilateral U.S. decision to go to war in Iraq violated the United Nations Charter, setting a dangerous precedent for other countries to seize any opportunity to respond militarily to claimed threats, whether real or contrived, that must be "preempted."

The U.S. military has also violated the Geneva Convention, making it more likely that in the future, other nations will ignore these protections in their treatment of civilian populations and detainees.

C. Undermining the United Nations

The efforts of the Bush administration to gain UN acceptance of an Iraqi government that was not elected but rather installed by occupying forces undermines the entire notion of national sovereignty as the basis for the UN Charter.

D. Enforcing Coalitions

Faced with opposition in the UN Security Council, the U.S. government attempted to create the illusion of multilateral support for the war by pressuring other governments to join a so-called "Coalition of the Willing." This not only circumvented UN authority, but also undermined democracy in many coalition countries, where public opposition to the war was as high as 90 percent. As of the

middle of July 2005, only 26 countries of the original 45 members of the "Coalition of the Willing" had even token forces in Iraq, in addition to the United States.

E. Costs to the Global Economy

The \$204.4 billion spent by the U.S. government on the war could have cut world hunger in half and covered HIV/AIDS medicine, childhood immunization and clean water and sanitation needs of the developing world for almost three years.

F. Undermining Global Security and Disarmament

The U.S.-led war and occupation have galvanized international terrorist organizations, placing people not only in Iraq but around the world at greater risk of attack.

Global Increase in Military Spending: In 2002 world military spending was \$795 billion. With the skyrocketing costs of the war in Iraq, worldwide military spending soared to an estimated \$956 billion in 2003 and in 2004, the figure spiked again to \$1.035 trillion.

G. Global Environmental Costs

U.S.-fired depleted uranium weapons have contributed to pollution of Iraq's land and water, with inevitable spillover effects in other countries. The heavily polluted Tigris River, for example, flows through Iraq, Iran and Kuwait.

H. Human Rights

The Justice Department memo assuring the White House that torture was legal stands in stark violation of the International Convention Against Torture (of which the United States is a signatory). This, combined with the widely publicized mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. military and intelligence officials, gave new license for torture and mistreatment by governments around the world.

EDITORIALS & LETTERS

The Register-Guard

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Nuclear hypocrisy

Congress should cut funds for weapons research

North Korea announces to a less than astonished world that it already has nuclear weapons. Iran announces to a similarly unsurprised international community that it will continue with its "peaceful" nuclear development program.

Meanwhile, the United States faces mounting budget deficits stretching to the horizon. American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan struggle with equipment shortages and a lack of funds to accelerate infrastructure improvements. President Bush sends a budget to Congress that has deep cuts in spending for veterans' benefits, education, health care and environmental protection.

Awash in this sea of red alerts, red blood and red ink, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and the best minds at the Pentagon insist that the nation needs to develop and test new nuclear weapons. The need for new nukes is clear because, well, for one thing, the 10,000 warheads on hand are getting old. Might be some duds in the lot. Haven't used any since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, after all.

Never mind that U.S. credibility on nuclear proliferation is mortally wounded by such hypocrisy. Forget the fact that the kinds of new weapons being contemplated — bunker-

buster bombs and tactical battlefield "mini-nukes" — are far more likely to actually be used than the Cold War-era missiles and bombs that have served so well as a deterrent to date.

The most compelling reason to use the new weapons would be preemptively, to prevent an enemy from acquiring or deploying weapons of mass destruction. It's no surprise, given the Bush Doctrine's endorsement of pre-emptive U.S. military action, that North Korea now boldly announces it must hang on to its nuclear arsenal to defend itself from a hostile America. An America that has renounced its long-standing "no first use" nuclear policy.

The Bush administration is trying to sell the funding for the nuke program as pure research that won't necessarily lead to weapons production. Hello? All weapons production is preceded by pure research. Why spend millions only to throw the blueprints in the trash? That will never happen.

Unless Congress can get a grip on this foolish and unjustified escalation of the arms race, Pentagon hawks will ignite lust in the hearts of the nuclear-wannabe nations of the world. There will be no way to put that genie back into the bottle.

In light of all the costs of war,

- the cost in human lives
- the cost in alienation with foreign peoples and their governments
- the cost in distraction from all of the other things we need to build our country
- the actual dollar costs--and the ballooning federal deficit
- the very real possibility of human extinction due to nuclear winter

and given the fact that our country seems to get involved in a war every ten or less years and then war incurs these terrible costs, *what can each individual do, what can elected officials do, what can the United States government do to prevent wars from happening?*

A question that Beyond War participants have been asking in many forums and circumstances. A good question that sticks in someone's mind can begin dialogues that transform individual thinking and innovate social change.

You never change things by fighting existing reality.

To change something, build a new model that makes the existing models obsolete.

Buckminster Fuller

[Please note: Sessions 5 through 9 explore a new model involving a new way of thinking and acting that will empower citizens to build a world beyond war.]

OPTIONAL
READING
FOR
SESSION 4

Stories of Landmine Victims

Mohammed Sedique of Afghanistan

In a letter to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, deminer Mohammad Sedique tells the story of 10-year-old Mohammad Sarwar who lost his legs in a landmine explosion. Mr. Sedique is the survey team leader of team No. 10 of the Mine Clearance Planning Agency (MCPA) in Afghanistan. Here is Mr. Sedique's letter.

When I was busy surveying a mined area at Tapa Salam area of Kabul city in September 1995, I saw a disabled child walking with the help of sticks towards us. I stopped work and went to see him and to know the reason of his disability. When greeting, I noticed that he had lost both of his legs and walked with a prosthesis.

He introduced himself as Mohammad Sarwar, 10 years old. When asked about the reason of his disability, he replied after a pause and with a dull voice: "We left our house," he said pointing towards a house near the minefield that we were surveying, "when fighting started early this year. A few months back when the situation seemed to be peaceful, we returned back to our destroyed house. I hoped that we will again have a happy life and I will again play with my friends. Our house had been destroyed and we had to face many problems. There was no water so we had to bring it from a distance. My mom asked me to bring some water and I picked up the pails and left the house.

"When heading towards the well, I heard a thunder-like sound and saw a flash of fire before my eyes. It was only after a few hours when I opened my eyes and I found myself at the hospital and I saw my mom standing and crying beside my bed. Only then I found that I had fallen victim to a mine and that I had lost both of my legs. I was a student of class four at Mir Ahamd Shaheed School in Dehmazang, but I will no longer be able to continue my education as I cannot walk to school."

Mohammad Sarwar also mentioned the story of one of his classmates who had fallen victim to a mine blast at the same area.

"I cannot enjoy my life and I cannot play with my friends any more. I miss all the happy times at the school and at the playgrounds with my friends. I have to live a terrible life. I wish you had come here to clear mines before I lost my legs."

Two Stories from Cambodia

From Cambodia come two stories of two men: one a civilian, one a soldier, both whose lives were changed forever by landmines.

Phan Pheam, 24, earned a living cutting firewood. He had no land of his own and cut firewood to earn money to buy rice for his family, including his two small children. His family had lived in Sdau. They moved away because of the war and because of landmines, but found the situation in their new area was no different - "mines everywhere," he said. On 20 December 1995, he was cutting wood near Komping Pooy.

"My axe hit a mine. The next thing that I remember was waking up in hospital, and realizing that I could not see. I had lost both eyes.

"In the days that followed, I could see no meaning in my eyeless, sightless life. My future, and my family's future, is so uncertain now. We have no land, we have nothing, and now I have no eyes also and I do not know what to do."

Nil Nuen joined the army in 1979 when he was 34. At 50, he was five years away from retirement. On 11 December 1995, he was on patrol in a mined area. "I knew the area was mined, so I was staying on the path but there was a section where I was forced to leave the path for a while, and that's when I stepped on the mine.

"Now my right leg is gone completely, and I cannot move my left leg - maybe I never will be able to, as the mine blew fragments right through my thigh."

Nil Nuen has six children and his wife is pregnant with their seventh child. He will receive a disability pension from the army, but he says that is too little money for all of his family to live on. He will try to earn more money selling things.

"I think that they will never stop laying mines - even if they can't buy them, they will make them and lay them forever."

These stories are from the website of the Asian Human Rights Commission

To contact them: support@ahrchk.net

US Soldiers Bulldoze Farmers' Crops

Americans accused of brutal 'punishment' tactics against villagers
by Patrick Cockburn in Dhuluaya

US soldiers driving bulldozers, with jazz blaring from loudspeakers, have uprooted ancient groves of date palms as well as orange and lemon trees in central Iraq as part of a new policy of collective punishment of farmers who do not give information about guerrillas attacking US troops.

The stumps of palm trees, some 70 years old, protrude from the brown earth scoured by the bulldozers beside the road at Dhuluaya, a small town 50 miles north of Baghdad. Local women were yesterday busily bundling together the branches of the uprooted orange and lemon trees and carrying them back to their homes for firewood.

Nusayef Jassim, one of 32 farmers who saw their fruit trees destroyed, said: "They told us that the resistance fighters hide in our farms, but this is not true. They didn't capture anything. They didn't find any weapons."

Other farmers said that US troops had told them, over a loudspeaker in Arabic, that the fruit groves were being bulldozed to punish the farmers for not informing on the resistance which is very active in this Sunni Muslim district.

"They made a sort of joke against us by playing jazz music while they were cutting down the trees," said one man. Ambushes of US troops have taken place around Dhuluaya. But Sheikh Hussein Ali Saleh al-Jabouri, a member of a delegation that went to the nearby US base to ask for compensation for the loss of the fruit trees, said American officers described what had happened as "a punishment of local people because 'you know who is in the resistance and do not tell us'." What the Israelis had done by way of collective punishment of Palestinians was now happening in Iraq, Sheikh Hussein added.

The destruction of the fruit trees took place in the second half of last month but, like much which happens in rural Iraq, word of what occurred has only slowly filtered out. The destruction of crops took place along a kilometer-long stretch of road just after it passes over a bridge.

Farmers say that 50 families lost their livelihoods, but a petition addressed to the coalition forces in Dhuluaya pleading in erratic English for compensation, lists only 32 people. The petition says: "Tens of poor families depend completely on earning their life on these orchards and now they became very poor and have nothing and waiting for hunger and death."

The children of one woman who owned some fruit trees lay down in front of a bulldozer but were dragged away, according to eyewitnesses who did not want to give their names. They said that one American soldier broke down and cried during the operation. When a reporter from the newspaper Iraq Today attempted to take a photograph of the bulldozers at work a soldier grabbed his camera and tried to smash it. The same paper quotes Lt Col Springman, a US commander in the region, as saying: "We asked the farmers several times to stop the attacks, or to tell us who was responsible, but the farmers didn't tell us."

Informing US troops about the identity of their attackers would be extremely dangerous in Iraqi villages, where most people are related and everyone knows each other. The farmers who lost their fruit trees all belong to the Khazraji tribe and are unlikely to give information about fellow tribesmen if they are, in fact, attacking US troops.

Asked how much his lost orchard was worth, Nusayef Jassim said in a distraught voice: "It is as if someone cut off my hands and you asked me how much my hands were worth."

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Kashmir's crown jewel being destroyed by war

Environment: Dal Lake's waters, once clear, are now polluted and choked with weeds.

By The Associated Press

SRINAGAR, India — War and its attendant blights are slowly killing off an enchanted corner of the world.

Dal Lake in the Kashmir Valley, long treasured by travelers for its beauty, majestic surrounding hills and languid houseboat culture, is being overwhelmed by untreated sewage and acres of aquatic weeds.

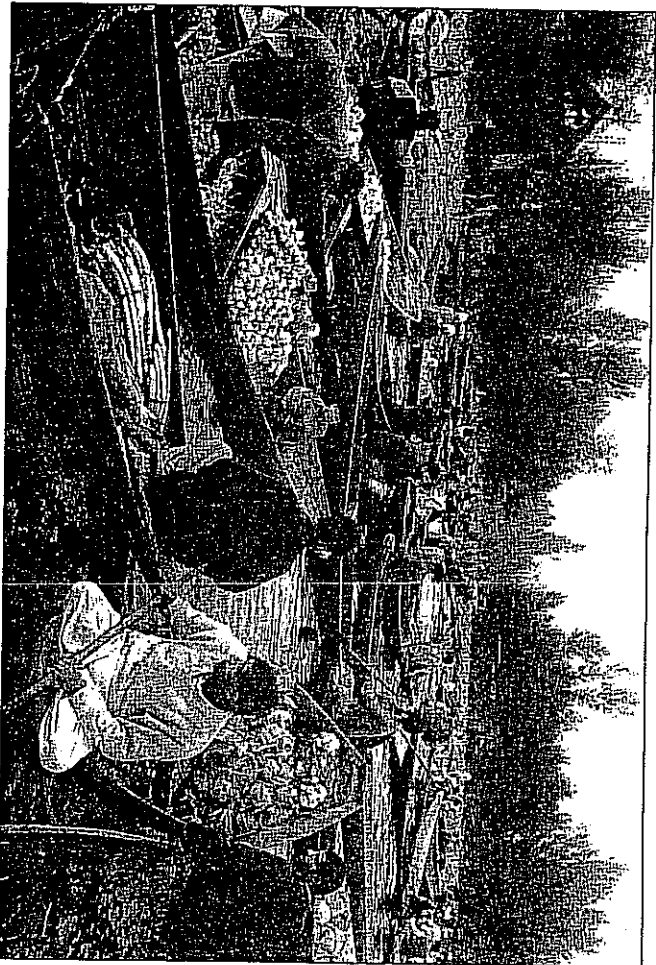
Kashmir voters have just signaled their rejection of the Islamic militants behind the violence that has killed more than 60,000 people in the past 13 years. But they have elected parties opposed to negotiating with Pakistan over the disputed Indian-ruled state of Jammu-Kashmir, suggesting no significant change is imminent on the battle front.

Meanwhile, the lake that has been a refuge for travelers, British colonial rulers and Asia-loving backpackers is succumbing to overpopulation, environmental degradation and neglect.

Ancient records measured the lake at 29 square miles. By 1970 it was 8.5 square miles, and it now is just more than 4 square miles.

The main culprit is man-made beds of reeds and soil anchored to the lake bed to create farm land for a lakeside population of 100,000 that increasingly has been driven to farming because fighting has destroyed the tourism industry.

"Many of us have given up waiting for the violence to end and the



Associated Press

Kashmiri Muslim vegetable sellers trade in a floating market on Dal Lake in Srinagar, India. The lake is slowly dying, a victim of overpopulation, environmental degradation and neglect for the past decade.

tourists to return. We've turned to farming," Ghulam Rasool said.

He used to ply a gaily colored, flat-bottomed boat called a shikara, taking tourists on placid outings on the lake, but now works part time on a vegetable farm.

As the "floating gardens" have spread, and weeds have proliferated, many parts of the lake now look like little more than a network of dirty canals through dense stretches of weeds.

"In another few decades, Dal

Lake will no longer exist. Only a swamp will remain," warns Sabah-ul-Solim, a scientist at the National Institute of Aquatic Ecology in Srinagar, the Kashmiri capital spread around the lake.

Then there are the more than 100,000 soldiers India has poured into the territory.

Many of them are bivouacked year-round in hotels that ordinarily would fill up only in the tourist season. Their untreated sewage pours into the lake.

Older lakeside dwellers remember better days, when the waters were crystal-clear.

"My grandmother used to wash our stock of Pashmina shawls in the lake waters, saying that's what makes them soft," said Nazir Ahmed, a shopkeeper. "Now I wouldn't dip my finger in it. It's so polluted."

Khurshid Naqub, chairman of Jammu-Kashmir's Lakes and Waterways Development Authority, said his department has begun sifting

families living on the lake to other parts of the city, but few have accepted the offer.

"The land they've given us is barren. We had to fight to get drinking water and electricity," Rasool said.

"Every day is a struggle." Boat owners wait endlessly, hoping the occasional Indian tourist, or even farther foreign visitor, will spend an hour or two on the water or a few days in an intricately carved wooden houseboat.

The state deployed mechanical harvesters in a massive weed-removal project in 1999, but the weeds grew faster than the machines could uproot them. The expensive harvesters now lie rusting in the lake.

Officials also have launched an awareness program to discourage the dumping of garbage into the lake. Billboards everywhere plead: "SAVE DAL LAKE."

But environmentalists say the root of the problem is the lack of a sewage treatment plant.

"My grandmother used to wash our stock of Pashmina shawls in the lake waters, saying that's what makes them soft. Now I wouldn't dip my finger in it. It's so polluted."

NAZIR AHMED
Shopkeeper

"I will take more than slogans to save the Dal," said Mohamud Yusuf Chappi, a houseboat owner-turned-lake conservationist.

Lawmakers in Jammu-Kashmir accuse the state government of renegeing on promises to clean up Dal Lake. The government replies that it's busy dealing with the insurgency.

"Even now it's not too late, but the government has to show it means business by getting in water filtration equipment and pushing ahead with resettlement of the lake residents," said Saffuddin Soz, a Kashmiri lawmaker.

Even with a continued insurgency the prospect of a fresh administration leads some people to hope that Dal Lake will be restored to its former glory.

"Can you imagine a Kashmir without Dal Lake?" Chappi said. "Without the Dal, Kashmir will be without its crown jewel."