

# Slap for Delhi as Pak stays off terror blacklist

FROM K.P. NAYAR

**Washington, June 17:** Only days before external affairs minister Jaswant Singh is due to meet the US secretary of state Madeleine Albright in Warsaw, Pakistan has extracted a commitment from the Clinton administration that it would not be declared a terrorist state as demanded by the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government.

The commitment by Washington will greatly dilute India's current global campaign against Pakistan on the issue of terrorism and blunt home minister L.K. Advani's three-nation onslaught against Islamabad during visits to Israel, France and the U.K.

Significantly, Pakistan's foreign minister Abdus Sattar, who held talks with Albright here on Friday was tight-lipped about any such commitment by Washington, but there were enough straws in the wind to suggest that cooperation between Pakistan and the US on combating terrorism was very much on the cards, not any confrontation on the issue.

Responding to a report a few days ago by the National Commission on Terrorism, set up by the US Congress, Albright told CNN in the run up to Sattar's visit here that "we are pressing them (Greece and Pakistan) on terrorism. But we are not considering sanctions. Concerns about terror-

ism would not lead to sanctions against Greece and Pakistan".

The Commission had recommended that the US should change its ways of tackling terrorism and suggested sanctions against Athens and Islamabad in addition to increasing the powers of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Michael Sheehan, state department's coordinator on counter-terrorism, was more forthright than Albright on the issue on the very day Sattar was having talks on the nuclearisation of South Asia with US deputy secretary of state Strobe Talbott.

"Pakistan is also a victim of terrorism and understands that this threat undermines its own security," Sheehan told the Senate foreign relations committee on Thursday. He said Pakistan was under constant review for designation as a state "not cooperating fully" against terror.

But he added that while the Clinton administration does not consider it appropriate to label Islamabad as a sponsor of terror, "it is a fact that Pakistan has tolerated terrorists living and moving freely within its territory".

Pakistan's record on terrorism "remains mixed", Sheehan said, praising cooperation between Washington and Islamabad on combating terrorism. "The areas of cooperation are real and we are still in the game to make more

progress". Sheehan's comments on the issue are extremely significant because as the state department's points person on counter-terrorism, the Vajpayee government considers him to be New Delhi's partner in what it fantasises will be a joint Indo-US effort against global terror.

Sattar has been clever during his talks here in pandering to American concerns about threats to its security emanating from terrorism in Pakistan, Afghanistan and beyond in Central Asia and West Asia.

In fact, Sattar's public statements here exactly mirrored those of Sheehan's portraying Pakistan as a victim of terrorism. The only addition on the part of Pakistan's foreign minister was the predictable bit that the main source of terrorism in south Asia was Indian state terrorism in Kashmir.

Sattar also sought to enlarge ongoing Pakistan-US cooperation against terrorism by bringing countries like Egypt, Libya and Algeria into the ambit of such cooperation.

Arguing that these countries were concerned about the activities of their citizens who had gone astray while living in Pakistan or Afghanistan, Sattar told a press conference on Friday: "We are sensitive to their concerns and we would identify such men and expel or extradite them."



Jaswant Singh



Abdus Sattar

# Test ban sign-up hits twin blocks

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

**New Delhi, June 17:** An early decision on signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) appears unlikely following the assertion by American experts that Islamabad's nuclear arsenal is larger than Delhi's and the US proposal to set up a National Missile Defence System.

The Indian leadership was earlier expected to initiate a debate on the treaty in the monsoon session of Parliament, beginning next month. But the developments in Washington have overtaken this plan. Though a discussion may still take place, the chances of the government announcing a decision to sign the treaty are remote.

US defence experts recently told an American television channel that Pakistan has a larger nuclear arsenal and a better delivery system than India.

Coupled with this was Washington's decision to set in place a missile defence system. Experts feel the proposed system will jeopardise non-proliferation efforts across the world, particularly in South Asia. They feel it will now be difficult to convince either India or Pakistan to give up their nuclear and missile programmes.

A toughening of the Indian stand was evident today in South Block's reaction to the regret expressed by Washington over the

Prithvi test-firing. "India's security policy is based on principles of restraint and responsibility and contributes to the stability of the region," a senior foreign ministry official said.

He said the world community should focus on the clandestine acquisition of missiles and missile technology by some countries in the region from other countries despite restrictions.

"It's curious that the US government is not yet able to make a determination on Pakistan's acquisition of ballistic missiles from a third country despite the overwhelming existence of evidence and testimonies even by their own agencies," he said.

Since the Pokhran blasts, India has been maintaining a moratorium on further tests. But even after two years and several rounds of discussions, Delhi has failed to build a national consensus on signing CTBT.

US reports about Pakistan's nuclear superiority have now created a situation where the BJP government will find it difficult to carry the nation with it in signing the treaty. Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee is scheduled to visit Washington in September for a summit meeting with US President Bill Clinton. If India fails to decide on CTBT by July, it will find it tougher to do so in the run-up to Vajpayee's trip.

# Pak N-arsenal superior to India's: US official

5/11  
8/6  
PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

WASHINGTON, June 7. — Pakistan's nuclear arsenal is "vastly superior to India's" and Islamabad has more capability to use it, senior US Intelligence officials have said.

NBC News, quoting US officials, today said Pakistan not only has 25 to 100 nuclear warheads more than India but "has more capability to actually use them." Gen Anthony Zinni, commander-in-chief of the US Central Command, told the network: "Don't assume that the Pakistani nuclear capability is inferior to India's".

Initially, Pakistan's arsenal was considered inferior. But two years of Intelligence gathering has led US officials to believe that the initial assessments "overstate the capabilities of India's home-grown arsenal and understate those of Pakistan whose programme

## 'CTBT imminent'

TOKYO, June 7. — Mr George Fernandes today said it was a matter of time before India signed the CTBT. The defence minister, in a meeting with the Japanese foreign minister, said India was in favour of total elimination of nuclear weapons. This is a deviation from the government's stand that it would build domestic consensus before signing the CTBT. — Reuters

has relied on generous Chinese assistance," NBC said.

Earlier assessments had said Pakistan had somewhere between 10 and 15 nuclear weapons while India's capability ranged between 25 and 100.

"I don't think the Indian programme is as advanced as Pakistan's", an official said.

The NBC said, quoting a US defence department document,

India had no nuclear-capable missiles and fewer aircraft capable of delivering a nuclear payload compared to Pakistan.

*Agni*, it said, may eventually provide the basis of an Indian nuclear missile force. "However, current US analysis suggests *Agni* will not be fielded with N-warheads for another 10 years. India appears to only have begun work on missile warhead design and miniaturisation of weapons — two hurdles to actual use of weapons."

Pakistani air and missile delivery systems were now believed to be "fully capable of a nuclear exchange", another US official said. Pakistan's air force, with US F-16's and French Mirages, is "superior" to India's. Islamabad has about 30 N-capable Chinese M-11 short-range missiles and its Pak variant, *Tarmuk*, and the North Korean *Nodong* intermediate range missile, or *Ghauri*.

THE STATESMAN

8 JUN 2000

# Clinton to stop over in Pak for a few hours

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W. Li. South Asia

## INDIA ABROAD NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, March 5. — After weeks of agonising, the White House has decided that Mr Bill Clinton will stop over in Islamabad for a few hours and confer with General Pervez Musharraf, senior administration and diplomatic sources said.

An announcement will be made on Monday or Tuesday.

Mr Clinton's plane may touch down on an air force base near Islamabad on its way back from Mumbai, and the President have a luncheon discussion with Gen Musharraf and his Cabinet, a source said.

This would avoid the fanfare of a motorcade from Islamabad airport to the city, and thus the impression of a state visit.

The decision comes after a National Security Council meeting chaired by national security adviser Mr Samuel Berger and attended by his top aides and other senior officials from various departments and agencies, including the state department and Pentagon.

Earlier, an advance US team spent a week in Pakistan scouring Islamabad and its neighbourhood, scrutinising the security situation. The team returned to Washington and gave the final okay to White House for a presidential stop-over.

The sources said Mr Berger is likely to explain to Indian ambassador Mr Naresh Chandra the rationale for the stop-over. New Delhi has said it's a sovereign decision of the USA, hinting at the same time that it would not go down well with the Indian public.



Clinton: thumbs up to Musharraf

## Nuclear policy

KAIGA (Karnataka), March 5. — Two weeks before Mr Clinton visits India, Mr AB Vajpayee today said New Delhi would maintain a minimum nuclear deterrent till all weapons of mass destruction are dismantled. India is, however, committed to a time-bound and comprehensive global nuclear disarmament, he emphasised.

"But till all weapons of mass destruction are dismantled, we will continue to be guided by the imperative of the country's strategic autonomy and the need to maintain a credible minimum nuclear deterrent," the Prime Minister said after dedicating to the nation Unit H of Kaiga atomic power plant. — UNI

Mr Chandra, who was slated to meet White House chief of staff Mr John Podesta on Friday, was requested to come on Wednesday instead, because Mr Berger wanted to be at the meeting.

Mr Chandra, though, said if Mr Berger starts bringing up the subject, he would simply state: "Let's forget about Pakistan, let's talk about India."

Some analysts said it is a tremendous comedown for Pakistan to have Mr Clinton spend only a few hours in the country after five days in India and a full day in Bangladesh.

The country's fundamentalists might give General Musharraf a hard time, saying it's an insult to Pakistan and its people that the only reason Mr Clinton would stop over at all is to lecture the military ruler about how important it is for Pakistan to return to democratic rule and the grave consequences if it doesn't.

Meanwhile, some members of the Congressional Caucus on India have been privately grumbling that co-chairman Mr Gary Ackerman sat on a letter to be sent to the President, urging him not to visit Islamabad.

**Musharraf appeal:** Gen Musharraf has asked Islamic countries to exert political and economic pressure on India to "resolve" the Kashmir dispute, adds PTI from Islamabad.

In an interview to Kuwait-based Arabic journal *Al-Mujtama*, published in *The Nation* today, he said Pakistan expects "leaders and people all over the Islamic world, especially the Organisation of Islamic Conference, to support their Kashmiri brothers".

# Get tough with Musharraf, US Congress tells Clinton

'Time for Pakistan to end proxy war against India'

N.C. Menon  
Washington, March 8

CONGRESSMAN GARY Ackerman, New York Democrat, co-Chairman of the Congressional India Caucus and a leading member of the House International Relations committee, yesterday urged US President Bill Clinton to seek guarantees from General Pervez Musharraf about the return of democracy to Pakistan on his trip, and about ending the proxy war against India.

"The return of democracy should be the main item on the agenda," Mr Gary Ackerman said in a statement. "I will also insist that the junta in Islamabad must undertake verifiable steps to stop its proxy war against India."

That meant, in effect that terrorist organisations such as the Harkat ul-Mujaheddin and the Lashkar-e-Toyba must be outlawed, the terrorist training camps

shut down, and Pakistani support for the Jihad movement launched against India over Kashmir, be halted.

Similar sentiments were expressed by other members of the Congress. Congressman Frank Pallone, New Jersey Democrat and founder of the Congressional India Caucus, urged President Clinton "to take a tough line with Gen. Musharraf on such key issues as democracy, nuclear proliferation and terrorism."

Congressman Frank Pallone went on to say that: "Despite my initial reservations, I hope that the President's visit to Pakistan will offer an opportunity for some straight talk."

Congressman Sam Gejdenson, Connecticut Democrat and ranking Democratic member on the House International Relations Committee, said he expected President Bill Clinton to demand concrete actions by Gen. Musharraf towards the restoration

of democracy in the country, curbing terrorism and promoting non-proliferation.

"I continue to be troubled by Pakistan's relationship with organisations that have been linked to the hijacking of the Indian Airlines jet in January," he said. "I hope the President will use this opportunity to address our concerns on security."

Congressman Jim McDermott, Washing State Democrat, was "dismayed" by President Clinton's decision to visit Pakistan.

Now that he was going, Congressman Jim McDermott said that he hoped the President would use the opportunity to press General Pervez Musharraf on his languishing plan to restore democracy to Pakistan.

The Congressman also wanted President Bill Clinton to obtain a full explanation of "Why does Pakistan allow a multitude of terrorist groups to attack India from its land," he asked.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 9 MAR 2000

# Washington silent on sanctions

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, March 9: With barely 10 days left for Bill Clinton's visit to India, the United States is yet to decide on either resumption of lending from multilateral financial institutions or removing over 150 Indian organisations from the Entities' List where they were placed after Pokhran II.

The US commerce department's Bureau of Export Administration (BXA) today said it will remove 51 Indian organisations from the list of entities. These 51 are in addition to the 150-odd Indian establishments on which the US had imposed sanctions and stopped American firms from doing business with.

The state department had announced the removal of the 51 organisations earlier. But

nothing has been done so far.

Over 300 Indian and Pakistani organisations were put on the US Entities' List after the two countries conducted their tit-for-tat nuclear tests in May 1998.

"These 51 organisations have not been removed from the list yet. They will remain... until a notice is published in the Federal Register, effective immediately," the BXA statement said. It pointed out that the high performance computers notification for India will be processed consistent with the National Defence Authorisation Act and "not be automatically converted into licences upon receipt".

Referring to the BXA's announcement, US commerce assistant secretary for export administration R. Roger Majak said: "The action is based on a consensus de-

cision by the administration to more tightly focus the sanctions on those Indian entities most directly involved in proliferation activities of concern."

Majak added: "The removal of the entities will make it easier for them to obtain US goods and technology — especially non-sensitive products that ordinarily do not require an export license for India... (but) the US policy of denial of dual-use items controlled for nuclear and missile technology remains to all Indian and Pakistani entities remains unchanged".

Reacting to the US announcement, Indian foreign ministry spokesman R.S. Jassal said: "Since the decision has been taken to remove the 51 Indian entities from the list, it was only a matter of time before they find mention in the US Federal Register. We expect

this to happen shortly." But he refused to say whether this will happen before Clinton comes calling.

The BJP government had earlier made it clear that though the Americans were guided by their domestic laws to impose sanctions on India for the nuclear tests, Delhi was opposed to such moves. Describing the decision as "unfortunate", the government had said "it would prove to be counter-productive". The ruling coalition had also signalled that a visit by the US President would not be possible till the sanctions are removed.

However, in its keenness to ensure contentious issues are kept out of the way so that the US President's forthcoming visit is a success, it is not even willing to ask the Americans whether the remaining sanctions will be lifted before Clinton arrives.

THE TELEGRAPH

10 MAR 2000

# Clinton visit: Pak overjoyed

N.C. Menon  
Washington, March 10

WASHINGTON WHEN PRESIDENT Clinton telephoned Prime Minister Vajpayee before announcing the decision to include Islamabad in a stop over for Air Force One, Mr Vajpayee did express the concern that the presidential visit would be taken by Pakistan to mean an endorsement of the military regime. The Indian Prime Minister's fear has now turned out to be well-founded.

Various officials in Islamabad, from Gen. Musharraf down, have claimed that the Clinton visit imparted legitimacy to the army take-over. In what was quite a stretch, and obviously meant for domestic consumption, it was also claimed that the visit denoted US support for the Pakistani view on Kashmir.

So ecstatic was the Pakistani establishment here that Ambassador Maleeha Lodhi went to the undiplomatic length of advising President Clinton on how to make his visit to the region "truly historic."

All President Clinton had to do was to ensure that his visit "leads to promotion of peace and security in South Asia and facilitates a just and durable settlement of the Kashmir dispute based on the wishes of the Kashmiri people."

All that, after the White House and the Administration had made it repeatedly clear that the visit was not meant to be an endorsement of the military regime, and that President Clinton had no intention of getting into the Kashmir dispute! But then, the US is now beginning to realise that if you throw a propaganda line to a drowning regime, it will grab it and try to pull itself out.

Mr Vajpayee is too good a host to tell an honoured guest "I told you so." But the US is now painfully aware that he did tell them so. Watching the Pakistani propaganda blitz and the chest-thumping, Washington now has the uncomfortable sense that it has been had. In fact, that egg-on-the-face feeling has led to a degree of irascibility on the part of US

spokesman facing questions about the visit.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart told a questioner that "anyone who states that our visit there is somehow a validation of the military government there is flat wrong. It is absolutely wrong to read it (the visit) as any kind of acceptance of the military government. We will continue to bring our message when we go to Pakistan about the importance of democratic and Constitutional rule."

Asked to comment on Gen. Musharraf's claim that the visit was an endorsement of his regime, Lockhart tersely commented: "I cannot find another way or more emphatic way to say that he is wrong in that statement."

State Department spokesman James Rubin was similarly vehement when commenting on the Pakistani reaction to the visit.

"Let me be clear, the visit of the US President is not a reward for Pakistan," the US spokesperson declared.

"They may call it that, but it is not. And I think it will be clear when the visit is over that the President will have reflected, very strongly, our profound concern about the lack of democratic rule in Pakistan, and the concerns we have on terrorism and other matters."

The problem is that such comments are unlikely to get any sizeable play within Pakistan and thus will not have the effect of diluting or nullifying the claims of the military regime.

Any hope here that President Clinton can get directly to the people of Pakistan through the medium of television is also unrealistic because the exposure of the Pakistani people in general to television news and comments is quite low, far lower than in India.

The Pakistani establishment is trying to make out that the Presidential visit as a tribute to the triumph of its lobbying efforts. To suggest that Administration officials and the members of Congress can be so easily swayed by paid lobbyists is to trivialise the very basis of the American governance.

News Analysis

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

11 MAR 2000

# LoC world's most dangerous place: Clinton

By Ramesh Chandran  
The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: South Asia is a tinder-box, the U.S. seems to have realised. U.S. President Bill Clinton has described South Asia and especially the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir as the "most dangerous place in the world right now."

He described the LoC as such stark terms at a gathering of leaders of all faiths. He said: "One of the reasons I am about to go to the Indian sub-continent is that I want to try to minimise — if people are mad at us — at least I want them to have an accurate perception". Mr Clinton added that if people in the region thought the U.S. had a "certain policy" or a "certain attitude," he wanted them to have an "accurate view" of what that policy was.

He said that his visit was a recognition that "America's interests and values will be advanced if we maintain some contact with and communications with the Pakistani government".

He also debunked Pakistani chief executive Gen. Pervez Musharraf's claim that a stopover in his country vindicated the "legitimacy" of his government. He said it was "certainly not an endorsement of the military coup".

He emphasised that "it would be a mistake not to go, but it would be a grave mistake to think that my going represents some sort of endorsement of a non-democratic process which occurred there".

He said: "I think our ability to have a positive influence on the future direction of Pakistan, in terms of the restoration of democracy, in terms of the ultimate resolution of issues in the Indian sub-continent and in terms of avoiding further dangerous conflicts will be greater if we maintain our cooperation".

Among the issues that Mr Clinton is expected to raise with Pakistan's military rulers are: terrorism, a time-table for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan and inevitably non-proliferation. He is also expected to press Mr Mushar-

raf to give former prime minister Nawaz Sharif a fair trial.

As the countdown to the presidential visit begins, Washington is buzzing with various seminars and briefings on South Asia. The latest was organised by the US Institute of Peace, which had a heavyweight panel that included Karl Inderfurth, assistant secretary of state for South Asia, Sam Brownback, an influential Republican at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Frank Wisner, former ambassador to India, Marshall Bouton of the Asia Society, Robert Oakley, former ambassador to Pakistan, Shirin Tahir-Kheli of John Hopkins and Ashley Tellis of Rand Corporation.

Mr Inderfurth stated that the U.S. saw India as a "key player in global affairs in the 21st century and a vital contributor to overall Asian regional peace and stability." He referred to a U.S. desire to ensure that peace and stability returned to the region. He hoped Mr Clinton's visit would "in some fashion, contribute to the effort that

must be made to bring about a resolution of the tragedy of Kashmir".

He also said: "The president has made it very clear in his public statements he would like to be of whatever assistance he can be in that process. But we recognise that this must be dealt with by the two countries themselves. But we do think we can be of help and support to a process if it is undertaken".

The assistant secretary's remarks reflected the growing concern in the administration that the potential for a dangerous escalation in the sub-continent was very real.

Mr Brownback, who has spearheaded some of the legislative initiatives to scale back U.S. sanctions against both India and Pakistan spoke bluntly on three points. He appealed to Mr Clinton to use his waiver authority and lift the sanctions. He said that the zero sum game pursued for long by this administration when dealing with India and Pakistan ought to end with a coherent and distinct policy towards each country.

# Clinton may tell Dhaka to sell gas to India

By C. Raja Mohan

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 13.** As part of the American efforts to promote regional energy cooperation in the Sub-Continent, the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, is likely to urge the Bangladeshi Prime Minister, Sheikh Hasina, to begin exporting natural gas to India.

Probably, for the first time in last five decades, the United States is calling on the smaller nations of the Sub-Continent to integrate their economies with that of India for mutual benefit.

The Clinton Administration is convinced that increased energy trade in the Sub-Continent could improve efficiency, reduce costs and promote regional security.

But given the strong political sensitivities in Dhaka about exporting gas to India, there is no expectation here that Bangladesh would reverse its current ban on natural gas exports during Mr.

Clinton's day-long visit to Dhaka early next week.

There is growing American commercial interest in developing the large natural gas reserves in Bangladesh. The United States, however, believes that without an early decision by Bangladesh on natural gas exports, it will be difficult for American energy companies to commit investments.

India is the only market for Bangladeshi natural gas. The other neighbour of Bangladesh—Myanmar—is an exporter of natural gas.

The U.S. investments in the petrochemical sector in Bangladesh have dramatically risen in the last three years. Business sources estimate that nearly \$5 billions of American investment could flow in the next few years, if Bangladesh decides to export gas.

There are concerns in Bangladesh that there may not be sufficient reserves of gas to meet its

domestic requirements in the future and exports to India could be short-sighted.

But the Clinton Administration and American companies are confident that there may be enough and more gas in Bangladesh for it to start exports now.

The U.S. Government has been extending technical assistance to Bangladesh to make an accurate assessment of its resources and the most efficient means to utilise them.

There is a growing view in Bangladesh that earning hard currency through export of natural gas may be a sensible option. But Ms. Hasina, who faces general elections next year, has a keen eye on the domestic political impact of such a decision.

It is quite likely that the Opposition parties in Bangladesh would protest a decision to export it as a "sell-out" to India.

But the Clinton Administration

believes that integration of the production and utilisation would benefit India and Bangladesh as well as U.S. companies.

The United States also sees a similar "win-win" situation in Nepal, where the U.S. companies could build hydro-electric plants and export electricity to the Indian market.

To promote regional energy integration in the sub-continent, the U.S. Government organised a major conference last week in Kathmandu bringing energy companies and officials from different South Asian countries.

But it will be a while, however, before the logic of enlightened self-interest prevails over the entrenched reservations in the sub-continent about economic integration with India. But for a change the U.S. and India are on the same side.



# Spotlight will be on new relationship: Celeste

15/3  
'Cobwebs from past have been swept aside'

By Seema Guha

NEW DELHI: U.S. President Bill Clinton is coming here to begin a new chapter in relations with India. The visit should not be judged by the number of agreements signed or the scope of the topics discussed, U.S. ambassador Richard Celeste told reporters on Tuesday. Those who are looking for such signs maybe disappointed.

The emphasis is on the change in perception. Cobwebs from the past have been swept aside. In its place is a desire to understand each other's concerns. Not that things are hunky-dory. There are still major differences in perception, but these can gradually be erased through interaction at all levels—official, economic, scientific. The lynchpin, both Indian and U.S. officials agree, would be people to people interaction.

The President will be accompanied by daughter Chelsea and mother-in-law, together with a huge official delegation, including secretary of state Madeline Albright, her deputy Strobe Talbott and national security adviser Sandy Berger. A 20-50 strong business delegation is also accompanying the President. Indian Americans, many of them top business leaders, will number around 50-100. Some of them may not be in Air Force One, choosing to travel independently.

The President's visit signals a "major, major commitment to engage with this government and the people of India," Mr Celeste said.

The objective of the trip?

\* "To make it clear to citizens of both our countries that we have embarked on a new day in our relations." But will there be enough in the visit to satisfy the domestic audience in India? "There will be a *thali* full," Mr Celeste said at an earlier meeting with reporters.

\* To sustain the present high-level engagement, the sustained strategic dialogue between Jaswant Singh and Mr Talbott. The idea is to keep in touch and discuss each other's strategic vision. These may not coincide, but that will not detract from the value of the discussions. "There is value in engagement," Mr Celeste explained.

Mr Clinton will spend a day and a half in New Delhi, during which he will have an "intimate discussion" with Prime Minister Vajpayee, possibly with an aide each, followed by delegation level talks at Hyderabad House. He will also meet Congress chief Sonia Gandhi.

Ms Albright and Mr Singh are expected to have one-on-one meetings, while Mr Berger will talk to Brajesh Mishra. Ms Albright may interrupt her visit with a trip to Europe but will rejoin the presidential party probably in Mumbai. The U.S. wants India and Pakistan to renew talks. A reference to Kashmir, with talk of cross-border terrorism thrown in, will be much more palatable to the host government.

The spotlight for now is on a new relationship.

Clinton urged to tell Pak not to sponsor terrorism

WASHINGTON: Some 22 U.S. foreign policy experts have urged President Bill Clinton to make known to Gen. Pervez Musharraf, during his brief stopover in Islamabad, that the United States will have little option but to designate Pakistan a "state sponsor of terrorism" if it continued to support violence and insurgency in Kashmir.

Such a designation entails imposition of economic and other sanctions against the country under the current U.S. law.

"You should voice strong criticism of their provocative posture toward the Kashmir insurgency, making clear that they (Pakistani rulers) would not be better off if Pakistan foments a war with India over Kashmir or anything else," they said in an open letter to Mr Clinton, released here on Monday.

It wanted Mr Clinton to ask Pakistani leaders to adopt a more realistic approach to what diplomacy might accomplish vis-a-vis Kashmir in the foreseeable future and drop their insistence that Kashmir constitute the core of any dialogue with India. The letter maintained that President Clinton was correct in visiting Pakistan, a country in danger of failing. The experts, who constitute an independent task force, warned the President to resist the temptation to place ambitious nuclear weapons-related goals at the centre of U.S. aims vis-a-vis India.

Any attempt to persuade India to eliminate its nuclear arsenal will fail and poison the atmosphere for the constructive discussion of issues, they said. (UNI)



Richard Celeste

INDIAN EXPRESS

15 MAR 2000

# Peacemaker Clinton

## A Moral Obligation to Sharif

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

MANY American writings indicate that President Bill Clinton is keen to end his term of office by playing the role of peacemaker in the subcontinent. If this is true, then he ought to be informed that it is he among the ten American presidents since India and Pakistan became free who has played the most effective role as peacemaker between the two countries and now it is for him to continue that role with appropriate steps starting from his four hour stop-over in Islamabad.

### Kargil Misadventure

The 1947-48 war came to an end through a UN-arranged ceasefire and President Truman had no role in it. The 1965 Rann of Kutch crisis resulted in an arbitration for which the British prime minister took the lead. In respect of the Tashkent agreement, President Lyndon Johnson abdicated all responsibility to Prime Minister Kosygin of Russia. In 1971, with President Nixon's infamous tilt towards the genocidal Yahya Khan and his line-up with Pakistan and China, the US became part of the problem, not the solution. In 1987, the Pakistanis claim they conveyed a nuclear threat to India during Operation Brasstacks and the crisis was defused through bilateral interaction.

In the 1990 crisis, the US had a bilateral problem with Pakistan on the nuclear issue and Robert Gates was sent to read the riot act to Ghulam Ishaq Khan and General Aslam Beg. It is now established that there was no threat of war at that stage. The only effective and real intervention to defuse tension in the subcontinent was President Clinton's joint declaration with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of July 4, 1999. For that full credit must be given to President Clinton.

Mr Nawaz Sharif was in a desperate situation. Tololing fell on June 14 in an Indian army assault and according to Pakistani General Javed Nasir, this signalled the disastrous end of Pakistan's Kargil adventure. On the day Nawaz Sharif signed the joint declaration with President Clinton, Tiger Hill was being recaptured by the Indian army. By that time, 70-80 per cent of Kargil territory which had been intruded upon was recovered and Mr Nawaz Sharif needed a figleaf to cover the enormous blunder he committed with the encouragement of General Pervez

Musharraf in ordering the Kargil invasion. The Indian army's northern, western and central commands were mobilised. The Indian airforce's western, central and southwest air commands were on full alert. The two fleets of the Indian navy were concentrated in the North Arabian sea. The Indian Bofors gun and aircraft were taking a heavy toll of the intruding Pakistani army. This was not the response Mr Sharif and General Musharraf had anticipated when they planned the 'salami slicing' at Kargil. This comes out clearly in Mr Sharif's television address to the nation on July 12, 1999.

Now Mr Sharif, in his trial testimony, claims he saved Pakistan from the gravest crisis it ever faced through the July 4 agreement and that was the reason underlying his toppling. President Clinton's intervention was constructive and reaffirmed the basic principles enunciated in the Helsinki declaration of 1975 among the nuclear weapon powers and their allies that in the nuclear age borders and lines of control could not be permitted to be altered through use of force. The joint statement of President Clinton and Mr Sharif, though short and to the point, referred to the Shimla accord twice, respect for and sanctity of the Line of Control thrice and the Lahore accord once.

### Basic Principles

President Clinton, in a recent statement, has referred to the LoC being the most dangerous place in the world. That would imply he is not optimistic about the July 4 US-Pakistan agreement being adhered to by the military rulers of Islamabad. If that were the case, then his efforts to promote peace should concentrate on asking the Pakistani junta to reaffirm its commitment to the July 4, 1999 joint statement between the US and Pakistan. That would be the clearest signal of Pakistan adhering to its commitment to the US.

If Mr Sharif's assertion that he was toppled as a result of his agreement with the US on July 4, 1999 has any validity, President Clinton is morally bound to go into the issue in detail and satisfy himself of the veracity of this charge. Surely, he cannot expect to promote peace if people who sign agreements with him are toppled by the military for doing so.

The correct line for President Clinton is to consolidate the prin-

ciples of the Blair House declaration by getting a joint statement on the same lines from General Musharraf that he would abide by the Shimla accord and Lahore declaration and respect the sanctity of the LoC. The last should also include not sending mercenary terrorists across it. Surely President Clinton should have no difficulty in recognising that a regime which disowns all responsibility for terrorist gangs operating on its soil and crossing the LoC to carry out terrorist killings is not worth negotiating with. A government that expects to be negotiated with should demonstrate that it is in effective control of its own territory.

### Moral Obligation

When Mr Clinton finds that the Pakistanis are not honouring the agreement he entered into himself, he must know why Pakistan today has become an international security problem. He is undoubtedly right in characterising the subcontinent as the most dangerous place because of the existence here of a large non-democratic state, now under the fourth spell of military rule, which possesses nuclear weapons and missiles thanks to Chinese proliferation. This state is the home of religious extremist mercenaries whose terrorist activities have reached the US (World Trade Centre and CIA headquarters) and which sponsored and sustains the Taliban regime, which unashamedly proclaims that it has no control on mercenary terrorists operating on its soil and whose activities are nurtured by the narcotics trade. This situation and this state are legacies of the Cold War.

President Clinton's decision to halt at Islamabad is a correct one since he has a stake in ensuring the continued commitment of Pakistan to its bilateral declaration of July 4, 1999 with the US. He has also a moral obligation towards Mr Nawaz Sharif. If he pursues these issues, he would have done a lot more for peace in this region than any of his predecessors. Enforcing the sanctity of the LoC is the way to consolidate peace and security in South Asia. Perhaps President Clinton could consider appointing a special US coordinator in Islamabad to ensure that the US-Pakistan joint declaration gets implemented in full.



THE TIMES OF INDIA

15 MAR 2000

# American mediation in South Asia

By Gopalji Malviya and W. Lawrence S. Prabhakar

WHY HAS the United States been keen to initiate mediation and peace-building efforts worldwide? The answer lies in its diplomatic evangelical zeal to further U.S. interests in strife-torn regions that are strategic in its perception and in areas of resources and markets. South Asia by these counts was not an area of much strategic significance. In fact, it was a "area of strategic vacuum" until recently (the May 1998 nuclear test explosions). As the U.S. strategic community often remarked, "South Asia has never been a blip on the U.S. strategic radar screen". It was always considered a region juxtaposed between the hydrocarbon-rich and geo-strategic West Asia and the economically-prosperous South-East and East Asia that were bolstered by massive U.S. economic and military commitments to withstand the Soviet-Chinese communist onslaught and prevent the possible domino effect during the Cold War years.

South Asia had a brief presence on the U.S. geo-strategic radar screen whenever the regional wars of 1962, 1965 and 1971 threatened to affect the tranquillity of the region and during intermittent efforts to resolve the Kashmir crisis. The U.S. interest in South Asia grew with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The U.S. mobilisation of a pan-Islamic-Arab-mujahideen force against the Soviets in Afghanistan did prove successful in the short term, but in the long term it arrayed a considerable front of Islamic fundamentalists against Washington.

The prevalent U.S. strategic perception is that global terrorism abetted by Islamic fundamentalism is entrenched in this region. Therefore, the U.S. is in search of strategic partners to combat Islamic terrorism; simultaneously, it seeks access to Central Asian oil reserves and hence needs Pakistan — "the moderate Islamic State" — to balance the fundamentalist regimes and secure oil pipeline access through Afghanistan and Pakistan. In its grand strategy to forge a consensus, the U.S. has been keen to initiate a peace-building effort between India and Pakistan, which it perceives could be achieved by mediation.

to formulate peace agreements. Besides, the prospects of U.S. economic aid and assistance are a lure. In South Asia, the erstwhile Soviet ally, India, has not accepted the U.S. offer of mediation nor has it been influenced by any prospective offer of economic aid. In fact, the direct bilateral assistance of the U.S. to India is very minimal. Besides, India is firm and insistent that South Asian differences can be best resolved only within the region.

One dimension that the U.S. is probably trying to explore is the goodwill, concerns and sentiments of the South Asian diasporas in the U.S. A U.S. Presidential initiative for a South Asia peace process has several constituencies to satisfy. It is election year in the U.S.; a mediation process in a conflict-ridden region would garner some points for the incumbent political party. A

## *The rationale for an American mediation and a crisis management strategy in South Asia emerges from the Indian and Pakistani refusals to adhere to the NPT.*

onisation process resorted to by both the states. These have provided the U.S. grounds to "pontificate" on the dangers of regional nuclear proliferation and the dangers of an accidental nuclear war given the "flashpoint in Kashmir". The divergence between India and the U.S. over the CTBT is well known. The ongoing India-U.S. strategic dialogue (the Jaswant Singh-Talbot talks) seems to indicate some progress, with the U.S. realising India's security concerns.

In this context what would be the possible scope of American mediation in South Asia? It would be instructive to draw parallels with the relatively successful American role in West Asia. The American approach in West Asia has a dimension of even-handedness despite its close support for Israel. In South Asia, this process would be lopsided due to a greater American influence on Pakistan vis-a-vis India. In West Asia, the erstwhile Soviet clients, Egypt, the Palestinians and Syria, have accepted U.S. mediation and peace-building efforts as Washington can influence Israel

reflects a desire to hold a stake in the South Asian issue. This has been intermittent and stage-managed through various channels. At a different level, the U.S. attempts to involve China in the mediation process and the advice proffered by the two countries to each other reflects the incessant American effort to hold a diplomatic high ground over the two countries in South Asia.

Thirdly, the U.S. desire to mediate will not be realised as long as it does not appreciate India's grave security concerns that emanate from cross-border terrorism and the unconventional war prosecuted by Pakistan across the Line of Control. If the U.S. is unable to adopt a balanced approach its prescriptions for South Asian peace will remain futile declarations. Fourthly, the U.S. efforts to mediate will not bear fruit or will be limited because of the nuclear option available to India and Pakistan, which has widened their diplomatic and strategic autonomy insulating them from possible external pressures. Pakistan has gained the ability to escalate unconventional hostilities with India and then plead for international mediation to resolve the conflict. Such adventurism by Pakistan has promoted the American endeavour to propose mediation to thwart "a nuclear flashpoint in Kashmir".

Given all this, the issue of American mediation and peace-building in South Asia deserves a whole new rethink that should depart from the prevalent biases and stereotypes. Peace in South Asia can only result from a direct bilateral conciliation between India and Pakistan which may result from either a blown-up crisis, at the end of which peace may come, or from sane realisation by Pakistan that a military confrontation with India will be a futile exercise. The difference between the American-sponsored West Asia peace process and its prospective role in South Asia lies in the fact that South Asia already has a regional bilateral framework for peace building, unique and tested, unlike in West Asia.

(The writers are respectively, Professor of Defence & Strategic Studies, University of Madras, and Assistant Professor of Political Science, Madras Christian College, Chennai.)

49-17 167

# 'Pak. n-warheads too will be discussed'

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MARCH 16. The White House has once again reiterated that nuclear and missile issues "will be very much on the table" when the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, visits South Asia. The Spokesman, Mr. Joe Lockhart, was asked to comment on the satellite photographs of Pakistani nuclear facilities, with independent scientific organisations making the point that Islamabad may be possibly be preparing to place nuclear warheads on the missiles.

"... obviously, these types of issues will be very much on the table in our meetings in both countries", Mr. Lockhart said. Responding to a similar question on Tuesday, the spokesman said the U.S. had talked at length on the nuclear programme of India and Pakistan but hastened to add that neither side had "developed an operational deployed missile".

The Federation of American Scientists has released high resolution satellite photographs showing land around the Khushab plutonium reactor that include towers which scientists say are characteristic of a heavy water facility. A senior official at the Pakistan Embassy confirmed that Pakistan could make heavy water on its own and that Islamabad had not hidden the fact.

The satellite photographs confirm that Pakistan has now a "fully operational" Chinese M-11 missile site at the Sargodha airbase. They also reveal a number of garages capable of not only housing the M-11s but that these missiles are now fully operational. Pakistan has denied receiving any Chinese M-11 missiles, but this has been laughed out of court in

the U.S. intelligence community. For political and economic reasons, the Clinton administration has refused to confront China on this score. Intelligence people in the U.S. have for long known what has been going on in Sargodha and Khushab; in the last two years, there have been occasional writings on this in the local media. But it is for the first time that the public is being shown satellite photographs which were thus far privy only to the intelligence agencies.

The scientific community's efforts comes barely three days before Mr. Clinton is to leave for his South Asia trip and the reason is to impress upon him the need to raise these issues with the leaderships in the subcontinent. For instance, an argument has been made that India is expected to launch soon a satellite capable of taking high resolution photographs and this is expected to further add to the tensions with Pakistan.

One suggestion is that Washington could share images with Pakistan, a move that has the immediate support of Islamabad; but administration officials say that the U.S. has no plans to help either India or Pakistan in safeguarding their nuclear efforts. "Our desire is for both countries to walk away from their nuclear programmes", the Pentagon spokesman said.

On the eve of Mr. Clinton's visit to South Asia which will be primarily focussed on India — five days and five cities — the administration is being reminded not to place too much emphasis on nuclear issues. "If he wants to have maximum impact, he should not hinge the trip on nuclear proliferation issues", the Senator Sam Brownback has re-

marked. The Republican from Kansas is an influential member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and is the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Near East and South Asia.

A number of people from outside of the administration have said that Mr. Clinton should raise the nuclear issue, but do so in a quiet and private fashion. One perception is that now that India and Pakistan are in fact nuclear powers, the U.S. focus should now be on "management" of the issue.

In a major address to the Asia Society, the Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, argued that "significant progress" on nuclear issues was required before the U.S. and India can realise fully the "vast potential" of the bilateral relationship.

Mr. John Pike of the "public eye project" of the Federation of American Scientists told a press conference here on Wednesday that previously nuclear powers and presumed nuclear powers, except the U.S., had only one organisation for making uranium and plutonium bombs because of the high costs involved. But, "Pakistan has two."

Mr. Pike and Mr. Corey Henderson, policy analyst of the Institute for Science and International Security, said that Pakistan's heavy water plant, intended for the Khushab plutonium plant, has also been completed.

Pakistan, Mr. Pike said, could arm its Ghauri missiles with uranium bombs. "They (uranium bombs) are a bit heavy for the M-11s but they can still be loaded on M-11s for a smaller range than the Chinese-built missile's capability," he said. Pakistan might fit plutonium bombs, which are smaller in size, on the M-11s to obtain full range of the missile.

100-18  
20

## West Bank area transfer okayed

**JERUSALEM, MARCH 19.** The Israeli Cabinet today approved maps detailing an Israeli transfer of 6.1 per cent of the West Bank to Palestinian control, setting the stage for the resumption of Israeli-Palestinian peace talks in the United States on Tuesday.

In another gesture aimed at improving the negotiating atmosphere, Israel today released three Palestinians who had been jailed for security or political offences against the Jewish state, and said up to 12 more prisoners would be released tomorrow.

Sixteen Ministers approved the transfer maps, six voted against them and one Minister abstained. The land transfer will take place on Tuesday, the day Israeli and Palestinian negotiators resume pace talks at Bolling Air Force base in Washington. The negotiators hope to reach a framework agreement on peace by May, and a full peace treaty by September.

The talks, which began last year, have been held up by a variety of issues, among them a dispute over the 6.1 per cent land transfer, which was supposed to take place on January 20. The handover was delayed first by the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Ehud

Barak, and then after Palestinians refused to accept the areas to be handed over, saying they wanted more populous areas, and also expected to receive control over villages bordering Jerusalem.

As part of the transfer, Israel will turn 5.1 per cent of West Bank territory from partial to full Palestinian control, while a further 1 per cent will go from full Israeli control to full Palestinian control.

The areas to be handed over will be in the Ramallah, Hebron, Jericho and Jenin areas and will not include the controversial areas around Jerusalem. The transfer will leave the Palestinians in full control of over 18.2 per cent of the West Bank and in partial control of 24.7 per cent, for a total of 42.9 per cent.

Palestinians hope to set up an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which Israel captured in the 1967 war.

Israel Radio, meanwhile, reported that the three prisoners were released today as a goodwill gesture to mark the Muslim holiday of Eid el Adha. All three were residents of Israeli-occupied East Jerusalem and belonged to Mr. Yaser Arafat's Fatah faction. — DPA

THE HINDU  
20 MAR 2000

# Acknowledge India's claim for UN seat, urge lawmakers

CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA  
NEW DELHI, MARCH 19

A GROUP of 65 American lawmakers has urged President Clinton to "publicly acknowledge the strength of India's claim to be a permanent member of the UN Security Council" during his visit to India.

The March 17 letter, sent to the President on the eve of his departure to the subcontinent, said such a gesture would send "a strong and clear signal to highlight India's great potential to be a leading player on the world stage".

The lawmakers are mostly from the India Caucus, a pressure group of legislators who advance India's interest in the US and who have played a big role in building political bridges between the two countries since it was established in the mid-1990s.

Signatories to the letter include influential Congressmen like Benjamin Gilman, Gary Ackerman, Sam Gedge, Bill McCollum, Jim McDermott, Robert Wexler, Frank Pallone and Sherrod Brown. Ackerman, McDermott and Pallone are among the eight lawmakers who will be accompanying the President on Air Force One.

Indian bid for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council suffered a setback following the

May 1998 nuclear tests, but the advancement of the cause by such a large bipartisan group of Congressmen would suggest a renewed support, at least on Capitol Hill. Soon after the nuclear tests, the Clinton Administration had publicly rebuked New Delhi, saying conducting nuclear tests was not the way to advance India's case for a Security Council seat.

The Congressmen also urged Clinton to exercise his waiver authority to allow critically needed World Bank loans to India. There are indications too that the administration may remove some more Indian firms from the Entities List that sanctioned them following the nuclear tests.

Citing four "sound reasons" for strengthening US relations with India, the lawmakers said the trip could "pave the way for a qualitatively new and closer relationship between the world's largest democracies".

The reasons advanced by the legislators are: Common democratic traditions of the two countries; the economic opportunity available to both countries; potential scientific and technological cooperation; and the danger posed by terrorism to both countries.

The lawmakers also asked Clinton to urge Pakistan's military dictator Pervez Musharraf to "de-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

from the front page

## Acknowledge India's claim for UN seat: Lawmakers

sist from providing material support to terrorist groups being trained and equipped in his country for the purpose of fomenting unrest in India and elsewhere in the region".

"To the extent that one of the objectives of your trip will be to encourage the resumption of a dialogue between India and Pakistan, we believe it is important for General Musharraf to understand that unless he takes steps to terminate the efforts to destabilise India, there will be no hope

of reviving the negotiations between Delhi and Islamabad," the lawmakers wrote.

The tone and content of the letter reflect the prevailing mood in Washington, that is of the need to deeply engage India after years of missed opportunities. While President Clinton's Indian yatra is predicated on positives like common traditions and future potential, US officials say the

**Pakistan stopover is based on concerns over its terminal decline and reckless behaviour.**

INDIAN EXPRESS

20 MAR 2000

# Pakistan mum over Clinton's schedule

ISLAMABAD: Pakistani authorities are keeping US President Bill Clinton's itinerary during his stopover here a secret for security reasons, media reported on Wednesday.



**Bill Clinton**

The government as well as US officials here are tight-lipped over the schedule of Mr Clinton's engagements on Saturday, which appear unusual as such high-profile visits by a head of state are programmed well ahead.

"Not that the timings and venue of the US president's engagements have not been worked out, but officials of both countries are

keeping the schedule highly secret, which is part of the security hammered out by both of them," English daily *The Nation* reported.

However, it is known that Mr Clinton will meet his Pakistani counterpart Mohammad Rafiq Tarar briefly and hold a two-hour meeting with chief executive Gen Pervez Musharraf. The President will also address the nation live over television and radio. A Pakistani official said the presidential schedule will remain a secret till the last moment.

"If the timing of his engagements are leaked out somehow, though there is very little chance, there is a possibility that his engagement might be rescheduled by half-an-hour," he said. Reports also suggested that the interior ministry may declare Saturday a holiday.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

23 MAR 2000

# Clinton snubbed on democracy date

REUTERS & PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

ISLAMABAD, March 25. — General Pervez Musharraf today gave President Bill Clinton no indication when democracy might be restored, a senior US official said.

"He didn't offer a time line or an extended road map for the restoration of democracy," said the official, on condition of anonymity.

The US President vainly pressed Pakistan's military ruler today to say when democracy would be restored and described Islamabad's nuclear weapons as a waste of the nation's wealth.

The official said Mr Clinton made the "blunt points" during his more than one-hour-forty-minute talks with Gen. Musharraf, who overthrew Mr Nawaz Sharif's government on 12 October 1999.

US officials described the talks, held in

the tightest of security at the end of Mr Clinton's six-day South Asian tour, as constructive, serious and direct.

But the talks underlined the gulf between the Washington and Islamabad over the suspension of democratic rule in Pakistan, which has had military rulers for half its 52-year life.

## ■ Editorial: Clinton in Dhaka, page 8

The official said Mr Clinton told Gen. Musharraf that nuclear weapons "didn't make Pakistan a safer place, hadn't enhanced its deterrence capability and didn't make the Pakistani people safer".

"In fact, embarking on a N-arms race (with India) was an expensive way to squander the nation's wealth," the official quoted Mr Clinton as having told Gen. Musharraf.

The view was at complete odds with Gen. Musharraf's that Pakistan had to carry out nuclear tests in May 1998 in response to those conducted by India.

Mr Clinton first held talks with the figurehead President, Mr Rafiq Tarar. Gen. Musharraf says Mr Tarar's continuing presence demonstrates that the coup does not mean complete martial law has been imposed, but Washington has called on the General to unveil a precise plan for democracy's return.

Clinton says adieu to India: In the morning, Mr Clinton said in Mumbai: "I wished to have stayed here for some more time." Before checking out of the Oberoi, situated off the Arabian Sea, Mr Clinton shook hands with the hotel staff and said that the overnight stay at the hotel was pleasant and he wished to have stayed here for some more time.

THE STATESMAN

26 MAR 2000



# Pakistan visit not easy, but necessary: Albright

27/3  
*27/3* *Ms Albright* *to* *the* *US*  
**'No compromise on return to democracy'**

NEW DELHI: The visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton to Pakistan will not be 'easy' but it is necessary to impress upon the military government the need for a return to constitutional rule, U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright has said.

Pakistan's military leader, General Pervez Musharraf, would hear firsthand about the need for that change, Ms Albright said in an interview on Sunday as she prepared to join Mr Clinton on his South Asian tour here.

"It's not an easy part of the visit," Ms Albright said of the brief stop she and the President, among others, will make in Islamabad on Saturday.

"Pakistan basically has a choice in terms of which direction it's going to go, whether the government that came in by a coup can in fact work on a sustained basis towards having a return to constitutional, civilian government," she said.

Mr Clinton has come under criticism for deciding to make the trip to Pakistan, with some complaining that it sends the wrong signals to an unelected government that has in recent days cracked down on civil rights.

But Ms Albright repeated the

point the President and others had made since the Islamabad stop was announced, flatly denying that the visit was an endorsement of Gen Musharraf's rule.

"Our statement there (will be) that we have had and will have a close relationship with the Pakistani people," Ms Albright said. "There will be nothing that happens (that will) indicate that we support the Musharraf government."

Washington will be looking to hear Gen Musharraf make the right noises on returning to civilian rule, as well as on U.S. concerns about terrorism, nuclear non-proliferation and the conflict with India over Kashmir, Ms Albright said. She had some praise for the action taken recently regarding local elections in Pakistan, but said that at the same time it was clear that such moves, while welcome, were not enough. "We think that's a step in the right direction, but there has to be respect for the rule of law and civilian control of the military," Ms Albright said.

Asked whether Gen. Musharraf needed to remove himself completely from leadership for Washington to be satisfied, Ms Albright demurred. (PTI)

## U.S. announces loan packages for Bangladesh

DHAKA: Bangladesh opened a new chapter in its relations with the U.S. on Monday with visiting American President Bill Clinton announcing two huge loans—a \$97 million food aid to the impoverished country and another \$14 million to assuage the country's child labour problems and improve their working conditions.

The U.S. and Bangladesh also decided to enhance cooperation in the trade and energy sectors. Mr Clinton, the first U.S. President to visit Bangladesh after its independence in 1971, had an hour-long meeting with Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina.

Ms Hasina welcomed the new U.S. food assistance as also an \$84 million programme to promote clean energy initiatives for Bangladesh, India and Nepal. She said the two nations had agreed to intensify cooperation on developing Bangladesh's vast natural gas reserves but ruled out export of gas until domestic requirements for 50 years were met. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

27 MAR 2000

# Till Clinton come

Tr 11 25/2

A visit to Islamabad by Clinton would be natural. By demonizing each other, India and Pakistan just help extremist forces

**┌ Musharraf represents the more secular wing in the army which would resist fundamentalists ┐**

If New Delhi thinks the United States president, Bill Clinton, is not going to visit Pakistan during his forthcoming trip to south Asia, then it is almost certainly going to be seriously mistaken. Already, the gears are moving and behind the scenes negotiations to pave the way for a Clinton stopover in Islamabad are very much in operation. It is not just General Pervez Musharraf but even his main secular opponent, Benazir Bhutto, who realizes the crucial importance of a Washington visit.

The taking into "protective custody" of one of the alleged hijackers in the Kandahar drama is obviously some kind of *quid pro quo* or part of a deal which can clear the way for Washington announcing a presidential visit. Similarly, Madeleine Albright's publicly expressed fears of what the Kashmir imbroglio can lead to and therefore the need for US mediation to defuse the south Asian situation is another message that "political responsibility" demands a Clinton appearance in Pakistan.

What is significant, however, is that a number of the more extreme fundamentalist Islamic groups in Pakistan have opposed the proposed Clinton visit. Indeed, the most disturbing development in the last decade and more has been the steady Islamization of the armed forces in Pakistan. Musharraf, in fact, represents the more secular wing within the army which would resist this fundamentalist thrust.

Recognition of this reality does not mean that his dictatorship should be preferred to civilian, democratic rule, no matter how bad. Or that his authoritarian practices such as the recent dismissal of supreme court judges should not be criticized severely. But there are fundamentalist forces allied to the *taliban* waiting in the wings and connected to senior military personnel who would see in his fall a chance to come to power and push their own more religiously and politically extreme agenda.

The US recognizes this. It is one major reason why it moved with such

The author has recently co-authored the book, *South Asia on a Short Fuse: Nuclear Politics and the Future of Global Disarmament*

THE TELEGRAPH

25 FEB 2000

alacrity to recognize his coup and endorse his accession. Indeed, the general Western line for public consumption is that Musharraf is to be preferred over more religiously extremist alternatives. Of course, US opposition to Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan today is not of a principled character and has little to do with consistency in opposing such forces. But the taliban-like Frankenstein's monster which Washington (and Islamabad) once did so much to nurture has now come back to haunt it.

The likelihood that Clinton would undermine the Musharraf regime politically by snubbing it is thus very remote. What Clinton would want to say to India and Pakistan then is also connected to the US's general concerns in the region. On the economic front it would like both countries to pursue neo-liberal forms of economic liberalization. Here the main concern is not India where the Atal Behari Vajpayee regime is going out of its way to please foreign capital and Indian big business by accelerating neo-liberal inspired reforms.

In Pakistan, where the earlier neo-liberal reforms have proved disastrous, the US has to prevent a reversal of this economic path and also somehow limit the extent to which the fundamentalist forces can capitalize on the Pakistan economic crisis. This is a difficult enough task. But it is in the area of conventional foreign policy strategic concerns that things seem even trickier for the US.

Even though the US is prepared to accept as a reality the nuclearization of the region, it is concerned about the fact that Kashmir is a nuclear flashpoint. It is also concerned that India entertains ambitions of developing a nuclear arsenal on a scale that, if realized, would greatly complicate the US's extra-regional strategic concerns and planning.

So the general line it wishes to press is that nuclearization of south Asia is a reality that it must accept in practice as it cannot soon be undone. Nonetheless both India and Pakistan must exercise great political moderation so as not to let nuclear tensions get out of hand. Also India should not try and develop an arsenal that so disturbs China or is so large as to destabilize the existing pattern of US relations (nuclear and strategic) with Russia and China.

There is a further US concern. Washington would like New Delhi to recognize the necessity of not making life more difficult for Musharraf. What the Clinton administration may not realize however, because it still does not understand the precise nature of the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, is that a drift in Pakistan towards greater rightwing authoritarianism and religious extremism also helps justify a similar lurch in India.

This then raises rather important questions about what the current Vajpayee regime may be up to when it deliberately ups the ante with regard to Pakistan. The Indian government has, ever since Kargil (reinforced by the hijacking incident) gone out of its

way to demonize Pakistan. This is much more than a simple reaction to Pakistan's culpabilities in regard to the two events.

This is a calculated policy to cover up Indian failures and stupidities which themselves played a great role in creating the post-Pokhran II mess and also a way of pushing more strongly the *Hindutva* domestic and general political agenda by making use of a deliberate whipping up of anti-Pakistan hysteria.

Take the first. Incredible as it may now seem, hardly any pro-nuclear "strategist" who welcomed Pokhran II anticipated the obvious: that the nuclearization of the Kashmir issue would guarantee its decisive and permanent internationalization. At a time when there is the most irresponsible screeching on both sides about the willingness to use nuclear weapons if provoked to do so by the other side, it is absurd to imagine that the world will allow the Kashmir issue to be put on a purely bilateral backburner.

Furthermore, an India which so desperately beseeches the US to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, can hardly expect to be taken seriously when it also tells the same US and the rest of the world that Kashmir should be a matter left solely to the two countries. Equally embarrassing is how Kargil utterly belied all earlier claims that nuclearization of the region following Pokhran II would lead to greater regional security and reduction of tensions, even a great reduction in the likelihood of conventional wars between the two countries. The intelligence failure regarding that conflict is yet another black mark.

Secondly, with the RSS and the most strongly committed *Hindutva* wadis burning with anger at the perceived humiliation that the Kandahar episode is supposed to have meted out, they are demanding some form of retribution, or at least display of "toughness", from the government to compensate for the earlier show of weakness. The more calculating among the leadership of the *Hindutva* brigade are not just irrationally baying for blood. They are also fully aware that demonizing Pakistan means strengthening those who are demonizing India in that country. Communal and militarist forces in both countries also feed on each other's strengths.

This is, of course, a very dangerous perspective and exceedingly shortsighted. Strengthening suspicions and hatreds between the Indian and Pakistani elite is probably the most dangerous "game" in the world today. Bad as the situation currently is, if secular forces in Pakistan are fully undermined, the dynamic that will be unleashed in the region as a whole will be disastrous, even for the *sangh's* distorted understanding of how to make India strong and great.

## TALKING TOUGH

518 67 But America may do little

PRESIDENT Clinton has not yet made it known whether he will visit Pakistan after his India tour in March. There is a lot of ambiguity in the American position. American pronouncements on Pakistani involvement in terrorism are multiplying. First, after Jaswant Singh's presentation to Strobe Talbott in London, Michael Sheehan, coordinator on counter-terrorism with the State Department, spoke of Pakistan's "material support" to trans-border terrorists in Kashmir. America were in agreement with India that the hijackers of IC-814 be brought to justice and steps taken against the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen. The language changed: Karl Inderfurth hoped his "message has been received and understood", while a group of senators visiting the country said that Pakistan "a loyal and trusted friend of the United States for five decades...is now at the crossroads", meaning it had to make up its mind on democracy and support to radical Islamic militants. Then James Rubin came out with a categorical statement saying "agencies of the Pakistani government have provided general support to a number of groups active in Kashmir". Now Frank Pallone and the India Caucus are calling upon Madeleine Albright to declare Pakistan rogue.

The call is unlikely to be heeded because of the dangers of pushing a nuclear country over the edge in an area where tempers are prone to run high. This resembles blackmail to some, but the Clinton administration may not want to run a risk in its last year in office. Besides, the process requires evidence of direct threat to the US. There is no doubt that Pakistan is one of the principal foyers of international terrorism today. There are a lot of men in Pakistan who bear arms and receive arms training under private patronage, all of them dedicated to more or less subversive pursuits, both inside the country and outside and about whom the government is either unable or unwilling to do anything, some of its own agencies being involved. It is possible to designate this phenomenon as state-sponsorship. But US procedures require proof of the involvement of the state apparatus. All James Rubin was prepared to say was that if "any country", meaning "any country", "provided support to international terrorism on a repeated basis", the Secretary of State could proceed to "designate that country as a state sponsor of terrorism". They have no evidence to link Pakistan even to the hijacking of IC-814, while the words "some agencies" are apparently not sufficient to prove "direct and wilful support". And as Jaswant Singh pointed out, much of this tough talk may be linked to bin Laden and what the Americans hope to get Pakistan to do in that particular matter. Apparently threats, not less serious, but directed elsewhere are not in the same category!

THE STATESMAN

- 3 FEB 2000

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## Democrat hails Clinton's decision to visit India

**N.C. Menon**

Washington, February 3

CONGRESSMAN BOB Menendez, New Jersey Democrat and ranking Democratic member of the House International Economic Policy and Trade subcommittee, yesterday added his voice to those expressing gratification at President Clinton's plans to visit India in March.

As a member of the Congressional India Caucus, Menendez has for long advocated a Clinton visit to India.

"The visit is long overdue," the Congressman commented yester-

day. "President Clinton will have an opportunity to see firsthand India's immense potential and its multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-racial society," he said.

The Congressman also expressed his confidence that India would become an even more important economic and strategic partner for the United States in the Twenty-first century.

"Neither country can afford to neglect our relationship and mutual interests on issues such as trade, regional stability, human rights, drug-trafficking and terrorism," the Congressman added.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
- 4 FEB 2000

# India, Pakistan agendas may clash with US interests: CIA

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
WASHINGTON, FEB 5

US intelligence agencies have identified India and Pakistan, along with North Korea, Iran and Iraq, as emerging powers whose "regional agendas" may "collide" with US interests in the next decade.

"Several regional powers in Asia and the Middle East - North Korea, India, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq - will continue to pursue regional agendas that collide with US interests," said John C Gannon of the CIA at Smithsonian Associates' "Campus on the Mall".

Gannon, who chairs the National Intelligence Council which prepares the national intelligence estimates representing the consensus assessment of all US intelli-

gence agencies, said all these states are developing weapons of mass destruction and long or medium range ballistic missiles.

Such weapons, he said, will enable regional powers to try to deter the US in several ways, including threatening to significantly damage urban centres of one of the US' allies.

Forecasting the future scenario over the next 15 years, he said the regional powers would attempt to constrain US policy and military operations in a given region and try to cause direct harm to the US homeland.

Anticipating significant shifts in economic power, which would make India a major economic power, Gannon said 'output of countries outside the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and

Development, comprising 29 industrialised countries, is to rise from 45 per cent to 60 per cent of global GDP by 2015.

"Thus, global economic influence and power will spread from the G-7 countries of North America, Europe and Japan to a more multipolar global economic system in which Brazil, India, China and South Korea will be economic centres," he said.

Gannon warned against rising secessionist demands based on ethnic differences, saying "countries with distinct ethnic or religious minorities are likely to experience increased communal tensions, political instability and even conflict." He also predicted that at least a few new ethnic-based nations would come into existence by the turn of the decade.

INDIAN EXPRESS

6 FEB 2000

# Squabble over Clinton's visit is demeaning

PAKISTAN are behaving as though their life depended upon a visit by President Clinton and if anything, India are not far behind but I will come to that later. General Musharraf's desperate attempt would be laughable if he did not think that the consequences of Clinton overflying Islamabad would be near disaster for him. Worse than a nuclear accident, perhaps! He now promises democratic elections by the end of the year — at lower levels! How low is not stated. This is in contrast to his repeated assertions that he should not be asked about restoration of civilian rule because it would take him at least three years to clean up the mess created by Pakistani politicians. On cross border terrorism, he has been saying that Pakistanis are only aiding freedom-fighters in Kashmir and this assistance will continue. He has not yet said that he will ask his friends, the Taliban, to hand over Osama bin Laden to him for onward transmission to the United States but such is his state of nerves that he may say some such thing any time now, adding, because he is a careful man, the all-important rider — if he can find the terrorist in question.

The United States say they want a fair trial for Nawaz Sharif, Musharraf's response has been to ask Pakistani judges to swear a new oath which would make it impossible for them to hold against the Chief Executive as he describes himself. He is not going back on that outrageous demand, in fact the judges who have preferred to resign rather than disgrace

themselves have already been replaced. If President Clinton finds these statements acceptable, the only conclusion can be that he has made up his mind that not going to Islamabad is not an option and is searching for excuses.

It is clear that Pakistani domestic politics will view a Clinton visit limited to India and Bangladesh, as an unbearable affront to them, a position the astute President will not fail to exploit. If the United States are concerned over Musharraf's visit to Beijing, they can relax. Pakistan's current antics expose their hopeless dependence on the money and clout that

C R IRANI

CAVEAT

Washington commands.

Atal Behari Vajpayee's response to all this is appropriate and measured. In the presence of Farooq Abdullah and three other chief ministers apart from other Central ministers, the Indian Prime Minister made clear what he thought of these antics. Matching Musharraf's concern for Kashmiris, he points out that the state is one and indivisible and talks can take place only when occupied Kashmir — Pakistan held — is free of the Pakistan army's grip. Then the questioning of the entire Pakistani rhetoric over Kashmir being a Muslim majority state and that thus should

have gone to Pakistan. Has Pakistan acquired occupied Kashmir following a referendum, asks the Prime Minister. Tit for tat, yes; a good talking point, yes but a solution to the problem it is not.

WE have been suitably muted in our response to the speculation in Washington about their search for a formula, which would enable Clinton to land in Islamabad if only to talk to Musharraf at the airport. Our position is quite clear to the United States, if necessary it can be repeated to Clinton in Delhi when he arrives and irrespective of whether he is going or not going to Islamabad. Excessive concern for his travel plans is demeaning and sends quite the wrong signals. The last word must be this: Clinton is after all the quintessential politician and the tussle over his visit and how long he will spend where is entirely his own business. By suggesting that we are as concerned over it as Pakistan is to admit that we are as insecure as they are and that is the last thing we should do.

INSTEAD, a great deal more thought needs to be given to India and Kashmiris. It is time we recognised that Farooq's absentee and corrupt administration is not helping our position in Kashmir. The choice is not limited to Farooq Abdullah and the Harkat-e-Mujahideen. We would do well to look at the Hurriyat leaders who have come a great distance and deserve to be met half-way.

Solutions won't be imposed: Cohen

# 'USA must mediate for peace'

ST-10/2

WS (W) S. Azna

## PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9. — The USA, as the lone superpower, must get involved in Indo-Pak and other international disputes to "advance the cause of peace", though it can't impose solutions, the US defence secretary said today.

In his annual report to the Congress, Mr William Cohen said: "while the US cannot impose solutions on regional disputes (like the conflict between India and Pakistan), its unique military and political position demands that it play an active role in promoting regional stability and advancing the cause of peace."

Stability in South Asia depends on improved relations between India and Pakistan and a commitment from both countries to exercise restraint in their nuclear, missile and chemical and biological weapons policies and practices, Mr Cohen's report says.

(Meanwhile, the Indo-US Joint Working Group on Counter Terrorism, at its first meeting here yesterday, decided to intensify joint efforts to bring to justice the perpetrators of the hijacking of IC-814, adds SNS.)

(Going beyond just accepting a formulation refusing to justify terrorist acts on ideological, religious or ethnic grounds, the two countries also operationalised a mechanism to combat international terrorism together.)

Mr Cohen sees the West Asia crisis as the other priority for the USA. To achieve its purpose, he says, in conjunction with diplomatic efforts, the

USA will continue to use military-to-military contacts as a means of promoting transparency. This, he believes, will not only enhance the professionalism of the regional armed forces but also demonstrate the value of support for human rights and democracy.

New Delhi today retorted to US secretary of state Ms Madeleine Albright's concern over Kashmir saying that the USA and India, two major democracies, were quite capable of handling differences on Kashmir and nuclear non-proliferation.

Differences did exist between the two largest democracies "but that does not preclude the two sides from having close,

productive and warm relations," a foreign office spokesman told reporters here.

It will be a mistake to link President Clinton's visit to the issues. There's a much broader canvas of the

Indo-US relationship, he said. Ms Albright had made it clear that the visit was not an approval of New Delhi's approach on Kashmir and CTBT.

**Declare Pak a rogue state:** US Congressman Mr Frank Pallone yesterday demanded that Pakistan be declared a terrorist state, because of its encouragement to extremists, and urged President Clinton to drop the country from his South Asia visit list.

**Hotels surveyed:** An advance team, preparing the ground for Mr Clinton's visit next month, returns to Washington tonight after scouting for places where the President's entourage can put up. They visited several luxury hotels in Delhi, Agra, Jaipur, Udaipur, Panaji, Mumbai and Hyderabad.

## MASOOD DETAINED

KARACHI, Feb. 9. — Pakistan has detained Masood Azhar, one of the three militants India released to end the hijack of IC-814, Dawn said today. He was taken into protective custody on Sunday, after he launched a Kashmiri militant group. — Reuters

# Clinton should not go to Pak: Pressler

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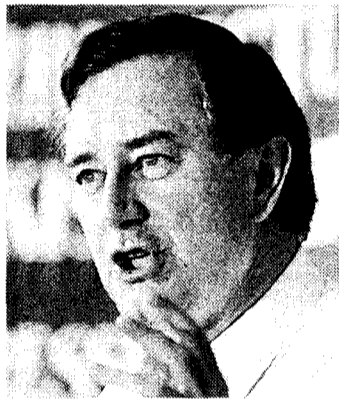
By K. V. Krishnaswamy

**CHENNAI, FEB. 12.** Confessing to a healthy weakness for this country — “I am one of those Americans who are hooked on India” — the former U.S. Senator, Mr. Larry Pressler, today described the coming visit of the American President, Mr. Bill Clinton, as a moment of opportunity for both countries.

“Finally India is on a one-on-one with the U.S.” said the author of that famous India-friendly amendment that imposed punitive restrictions on military aid to Pakistan for its nuclear programme. “We are on the verge of a new beginning.” He welcomed the breakthrough.

Mr. Pressler, on a business visit to Chennai, did not think Mr. Clinton should include a stopover in Pakistan in his itinerary since this would be giving a stamp of approval for a dictatorship. He repeatedly stressed that his continued support to India did not mean he opposed Pakistan. Nor did he think that Pakistan, seeing itself as isolated if Mr. Clinton skipped the country during his South Asia tour, would turn more radical.

“I think we have to make a distinction between democracy and dictatorship,” said the Republican leader who hopes to join the administration if his party nominee wins the Presidency this year-end. He acknowledged that sections in the Pentagon and the State Department were keen that



the President should stop over in Islamabad — “during the Cold War the Pentagon always preferred to deal with military regimes which were easier to handle than democracies”. “It is lucky that Mr. Clinton is coming to India and not going to Pakistan because I feel if he goes he will be approving the military takeover. I don't think he can go there.”

Returning often to the theme that India “represents all the things that we want”, Mr. Pressler said that instead of India and Pakistan, the U.S. should think of India and China. He would want India and China juxtaposed. “We go to so much trouble to give the most favoured nation status to China, excuse human rights abuses... India is a vibrant democracy, has held elections, respects human rights.. all things that we want.”

Speaking of the “dangerous squabbles” between the two nu-

clearised neighbours in the sub-continent, he saw a role for the U.S. in resolving the Kashmir dispute. Citing Washington's role of peacemaker in Northern Ireland (where it is threatening to come unstuck) and the West Asia (where it is still a distant goal), he said the U.S. should be engaged in the region.

He was proud of the Pressler amendment passed in the 1980s, said its author, because it gave 12 years of nuclear freeze in South Asia. “I was disappointed that the Clinton administration started giving aid to Pakistan.” Mr. Pressler also spoke of the menace of terrorism (“it is very, very dangerous”) and the fight against it.

The upbeat mood about India, however, kept returning. “We missed the boat during the Cold War. Now if there are two countries that are totally synergised, it should be the U.S. and India,” he exulted. “India can export brain power.. magically, on the Internet or up on the satellite, a \$4 billion export industry that can become \$6 billion.” “I want India to welcome foreign capital, I want India not to be afraid of foreign companies,” he said as he painted a vision of the two countries locked “in a natural marriage”.

Mr. Pressler, who was here to inaugurate the Silverline Technology Park, wound up the day by visiting two temples about which he sounded equally excited, the table front of him in the hotel room piled with books on religion.

THE HINDU

13 FEB 2000



# Clinton offers to be peace broker

DESIKAN THIRUNARAYANAPURAM  
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17. — Days before his visit to the subcontinent, President Clinton today said he would be happy to mediate between India and Pakistan, if asked by the two countries.

"If tension could be resolved, the Indian subcontinent could be the great success story of the next 50 years," Mr Clinton said at a Press conference today.

Describing the subcontinent's people as "immensely talented" and "deeply devoted to their faith and family", he said India and Pakistan are "holding each other back" due to the conflict, but added "if we are not asked, there is nothing we can do".

Mr Clinton, whose campaign coffers have received generous contributions from Indian-Americans, also acknowledged the community's contribution in the USA. "This country has been deeply enriched by people from the Indian subcontinent."

He refused to say whether he would include Pakistan in his itinerary.

However, the President has iterated that it could not be "business as usual" with Pakistan following the coup, adds IANS.

In response to a letter from Mr Gary Ackerman, New York Democrat and Chairman of the US Congressional Caucus on India, Mr Clinton noted he has been "clear about American opposition to the overthrow of the elected government in

Pakistan" and asserted: "We cannot conduct business as usual with such a government."

Mr Ackerman had requested him not to appoint a special US envoy to Kashmir as the pro-Pakistani lobby has been urging. In reply, Mr Clinton said: "I agree that a bilateral dialogue is the most productive approach and that a US special envoy for Kashmir would not contribute to a resolution of the problem." But he added that he

■ See CLINTON: page 6

## CLINTON!

(Continued from page 1)

was concerned about the lack of dialogue between India and Pakistan.

Back home, Prime Minister Mr AB Vajpayee showed no appetite for the US offer, or for that matter, even a dialogue with Pakistan.

In an interview to French daily *Le Figaro*, he said the US offer to mediate would not change India's position. "Kashmir is an integral part of India," he said, adding that Pakistan must give back the part of Kashmir it has occupied, reports AFP.

Stating that Pakistan has betrayed India by continuing to send terrorists into Jammu and Kashmir, he said: "We cannot have a dialogue in these kind of conditions."

On nuclear arms, Mr Vajpayee iterated that India holds nuclear weapons as a deterrent, not a threat, but added: "If Pakistan thinks we're going to wait for it to launch the first bomb, it is mistaken. If Pakistan wants to avoid a nuclear holocaust, it should accept our proposal for a mutual pact against nuclear aggression".

He also said Indians would "seriously disapprove" of Mr Clinton visiting Pakistan after his trip to India.

In what might be music to the Prime Minister's ears, US Secretary of State Ms Madeleine Albright told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday that Pakistan has become a "transit point" for terrorists and that the US administration is reviewing "some of" Islamabad's "activities in terms of terrorism", adds PTI.

THE STATESMAN

18 FEB 2000

## U.S. envoy, Pakistan official hold talks on Bill Clinton's visit

ISLAMABAD: A top official in Pakistan's military regime and U.S. ambassador to Islamabad have discussed the possibility of a visit to the country by President Bill Clinton at a meeting which covered "wide-ranging" issues and focused on a "still larger framework".

Javed Jabbar, adviser to Pakistan's military ruler Gen Pervez Musharraf, told English daily The News that the issue of Mr Clinton's visit to the country was discussed when William B. Milam called on him on Monday, the paper reported on Tuesday.

Mr Jabbar refused to comment when asked to comment on the response of the U.S. envoy, and said, "visit by a U.S. President is always important, but relationship between the two countries transcends time and personalities." "Institutional and state-to-state relationship has to be seen on the basis that Pakistan, irrespective of which country it neighbours, in itself is a very important country," Mr Jabbar added.

Mr Jabbar said Pakistan was a "very dynamic society and the visit (of Mr Clinton) has to be seen in that context." Pakistan has "a demonstrated capacity in different fields ranging from excellence in nuclear energy" to a whole range of disciplines, he said.

An official statement on the meeting was, however, silent on whether or not the two sides discussed Mr Clinton's visit to Pakistan. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

23 FEB 2000

# HD-14 Senator wants Clinton to visit Pak.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami 23/2  
**WASHINGTON, FEB. 22.** Close on the heels of a letter from six Members of Congress urging the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to include Pakistan in his South Asia tour, an effort is now underway in the Senate for the same, according to *The Washington Times*. A letter is being circulated by the first-term Democratic Senator from South Dakota, Mr. Tim Johnson, in the Senate on the issue.

According to Mr. Johnson, leaving Pakistan off the itinerary of the President would be a "snub" to a "traditional ally". The Senator wanted to convey that he understood as to why the administration was reluctant to meet Gen. Pervez Musharraf. But according to the report, the Senator was making the point that he had had a candid and positive

meeting with Gen. Musharraf, during which the Pakistani Chief Executive had assured that he would act positively on U.S. concerns on terrorism, proliferation and return to democracy.

"Staying engaged with Pakistan through its interim government is the best way to encourage renewal of democracy and pro-Western attitudes and policies. It is essential for America's leadership for peace, security and democracy in South Asia that you visit Pakistan and engage in a direct dialogue with its current government," Mr. Johnson said in his letter.

The circulation of the letter in the Senate comes at a time when the White House is said to be close to deciding whether or not to include Pakistan in the President's itinerary. Pro-India members on Capitol Hill have been

arguing against a Pakistan visit on the grounds that this would send wrong signals to Islamabad — legitimising the military government and appearing to be condoning terrorism.

Visiting Pakistani Ministers or its diplomats here have been making the point that if the President skipped Pakistan, it would only add to its existing tensions with India. Pro-Pakistan supporters on Capitol Hill have been saying this; and the Pakistani American community has been using its resources to drum up support for Mr. Clinton to include Pakistan in his programme.

Mr. Clinton has said that a decision would be made based on America's long-term interests. At various times, the President has referred to the issues of peace and stability in South Asia, nuclear

non-proliferation, and the settlement of outstanding issues such as Kashmir.

## SAIL panel to probe bullet-proof car issue

**NEW DELHI, FEB. 22.** The Steel Authority of India (SAIL) has set up a high-level technical committee to successfully develop required grades of steel to meet stringent defence needs.

The committee, a SAIL spokesperson said, would probe the recent failure of the performance of Jackal M-1 steel plated VVIP bullet proof cars which was prone to penetration on constant rapid firing. The spokesperson claimed that SAIL was not yet ready to commercially produce plates of 6.2-6.7 mm thickness used in VVIP vehicles.— PTI

# Pak visit: Clinton still keeps his options open

**Apratim Mukarji**  
New Delhi, February 23



WHILE A visit to Pakistan would complicate matters with India, President Bill Clinton would still go if he felt that his visit (to Pakistan) would help matters, a senior US official has said.

For the first time, the US administration has come out with a number of answers to questions being raised over the forthcoming presidential visit to South Asia. It has also hinted that India should raise the matter of its seeking a permanent membership of an expanded United Nations Security Council during the Clinton visit even though the US position leaves little scope for supporting its candida-

ture. It has also expressed its hope that Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee would make a return visit to the US during this year. The continuity in the relationship should not be disturbed with the new US administration, to be in office in January 2001, as both Vice President Al Gore (the likely Democratic presidential nominee) and Governor George Bush Jr. (the likely Republican nominee) have recognised the value of India as partner of the US.

Delivering a special lecture on "New Directions in Indo-US Relations: President Clinton's visit to India" at the Centre for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania, yesterday, Special Assistant to the President and senior director for Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council Bruce Riedel, however, described the visit as "a trip to India and not

to South Asia." He said President Clinton had always perceived his forthcoming India visit as one that recognised this country's importance in the world. While no decision had yet been taken on a trip to Pakistan, Mr Riedel said that it was a difficult question as the US had "close" relations with that country. The two countries had fought together in the Cold War.

"But the coup has made it impossible for the US to do business as usual with Pakistan," he said. The US, however, had many areas of interests in Pakistan such as terrorism, political and economic reforms, narcotics, Afghanistan and the future of South Asia. "The US is, therefore, interested in some kind of engagement with Pakistan," he said.

Speaking about the Clinton administration's assessment of India-Pakistan relations, he said that the US could not ignore the

Central Intelligence Agency's perception in 1999 that the two neighbours had come close to a nuclear exchange (during the Kargil conflict). The coup in Islamabad and the hijacking of the Indian Airlines flight IC 814 "had turned the situation from bad to worse." The US, however, had no intention to mediate between the two countries and did not consider them to be "Siamese twins." They were not being equated but the US had "important, but very different interests" in both countries.

Explaining why Mr Clinton has decided to visit India even as his second term is ending (one Indian criticism is that he is now a lame-duck President and his visit could therefore produce only peripheral interest), Mr Riedel said that the visit was being carried through despite a near three-year delay because "India has become a global player with considerable influ-

ence on every issue that matters to the American people."

As the largest democracy in the world with an independent judiciary and a free press, he said, India demanded attention. India had also begun to play an important part in the world economy with a middle class numbering 200 million. India's place in information technology was illustrated by the fact that it was the country that the richest man in the world and Microsoft founder Bill Gates chose to go to invest.

While "several" Silicon Valleys were emerging in South India, Mr Riedel said, with a sustained growth of about 10 per cent India would be "the largest, fastest growing and most vibrant" economy in the world. However, the way India would deal with its major problems of poverty, malnourishment and AIDS would have an impact on the rest of the world.

# Pak unsafe for Clinton: US intelligence skip Pak: Hillary

**HT Correspondent** *W. S. A. S.*  
Washington, February 24 **HT** 4

THE US Secret Service fears President Clinton's life would be in danger if he visits Islamabad next month because Pakistan's security service has been heavily infiltrated by anti-American militants. The Washington Times' quoting a senior US official has said.

The White House is still considering whether to include Pakistan in President Clinton's trip to South Asia next month. National Security Adviser Samuel R Berger, terrorism adviser Dick Clark and other top officials were expected to meet at the White House to decide.

US officials fear that information on procedures and techniques used by American security officials to protect travelling presidents might leak from Pakistan's security service to terrorists.

The terrorists, who have a global reach, could threaten Clinton's life and the lives of future American leaders.

"The host government provides 95 per cent of the protection for a President on a visit," said the official. "Only the last 5 per cent is provided by our Secret Service. It is where their security people interact with ours that they can learn about our methods, techniques and secrets."

The official said: "This would endanger the life of President Clinton in Pakistan and on other trips."

"It also threatens future US Presidents. These terrorists are transnational and operate around the world."

The official detailed other security concerns, including the threat that Islamic extremists from Afghanistan, who move easily

President Clinton. "They have experience with long-range shelling," the official said. The official pointed out that Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) has been working for years with anti-American groups such as Harkat ul-Mujaheddin, which had been put on the State Department list of terrorist groups.

The ISI has also dealt for years with Osama Bin Laden, the Saudi-born millionaire-terrorist, believed to be responsible for the 1996 bombing of US army barracks on Saudi Arabia and the bombing of two US embassies in Africa in 1998.

The Times' story quotes analysts and officials to point out that since the rule of military dictator Mohammed Zia ul-Haq in the 1980s, the ISI has been infiltrated by Islamic zealots.

ANI, New York

across the border with Pakistan, could attack any airport used by

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

25 FEB 2000

# Identify India as strategic partner, says Ackerman

N. C. Menon  
Washington, February 25

CONGRESSMAN GARY Ackerman, New York Democrat and co-Chairman of the Congressional India Caucus, yesterday urged President Clinton to identify India as a strategic partner in South Asia "recognising that India is a responsible democratic nation in the region, and one with which we can deal."

Ackerman was speaking at a conference on India, organised here by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

He suggested a separate policy for Pakistan, which would abandon "a policy where either India or Pakistan serves as a reference point for our policy toward the other." It was necessary to recognise the distinctions between the two countries and to pursue US interests accordingly.

"The first demonstrable step in this direction under the current circumstances would be for the President not to go to Pakistan," Ackerman declared. "I am fully supportive of continued engagement with Pakistan on the restoration of democracy, anti-terrorism and counter-narcotics issues, but

the engagement does not have to take place at the Presidential level. At least not yet."

Incidentally, Congressman Robert Menendez, another founder member of the India Caucus, wrote yesterday to his Congressional colleagues pointing out that last year Pakistan had a military coup, sent its troops into Indian territory, and allowed international hijackers to escape into its territory. Menendez suggested that the President's trip "will be important for shaping America's influence in the region, but it should not be a reward to countries who have not demonstrated respect for democracy and who unjustifiably interfere in the internal affairs of other nations."

Ackerman also said there was a natural symmetry between the US and India. Both were countries where the world's great religions were freely practised, where multiple languages were spoken, and both were made up of myriad ethnic groups. "We are mirror images in a way," he added. "But the underlying values, the true strengths of both societies and the real foundation of our relationship is that both societies are built on tolerance and respect for dissent."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
26 FEB 2000

# US priority for easing tension in Indo-Pak ties?

Washington, January 5 *AGV/KA*  
US PRESIDENT Bill Clinton has said that "easing tensions" in Indo-Pak relations and fighting terrorism are among his top priorities for the year 2000. Mr Clinton stated this in the 1999 national security strategy report, sent to the US Congress yesterday, in which he outlines his vision for the United States' role in the world and sets out the government's priorities in the international affairs. *USA*  
He said "easing tension between India and Pakistan" and "fighting weapons proliferation, terrorism and the nexus between them," are among his priorities for this year.

Another significant aspect of the report is President Clinton's proposal for a \$112 billion

increase in defence spending over the 2000-2005 period, the first in such long-term defence spending in ten years.

The President also said assisting Russia to strengthen its economy and fight corruption, and arms control discussions with it; implementing China's entry into the WTO and other global institutions; maintaining vigilance against Iraq and working to bring about a change in regime; advancing global trade debt relief for countries fighting poverty; adopting good government and reversing global climate change will be high on the agenda.

He said the US has three core objectives in terms of national security strategy which "are to enhance America's security, to bolster America's economic prosperity and to promote

democracy abroad." "Our military is and will continue to be capable of carrying out our national strategy by meeting America's defence commitments around the world," the President said.

Mr Clinton said, "Every dollar we devote to preventing conflicts, promoting democracy, opening markets, and fighting disease and hunger, brings a sure return in security and long-term savings."

The report lists the US government's achievements in 1999, citing free-market democracy transition in eastern Europe, stopping ethnic wars in Bosnia and Kosovo, bringing China into the WTO and reversing the Asian financial crisis among others.

(UPI)

# Pak has to prove itself a responsible State: US leader

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, January 9

THE ONUS of proving its bona fides as a responsible state in the aftermath of the hijack of IC 814 continues to lie with Pakistan, a leading US Congressman said here today, even if Washington is no hurry to declare it a terrorist state.

Congressman Sam Gejdenson, chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, said the US was looking into the evidence, that India had furnished, of Pakistan's alleged involvement. Its own intelligence agencies are also investigating the involvement.

The US would watch the steps that the Pakistan Government takes to curb terrorism. "Lack of steps (to curb terrorism) will hurt Pakistan more," he said.

Confirming that President Bill Clinton would be visiting India in March, representative Gejdenson said while it would be an exciting visit, it might be "hard for him" to go to Pakistan unless certain corrective steps, such as an early restoration of democracy, were initiated in that country.

Indicating that the US was still hoping for the Indian signature to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), he said that if this happened before the Clinton visit,

it would make a difference between "a good and a great visit."

He ruled out any formal recognition to India and Pakistan's nuclear weapons state status and asserted that the Nuclear Club would continue to be restricted to the five acknowledged nuclear powers, US, Russia, UK, France and China.

He also ruled out any US role in settling the Kashmir issue. The problem, he said, would have to be solved by India and Pakistan themselves through talks. He did not believe that India was at fault for the stalemate in its relations with Pakistan as the composite dialogue process continued to be disrupted. This country could not be blamed, he felt, for the current impasse after its initiative for peace at Lahore, he added.

Congressman Gejdenson explained that with the majority of the members of Congress being politicians of the post-Cold War period, the traditional prisms of looking at foreign countries based on their previous affiliations were no longer valid. The Congressmen were therefore no longer considering India in the context of Pakistan and China. The US would judge India purely in its own context, taking into consideration the substantial commonality of interests of both countries, he said.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
10 JAN 2000



# Inderfurth to visit Pakistan

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 13. Pakistan today announced that the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Karl Inderfurth, would be coming to Islamabad shortly and that the presence of American Senators in Pakistan was related to the visit by the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to South Asia. A Foreign Office spokesman did not, however, say whether or not Mr. Clinton would visit Pakistan.

In a formulation that could be linked to the Clinton visit and the overall American approach to Pakistan, the spokesman said Islamabad expected "a basic fairness" in Washington's approach to India and Pakistan. He also said in the absence of "a basic fairness" the results would not be "desirable".

"Pakistan views its relations with the U.S. in a positive framework. We do not believe that Pak-U.S. ties should be cast at the expense of any third country. Negative exclusivism is not our desire...." the spokesman maintained.

Though he welcomed the U.S. "rejection" of the Indian agenda to brand Pakistan a "terrorist State", it is clear that Pakistan is perturbed by what it perceives as a pro-India tilt on the part of the U.S.

"The U.S. in our view has the capacity to play a moderating and constructive role particularly in the promotion of peace and security in the region, which is predicated on a just and fair settlement of the core dispute of Kashmir," he stated.

To a question whether Pakistan contemplated any action on the vicious utterances of Masood Azhar, recently released from an Indian jail on the demand of the hijackers of the Indian Airlines plane, the spokesman, in a vague statement, said any infringement of the law would invite action.

In reply to another question, he claimed that Washington had not raised the hijacking issue with Islamabad. Asked what had been the Nepalese response to the Pakistani request for sharing the findings of the probe into the hijack, the spokesman said the request had been "registered". Referring to the visits by U.S. Senators, the spokesman said Pakistan welcomed this intensification of the bilateral dialogue with Washington. "Recently, South Asia has been in focus on account of (the) hijacking....India has tried to exploit this commendable episode to advance its political agenda of maligning the just Kashmiri cause and to convince Washington that the U.S.

should declare Pakistan a terrorist State. Unfortunately for India, this attempt has miserably failed....Pakistan....will not permit misuse of its territory for any act of terrorism. We will also not allow propagation of hatred or incitement to violence against anybody, least of all foreign nationals. Pakistan will continue its cooperation with the U.S. to combat terrorism."

Referring to the hijacking, the spokesman said that the Indian attempt to implicate Pakistan in the incident was "deplorable". "Externalising of domestic problems and advancement of a malicious political agenda may be in India's narrow self-interest but it exacts a huge cost in terms of relations with Pakistan and endangers regional peace and security in a nuclear environment," he maintained.

"India has shut all doors on dialogue, contributing further to tension in the region. Instead, India has further intensified its State terrorism in occupied Kashmir....in the absence of a just and fair settlement of the core dispute of Kashmir, peace and stability will continue to elude the region," the spokesman added.

# U.S. Senator for separate ties with India, Pak.

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 17. A leading American Senator, Mr. Sam Brownback, said today that a "more detailed route map back to democracy" and "work done dealing with terrorism" would help encourage the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to visit Pakistan.

Mr. Brownback, chairman of the foreign relations sub-committee on near-eastern and South Asian affairs, was responding to a question on whether the refusal to give a time-frame for the return

to democracy would create problems for Mr. Clinton in visiting Pakistan. "That throws a kink in the works," he stated.

Addressing a select gathering of correspondents, Mr. Brownback did not hide that American concerns about terrorism in the region were strong and that Washington expected Pakistan to cooperate in the endeavour to put a lid on growing terrorist activities.

Asked specifically about the activities of groups such as the Harakat-ul-Mujahideen and the Lashkar-i-Taiba operating in Pa-

kistan and the anti-U.S. and anti-India statements made by Masood Azhar, the released Pakistani cleric, Mr. Brownback said "flaming statements" could only "fan the fire" in an already volatile region.

He said that Masood Azhar's remarks were "very, very explosive statements" to make and were harmful to people here as well as around the world. In this, he also stressed the need for India and Pakistan to begin a dialogue again.

The U.S. Senator categorically articulated that Washington should build its relations with India and Pakistan "separately and distinctly for separate and distinct reasons".

Such a formulation, clearly, was unlikely to please Pakistan which has been stressing the need for "parity and equity" of treatment from the U.S., warning that a policy of "negative exclusivism" would not pay dividends.

Mr. Brownback told his Pakistani audience that both India and Pakistan were important to the U.S. and linking them together in the same breath did not make for good policy.

Asked if he feared that war may break out between India and Pakistan, the American Senator said the situation in the region was very tense and there was a need to de-escalate.

# Relations with Pakistan at a crossroads: US lawmakers

Washington, January 19

HF-29 20

A GROUP of senior American lawmakers has returned to the United States after a visit to Southwest Asia, saying that the relationship between Washington and Islamabad is "at crossroads."

The four Senators from the Democratic Party today issued a joint statement about their visit to India, Nepal and Pakistan and said that they would be reporting on their discussions in all three countries to President Bill Clinton as well as administration officials and fellow lawmakers.

In its statement, the group - headed by Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle - said, "For five decades Pakistan has been a loyal and trusted friend of the United States.

However, for a variety of reasons this relationship is now at a crossroads. Pakistan faces a window of opportunity for improving upon this relationship but that window could close if there is no progress in addressing the concerns we raised."

The senators reported that they held long discussions with Pakistani leaders, including General Pervez Musharraf, during which they emphasised the "five key principles that must be addressed by the current Pakistani leadership and that are of significant concern to the United States."

The statement said there was an urgent need for

Pakistan to "address the threat of terrorism and militant religious fundamentalism, both within Pakistan and internationally."

It also called for Islamabad to issue a timetable for the restoration of democracy, engage in economic reforms, sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and "ensure the political, religious and economic freedoms of all its citizens."

The statement said that, based on the meetings in Pakistan, the Senators were "cautiously optimistic" that Islamabad would address their concerns and make a successful transition to democracy.

On their meetings in India, the lawmakers said that they had conveyed to External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh and others that India had the resources to become a "major player in the international scene in the 21st century."

They said that they had also indicated that "if India is to reach its potential, it must recognise that this role carries with it significant rights and responsibilities. These responsibilities include normalising their relationship with Pakistan, engaging in a sincere effort to resolve the Kashmir crisis and joining other responsible parties in the effort to stem the spread of nuclear weapons."

On its part, the Senators said, the United States must "continue to become increasingly involved in resolving the dispute over Kashmir." (ANI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
20 JAN 2000

# U.S. outlines plan to strip India of its nuclear status

WASHINGTON: President Bill Clinton's top adviser on proliferation John Holum has said that the United States is opposed to recognising India as a nuclear power under the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and will continue to press New Delhi to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

The U.S. outlined a two-step plan to "strip" India of its nuclear weapons and ability to make them. In the first stage, President Clinton himself will try to persuade India, before and during his visit to New Delhi to sign the CTBT, allowing India to retain a nuclear deterrent but taking away its right to test anew, Mr Holum said.

The next step would be to pressurise India to join the Non-Proliferation Treaty regime as a non-nuclear weapon power, Mr Holum said in a State Department world-net programme. The same would apply to Pakistan, he said.

Referring to the ensuing Talbott-Jaswant talks, he said, "There has been a diplomatic effort underway.

The CTBT signature would be an important part of that, something the President will certainly place a heavy emphasis on, both in the time leading up to his trip and then when he does go to India."

"In terms of India and Pakistan, what we and others need to continue doing—and I know Japan, China and Australia and many other countries have all been involved in this effort—is to press the case with both India and Pakistan that ratification and joining the CTBT is in their interests, because it helps avoid any further escalation of a potentially dangerous arms race in the region."

**AP adds from Islamabad:** U.S. assistant secretary of state Karl Inderfurth arrived in Pakistan on Thursday with a packed agenda for talks with military and civilian leaders. Topping the agenda are terrorism, troubled relations between India and Pakistan, and the niggling issue of when the army will return the nation to civilian rule, said U.S. officials.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

21 JAN 2000

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## Normalise ties with Pak., U.S. Senators tell India

**WASHINGTON, JAN.21.** The U.S. Senate Democratic leader, Mr. Tom Daschle, the Assistant Democratic leader, Mr. Harry Reid and the ranking member on the Non-Proliferation Subcommittee of the Government Affairs Committee, Mr. Daniel Akaka, have in a statement said that India would be a major player at the international level in the 21st century.

Over the course of three days, the Senate delegation met the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, the Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, the National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, the Opposition leader, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, and visited Maigujar village, site of a programme to improve the education, health and economic standards of rural Indians. In addition, the delegation met leaders of the informa-

tion technology community to discuss economic development and trade opportunities between the two countries.

The Senators recognised and articulated that India has the economic and human resources to become a major player on the international scene in the 21st century. However, through the course of their meetings, they conveyed that if India is to reach its potential, it must recognise that this role carries with it significant rights and responsibilities. These responsibilities include normalising their relationship with Pakistan, engaging in a sincere effort to resolve the Kashmir crisis and joining other responsible parties in the effort to stem the spread of nuclear weapons.

"The post Cold War provides the United States and India the

opportunity to significantly strengthen their relationship. Each side needs to take certain actions if we are to achieve the potential, made possible by the new international environment.

The United States must continue to become increasingly involved in resolving the dispute over Kashmir.

India needs to sign the CTBT immediately and increase its efforts to improve regional stability," the Senators said.

During their one-day stop in Nepal, the Senators met the Prime Minister, Mr. Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ram Sharan Mahat and a representative of the Dalai Lama, Samdup Lhatse, during their tour of a Tibetan refugee centre.

# Renounce military option on Kashmir, U.K. tells Pak

□ *A coup is a coup: U.K.* □ *End religious militancy: U.S.*

By L.K. Sharma  
Times of India News Service

LONDON: The Labour government has urged Pakistan's General Musharraf to "renounce the option of military aggression over Kashmir" and make early moves towards reducing tensions with India. It wants him to commit to a time-frame for the return of democracy and is not prepared to give him a "blank cheque".

This was stated in the House of Lords on behalf of the government by Baroness Scotland of Asthal in response to a long debate on a calling attention motion on developments in Pakistan moved by Lord Weatherill, a former Speaker of the House of Commons.

He led a charge in defence of Gen. Musharraf. Facing the charge bravely, the government insisted on calling a coup a coup. Some speakers were so harsh on the government for rebuffing Gen. Musharraf that Prime Minister Tony Blair may have wished the House of Lords had been

abolished. The Baroness had a tough task replying to a debate during which many voices pleaded for "understanding" the general. Old soldiers of one kind or the other rallied behind Gen. Musharraf. She borrowed a quote from Lord Paul who had said there was no such thing as "a good coup". The irony that the defence of the military dictator was launched in the mother of all Parliaments was not lost on Lord Paul.

Lord Weatherill began by saying that as a former speaker he could hardly support a military coup but delivered a speech that would make the coup leader wish that he had been present in the House to hear it. He argued that he supported the present Pakistan government because Gen. Musharraf was not running a "military regime".

Lord Weatherill who was associated with the family's tailoring firm recalled his army service in pre-independence India and described himself as "Pakistani by association".

ISLAMABAD: The United States has urged Pakistan to take concrete steps to restore democracy and effectively deal with religious militancy in Pakistan, Pakistani daily *The News* said.

The issues were raised by U.S. assistant secretary of state for South Asia Karl Inderfurth who on Thursday led a three-member delegation here, the highest level of contact the U.S. has established with Pakistan since the October 12 coup in Islamabad last year.

Mr Inderfurth held talks with Pakistan foreign secretary Shamshad Ahmed on several areas of global and regional importance, including nuclear non-proliferation, regional security and the recent developments in South Asia with reference to Kashmir.

The talks were described as part of the regular bilateral consultations between the two countries. The U.S. sought certain economic reforms which would assist in establishing a democratic rule. (PTI)

## ~~GMV~~ Judging Musharraf ~~VA~~

Just as it is not possible to be a little pregnant, there can be no limited dictatorship as General Musharraf has effectively demonstrated in Pakistan. The sacking of 16 supreme and high court judges for their refusal to take a new oath of loyalty to the military regime has unmasked the dictatorial nature of the self-styled chief executive. It is obvious that once they had affirmed loyalty to the military dictator, these judges could not have declared the regime unconstitutional when the issue of its legitimacy came up for their consideration. The judges had before them the infamous precedents of the earlier supreme courts of 1958 and 1976 to justify the military usurpation under the doctrine of necessity. Surely, we need no further proof than the sack order to know that democracy will not return in a hurry in Pakistan; not even US President Bill Clinton's proposed stopover in Pakistan is likely to bring that about. Pakistani dictators are used to making promises which they have no intention of keeping. In the 1950s, they promised not to use US-gifted arms against India only to break that in 1965. General Yahya Khan promised fair elections and the handing over of power to an elected civilian government. In the elections, the Awami party gained a majority but the general unleashed genocide and ethnic cleansing on an unprecedented scale. General Zia promised elections in 90 days but dragged out his dictatorship for 11 long years.

Yet, the Clinton administration wants to indulge in the willing suspension of disbelief. We are being told that a Clinton stop-over in Pakistan during his planned visit to India and Bangladesh would improve the prospects of democracy returning in that country. So adept are the spin doctors in Washington that they could even attempt to project the sacking of the judges as a step towards the return to democracy in Islamabad. President Clinton talks of the absence of evidence showing the Pakistani government's involvement in the hijacking of IC-814. Earlier, the *New York Times* revealed that the US has intelligence information linking the Harkatul Mujahideen, an international terrorist organisation which carried out the hijacking, to the Pakistani administration. Pakistan has the unique distinction of putting its elected prime minister on trial on a charge of terrorism. The distinguished former law professor that he is, Mr Clinton is talking about evidence, while others are referring to intelligence information. He has been known for his clever play on words which nearly led to his impeachment. The US administration is yet to reach 'a finding' on the Chinese supply of M-11 missiles to Pakistan presumably for want of "evidence", this after both countries have admitted to the supply. It would appear that General Musharraf has hijacked not only the state of Pakistan — as deposed prime minister Nawaz Sharif has put it — but the US administration as well. The latter is behaving like a helpless hostage. India should look for clues as to how and why Pakistan has such a hold on the US, a country that behaves for the most part as if it were indispensable to the world.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

28 JAN 2000

# A step backward, U.S. tells Pak.

WASHINGTON, JAN. 28. The United States has deplored a Pakistani Government decree that judges take an oath of allegiance to the provisions of military rule, seen as a step back from promises to restore civilian rule. The decree has added to the gap between Washington and Islamabad, which are also at odds over Kashmir issue, nuclear tests and ties with the Taliban.

40-1 2911  
"The United States deplores Gen. Musharraf's order," said the State Department spokesman, Mr. James Rubin, on Thursday. "This move undermines the integrity and independence of the judiciary in Pakistan. This is contrary to the path of restoration of civilian rule the General had pledged to follow when he took power in October," Mr. Rubin added.

Restoring the civilian rule in Pakistan was one of the main issues which dominated the talks at a meeting between Gen. Musharraf and a U.S. delegation, led by the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Karl Inderfurth, in Islamabad last week.

## Vague threat on terrorism

Mr. Rubin volunteered a vague threat that the Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, might use her power to designate countries as sponsors of terrorism.

"If the Secretary of State determines that a Government has repeatedly provided support to terrorism directly, then she would be prepared to designate that country as a 'state sponsor of terrorism'.

"This step with the judiciary is

not a step forward. But because it's a step backward does not mean that Gen. Musharraf will not proceed down the path towards civilian democratic rule," Mr. Rubin said.

On the possibility that the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, might include Pakistan in his tour of South Asia later this year, Mr. Rubin said Ms. Albright's recommendation to the White House would have to balance two elements — reluctance to do business with the military rulers and the U.S. national interest in regional stability and in nuclear non-proliferation.

"There will need to be a calculation as to what is the best way to advance our national interests, by trying to see that the kind of steps we want taken get taken, or by avoiding Pakistan. That is the question that the Secretary will wrestle with in the coming days and weeks," he said.

## Pak. can influence Taliban

Pakistan's "considerable influence" over the Taliban militia has helped improve human rights for women in Afghanistan, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Karl Inderfurth, has said.

"When we talk to the Pakistanis - who we believe have considerable influence on the Taliban - we press the issue of human rights for Afghan women," Mr. Inderfurth told the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on Thursday. — Reuters, PTI

Azhar talks of Jihad: Page 11

THE HINDU

29 JAN 2000



## Resolution moved to brand Pak. a terrorist state

WASHINGTON, JAN. 29. A resolution branding Pakistan a terrorist state has been referred to the United States' House International Relations Committee, amid suggestions from the Clinton administration that Islamabad could face such action if it continues to support militant groups.

"Besides the terrorist organisations themselves, those countries that harbour terrorist organisations or provide them with technical, financial, political or other support should be held accountable," the Democratic Congressman, Mr. Frank Pallone, said introducing the resolution in the house on Friday. The resolution was co-sponsored by the Republican Congressman, Mr. Bill McCollum.

Mr. Pallone, a former Co-Chairman of the India caucus, has also written to the Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, calling for Pakistan to be designated as a state sponsor of terrorism.

Mr. Pallone's resolution noted: "The Secretary of State, pursuant to the Export Adminis-

tration Act, should designate the Islamic Republic of Pakistan as a country the Government of which has repeatedly provided support for international terrorism."

According to Mr. Pallone, given the shared threat that the U.S. and other countries faced from international terrorist organisations, the State Department was urged to explore ways to step up U.S. cooperation with countries in the struggle.

The various clauses of the resolution noted that reports from Western media sources had cited Pakistan as a base and training ground for terrorist groups, and that Pakistan's Government had demonstrated a reluctance to halt the use of its soil for terrorist organisations.

It also cited reports that have implicated Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) in terrorist activities, as well as the international drug trade.

The resolution also cited the fact that Pakistan was placed on the State Department's

"watch list" of suspected state sponsors of international terrorism in 1993. Numerous cases of terrorist attacks or attempted terrorism, had been linked to Pakistan, many of which had resulted in death or injury to Americans and other Westerners, were also noted in the resolution.

The House International Relations Committee Chairman, Mr. Benjamin Gilman, has also urged the Clinton administration to declare Afghanistan's Taliban a "terrorist movement" and put Pakistan on notice that if it did not cut its strings with the Taliban, then the same would happen to it.

This was necessary to bring about stability and peace to South Asia, the Republican Congressman said at a function in New York on Wednesday held to mark India's Republic Day.

He said China's support for both Pakistan and the Taliban was one more reason why it should not receive the most favored nation trading status from the U.S. — PTI, UNI

THE HINDU

30 JAN 2000

# To go or not to go

**P**RESIDENT CLINTON'S much-postponed visit to India is finally scheduled for the third week of March. His subcontinental journey will also take him to Bangladesh, but he faces a dilemma of Hamletian proportions with regard to Pakistan. Should he or should he not touch down in Islamabad, ruled by a military junta that recently ousted a democratically elected government? For President Clinton and his administration, the choice is not a happy one. There is a great deal to be said on both sides of the argument, and there are quite a number of people saying it. Whatever the ultimate decision, it is damned if you do and damned if you don't, with the ongoing presidential election campaign confounding an already complex situation.

Academically speaking, the choice is, it to have been a simple one: One has to deal with whichever regime is in power in a country, and engagement does not necessarily mean endorsement. The US has dealt with military regimes before, including in Pakistan. In fact, there is the prevailing wisdom that various US administrations or at least segments such as the Pentagon and the CIA have been more comfortable with military regimes than with messy civilian governments. With all that said, the fact remains that conducting necessary business with an autocratic regime is one thing; but according it the approbation of a presidential visit is another kettle of fish altogether, especially for the self-proclaimed champion of promoting freedom and democracy around the globe.

Why not then tell Pervez Musharraf and his men that there will be no presidential visit until they hand power back to elected civilians or don civies themselves to seek a popular mandate? That is where the explosive dynamics of half a century of visceral Indo-Pak confrontations click in to complicate matters. No matter how loudly the US declares that it has given up even-handedness and parity in dealing with the two subcontinental neighbours, no one can deny that India and Pakistan each keeps a wary eye on how Washington is interacting with the other. If Clinton visits India and Bangladesh and gives the go by to Pakistan, Islamabad will inevitably consider that a devastating snub, especially in view of the military regime's perceived need for legitimacy. Equally inevitably, there will be sounds of some gleeful chortling from

India which will be like rubbing salt into Pakistan's wounds. How the military regime or the fundamentalist groups in Pakistan will react to the "insult" cannot but cause concern in the US. Such a baleful scenario is being projected strongly by those eager to bring about a Clinton stopover in Pakistan. The protagonists of such a visit in the Pentagon and the CIA have been joined by pro-Pak elements within the State Department. On the other hand, if Clinton does visit Pakistan, India and many members of Congress will lambast him for encouraging a military dictatorship and equating it with a stable democracy.

An intriguing compromise solution that surfaced in Pakistan was for Clinton to avoid Islamabad, but to land for a few hours in some other city like Lahore, where he would share a meal with Musharraf. Such an option could not even have been remotely considered in Washington because it would have been a totally no-win situation: Most Pakistanis would have been angered by the devalued visit; at the same time, opponents of the Pak visit in the US would have excoriated the President for stopping over at all, for however short a period. The Musharraf regime is not without powerful professional help in promoting its cause in America's corridors of power. One source of strength is Lanny Davis, who works for the well-known legal firm of Patter Boggus and has been hired by Pakistan as a lobbyist. More significantly, Davis was President Clinton's personal lawyer in the Monica Lewinsky case and presumably has direct access to him. In fact, Davis worked successfully to arrange the release of the stuck F-16 funds to Pakistan. He has reportedly been striving to ensure that Clinton does not strike Pakistan off the

list of his South Asia trip. Another influential lobbyist for Pakistan is former Congressman Charlie Wilson. Wilson, who has considerable clout among his former colleagues, has been working hard to see that Clinton does go to Pakistan. Ranged against all the above are senior members of the Congressional India Caucus, other administration officials, think tank specialists and area experts who advocate that Clinton should not visit Pakistan until the military regime halts support to terrorist outfits and moves towards swift democratic elections.

New York Democratic Congressman Gary Ackerman, current India Caucus co-chairman, urged Clinton to keep away from Pakistan until he received iron-clad guarantees that Islamabad would halt all support to terrorist groups, close all terrorist training camps, and conduct internationally-supervised democratic elections. A day earlier, New Jersey Democratic Congressman Frank Pallone Jr., founder and former co-chairman of the Caucus, wrote to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright asking for Pakistan to be designated as a state that sponsors terrorism. Pallone also planned to introduce a House resolution recommending such a course of action.

Both Congressmen are trying to strengthen the administration's resolve by providing political cover for the repudiation and ostracism of the military regime. They are aware that they have to balance and neutralise the pro-Pakistan pressure on the President. It has been a regular tug of war, which explains the administration's snail-like pace of arriving at a decision on whether or not to include Pakistan in the President's itinerary.

Incidentally, there is one electoral factor that militates against the President deciding to include Pakistan in his list. It may be recalled that during his 1994 presidential election campaign, Clinton got a lot of mileage out of accusing the then President George Bush of "coddling dictators" in Beijing. If Clinton visits Pakistan, it would be sweet revenge for presidential candidate George Bush, son of the former president, to charge the Clinton-Gore administration with coddling dictators in Islamabad. Clinton's sins would then be visited upon Vice-President Al Gore, adversely affecting his presidential election prospects against Bush. Given Pakistan's desperate dependence on life-sustaining assistance from the WB and the IMF, a transference which the US has the power to terminate it is well within the realms of possibility that the junta in Islamabad will capitulate with a series of conciliatory gestures. But the US will do well to remember that the gestures are unlikely to be translated into concrete action. For, the junta faces an even more perilous future if it is seen to kowtow to Washington it might be swept away in a raging, militant, fundamentalist tide.

President Clinton might thus appear to be between a rock and a hard place, but the choice for him is not as stark as pressure groups make it seem. The next few months constitute the swan song of a presidency which has been quite good despite a few personal and political aberrations here and there. Clinton has raised the geopolitical stature of the nation and the quality of life of the people. Clinton has always had a preoccupation with his presidential legacy, a strong underlying aspiration to leave a favourable imprint on history. However, to be considered a great president, as he earnestly craves to be, he has to be ready to eschew short-term sectarian political benefit for the sake of the greater global good. In other words, Clinton has to decide whether he wants to be a politician seeking respite from proximate problems by visiting Pakistan, or a statesman who stands tall for principles and makes it clear that he will not legitimise a blatant power grab by the Pak military. If Clinton opts for the latter, it could well lead to a widening diplomatic chasm with Pakistan, a chilly breach in bilateral relations, and a possible rise in the terrorist threat. However, out of the ashes of the dangerous drift will rise a new Pakistan which will find its rightful niche in the region and the world.

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