

# ~~Pak.~~ would have signed CTBT but for India' 40-19

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, SEPT. 25. Pakistan has welcomed India's decision to remain committed to a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and said Pakistan would also not undertake any further nuclear tests as long as India stood by its promise.

Addressing a news conference here today, on his return from New York, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, was at pains to emphasise that Pakistan would have moved towards signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) but for the nuclear tests conducted by India in May 1998.

Pakistan was among the few countries that favoured the CTBT regime ever since the idea was conceived and cast its vote in favour of the proposal at the disarmament conference. But, it had to go nuclear after India conducted the Pokhran tests. The Minister was all praise for the Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, for his effort to heighten awareness on the dangers posed to peace by the Kashmir conflict. He hoped the influential countries would prevail upon India to settle the Kashmir dispute and pave way for peace in South Asia.

Mr. Sattar denied that Pakistan had reason to be unhappy, as there was no reference to the Kashmir issue in the declaration adopted at the millennium session of the U.N. Assembly. The Summit declaration did not dwell into concrete issues and articulated the basic principles for main-

tenance of security, avoidance of war and eradication of poverty.

Seeking to counter the impression that Gen. Musharraf failed to get an audience with the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, he said Pakistan did not specifically propose any meeting between the two leaders. Gen. Musharraf had a brief encounter with Mr. Clinton at the reception hosted by the President to the Heads of State in New York. "Mr. Clinton remains interested in South Asia. We are sure his administration would continue to strive for peace in South Asia".

His concern was evident from the remarks made by him at the press conference after the summit meeting with the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee. "We consider his remarks to be realistic."

On Indo-U.S. relations, Mr. Sattar said Pakistan was not concerned about the improvement of bilateral relations between two countries as long as it was not being done at the expense of Pakistan. "We have been assured again and again that the U.S. is not following a zero-sum game in South Asia." A special envoy of the Russian President, Mr. Putin, was arriving in Islamabad tomorrow with a message from the President to explore possibilities of improving bilateral relations further.

PII reports:

Ms. Kulsoom Nawaz, wife of deposed Pakistani premier, Nawaz Sharif, today faced an assault of eggs and tomatoes from protesters reportedly belonging to an outfit backing Gen. Musharraf.

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INDIA

26 SEP 2000

# India ignores Pakistan's Kashmir line at UN meet

S. Rajagopalan  
Washington, September 21

**I**GNORING PAKISTAN'S renewed demand for UN intervention in Kashmir, India on Tuesday solicited the support of all member States to the adoption of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism. New Delhi has proposed a draft on the subject.

External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh, intervening in the UN General Assembly debate, maintained the focus on Pakistan-sponsored terrorism, without naming that country.

"India has been the object of State-sponsored cross-border terrorism in its most inhuman manifestations for more than a decade," he said, urging all members to work to strengthen the international consensus and legal regimes against terrorism.

Mr Singh refrained from reacting to his Pakistani counterpart Abdul Sattar's remarks the previous day, yet again seeking the Security Council's intervention in view of

India's "intransigent rejection" of its "peace initiative".

In line with the new articulation of the dangers emanating from the Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, Mr Singh hit out obliquely at Pakistan's military and financial support to a regime purveying obscurantist ideologies of mediaeval times.

"The Taliban and their mentor must heed the world's demands and abandon the path of conflict," he said, hinting that the fratricidal conflict in Afghanistan was attributable in good measure to the outside support.

The External Affairs Minister used the occasion to advance India's case for a permanent seat in a restructured Security Council. The council needed to be expanded in both the permanent and non-permanent categories to give due representation to the developing world, he said while reaffirming India's "willingness to take on the responsibilities of permanent membership".

"At the just concluded UN millennium summit, more than 150 of

the 189 member States endorsed the urgent need to reform the Security Council which, in the opinion of many, has an outmoded structure. While the impact of most of its actions is felt by developing countries, these nations have little influence in the decision-making.

The General Assembly, as the most important UN organ, is also in need of reforms to make its functioning more effective. The Assembly, said Mr Singh, is confronted with newer challenges brought about by the forces of globalisation, calling for greater international cooperation and collective action.

On the disarmament issue, Mr Singh spoke of India's continuing quest for global nuclear disarmament and genuine non-proliferation. He urged commencement of negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention to bring about a nuclear weapon-free world.

While on the CTBT, he confined himself to the position that India would not stand in the way of the treaty coming into force.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

22 SEP 2000

'REPOSITIONING OF INDIA IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS'

# Right climate must for talks with Pak.: PM

*Indu Pak*

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

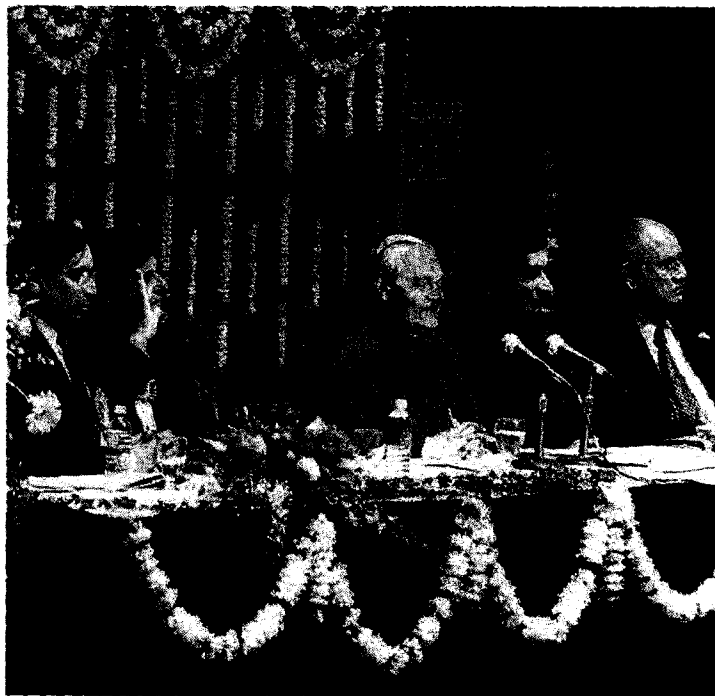
WASHINGTON, SEPT. 17. There would have to be the right conditions for a dialogue with Pakistan, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, said at a gathering of Indian Americans here last night.

He went by bus to Lahore but it reached Kargil. India had extended the hand of friendship. "Everybody is asking us to talk. But what to talk about? The weather, or about the family?" the Prime Minister said amid laughter from the audience at a reception at the Constitution Hall, sponsored by many organisations including the Overseas Friends of the BJP, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh..

During the Kargil conflict, India showed restraint, he said and to standing ovation declared, "after every war, you (Pakistan) lost some land. You have been wanting Kashmir in the past and will continue to want it. But you will not get Kashmir." If Pakistan was not prepared to implement old agreements, how could it be expected to implement new ones?

Mr. Vajpayee touched on the situation in South Asia, nuclear weapons, the strengths of democracy, the role of the Indian Americans and their contributions to both India and the U.S.

The Prime Minister's observations on nuclear issues were on the lines he had expounded before. The bottom line was that India's programme was defensive in nature and a response to developments in its neighbourhood. He referred to the criticism of India's nuclear programme from



The Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, at a public reception, organised in his honour by the Indian American community, in Washington on Saturday. — PTI

countries which had themselves refused to get rid of their arsenals.

Mr. Vajpayee spoke in Hindi and when he was asked to speak in English, declined saying he was going by the guidelines drawn by the World Hindi Conference of 1970 in Mauritius. Pointing out that each country had its own language and that he had spoken in Hindi even at the United Nations, the Prime Minister said, "if a Tamilian comes to the U.N., he will speak in Tamil."

The Prime Minister was cheered several times during his ad-

dress by an audience with which he felt comfortable.

At the community function, he was variously described by speakers and in a documentary as the "great and most popular" Prime Minister of India, someone who would be remembered as a "statesman, reformer, nation builder and visionary" and the first Prime Minister to recognise the importance of the non-resident Indians.

'A rewarding programme'

Later in a statement, the Prime

Minister said India was increasingly being recognised as a "responsible and stabilising" force in Asia and that this role could only grow over the decades. "Our concerns over South Asia are also gaining increasing acceptance," he said.

Characterising his visit to the U.S. as a full and rewarding programme, Mr. Vajpayee said it had carried forward the momentum of Indo-U.S. relations most satisfactorily. "Without doubt there is now a repositioning of India in global and regional affairs."

At the United Nations and in his bilateral talks, he had conveyed India's "readiness to shoulder broader responsibilities" in the coming decades and projected New Delhi's thinking on the growing threat of terrorism.

Expressing happiness at the growing momentum and deepening of the relations between the two "greatest democracies", the Prime Minister said he was confident the coming years would see this relationship grow "imbued with new content, greater understanding and enhanced cooperation".

The Prime Minister was to have made his statement at a press conference after a community event on Saturday evening, but it was cancelled at the last minute. This was the second time a scheduled press conference had been cancelled, the first being one scheduled jointly with the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, for Friday.

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India campaigns against  
Jehad: Page 13

THE HINDU

18 SEP 2000

# Stop dreaming of Kashmir, PM tells Pak

S. Rajagopalan (W) 9-PMK  
Washington DC, September 17

RULING OUT any dialogue with Pakistan yet again, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on Saturday had a piece of advice for Islamabad: "Stop dreaming about getting Kashmir, for it is never going to happen."

On the eve of his departure home after a highly successful visit to the US, Vajpayee told a wildly-cheering Indian-American audience: Why go and talk to them and sign new agreements when they are not prepared to honour the old agreements?

The Prime Minister's reference clearly was to Pakistan military ruler Gen. Pervez Musharraf's virtual repudiation of the Simla Accord and the Lahore Declaration in some of his recent interviews to the media.

Having a dig at the US for trying to nudge India to resume the dialogue with Pakistan, Vajpayee quizzed: "Lekin kya baat karen unse? Mausam kaisa hai? Biwi bachchon ka kya haal hai?" (But what do you talk with them? Ask about the weather? Or enquire about their family?)

The Indian-American community that had packed into the Constitution Hall seemed to love every moment of it as Vajpayee laced his speech with customary wit. Once again, the contrast with his out-of-sorts appearances at some of his official engagements was all too palpable.

India, said Vajpayee, wants to

have good, friendly relations with all, particularly its neighbours. "And we do have good relations with all our neighbours, except one. Even then, I took the bus (to Lahore) only to find that it had reached Kargil," he remarked.

After Pakistan mounted the Kargil offensive, there was a clamour in India "that we should cross the Line of Control and give them a fitting reply". But India restrained itself

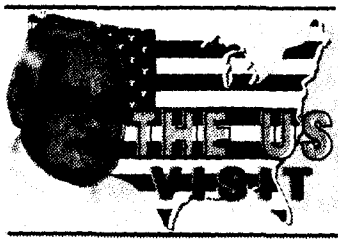
because it was genuinely interested in peace and harmonious living, he said and quizzed: "Who will now believe the (Pakistani) propaganda that we are not interested in peace?"

Vajpayee's references to the

Pokhran tests were also greeted with much jubilation. A country of the size of India needed to secure itself, all the more so after the three aggressions against it in the last 50 years, he said adding: "After Pokhran, people now see us in a different light."

Taunting the nuclear powers for their double standards on nuclear-related issues, the Prime Minister remarked: "The anxiety of some over India going nuclear may be understandable. But we just couldn't imagine that those unwilling to destroy their own nuclear arsenals would become so angry with us."

Vajpayee assured the Indian community that things are changing back home. "Our coalition government is running well and the economic reforms are on course," he said adding the challenge now was to use the economic progress to usher in social justice.



# Pak will never be able to snatch away Kashmir: PM

WASHINGTON: Winding up his four-day visit to the U.S., Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee has declared that Pakistan "will never be able to snatch Kashmir which is an integral part of India". Pakistan had fought three wars with India and lost each time, he said, adding, "now they say they will take Kashmir, but they will never be able to do so".

The PM's assertion on Kashmir came in the course of an hour-long speech, laced with characteristic wit and oratory, to a large gathering of non-resident Indians, who honoured him at a reception here, on Saturday night.

Mr Vajpayee said that nobody doubted India's peaceful intentions. When Pakistan attacked in Kargil, there were demands that the Indian troops cross the Line of Control (LoC), but we had shown great restraint. That itself proved "our desire for peace", Mr Vajpayee said.

Stressing the need for India to be strong enough to defend itself, Mr Vajpayee expressed his government's determination to ensure self-sufficiency in the defence of the country. In this context, the Prime Minister spoke about the nuclear tests which, he said, aroused criticism from even those who themselves had atomic weapons and were not prepared to destroy them. "But over a period of time, they have understood Indian security concerns and have stopped talking about them," he added.

Mr Vajpayee spoke about the great strides India has taken in various fields and said that much more needs to be done. He especially mentioned the contribution of information technology professionals who, he said, "are in great demand".

The countries which once denied visas to "Indians are now issuing them in wholesale", he said amidst cheers and laughter, in an obvious reference to the demand for IT professionals in the U.S. and other Western countries.

The Prime Minister was honoured with the 'Pride Of India' award by the Indian-American community.

The PM thanked a group of Indian American Silicon Valley entrepreneurs, who are heavyweights in the information technology (IT) industry, for helping change the image of India in the American mind.

Mr Vajpayee, who met with The Indus Entrepreneurs (TiE) group led by Kanwal Rekhi at Blair House, where he is an official guest of President Bill Clinton, regretted that he had been unable to come to the West Coast where TiE had organised a massive reception for him in conjunction with Stanford University.

Mr Vajpayee recalled Rudyard Kipling's famous words that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet".

"(But) You, Indian American entrepreneurs, have shown with your successes in information technology that East and West can not only meet, but they will meet on equal terms," he said.

Mr Vajpayee declared, "You have truly done India proud and your success stories have had a positive impact both in America and in India. In America, you have helped change the image of India in the American mind. In India, you have inspired tens of thousands of young Indians to achieve similar successes in IT."

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THE TIMES OF INDIA

18 SEP 2000

## Spotlight on terror

IF PRIME Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee seemed to carry on with his castigation of Pakistan in his address to a joint session of the US Congress from where he had left off in his speech before the Asia Society a few days ago, it was evidently with a clear objective in mind. It is obvious enough that India stands today on the threshold of a great future as a result of its new commitment to release the 'creative genius' of its people and their 'entrepreneurial skills', as Mr Vajpayee pointed out. But to 'sustain the momentum' of its current progress which has placed it among the 10 fastest growing economies in the world, there is a pressing need for "an Asia that will be at peace with itself", in the Prime Minister's words.

Such a prospect will remain unattainable, however, if India has to deal with a neighbour which has 'fashioned', to quote Mr Vajpayee again, the medieval concept of waging a 'religious war' or *jihad* into 'an instrument of State policy'. In contrast to the conflicts of the last two centuries which were caused by colonial expansion and Great Power ambition, Pakistan's threat to India, both directly as in Kargil and via the ISI-sponsored organisations of Islamic fundamentalism, harks back to the middle ages when religious bigotry was the driving force behind the wars between nations. It is India's misfortune that it has to face such a threat in the new millennium from countries which think nothing of unleashing 'ferocious' attacks of 'terrorist violence' merely to show that a 'multireligious society cannot exist'. The reason perhaps is that such a society where all communities live as equal citizens is a modern concept which is beyond the comprehension of a theocratic dictatorship like Pakistan's.

But Mr Vajpayee did well to emphasise the threat of this 'evil' which India faces. At the same time, it is a challenge not only to India but to the entire civilised world, for the armies of bigotry, made all the more fearsome by the spectre of the hugely destructive modern weapons being carried by people with medieval minds, have to be defeated to save the future generations from the obscurantist terror of the Taliban variety. As the Prime Minister said, "distance offers no insulation" and any complacency which the US may feel because of its location in between two oceans is misplaced. It goes without saying, therefore, that the world's two largest democracies have a special responsibility for 'combating terrorism' for, otherwise, they will be held accountable for the 'untold suffering' which the *jehadis* will inflict.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 SEP 2000

# Annan will 'play his role' on Kashmir issue: Musharraf

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, SEPT. 15. The Pakistan military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, maintained here today that he was not worried about the recent warming of relations between India and United States. Addressing a news conference on his return after attending the United Nations millennium summit Gen. Musharraf claimed that he had prevailed upon the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, to visit Pakistan and play his role in resolution of the Kashmir dispute.

In response to a question, he said U.S.-India ties should not affect Pakistan since it viewed its relations with U.S. independently. "My view is that our relations with U.S. should be seen independently and it should not be hooked on to U.S.-India relationship. We would maintain relations with the U.S. independent of Indian relationship with them."

Gen. Musharraf was of the view that economic factors were behind the closer relationship between India and the U.S. He said Pakistan's survival depended on economic revival. The programme for documentation of the economy and broadening of the tax-net would go a long way in achieving this. He ruled out review of the programme and said there was no resentment among the people on the tax survey system. He had been receiving thou-

sands of letters but none expressed any disappointment with the survey.

He was hopeful that Pakistan would be able to get assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the next two months. Currently, an IMF team is in Islamabad holding discussions with the authorities on the possibility of resumption of financial assistance suspended since the Kargil conflict last May.

The Chief Executive said he had successfully raised the Kashmir issue at the U.N. summit and was hopeful that Mr. Annan would be in the region soon. All the leaders he had met on the sidelines of the summit had expressed concern over the volatile situation in the region, he said.

"Certainly, they are aware why this security problem is there and that is Kashmir. The U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, is concerned about what is happening in Kashmir and is trying his best in the resolution of the issue," Gen. Musharraf said.

He conceded that the road to peace was not easy and there could be progress towards peace only if there was dialogue. He blamed India for wasting the 'window of opportunity' provided by the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen ceasefire declaration and hoped that India would demonstrate some 'statesmanship' in resolution of the Kashmir conflict.

Gen. Musharraf did not hide his

annoyance with the Bangladesh Prime Minister, Ms. Sheikh Hasina, and virtually accused her of interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan. In an obvious reference to her presentation at the U.N. summit where she had castigated military Governments, Gen. Musharraf said he had refused to meet her because of her statements.

## Hizb ready for talks

NEW DELHI, SEPT. 15. The Hizbul Mujahideen today said it might consider a dialogue with the Centre on the Kashmir issue without the immediate participation of Islamabad if New Delhi accepted it as a tripartite issue.

The Hizb also said that all differences with the Hurriyat Conference after intense talks had been resolved and it held the amalgam in an esteemed position.

"There were differences of opinion with the Hurriyat which have since then been resolved," the Hizb spokesperson, Mr. Saleem Hashim, told PTI over phone from Islamabad.

The Hizb-ul-Mujahideen had in a statement issued after the withdrawal of unilateral ceasefire on August 8 severely criticised the Hurriyat for failing to provide a political platform for the so-called movement in Kashmir.

THE HINDU

15 SEP 2000

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## Talking about Talks

Like petulant children, Pakistan and India both went to the United Nations Millennium Summit last week to complain about each other. That General Pervez Musharraf would travel to New York with nothing else on his mind other than India and Kashmir was a foregone conclusion. But it was a little surprising to see Prime Minister Vajpayee expending so much oratorical and emotional energy in telling the world exactly how bad Pakistan has been behaving. In fact, so determined was New Delhi to drive home the message that Mr Vajpayee did so twice: first at the Asia Society, and then again at the UN General Assembly. The word 'jihad' was repeatedly invoked by the prime minister and external affairs minister, as if to emphasise that 'Hindu' India was at the frontline of an epic civilisational struggle against the forces of Islam and deserved the support of the Judaeo-Christian West. To the extent to which General Musharraf tried deliberately to paint India as the spoiler of the subcontinent, Mr Vajpayee had no option but to put across New Delhi's point of view. Drawing attention to the Pakistani sponsorship of cross-border terrorism in Kashmir was both timely and necessary, especially given the manner in which the generals there scuttled the tentative peace offering made by the Hizbul Mujahideen. However, there is more to diplomacy — and to the international profile of a country that counts itself among the world powers — than merely scoring points over a troublesome neighbour. In New York, Pakistan was everything, and all other questions — of disarmament, a more equitable global economy, the environment — were relegated to the sidelines. So intense has been the external affairs ministry's sense of rivalry with Islamabad that even something so trivial as the Asia Society hosting a dinner for Mr Vajpayee, while General Musharraf rated only breakfast, has been held out as a great achievement of Indian diplomacy.

As far as the substantive issue of dialogue between India and Pakistan is concerned, India might have scored a moral and even diplomatic victory but it is one that, in the long term, could well prove self-defeating. General Musharraf was insincere in offering talks 'anytime, anywhere' but Mr Vajpayee's demand that cross-border terrorism be halted first is not only impractical but puzzling as well. An end to cross-border attacks in Kashmir is something that India would legitimately expect to be the outcome of a dialogue process. If these attacks were to end even before the resumption of dialogue, there would be precious little to talk about since India does not admit that Pakistan has any locus standi as far as the internal situation in Jammu and Kashmir is concerned. Rather than continuing to make impossible demands, the Vajpayee government should zero in on one key question: Does the Musharraf regime accept the validity of the Simla agreement and the July 4, 1999 statement made in Washington by the Nawaz Sharif government in which Islamabad undertook not to alter the Line of Control by force? From India's point of view, this question is of paramount importance since the betrayal of Kargil cannot easily be forgotten or brushed aside. If General Musharraf were to undertake to respect the sanctity of the LoC, there should be no reason for India to be unwilling to resume the dialogue process with Pakistan, especially over such pressing issues as cross-border terrorism, nuclear risk reduction and a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir problem. This is the only condition that should be attached. Everything else is secondary.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

1.1 SEP 2000



# Scope for dialogue receding?

By K. K. Katyal

THE UTTERANCES in New York by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, are noteworthy on two counts. One, a confirmation of what has been evident of late — that there is little space, as of now, for India and Pakistan to explore the chances of resuming dialogue. Two, for the spotlight on the new cloak for terrorism provided by Pakistan, jihad. For New Delhi, this is a disturbing additional dimension of the adversarial relationship, arising from the frenzy generated by the ruling establishment in Islamabad, over Kashmir. Gen. Musharraf was silent on this subject, though within Pakistan there has been a lively debate, because of the domestic implications of the rise of terrorist, fanatic religious outfits.

The sharpness of the divergence in the positions taken by India and Pakistan is not unexpected, given the statements which emanated from the two capitals in the past. A softening of the attitudes or a meeting between Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf would have been a surprise. Recent media reports from Washington did mention the opportunity, provided by their presence in New York, but the implied optimism was out of place. It is not hard to forecast what stand Mr. Vajpayee will take, when and in whatever form India-Pakistan relations or Kashmir figure in his talks with the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, later this week.

The deadlock is complete but is it in the interest of the two countries? Some sections seek to derive comfort from a vague hope that the two sides may be engaged in informal, unpublicised contacts or that, perhaps, the back-channel diplomacy is being tried again. Unfortunately, there is nothing to substantiate this wish, notwithstanding the occasional reports of visits to New Delhi by Mr. Niaz Naik, a former Pakistan Foreign Secretary and key player in such exercises undertaken before the overthrow of the civilian regime. There is, however, a case for stepping up track-II processes, for continuous efforts at reaching agreed formulations in an atmosphere free from animosities which mark official dealings. The continuing tensions and sus-

Had Islamabad shown patience and let the contacts between Hizb militants and New Delhi proceed, a way would have been paved for India-Pakistan talks.

picions are manifest in varied forms — for instance, the suspension of political-level contacts within the SAARC framework. New Delhi sticks to the stand against the holding of the grouping's summit because of its objection to the participation of the coup leader. It was, therefore, deferred. Also, the customary SAARC foreign ministers' meeting, held every year in New York on the sidelines of the United Nation's General Assembly session, will not take place this time because India would not like the presence of a representative of the military regime. Nothing pinches Gen. Musharraf more than India's reluctance to deal with him — he perceives this as part of New Delhi's bid to deny legitimacy to his government.

On its part, Pakistan was instrumental in scuttling the ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir, announced by the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, and thus subverting a process which had the promise, though faint, of a movement towards peace and normality in the State. Islamabad obviously ignored the positive pointers — the tremendous sense of relief, generated in Jammu and Kashmir and let the contacts between the militants and New Delhi proceed, a way would have been paved for talks between India and Pakistan. Islamabad unnecessarily got unnerved by India's projection of the ceasefire and the subsequent contacts as an internal affair and as a matter between the Centre and a misguided section of Kashmiris. The insistence on trilateral negotiations was intended to prevent what was seen as a move to sideline Pakistan. This was a short-sighted view, based on fear: it did not take into account the larger questions — the interests of the two countries, peace and stability in South Asia and the welfare of the Kashmiris.

As for the activities of fundamentalists or jihadi elements, a string of quotations

W 9  
this perceptive analysis, did not automatically follow the inception of Pakistan. They came into being some 10 years later and began acquiring clout under the subsequent military dictatorship.

"Some people have begun to say that Pakistan is an Islamic state — because its Constitution says so. Very well. At what point of time in Pakistan's life was this blessing conferred on it? On August 14, 1947, Pakistan was born a plain, simple, undecorated, innocent Pakistan... During its first 10 years, Pakistan was a highly respected, trusted and admired young nation. It was seen as a wonder, a miracle, it was self-supporting and self-respecting. It did not have to endure wave after wave of crime; it did not have the ignominy of being rated among the most notorious in drug and arms smuggling; it was not suspected of promoting terrorism; it was not designated as the most corrupt country in the world. All this came after the republic assumed its new hallowed title."

Another commentator, Tahir Mushhad, in the *Nation*, mentions terrorism and religious extremism among the factors which pushed Pakistan to the brink of a precipice. "There is no denying the fact that the government is under great tension and functioning in a hostile environment both domestically and internationally. Pakistan today is more internationally isolated than ever before. We enjoy the dubious honour of being at the epicentre of the world's most sinister and unsavoury issues and concerns: such as nuclear proliferation, terrorism, religious extremism, narcotics, corruption, human rights violations and child labour. In addition, involvement in Afghanistan and defective, ineffective and unimaginative foreign policy have resulted in bringing our ties with even the staunchest friends like China, Iran and Turkey to their lowest ebb. Relations with the USA, Britain and rest of the Western countries and Japan are lukewarm, to say the least."

Could there be a more vivid account of the havoc wrought by the jihadi elements in Pakistan?

The rise of Islamic groups, according to

## Pakistan papers criticise Vajpayee

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, SEPT. 10. Several Pakistani dailies have sharply reacted to the presentation made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, at the U.N. millennium summit and urged the international community to take note of the "belligerent postures" of the Indian Government "spurning offers of peace" from Islamabad.

The common refrain is that the world does not need any further proof of to who was responsible for the tensions in South Asia after listening to speeches of both Mr. Vajpayee and the Pakistani Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf.

Even the conservative English daily, *Dawn*, reacted strongly. In its editorial under the heading Mr. Vajpayee's sorcery, the paper

accused him of resorting to "jugglery of figures" on the loss of innocent lives in Kashmir in the last several years.

The paper said "behind this spewing of venom was one specific aim: to justify his Government's continued refusal to talk to Pakistan. If there is a dispute anywhere in the world — even if it is as complex and protracted as that in Palestine or North Ireland — there is only one way of resolving it: talks."

The editorial said the people of Kashmir were waging a 'heroic struggle for freedom' and they would attain their goal. It said India had the choice of either resolving the problem by involving Pakistan and Kashmiris or allowing more blood to be shed.

Another English daily, *The News*, in its editorial, Vajpayee's

vituperation said that after the speech regional peace prospects looked truly dim. "The Indian Prime Minister's tirade against Pakistan at the U.N. can only be described as thunder hiding pure trickery.

It is sickeningly insensible and inimical to peace, to heap the burden of all that is wrong with the region upon Islamabad".

It said India's lack of response to peace overtures had nothing to do with cross-border terrorism, and it was a rustic ruse for legitimising repression in Kashmir.

India did not want to resolve the Kashmir problem outside its Constitution and hence its resistance to the involvement of Pakistan, the paper said.

"Vajpayee's terrorism hoo-ha at the Millennium Summit is meant to cover up the inherent

weakness of Delhi's position. The Kashmir struggle was in full swing during Mr. Vajpayee's sojourn in Lahore. The groups that he now prefers to call terrorists were still at work during the Lahore Fort soiree, where he regaled himself with Pakistani delights. Then he did not see terrorism as an impediment in the way of reaching an agreement".

*The Nation* expressed disappointment that Gen. Musharraf failed to win support for the Kashmir cause at the summit despite Pakistan having a "foolproof case". It said Mr. Vajpayee benefited from Pakistan's weakness to the maximum. "Instead of speaking on the merits of the issue for which he had no arguments, he diverted his blows to the Achille's heel, the military rule in Pakistan".

THE HINDU

1.1 SEP 2000

# PM lambasts Pak doublespeak

Musharraf talks of freedom here and stifles democracy at home: Atal

S. Rajagopalan  
United Nations, September 8

**I**N A forceful rebuttal of Pakistan's assertions, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee today asked the world community to see through Islamabad's "Orwellian mockery of truth" and appreciate the Indian stance that terrorism and dialogue just cannot go together.

"The authors of a terrorist campaign that has claimed more than 30,000 innocent lives in India are now offering new initiatives for dialogue," Mr Vajpayee told the UN Millennium Summit. They are also the ones who actively sabotaged a historic peace initiative, he said, without explicitly naming Pakistan.

Speaking two days after General Pervez Musharraf's anti-India tirade from the same platform, Mr Vajpayee remarked: "Those who have stifled democracy at home, speak of freedom from this forum.

"Those who have engaged in clandestine acquisition of nuclear weapons and delivery systems talk of ridding South Asia of these. Those who have repudiated solemn covenants talk of new agreements to prevent war."

If it was an oblique attack on Pakistan at the UN forum, Mr Vajpayee came upfront during his address to New York's Asia Society. Accusing Pakistan of adopting cross-border terrorism as an instrument of state policy, he asked the world community to reject attempts to cloak such acts as jihad (holy war).

Ahead of his UN address, Mr Vajpayee signed the Comprehensive Convention Against Terrorism. While doing so, he made a strong plea for the early adoption and implementation of this convention, piloted by France and signed by about 25 countries so far. Pakistan has not signed it yet.

The signing of the convention by Vajpayee during the UN Millennium Summit is considered significant as India itself is a victim of Pakistan-sponsored cross-border terrorism and has been in the forefront seeking international support to fight the menace.

Vajpayee signed the 28-article convention, initiated by France, at the UN Headquarters, shortly

before he addressed the Millennium Summit.

India is the 13th country to sign the convention. Sri Lanka became the first country to ratify it and it needs 22 ratification to go into force. The convention does not have any enforcement provision like all other such instruments but diplomats say a member-state is expected to abide by it once it becomes a signatory.

Called international convention for suppression of the financing of terrorism, it makes it obligatory for a state party to establish mechanisms to compensate the victims of terrorism from the funds seized.

It also demands that every state takes measures to ensure that the persons charged with terrorism are available for prosecution in the country where the crime is committed.

Should a state not extradite a



person charged with terrorism, it is expected to prosecute him or her under its own laws and without delay.

Mr Vajpayee's summit address, apart from the counter-blast against Gen. Musharraf's "statesman-like words," also made a strong reiteration of India's position on the nuclear issue.

While justifying the 1998 tests by citing the spread of nuclear weapons in India's "neighbourhood" and the refusal of the

nuclear powers to pursue disarmament, Mr Vajpayee emphasised that India was committed to a policy based on responsibility and restraint.

The Prime Minister lent full support to the UN Secretary-General's proposal for an international conference to address the nuclear dangers.

India's commitment to universal, verifiable nuclear disarmament remains undiminished, he said adding that for half a century, India had been in the forefront of the disarmament campaign.

On the CTBT issue, Mr Vajpayee said that while India was in the process of evolving a national consensus on the subject, it would not prevent the entry into force of this treaty. India itself, in the interregnum, was continuing with its voluntary moratorium on further underground nuclear tests.

In his address to the Asia Society, made within hours of his arrival on Thursday, the Prime Minister sharply criticised Islamabad for misleading India's generosity of spirit and desire for friendly relations weakness.

"In the face of extreme provocation, we have shown patience and restraint," he said adding that none should doubt that India had the means and the will to protect its territorial integrity, secular unity and communal harmony.

Mr Vajpayee also went into the challenges of globalisation because of the asymmetry in benefits that it has brought about for the developed and the developing countries. He made out a strong case for augmenting the International Monetary Fund's resources to deal with the economic crisis created by the globalisation policy being pursued by its member countries.

# Put more pressure on India, says Musharraf

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

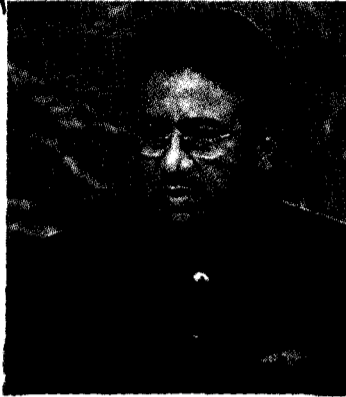
*9/9*  
*9/9*  
**UNITED NATIONS, SEPT. 8.** The Pakistani Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has urged the United States President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to use stronger methods to press India to resolve the Kashmir problem. Arguing that he was not disappointed by the U.S. response to his pronouncements on Kashmir, and that Mr. Clinton is indeed trying to resolve the dispute, Gen. Musharraf said, "Maybe a stronger method of persuasion is required to really get things moving."

At a packed press conference at the United Nations headquarters, Gen. Musharraf, asked about meeting the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, said: "I have said I would like to meet at any level, at any place and at any time. Now the ball is totally in Mr. Vajpayee's court... (but) I don't see any progress on the issue."

Maintaining that the overall situation in Kashmir remains unchanged, and that a lot depended on India by way of a solution, the General termed the recent developments extremely negative. Referring to New Delhi's position that Pakistan had no role in the talks between the Indian Government and the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, he termed it "ridiculous". India and Pakistan are the main stakeholders in Kashmir, and if India was talking about status quo, it was being unrealistic.

## 'Lack of sincerity'

Gen. Musharraf, who has been pushing for international media-



tion in Kashmir, said he was not averse to bilateralism. "Basically bilateral methodology may be the best... if there is sincerity on both sides. But when there is lack of sincerity and disputes are not being resolved or there is no progress in bilateral negotiations, the only methodology left is for somebody to mediate."

He maintained that his country was in a conflict region and therefore economic cooperation remained a "far cry". Kashmir was the "only dispute" between India and Pakistan, and other differences between the two countries were "irritants". Reiterating the theme of a 'no-war-pact', the Chief Executive said he had gone all the way, taken the extreme step of calling for no use of force, and is for a proportional reduction of forces — conventional and non-conventional.

Gen. Musharraf, who has been focussing on Kashmir in the last several days in New York, appears convinced that there has been a

change in the international community's attitude towards the issue. He said there was a lot of talk on Kashmir today; he could see the "understanding" of the people, and that Kashmir was in "focus".

## U.N.'s duty

Calling on the U.N. to muster the political will to solve the issue, Gen. Musharraf once again posed the question, "If East Timor could be solved in two years, why not Kashmir?" It was the duty of the U.N. to solve the Kashmir problem. At a broader level, he argued that the U.N. must have in place a strong mechanism for conflict and dispute-resolution.

## Runs into Putin

UNI reports:

Gen. Musharraf had a chance meeting with the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, on Thursday, during which they are understood to have exchanged views on bilateral and international issues. It so happened that the two leaders, seated at a short distance in the General Assembly hall, silently acknowledged each other and later found a secluded corner for a one-to-one meeting, aided by a Russian interpreter. The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, joined them later.

The Pakistani delegation's spokesperson, Mr. Riaz Mohammad Khan, described the meeting as cordial and warm. Moscow often accuses Pakistan of backing Chechnya's Muslim separatists but the spokesperson said the issue was not raised.

THE HINDU

14 SEP 2001

# Musharraf ready for talks with India

UNITED NATIONS: Pakistani military ruler General Pervez Musharraf has urged an intervention by the United Nations security council to resolve the Kashmir dispute in the interest of peace and security in a "heavily militarised region."



Pervez Musharraf

"When one party to a dispute (India) is intransigent in rejecting the use of peaceful means, the security council is empowered to act," he said in his five-minute speech at the largest-ever gathering of world lead-

ers at the UN-sponsored millennium summit here on Wednesday.

To drive his point home, Gen Musharraf cited the UN interventions in Bosnia and Kosovo and the latest intense efforts by the international community for finding a solution to the Palestine issue. He said the problem lay not in the UN charter but in the lack of political will. "Until we produce that will, all talk of crisis prevention and dispute resolution will ring hollow," the General said, adding, "Kashmir cries for justice even after 52 years."

Gen Musharraf said Pakistan was prepared to take "bold initiatives to change the status quo through a dialogue with India at

any level, at any time and any where." He listed his earlier proposals of no war pact with India, willingness for a reduction of forces and freeing South Asia free from all nuclear weapons. "Pakistan will not be drawn into an arms race, nuclear or conventional, irrespective of provocation," he said.

He spoke of the dangers to peace and security if Kashmir dispute was allowed to linger particularly because South Asia stood "heavily militarised, even nuclearised."

"The situation is certainly not of Pakistan's making. We have been obliged to respond to the compulsions of our security and have merely acted in self defence," he said. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

8 SEP 2000

# Musharraf harps on Kashmir issue, <sup>Hf-13</sup> seeks UN intervention

In 5-minute speech, he says India is not responding to peace moves

HTC and Agencies

United Nations, September 7 <sup>89</sup>

**P**AKISTAN'S MILITARY ruler Gen Pervez Musharraf stuck to his Kashmir script to the virtual exclusion of everything else at the UN Millennium Summit on Wednesday even as Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee was winging his way to New York.

Mr Vajpayee, Indian sources indicated, will come up with his own emphatic counter when he addresses this largest-ever gathering of world leaders on Friday. It will be a firm, no-nonsense rebuttal of the Pakistani propaganda, the sources said.

Gen Musharraf, true to expectation, sought the UN Security Council's intervention to resolve the Kashmir issue.

"When one party to a dispute is intransigent, the Security Council is empowered to act," he said adding: "Unless there is strong mediation, nothing can be done."

In a bid to build diplomatic pressure on New Delhi on other matters as well, Gen Musharraf spoke

of Pakistan's readiness for a no-war pact with India as also one on mutual reduction of forces. Although Islamabad is still to respond to the Indian offer to sign a no-first use on the nuclear option, he spoke of the need for a nuclear-free South Asia.

He kept reverting to the Kashmir issue by saying that the root of the problem was Kashmir and it must be resolved through "strong mediation". He made no reference to the

## UN Millennium Summit

heightened cross-border terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir.

He listed his earlier proposals of no war pact with India, willingness for a reduction of forces and freeing South Asia from all nuclear weapons. "Pakistan will not be drawn into an arms race, nuclear or conventional, irrespective of provocation," he said.

He spoke of the dangers to peace and security if the Kashmir dispute was allowed to linger, particularly because South Asia stood "heavily

militarised, even nuclearised."

Cuban leader Fidel Castro was the star of the subsequent session. The legendary US baiter was in his elements, though somewhat constricted by the five-minute time-limit for speech-making.

Other key leaders to speak on day one of the three-day summit included Russian leader Vladimir Putin, Chinese President Jiang Zemin and British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Mr Jiang Zemin himself, during his address, took potshots at the US by substituting a Cold War mentality by a new security concept that is based on trust, equality and cooperation.

Outside the UN headquarters, the activity was even more hectic with a spate of protests to articulate a variety of concerns. The Falun Gong sect, which has been at the receiving end of a Chinese crackdown, organised a major demonstration. A host of other countries and their leaders were the targets of public ire, but the demonstrations were all generally peaceful.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 SEP 2000

# 14 prisoners handed over to Pakistan

89  
HT-20  
HT Correspondent  
Wagah (Amritsar), September 7

**T**HE BORDER Security Force (BSF) today handed over 14 Pakistani nationals to Pakistan Rangers today at this joint check post between India and Pakistan. The BSF had brought 28 Pakistani nationals but the Rangers verified only 14 of them.

The Rangers also brought one Indian national to hand over to the BSF. But owing to confusion over his name, he could not be handed over to BSF. This man in question is 33-year-old Malkiat Chand of village Ahmednagar in Gurdaspur district. He was among the four Indians who were to repatriated on August 16. But that day also owing to similar confusion over his name he was taken back by the Pakistani authorities.

Malkiat Chand, who crossed over to Pakistan about 19 months back had given his name as Bilu to Pakistani authorities. He had sent letters to his elder brother Mr Tirlok Chand in which he had given this name. He wrote these letters from Gujranwala and Kot

Lakhpat jails.

Today police brought his brother and Sarpanch of his village Sukhvinder Singh to identify him. But till the writing of this news, Pakistani Rangers and BSF officials could not sort out the matter.

Among the Pakistani nationals who were sent to their country was 45-year-old Shahid Hussain, who told newsmen that he was "asked" by Allah to go to India to carry out a jihad. Hussain, a religious preacher, landed in Jammu, where he was arrested three years ago.

All the Pakistani nationals were lodged in Central Jail in Jammu. Except Mohammad Yakub, others said they crossed over to India by "mistake". But sixty-year-old Yakub said that he had come to India on a Visa to meet his relatives in Delhi. "But it was my bad luck that I decided to visit Jammu from I was arrested for violation of passport and visa regulations". His two sons are settled abroad and his two daughters had completed higher studies.

A resident of Lahore, Yakub said he was returning to his country after three years.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 8 SEP 2000

# Pak seeks UN role in Kashmir

PTI & AFP

UNHQ, Sept. 6. — Pakistan today sought the intervention of the UN Security Council for resolution of the Kashmir problem, accusing India of intransigence.

Addressing the UN Millennium Summit here, Gen Pervez Musharraf said his country wanted a no-war pact with India, was ready for a mutual reduction in forces and sought a nuclear-free South Asia. "When one party to a dispute is intransigent in rejecting the use of peaceful means, the Security Council is empowered to act," he said in a speech entirely devoted to Kashmir.

In an interview to *The New York Times*, Gen Musharraf said he saw no hope of negotiating with India over Kashmir. "Unless there is strong mediation, justice cannot come about. East Timor provides an excellent example of how such situations can be solved if the world community shows the will."

Meanwhile, UN Secretary-General Mr Kofi Annan strongly supported the British proposal for the Security Council's expansion and rejected the contention that it would make the body weak and ineffective. India is a strong contender for a permanent seat in an expanded council.

**N Korea row:** The USA has regretted an incident at Frankfurt airport in which North Korean officials were allegedly strip-searched, resulting in North Korea's pullout from the summit.

North Korea's vice-minister for foreign affairs, Mr Choe Su Hon, had complained that North Korean nominal head of state, Mr Kim Yong-nam, and others in the delegation were rudely searched by US air security officials as they were to board a flight to New York. "Security officers opened suitcase and handbags of each member, forced them to take off clothes and shoes and thoroughly searched even the sensitive parts of the body as if they were criminals." The two Koreas have said the diplomatic row wouldn't affect their warming relations.

■ Photograph, more reports on page 5

THE STATESMAN

SEP 7 1999



# Indian diplomat's daughters molested in Islamabad

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Sept. 5. — A man broke into the home of an Indian diplomat in Islamabad on Saturday and tried to molest his two minor daughters when the high commission official and his wife were away.

The incident drew sharp reactions in New Delhi, as the houses of Indian officials are supposedly under surveillance by Pakistani Intelligence officers.

"It appears the intruder not only had the knowledge of the absence of the staff member and his wife but was also sure they would not return home early. The role of Pakistani Intelligence officials was therefore extremely questionable," the foreign ministry spokesman said.

The spokesman said the Indian official had gone to a hospital with his wife. His daughters, aged eight and six were playing in the driveway with their seven-year-old neighbour — the

daughter of another embassy official.

The intruder took two of the girls to a corner of the garden and attempted to molest them. The girls somehow broke free and ran inside. Then the intruder left.

The MEA summoned the Pakistani deputy high commissioner yesterday and told him that India had taken the gravest view of the incident and expected the intruder to be arrested, prosecuted and punished. The Indian high commissioner in Islamabad conveyed the same demand to the Pakistan foreign secretary.

Both Pakistani officials have expressed regret and promised a full investigation.

In a separate incident on Sunday, another official and his family were detained at a police station for 40 minutes. The official was going from Islamabad to Taxila. India has also protested against this.

■ Pak carries war to cyberspace, page 8

THE STATESMAN

7.6 SEP 2000

## Pak firing kills three BSF men

SRINAGAR, Sept. 1. <sup>5-11</sup> Three BSF personnel were killed in Pakistani shelling along the LoC in Jammu & Kashmir last night.

<sup>29</sup> Sub-Inspector Hans Raj died instantly and ASI SK Sinha was grievously injured when Pakistani troops targeted a BSF post in Nowgam sector. Sinha later died. Another report said Pakistani firing in Samba sector killed another BSF jawan.

Former J&K minister, Maulvi Iftikhar Hussain Ansari, today survived another attempt on his life, when militants set off a mine blast that killed three of his security staff.

**Hizbul stand:** Hizbul Mujahideen today said its talks with the Centre could be resumed if the government gave up its "rigid" stand on Kashmir and "accepted" it as a "disputed territory". — PTI/UNI

# Stop interfering in Kashmir, PM warns Pakistan

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee has warned Pakistan against inciting cross-border terrorism and made it clear that India will not hesitate in giving a fitting reply to such provocative acts.

"On the one hand, Pakistan says it is willing to participate in talks, on the other it continues to be deeply involved in violence, killings and cross-border terrorism. Terrorist activities and peace initiatives cannot go hand-in-hand," said the PM bluntly in his Independence Day speech from the ramparts of the Red Fort.

Affirming that "Kashmir will always remain an integral part of India", Mr Vajpayee cautioned Pakistan against the futility of waging an "undeclared war" on that front. The neighbour, he said, "is making a big mistake if it thinks that its subversive activity will yield results".

He said that Pakistan should realise that its attempt to challenge India's integrity 50 years after Independence will amount to "setting the clock back". He urged the rulers in Islamabad not to embark on any such misadventure. The mood of the new century, he observed, was decidedly against tinkering with a country's map by either triggering religious passions or brute violence.

Balancing the warning with the promise of negotiations, he said India was ready to provide a "healing touch to bleeding Jammu

and Kashmir".

Holding Pakistan responsible for the ruptured peace process and the resurgence of hostilities, Mr Vajpayee remarked, "The world knows who has sabotaged the peace efforts." Significantly, the PM kept alive the prospects of negotiations.

Dwelling on other issues, Mr Vajpayee said his government would accord equal priority to both security and development.

Declaring the first years of the new century as the decade of development, the PM set a target of doubling the country's per capita income by 2010.

Economic reforms, he said, would be the vehicle for this transformation. "To reform is to turn the inevitability of change in the direction of progress. To reform is to improve the life of every citizen," he remarked.

Observing the far-reaching economic and political changes across the world, Mr Vajpayee said reforms were the need of the hour. Taking note of India's strides in IT, he said, "The country is likely to hit the export target of over Rs 200,000 crore by 2008."

Announcing a rural road scheme, the PM said that in the next few years, all villages would be connected by roads.

The PM said the campaign against corruption in high places would be stepped up. "Our country cannot attain the desired level of development without probity in administration and in public life."

## I-DAY MESSAGE

- 'Terrorist activities and peace initiatives cannot go hand-in-hand'
- 'Kashmir will always remain an integral part of India'
- 'India is ready to provide a healing touch to bleeding J&K'

THE TIMES OF INDIA

15 AUG 2001

# Pakistan ready to face India's aggressive designs: Musharraf

ISLAMABAD: Chief executive Gen. Pervez Musharraf, currently in New York, said Pakistan was ready to face any aggressive designs of India.



**Pervez Musharraf** In an exclusive interview to *The News* of Pakistan, Gen. Musharraf said, "India will not only find Pakistan ready to face any military adventure but will also repent any such foolish action."

"We are totally prepared for the worst. We have been prepared for many months. They would better not initiate anything across the Line of Control. They will repent it, he added. Gen Pervez described his visit to the U.N. as very successful and said he amply projected the Kashmir case whose solution has been eluding for over 50 years.

Gen Pervez took exception to the alleged issuance of a full page anti-Pakistan advertisement by India in a U.S. newspaper. He said, "I seriously think that this kind of crude demonstration does not carry much

weight. It does not create any perceptions or alter opinions."

While talking to other Pakistani journalists in New York, Gen Pervez Musharraf criticised the role of journalists who tried to create a wrong impression by publishing incorrect reports about him and his government. He said, "I have no desire to stifle the press although some of what had been printed in Pakistan would have been justified stifling 10 times over. I believe that good sense will prevail. That is my hope."

Gen Pervez said, "I must express my disappointment with some of what I see in the press. I say it from my heart. There is money at work in some cases. Tell me truthfully if it is true or not. Aren't some reports published for financial rewards? Reports which the journalists know are devoid of facts. I say, either such journalists are fools or they are working for vested interests." "The national interest should be supreme," he added.

He appreciated the role of the Indian newspapers and said they seem to always bear the national interest in mind. They even distort truth if they feel it

serves the national interest. Gen Pervez described as nonsense the rumours which say that there was a difference among the Corps Commanders. He said the Pakistan army was a disciplined organisation and nobody could even think of a coup under present circumstances.

He said, had he the slightest of doubts, he would not have stayed back peacefully in New York for 10 days. He said he believed in consultations with all his colleagues, the Corps Commanders and the principal staff officers before taking the a final decision which is of course his own. This was the correct way, he added.

About the signing of the CTBT, the general said, personally he had no objection but he wanted a full consensus on this issue in the country. He said Pakistan would not sign the CTBT unless India did the same.

About the 1971 debacle and Justice Hamoodur Rehman commission's report, he said the 1971 tragedy was not only a military but a political debacle as well. He said no trial would be held based on Hamood report. (UNI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

13 SEP 2000

# Vajpayee, Musharraf may meet

■ Hizbul chief Salahuddin urges Pakistan to send troops into Kashmir

## AGENCIES

KARACHI, AUG 12

PAKISTAN'S military ruler General Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee may meet at the United Nations in New York next month, a Pakistani minister said on Saturday.

"When the two leaders are present in the gathering nothing can

be ruled out," Information Minister Javed Jabbar said. "Though nothing has so far been discussed and agreed upon, they may decide to meet separately," he told AFP.

Jabbar said Musharraf would brief the world leaders and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan about the situation in South Asia and the necessity of finding a peaceful solution to the Kashmir issue. Meanwhile, in Islamabad

militant outfit Hizbul Mujahideen's chief Syed Salahuddin has urged Pakistan to send troops into the Kashmir Valley even, if it means a war. "Pakistan should physically involve itself in Kashmir. We want war because war will solve the issue," Salahuddin told AP.

At his headquarters in a posh neighbourhood of Islamabad, Salahuddin sharply criticised India

for last week's collapse of the cease-fire offer issued by his group on July 24. From the outset, Salahuddin said, the cease-fire hinged on a "meaningful dialogue". For Salahuddin and his group, "meaningful" means peace talks that included Pakistan, India and the Kashmiri leadership. For India, it means bilateral talks with the Kashmiris, which new Delhi quickly agreed to.

INDIAN EXPRESS

INDIAN EXPRESS

13 AUG 2000

# ISI agent's bid to trigger blasts on I-Day foiled by Delhi police

The Times of India News Service  
and Agencies

NEW DELHI: A Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agent, who was planning to trigger explosions during the August 15 celebrations in the capital, was nabbed by the Delhi police along with over 10 kg of RDX and several timers.

Police commissioner Ajai Raj Sharma said on Friday that Jannat Gul (20), working for a Hizbul Mujahideen commander and the ISI, was nabbed from a guest house in Nizamuddin in south Delhi on Thursday. The accused had allegedly hidden the explosives in a park near the guest house. They were later seized by the police.

The seized explosives included 10.2 kg of RDX, two ABCD timers, four pencil timers, three electronic detonators, four ordinary detonators, six energiser batteries and one .30 bore pistol, along with 38 bullets.

"Two of the pre-fabricated improvised explosives devices had been timed to go off on August 15, and would have caused deadly blasts that day," Mr Sharma said and added that Gul was arrested by a team of special cell officers on the basis of specific intelligence inputs from a central agency.

"It is possible the ISI and other agencies have pushed in more such people into the capital. Hence the police have been put on maximum alert until the August 15 celebrations are over. Other agencies are also being involved in this," Mr Sharma said.

Meanwhile, the Delhi police, in collaboration with the Indian Air Force (IAF), have made elaborate security arrangements for this year's Independence Day in the wake of threats from militants operating from Pakistan.

"On August 15, air space restrictions will be enforced over Delhi

and the IAF has been asked to shoot down planes flying without permission," Mr Sharma told reporters.

These steps have been taken following intelligence reports that the ISI might use unmanned aerial vehicles to cause destruction on August 15.

He said IAF helicopters would also be pressed into service to maintain a strict vigil on the crowds around Red Fort from where the Prime Minister will address the nation.

Gul, a youth of Afghan origin but born in Pakistan, was residing in Quetta in Pakistan before he began to participate in militant activities. "During interrogation, Gul told us he was trained for three months in handling explosives and arms at a camp in Sansakoti in Muzaffarabad, along with some other people from countries like Sudan, Turkey and Afghanistan," Mr Sharma said.

He also underwent training in manufacturing and assembling arms as well as in ambush tactics, before being pushed into India through the Uri sector in Baramulla for terrorist acts in Pulwama," he said.

He returned to Pakistan and came in contact with ISI agents and the Hizbul commander. "After further training, he was given Rs 80,000 for crossing over and causing explosions in the capital," Mr Sharma said. Gul gave the money to his parents to pay off their debts.

Gul had arrived in Delhi on July 9 and had surveyed the Red Fort area from where the Prime Minister traditionally addresses the country during the I-Day celebrations.

"He went back to Jammu and brought the explosive materials in a false bottom bag and came back to the capital on August 9," Mr Sharma said.

## WATCHFUL EYE

- The accused hid explosives in a park
- Air space restriction to be enforced over Delhi on I-Day
- ISI might use unmanned aerial vehicles to cause destruction
- IAF copters will maintain vigil in Red Fort area

THE TIMES OF INDIA

12 AUG 7M

# Keep the Lines Open

## Pakistan Must Give up Kashmir Fantasy

By MANOJ JOSHI

**E**IGHT years ago, Richard Haass, an American official who had served with the Bush administration argued in a short but brilliant book that for conflict to be resolved, conditions must be ripe for diplomacy. Haass, now director, foreign policy studies at Brookings Institution and a keen India watcher, studied conflicts in West Asia, the Indian subcontinent, southern Africa and Northern Ireland to see what lessons, if any, they had for the US policy-makers. The analysis yielded considerable understanding not just of conflict resolution, but of reasons why some conflicts remained unripe for solutions despite enormous efforts. Not surprisingly, among those that appeared the least ripe at the time Haass wrote the book was the Kashmir conflict.

Haass' aim was to educate US policy-makers, but his insight has wider application, most obviously in posing the question as to whether the situation in Kashmir has now matured for settlement or that we are damaging the enamel biting into unripe fruit. Having been bitten many times, US specialists would probably shy away from a straightforward answer. Observers in India are liable to argue that the time has indeed come for a settlement, even though there would be a measure of wish-fulfilment in their claim.

From the time voters came out in significant numbers for the Lok Sabha elections in 1996, it has been evident that the people of the Valley yearn for peace. By the end of 1993 it was clear that the high tide of the Kashmiri insurgency had begun to ebb, this event was marked by a declaration of unilateral ceasefire by the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front in 1994. To counter this, the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence began sending increasing numbers of Pakistani and other foreign militants, many simply for money and something to do, but others in pursuit of what they saw as their religious duty. But they have not been able to effect any change in the situation on the ground. After the failure of the Pakistani gamble in Kargil in 1999, it has become clear that India cannot be forced out of Kashmir through military means.

In this backdrop, the price of continuing the conflict began to look steeper than ever to the average Kashmiri dissident. On July 24, biting the bullet as it were, the Hizbul

Mujahideen, the last remaining Kashmiri militant group of any significance called for a ceasefire. The organisation has lost some

12,000 people in the past ten years but the much higher price that even the non-combatant Kashmiris have paid cannot be simply understood by looking at the statistics.

Just why the peace effort failed so ignominiously has been summed up in L K Advani's statement to Parliament a day after the ceasefire collapsed. He noted that the offer of a ceasefire was made in Srinagar, but the withdrawal was announced in Islamabad. Adding "that the voice that made the announcement may have been (Hizb supreme commander) Salahuddin's, but the words came from the ruling establishment in Islamabad."

Circumstantial evidence would suggest that this was indeed so. The barbaric response to the ceasefire

### IN BRIEF

- Observers in India feel that conditions are right for a Kashmir settlement
- The Hizb ceasefire was announced in Srinagar, it was withdrawn in Islamabad
- Left to itself, the Hizb would probably want to continue to work out a negotiated settlement
- Now that the taboo has been broken, talks can still be resumed at a later date

declaration came in the form of systematic massacres by groups that are headquartered in Pakistan. Instead of condemning the massacres, officials in Islamabad fudged the issue. Then they panicked and pressured the Hizb into terminating the ceasefire on the flimsy pretext that India was not involving Pakistan in the talks.

Pakistani officials undoubtedly knew that talks on substantive issues were not on the agenda, at least for the first few rounds. The focus of discussions in these rounds would have been on ways to implement the ceasefire in the Valley. It was for this reason that the negotiators were Fazal Qureshi, who is not a member of the Hizb or the Jamaat-e-Islami, and three Hizb commanders. By upping the ante when it did, Pakistan ensured that the talks never reached the stage of

dialogue on ways to bring peace to the state.

Indian leaders have declared that they are firm on their commitment to take up a dialogue with anyone who met their main condition — cessation of violence. They have emphasised that they will not use the cover of the Indian Constitution to avoid talking to secessionists. But they are insisting that Islamabad cease cross-border support to militancy in the Valley as a precondition for holding talks with Pakistan. The reason for this lies in Prime Ministers Vajpayee's and Sharif's Lahore achievement and its betrayal by the Pakistani military establishment in Kargil.

What is the future now likely to unfold? The burden of Mr Advani's statement is that the Hizb is being compelled to speak in two voices and that left to itself it would like to continue the path it chose on July 24. There are reasons to believe that the public announcement of the ceasefire and the talks are only the tip of a much larger effort that has been undertaken by Indian and US officials to bring around Pakistan and the Hizb. As part of this, Indian intelligence agencies met and talked to Hizb leaders and established clandestine channels of communications with them, while the US has worked hard to persuade the Pakistanis to give peace a chance.

Undoubtedly these back channels are still open, even though the Hizb commanders have gone underground and their supreme commander has ordered them to undertake strikes against India. But there is another way of looking at it. The ceasefire and talks may have broken down, but the taboo is broken and there is no reason why they cannot be resumed again.

Meanwhile, what needs to be done is clear: Create conditions in which the Kashmir problem can be resolved. This is, of course, easier said than done. There are obvious reasons why India and the Hizb want peace, both are paying a heavy price for the conflict. But the costs to Pakistan are not so easily apparent. Insurgency in Kashmir is a low-cost option for its military clique to bleed India. But just who is hurting more is becoming increasingly apparent. Getting Pakistan to come down to earth after 50 years of living in a fantasy world is not an easy task, but it is necessary if peace is to be restored to Kashmir.

# India looks at skeletons in Pak military closet for blast causes

Bharti Jain

NEW DELHI 11 AUGUST

THE SUDDEN upsurge in violence in Jammu and Kashmir has foxed the Indian authorities, who are looking at possible rifts within the Pakistani military establishment to explain the trail of death and destruction in the Valley over the last ten 10 days.

While New Delhi was reconciled to a Pakistan-orchestrated spurt in violence in the wake of the ceasefire with Hizbul Mujahideen and later its withdrawal, it had expected the militant attacks to be of low intensity.

The assessment was based on the assumption that Pakistan, which is already under international spotlight for its abatement of cross-border terrorism in the Valley state, would not like to gain further notoriety.

That the West, particularly the US, no longer considers Islamabad's protestations of innocence to be sincere and has made this known to its military leader,

was perceived by the government as a strong ground for Pakistan to restrain the ISI and other militant groups in Jammu and Kashmir.

However, the situation on the ground betrays this perception. The massacre of over 100 people, including 25 Amarnath pilgrims, last week and the killing of 10 security personnel and a press photographer in a powerful car explosion on Thursday can be described as one of most severe

## POST-MORTEM

spells of violence inflicted upon the Valley during the last decade.

The authorities here feel constrained to search for the possible explanation for Islamabad's defiance. One of the reasons could be the tussle for supremacy within the Islamabad's military-ISI establishment. The authority of Pakistan's chief executive, Gen Pervez Musharraf, is reportedly under challenge from his deputy, Lt Gen Mohammad Aziz, the head

of military operations who is also in control of the ISI.

Lt Gen Aziz is said to command the loyalty of the all-important Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi corps. He opposes Gen Musharraf's "softening" under international pressure by offering to talk to New Delhi and accepting the ceasefire called by the Hizb.

Lt Gen Aziz is thus dead against squandering away the gains made by Pakistan during the proxy war in Kashmir by settling for a peace dialogue at this juncture. The leadership tussle apart, it is suggested that the Lashkar-e-Toiba might have stepped up the violence to establish itself as the leading jihadi group and to score points off Hizbul.

Its intention to step into the vacuum that would have been created had the Hizbul not succumbed to pressure from Pakistan to call off the peace negotiations, was obvious from the attack it launched just after the announcement of the ceasefire.

*The Economic Times*

12 AUG 2000



# Blast at Pak's behest: PM

HD-1 11 8  
NEW DELHI, AUG. 10. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, said tonight that the car bomb explosion in Srinagar was executed "at the behest of Pakistan".

"This is yet another example of Islamabad's sustained campaign of cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and other parts of India," Mr. Vajpayee said in a statement condemning the dastardly act.

The Prime Minister said the State Government had been asked to provide adequate medical assistance to those injured.

Conveying his heart-felt condolences to the families of the security personnel and Mr. Pradeep Bhatia, a photo journalist of *The Hindustan Times*, Mr. Vajpayee said, "as in the past, and more recently on August 1 and 2, innocent people have lost their lives in today's explosion." Condemning such dastardly attacks on innocent civilians by "those who refuse to tread the path of peace and have consciously chosen terror as a weapon" he said, "we will continue our battle against terrorism till such time this evil is destroyed."

## Pak. desperate: Farooq

The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, said the blast showed Pakistan's desperation to flare up violence to prevent the peace initiatives.

Terming the militant act the "most barbaric", he said "killing

people and engineering blasts at crowded places will not take ultras anywhere... By such gruesome acts, they may be obliging their mentors across the border,

but their acts are against the tenets of Islam and humanity." — PTI

We will deal any Govt. in Pak.: Page 13

## Hizbul's new condition was not helpful, says U.S.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, AUG. 10. In faulting the Hizbul Mujahideen for insisting on a new condition — inclusion of Pakistan in the talks — after the ceasefire and offer of dialogue was announced and accepted by India, the Clinton administration has reminded New Delhi that a solution to the Kashmir issue cannot come about without direct discussions between India and Pakistan taking into account the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

"We believe that the Hizbul Mujahideen-Indian dialogue was simply not given enough time. It is not helpful for the Hizbul Mujahideen to insist on a new condition after the ceasefire and offer of dialogue was announced and accepted by India," the State Department spokesman, Mr. Richard Boucher, said during a press briefing.

"Specifically, the August 8 deadline for tripartite talks including Pakistan was added af-

terwards," the spokesman noted going on to make the point that in Washington's view, "it is not helpful" for new conditions to be added. "... we do believe there cannot be a solution to the Kashmir issue without direct discussions between India and Pakistan. In order for such discussions to take place, however, a climate of trust must be created through efforts to end the violence, and of course, taking the wishes of the Kashmiri people into account."

## 'It adds to our disappointment'

WASHINGTON, AUG. 10. The U.S. today condemned the car bomb attack by militants in Srinagar. A State Department official said "we condemn this attack which will do nothing to advance a settlement of the Kashmir problem. It adds to our disappointment over the ending of the ceasefire." — PTI

THE HINDU

11 AUG 2000

# Pakistan's nuclear dilemma

By Rajesh Rajagopalan

**T**WO YEARS after its nuclear tests in the Chagai hills, and a year after its misadventure in Kargil, Pakistan's nuclear strategy is caught on the horns of a dilemma. Pakistan originally pursued nuclear weapons as a way of countering what it considered was India's overwhelming conventional (i.e. non-nuclear) military superiority. But while nuclearisation did satisfy this particular objective, it has undermined another of Pakistan's long-term objectives — the annexation of Kashmir. Pakistan appears not to have realised that building nuclear weapons would also freeze the existing territorial divisions, and thus undermine its pursuit of Kashmir. In essence, Pakistan has been pursuing two fundamentally contradictory strategic goals. How Pakistan resolves this dilemma will have important consequences for nuclear stability in South Asia.

Pakistan has always worried about India's conventional military might. The conventional military balance was never as lopsided as Pakistan imagined because India has faced a two-front situation (defending against both Pakistan and China) for the last four decades. Nevertheless, deterring India's conventional military power has been one of Pakistan's longest-standing objectives. Much of its foreign and defence policies since independence can be explained as a constant pursuit of a strategic balance with India, either through the building up of indigenous military strength or through the acquisition of powerful friends such as China and the U.S.

Nuclear weapons were seen as the single most effective tool in this unceasing search for a balance with India. Thus, it was not coincidental that Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme began in the aftermath of the 1971 war. Nuclear weapons, the great equaliser, promised to deliver Pakistan both from its inherent weakness vis-a-vis India and from dependence on its unfaithful allies.

And indeed, many Pakistanis believe that it has done so. A part of the Pakistani nuclear mythology is the firmly-held belief that its nuclear capability has repeatedly deterred India. Pakistanis mention three instances when, they believe, their deterrent prevented an Indian attack — in 1984

(when, according to them, Indira Gandhi even set a date for the attack); in 1987 (during the Operation Brasstacks crisis); and in 1990 (as the Kashmir insurgency intensified). Irrespective of the veracity of these claims, what is important is that they believe that their deterrent worked.

Detering India is essentially a defensive objective, and one that can even be stabilising and desirable. But Pakistan's other strategic goal — Kashmir — is an offensive one which requires altering the existing territorial division. Nevertheless, Pakistan attempted to square the circle by using nuclear weapons as a way of forcing a decision on Kashmir. The outbreak of the

had to resort to pumping in foreign 'guest' militants to prop it up. The second development was the nuclear tests of summer 1998, and more importantly, the heightened Western (most particularly American) clamour about the nuclear danger in South Asia. Pakistan saw an opening that it could exploit in this international concern by highlighting the danger of a nuclear confrontation.

This led to a new strategy vis-a-vis Kashmir, in which nuclear weapons began to play a more important and dangerous role. They continued to be a deterrent against any Indian reprisal, but in addition, ratcheting up the nuclear tension became a way

## While nuclearisation did help counter India's conventional military superiority, it has undermined another of Pakistan's long-term objectives — the annexation of Kashmir.

insurrection in Kashmir in 1989-1990 was propitious for Pakistan because it coincided with the accretion of its nuclear capabilities. These two factors quickly became enmeshed in Pakistani policy — Kashmir was the goal and nuclear capability the instrument to achieve it, though the manner in which this instrument was used underwent changes over the years.

Initially, it can be surmised, Pakistan saw nuclear weapons as a shield behind which it could sponsor and promote the Kashmir insurgency. Though this became an active policy only in the early 1990s, after its had the means (its nuclear capability) and the opportunity (the outbreak of the Kashmir insurrection), Pakistani thinking along these lines go much farther back, as various scholars have noted. The faith in its deterrent probably encouraged Pakistan to believe that it could continue support for the insurgency without fearing a conventional Indian reprisal. This support continued throughout the 1990s, but two developments led Pakistan to a more vigorous policy that resulted in the Kargil invasion in the summer of 1999. The first was the inability of the insurgents to shake Indian control over Kashmir. By the late 1990s, the support for insurgency declined dramatically within Kashmir, and Pakistan

ership appears to have calculated that even if it lost the military confrontation, it would win politically because of the increased international attention to the Kashmir issue.

Thus, Pakistan raised the threat of nuclear escalation at the very beginning of the crisis, but cooled off the rhetoric when it became clear that the military situation was moving in India's favour. This revealed the contradictions and the consequent limits of Pakistan's nuclear strategy. Once the Indian Army juggernaut began moving, there was little that Pakistan could do other than protest that India was over-reacting. Pakistan's nuclear deterrence might have prevented an Indian assault on Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir, but it was of little help in avoiding a defeat at Kargil. Baying about the imminent risk of a nuclear war was a cheap way to garner some international attention as long as such a war was itself remote, but foolish when that possibility becomes less remote.

The Kargil misadventure has, hopefully, taught Pakistan to be more cautious. The international community responded to the Kargil invasion not by trying to intervene to solve the Kashmir dispute, but by squarely identifying the source of the problem — Pakistan's brinkmanship strategy. Moreover, Pakistan is today less certain about India's tolerance for continued provocations in Kashmir. The debate in India about the possibility of fighting a limited war even under the nuclear shadow has received wide publicity in Pakistan, which was suddenly faced with the possibility that it might have to face a more robust conventional response. It serves Pakistan's interests to walk to the edge of war, but an actual war is something it can ill-afford.

It is not clear that Pakistan has the capacity to resolve the contradictions in its nuclear strategy. It has achieved a modicum of strategic balance with India — its first goal. But despite the defeat at Kargil, it is not clear that Pakistan understands the uselessness of nuclear weapons as a leverage against India in Kashmir. Until Pakistan does so, the prospects for nuclear stability are dim.

(The writer is Research Fellow, Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi.)

# Army will retaliate if Hizbul attacks, says Fernandes

HD-13

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, AUG. 10.** The Army in Kashmir will effectively retaliate if attacked by the Hizbul Mujahideen, following the withdrawal of its ceasefire offer, the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes said today.

"There has been no violation of the ceasefire by the Army. We will hit back, if attacked," Mr. Fernandes said on the sidelines of a seminar jointly sponsored by the Army and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII).

The Minister, to a question, said that there was no material change in the ground situation in the valley and the Army's level of preparedness remained unchanged. "The situation remains as it was. The Army is tasked with fighting insurgency on the borders and in the valley and it will continue to do so," he noted.

During his address at the seminar, Mr. Fernandes was critical of the role of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), except in some key areas. "One has to admit that in

most core areas, we look for either collaboration or transfer of technology from foreign sources."

According to Mr. Fernandes, the private sector needed to invest more in research and development if the objective of restructuring the country's military industry was to be achieved.

"I wish our private sector sets apart a reasonable part of their profits for investment in research and development if it really means to play a major role in restructuring India's defence industry," he said.

In a related development, Mr. Fernandes told Lok Sabha that the evaluation for acquisition of the Russian-built T-90 tanks had been completed. The Army during trials not only found the T-90 satisfactory but also uniquely suitable under certain conditions.

During his keynote address at the seminar, the Chief of Army Staff, General V.P. Malik noted that the Kargil war had revealed holes in the country's intelligence, reconnaissance and surveillance network.

THE HINDU

11 AUG 2000

## India pulls out of Sahara Cup

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, AUG 10

11/8  
INDIA has pulled out of the Sahara Cup series in Toronto against Pakistan for the second consecutive year due to the latter's support to cross-border terrorism, particularly in Kashmir. *gmb pm*

Sports Minister Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa said here on Thursday that the Indian team will not participate in a bilateral series against Pakistan as long as that country goes on encouraging killings of innocent people in Kashmir and elsewhere.

The five-match series was scheduled to be held in Toronto from September 9 to 17.

Following a call from all-rounder and Indian Cricket team coach Kapil Dev, India had refused to play against Pakistan at Toronto last year in view of the Kargil war.

FULL REPORT ON PAGE 16

INDIAN EXPRESS

11 AUG 2000

## *J&K gunfire claims Friendship Series*

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: For the second year in a row, India's strained relations with Pakistan have forced it to withdraw from the Sahara Cup Friendship Series. The five-match cricket series was scheduled to be held in Toronto from September 9-17.

The recent massacres in Jammu and Kashmir, including the killings of a number of Amarnath pilgrims, apparently prompted the Centre to refuse permission to the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) to fly the team to Toronto for the series against Pakistan. "How can we play a friendship series against Pakistan when that country is indulging in mayhem in Kashmir?" Union sports minister Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa said, announcing the decision.

"The whole nation is upset about the killings in Kashmir by Pakistani agents, and under these circumstances, the government is left with no alternative but

not to approve the proposal sent by the BCCI," he said, adding that the decision was taken keeping in view the sentiments and emotions of the people of the country.

In the aftermath of the Kargil battle last year, the sponsors of the series, the Sahara Group, had withdrawn their support and the BCCI had decided against sending the team. Last year, Kapil Dev, Ajay Jadeja and Kirti Azad were among the cricketers who had led a campaign against India's participation in the series. This year, Azad and Manoj Prabhakar have strongly opposed India playing Pakistan.

Azad, who is into politics, had in fact written a letter to Mr Dhindsa advocating that the Indian squad should not participate in the Friendship Series at a time when people were being killed by Pakistan-trained militants.

This is the first time that the Centre has refused permission to the Indian cricket team to participate in an overseas tournament.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

11 AUG 2000

# No Govt support for Sahara Cup

India pulls out of the series  Board to abide by the decision

98-16  
11/8  
ENS/ AGENCIES  
NEW DELHI, AUGUST 10

IT WAS inevitable and on the cards. But now it's official. India today pulled out of the Sahara Cup series for the second year in a row, putting a question mark on the very future of the event. The immediate provocation, as expected, was the Indian government's view that Pakistan was abetting terrorist activities in Kashmir. The massacre of more than a 100 people a few days back followed by the blasts in Srinagar today sealed the fate of the cricket event.

The Sports Minister, Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa, it is learnt discussed the matter on Thursday morning with senior leaders in the government, including the Home Ministry. "How can we play a friendship series against Pakistan, when that country is indulging in mayhem in Kashmir?" Dhindsa asked.

Dhindsa has for sometime been saying that India should not play against Pakistan. When the Board announced a date — August 19 — for the selection of the team, Dhindsa said that government "would not be hustled" into sending a team.

"The whole nation is upset about the massacre in Kashmir by Pakistani agents and under these circumstances, the government is left with no alternative but not to approve the proposal sent by Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI)," the minister said.

The five-match series which was introduced in 1996, was to be held in Toronto from September 9 to 17. India and Pakistan played three series, in 1996, 1997 and 1998 and then in 1999, Indian government did not give the Cricket Board permission to play Pakistan in one-to-one series. India and Pakistan both played three-match series against West Indies at the same venue.

Thursday's decision not to send a team to Toronto also effectively seals the fate of the proposed Test series between the two countries later this year. The two cricket Boards had planned a Test series and were working out plans for India to tour Pakistan.

The Indian Cricket Board may be disappointed at the government decision, but it also means that they avoid a ticklish problem, at least for the time being. The Board has been under pressure to drop players like former captain, Mohammed Azharuddin, Ajay Jadeja and even coach Kapil Dev, till such time investigations against them are not complete and their innocence proved.

The Board at the same time has been reluctant to do so, for the next logical step could be drop or sack Board members who have been raided and against whom investigations have been initiated. Board President, AC Muthiah

has maintained that the players are all innocent till proven guilty, and if they are guilty the Board will ban them for life.

BCCI agrees

CHETTINAD (Himal Naidu): Cricket board president AC Muthiah said the board would abide by the government's decision not to participate in the Sahara Cup series against Pakistan in Toronto next month.

"If the government has taken a decision not to permit the Indian cricket team to go to Toronto, BCCI will abide by the decision," Muthiah said.

"I suppose the same logic will apply to participation in the Olympics by the Indian athletes and the Indian hockey team," the Board Chief said, emphasizing missing the point that the government's objection was to taking part in bilateral series with Pakistan and not in multilateral events.

INDIAN EXPRESS

11 AUG 2000

# CIA report finds increased Chinese arms sales to Pak.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9. China has increased its missile related sales to Pakistan and is continuing to supply nuclear, chemical and biological weapons to Iran, Libya and North Korea, according to the Central Intelligence Agency.

In its semi-annual report to Congress, a summary of which was published in *The Washington Times*, the CIA said, "we cannot preclude" that China has ongoing contacts with Pakistani officials and in the process violating a 1996 pledge to stop assistance to Islamabad's nuclear programmes not under international controls.

"Chinese missile related technical assistance to Pakistan increased during this reporting period," the CIA noted and pointed

out that Beijing's involvement with Pakistan would continue to be monitored closely. Under a 1977 law, the CIA is required to report to Congress every six months on intelligence findings of weapons sales.

It is being said that the latest finding of the nodal intelligence agency would contradict the assertion of the Clinton administration that China's proliferation record was improving.

Recently, the President's National Security Adviser reportedly assured Senators to this effect while lobbying against a legislation that sought to punish China for arms transfers to "so called" rogue nations.

The Thompson amendment, tagged to China's Permanent Nor-

mal Trade Relations Bill, is seen as getting a major boost as a result of the CIA report.

It is not for the first time that intelligence agencies in the United States have pinpointed China's proliferation track record and its continued peddling of nuclear and missile wares and technology.

And routinely, Beijing issues denials that are neither startling nor out of the ordinary.

In fact, critics have said that China insists on more details in an effort to find out about intelligence gathering of the U.S. to avoid future detection.

The CIA report said Chinese companies increased their assistance to Pakistan's missile programme. "Such assistance is critical for Islamabad's efforts to produce ballistic missiles," it add-

ed. Pakistan purchased advanced fighters and anti-ship missiles from China; and acquired nuclear weapons related goods from Western Europe.

India's nuclear weapons programme benefited from Russian and Western European assistance and the country was working to develop more sophisticated nuclear arms; Russia and India were discussing the leasing of several long-range bombers that would provide the Indian military a "significantly" longer range strike capability, the CIA noted.

China's transfers to Pakistan on the missile front will come as no major shock for, in the last five years, there has been consistent reports on the subject, especially in *The Washington Times*. At the same

time, the Clinton administration — quite wary of lost businesses in a mega market — has been found to be extremely reluctant to take Beijing to task for either violating treaties or its so-called commitments. Several senior lawmakers on Capitol Hill are determined to find a way out of this persisting problem.

Even without the CIA's latest findings, the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, during his visit to the U.S. is expected to go much beyond Pakistan-related subjects and take up the China-Pakistan nexus seriously, particularly as it relates to the nuclear and missile fronts.

The Clinton administration, keen on roping in China as a part of the solution to the proliferation problem in South Asia, appears to ignore that China is the problem in the region.

THE HINDU

10 AUG 2000

# 'Hizbul only read out <sup>Indo. Pak</sup> Pak script'

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, August 9

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**T**HE GOVERNMENT today accused Pakistan of "sabotaging" the peace prospects in Jammu and Kashmir and expressed a firm resolve not to deviate from its chosen course of talks with all those groups who shunned the path of terror and violence.

It also criticised the Hurriyat leadership for playing a "negative role" in the peace talks between the Centre and the Hizbul Mujahideen while acting "under pressure" from the military regime in Pakistan. "The nature, location, context and content of the announcement by Hizbul Mujahideen leader Syed Salahuddin can leave no doubt in anybody's mind that it is Pakistan which has sabotaged the prospects of peace in the State," Home Minister L.K. Advani told both Houses of Parliament in a statement on the Jammu and Kashmir situation following the withdrawal of ceasefire by the Islamabad-based extremist group.

He noted that the ceasefire offer was made by Abdul Majid Dar, a Hizbul leader who was based in Srinagar, while it was withdrawn by Salahuddin in Islamabad.

"It is clear that the voice that made the announcement may have been Salahuddin's, but the words came from the ruling establishment in Islamabad, which is the arch patron for numerous militant groups

engaged in state-sponsored cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and other parts of India," the Home Minister said.

Referring to Salahuddin's explanation that his organisation withdrew from the proposed talks because of India's unwillingness to invite Pakistan as the third participant, Mr Advani noted that "this has precisely been the demand of Pakistan's military establishment.

He said Pakistan has expressed the desire to be involved in talks on

## VHP attacks Vajpayee

**T**HE VISHWA Hindu Parishad on Wednesday made a frontal attack on Prime Minister A B Vajpayee accusing him of "inconsistency" on the Kashmir issue and held the Union Cabinet responsible for not bringing out a White Paper on ISI activities in the country. "The Government should have a consistent stand. One day, he (Vajpayee) says the talks with Hizbul would be within the Constitution, then he says matters outside the statute can also be discussed. There is not much consistency," VHP senior vice-president Acharya Giriraj Kishore told reporters in New Delhi.

PTI, New Delhi

several occasions in the past but "most shrilly after the Hizbul Mujahideen announced the ceasefire and its readiness to have talks with the Government of India." He noted that all statements issued by Islamabad since July 24, when Hizbul announced a ceasefire, made it obvious that the move did not fit in with Pakistan's design of continuously promoting terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. "Pakistan's determination to sabotage the talks became known with deadly clarity when extremists trained and armed on its soil, created mayhem in Jammu and Kashmir on August 1 and 2 leaving over 100 innocent persons dead," the Home Minister told MPs. He said it was not difficult to understand why Pakistan struck terror on such an unprecedented scale and sabotaged the peace talks thereafter. The rulers of Pakistan were "terrorised" by the prospect of peace in Jammu and Kashmir.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10 AUG 2000



# U.S. fears India-Pakistan nuclear conflict over Kashmir, says report

By Ramesh Chandran

The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: Latest American intelligence estimates have once again warned the Clinton administration that given the grim backdrop of tensions in Kashmir between India and Pakistan, a potential nuclear conflict cannot be ruled out. The assessment by the Central Intelligence Agency and various U.S. espionage agencies known as the "National Intelligence Estimate" which has been closely monitoring developments in the disputed Himalayan territory since last summer's bloody conflict in Kargil had reached a consensus that threat of a nuclear clash is very real.

In a front page report, *The New York Times* stated that ever since President Clinton had called the Kashmir region the most perilous in the world, it has caused anxiety to policy makers and specialists within the administration and those working on the NIE report had realised how important it was to ease "political tensions" between India and Pakistan. The *Times* report stated that President Clinton had even called Prime Minister Vajpayee last week while national security advisor Samuel Berger had also spoken with Pakistan's military leader Pervez Musharraf.

Curiously enough, the news report makes no mention at all of the gruesome slaying of Amarnath pilgrims by militants and in the context of which Mr Clinton had called Mr Vajpayee. The National Intelli-

gence Estimate, which remains a secret, had concluded in the wake of the Kargil clashes that there was a "sharply increased chance" of a "non-nuclear military conflict" between India and Pakistan possibly erupting into a "nuclear exchange". And the chances of such a deadly exchange? One unnamed White House official puts it at "50:50 range".

The NIE assessment contained no specific guidance on what the Clinton administration ought to be

stated that India saw a nuclear arsenal as necessary for its status as an "emerging power" and to deter not only Pakistan but also China, an ally of Pakistan. While Islamabad interprets its nuclear force as essential to counter-balance its rival's larger conventional forces. And American analysts have warned that if a US anti-missile defence plan spurs China to enhance its own nuclear arsenal, there will be further momentum to the arms race in South Asia.

As already reported in this paper, U.S. defence analysts estimate Pakistan's nuclear arsenal and delivery systems is larger and better prepared than India's. The *Times* report cites George Perkovich, author of the recent book *India's Nuclear Bomb*, as saying India has enough enriched plutonium to produce 60 weapons but had far fewer nuclear bombs— "probably in the region of 35".

Pakistan has enough highly enriched uranium for roughly the same number of bombs which it could deliver through a combination of bombers and missiles.

The news report does not mention the transfer of Chinese and North Korean made missiles to Pakistan or that Islamabad's delivery aircraft are U.S. manufactured F-16s.

The report also cites U.S. intelligence officials as billing Mr Clinton's visit to the region earlier this year as a "war prevention trip" and the politics of the trip perfectly detailed with the intelligence assessment.



A.B. Vajpayee

Bill Clinton

Pervez Musharraf

doing regarding Kashmir and to reduce tensions there. But the administration has been active both overtly and covertly encouraging a dialogue on the disputed region. However, any hopes of a possible meeting between Mr Vajpayee and Mr Musharraf in New York next month was put emphatically scotched in Washington when Indian sources here said it simply was not going to happen in the wake of the massacre of the Hindu pilgrims last week.

The news report admits Mr Clinton's visit to India and stop-over in Pakistan may have helped ease some tensions, neither country had signalled it intends to halt the development of nuclear arsenals. It

# Pak. for 'purposeful dialogue'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, AUG. 9. Pakistan today said it was ready to join a "purposeful dialogue" with India for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute even as the Chief Executive, General Pervez Musharraf, expressed satisfaction over the "gains made by the liber-

ation struggle, securing world-wide recognition as a legitimate indigenous movement".

The promise to engage India for a solution to the Kashmir tangle came at the end of a Cabinet meeting chaired by Gen. Musharraf. The Cabinet also took the opportunity to restate the "nation's strong commitment to the cause of liberation of Kashmir".

An official statement said the Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, briefed his colleagues on the "international dimensions of the latest situation arising from India's failure to use this valuable opportunity to pursue the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute".

In his observations at the meeting, Gen. Musharraf said New Delhi's own admission that the "freedom fighters" were from its side of Kashmir had "exposed the falsehood of the Indian propaganda which tried to project the Kashmir struggle as Pakistan-sponsored terrorism".

The Cabinet complimented the Hurriyat leadership for demonstrating "sagacity and reasonableness" by supporting a realistic dialogue process involving the freedom movement, Pakistan and India. "In contrast, the Indian Government led by an extremist

party has emerged in its true colours, ignoring the plea of the Kashmiri people for an opportunity to exercise their inherent right to self-determination. This right was pledged to them by India itself and sanctified in resolutions adopted at the United Nations Security Council," it said.

In another development, the Hizbul Mujahideen claimed responsibility for killing 12 soldiers in an attack on an Indian army base in Kashmir two and half hours after the expiry of its ceasefire on Tuesday. A spokesman for the group claimed that Hizbul cadres attacked the Army divisional headquarters at Baramulla killing 12 soldiers and injuring many others. Two buildings were also damaged, he said.

The attack was a signal that the Hizbul activists were back in action, he said and denied that there were differences within the organisation on ending the ceasefire. "Why should we contact our field commanders? Where is the need? We were in touch with them till yesterday as we have suspended our activities and exploring possibilities of peace. Now they have gone underground and do not have access to telephone," he said.

Farooq confident: Page 13

## ALL IN THE GAME



THE HINDU

10 AUG 2000

# Pak. to blame for derailing dialogue: Govt.

By Harish Khare

**NEW DELHI, AUG. 8.** The Government of India has noted with "deep regret" the withdrawal of the ceasefire by Syed Salahuddin, and has blamed Pakistan for torpedoing the peace process. The Government holds "Pakistani agencies" responsible for putting "intense pressure on the Hizbul Mujahideen leadership in the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir to revoke the ceasefire."

At the same time, the Government reiterated its firm commitment to the "peace process" and called upon "on all those have taken to arms to return to the path of peace."

This considered response came in the form of a statement from the Government, and was issued after detailed discussion between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and his senior official advisers.

Earlier, soon after Syed Salahuddin's "end of ceasefire" announcement became known, the Prime Minister summoned an in-

formal meeting of the Cabinet sub-committee on security.

His Ministerial colleagues — the Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes — gathered in the Prime Minister's office in Parliament House itself, and it seems a decision was taken to keep the door open for the Hizbul Mujahideen to return to the negotiating table.

On the other hand, official sources have noted that the Hizbul leader, Mr. Majid Dar, had so far not reacted, and the inclination was to wait and watch Mr. Dar's next move.

According to some officials, the onus was on Mr. Dar to respond to the positive mood in the Valley to the nascent peace process, and that it was unfair of the Hizbul to make demands on India, without making any, leave alone commensurate, demands on Pakistan.

## Army's warning

At the same time, an Army spokesman here made it clear

that the security forces would be free to retaliate if any Hizbul Mujahideen militants opened fire. The spokesman added that "we will not be mute spectators if they resume their activities." In fact, the security forces throughout Jammu and Kashmir have been alerted to the possibility of the Hizbul or some other militant group undertaking a major act of terrorism.

## U.S. regrets decision; Dismay in the Valley: Page 13

According to the Government's statement, the July 24 ceasefire offer by Mr. Majid Dar "did not fit in with Pakistan's design of aiding and abetting terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir." The statement asserts that "Pakistani agencies put pressure on the other groups to continue and intensify acts of violence in Jammu and Kashmir which led to the massacres of August 1 and 2."

The Government lays the blame for the end of ceasefire at

Pakistan's door. This evening's statement notes that "Pakistan's objective has been to derail the peace process by seeking to involve itself as a party in discussion between India and the Hizbul Mujahideen. The sabotage of the peace process by Pakistan clearly shows its callow disregard for the welfare of the people of Jammu and Kashmir."

While the security forces will not give any quarter, the political leadership will not shut the door on negotiations either.

The BJP wanted the Government to go ahead with its policy of negotiating with the willing militant groups to restore peace and bring normalcy in Jammu and Kashmir.

## Sense of disappointment

Though there is a keen sense of disappointment that the Hizbul leadership has buckled under Pakistani pressures, there was no surprise over the Syed's announcement in Islamabad this eve-

# Delhi sees Pak pressure behind truce breakdown

FROM PRANAY SHARMA  
AND CHANDAN NANDY

New Delhi, Aug. 8: Forced on the backfoot by the Hizbul Mujahideen decision to end the ceasefire, the Centre today blamed Pakistan for wrecking a chance for peace.

Expressing regret over Hizbul boss Syed Salahuddin's announcement from Islamabad, India said that while it remained "firmly committed" to restore peace in Kashmir, it would not sit at the table with Pakistan unless it stopped terror export.

A terse statement issued by the government this evening said: "It has been evident since July 24 that the ceasefire did not fit in with Pakistan's design of aiding and abetting terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir."

The government added that Pakistani agencies had put intense pressure on the Hizbul leadership to end the three-month truce and had also persuaded other militant groups to continue and escalate their acts

of violence which led to last week's massacres.

"The sabotage of the peace process by Pakistan clearly shows its callous disregard for the welfare of the people of Jammu and Kashmir," the statement said.

But Pakistan fought back in the war of words, accusing India of scuttling the peace efforts by what it called negative responses to the ceasefire. It urged India to engage in a meaningful dialogue with Islamabad and Kashmiris.

"Negative and transparently insincere responses by the Indian Prime Minister and other officials have destroyed the possibility for a peace process," a foreign ministry statement said in Islamabad.

By suggesting that Salahuddin had yielded to pressure from Islamabad, India is trying to segregate the Hizbul supreme commander from the rest of his outfit and also convince the global community, especially the US, that it is Pakistan which was

bent on derailing peace efforts.

Both the Prime Minister's Office and the home ministry insisted that the Hizbul's call-off was not a setback. "The Kashmir peace process is a continuous one. It would be foolish to expect a dramatic change overnight," a senior official said.

Besides, sources pointed out, that there had been no statement from the Hizbul leadership within the country. The home ministry sent out unconfirmed indications that the India-based Hizbul leader, Abdul Majid Dar, was trying to get in touch with the outfit's top brass in Islamabad in a bid to convince them about the need to relax the ceasefire deadline.

The Centre dropped hints that it has been able to wean away a section of the Hizbul and neutralise one of the numerous powerful groups operating out of Kashmir. There is a growing belief in Delhi that Dar commands a lot of support from district commanders of other groups.

■ More reports on Page 6

THE TELEGRAPH

9 AUG 2000

# HiZbul calls off ceasefire in Kashmir

Decision can be reversed if India gives up rigid stand: Salahuddin

Pak to blame: India

Mubashir Zaidi  
Islamabad, August 8

THE HIZBUL Mujahideen today called off its unilateral ceasefire announced on July 24 claiming that India had not only violated the ceasefire and killed three Hizbul militants, but failed to respond positively to the organisation's dialogue offer for a solution to the Kashmir dispute.

Announcing this at a Press conference here, Hizbul supreme commander Syed Salahuddin said that the Indian leadership has failed to respond to our ice-breaking move which could have become productive and meaningful if India accepted unconditional tripartite talks between India, Pakistan and Kashmiris. "We withdraw the unilateral ceasefire as the deadline has expired. We direct all the commanders and the Mujahideen in the field to break the ceasefire and go ahead along with target-oriented missions against the intransigent Indian leadership. We kept our word during 15-day ceasefire but India violated the ceasefire and martyred three of our Mujahideen," Salahuddin stated while reading out a written statement.

However, he said the Hizbul's options were still open and the decision to withdraw the ceasefire could be reversed if India gives up its rigid stance on not involving Pakistan on a dialogue to resolve the Kashmir issue.

"If it (India) does so, then we can persuade other armed resistance movement to join hands with us for a peaceful solution to Kashmir dispute," he said. Salahuddin said the decision to withdraw the ceasefire was not taken in haste but was deliberated upon by the supreme command council of the Hizbul Mujahideen.

He alleged that India did not reciprocate the Hizbul's peace initiative and demonstrated its "traditional intransigence".

"During the last 15 days, the Indian leadership changed its stand several times and avoided a categorical response. Vajpayee's statements have been con-

tradictory. In one breath he talked about a dialogue on the basis of humanness and in the same breath, he spoke about negotiations only within the framework of Indian Constitution," he said.

Regretting the Indian response to the ceasefire, Salahuddin slammed Vajpayee's statement that the Indian Constitution was the best symbol of humanity. "Even in the presence of the Indian Constitution, all the minorities in India, including Christians, Sikhs and Muslims, became victim of Hindu communal carnage. They even do not spare their own low caste Hindu Dalits. In Jammu and Kashmir, license has been given to the armed forces to shoot and kill at will and invade the privacy of Kashmiri residents. Is that humanity?" he asked.

The Hizbul chief said that his organisation took the ceasefire step with the hope that India would reciprocate with several steps to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

"Let the world community judge for itself our grand gesture. The international community needs to evaluate and indict India. We temporarily silenced the guns so that it becomes absolutely clear that we are for a just and negotiated settlement (of the dispute) between Kashmiris, India and Pakistan," he said.

He said 30,000 Mujahideen have laid down their lives at the altar of freedom. "We assure our well-wishers that we will not deviate from our goal, that is, liberation of Kashmir from Indian yoke. We cannot betray the sacrifices of 80,000 people. Our struggle will continue till India takes cognisance of the disputed nature of Kashmir and accepts the rationale of the ongoing freedom movement in Kashmir," Salahuddin said.

He concluded the statement by saying: "We desire to reassure the people of Pakistan in unequivocal terms that we will never betray the noble cause of the liberation of Kashmir and will not allow any body to do it. We have demolished the Indian propaganda that we are against peaceful settlement. The windows of our mind are open for a way forward. This is not our weakness but our strength."

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, August 8

INDIA TONIGHT blamed Pakistan for the Hizbul Mujahideen's decision to withdraw its July 24 ceasefire offer. It said Islamabad's "sabotage" of the peace process demonstrated its "callous disregard" for the welfare of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, who had overwhelmingly supported the Hizbul's move for cessation of hostilities.

"Pakistani agencies have put intense pressure on the Hizbul Mujahideen leadership in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) to sabotage the ceasefire," the Government noted in a statement here.

It alleged that Pakistani agencies also put pressure on other (militant) groups to continue and intensify violent acts in Jammu and Kashmir, the result of which were the August 1-2 massacres in the State.

The Government further claimed that Pakistan's object was to derail the peace process by seeking to involve itself as a party in the post-ceasefire offer discussions between India and the Hizbul.

The question of a dialogue with Islamabad, it said, was a separate matter. India was willing to talk to Pakistan on all matters of bilateral concern once it put an end to cross-border terrorism.

"India remains firmly committed to the peace process and calls upon all those who have taken to arms to return to the path of peace," the Government declared, expressing "deep regret" over the Hizbul's decision.

Recalling events following



An armed Kashmiri militant escorts Syed Salahuddin, supreme commander of the Hizbul Mujahideen, after a Press conference in Islamabad on Tuesday. Photo: AFP

Hizbul chief commander Abdul Majid Dar's ceasefire offer, the statement emphasised that New Delhi had responded to the offer positively by detaching Union Home Secretary Kamal Pande and other senior officials to open talks for chalking out the ceasefire modalities with the Hizbul's nominated interlocutors.

The Central team led by Mr Pande met the militant group's representatives on August 3 in Srinagar.

However, follow-up meetings between the two sides failed to materialise in the face of Hizbul supreme Syed Salahuddin's August 8 deadline for the Indian acceptance of tripartite talks involving Pakistan.

The Government reacted to Hizbul's withdrawal of the ceasefire within hours of Salahuddin's announcement in the Pakistan capital.

Earlier in the day, the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) met twice under Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's chairmanship to take stock of the situation.

Those who participated in the informal parleys were Home Minister L K Advani, Defence Minister George Fernandes, Finance Minister Yashwant Sinha, Planning Commission Deputy Chairman K C Pant, Army Chief V P Malik and Home Secretary Pande.

The issue also reportedly figured at a full Cabinet meeting late tonight which, among other things, discussed the Government's considered response to the Hizbul's latest decision and the Congress party's demand for a judicial probe into the recent killings in Kashmir.

On 8 August, four-year-old Purnima a wrenched a few hundred million hearts, her tiny grief and grime-covered face pathetically staring out of newspaper front pages in the country. Purnima's father was amongst the 27 labourers slaughtered in Mirbazar village, 55 km from Srinagar, part of the serial massacres on Wednesday night. More Purnima tragedies are on the way. India's current foreign policy is ensuring that.

The Prime Minister officially holds the Pakistani government responsible for the cold-blooded massacres, for Kargil, the massacre before President Bill Clinton's visit to India, plane hijackings, the daily shelling from across the border, an organised infiltration of thousands of trained terrorists and the attacks on and harassment of Indian diplomats in Pakistan.

We have heard the home ministry hold the Inter-Services Intelligence responsible for the Bombay bomb blasts, waging terrorist activities across the country, inflation of crores of rupees of fake currency notes to destabilise the economy and now apparently conspiring to create communal conflicts by bombing churches. We've heard enough and had enough.

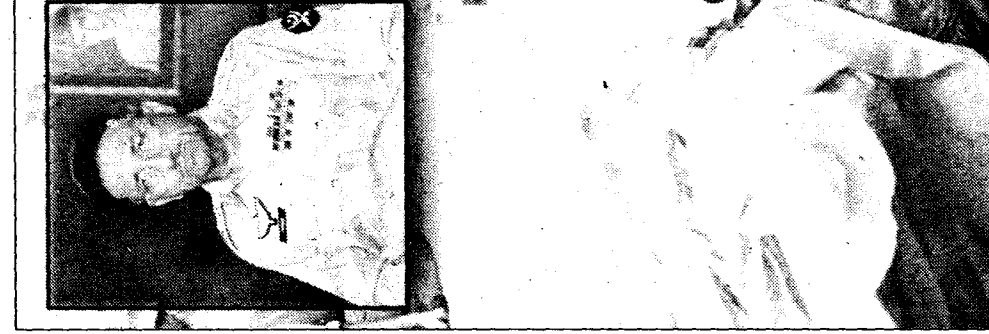
Either this government, like the governments before it, has been deceiving the country with false anti-Pakistani propaganda, or it's betraying the country by not acting decisively on the crimes against it. When the same nations, currently patting India on the back for "restraint", have unilaterally launched missiles on sovereign nations or severed diplomatic relations after single terrorist attacks, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's government still sits twiddling its thumbs. Ripley wouldn't believe it. It's time we learnt what exactly this BJP-led govern-

ment thinks will end Pakistan's one-way war against India. Does it expect the US Marines to land and destroy the hundreds of madrasas in Pakistan that abuse their own religion and despatch brain-washed killers to Kashmir?

Does it expect Pakistan's Chief Executive, General Pervez Musharraf to have a sudden, miraculous change of outlook, like a villain in a Hindi film end-reel? Or does it expect the international community to declare Pakistan a terrorist state when the alleged victim refuses to break diplomatic relations with the "terrorist state", and instead plays cricket matches with it?

The Indo-Pakistani conflict has reached a gridlock that's now benefiting Gen. Musharraf. India refuses to involve Pakistan in direct talks until the military government stops cross-border killings. Full marks to the BJP-led government for that. Mr Vajpayee broke the earlier foreign policy habit of getting involved in dead-end talks whose only purpose was to smokescreen continued Pakistani mischief. But it is not enough for Mr Vajpayee to just repeat parrotwise that there won't be peace talks until Pakistan stops the terrorism. India has to stop the Pakistani terrorism.

That's where the Vajpayee government is failing, like the foreign-policy makers before it. It isn't enough to have Mr Clinton promise to "speak to Pakistan" after the slaughter of Amarnath pilgrims. Sterner, self-administered medicine is required. Severe diplomatic relations is the necessary dose. Even if a quarter percentage of the official Indian allegations



Women and children cry over the dead of 19 Hindu labourers allegedly killed by Pakistan-supported separatist groups in Katran Mirpur, 50 km, south of Srinagar last Wednesday and (inset) General Pervez Musharraf. Pakistan, under his military boot, is now apparently hosting an unprecedented 150-odd anti-Indian terrorist groups. — AP/PTI.

against Pakistan are true, then continuing official relations with that rogue nation defies logic. It mocks the meaning of "diplomatic relations". It knocks the credibility of India's charges against Pakistan. It insults the sacrifices in blood our soldiers make in Kashmir. It doesn't make sense. Diplomatic, cultural, sporting contacts and historic ing diplomatic relations with

bonds might ease tensions between two hostile nations, if the two nations are genuine democracies. With a country habitually ruled by tinpot dictators controlled by the world's weapons and drugs industries, it's sheer naive to think candle-light processions at border posts are going to help cure the disease. Extreme diseases demand extreme remedies. And breaking diplomatic relations with

Pakistan will get the message across to not just the international community but to the Pakistani people, repeated victims of illegitimate military governments. More importantly, it will at the least make it a bit more difficult for ISI mischief in India, currently launched by way of using travellers' visas and diplomatic status, as we are told. Severing all ties with

The carnage in Kashmir only highlights the foolishness of continuing diplomatic relations with Pakistan, writes RAJA M. A point of view

# Massacres, by foreign policy

presence in Kashmir. Obviously Pakistani hosted terrorism has to be first stopped. For Gen. Musharraf to stop sponsoring terrorism in India, either India agrees with him that Kashmir belongs to Pakistan, or take active steps to force him to stop funding terrorism.

And those active steps could either be a military one, a la Israel, like launching well-justified, pre-emptive air strikes against terrorist camps in Pakistan. Or take the less radical step of breaking diplomatic relations with Pakistan, and going on a foreign policy offensive for international isolation of Pakistan. That tottering state can't withstand an economic war. Right now, the Vajpayee government's "restraint" policy is winning plenty of international applause but sacrificing more innocent Indian blood. A world reassured of Indian passiveness, whatever the Pakistani-activated atrocities, will have fewer motives to pressure Pakistan to behave. And so more Kargils, more Amarnath massacres and more Purnimas are duly promised, particularly when India appears to make a peace breakthrough like with the Hizbul leaders.

At least Rajiv Gandhi, for all his political inexperience, sabre-rattled enough with Operation Brass Tacks, by amassing Army divisions in offensive formations near the Pakistani borders. A startled world sat up and unequivocally told Zia-ul-Haq to behave. If India can't risk sabre-rattling now in its post-nuclear status, self-respect and common sense demands India break diplomatic ties with an illegitimate government that's raped the diplomatic norm book. Otherwise, just withdraw the Army and let Kashmir go, Mr Vajpayee. Far too many lives are being lost for nothing.

Pakistan is even more necessary, as long as Gen. Musharraf rules that land. The smooth-talking General, the acknowledged villain behind Kargil, is the first Pakistani leader to declare the so-called *jihad* as a state policy. Pakistan, under his military boot, is now apparently hosting an unprecedented 150-odd anti-Indian terrorist groups. With mercenaries, brainwashed youth, madmen masquerading as religious leaders, Gen. Musharraf is happily waging a low-cost war against India.

The cost for India is horrific. Not only are innocent blood and thousands of crores of rupees lost annually maintaining the Army in Kashmir, but Kashmir itself is drifting from India, thanks to these very counter-terrorist measures.

Already, Kashmir has by far the highest density of armed personnel in the world. Even that isn't sufficient, as last Wednesday proved. And it won't, until the source of the terrorism is neutralised. Instead, a tense Army, forced to search house to house often, clamp curfews, arrest and interrogate innocent family members of suspected militants, is bound to antagonise the local population.

Working under high stress and a hostile environment, not knowing from where and when the next attack will come, carries a dangerous psychological price. The less disciplined elements of the Army snap and indulge in excessive violence, rape or other crime against civilians that gives Pakistan the "Indian Army atrocities in Kashmir" accusations to brandish.

To reduce that counter-productive, high-intensive Army

(The author is a freelance writer)

THE STATE...  
- 20 AUG 2000

# Pak parties oppose Hizbul Kashmir ceasefire

BY MUHAMMAD NAJEEB

Islamabad, Aug. 1: Almost all political and religious organisations in Pakistan have decided not to support the unilateral ceasefire announced in Kashmir by the Hizbul Mujahideen even as the separatist group's chief Syed Salahuddin met Western diplomats to explain the reasons behind the sudden cessation of hostilities.

Most groups opposed to the sudden ceasefire announced by the Hizbul Mujahideen on July 24 feel that the move will not help in finding a solution to the long-standing Kashmir problem. The Hizbul Mujahideen surprised the international community by declaring a three-month ceasefire in a bid to find a solution to the Kashmir issue through talks with the Indian government.

Jamaat-e-Islami chief Qazi Husain Ahmad said, "India considers Kashmir as its integral part and would like to talk within the limitations of the Constitution and this is not acceptable to us."

"We appeal to Syed Salahuddin to withdraw the ceasefire as none of the jihad organisations are ready to back the decision," Ahmad said, adding that the move would be

construed as a betrayal of Kashmiris.

Immediately after the ceasefire announcement Salahuddin was removed from the post of chairman of the United Jihad Council an umbrella organisation of 17 separatist groups.

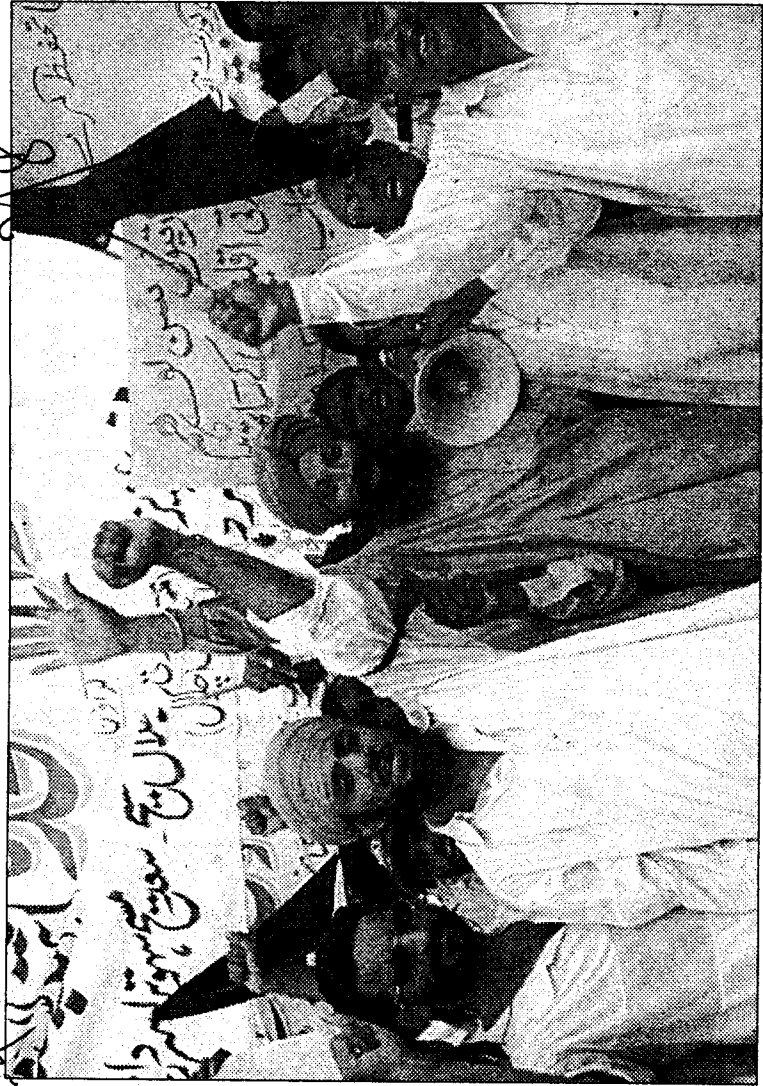
Only through jihad, Ahmad said, could India be compelled to agree to a solution to the lingering dispute and moves like the ceasefire would serve no purpose at this critical juncture.

Ahmad also called on Pakistan's Chief Executive Gen. Pervez Musharraf, to explain his government's position on the Hizbul Mujahideen's unilateral ceasefire.

It seemed, he said, that Pakistan's military rulers had prior knowledge of senior Hizbul Mujahideen commander Abdul Majeed Dar's decision to announce the ceasefire and the government's reaction also indicated that it was in some way involved in the move.

Pakistan information minister Javed Jabbar, however, said that Pakistan had no role in the ceasefire. "Neither it is our bomb nor it is our shell. The government has no role in it," he said.

(India Abroad News Service)



RAISING VOICES: Workers of the Minority Advisory Council of Pakistan chant anti-India slogans during a rally outside the UN office in Islamabad on Monday. They demanded that the government of India take measures to stop acts of violence against Christians and other minorities. (AP)

## PML reposes faith in Sharif leadership

Islamabad, Aug. 1: The Pakistan Muslim League has reposed full confidence in the leadership of Mr Nawaz Sharif and asked him to continue as the party chief.

In a meeting convened yesterday, the Central Working Committee and the parliamentary committee of the League asked Mr Sharif convicted and sentenced in two cases to continue.

Significantly the group which had opposed Mr Nawaz Sharif after his arrest and sought his removal from the leadership was in a minority at the meeting and did not insist on the stepping down of the deposed Prime Minister from the party chair.

The resolution was moved by the secretary-general of the party Saranjam Khan.

The working committee also discussed the statement of Mr Nawaz Sharif which was released from Attock jail. (UNI)

# India links Pak role to stopping export of terror

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, August 7

PAKISTAN SHOULD play a "responsible role" in the Hizbul Mujahideen's current initiative for restoration of peace in Jammu and Kashmir, authoritative government sources said here tonight.

The appeal to Islamabad came on the eve of the expiry of the August 8 deadline that the Hizb has fixed for New Delhi's response to its proposal for tripartite talks on Kashmir, involving Pakistan.

Responding to questions whether Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee has ruled out Pakistan's inclusion in any dialogue on Kashmir, the sources maintained that India has never shied away from talking to anyone.

"We have spoken to Pakistan in the past. We have no problem in talking to them in the future either. But they must first stop cross-border terrorism and help in the restoration of peace," they argued.

The sources reiterated New Delhi's consistent stand — in the aftermath of Kargil — that trans-border terrorism must end prior to any meaningful dialogue (with Pakistan). Earlier in the day, Hizb spokesman Saleem Hashmi stated in Islamabad that the militant outfit cannot review its deadline without receiving a positive signal from "across the border."

There was no "positive" response from India as yet to its proposal for tripartite talks, Hashmi said, accusing New Delhi of adopting "delaying tactics."

"How can we review the deadline if we are not receiving positive signals from across the border. The situation remains unchanged," Hashmi said, adding that "we still stand by that demand."

He warned that India would be responsible for any failure of the Hizbul's unilaterally declared

ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir.

Reports from the Pakistan capital also quoted Hizbul supreme commander Syed Salahuddin as having written to Islamabad-based foreign diplomats to exercise their influence over India to make it agree to tripartite talks on Kashmir.

"They (India) intend to tie the affair in a bilateral dialogue, which is not an acceptable proposition," Salahuddin reportedly wrote, adding that "the Kashmir tangle can be solved only by a just negotiating process involving all the three parties — the Kashmiris, India and Pakistan."

Salahuddin said India's acceptance of the tripartite talks would help in convincing other militant groups for a comprehensive peace.

"We hope you would use the diplomatic influence of your government to persuade India to accept the rationale behind our unilateral ceasefire," the letter said.

Against this backdrop, sources in New Delhi told *The Hindustan Times* that the Prime Minister's remarks that Indian officials can only negotiate within the

constitutional framework did not preclude the Hizb interlocutors from stating their position within the parameters of their choice.

In a statement today in the Rajya Sabha, Mr Vajpayee said that every time India tried for peace through dialogue, Pakistan had responded by fresh terrorist attacks. "It happened on the day I traveled to Lahore. It has happened once again, coinciding with the ceasefire declared by the Hizbul Mujahideen," he said.

The PM nevertheless assured the House that Pakistan's terrorist campaign would not deter India from pursuing the path of peace.



Hizbul's Pakistan-based chief Syed Salahuddin

ON PAGE 12

- Fracas over judicial probe demand
- J&K Hizbul want deadline extended

8 AUG 2000



# Pak won't be party to Kashmir talks

PTI&UNI

SRINAGAR/NEW DELHI, Aug. 6. — The Prime Minister today ruled out involving Pakistan in the peace talks between the Centre and Hizbul Mujahideen, though the Hurriyat Conference iterated that a permanent solution to the Kashmir problem could be found only through a "comprehensive" dialogue involving Pakistan.

"There's no need for anyone else to come to

the talks between the Centre and the Hizbul, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee said in New Delhi.

But the Hizbul chief, Syed Salahuddin, said in Islamabad that the Kashmir problem was a tripartite one and the talks were bound to fail if all three sides were not involved.

On the group's 8-August deadline, Salahuddin said: "It has been set because of the traditional stubbornness and delaying tactics of India."

The Hurriyat spokesman, Mr Abdul Majid Bandy, told *Star News*: "Is the government rea-

dy to involve all the actors. If we (India) have to talk to Pakistan one day, why-not now."

The Hizbul today alleged that security forces were continuing operations against its members and their relatives, but said it would meet the Centre's negotiators next week to work out modalities for implementing the ceasefire.

He alleged that securitymen had forced some Hizbul men

at Ganderbal to surrender and

killed two of them at Gool Udampur and Marhama recently.

(The Lashkar-e-Taiyaba, blamed for the recent string of massacres in the state, today threatened to intensify attacks on Indian troops, AP adds from Islamabad.

"We waited for 40 long years, but talks and the UN resolutions failed to solve the Kashmir problem," Mr Hafiz Saeed, the group's chief, said today. The Kashmiris today have no other choice than to

■ See KASHMIR: page 8

## KASHMIR:

(Continued from page 1)

take up arms against India. Saeed said his group would talk to India only after it withdraws Army from Kashmir.)

The HM spokesman said the group was serious about the ceasefire offer and urged other separatist groups in the state to support its peace efforts.

Pakistan has echoed Syed Salahuddin's stand on tripartite talks. "According to the UN security council resolutions, Pakistan and India are the two parties to the Kashmir issue and the Kashmiri leadership should also be included in the talks," a foreign office spokesman said here yesterday.

**Fernandes charge:** Mr George Fernandes today blamed Lashkar-i-Taiyaba's Fidayeen suicide squad for the attacks on Amarnath yatra camps in Pahalgam and here on 1 and 2 August.

The defence minister told reporters in Jammu that the Army would not lower its guards along the border despite the talks with the HM. He expressed hope that the talks would bring peace. "We are optimistic as the Hizb is a major group."

**Farooq move:** The Jammu and Kashmir chief minister today met Mrs Sonia Gandhi and assured her that "elaborate security arrangements" had been made for the Amarnath yatra.

Mr Farooq Abdullah's visit follows Mrs Gandhi's demand for a judicial probe into the recent massacres in the state.

About 1,903 pilgrims today left Jammu for Pahalgam enroute Amarnath.

**Shoora condemns attacks:** The All India Muslim Majlis-e-Shoora today condemned the killing of Amarnath pilgrims and said it was a deliberate attempt to sabotage the peace talks initiated by the Centre.

THE STATESMAN

7 AUG 2000

# Kashmir snub for Pak at rights meet

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

GENEVA, Aug 4. — Pakistan was handed a snub by the UN Commission on Human Rights today, which refused to allow Islamabad's representative to speak on alleged rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir.

Ms Lulia A Motoc of Romania, chairperson of the plenary session of the UN sub-commission for the promotion and protection of human rights, told the Pakistani diplomat not to violate forum rules by raising the issue of human rights in another country.

This was contested by the Pakistani diplomat, who pleaded he was not speaking on rights violations in India, but in Kashmir, which was, according to UN resolutions, disputed territory.

But a number of sub-commission members including Ms Jane Hampson

(Britain), Mr Louis Joinet (France), Mr Asbjorn Eide (Norway) and Mr Paulo Pinheiro (Brazil) strongly opposed the Pakistani position.

The "commission is not here to decide the maps and boundaries" of member countries, they said. It has "no interest in the Kashmir question", and the Pakistani representative should not be allowed to take it up.

According to these members, Pakistan "does not administer that territory and as such has no right to speak on human rights violations that take place in another country".

The UNHRC had resolved at its last meeting not to allow member countries to speak on alleged human rights violations in other countries. The ruling has been a blow to Pakistan, which has made it a habit of raising up alleged rights violations in Kashmir at

international fora.

Mr El Hadji Guisse of Senegal said today there was need for more discussion on the rule, but for now the sub-commission had no alternative, and Pakistan could not be allowed to speak on the issue.

The two-week sub-commission meeting is being attended by NGOs from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and over 120 other countries, besides senior officials of their governments. Several Kashmiri separatist and human rights groups are attending the session. Yesterday, the Muttahida Qaumi Movement had attacked Islamabad for violating human rights in Sindh, and demanded freedom for the southern province.

Indian representatives did not intervene on the issue today, allowing delegates from other nations to contest the

Pakistani claim. But since the bar does not apply to NGOs, representatives of some such pro-Pak organisations did speak against the "systematic violation of human rights by the Indian government in the state".

Mr Ahmed Maqbool of the World Muslim League urged the sub-commission to pay attention to rights violations in J&K. His views were endorsed by Mr Faiz Naqshbandi.

A senior commission member, Mr David Weissbrodt (USA) expressed concern over the violence in J&K and strongly approved of the moves toward dialogue to end the bloodshed. Ms Hampson too welcomed India's readiness to talk to militants and secessionist groups.

Mr Beith Bennet of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation criticised Islamabad for not allowing Mr

Khalid Qureishi, a human rights activist, to attend the conference.

"The military dictators have stopped him from reaching Geneva," Mr Bennet said. "The rulers of Pakistan are not interested in pluralistic democracy and continue to persecute minorities, including the mohajirs, Sindhis and Baluchs."

According to Mr Bennet, the Pakistani elite's paranoia had reached such proportions that it had tried to manipulate census figures. The sub-commission must call upon Pakistan to stop stifling the voices of minorities, he said. Mr Philippe le Blanc of the Franciscans International expressed concern over blasphemy laws and the separate electoral system for Pakistani minorities. He said this resulted in segregation on the basis of religion.

THE STATESMAN

5 AUG 200



# World unites in condemning Pak

Our Political Bureau  
NEW DELHI 4 AUGUST

**C**ONDEMNATION POURED forth against the massacre of 100 civilians in Kashmir from all corners of the globe, reminiscent of the anguish that rankled the world over Pakistan's intrusion in Kargil last year.

As the world again pointed its finger of accusation at Pakistan, India on Friday formally accused Islamabad-sponsored Lashkar-e-Toiba for perpetrating the killings of Tuesday night and early Wednesday morning.

In the wake of US reaction, the European Union on Friday expressed "horror and indignation" at the killings.

In a statement it condemned "most resolutely the perpetrators of these attacks and their backers". The Japanese foreign ministry said "these brutal acts of terrorism were perpetrated at a time when the very positive move for putting an end to violence in Kashmir had just commenced."

Running through the numerous statements of world leaders is not merely an implicit condemnation of the "backers" of the killings but an unqualified appreciation of India's stated desire to press ahead with the peace talks.

On Thursday, the Prime Minister reiterated that India "would overcome difficulties" and continue with the talks. The first meeting between the central team and the Hizbul Mujahideen took place on Thursday.

"We are deeply shocked by the massacre which has killed several innocent people," China said on Friday. But not prepared to abandon its "all-weather friendship" with Pakistan, the Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said: "We hope India and Pakistan could resume dialogue and negotiations as soon as possible so as to peacefully settle all disputes, including Kashmir and jointly safeguard the peace and stability of the region."

China and the UN secretary general Kofi Annan have been in a minority demanding for India's dialogue with Pakistan. On Thursday, in a message, Mr Annan too had asked for resumption of Indo-Pak dialogue. This is markedly missing from other statements, implying that there is greater acceptance for India's demand that Pakistan should cease sponsoring cross-border terrorism before it would prepare for talks.

Mr Vajpayee had told Mr Clinton during a telephone conversation that there was no basis for a meaningful dialogue with Islamabad in the face of no let-up in Pakistan-backed terrorist acts.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Economic Affairs (MEA) spokesman on Friday confirmed the involvement of the Lashkar-e-Toiba in the killings.

"There is very clear evidence of the involvement of Lashkar-e-Toiba, based in Pakistan and supported by Pakistan," the spokesman said.

He said it had been a pattern that every peace initiative by India had been greeted by terrorist acts from across the borders. It was the case during the Prime Minister's Lahore journey which was marked by the death of 20 civilians in the valley. On the eve of the visit of US president Bill Clinton in March this year, 35 Sikhs were gunned down in Chattisinghpura. The Pakistan foreign ministry dubbed it "part of the Indian government's effort to divert attention from its own atrocities against the Kashmiri people and to malign the Kashmir freedom struggle."

## PM: Pak-based groups out to sabotage talks

PRIME MINISTER A.B. Vajpayee said on Wednesday that the massacre of innocent pilgrims and



labourers in J&K by militants made it amply clear that Pakistan based terrorist groups were out to sabotage the talks with the Hizbul Mujahideen.

"The path we are following is one of peace and we will not leave it. Whatever difficulties we encounter, we will face. A message should go from this House that we will not be cowed down by terrorism," he said in the Lok Sabha.

Members of both Houses of Parliament were agitated over the killings. The PM assured them that L.K. Advani would present statements in both Houses in the evening.

Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Madhavrao Scindia was heard saying "what kind of peace process is the government talking about".

"No words would be strong enough to condemn these outrageous incidents by a hostile neighbour," Advani said.

He said this was more or less anticipated. The government had been receiving reports of the "unhappiness" among the foreign mercenaries over Hizbul's offer.

When Advani remarked that the security forces should not be criticised, Scindia retorted: "We are not criticising the security forces. We are criticising your Government for not having provided enough forces for the *yatris*." Sonia Gandhi demanded that the government answer for its failure to ensure security on the Amarnath route. She said it should not lower guard as done during the Lahore peace process but be on "full alert".

HTC, New Delhi

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 3 AUG 2000

## Immediate resumption of Indo-Pak. talks favoured

By B. Murahidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, AUG. 2. Former diplomats of India and Pakistan are of the view that both countries will have to resume dialogue immediately to ease tensions irrespective of differences on the Kashmir issue and move forward towards normalisation of relations. They were of the view that the recent events in Kashmir has provided the opportunity to carry forward the process.

ND-14 377  
The diplomats were speaking here at a seminar organised by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) on "South Asia: prospects for peace" on Tuesday evening. The Indian diplomats, including two former Foreign Secretaries and three Ambassadors, are currently on a visit to the country on an invitation from the Pakistan-India People's Friendship Forum (PIPF) as part of an exchange programme.

The retired Indian diplomats are Mr. M.K. Rasgotra, Mr. Salman Haider, Mr. C.V. Ranganathan, Mrs. Manorama Bhalla and Mr. P.A. Nazareth. The diplomats are visiting Lahore to take part in a seminar organised by the PIPF on August 4.

In contrast to the views of the former Indian diplomats at the seminar, the Information Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Javed Jabbar, and a Pakistani academician argued that unless the "core issue" of Kashmir was resolved, there could no be real peace between the two countries. The Information Minister characterised the Indo-Pakistan relations as the "most complex on the planet" and said even if the core issue is addressed the complexity of the ties would remain. "The relations between the two countries is for ever full of hazards and pitfalls."

Mr. Najmuddin Sheikh, a former Pa-

kistan Foreign Secretary, said the relations between the two countries is a complete negation of what the father of Pakistan had envisaged. He said both the countries have to overcome obsession about each other and work towards a constructive approach.

Mr. Sheikh said both India and Pakistan stand to gain enormously both politically and economically if there is reduction in level of tensions. Substantiating his point, Mr. Sheikh said a gas pipeline from central Asia or gulf would benefit both the countries. India alone could take 4.5 billion cubic feet of gas from Turkmenistan at a very low price and Pakistan could gain \$4.5 to 5 billions in terms of royalty.

Mr. Sheikh said both the countries could work on confidence-building measures and these could include demilitarisation of international border and a well-defined nuclear restraint regime.

Mr. Salman Haider said despite the ups and downs in the relations, there have been moments of hope. The Hizbul ceasefire, Indian response and the release of leaders of the All Party Hurriyat Conference earlier have created a new atmosphere. He was of the view that the real impulse for the recent events in the valley reflects a desire on the part of the various players involved for a new path.

The former Foreign Secretary said nothing in recent years matched the "political boldness" of the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, when he visited Lahore. He said Mr. Vajpayee could pick up the threads of Lahore once again if a conducive atmosphere prevails. Dr. Riffat Hussain, a noted Pakistani academician, said peace between India and Pakistan was a mirage unless the core issue of Kashmir was resolved.

THE HINDU

7-11-2000

# 100 killed in Kashmir's worst-ever carnage

## Pak-based outfit behind the attack, says Advani

**The Times of India News Service SRINAGAR/JAMMU:** In the worst-ever series of strikes in the decade-long history of insurgency in the state, militants opposed to the Hizbul Mujahideen's ceasefire gunned down over 100 people, including Amarnath yatis and Bihari labourers, in less than 12 hours since Tuesday evening.

A "special alert" has been sounded all over the state to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents. The Army has been put on alert in Jammu city and other parts of the region.

Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee told the Lok Sabha on Wednesday that the killings were the handiwork of those working at the behest of Pakistan. Terming the killings as an attempt to sabotage the peace process, he said nothing would deter India from pursuing the path of peace. Home minister L.K. Advani said the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Toiba carried out the killings.

According to the police, AK-47 rifles recovered from the militants slain at Pahalgam carried the mark of Lashkar-e-Toiba.

To prevent a communal flare-up, an indefinite curfew was imposed in Jammu town on Tuesday night. It was extended on Wednesday morning to the entire Jammu district, Kathua, Udhampur, Poonch, Rajouri as well as other towns of the Jammu region. The curfew imposed in Pahalgam on Tuesday after the killing was lifted on Wednesday afternoon.

During Kashmir's long night of

bloodbath following the killing of 30 people at Pahalgam, 27 labourers were gunned down at some brick kilns of Achabal and Qazigund late on Tuesday night. The militants separated the men from the women and asked them to stand in queues before opening fire. No woman was hurt. While 20 labourers were gunned down at Qazigund on national highway 1, seven others were killed at Achabal, 15 km from Pahalgam.

All three places are in Anantnag district, considered to be the stronghold of the Hizbul Mujahideen.

Militants also killed at least 22 people in Doda district around the same time as attack at Pahalgam. Before dawn on Wednesday, they killed 12 people at Kunda village in the Pogal area of Doda. Hours earlier, they had killed two persons in the same village. They also attacked Keyar village in the Dachhan area of Doda district during the night and killed eight members of a village defence committee.

In other incidents in the Kashmir region, seven members of a surrendered militant's family were massacred at Baramulla and six persons were killed in Kupwara district.

Thirteen of the pilgrims gunned down at the Pahalgam base camp have been identified and their bodies were sent to New Delhi by air on Wednesday. They were from Delhi, Khetri (Rajasthan), Rohtas in Bihar, Meerut, Jalandhar, Ludhiana, Kanpur and Orissa. Three members of a family from Meerut died in the attack.

AFP



**MASSACRE AT MIRBAZAR:** Four-year-old Purnima cries on seeing the body of her father, one among the 27 labourers killed at Mirbazar village in Anantnag, 55 kms south of Srinagar, on Wednesday.

## War within a war will backfire

By Manoj Joshi

**NEW DELHI:** The goal of the jihadi barbarians who have gunned down over 100 civilians in Kashmir is obvious—prevent any move that could bring peace and tranquility to the strife-torn state. The tactic of the mass murder of innocents will backfire on them, just as it did on the Punjab terrorists and the Palestinian Hamas in the 1990s. The jihadis, in action that is characteristic of extremist groups, now seem determined to destroy the state they want to save.

Handling such a situation calls for a mature, unwavering stand on the part of the government and the people. The best example is also the most recent.

The country paid a heavy price for Kargil, but by refusing to widen the conflict, it made enormous politico-military gains. To this end, it is important to check the fulminations of the VHP and like-minded groups, since this is such an obvious, albeit mindlessly brutal ploy to torpedo any chance of a negotiated settlement in Kashmir.

Indeed, a senior government official, speaking to *The Times of India* on condition of anonymity, said the Centre had anticipated a "steep rise in terrorist activities". According to him, on the very day that the Hizbul Mujahideen was denounced by the United Jihad Council and its chief expelled from it, New Delhi had expected attacks "designed to stall the peace process".

He said the Centre had evidence that the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) was behind the latest



TELEVISION

3 AUG 2000

# Pak can have no role in talks, says PM

Assertion comes after Hizbul sets deadline for 'tripartite' talks

HTI 9/20/88  
 Press Trust of India  
 Srinagar, August 3

**P**RIME MINISTER Atal Bihari Vajpayee today asked all militant groups in Jammu and Kashmir to come forward for talks with the Centre but rejected the possibility of Pakistan's involvement in the peace process initiated with the Hizbul Mujahideen.

"Our doors are open. I appeal to all militant groups and organisations which believe in peace to join the Centre's efforts for a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue," Vajpayee told the media here after leading a delegation of major political parties to Pahalgam, the scene of a terrorist massacre on Monday night.

Vajpayee ruled out early resumption of bilateral parleys with Pakistan saying that no talks were possible with Islamabad in the face of continuing violence.

Asked whether Pakistan would be invited to form part of the peace process, Vajpayee said: "There is no question of Pakistan's involvement."

Holding Islamabad responsible for the killings, he said "the absence of unequivocal condemnation by Pakistan makes it all the more a suspect. Pakistan must come clean and its silence on the massacre would further affect the bilateral dialogue process."

The Prime Minister's statement came even as the Hizbul Mujahideen set a deadline of August 8 for the government to agree to tripartite talks involving Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute failing which it threatened to review its unilaterally declared ceasefire.

"We will wait till 5pm (5.30 pm IST) on August 8. If India does not give a positive response, we will review the ceasefire," a statement issued by the Hizbul after an emergency meeting of its central command council said.

"India will be responsible for the consequences," Hizbul spokesman Salim Hashmi said.

He said India should adopt a realistic attitude and take bold steps to settle the issue through



Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on Thursday talks to some Amarnath pilgrims who survived the recent massacre at Pahalgam. Photo: PTI

**Giving peace a chance**

- Union Home secretary Kamal Pande meets Hizbul Mujahideen representatives in Srinagar. Teams formed on both sides to continue dialogue.
- Hizbul Mujahideen sets August 8 deadline for India to agree to tripartite talks involving Pakistan.
- PM Vajpayee says there is no role for Pakistan in the talks.
- Centre to order an internal inquiry to find out whether security lapses led to the latest series of killings.

be strictly within the framework of the Constitution, Vajpayee said: "Leave the Constitution. Mamata Banerjee, Sonia Gandhi, Ghulam Nabi Azad, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Sunmuth Chatterjee, K Yerran Naidu and Kanahi Ram.

Related reports on Page 10

Panels formed to carry parleys forward

Press Trust of India  
 Srinagar, August 3

**F**OR THE first time in 11 years, the Centre and Kashmir militants sat across the table when Union Home secretary Kamal Pande met Hizbul Mujahideen representatives here today to chalk out modalities for cessation of hostilities in Jammu and Kashmir and agree to continue the dialogue.

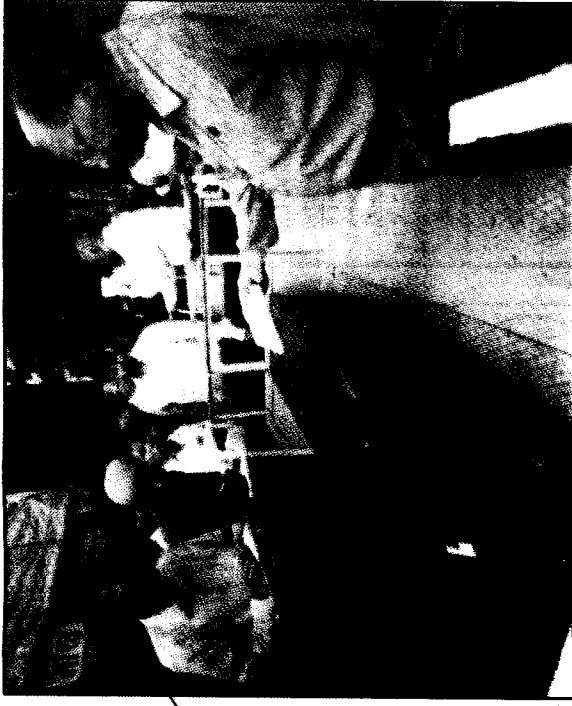
"Today we have agreed that the modalities for preparing grounds for restoration of peace should be pursued seriously so that the elements opposed to this process could be identified and isolated," Pande, who led the government team, told reporters after an hour long meeting with four Hizbul Commanders, two of whom were masked.

Mr Pande was assisted by special secretary in the Home ministry, Mr M B Kai shal and senior army officials, Fazal Haq Qureshi, who was nominated by Hizbul leadership to mediate, was also present.

A joint statement issued after the meeting said the Centre firmly believes that the Kashmir issue can be resolved only through peaceful dialogue. The statement referred to the ceasefire announcement made by Hizbul commander Abdul Majid Dar in the Valley on July 24 proposing a three-month unilateral ceasefire.

Saying that the Government was keen to take this initiative to its logical conclusion, Pande said the discussion would resume "shortly". Asked to comment Hizbul threat in Islamabad that it would review the ceasefire if India did not respond positively by August 8 for unconditional, tripartite talks involving Pakistan, Mr Pande said: "We have discussed modalities for restoration of peace in Kashmir with Hizbul Mujahideen".

The Hizbul nominated its team for further negotiations. The Indian side will be headed by Kaushal, who will be assisted by representatives of State administration, the Army and other security forces. The Hizbul team will be headed by Khalid Saifullah.



The body of a massacre victim arrives at the Delhi airport on Thursday. Photo: AP

## Two die in Gujarat bandh violence

HT Correspondents

Gandhinagar/Jammu, August 3

**O**NE PERSON was stabbed to death and another died after the police opened fire to quell a violent mob in Surat during today's Gujarat bandh. The call for the day-long protests was made by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad against the killing of Amarnath devotees in Jammu and Kashmir's Pahalgam town yesterday.

The police had a tough time controlling angry protesters in Surat, Ahmedabad and Sabarkantha. Curfew was imposed in Khedbrahma town of Sabarkantha district in north Gujarat after shops were set ablaze.

In the Varacha area of Surat city, supporters of the bandh set ablaze two buses and attempts were made to increase the tally. Stabbings, looting of shops and stone-pelting were widespread.

In the commercial city of Ahmedabad, stones were hurled, bus tyres deflated and arsonists attacked vehicles at random. Lathi, trident and knife wielding

Bajrang Dal activists forced unwilling shopkeepers to down their shutters.

Jammu continued to be palpably tense, though curfew was relaxed in some areas for a few hours. Protesters burnt effigies of Pakistan Chief Executive Pervez Musharraf and Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah.

Hundreds of devotees headed for Amarnath remained stranded; many of them complained about being neglected by the authorities. Reports from Pahalgam said though many of the devout resumed their trek to the Amarnath shrine today under heavy security, they were soon halted by inclement weather.

Meanwhile, in Delhi, saffron-tinted associations of traders and affiliates of the Sangh Parivar have called for a day-long shut down of all business establishments tomorrow.

The Delhi unit of the BJP has appealed to schools and colleges and public transport operators to support the bandh.

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# Pak. will go by Hurriyat response to ceasefire offer

By Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 26. Pakistan has said it will be guided by the response of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference in its assessment of the ceasefire declared on Monday by the Hizbul Mujahideen.

A Foreign Office spokesman told a news conference here that Pakistan recognised the APHC as the true representative of the Kashmiri people and the implications of any activity by various elements of the 'freedom struggle' would have to be assessed by the Kashmiri leadership.

The spokesman, however, declined to comment on whether the rejection of the ceasefire by other militant groups reflected a rift in their ranks.

His standard reply was that while Pakistan supported the Kashmir people's struggle for self-determination, it was for the "freedom fighters" to decide how best to carry it forward. Answering another question on the rejection of the Hizbul announcement, the spokesman said Pakistan did not have any control over the "freedom fighters" and it was for them to decide on the "political dimensions and other means" of the struggle.

The spokesman categorically denied that there was any link between the Hizbul announcement and the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan's visit to India and Pakistan.

Asked whether the offer could help to create an atmosphere conducive to a dialogue between India and Pakistan

on the United Nations forum, the spokesman said Islamabad had offered to hold talks without any condition. He recalled the Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Mushar-

raf's statement that he was prepared to talk to the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, at any time, any place and any level. "It is for India to respond."

He said Pakistan would want a "meaningful, result-oriented and definite progress" in resolution of the Kashmir problem whenever the dialogue was resumed. On the possibility of Gen. Musharraf meeting Mr. Vajpayee at the U.N. Millennium Summit in September, the spokesman said the agenda of the Chief Executive was yet to be finalised.

The spokesman said Mr. Tang during his meetings with Gen. Musharraf and the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, appraised them of his discussions with the Indian leaders.

The spokesman said China supported the Pakistani position on Kashmir and wanted the two countries to resume the dialogue to address all issues, including Kashmir. Pakistan, he said, appreciated the G-8 call for India and Pakistan to holding talks.

The Information Minister, Mr. Javed Jabbar, told correspondents here tonight that "the onus is now on India. It is upto India to see that it responds positively, de-escalates tension, reduce the number of troops, ends human rights violations and invite the APHC for talks on its terms."

## Hizbul expelled from jihadi council

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 26. Hizbul Mujahideen, considered to be the most powerful militant organisation in Kashmir, was expelled on Monday from the Mutihadda Jehadi

Council (MJC), a conglomerate of 16 outfits, for its unilateral ceasefire offer.

The MJC condemned the offer as a retrograde step that would undermine the ongoing "freedom struggle" in Kashmir and removed the Hizbul Mujahideen chief, Syed Salahuddin, as chairman of the council.

The resolution, released at a news conference here, said the offer of a ceasefire had no meaning as long as security forces were present in Kashmir. The ceasefire would only help India step up its propaganda against "freedom fighters".

The Council called upon the outfit to reconsider its offer. A significant aspect of the resolution was that it did not attribute any motives to the ceasefire announcement.

The immediate reaction of the militant groups to the development was that the "commander in Srinagar had been manipulated by the Indian Government".

The Al Quaida chief, Naseer Ahmed Mujaheed, warned the Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, and the Hizbul commander in Srinagar of dire consequences for betraying the sentiments of the Kashmiris. "These two are on our hit list. They will face the consequences for letting down the people of Kashmir, who have been fighting against Indian oppression," a spokesman told *The Hindu* over phone.

The Hizbul offer has evoked a mixed response in the Pakistani press and several theories are in circulation on what could have led to the "surprise" announcement.

THE HINDU



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# Kargil - One year later



The Kargil victory of 1999 is a year-old and 26 July is being observed as a remembrance day with candles and lamps being lit nationwide in the memory of the 1787 casualties who sacrificed life and limb in the operations. This is befitting and one hopes that the families of those directly affected will receive some succour and comfort from their fellow citizens. This initiative must be sustained in the long term by ensuring that the funds collected for the Kargil martyrs and the relief then promised by different agencies in the state and private sector reaches those who need it.

The one year punctuation of Kargil and the manner in which the emotionally charged events of this period last year have played out is best contextualised by two perhaps little noticed developments which merit scrutiny. On one hand there has been a noticeable intensification of the militant related violence and killings in the Kashmir Valley and the statistics are self-evident. The second is the frenzied speech delivered by Maulana Masood Azhar, (the cleric freed in the Kandahar hijacking in December 1999) in Karachi on July 22. The thread that weaves the two point to the nature of the challenge that India has to deal with a year after Kargil.

The pattern of the Kashmir killings and the intensification over the last two years are instruc-

## ► C UDAY BHASKAR

tive. In the period 1 July 1998 to 30 June 1999 and subsequently for the corresponding period 1999 - 2000 the figures are as follows: terrorists killed 973 and 1239 respectively; Army casualties 624 and 836 respectively. The nature of the militant/terrorist attacks has also undergone a qualitative change suggesting a direct involvement of a professional military and the quality of the firepower deployed and the communication equipment is cause for concern. The trend of violence has increased noticeably after the October military coup in Pakistan. June this year has been particularly bloody with 190 militants being neutralised by the Indian security forces suggesting thereby that there has been a concerted attempt to increase the infiltration density.

The religious fervour for stoking this kind of militancy is being provided by the extremist ideologues and here Masood Azhar's exhortations in Karachi are significant. Addressing what has been described as a gathering of 10,000 at the Friday prayers in a mosque, the cleric threatened that the jihad in Kashmir against India would continue. It appears that the Pakistani government is either unable or unwilling to prevent such activities and it is this tacit if not direct endorsement of such encouragement that is likely to keep the Kargil pot on simmer for the foreseeable future. General Musharraf who is under

considerable pressure from his western benefactors to crack down on religious extremism and state support to terrorism is clearly not in a position to control the right wing religious ideologues in Pakistani state and society and this nexus will increase the level of turbulence and violence in the Valley. To that extent it appears that the military victory in Kargil last year has not been able to ensure the kind of compellence and restraint that India expects from the Musharraf regime.

However, states prioritise their military and economic interests zealously and hence vulnerabilities in these areas need to be identified and exploited. Notwithstanding the visible signs of economic resilience in Pakistan due to its black/illegal spectrum — drawn from Kalashnikov-narcotics combine — the external fiscal profile is precarious. By January 2001 Islamabad would have to re-schedule a US \$ 3.3 billion debt from the Paris Club and a \$900 million owing to the London Club. It is unlikely that Pakistan would be able to meet its debt commitments with existing resources and this perhaps provides a leverage for India. However the pattern to date has been that the US led western nations have continued to provide the fiscal breathing space that Pakistan is so desperately in need of. India's strategy to deal with the Kargil virus may prove to be more effective by factoring in this strand.

(Commodore Bhaskar is Deputy Director, IDSA, New Delhi)

*The Economic Times*

25 JUL 2000

# Pak. & India: indifference as policy — II

By S. K. Singh

PAKISTAN'S CHIEF Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has continued to re-assure the international financial institutions (IBRD, IMF etc.) that he is a liberal and not a fundamentalist; that he is a modern ruler of a Muslim country, determined to overhaul the economic, social, fiscal and financial systems of his country; a believer in thorough-going economic reforms; a cautious and humane leader persistently opposing violence provoked by ultra-conservative and fanatical elements in his country; he tries to hint and wink to the West that he has the will and skill to force or persuade all Pakistanis who refuse to pay taxes to do so. If possible, he would like to discipline not only the assessee but also the corrupt assessors of taxes. The Chief Executive has been trying to force the Pakistani traders to pay the general sales tax. Separately and simultaneously, his civil servants were ordered to build an information data base and documentation on all Pakistani businesses, corporate entities and companies, industries, trading houses etc., so that, in due course, the Government has a firm estimate of the productivity and profits of all corporations and companies in Pakistan, and their employees. While attempting this he overlooked that in several Islamic societies in the Middle-East, the bazaar, also called the 'souk', has become the principal source of sustenance and support for the local mosques and their imams and mullahs. The Ulema have devised structures and methods to provide psychological and public relations backing to the bazaar. The same thing is happening in Pakistan too. Conservative traders and traditionalist businessmen have been receiving the backing of the Ulema and special public relations support through the juma (Friday) namaz orations by the imams. Gen. Musharraf dare not even mildly criticise, oppose or curb the mosque and the bazaar acting in tandem.

Thus the General's desire that the general sales tax be paid and documentation for income tax realisation be built up have both been thwarted by the bazaar-mosque combine. The General appears to be backing off. For the present, this matter seems to be in the process of being postponed. The prosperous industrialists and

traders have refused to come under the tax net. It would appear that in the Pakistan Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry too, there are people who are backed by the Ulema and, therefore, unwilling or unable to assist the Chief Executive. Usually a Finance Minister's pleas and pressures on the business community are effective. In this instance Gen. Musharraf's hand-picked Mr. Shaukat Aziz is being ignored by the traders. His appeal to the business community not to erode the authority and majesty of the State, in full view of the international community, has failed to evoke any response. The combination of the traders and the Ulema has been weighty and effective. The General appears helpless. The bazaar and the mosque have made the exhilarating discovery that their unity, persistence and obstinacy can always enable them to resist this Chief.

The ISI's role in this matter remains studiously opaque. The ISI has, over the years, also played a role in bringing the higher echelons of the Pakistan military closer to the Ulema, Jehadis and organisers of Lashkars. Now even without the ISI's help the business community have secured the backing of the Ulema. All this builds up a broad unity and togetherness of several tough elements of society; provides them greater influence, muscle and clout than ever before. This makes the Chief Executive and his administration look less capable of insisting on firm government. The common citizen's loyalty to the state and the nation as a loyal Pakistani has been dependent on his showing commitment to his hostility to India, and passion and obstinacy on the issue of Kashmir. The Pakistani State has been organising anti-India propaganda for at least 35 years in a determined manner (since 1965). This makes it impossible for anyone suddenly to change public attitudes on these aspects. The conservative elements of Pakistani society have a com-

mon platform for maintaining the current status-quo. This will ensure that India remains as the principal 'enemy'; Islam the principal source of strength; the General prevented or even vetoed from pursuing 'modern' or 'liberal' philosophy of governance. He is thus firmly stopped from making Pakistan a modern Muslim state, or a vibrant economy, or a possibly flexible, friendly neighbour.

Many amongst his domestic and foreign admirers have been pressing India to "give him a chance for a dialogue leading to a settlement". In his characteristic style, tough and soft, sweet and sour together, he has tried to impress India and

## *The present phase of Pakistani hostility too must disappear in due course and maybe its cure lies in our patience and caution.*

the world that he is liberal, reliable and trust-worthy and that talking to him could yield happy results for South Asia. Many Indian students of Pakistan, however, remain un-persuaded that the General can take and implement decisions unopposed and unaffected by the conservative/traditionalist Jehadi lobbies. The space now available to General Musharraf to become a modern and liberal ruler seems to have been erased. However, it is to his credit that he continues to allow broad freedom for the print media in Pakistan. Recent writings in the Pakistani media have been candidly, sometimes trenchantly, critical of the General's administration and have chastised him for the many serious compromises he has already made with the fundamentalist elements.

What began as an effort at coordination among the military-civilian-clergy combine of Pakistan, to force India to 'disgorge' Kashmir and come to a settlement with Pakistan, has by now become an effort to strengthen the religious and clerical elements in Pakistan, providing protection to the anti-tax obstinacy of the business community. The bazaar, the mosque and the military have been brought together. The effort to strengthen and energise the Pakistani state internally, and its economy through early and rou-

the realisation of taxes as in any modern, sensible state, appears difficult, if not impossible. The Finance Minister and the General himself have both pleaded for greater transparency and some modicum of ethical behaviour. The business and Islamist lobbies have ignored these pleas. The General's administration has been content in this context, to postpone several important decisions. Once briefly Ms. Benazir Bhutto too had toyed with the idea of getting Pakistani businessmen to pay taxes. She gave up very quickly. Around that time a foreigner, writing a book on Pakistan, chanced to meet some Pakistani businessmen and Army officers who were discussing this effort. One soldier had then said, "They (the businessmen) had better be careful... Zia was a gentleman, a very humble chap. Next time around it might be horrible". Recent developments prove that this General in this matter has chosen not to be "horrible". The businessmen have escaped once again, by recruiting the mullahs to their side.

After several years of efforts to build viable and friendly modus with our next door neighbour Pakistan, in which one has invested several years of one's life, the realisation has come, that due to factors of history, geography, ideology, psychology and a strange attitude of hostility that has overtaken Pakistan during this post-Kargil period, perhaps it would be best for us to cool this relationship. We must, as true satyagrahis, ignore provocations; give no response to their hostile publicity or political attacks; make no effort to solve any problems with them, while they remain irrational and full of hate. We must give our friends in Pakistan time and opportunity to meditate a little about what our bilateral relations can and should be long-term. Those in India who are either obsessed with an excess of affection and friendliness, or obsessed with hostility and tremendous anger, need to be advised that like a passing ailment the present phase of Pakistani hostility too must disappear in due course and maybe its cure lies in our patience and caution. Where medical and surgical precision and correctness are required, we must not be found wanting.

(Concluded)

# Pak-based Hizbul supreme leader endorses ceasefire

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
ISLAMABAD, JULY 25

PAKISTAN gave a muted response on Tuesday to the offer made by the Hizbul Mujahideen for a three-month ceasefire and talks with India, even as Syed Salahuddin, the Pak-based supreme leader of the Hizbul Mujahideen today endorsed the unilateral ceasefire offered by his main commander in Jammu and Kashmir. "We own this offer, it is a tactical move," Salahuddin told reporters here today evening referring to the truce announced by Hizbul 'commander' Abdul Majid Dar in Srinagar yesterday.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar told reporters that it's for the Kashmiris to decide what direction to take in their battle against India. "It is for the people of Kashmir and for their representatives,

namely the All Party Hurriyat Conference, to make a decision regarding the manner in which their struggle should be waged," he said.

Observers said the Pakistani Government was under pressure from the US not to react to the move. "This is a significant development and Pakistan is under pressure from the US not to put a spanner in the works," a senior official said in Islamabad.

Pakistan Television blacked out the news of the Hizbul offer and Pakistan's reaction to it in its Tuesday news bulletins.

This was not the case with the militant Islamic groups who told journalists on Tuesday evening that the move was "unacceptable". They vowed on Tuesday to continue their "holy war" in Kashmir.

"We won't allow anyone to erase the sacrifices of thousands of Kashmiris," said Hafiz Mo-

ammed Saeed, leader of Lashkar-e-Toiba, a key guerrilla group fighting Indian forces in Kashmir. "The jihad (holy war) for Kashmir's freedom and its union with Pakistan will go on," he said in Islamabad.

Lashkar said the Hizbul ceasefire offer will make little difference because it is not the only group fighting in Kashmir. "I am convinced that Abdul Majid Dar's announcement is as an individual. I am sure not all the Hizbul Mujahideen support this decision," said Saeed. More than a dozen groups are waging a bloody secessionist movement in Indian Kashmir, demanding either outright independence or union with Islamic Pakistan. Hizbul Mujahideen in Pakistan was meeting on Tuesday in neighbouring Rawalpindi, where they are headquartered to discuss the offer, said a spokesman, who did not want to be identified.

INDIAN EXPRESS

26 JUL 2000

# Pak. & India: indifference as policy — I

By S. K. Singh

WHEN IN March 1969 Field Marshal Ayub handed over Pakistan to the care of General Yahya Khan, the *Economist* commented editorially, and somewhat harshly, that General Tweedledee had taken over from General Tweedledum! As a neighbour India has had to deal with each Pakistani ruler — military or civilian. Our intellectuals and foreign policy experts have always blamed our decision-makers that they have not assessed the psychology either of the country, Pakistan, or of its rulers.

This ruler, General Pervez Musharraf, is direct and determined, only occasionally devious. When he wants something he fights for it. He is frustrated that he has not got his dialogue with India all these months, despite Pakistani efforts and Western advice. They have not been able to bring about a change in the views of either the Indian leaders or the Indian people. The South Asian Media Meet sponsored and organised by the *Jung* group of newspapers, with obvious financial backing from the Government, was both impressive and large, and did generate pro-Pakistan publicity. The General's offer to meet the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, at any place, any date and any time was noted globally. The General and his collaborators have stated clearly and repeatedly that dialogue with India must take place within the parameters prescribed by them. They are not interested in discussing people-to-people relationship; promoting the flow of ideas between the two countries by liberalising the export and import of newspapers, journals and books; or reviving bilateral trade whether under the various SAARC formulae or otherwise. India is agreeable to any dialogue with our tiresome neighbour on any issue or subject including Kashmir, once Pakistan stops export of cross-border terrorism, and arms and ammunition in the name of Kashmiri freedom or jihad.

When in October 1999, Gen. Musharraf toppled Mr. Nawaz Sharif, the people of Pakistan were impressed with the aura of

his authority and the power of his personality. He chose not to exploit this advantage and gave himself a modest, somewhat misleading, shy and coy appellation — Chief Executive. Mr. Rafiq Tarar, Shariat-loving friend of the Sharif family, was retained as President. The people were given the impression that Gen. Musharraf was mild and humane, modern and civilised, not desirous of exercising absolute authority in an absolute manner; a man unwilling to project the personality of his power. Thus his people do not see his authority as frightening. He finds it easy to make compromises. It is

Qaid-e-Azam, founder of Pakistan! Gen. Musharraf has continued, intensified and expanded the practice of his two immediate predecessors. (Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Sharif), of getting the Inter-Services Intelligence to keep the pot of terrorism boiling in Kashmir by the same methods: infiltrating Afghans, Arabs and Pakistanis. When criticised by the religious rightists for withdrawing from Kargil, he again reacted defensively. Both he and Mr. Sharif have since made contradictory statements on Kargil, effectively alleging that neither is truthful. Both have obliquely conceded that the oper-

## Ms. Benazir Bhutto, Mr. Nawaz Sharif and now Gen. Musharraf have been exploiting India's predicament after militancy in Kashmir got ignited by the Indian political mistakes of 1987-88.

his practice to make assertions from which he will later resile, especially when there are objections on grounds of religion and tradition. The day-to-day governance is riddled with numerous compromises most often with the themes of the Islamic, often fundamentalist clergy.

In one of his earliest pronouncements, the General lauded the political and military philosophy, and achievements of Kemal Ataturk of Turkey. He lived in Turkey for a few years as a teenager and seemed to admire Ataturk's patriotism and zeal for modernising his country. Ataturk did not show too much concern for Islam, when the caliphate was abolished along with the Ottoman empire, and made none of the fuss that Muslims and non-Muslims alike then made about Khilafat, in pre-Partition India. The Pakistani Mullahs responded by attacking Gen. Musharraf for his pro-Ataturk pronouncements. Gen. Musharraf backed off and was not prepared to stick to what earlier looked like his convictions. His defensive, even sheepish, comment was that the only political leader he ever revered was the

In other words, not blaming the private sectarian armies in Pakistan, e.g. the Lashkar-i-Mohammedi. The General's administration is unable to control extremists or promote liberalism. The killings inside mosques have been a direct challenge to the authority of his Government. Pakistani commentators criticise these sectarian excesses. All manipulative attempts by the ISI by injecting terrorists and terrorism into Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Jammu and Kashmir have rebounded. The jihadis and the ulama together have discovered, post-Kargil, that they possess over-whelming influence over the younger members of the armed forces including the officer corps. Most of the fresh recruits belong increasingly to a traditionalist, rural, fanatical background. India has to puzzle out whether today's Jamaitis, Wahabis and Tablighis in the higher echelons of the Pakistan Army can inculcate the old style discipline of that once-splendid fighting force, or whether the future Pakistan Army will be motivated merely by the ideology of Islamic fanaticism and jihadi philosophy.

Ms. Bhutto, Mr. Sharif and Gen. Musharraf have been exploiting India's predicament after militancy in Kashmir got ignited by the political mistakes of 1987-88. He is now insisting that (i) India agree to an early dialogue; (ii) that this dialogue be focussed on what he considers the core issue, Kashmir; (iii) that the Kashmir-centric dialogue be settled on the basis of the ancient and archaic UN resolutions; (iv) that India concede first that the violence in Kashmir is not the handiwork of the ISI but is a struggle for liberation and self-determination of the indigenous Kashmiri "freedom fighters"; (v) and, therefore, it is not a case of assistance being provided to terrorism in J&K by Pakistan but is rather a jihad by the Muslims of the entire region against India's 'cruelties'. The General's arguments and assumptions are specious and unacceptable, and have over the decades been repeatedly rejected by India.

(The writer is a former Foreign Secretary.)

ation was a debacle, and each continues to blame the other for it. The Pakistani media analysis too concedes that in this matter both have resorted to telling falsehoods.

The General has really not dared to tinker with the activities of Pakistani terrorist outfits. And all these are being backed by the ISI at a cost borne by the exchequer. Nevertheless, Gen. Musharraf has ensured that the ISI continues its links with the Taliban and also with the jihadi elements in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Mr. Michael Sheehan, U.S. Coordinator for Counter-terrorism, has testified in Congress that the ISI is supporting the Pakistani-Afghan groups operating in Kashmir. Gen. Musharraf's response to this international criticism is his candid confession that "it is not easy to manage and govern Pakistan".

Gen. Musharraf, however, tried to put a stop to sectarian private armies indulging in violence inside mosques, in numerous locations in the Sindh, Punjab and the NWFP. But by now he has started blaming the Indian agency, Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), for these incidents.

## Masood breaks silence, spews anti-India venom

Karachi, July 22

THOUSANDS OF Pakistanis called for holy war against India here as extremist leader Maulana Masood Azhar dramatically ended months of silence after his release from an Indian jail.

"Ten thousand have joined us and are ready to give their lives in the name of Islam," said Azhar in a speech yesterday at a mosque in this southern port city.

Police were deployed around the mosque as Azhar whipped thousands of people attending Friday prayers into a fury against India.

"India is killing thousands of innocent Muslims in Kashmir but they cannot stop the jihad (holy war). Tomorrow I may be killed but the struggle will continue," said Azhar, who was released from an Indian jail late last year as part of a

deal with hijackers of an Indian Airlines plane.

Pakistani authorities, wary of the country's growing reputation as a haven for Islamic extremists, have tried to muzzle the fiery orator since his release in late December after almost six years in Indian prisons. Mosque administrators said police had tried to prevent his speech yesterday but were flatly told that "Muslim leaders cannot be stopped in an Islamic country."

Azhar is the leader of the fundamentalist outfit Jaish-e-Mohammad, which he created in April after quitting the Harkatul Mujahadeen, an outfit blamed for several terrorist attacks and kidnappings. His brother was allegedly one of the five Muslim hijackers who seized the Indian Airlines plane last year and forced it to Afghanistan. (AFP)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

23 JUL 2000

# India told of Pak. assurance on pipeline

24/7 By C. Raja Mohan

HD-15

NEW DELHI, JULY 20. Pakistan had given written assurances to protect the proposed overland natural gas pipeline from Iran to India, a senior Iranian official said here today.

Mr. Mohsen Aminzadeh, visiting Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister, was hopeful about the prospects of a new energy corridor between the Persian Gulf and India cutting across Pakistani territory.

At a press conference after talks with the Government, Mr. Aminzadeh said he had discussed with Indian officials the written security guarantees Teheran had recently received from Islamabad.

Acknowledging India's deep concerns about the security of the pipeline passing through Pakistan, Mr. Aminzadeh hoped it would be possible to create an "assured environment" that will enable the three countries reap economic benefits from the proposed pipeline.

Iran wants to export its huge natural gas resources, and India is the biggest market around. Pakistan, which would make

money by charging transit fees on the energy flows, has supported the project.

India has told Iran it will continue to examine the proposal, and Mr. Aminzadeh said New Delhi's attitude during the talks was a "positive" one.

Mr. Aminzadeh pointed to different "multilateral and international guarantees" that could be worked out to address India's concerns about the security of energy supplies coming through hostile territory. These guarantees could be in the form of an agreement among the three nations and legal commitments from Pakistan to the international consortia which would be investing in the project.

Over the last two days, Mr. Aminzadeh had intensive consultations with senior officials in the Foreign Office. He also called on the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

While sounding optimistic, the visiting Minister said much work remained to be done before the trans-regional pipeline project was realised. At this stage, Iran is engaged in bilateral discussions with both

India and Pakistan. A trilateral agreement, involving all the three nations, would come into play only after New Delhi and Teheran agree on the terms of the project and India is fully satisfied about its security environment.

During Mr. Singh's visit to Iran in May, the two sides agreed to set up a Joint Working Group to assess the different ways of transporting natural gas from Iran to India. The JWG is scheduled to meet next month in Teheran, and will discuss what Mr. Singh had called a "sustainable marriage between economics and security" aspects of the pipeline proposals.

Various options, including underwater pipelines that would avoid Pakistani territory, would be considered by the JWG. But Teheran appears to favour the overland pipeline as the cheapest way of transporting natural gas to India.

Mr. Aminzadeh said an overland pipeline through Pakistan would also be less expensive than the present export of liquefied natural gas through ships from Iran to India.

THE HINDU

21 JUL 2000

## G-8 asks India, Pak to resume dialogue

Miyazaki, July 13 ~~HF-14~~ 14/7

EIGHT MOST powerful nations today called on India and Pakistan to resume their stalled dialogue at the earliest in the spirit of Lahore declaration and refrain from taking any step that could further aggravate the tense situation in the sub-continent.

A joint communique issued at the end of the two-day meet of G-8 Foreign Ministers here to prepare a blueprint for their heads of Government summit later this month also asked New Delhi and Islamabad to join international efforts to strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation regime.

"We are deeply concerned at the

level of tension between India and Pakistan. We call on both countries to refrain from any action which would aggravate the situation and to resume dialogue as soon as possible in the spirit of Lahore," it said. Asking New Delhi and Islamabad to strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation and disarmament regime, including continuation of their unilateral undertakings not to resume nuclear testing, the ministers said both the countries should sign and ratify the CTBT and take further steps to meet Non-Proliferation goals.

The G-8 ministers unveiled an action plan to prevent conflicts across the globe.

(PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

1991 14 7

## 'Pakistan must end cross-border terrorism'

LONDON: The chairman of the Jammu and Kashmir Peace Committee, Europe, M. Anwar Khan, on Wednesday demanded that Pakistan's chief executive Gen. P e r v e z M u s h a r r a f



P. Musharraf

cease exporting and supporting cross-border terrorism in the Kashmir Valley if he means to settle all outstanding disputes with India, including Kashmir.

"Thereafter, he should set out a clear agenda for discussion with India," Mr Khan said in a statement here.

The agenda should include discussions on "modalities for withdrawing Pakistani troops from Kashmir, in case Gen. Musharraf wants to settle the Kashmir dispute under the UN resolutions," he said.

Or, would Gen. Musharraf like to negotiate recognition of the line of control as a permanent international boundary under the Shimla agreement of 1972, he asked.

"Without setting out a clear agenda why is the military leader of Pakistan anxious to meet with the Indian leadership," Mr Khan asked. He said ever since coming to power, Gen. Musharraf has been anxious to meet the Indian

leadership and added, "It is encouraging to know that Gen. Musharraf is now willing to talk to the Indian leadership to resolve all outstanding issues with them."

However, questioning Gen. Musharraf's motives, Mr Khan said at a time when India's Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee travelled by bus on a peace mission to Lahore, Gen. Musharraf and certain other senior Pakistani generals were "planning to attack India from the Kargil sector in Kashmir. He subsequently did so and thus sabotaged the entire peace process mutually initiated and agreed by the two prime ministers."

He said Gen. Musharraf also sabotaged deposed Pakistani prime minister Nawaz Sharif's plans to set up an inquiry commission to bring to book those responsible for the Kargil disaster.

"As a first step in this direction Gen Musharraf and certain other generals were retired. But instead of accepting the retirement, Gen Musharraf overthrew the elected government of Mr Sharif by force and imposed himself as the chief executive," Mr Khan said.

Gen. Musharraf and his group of generals have disrupted and uprooted the democratic institutions of Pakistan to serve their self-interest, he said. (PTI)



Sub Part  
110-13  
1/7

## No-war pact not being discussed, says Sattar

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, JULY 3 The Pakistani Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, has said that the question of a "no-war pact" was not under discussion between India and Pakistan, after *The News* reported today that the Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, had offered India such a pact last night.

The General, who was reportedly talking to some reporters informally during a dinner hosted for visiting South Asian journalists, is said to have underlined the need for peace by offering India a "no-war pact".

Asked about this "offer" today, the Foreign Minister stated that India and Pakistan had exchanged views on a no-war pact on many occasions. This question was not, however, under consideration at the present time, Mr. Sattar affirmed.

The Foreign Minister, however, added that as the Head of Government, Gen. Musharraf was the ultimate spokesman for Pakistan on matters of foreign policy.

Addressing a press conference after his return from a meeting of OIC Foreign Ministers in Kuala Lumpur, Mr. Sattar said that Islamabad had received information about foreign nationals whose activities were detrimental to the interests of their countries of origin.

Pakistan, he said, was taking follow-up action on the basis of the information provided.

On the International Court of Justice (ICJ) judgment in the Atlantique shooting case, Mr. Sattar said the court had not pronounced a verdict on the substance of Pakistan's complaint. The ICJ had concluded that it had no jurisdiction to take up the case, the Foreign Minister added.

of the Pakistani Army as an "occupation Army". The editor also suggested that had Pakistan taken a position in 1971 similar to or e it took on Kashmir today, the course of the country's history could have been different.

"Coming to the (1971) scenario, I am afraid I don't agree at all with whatever you said. There are certain issues which have hurt Bangladesh and also Pakistanis. It is in the interest of both Bangladesh and Pakistan to absolutely forget the past.

"If we keep remembering what happened... and Bangladesh keeps expecting some kind of return or some kind of reparation or damages to Bangladesh, I am afraid you are not being practical at all. Because there are many, many issues involved in whatever happened in 1971. It was a bitter experience for Pakistan as well as Bangladesh. Not for Bangladesh alone...." Gen. Musharraf stated.

"We have to forget what happened in 1971," he said, maintaining that wrongs were committed by both sides and there was no need to "haggle over" who did what wrong.

Clearly, these observations of Gen. Musharraf have all the potential of raking up a latent controversy between the two countries about the events of 1971. There have been demands in Bangladesh in the past for Pakistan to "apologise" for the massive repression and genocide of the Bangladeshi people.

THE HINDU

4 JUL 2000

## Panja not for talks with Pak.

By Our Special Correspondent

*AP 10-13*  
**BANGALORE, JULY 3.** "How can we shake hands with a hand, which is bloodstained?" was how the Union Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Ajit Kumar Panja, reacted to a question by presspersons here on Monday on why India was not taking up the offer of Gen. Musharraf, military ruler of Pakistan, for talks. *J. N. Pan*

Mr. Panja said the Government was very clear in its stand. "We cannot start talks with Pakistan and whom do we talk to," was his reply. "Mr. Musharraf says he is the Chief Executive Officer and we believe that a nation cannot be run by a CEO. Only public limited companies were run by CEOs. Let him go to the polls and come to power, then we will initiate talks."

But, irrespective of the political stalemate, India, he said, continued to have bilateral trade with Pakistan.

On the issue of Sri Lanka, Mr. Panja said the problems of ethnic Tamils had to be resolved bilaterally, and if India's help was needed, the Government was willing to give it. However, he maintained that the integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka had to be protected.

Similarly, India's sovereignty was fundamental, he said, reacting to Mr. Farooq Abdullah's statement on autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir. However, States had to be given more autonomy, particularly in the financial sector, he added.

# Musharraf favours unconditional talks

92-100  
68-2  
Raja Asghar

ISLAMABAD 3 JULY

PAKISTANI MILITARY ruler General Pervez Musharraf has urged Indian leaders to give up their reservations about talking to him and hold unconditional talks to settle their disputes.

Mr Musharraf told a gathering of south Asian journalists on Sunday that the two countries would get nowhere if they set conditions and counter-conditions for a resumption of stalled peace talks.

"That is why I am saying that let us forget conditions and start the dialogue," he said. "I am absolutely for a dialogue and without any preconditions whatsoever."

Mr Musharraf asked journalists at the end of a two-day conference organised by the daily The News, to help end what he called anti-Pakistan hysteria in India since a 10-week confrontation in disputed Kashmir last year.

Replying to questions, Mr Musharraf said he wanted the "core" dispute on Kashmir to be tackled in the talks along with other outstanding matters. "Unless the core issue is discussed how can we be involved in the peripheral, unimportant issues between the two countries. If you put conditions, I can put 10 conditions also. It is not going to lead anywhere."

India has shunned talks with Mr Musharraf's government since he seized power in a bloodless army coup last October that toppled Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The country has responded to his offers for talks by demanding that Pakistan must first stop "cross-border terrorism" in Kashmir.

Mr Musharraf denied Indian charges of sponsoring a decade-old insurgency in the part of Kashmir ruled by New Delhi. He said if India persisted making preconditions, Pakistan could insist on a reduction of Indian "atrocities" and forces in Kashmir as conditions for talks.

"We need to initiate a dialogue without preconditions," said Mr Musharraf.

— Reuters

The Economic Times

- 4 JUL 2000

# No formal Pak proposal yet on gas pipeline, says Naik

S.P.S. Pannu  
New Delhi, July 3

PETROLEUM AND Natural Gas Minister Ram Naik today reacted cautiously to General Pervez Musharraf's statement in favour of a joint India-Pakistan overland gas pipeline from Iran through Pakistani territory. Mr Naik said that he welcomed the statement but there was no formal proposal from Pakistan on the issue as yet.

The Minister stated that he had met his Iranian counterpart at the recent World Petroleum Congress in Canada and impressed upon him that India would buy piped natural gas from Iran only if they could give an assurance that the supply would be "uninterrupted".

He pointed out that the only possibility of the gas supplies being

disrupted "is at the Pakistani end and considering what happened in Kargil there is a need to tread with the utmost caution".

Mr Naik said that India would be making large investments in the power and fertiliser sectors which would be critically dependent on this piped natural gas. It was, therefore, an absolute must that "we have an assurance of an uninterrupted supply", he added.

The Minister said that Iran too, would be making a heavy investment in the natural gas project and therefore, needed an assurance from Pakistan that there would not be any disruption in the supply line. Mr Naik said that he had told the Iranian team that India was interested in buying natural gas and pipeline supplies would turn out to be much cheaper. But Iran

would first have to get a fool-proof assurance from Pakistan, he said.

The Minister disclosed that as an upshot of his discussions in Canada, the Iranians would be coming to Delhi soon, after holding talks with their Pakistani counterparts on the issue.

Mr Naik further observed that while General Musharraf had told *The Hindustan Times* yesterday that he was in favour of a joint India-Pakistan pipeline he had not been able to explain why Pakistan had stalled the project five years ago and had now suddenly changed its mind.

The Chief Executive of Pakistan had in fact stated, "I cannot understand why the previous Government rejected the proposal of an overland gas pipeline from Iran to India."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

4 JUL 2000

# Musharraf not keen on taking initiative for dialogue

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, JULY 2.

The Pakistani Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, tonight doubted the sincerity of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee's symbolic visit to the Minar-i-Pakistan in February 1999, where Mr. Vajpayee stated categorically that he had no problems in recognising Pakistan as a sovereign, independent State.

Addressing a gathering of over 50 Indian media representatives as part of a South Asia media conference, Gen. Musharraf offered no concessions to India and said he would not take any initiative for a dialogue which could prove to be "humiliating."

About a unilateral initiative

from him for talks with India, the Chief Executive stated that the scenario when Gen. Zia-ul-Haq visited India for a cricket match and the current situation were very different. The "hostilities" today were "a lot", he felt. Asked if he now felt that Kargil was a mistake, Gen. Musharraf shot back, "I'll be the last man to say that...you only talk of Kargil, what happened in Siachen?" He also denied that there were any terrorist "training camps" in Pakistan.

Maintaining that Pakistan was a victim of "distorted perceptions", Gen. Musharraf said he would like mediapersons to project that Pakistan wanted peace. Denying that he was a war-monger, Gen. Musharraf also rejected the notion that the Pakistani military

mindset was holding hostage the development of friendly relations with India.

In a slight shift in emphasis, the General denied that Pakistan wanted to discuss Kashmir alone, but stated that unless the "core issue" of Kashmir was addressed, Islamabad could not get involved with peripheral issues.

While expressing, once again, reservations about the Lahore process, the General, however, said the methodology of the dialogue with India was not important — it was Kashmir which was important to Pakistan.

Asked about his opinion on the Indian Government's possible dialogue with the Hurriyat Conference, he stated that there were three parties involved in Kashmir

and ultimately the solution lay in all three engaging in dialogue.

The General did not give a direct answer when asked by a Jammu-based journalist whether Pakistan was willing to concede the "third option" of independence to the Kashmiri people. He said a solution to Kashmir must be found in accordance with the "wishes of the Kashmiri people" and left it at that.

According to him, there was need to remove the "hysteria" created in India and the press in India should bring pressure or persuade the political leadership to resume the dialogue process. He accused nearly all current Indian leaders of spreading "hysteria" and making threatening, anti-Pakistan statements.

## Pak. (must) create atmosphere for talks: Farooq

**SRINAGAR, JUNE 30.** The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, has asked Pakistan to create a conducive atmosphere for talks with New Delhi by ending border hostilities and stopping infiltration of militants.

"Pakistani people might be keen to normalise relations with India but their Government is not sincere in materialising this," he told a group of Women's Initiative for Peace in South Asia led by Ms. Nirmala Deshpande.

The Pakistani Government had "two faces — that of a friend and a foe," he said. On the one hand, they talked of friendship in Lahore and, on the other, they engineered border incursions in Kargil.

Charging the Hurriyat Conference leaders with exploiting the masses for their vested interests, he said they were implementing Pakistan's agenda causing miseries to their own people.

On human rights, his Government would not tolerate any sort of excesses on innocent people.

— PTI

THE HINDU

1999

# The great Atlantique snub: a blow-by-blow account

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

THE HAGUE, June 22. — All Pakistani pleas in the Atlantique case were turned down by the International Court of Justice yesterday.

The court accepted India's arguments that it had no jurisdiction to hear the case.

It rejected Islamabad's contention that Britain was a party to the General Act, 1928. And since India and Pakistan were once ruled by Britain, they were bound by the Act that provides for sorting differences by a permanent court of justice.

India argued: "The General Act is no longer in force, and

even if it were, it couldn't be effectively invoked as a basis for the court's jurisdiction."

India said it had written to the UN Secretary-General on 18 September 1974, declaring that it "considered that it had never been a party to the Act as an independent state."

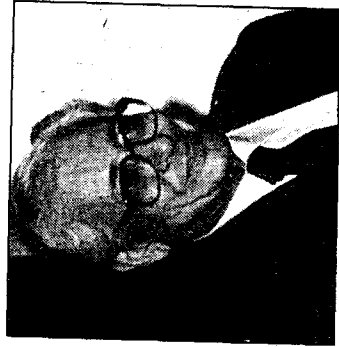
The court said: "India, in any event, would have ceased to be bound by the Act at the latest on 16 August 1979, the date on which a denunciation of the Act, under Article 45 thereof, would have taken effect."

"India couldn't be ... party to the said Act ... when the application in the present case was filed by Pakistan", it said.

The court rejected Pakistan's objection to India's saying that as a Commonwealth member it could add reservation clauses while submitting to the international court's jurisdiction.

"The court thus can't accept Pakistan's argument that a reservation such as India's Commonwealth reservation might be regarded as 'extra-statutory', because it contravened Article 36 of the statute," the court said.

"Nor does the court accept Pakistan's argument that India's reservation was a discriminatory act constituting an abuse of right because the only purpose of this reservation was to pre-



Mr Soli Sorabjee

vent Pakistan from bringing an action against India before the court," the 14:2 ruling said.

The reservation refers generally to states which were or

had been Commonwealth members, the court says. "States are ... free to limit the scope, rationale, personae which they wish to give to their acceptance of ... jurisdiction of the court."

The court found no merit in Pakistan's plea that as the C'wealth had lost its relevance, India's reservation to accept the jurisdiction of the court on this count had become obsolete.

It said: "While the historical reasons for the initial appearance of C'wealth reservation in the declarations of certain states ... might have changed or disappeared, such considerations could not, however, prevail over the intention of a

declarant state, as expressed in actual text of its declaration."

The court said it was bound by India's declarations since 1947 reserving four grounds under which it would not be subject to ICJ's jurisdiction.

Since Pakistan is C'wealth member", the ICJ said "it finds it had no jurisdiction to entertain Pakistan's application under Article 36. Hence the court considers it unnecessary to examine India's objection based on reservation concerning multilateral treaties."

The court said the 1972 Shimla Accord represented an obligation entered into by the two states to respect the principles

and purpose of UN. "It doesn't as such entail any obligation on India and Pakistan to submit their disputes to the court."

The court, however, said: "Its lack of jurisdiction does not relieve the states of their obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means. The choice of those means admittedly rests with the parties under the UN charter." The court reminded the parties to settle the dispute arising from the downing of the Atlantique, in Rann of Kutch on 10 August last year, by peaceful means.

■ Editorial: Bravo Sorabjee, page 6

THE STATES

23 JUN 7000

WE HAVE NO JURISDICTION, RULES ICJ

# Pak. loses Atlantique case

*101 Indo Pak 2/16*

**THE HAGUE, JUNE 21.** The International Court of Justice, principal judicial organ of the United Nations, today declared that it had no jurisdiction to adjudicate upon the dispute brought before it by Pakistan against India in the case concerning the aerial incident of August 10, 1999. The decision was taken by a vote of 14 to two. Since the court bench did not include a Pakistani or Indian, the two states had each appointed a judge ad hoc.

On September 21, 1999, Pakistan instituted proceedings before the ICJ against India regarding a dispute concerning the destruction on August 10, 1999 of a Pakistani Atlantique aircraft. As a basis for the court's jurisdiction, Pakistan's application invoked paras 1 and two in Article 36 of the ICJ statute and the declarations whereby both states accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the court.

In a letter dated November 2, 1999, India stated it had "preliminary objections to the assumption of jurisdiction by the court on the basis of Pakistan's application". After a meeting on November 10, 1999 by the then ICJ president, Judge Schwebel, with the parties, the latter agreed to request the court to determine separately the question of its jurisdiction before any proceedings on the merits of the case. The court fixed time-limits for the filing of written pleadings by the parties and hearings on the issue of the court's jurisdiction were held from April 3 to 6 this year.

The court said that to fix the jurisdiction of the court in this case, Pakistan relied on Article 17 of the General Act for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, signed in Geneva on September 26, 1928, on the declarations of acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the court made by the parties and on para 1 of Article 36 of the court's statute.

It first pointed out that British India acced-

ed on May 21, 1931, to the General Act of 1928. It said India and Pakistan made lengthy submissions on whether the General Act of 1928 had survived the demise of the League of Nations and, if so, whether the two states had become parties to the Act on their accession to independence. Referring to a communication addressed by the Indian Government to the United Nations Secretary-General on September 18, 1974, in which it stated that it "never regarded (itself) as bound by the General Act of 1928 since (its) Independence in 1947, whether by succession or otherwise", the court concluded that India could not be regarded as having been party to the said Act at the date when the application was filed by Pakistan and that this convention does not form a basis of jurisdiction. (It also reminded the two countries that the Shimla Accord signed between them in 1972 did not place any obligation on them to take their disputes to the ICJ.)

The court then turned to the declarations of acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the court made by the two States. It said India's declaration contained inter alia a reservation according to which "disputes with the government of any state which is or has been a member of the Commonwealth of nations" are excluded from the court's jurisdiction. The court said its jurisdiction only existed within the limits within which it has been accepted and that the right of a state to attach reservations to its declaration was a recognised practice.

The court also examined the last basis of jurisdiction invoked by Pakistan — paragraph 1 of Article 36 of the Statute — according to which "the jurisdiction of the court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter

of the United Nations". The court said in this respect that the U.N. Charter contained no specific provision of itself conferring compulsory jurisdiction on the court and that this basis of jurisdiction cannot be accepted. It added that Article 1 of the Shimla Accord concluded between the parties on July 2, 1972 did not as such entail any obligation on India and Pakistan to submit their disputes to the court.

The court said there "is a fundamental distinction between the acceptance by a state of the court's jurisdiction and the compatibility of particular acts with international law" and that "the court's lack of jurisdiction does not relieve states of their obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful means".

(The full text of the ICJ judgment, opinions and the press communiques are available on the Court's website <http://www.icj-cij.org>.)

## Unfortunate, says Pak.

By Amit Baruah

**ISLAMABAD, JUNE 21.** "It is unfortunate that the procedures of the International Court of Justice do not permit to deal with cases involving international terrorism and gangsterism," a Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman said in response to the ICJ judgment.

"This reflects poorly on its ability to address international crimes such as shooting down of the unarmed Atlantique of the Pakistan Navy, which was well within Pakistan territory, by India," Mr. Ifthekar Murshed, the Foreign Office spokesman, said in a statement.

The verdict of the ICJ has come as a major setback for Pakistan, which had taken the issue to the Court with much fanfare and publicity. The "strong reaction" is a reflection of how grave the debacle is for Islamabad.

India hails decision: Page 13

THE HINDU

JUN 2000



# 'Pak. Army regulars drafted for J&K militancy'

By Shujaat Bukhari

**SRINAGAR, JUNE 17.** After the humiliating defeat in Kargil, Pakistan and its Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) have adopted a new strategy to give a new lease of life to militancy in Kashmir, which includes induction of their regulars in militancy.

Pakistan is also trying to spread its tentacles all over the country and balkanise India. Around 2500 militants are waiting across the border to infiltrate into the country and 300 others are undergoing arms training in different camps.

Making these observations at a news conference here Saturday evening, the Chief of Staff at 15 Corps Headquarters, Major General John Ranjan Mukherjee said the Pakistan strategy was to try to bleed India by a thousand cuts, continue to draw international attention and force international intervention in Kashmir. Pakistan was also carrying out subversion in Delhi, Mumbai and some southern States. After the Military coup in Pakistan, their army formations on the Line of Control (LoC) have taken direct control of militants who were being trained

at the field firing range and given the latest weapons and communications equipment.

As part of the strategy, a number of organisations have been created to divert the attention of the Indian security forces and also prevent any single group from becoming powerful, he said. The latest addition, Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) headed by Moulana Masood Azhar, has recruited 5000 people in Pakistan and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) with militants from other outfits also joining it. Pakistan had also set up a number of camps for indoctrination and training of militants. According to Maj. Gen. Mukherjee, there are 123 training camps of which 42 are in Pakistan, 70 in POK and 11 on the Afghanistan border.

He said funds for the proxy war are provided mainly by the Islamic countries and the narcotic trade. 'A local terrorist is paid up to Rs. 15,000 per month and a foreign terrorist Rs. 20,000 per month. They are also rewarded for major actions. Pakistan has granted Rs. 50 crore as ex-gratia payment to the kin of slain terrorists,' he added.

The chief of staff said Pakistan was now recruiting army regulars in the militant ranks after retiring them prematurely with retirement benefits.

He asserted that after Kargil, the Indian security forces had taken adequate measures to ensure the security of our bases. Anti-militancy operations were being conducted jointly with the BSF, CRPF, ITBP and the State police. He said 325 militants have been killed in Kashmir during the current year and 271 in Jammu. "This year, we occupied multi-layered anti-infiltration posture well prior to the melting of snows and consequently, infiltration has come down," he said adding "we are also progressively using the latest surveillance means to defeat infiltration." The Indian Army had an unsurpassed human rights record, he added.

Maj. Gen. Mukherjee, who is likely to take over as the new Commander of 15 corps in a few weeks, said 9424 militants were killed since 1990 and the number of foreigners killed was 1990. During this period, 34232 weapons, which can equip two army divisions, were recovered.

THE HINDU

10 JUN 2000

# India cut off talks: Sattar

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JUNE 16. Pakistan wishes that India would follow up on the Lahore process, which among other things, had called for an intensification of efforts to resolve all issues, including Kashmir, says the country's Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar.

At the National Press Club, Mr. Sattar termed the Lahore meeting of February 1999 as a good one that was forward looking for both India and Pakistan but it was India that decided to cut off that dialogue with Pakistan. "It is India's choice, not ours and we can live with the situation. We will wait for India to consider whether stalling the dialogue will serve their interests better," Mr. Sattar remarked.

On the issue of trust that had gone away in the aftermath of Kargil, Mr. Sattar said the history of the region showed that there was no trust between India and Pakistan; as New Delhi had always sought to leverage the power disparity in South Asia for imposing its own preferences — something that Islamabad could never accept.

Mr. Sattar was often interrupted by people of Afghan origin and

17/6  
their supporters protesting Islamabad's policy of backing the Taliban in their country. A handful of demonstrators were outside the National Press Club Building as well, denouncing Pakistan's Afghan policy. Mr. Sattar disputed the notion that the Taliban was being led around by Pakistan stressing that the Afghans were too fiercely independent to allow this.

To a question on the Pakistani response to the National Missile Defence system that is currently

**India cannot be considered out of Islamic world, says Wahid: Page 13**

being proposed by the United States in the context of the perceived responses of India and China, Mr. Sattar insisted that Pakistan's desire was to stabilise the overt nuclearisation of South Asia and that the country was not for a nuclear arms race. Mr. Sattar then talked about a "plan" that India appeared to have for an Anti Ballistic Missile capability which, in his view, would destabilise the deterrence in South Asia. If the present situation in the sub-continent destabilised, Pakistan would be obliged to upgrade

its defensive deterrent capability, he said.

9.10.99 - Pak  
He also played down a report in sections of the media here that Pakistan's nuclear capability was vastly superior to that of India, quality and quantity-wise. Pakistan's programme and capability were very limited in contrast to India's and Islamabad was not competing with India.

Mr. Sattar also referred to Kashmir being the "core issue" and made the point that Islamabad was ready for any kind of a peaceful settlement for the resolution of this problem.

Noting that there were different means to sort out contentious issues, Mr. Sattar said that Pakistan was prepared for any method of settling disputes — negotiations, good offices, mediation and adjudication — including that for Kashmir.

Mr. Sattar said that he shared the American concern on terrorism as Pakistan itself had been the target of terrorism. Maintaining that Islamabad did not share Washington's perception that the centre of gravity of terrorism had shifted to South Asia, Mr. Sattar noted that Pakistan's influence with the Taliban in Afghanistan was very limited.

THE HINDU

J 1 JUN 2000

# Probe Kargil fiasco, demands Pak media

Mubashir Zaidi  
Islamabad, June 14

PAKISTAN'S LEADING newspapers in their editorials published today strongly advocated the constitution of an independent commission to fix responsibility of the Kargil debacle and hold a thorough probe into the allegations levelled by ousted Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that he was kept in the dark about the Kargil operation by the military leadership.

*Daily Dawn* wrote in its editorial: "Coming one year after the Kargil operation when he himself was Prime Minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif's statement in Attock on Monday must cause consternation at home and arouse interest abroad. The points he has raised are important, for they have a bearing on a crucial politico-military issue that brought Pakistan and India to the brink of a full-fledged war."

The paper went on saying: "The statement acquits the Naval and Air Chiefs of any culpability by accusing the Army of keeping the other two services in the dark. Not



only that: the statement seems well-crafted to zero in on the person of Gen. Pervez Musharraf."

The paper wrote in its editorial that while one must await history's judgement, "We could not agree more with the former PM when he says that a commission be set up to investigate the Kargil episode to let the nation know the facts that even after one year remain confined to the realm of secrecy. This nation has the right to know whose brainchild the Kargil operation was, who were the military and political personalities involved or not involved in the operation, and who should be held responsible at the bar of history for starting a military operation that ended without any tactical, strategic or diplomatic advantage to Pakistan."

Meanwhile *daily Nation* analysed Mr Sharif's allegations and stated the present regime should set up a high-level commission with a mandate to analyse comprehensively the operation to know the truth, including the validity of allegations of Mr Sharif. "In the backdrop of a nuclearised sub-continent, undertaking this venture without the knowledge of the PM, as he has maintained, is something that cannot be simply swept under the carpet," the paper said.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

JUN 2000

# Sharif has vindicated our stand, says India

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, June 14

INDIA CLAIMS it stands vindicated by Pakistan's former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's recent statement that the Kargil operation had been planned by the Pakistani Army and that regular troops, not the so-called mujaheddin, had been sent across the Line of Control.

On Tuesday, the deposed Prime Minister, now serving a life sentence, had made the dramatic revelation that General Parvez Musharraf had planned the Kargil operation and kept him in the dark.

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman said today that the "more worrisome aspect" is the deceptions by the present regime on the people of Pakistan. The regime had denied casualties suffered by the Pakistani Army in the Kargil theatre and refused to bestow the soldiers with any honours. Musharraf regime, by perpetuating the myth about mujaheddin, had watered down the role of the Northern Light Infantry, which by Mr Sharif's admission, had been all but wiped out in the Kargil war.

Meanwhile, India blamed Pakistan of derailing the compos-

ite dialogue process that covered security issues and was well on its way to institutionalising a regular framework of discussions by the two countries.

Responding to the "offer" made by Islamabad yesterday for a "nuclear and conventional weapons restraint regime", the spokesman commented it was up to Pakistan to create the proper environment for the process of dialogue to resume. This could be done by stopping the sponsorship of cross border terrorism and indulging in "hostile propaganda", he said.

"There is nothing new in the Pakistani proposal which is essentially propagandist," R S Jassal, the Joint Secretary, External Publicity at MEA, said today. He pointed out that the composite dialogue process, which had got off the ground in October-November 1998, had been further cemented by the memorandum of understanding signed in February 1999 when the Indian Prime Minister went to Lahore. After that India and Pakistan had agreed to a roadmap for negotiations, but the Kargil misadventure carried out by Pakistan and its continuous hostility had effectively derailed that process.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 JUN 2001

# Dealing with Pakistan

By K. Shankar Bajpai

NO ISSUE facing India has wider implications than our relationship with Pakistan; none suffers from greater public confusion. Continuing Pakistani insistence on discussing only Kashmir while continuing its terrorism there only underlines the need to clarify our objectives and approaches. Criticised for opposing talks, trying to isolate Pakistan and harping on its regime's wrong-doings against India and against democracy, New Delhi is urged to recognise Pakistan was wildly misgoverned, still faces economic unrest, religious extremism and other problems which could harm us also, the "villain" of Kargil is actually moderate, kind to dogs, necessary for Pakistan, all in all our best bet. With new nuclear dimensions, war risks are serious, making it imperative to engage with the reality here to stay.

New Delhi realises all this, but has very pertinent questions about Pakistan's motives and aims. Talks are not for the sake of talking, much though that appeals to us Indians. Even when two parties differ too profoundly for any rapprochement, talks can be useful but they must have substance and direction. All we know today is that the authors of Kargil and of confrontation over Jammu & Kashmir, who denounce the Lahore process, demand drastic changes in the status quo as the sole aim of any talks. Since sanctifying the status quo is India's maximum possible concession, obviously no scope exists at present for any agreement.

When, in any given circumstances, no solutions seem possible, the parties concerned must work towards changing the circumstances so that new possibilities emerge. There is no alternative to embedding Kashmir in a wider effort towards a relationship in which what is unthinkable today becomes thinkable. History abounds in examples. True, in most such cases some over-riding strategic commonality enabled change, which does not appear remotely possible here, but the change must be worked for all the more assiduously. There is no alternative to this process, call it Shimla or Lahore. Pakistan was a solemn signatory to both.

Pakistan is correct in seeing broader talks as a way to defer Kashmir; it is fatally

No one expects Pakistani leaders to court suicide by announcing abandonment (of the Kashmir issue), but unless they move towards consolidating the status quo, there is no future for talks.

wrong in opposing this. They, outsiders and even many Indians, ignore the harm inherent in any diminution of India's existing degree of sovereignty over Kashmir. The over-riding reality which ought to shape everyone's approach — not least Pakistan's — is that whether it wrests Kashmir or not, the nature of the state and society in Pakistan will remain the same; but changing the status quo would profoundly affect the nature of India's state and society. Pakistanis' urge that Jammu and Kashmir is Partition's unfinished business, to be 'finished' by applying the same principle that contiguous Muslim majority areas have the right to form a separate state. They forget not only that a multi-cultural state like India can never accept any such proposition but that Partition caused unprecedented massacres and migrations. It has taken half a century for India to achieve some stabilisation of Hindu-Muslim equations: much remains to be done, but that only makes it more imperative to avoid any revival of the communal frenzy that Partition unleashed and that changing the status quo would inevitably unleash again.

However imperfect, our nationhood is still exceptional in comprehending — far more successfully than it is given credit for, or than any other even approximately comparable country has managed — the world's most varied complex of diversities. It remains vulnerable to fanaticism, parochialism and just blind prejudice, which keep arising the world over; and the more rudely it is shaken by them, the greater the need to protect its foundations in multiculturalism.

To consolidate nationhood has not infrequently required rejection of what large numbers of people seem to prefer. America, of all countries, should realise what extreme measures become inescapable; it experienced the bloodiest civil war in history to preserve unity, and a principle,

against the manifest yearning of half the country to go another way. Many terrible things were done, but eventually the South not only accepted reality but became a perfectly contented part of the greater whole. Mankind's conscience evolves to abhor what was once normal, but nation-building has not come to an end and still calls for extreme measures for a while. Even if we take the worst case, that the people of the Valley resent India, they certainly never showed any desire for Pakistan (whatever Pakistan's paid agents may now say) and for decades at least acquiesced in the Indian nexus — to the point of helping against Pakistan. That New Delhi ruined this relationship, giving Pakistan opportunities it had so long sought, is one of the worst examples of our lack of statecraft, but it is perfectly right and proper to retrieve our position, even if it involves repression. The unity and principle India seeks to maintain are no less worthy — or attainable — than Lincoln's great ideals.

The two problems we face regarding Jammu & Kashmir — of restoring its sense of its future in India and of overcoming Pakistan's efforts to detach it — are certainly connected, but not inextricably. The first is so obviously an overwhelming priority, in itself and for its effects on the very shape of our state and society, that New Delhi's persisting laziness in handling it is in danger of becoming as criminal a folly as the unbelievable mishandling by past Governments. The challenge is awesome: the utter mess in politics, administration, and the economy, public alienation — all kinds of hideously intractable problems need tackling, while the instruments available are inadequate, even self-defeating. Perhaps the greatest difficulty lies in our main support being our greatest liability; we cannot do without Dr. Farooq Abdul-lah, but nothing else can be done because of him. What is clearly not going to work is

to rely on wearing out the militancy and then restoring normalcy; broad and deep reforms should already have started. Certainly Pakistan will do everything to ruin our attempts. That underlines both the futility of talks and the need to concentrate ever more purposefully on internal reform.

Communal unrest may suit some Pakistani elements; others, long contemptuous of "pulse-eating gas-filled Bharatis", have believed our heterogeneity is too unstable to endure. They may be forgiven for misreading our constant displays of state incompetence as fore-runners of the disintegration they so devoutly expect, but we must expect better from their Government. The latter's aims in talks are crucial to India's response. To insist on Kashmir — and exclude any attempt to develop cooperation — rightly raises New Delhi's suspicions. Granted, any regime in Pakistan would face domestic uproar by even seeming to ease up on Kashmir; no one expects Pakistani leaders to court suicide by announcing abandonment, but unless they move towards consolidating the status quo, however slowly, there is no future for talks. If they really want us again to give them time, as we did at Tashkent and Shimla, there must be some credibility to Pakistani behaviour on the ground. But it is no longer enough to ease up on terrorism. The world has realised sanctifying the LoC is the only ultimate solution; unless Pakistan does so, we must take India's destabilitation to be its real aim.

India's championship of democracy, alas, cuts no ice in this cynical world, but where it faces so many challenges, we do no wrong to uphold it. We do go wrong in futilities like lobbying against the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's Islamabad stop. Unfortunately, politicians and media demands for strident posturing — when not rushing appallingly to greet the leader whose country they denounce the loudest — make mature, measured behaviour increasingly difficult. But weakness in projecting our rationales, or succumbing to distractions, does not invalidate Delhi's basic case that Islamabad signal a more purposeful objective for talks than the surrender currently demanded.

(The writer is a former Foreign Secretary.)

## NUCLEAR RESTRAINT REGIME

# India terms Pakistan offer 'propagandist'

By Our Special Correspondent

HD 1  
15/6  
NEW DELHI, JUNE 13. India today rejected Pakistan's offer of a restraint regime for nuclear and conventional weapons and maintained that it would enter into a dialogue only after Islamabad created a "proper environment" for talks. *Indu - PAN*

To a question, the spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry described the offer as "essentially propagandist". "There is nothing new in the proposal," he said, pointing out that it was part of the "eight paragraphs" included in the memorandum of understanding signed between the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries in October 1998. It was thereafter incorporated in the Lahore declaration and signed by the Prime Ministers in February 1999.

The Lahore declaration contained the essential elements for promoting peace and stability and addressed the need for a dialogue on the nuclear and conventional fields, he observed.

The latest offer coincides with the resumption of Pakistan's non-proliferation dialogue with the United States. Analysts here pointed out that the offer might have been made to find favour with Washington, which has publicly stated its intent to see a de-escalation of military tensions in the subcontinent. According to the spokesman, Pakistan "derailed the road map", which would have ushered peace and stability in the subcontinent, by undertaking the "Kargil misadventure". It was, therefore, Pakistan's responsibility to create a proper environment for talks, based on the cessation of cross-border terrorism and termination of hostile propaganda against India.

Indicating that New Delhi was unlikely to be bound by a purely bilateral restraint regime, he pointed out that "India's security concerns extend-

ed well beyond South Asia and were not country-specific". "It would not be appropriate to look at the issues of restraint and transparency in the narrow framework of India and Pakistan," he observed.

India's nuclear policy, he maintained, was based on a no-first use principle and a moratorium on testing. India also sought to avoid a nuclear arms race by adhering to a credible minimum deterrent.

The spokesman reacted sharply to the recent statement of the deposed Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, on Kargil. Mr. Sharif's observations, he said, only reconfirmed that the "misadventure" across the Line of Control had been planned by the Pakistani Army.

Taking exception to the Pakistan regime's assertion of holding the Mujahideen responsible for the Kargil intrusion, he pointed out that Islamabad was deceiving both its armed forces and the people. Pakistan had also not disclosed the casualties suffered by it. By doing so, the regime was denying them the elementary right of "trust and honour" due to military forces all over the world.

## New chief for U.N observer mission

UNITED NATIONS, JUNE 14. Major General Manuel Saavedra of Uruguay has been appointed chief military observer of the U.N. mission monitoring the Line of Control in Kashmir, the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, announced.

Maj. Gen. Saavedra, who has served in the Uruguayan armed forces since 1961, currently heads the Military Institute of Branches and Specialities.

The U.N. military observer group in India and Pakistan was deployed in January 1999 to supervise a ceasefire between India and Pakistan in Kashmir. It currently has 49 members. — AP

THE HINDU

# 'Sharif put Kashmir on back burner to get close to Vajpayee'

HO-1 By Amit Baruah 15/6

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 14. The Pakistani Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has said that Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Mr. A.B. Vajpayee were close because the former Pakistani Prime Minister had put the Kashmir issue on the backburner. In brief remarks published today, the General told the *Gulf News* that chances of a full-scale war between India and Pakistan were very remote "because of the strong deterrent capability Pakistan possesses in conventional and non-conventional arms".

According to the Chief Executive, Pakistan and India should be responsible enough to understand the ground situation. He hoped that the "other party" (meaning India) would not take any irresponsible step.

When asked why the Indian Prime Minister was so friendly with Mr. Sharif, the General replied: "Nawaz Sharif compromised on national interest. I don't. Nawaz Sharif put the Kashmir issue on the backburner and that is what brought him closer to Vajpayee."

To a question if Mr. Vajpayee owed his re-election to the Kargil issue, he said this could be "partially true, thanks to the media manipulation which converted a failure and a fiasco into success and triumph".

Clearly, Gen. Musharraf, widely regarded as the man behind Kargil, still believes that it was a brilliant operation and an Indian "failure and fiasco" were converted into "success and triumph" only by media manipulation. However, thinking Pakistanis and the rest of the world are aware of diplomatic and



Sharif

Musharraf

political disaster that Kargil brought in its wake.

"Their (Indian) losses and damages were huge... it is a massive military cover-up," the General said about Kargil.

The Chief Executive's remarks came at a time when the former Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, has claimed that Kargil was an ill-planned and ill-conceived operation, in which more Pakistani lives were lost than in the 1965 full-scale war with India. Mr. Sharif also said he was in the dark about the operation.

## India 'avoiding talks'

Accusing India of "double insincerity", the General maintained that India neither wanted to initiate a dialogue nor resolve the Kashmir issue, claiming that Kashmir was an integral part of India.

THE HINDU

# Sharif remark confirms Pak army planned Kargil: India

■ Musharraf accuses India of not initiating peace dialogue on Kashmir

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI, JUNE 14

INDIA on Wednesday said ousted Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's recent statements on Kargil reaffirmed what has been known all along that the Pakistan army had planned this misadventure.

In Karachi, Sharif had vowed to expose the Kargil debacle and name those responsible for the bloody border conflict if he was allowed to testify before a military commission.

Responding to questions, a foreign office spokesman said it was known all along that Pakistan's regular troops and not so-called Mujahideen that had been sent across the Line of Control in the

Kargil sector last year.

"The second, and more worrisome aspect is that of deceptions, more particularly and tellingly, against the Armed Forces and the people of Pakistan themselves by the present regime attempting to perpetuate the untenable myth of so-called Mujahideen, of not disclosing the actual casualties suffered by Pakistan's military units themselves, thus denying them the elementary right of trust and honour which is due of all military forces anywhere in the world," he said.

Meanwhile in Dubai, Pakistan's military ruler Gen Pervez Musharraf has accused India of not being sincere in resuming bilateral dialogue and showing no keenness to resolve the Kashmir

India rejects Pak offer

INDIA on Wednesday brushed aside the Pakistani military regime's offer to discuss with New Delhi a strategic restraint regime in both nuclear and conventional fields on a reciprocal basis, saying it was nothing new and essentially 'propagandist' as it comes ahead of the resumption of the non-proliferation dialogue between Pakistan and the US commencing tomorrow.

issue but said he did not foresee a full-scale war between the two nations despite tension along the LoC.

"They (India) don't want to initiate a dialogue...they are not keen to resolve the Kashmir

issue," Musharraf told *Gulf News* in an interview.

He said he did not foresee a full-scale war between the two countries despite the continuous tension on the LoC.

"The chances of war are very remote because of the strong deterrent capability Pakistan possesses both in conventional and non-conventional arms," Gen Musharraf said.

However, he said India and Pakistan both of which became nuclear powers two years ago ought to be responsible enough to understand the situation on the ground.

He said Pakistan remained a responsible nuclear state and hoped India would not take any "irresponsible" action. Referring

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## Sharif remark confirms Kargil: India

to President Bill Clinton's recent visit to South Asia, Gen Musharraf said "the visit has not achieved much in lessening the tension but it certainly brought Kashmir into sharp focus and highlighted the dire necessity for a dialogue between India and Pakistan." Referring to Saudi dissident Osama bin Laden, the most

wanted terrorist in the world, he said "we would certainly like to assist the US in resolving the issue but we can't be held responsible for this task (handing over Laden to US)."

"The US needs to engage the Taliban directly and we certainly will be willing to assist them," Gen Musharraf said.

INDIAN EXPRESS

15 JUN 2002



ON THE EVE OF TALKS WITH U.S. ✓

# Pak. proposes nuclear restraint regime

By Amit Baruah *9/20 Pak*

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 13. For the first time since the military took over in Pakistan, the Musharraf Government today offered India a strategic restraint regime in both the nuclear and conventional fields on a "reciprocal basis".

In a statement ahead of the resumption of the non-proliferation dialogue between Pakistan and the United States from June 15, an official statement said, "Pakistan has proposed to India a strategic restraint regime for avoidance of an arms race, nuclear and conventional, and confidence-building in the region. We are willing to consider any restraint arrangement on a reciprocal basis with India."

The offer was first made by Pakistan during the October 15-18, 1998 Foreign Secretary-level talks held here under the "two plus six" dialogue structure agreed to in June 1997.

Today's offer has been made by the military regime while the earlier proposal came from the civilian Nawaz Sharif Government. India and Pakistan discussed nuclear risk reduction measures in October 1998 and the issue came up for discussion in the Lahore round as well.

A memorandum of understanding signed by the Foreign Secretaries in Lahore on February 20, 1999 reads: "The two sides shall engage in bilateral consultations on security concepts and nuclear doctrines, with a view to developing measures for confidence-building in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at avoidance of conflict." In fact, experts from the two countries were to meet after the Lahore round to discuss these issues when Pakistan embarked on Kargil and upset the process of bilateral engagement.

In today's statement, two days before the Foreign

Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, meets the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Strobe Talbott, in Washington, Pakistan stated it was committed to a "policy of responsibility and restraint" on nuclear issues. "The Government welcomes the resumption of dialogue with the U.S. because it represents an important effort at preventing a nuclear arms race and arms build-up in South Asia, where the security climate continues to remain tense on account of the unresolved Jammu and Kashmir dispute," it said.

The ninth round of dialogue between the U.S. and Pakistan, like the earlier ones, will focus on American concerns relating to nuclear export controls, the CTBT, a moratorium on production of fissile material pending negotiations on the FMCT, a halt to missile development and Islamabad agreeing to CBMs with New Delhi to reduce nuclear dangers.

This will be the first formal engagement between the U.S. and Pakistan on these issues after the October 12, 1999 military coup. There is little doubt that the "restraint" proposal has been made in a calculated fashion before Mr. Sattar's talks with Mr. Talbott. However, the military Government has now re-committed itself publicly to such measures.

One of the problems that cropped up in October 1998 was that Pakistan insisted on linking its "strategic restraint regime" to Kashmir, which was unacceptable to India. Hopefully, Pakistan may have realised by now that projecting Kashmir as a "nuclear flashpoint" has boomeranged. Western countries too have not been impressed with this linkage.

Nuclear and conventional risk-reduction proposals will have that much more meaning if they are accompanied by a fundamental commitment to the bilateral dialogue structure as agreed to by the Foreign Secretaries in June 1997 and the two Prime Ministers in February 1999.

THE HINDU

## Pak. writer seeks asylum

NEW DELHI, JUNE 7. Mr. Aftab Hussain, a Pakistani writer, who was harassed by the military regime for publishing the poems written by the Prime Minister, Mr A.B. Vajpayee, has applied for political asylum in India.

"I have approached the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Home for granting me political asylum in India as the situation in Pakistan, governed by General Pervez Musharraf, was worse than ever before," Mr. Hussain, who observed a quiet birthday today, told PTI.

He said he had been assured by the External Affairs Minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, that the country would favourably respond to

his request. "But so far, I have not received any reply and my 90-day visa will end on June 15."

The 38-year-old writer said several Indian writers had also written a "request letter to Mr Vajpayee and the Home Minister, Mr L.K. Advani, for a favourable response to my plea for political asylum..."

The miseries for him started after Mr. Jameel Akhther, an Indian Urdu poet, who translated Mr. Vajpayee's poems, sent a copy with a request for publishing it in Pakistan. Mr Hussain said he had received only one letter from his family three days ago since he left the country on the eve of Id on March 15. — PTI

THE HINDU

9 JUN 2007

# 'Harassed' Pak poet seeks asylum

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, June 7

WITHIN THE next seven days, Aftab Husain will have to decide whether to risk the interrogation chambers of Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI), run to Iran only to be deported back, or stay in India as an illegal immigrant.

A Professor of Literature in a college in Lahore, he was forced to flee Pakistan on March 16 when the ISI raided and ransacked his house and declared him an "anti-national".

"I left my family behind and have not been able to contact them since" said Mr Husain. His Indian visa expires on the June 17, but his application for political asylum in India is still "under consideration"

with the government.

"It all started after the coup in Pakistan," he recounted. The military government apparently wanted him to give a statement against the deposed Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif.

"I was involved in having a book of poems of the Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, published in Pakistan during the 'Lahore Declaration' last February.

The ISI wanted me say that I helped in the publishing the book at the behest of Sharif that he was involved with Indian intelligence agencies," said Husain who was



interrogated several times by the ISI. "On every occasion, I was asked to do the same thing" he recounted. "In the beginning they were mild and tried to convince me but the intensity grew with every passing day. After raiding my house my relatives were told that I am an anti-national and would be arrested wherever spotted"

Everyone in Pakistan, according to Husain, knows that ISI is funding militants all over the globe. "But where and how do you put an end to it. It (the ISI) is a state within the state with powers to just about everything," he said.

Militants organisations are funded, the youth indoctrinated into a hate campaign against all and sundry and arms supplied to militants openly, Husain added. On one hand the government is putting the Shia community against the Sunnis on other it is sending trained militants across the border to fight in Chechenya, Kosvo, China, India and Afghanistan. And, in the scheme of things if you are perceived to be a threat to their plans you will be picked up only to vanish, he pointed out.

"I am a devout Muslim and a patriotic Pakistani but if the country is run this way it will split again" said a grim Husain, adding that it is a matter of time "when the people trained by government would turn against the state and use the same guns to split Pakistan".

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

JUN 2000

# Reciprocate India's desire for friendship, PM to Pak

HT Correspondent  
Srinagar, June 7

PRIME MINISTER A B Vajpayee today asked Pakistan to "reciprocate India's desire for friendship." Addressing a gathering on the occasion of the inauguration of a three-day national "Sindhu Festival" on Wednesday, he said India could wait for the response to emerge.

"Let the gushing Sindhu flow friendship to Pakistan," the Prime Minister said, adding "India need not always reiterate its yearning for friendship with Pakistan as we want friendship from the core of our hearts."

Wishing to see Sindhu as the river of friendship between the two countries, Mr Vajpayee hoped its currents would carry the message of peace, brotherhood, cooperation and tranquility to the regions it flowed through.

Sindhu, Mr Vajpayee said, symbolised the great Indian civilisation and its rediscovery would strengthen the emotional bonds in the country.

The subject of Indo-Pak friendship was broached up by the State Chief Minister, Mr Farooq Abdullah, in his speech, who wanted Pakistan to understand the language of friendship.

Advising Pakistan to give up its aggressive designs on Kashmir, he stressed that these would never succeed. Mr Abdullah urged Pakistan to live like a friendly neighbour. In his poetic style, the Prime Minister said Sindhu was a "symbol of friendship between the two countries. Its currents carry the message of friend-

ship."

Driving home the point that India's desire for peace and friendship with Pakistan was sincere and, therefore, was not necessary to repeat on every occasion, Mr Vajpayee said, "We are willing to wait for the offer of friendship."

Much significance is being attached to the message for peace and friendship to Pakistan from Ladakh because Kargil, which was the theatre of Pakistani intrusion last year, is one of the districts comprising this region.

Significantly, Pakistan's military ruler Pervez Musharraf has also made an offer to hold talks with Mr Vajpayee, anywhere and anytime.

The Prime Minister had to leave early because of a sudden indisposition, leading to the cancellation of some of his engagements.

Union Home Minister L K Advani also stressed that the river Sindhu was a symbol of friendship as it flowed from India to Pakistan.

Sindhu, the great trans-Himalayan river, is among the longest rivers in the world with an astonishing length of 2,900 kms.

Rising in the Southwestern Tibet, at an altitude of 16,000 feet, the river enters the Indian territory near Leh and has a total drainage area of about 4,50,000 square miles of which 1,75,000 square mile is in the Himalayan mountains and foothills.

Flowing 11 miles beyond Leh, Sindhu is joined on the left by its first tributary, the Zanaskar. The Zanaskar valley is mountaineering enthusiasts' delight.



THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

3 8 JUN 2000

# TRACK TWO-II

## Need To Dispel Fears

By AG NOORANI

THE term track two diplomacy was coined in 1981 by Joseph V Montville, a former diplomat. The concept was expanded in an article in the journal *Foreign Policy* (Winter 1981) which he wrote jointly with William D Davidson, a psychologist. Its title suggests the theme: "Foreign Policy According to Freud" — how to instil mutual confidence in an atmosphere of deep distrust. Professional diplomats think of the worst case scenario as, indeed, they ought to, though not obsessively. Track two tries to build on the slender foundations of hope. It succeeds only if it combines grit with creativity fails if it becomes detached from reality.

In the authors' view: "Track two diplomacy is unofficial, non-structured interaction. It is always open-minded, often altruistic, and ... strategically

optimistic based on best case analysis. Its underlying assumption is that actual or potential conflict can be resolved or eased by appealing to common human capabilities to respond to good will and reasonableness. Scientific and cultural exchanges are examples of track two diplomacy."

### PERCEPTIONS

Experience has amplified these broad outlines. They recognised the "interaction and interdependence" between the official and unofficial tracks. TTD must have two aims. Immediately, to promote dialogue and devise CBMS; but, in the long term it must doggedly go to the roots of the conflict. TTD must not forget that while it educates public opinion, the government is its consumer, no less. A conflict is the product of a clash of interest and rival perceptions of motives and goals which aggravate the clash. TTD should not stop at "creating an atmosphere". It must devise compromises, realistic and practicable, which "the consumer" can buy and, in turn, sell to its people. Crusaders have an honoured role in democratic society. Their usefulness in TTD is doubtful. So is that of men who draw sustenance from the establishment. TTD is not a forum for propaganda.

It demands as much discretion as official diplomacy with one vital difference — there is a conscious effort to reach out to the other side; to understand its fears and aims in order to evolve formulae which show a

way out of the impasse, however imperfectly.

Interaction between the two tracks is at the heart of the problem. If the state has no use for such efforts, they must be directed at public opinion. It would be a sheer betrayal were track two to shape its recipes to suit the tastes of the con-

raiding the minds of MPs, academics, journalists" and think-tanks. The advice which a policy planner, Pauline Neville-Jones, gave her colleagues should be taken to heart by practitioners do TTD — "Think the unthinkable by all means but do not stray into the realm of the politically daft."

TTD can be practised domestically, also. The Nagaland Peace Mission, comprising Jayaprakash Narayan, Michael Scott and BP Chaliha formulated proposals, on 20 December 1964, which came within inches of success. They deftly resolved the dilemma of self-determination vs Indian statehood. Nagas "could, on their own volition, decide to be participants in the Union of India which in turn, would consider how the structure should be "recast so as to satisfy the political aspiration" of the Nagas. Trust was established.

Inter-Naga differences wrecked the process.

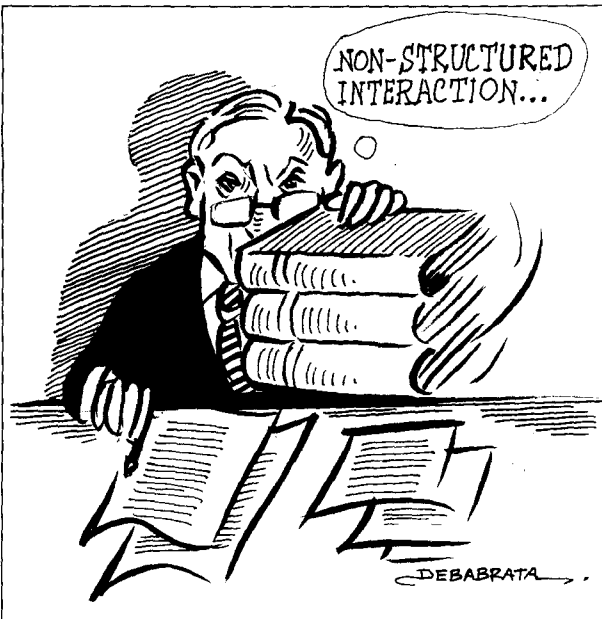
It will not be wrong to suggest that fear and distrust on both sides lie at the root of India's differences with some of its neighbours. India would not admit that a boundary "dispute" existed lest China reopened the entire boundary for debate. China regarded this as unrealistic and intransigent.

### STRIKING BALANCE

India, likewise, rejects the D-word on Kashmir for fear that acknowledgment of a political dispute dilutes its undeniable legal title to the state as a member of the Union of India. It likewise fears that revision of the 1950 Treaty with Nepal and the 1987 letters with Sri Lanka will open the doors to external influences. In each case, to be sure, there are differences on substantial issues. Fears on both sides congeal the impasse.

TTD can help to dispel the fears and, proceed to evolve solutions which meet the concerns of both sides to the dispute. That implies, of course, that there are in South Asia persons of independence and creativity who will strike the right balance not only in their tasks but in their relationships with their respective governments and public opinion, persons who are not slaves to conventional wisdom. In the final analysis, the worth and vigour of two-track diplomacy can be no greater than the quality and integrity of public discourse on foreign policy in the region.

(Concluded)



sumer. On the other hand, TTD would be sterile if it did not address the concerns of the state and formulate solutions which try to meet them. It must be realistic as well as creative; focussed and persistent. It must go well beyond "improving the atmosphere".

Governments have tended to be hostile to ventures which they did not bless or, as in cases, foster. On 23 February 1995, Pakistan's Foreign Office dubbed an Indo-Pak meet as "somewhat inappropriate and questionable" because of "the timing and size of the meeting". Similar paranoia prompted New Delhi to abort a meeting of Kashmiris on both sides at Rawlakot in 1992.

### RAIDING MIND

TTD reflects the quality and integrity of intellectual endeavours in the field of foreign policy. A government which is unready to learn, or unwilling or too weak to contemplate change or whose leaders and "professionals" imagine they have all the answers scorn "academic" exercises; unless they are able to control them. TTD is then left with three options — trim; bow out; or, meet the challenge with efforts of quality that make the scorn contemptible in public esteem.

A proper planning outfit in any foreign office, run properly, draws on independent exercises. As Peter Hennessy wrote in an excellent article on the British Foreign Office in *The Times* (31 October 1983), "part of the planning staff's job is to inject heterodoxy into the FO,

THE STATESMAN

JUN 24

# TRACK TWO-I

## Diplomacy's Handmaid Or Rival?

By AG NOORANI

THERE is no place in the world where track-two diplomacy (TTD) is more needed than in South Asia; more talked about and sought after, yet least understood. It has little to show by way of results for all the activities. When Syed Mir Qasim flamboyantly declared on 2 May that his was not TTD but "Track One Diplomacy", he was unwittingly right. One whose intercession is sought by Kashmir's chief minister, Farooq Abdullah, and the defence minister, George Fernandes, performs the same role as private individuals, nominated as emissaries by the state, have done for centuries.

This is not TTD. But neither is the back channel; nor the secret channel; still less the unofficial mediator or go between whether state-sponsored or not. The back channel is one used by a leader behind the back of colleagues and officials whom he does not trust. Neville Chamberlain used Horace Wilson because the Foreign Office could not be trusted to carry out his policy of appeasement of Hitler.

### ABUSE

At the Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin's very first meeting with Nixon, on 17 February 1969, "the President went on to establish a confidential channel through Henry Kissinger, his National Security Adviser... (in order) to be able to exchange views urgently and privately with the Soviet leadership," behind the back of secretary of state, William Rogers. His more spirited successor, George Shultz, exploded when he learnt of similar doings by Reagan through his NSA, William Clark, and offered to resign.

The grossest abuse of the back channel, and a debasement of the diplomatic process, was perpetrated by Rajiv Gandhi. He used RAW, an intelligence outfit, as a tool of diplomacy, and as a rival to the MEA. That perversion explains the mess in India's Sri Lanka policy which he bequeathed to the nation. The ambitious RAW chief, AN Verma, "started advising Rajiv Gandhi that he should follow a three-track policy... The military operations should be continued to keep the LTTE generally under pressure; secondly, RAW should be allowed to keep in touch with the LTTE with the purpose of persuading it to move back from military confrontation against India; thirdly, that

RAW should be authorised to make direct contacts with Jayawardene without involving the Ministry of External Affairs or the Ministry of Defence" to persuade him to improve on his offer to the Tamils.

The then high commissioner JN Dixit's memoirs contain sig-



nificant under-statements. The contradictions in this policy "resulted in operational limitations on the IPKF", while its men were being killed by the LTTE. Verma met President Jayawardene on 28 April and 19 June 1988. The LTTE was spared to fight another day.

The back channel undermines institutions; not so the secret channel, unless it is mishandled. Mohammed Heikal's book *Secret Channels* describes their working no sooner than Israel was born. RK Mishra and Niaz A Naik were duly appointed by their respective PMs to conduct confidential talks after their Lahore summit. This was not TTD, either, nor were the private ventures of men like Averell Hariman, trusted alike by the Kremlin and the White House.

### RESULTS

Resolution of the Cuban missile crisis was significantly facilitated by a talk between the ABC News reporter John Scali and Alexander Fomin, a KGB man under cover as a journalist, on 26 October 1972. Fomin suggested a deal based on withdrawal of Soviet missiles in return for a US guarantee not to invade Cuba. Kennedy was informed of it in the nick of time to shape his letter to Khrushchev in a conciliatory vein. It clicked.

TTD, in contrast, is a citizen's initiative, heir to the citizens' diplomacy practised by the Quakers. In 1798, a Philadelphia Quaker, George Logan, went to Europe in a valiant effort to prevent war between the US and France. His hosts responded well; his countrymen censured him for his "usurpation of executive authority". Congress passed the Logan Act criminalising any

direct intervention of citizens in foreign affairs. It still adorns the US statute book. In the sixties, Norman Cousins, editor of *Saturday Review*, initiated the Dartmouth conferences at which influential Americans and Soviets met for off-the-record discussions. Cousins also went on unofficial missions between Kennedy and Khrushchev. These conferences "set the stage" for accord on the limited Test Ban Treaty (1963), installation of the "Hot Line", expansion of trade, and for direct flights between the two countries.

Before long, TTD began to show results, particularly in the last years of the Cold War. Based on its exchanges with Americans, the Institute of USA and Canada of the Soviet Academy of Sciences inspired Brezhnev's appeal to Reagan in February 1981 to begin dialogues at many levels. The Oslo accords, the most outstanding success of TTD, were the result of a TTD process that began at a lunch in a Tel Aviv restaurant in June 1992.

### NO RIVAL

Two academics, one Israeli and the other Norwegian, discussed Gaza. The Israeli was Yossi Beilin, founder of the Economic Cooperation Foundation and a Labour politician close to Shimon Peres. The Norwegian was Terje Larsen, founder of the Norwegian Institute for Applied Science. Larsen arranged for Beilin to meet Faisal Husseini, a highly respected Palestinian leader. Both, Beilin and Larsen had done considerable homework already. Eventually, the Norwegian government agreed to help, not as a mediator, but "as a facilitator of secret talks". TTD is thus neither handmaiden of, nor a rival to, official diplomacy. It is a companion; understanding but independent.

Early success inspired expansion. There exists an Institute of Multi-Track Diplomacy in Washington, DC which prescribes seven other tracks — business, education, religion, media philanthropy, "activism", and private citizens. Its founders are Louise Diamonds and John W McDonald. In this context one must acknowledge that the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy, which held a highly successful conference in Bangalore last April, has rendered high service in promoting such exchanges. Indians and Pakistanis agreed on a set of recipes for peace.

(To be concluded)

The author is a lawyer and commentator on current affairs.

1 JUN 1992

# Pakistan must end hostilities before talks can resume: India

New Delhi

31 MAY



INDIA, ON Wednesday, asserted that talks with Pakistan could be resumed only after Islamabad ended its 'compulsive hostility' towards New Delhi and created a suitable atmosphere by stopping cross-border terrorism and abandoning jihad (holy war) as an instrument of foreign policy.

"If Pakistan creates the proper environment, India, as the initiator of the dialogue, will not be found wanting," external affairs minister Jaswant Singh said, while participating in a question-answer session on CNN.

Mr Singh's remarks followed a similar session with Pakistan's military ruler General Pervez Musharraf, who reiterated his offer to resume the stalled dialogue process "as soon as possible" and said he was willing to "travel anywhere and at any time" to meet the Indian leadership to reduce tensions.

Without mincing words, Mr Singh told a CNN questioner that Jammu & Kashmir was not a "territorial dispute" and that India had never balked at having talks with Islamabad. But "it is not a question of indulging in public relations," he added in an apparent dig at General Musharraf's repeated offers.

He said Pakistan must reaffirm its commitment to the 1972 Simla Agreement and the 1999 Lahore Declaration, which remain the basis for bilateral talks. — DTT

The Economic Times

1 JUN 2000

# Indian envoy calls on Musharraf

By Amit Baruah  
**ISLAMABAD, MAY 27.** The outgoing Indian High Commissioner, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, called on the Pakistani Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, today. The meeting lasted one hour.

It was the first ever meeting between an Indian Government functionary and Gen. Musharraf, since he took power after overthrowing the Nawaz Sharif Government on October 12, 1999.

Describing the meeting as a "farewell call", an official Pakistani statement said, "During the meeting, the Chief Executive underlined the centrality of the issue of Jammu and Kashmir to the relationship between the two countries, and expressed Pakistan's readiness to enter into a dialogue

with India with a view to resolving this problem." "High Commissioner Parthasarathy is retiring on return to India at the end of his tenure in Pakistan. The Chief Executive conveyed his best wishes to the departing High Commissioner," the release added.

The Pakistani Foreign Secretary, Mr. Inam-ul-Haq, and the Indian Deputy High Commissioner, Mr. Sudhir Vyas, were also present at the meeting.

Though the meeting can be explained away as a "farewell call"

by New Delhi, the fact that no such interaction took place for the last seven months is significant in itself.

It is also clear, to go by the official version put out by the Pakistanis, that Gen. Musharraf's offer of dialogue with India to Mr. Parthasarathy is restricted in scope to resolving the Kashmir problem. Given the absence of any official contact between India and Pakistan since the October 1999 coup, Mr. Parthasarathy's meeting

could be a step in the direction of resuming more "normal contacts" between the two countries, short of picking up the threads of dialogue.

While there are few signs of any forward movement in resuming the dialogue process (Pakistan's new Kashmir-only approach will further complicate problems), Gen. Musharraf has not been averse to meeting the High Commissioner and also publicising the meeting on State-run television here.



# Musharraf's Kashmir policy comes full circle

By Amit Baruah

**ISLAMABAD, MAY 26.** The Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's India policy has come full circle. Soon after the October 12, 1999 coup, he was stuck on a "kashmir or nothing" approach and had belittled the Lahore process in an interview to the BBC on November 6, 1999 by terming it a "phalana, dhimkana" process.

At a press conference on Wednesday, Gen. Musharraf, moving away from the Kashmir-centric approach, returned to his original position. He told presspersons: "If he (the Indian Prime Minister) wants to meet me, I will meet him. And when we meet, we'll talk on Kashmir. Nothing else."

In an interview to *The Hindu* (January 17, 2000), he had said: "Let's address all issues, Kashmir and other issues... I'm forthcoming. I will agree on talks, let's face facts and let's adhere to the Shimla accord... The only thing I am saying is, let's not please sideline Kashmir because that is the only dispute."

On November 7, 1999, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, too had undermined the significance of the Lahore agreement. "There are

for positive aspects and we'll be prepared to implement them."

After sounding ready to engage India in a comprehensive dialogue, Gen. Musharraf reverted to his old "kashmir or nothing" approach, which sends a wrong message to New Delhi. This position also goes against the June 1997 agreement between the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan wherein a "two plus six issues" approach, where Kashmir is part of the "two", was concluded.

It is possible that Gen. Musharraf's re-statement of his maximalist position comes from the repeated rejection by India of an "any place, any time, any level" dialogue. However, by his remarks yesterday, he has only helped India in sticking to its "no-dialogue" position.

The Pakistani Chief Executive has again shown that his Government did not believe in an "integrated" dialogue with India and was only interested in talks on Kashmir. Everything else, including Siachen and the much-touted discussion on a "strategic restraint regime" as part of the peace and security issue, appears to be secondary for the Government of Pakistan.

Al-o, the General's comments could be on

against any India-Pakistan dialogue. At a time when he is getting ready to force traders to pay taxes, the Chief Executive does not want to take on the religious right at the same time.

Pakistan, perhaps, also feels that the Indian position — on not having talks till cross-border terrorism is stopped — is merely a formal one. And, there could be signals that behind this tough veneer, India could actually be ready for a dialogue. The wrong reading of signals by Pakistan cannot be ruled out.

The General's remarks will relieve pressure on India for holding a dialogue with Pakistan. For long, it has been looking for an unequivocal commitment to the Lahore process and the Shimla agreement. Just when this commitment appeared to be forthcoming, Pakistan has backtracked on this all-crucial issue.

Though the last word on the issue has not been spoken, the fact remains that macho or rejectionist postures on bilateral dialogue is not in the interests of regional peace or stability. Clearly, the formal "talks about talks" process has suffered a setback. Pakistan's position, as enunciated yesterday, will only strengthen the official lobby in New Delhi

## Pak ready for talks on N-restraint regime

Mubashir Zaidi

Islamabad, May 29

CHIEF EXECUTIVE General Pervez Musharraf has offered that Pakistan was ready for talks with India on working out a nuclear restraint regime for South Asia.

Citing negative Indian response as a barrier, the military leader expressed the hope that India would respond positively to his

offer.

"Pakistan had offered India a nuclear restraint regime to avoid accidental nuclear war, but it did not get a positive response. I hope that India will respond positively to it," he said while addressing a ceremony in Islamabad to commemorate the second anniversary of Pakistan's nuclear blasts.

He insisted that Pakistan was not involved in an arms race in the

region.

The General claimed that Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998 were conducted to protect its security and national integrity in view of India's nuke tests.

General Musharraf said he would not like a billion people of Asia to suffer from poverty and backwardness with a danger of nuclear holocaust hovering around them.

100-215

9 MAY 1999

# Advani writes to Jaitley on PTV border blitz

SRINJOY CHOWDHURY  
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 22. — Mr LK Advani has written to the Information and Broadcasting Minister, Mr Arun Jaitley, bringing to his notice the "vicious propaganda" of PTV in Jammu and Kashmir and other border areas.

The Union home minister's May 8 letter said people in parts of Anantnag in Jammu and Kashmir were subjected to PTV propaganda, especially after recent incidents, but the Doordarshan's response was not reaching these places. Mr Advani said he had encountered similar propaganda during an earlier visit to Rajasthan.

Information and broadcasting ministry officials admitted receiving Mr Advani's letter and said their minister held a meeting today with chief engineers of All India Radio and Doordarshan to locate areas where transmission levels could be improved. The special secretary (J&K affairs) of the home ministry, Mr TR Kakkar, was also present.

Transmission facilities in the border areas from Gujarat through Rajasthan and Punjab right up to J&K have to be "strengthened". An I&B ministry official blamed "neglect" over the years. He said: "Indian transmitters are becoming comparatively weaker over the years. The Pakistani transmitters are very powerful and the



Mr Arun Jaitley

effect of their propaganda is evident in the recent troubles in the state."

But "immediate counters" to PTV propaganda may not be



Mr Lal Krishna Advani

easy though the Kashir Channel will be properly launched on June 9 in the I&B minister's presence, an official said. The channel was

launched on January 26 but there was no "official inauguration". It will help to ensure that people in border areas have access to Doordarshan.

New efforts to acquire better transmitters with more reach have begun. The ministry plans to have two high performance transmitters (HPTs) in Naushera and Kupwara, one in Srinagar as well as a low performance transmitter in Anantnag, but these will be ready only by next summer.

I&B officials said a transmitter is imported before some add-ons are provided by Indian companies like Bharat Electronics or Gujarat Electronics. The procedure can take between 8 and 10 months.

Then a building has to be constructed to house the transmitters, which could take a while primarily as snowfall slackens construction pace. Officially, most of J&K is "covered" by DD but though an HPT's range is about 70km, it can be lower in the mountains.

The other problem that Kashir has been facing is private channels. "Zee, Sony and Star have agreed to provide us with software programming in the national interest, but they had ego problems. Everyone wanted their programme to be on prime time," an official said.

Apparently, DD is trying to make suitable adjustments and ensure that the channels do not feel left out, the official said.

THE STATESMAN

THE STATESMAN

23 MAY 2000

# Pak hands over intelligence operative's body

**HTC and Agencies**  
Amritsar (Wagah), May 17

**T**HE BODY of Satpal, an Indian working for military intelligence, was handed over to his family here today at this Indo-Pak joint checkpoint in the presence of BSF officials.

Satpal (about 40) was tortured by the Pakistan Army. When his condition deteriorated, he was taken to a Lahore hospital, where he died on April 17.

Satpal's father Teja Ram broke down as BSF officials handed him the body of his son. The body was brought in a police ambulance from Lahore and an Indian High Commission official was present to complete the formalities.

The sub-divisional magistrate of Amritsar B.S. Muli signed the relevant paper on behalf of India.

The body was placed in a BSF pickup van where Teja Ram was asked to remove the cloth covering the body for identification.

As soon as he removed the cloth, Teja Ram broke down and had to be consoled by BSF officials. "If not alive

at least my son has come back to me and now I can perform the last rites," he said.

Satpal's body was later taken to Dadwan village for the last rites. No post-mortem was conducted, officials at Amritsar said.

Teja Ram said that on April 20, some people from the intelligence came to inform him that Satpal had died in Pakistan and

his body was being brought to India. He was later told he to bear the expenses. Teja Ram lost all hopes as he could not afford these expenses.

At this stage BJP legislator Laamikanta Chawla came forward and arranged financial and other help for the family. Laamikanta and All-India Anti-Terrorist Front president Maninderjit Singh Bitta were present at the handover.

Satpal started working for intelligence one year ago. Teja Ram said the family had been trying to persuade him to give up his "dirty and risky" work, of no avail. Then one day he agreed, but was forced to change his decision by intelligence sleuths. June 20 was the last time he crossed the border.



Teja Ram, the grieving father of Satpal, whose body was returned by Pakistan on Wednesday.

# Wanted: 'hardened' outfit for border fencing

5/16/67

VINAY JHA

## STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 17. — "Civilian" agencies are out of the race for fencing the international border with Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir. The Central Public Works Department having as good as pulled out due to shelling by the Pakistanis earlier, the Centre is now thinking of entrusting the responsibility to a more "hardened" outfit.

During a recent meeting, officials from the defence and home ministries are believed to have discussed the possibility of enlisting the services of a paramilitary force or a wing of the Army itself.

Another crucial decision expected to be taken over the next few weeks is the nature of the fence. While confirming that several types of fences were being considered, senior officials declined to

SRINAGAR, May 17. — Seventeen people, including 10 militants and two Army personnel, were killed in separate incidents while security forces foiled an infiltration bid in the state since last evening.

The intrusion attempt by some militants was frustrated in the Sunderbani area of the Rajouri sector when security forces killed two intruders, an official spokesman said here today.

He said other militants retreated towards POK after Indian soldiers attacked them. — PTI

## INTRUSION BID FOILED, 17 KILLED IN J&K

discuss their features, saying it was a sensitive issue. Besides a fence, the project involves flood-lighting of the area close to the border.

The earlier experience was likely to be repeated if the job was given to a civilian agency, official sources said. With the Union Cabinet having decided to go ahead with the project earlier this year, both the defence and home ministries are anxious that work begins at the ear-

liest. In the absence of a fence, personnel of the Border Security Force and other security agencies keep vigil by patrolling the area.

With Pakistani-backed militant outfits continuously engaged in infiltrating along the border, fencing should be completed at the earliest. "The success in controlling militancy in Punjab was essentially due to effective border fencing," a former home ministry official

recalled. What has made the security agencies even more apprehensive about large-scale infiltration attempts are reports that the militants have begun using guileless, unemployed youth as guinea pigs to test the porosity of the border before undertaking the exercise themselves. Last week, six persons had been shot by security personnel while trying to cross over into India. Preliminary inquiries had shown them to be Bangladeshis.

"The militants seem to be planning out infiltration with greater details now," a central paramilitary force officer pointed out.

While this particular stretch of the international border is considered undisputed by India, Pakistan apparently claims this is just a "working boundary". Hence the firing each time the Indians try to take up fencing here, BSF sources pointed out.

THE STATESMAN

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# LoC as the border

By Pran Chopra

*Two recent developments have added more weight to the pedigree of the Line of Control, which goes back to the very early days of the conflict over Kashmir between India and Pakistan.*

ON MAY 10 this year, the BJP declared itself firmly opposed to any partition of Jammu and Kashmir as the price of some resolution of the 'Kashmir question', whether within Kashmir by way of some compromise with the Hurriyat or externally, by a compromise with Pakistan. Both kinds of resolution are so remote that speculation about them might seem premature if not unnecessary. But the BJP's position contrasts significantly with two developments which have given the Line of Control a status which it had lacked before the Kargil war.

The first development is the emphatic advice by many countries to both India and Pakistan to respect the Line or not to commit any transgressions across it. The second is changes in opinion within the State, most notably reflected in a recent statement by the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, that India and Pakistan should accept the LoC as an international border. Neither development by itself is any reason why the BJP should not take the position it has, and many people within the State and in the rest of India would agree with it. But both developments have added more weight to the pedigree of the Line, which goes back to the very early days of the conflict over Kashmir between India and Pakistan, and back to the origins of one of the many controversies which surround the 'question'.

For example, over the sub-question why did India take the matter to the United Nations in the first place? To that a further twist has been added by the former Foreign Secretary, Mr. T. N. Kaul. In his recently-published book, 'A Diplomat's Diary', he narrates that when he was India's acting High Commissioner in London, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, asked him that, and he replied "we did it under your representative's (Lord Mountbatten's) advice." The answer belittles both the question and Nehru. As Mr. Kaul must have known, Nehru was under no obligation to accept that advice, and his reasons for taking that step, whether good or bad, were his own, complex and characteristic of his mixture of idealism and impatience with detail. But that is a different story and belongs to history.

More relevant today is the sub-question why did India accept the ceasefire line when it was well poised militarily to push

much further to the west and could have bought the time for doing so through the usual argumentation and bargaining which goes with such matters? After all, through the same methods Pakistan stalled the plebiscite proposed by the U.N. for over five years until it found the situation in the region made favourable for it by the cold war and in the State by India's mishandling of relations with Sheikh Abdullah. This sub-question has never received an answer which could be called both authoritative and credible. But a theory which still holds the field and is more relevant to the present circumstances is that once the Kashmiri part of Kashmir had been cleared of Pakistani forces, Sheikh Abdullah lost interest in seeing India's frontier in the State being pushed further to the west, and given Nehru's dislike of warfare in any case and his respect for Abdullah's views in matters relating to Kashmir, the military's preference for a more strategic ceasefire line lost ground.

Against this background it is possible though not provable that Nehru was not entirely averse to the idea of converting an adjusted ceasefire line into the international frontier in the State. A view in favour of this possibility was expressed in 1994 by the former U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Dennis Kux, in his book, 'Estranged Democracies'. On the basis of U.S. documents and papers, he reports that Nehru said to Dulles that he "envisaged a Kashmir settlement on the basis of the ceasefire line established in 1949 with some minor adjustments — a posture he would support to his death in 1964."

A further link in the lineage of the Line and the possibility of its conversion into a border has been traced, both in Pakistan and India, to 1971 by Mr. P. N. Dhar in his just-published book, 'Indira Gandhi, the Emergency and Indian Democracy', which is full of new facts and fascinating interpretations and insights, gleaned during the years when he was (a very special) Secretary to the Prime Minister and one of her "closest advisers through the 1970s" as

the blurb describes him. He quotes Pakistan's former President, General Ayub Khan, as saying that India could not afford to go from one ceasefire line to another, and then adding, in print, in *Dawn* newspaper, "We should therefore extricate ourselves from the shackles of the past and seek a solution by fresh, bold and imaginative thinking." More substantial however are Mr. Dhar's own observations about the Shimla Conference at which, after he had succeeded P. N. Haksar, he was indeed the closest adviser to the Prime Minister. Describing India's strategy at the conference he says "The transformation of the ceasefire line into the line of control was the core of the Indian solution to the Kashmir problem. The *de facto* line of control was meant to be graduated to the level of a *de jure* border."

Then follows an excellent insight into (a summary of?) Indira Gandhi's mind on this matter, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's constructive but alas infructuous response. It is worth quoting at some length as a companion piece to what Sheikh Abdullah was to say a few years later, which comes even closer to the present day controversies.

"Mrs. Gandhi elaborated the merits of the Indian proposal in the following terms: It was the only feasible solution. An important feature of the proposal was that neither country was gaining or losing territory on account of war. It did not involve transfers of population from one side to the other. Kashmiris as an ethnic community were left undivided on the Indian side. The line of control was therefore largely an ethnic and linguistic frontier. In fact, in 1947, at the time of partition, it was also an ideological frontier, being the limit of the political influence of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah and his National Conference party. True, there were some anomalies in this otherwise neatly etched picture, but these, Mrs. Gandhi pointed out, could be removed by mutual consent.

"Mr. Bhutto, responded with feeling and apparent sincerity. After long reflection he had come to the conclusion that the Indi-

an proposal was the only feasible one." What happened in fact is part of the unfortunate history of the State and the sub-continent. But that too is a different story, the present one being concerned only with the evolution of the idea, on the Indian side, of the LoC becoming the border.

The next link turned out to be even more remarkable (though also more tragic, for reasons which will follow later.) For this too the reader owes thanks to Mr. Dhar, for he has published, in greater detail than anyone else I know of, a letter to Indira Gandhi dated May 24, 1976, in which the Sheikh expressed himself with greater care and clarity than I had seen him do at any time during the forty years or so that I knew him, from the early 1940s. Writing about the Line of Control, he said "... we have to take into account the hard fact that perhaps a realistic settlement with Pakistan in regard to the future of Jammu and Kashmir will ultimately have to be found on the basis of a permanent border running roughly along the present Line of Actual Control." He went on to add "Presumably there is some degree of mental and other preparation in Pakistan to accept a solution along these lines." But in that he turned out to be wrong. Even as recently as 1972 Pakistan had turned down the idea of changing the name of the ceasefire line to Line of Actual Control because it would mean a change in its status.

Sheikh Abdullah's presumption was totally belied by what Pakistan was to say and do after 1976. But the reason why his letter turned out to be tragic was not that Pakistan belied his hopes but that New Delhi did. He wrote eloquently and convincingly about the value (indeed very great) of the Accord he had signed a few months earlier with Indira Gandhi, in which he fully affirmed his faith in the State's accession to India but was also promised greater autonomy for the State. He also claimed, and again very rightly, that the people of the State had overwhelmingly supported both aspects of the accord. A quarter century later we are still crying over the tatters to which the Accord was reduced, at a time when the Sheikh had much declined in health and efficacy, by the men positioned into his Cabinet, by the men, too clever by half and unscrupulous to the hilt, who had come to surround Indira Gandhi during the later years of the Emergency. Can tears revive it?

17 MAY 1999

## HD-1 Fernandes warns Pak. against any more Kargils

**NEW DELHI, MAY 14.** A year after Pakistan's misadventure, the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, today warned Islamabad against attempting any more Kargils.

"There is no way another Kargil can be repeated as on security matters we are much better placed than ever before," Mr. Fernandes told PTI on the first anniversary of the operations launched by the Indian armed forces this day to evict the Pakistani intruders.

Mr. Fernandes said though the Islamabad-backed proxy war is continuing, the threat from Pakistan had "receded considerably" in Jammu and Kashmir, and all because of the "drubbing Pakistan got in Kargil last year".

The Minister was speaking in the backdrop of a former Army chief warning that the euphoria built up after the Kargil triumph had not been sustained with the newly-inducted troops in the area still to get promised high-tech equipment.

Twelve months after the conflict, the former Army chief, Gen. Shankar Roy Chowdhury, feels that major lessons from the Kargil experience are yet to sink in.

"The crucial Srinagar-Leh highway is still vulnerable between Zojila and Kargil and priority has to be given to an alternative route from Ghumri to Kargil," Gen. Chowdhury cautioned.

Voicing similar concerns, the IPKF Commander in Sri Lanka, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Satish Nambiar, regretted that the requirement of sophisticated monitoring equipment was yet to be fully met.

Lt. Gen. Nambiar said a central authority to analyse vital Intelligence inputs from all sources was still not a reality. "Meetings of the National Security Advisory Board and the National Security Council should be a continuous exercise," he said, adding it seemed that "there is lethargy prevailing".

He said the defence planning had to be taken on a sustained basis.

WTS 11717

15 MAY 2000

15 MAY 2000

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 2000

## THE LONGING FOR PEACE

A VERY CHEERING message that there is a lot more which unites rather than divides the peoples of India and Pakistan has come recently from two wholly different quarters. There might have been nothing worthy of much notice in the call from Admiral Ramdas, former chief of the Indian Navy, for an immediate ceasefire along the Line of Control between Pakistan and India as it is the kind of pronouncement generally made by the heads of armed forces who know very well the agony inflicted on the people by the waging of wars of attrition apart from the huge cost they extract from the economies of the countries concerned. The significance of the Admiral's speech is that it was made at the first Eqbal Ahmed Memorial Lecture in Islamabad and the warmth of the reception given to it by the Pakistani audience. The other telling indication of the longing in Pakistan for living in peace and goodwill with India came from Ms. Asma Jehangir, leader of the visiting 60-member delegation of Pakistani women, in her passionate pleas for the ending of hostility between the two countries.

Indications that the vivisection of pre-independent India and the communal riots which bled the divided countries in 1947, and would remain burnt into the memory of those who had witnessed them, have not estranged them have in fact never been lacking. Within less than two years of the partition of India, at a conference of the editors of newspapers of India and Pakistan, there was total unanimity on the need for both the countries to live in peace and harmony. A striking illustration of the yearning for harmonious relations with India among the people of Pakistan was not merely the virtual absence of anger or bitterness towards the Indian Army among the soldiers and

the senior officers of the Pakistan army after its defeat in Bangladesh in 1971. The longing for a return to an old friendship sundered by partition could be seen from the touching cordiality on several occasions.

There were good reasons to believe that Pakistan's war-weariness and its readiness to bury the hatchet had left it in the right state of mind for signing the 1972 Shimla Agreement with India and to agree to having the Line of Control in Kashmir virtually as an international border though this might never have been so clearly spelt out. The hawks were, however, always hovering around to see that this did not happen. If the stinging humiliation over its having lost Bangladesh still rankles the psyche of the ruling Pakistani establishment, the external environment changing from one extreme to the other during the half century has also worked against Pakistan's living without any complexes against India. The choice of Pakistan way back in 1953 by the United States as its ally during the Cold War and its enrolment as a signatory to the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) while India was forging very friendly relations with the erstwhile Soviet Union ensured that the tensions in the subcontinent stayed alive. This privileged relationship lasted long enough for Islamabad until the Cold War ended. Apart from just being pleasantly surprised, New Delhi might indeed have been astonished when Washington held Pakistan responsible for the Kargil crisis. It will be wholly in its interest for Pakistan to respond to the appeal of Admiral Ramdas, made in Islamabad itself, to end terrorism and militancy in Kashmir. The pleas of Ms. Jehangir to restore peace and harmony between the two countries should be heeded as the voice of sanity in the subcontinent.



# Ex-Navy chief for ceasefire along LoC

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, MAY 11. Admiral Ramdas (retd.), former chief of the Indian Navy, has called for an immediate ceasefire along the Line of Control (LoC) between Pakistan and India and the termination of all forms of violence by terrorists, militants and security forces.

Delivering the first Eqbal Ahmed memorial lecture here on Thursday, Admiral Ramdas said there should be an immediate stop to "terrorists, militants and jehadies" crossing the LoC.

The lecture, which was greeted with applause by an appreciative Pakistani audience, saw Admiral Ramdas suggesting a dialogue between India and Pakistan on all issues, including Jammu and Kashmir. He also called upon the two countries to work out a bilateral nuclear protocol to include non-first use and denuclearisation procedures.

Commenting on the view that a solution to the Kashmir issue would resolve problems between the two countries, he termed this an "over-simplification" as "many factors" had contributed to the "unfortunate situation".

Referring to the erosion of democracy in India and Pakistan, the Admiral said that while India continued to have an elected civilian government it had yet to give full meaning to a working democracy. "Economic freedom has yet to come to many," he said. In Pakistan, military takeovers had created situations which were unique.

"There is a strong feeling in certain quarters in both our countries that if we do not sustain the 'enemy' image of each other, and play the religious card, the whole country would disintegrate. Many times wars have been created to divert the attention of the public from the many failures within the domestic scene....we have fought nearly four wars with each other and neither side has gained anything from it...." said Admiral Ramdas, who is also the chairman of the India chapter of the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFD).

On the birth of Bangladesh, he said this had left a "deep impression in the minds of the Pakistani establishment, especially the Army. This has resulted in a continuous and long struggle to settle scores

with India. Bangladesh is now a reality and more than anybody else Pakistan paved the way for its formation, aided and abetted by India! This wound has, therefore, still to heal".

Kashmir, in his view, was a very knotty problem. The view of the PIPFD was that a formula must be evolved which would be acceptable to the Governments of India and Pakistan as well as the people of Kashmir. "Most importantly, the civil society in Jammu and Kashmir must be empowered to facilitate the evolution of this process."

The Admiral felt that the glorification of violence all led to the brainwashing of children — through toys, movies, cartoons or sounds. "When this is done with a religious overlay it has a devastating impact on the young minds. This kind of foundation is further strengthened by the distorted and corrupt education process in later years....is it then surprising that these children when they finally emerge as leaders are only talking of wars and winning fights...the culture of violence is the main cause for the growth of nuclearism in the sub-continent..."

Referring to the "daunting and uncertain future", the former Naval chief stated: "Nuclearisation of South Asia had added a whole new and dangerous dimension to India-Pakistan relations. Kargil demonstrated how both in Pakistan and in India there were suggestions from certain quarters for the use of nuclear weapons during that conflict..."

"The continuing resort to proxy war through militancy, terrorism and 'jehad' by Pakistan, with an intent to 'bleed' India is proving to be counter-productive and risks in my view too much for too little. If India's economic situation is not good, Pakistan's is much worse. India despite its poor economic situation, has upped the ante by raising its current year's defence budget by a whopping 28 per cent — from Rs. 45,000 crore to Rs 58,000 crore. This could be seen as India's answer to the 'bleed' India policy, a strategy to put further pressures on Pakistan's already very difficult economic situation. This may sound very nice to both sides, but some thing is going to give way soon...."

In this context, the Admiral called for a ceasefire between the two countries, an end to militancy and terrorism as well as the resumption of dialogue.

# Advani reveals ISI nest in Aurangabad

## Bhujbal assures action ■ Arrests on cards, say Police

NEWS & AGENCIES  
MUMBAI, MAY 10

**U**NION Home Minister L. K. Advani's statement in Parliament on Tuesday that Aurangabad had become a beehive of terrorists sponsored by Pakistan's ISI has stirred a hornet's nest in this communally sensitive town. On his part, Deputy Chief Minister Chhagan Bhujbal, who also holds the home portfolio, said here today that the Maharashtra Government was taking all necessary steps to curb ISI activities in the State.

The police meanwhile are tight-lipped about Advani's revelation. While they have refused to confirm or deny the validity of the Home Minister's statement, spec-

ulation is rife on what could have led the Government to make a such a statement.

According to the police, no case of anti-national or terrorist nature has been registered against anyone in the town in the recent past. Nor has any one been arrested as a suspect in similar cases. Police, however, have not ruled out the possibility of some arrests in the new future.

Another section of the police say while they had detected the involvement of some people in clandestine activities time and again, nothing could be done against them because of their close proximity to top political leaders.

However, it has now been established conclusively that a former Naxal-turned-terrorist, Azam Gauri, trained by the ISI in Pak-

istan, had attended a conference organised by the Students Islamic Movement of India here in November last year, police said.

Gauri is alleged to have been killed in a police encounter on April 6 in Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh.

In the border district of Nanded, it was a bomb explosion in a cinema theatre in February this year that led to the detection of ISI sympathisers in Dharmabad village.

Superintendent of Nanded Police V V Laxminarayan, who was in charge of the whole investigation and who coordinated with the Andhra Pradesh police, learnt that Gauri had been disguised as a butcher in Dharmabad. Gauri's links have been traced back to

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 2**

# Advani revelation on ISI

Lashkar-e-Toiba. Laxminarayan addressed a press conference, urging the media not to be too "curious" or "speculative". He, however, did add that he had stumbled on something "big". Officials in Aurangabad maintain that while the terrorists may have received shelter in the town, most of their activities were related to incidents that took place in Nanded and the bordering districts of Andhra Pradesh.

During a raid by the Nanded police on the butcher's house last month, the police came across currency notes worth over Rs. 13 lakh along with some incriminating documents and a diary with the addresses of various outfits.

Eight suspects have been arrested in this case so far. Interestingly, police remained mum throughout the investigation, but recently,

isthan, had attended a conference organised by the Students Islamic Movement of India here in November last year, police said.

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**CONTINUED ON PAGE 2**

## Pak warns India

QUETTA, May 10. — In his strongest remark since President Bill Clinton's visit, General Pervez Musharraf today warned India against committing any "act of war" which he said would be "suitably and adequately" met. Addressing army officers here, he said Pakistan "is in a position to effectively deter any Indian aggression".

He alleged that India was trying to "break the will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir by brute force and to promote an internal political process".

### 4 killed in J&K blast

At least four Army personnel were killed and three seriously injured when a land mine planted by militants exploded at Nihalpora village in Pattan, Baramulla, today.  
— Reuters & PTI

THE STATESMAN

9 MAY 2002

31 MAY 2002

# Indian general meets Musharraf in Pak for peace

■ Continued from Page 1

moving to Lahore on May 2 he had held four formal interactions at different forums besides having a 75-minute meeting with the Chief Executive.

The two are leaving for Karachi on Saturday from where they will go to Mumbai on May 10. The itinerary includes a meeting with the Sindh governor.

Hailing from Abbottabad, Gen. Chibber had joined the British India Army in 1945. He came to the scene in 1949 when he was involved in demarcation of the then Cease-fire Line in Kashmir. Then as a captain in Kargil he indulged in what he says normal shootouts across the line from 1955 to 1957. He was again in Kashmir as a brigade commander from 1968 to 1970. He commanded another brigade in the Kashmir sector during the 1971 war.

He was director of Indian Military Operations from 1976 to 1979 when various game plans against Pakistan were formulated. He became commander of the Indian Northern Areas Command from 1982 to 1985 when India occupied Siachen.

Gen. Chibber retired from the Army on August 31, 1985 and says that on September

1, 1985, he wrote to Gen. Zia-ul-Haq that he was starting a campaign for peace. Since then, he has been writing of his desire for peace to almost all Army Chiefs in Pakistan.

He says he had also contacted Gen. Pervez Musharraf when the latter became the Army Chief in 1998 with the same motive and wrote another letter to him when he took over power in October last year.

The general says at the time of Partition he had opted for Pakistan and offered to join the 13th Frontier Force at Abbottabad but later migrated to India along with his family.

His wife, who belongs to Rawalpindi, was studying in the King Edward Medical College, Lahore, at the time of Partition and later completed her medical education at the Lady Harding Medical College, New Delhi.

The general says he has no backing from his government or any other agency for his peace mission.

"People of India and Pakistan are with me. The problem has been not the people but the establishments in the two countries. The establishments preserve their public image and it is the duty of people like me to raise hopes for the future."

"My conviction after spending 12 or 13

days in Pakistan is stronger than ever before that reconciliation will come soon. It is a feeling deep in the hearts of the people in both the countries," Gen. Chibber says.

While replying to a question on the Siachen glacier, he says the world must recognise the truth behind the issue. Lt. Gen. Jehan Dad Khan (Retd) of Pakistan has mentioned many hidden truths of the issue in his book published in 1999.

The general claims that Siachen was an undemarcated area and India came to know in 1978 that some enterprising agent in Pakistan was pursuing mountaineering expeditions there. He alleges that many developments that followed indicated a Pakistani desire to occupy the area in May 1984. And India occupied the place on April 13 in order to prevent it. Gen. Chibber says the Nawaz-Vajpayee meeting was a breakthrough which he alleges was damaged by the Kargil issue. Mr Vajpayee is also a follower of Sai Baba and had taken the peace initiative despite criticism from some quarters. And he was belittled and ridiculed when the Kargil issue erupted. "But I have no doubt that the people of India who are angry with the Kargil issue, will settle down."

When asked why if the people of India wanted peace, Mr Vajpayee was rejecting repeated offers of talks by General Pervez Musharraf, he says trust is not something which "you can switch on or off." Time and action marking no covert or overt violence will regenerate confidence, he says.

He says there is no immediate danger of war despite "routine" shelling across the LoC between the two sides. "This is my professional judgment that has come from learning the art of warfare."

He says war can be averted by avoiding tough talk. "This is my advice to both the countries because it is action that shapes human destiny. I will also request the media to stop looking for sensational headlines."

Gen. Chibber avoids a direct reply to a question regarding his suggestions for the resolution of the Kashmir issue and says he had himself sought an answer to this question during his meetings in Islamabad.

But he blames Britain for "pitting the people of the subcontinent against each other."

Gen. Chibber says that when he retired he had advocated that India and Pakistan must go nuclear to ensure eradication of the curse of atomic weapons from earth.

By INTIKHAB HANIF  
Dawn

## Indian general meets Musharraf for peace

**Lahore, May 7:** An Indian general who spent a major part of his military career in Kashmir and the Siachen sector is now trying to broker peace between Pakistan and India.

Lt. Gen. M.L. Chibber (Retd) is on a private visit to Pakistan to promote reconciliation, which he says will come through close contact between the peoples of the two countries.

But while pleading for reconciliation — which he says may come sooner than "most of us think" — he avoids a direct answer as to how the core issue of Kashmir should be resolved.

"For India, Kashmir is not a disputed territory," the general told Dawn during an exclusive interview here on Friday. But he doesn't comment when it is put to him that for Pakistan this is the main issue which requires resolution above all other problems.

### SPOTLIGHT

When asked about the link between his long career working against Pakistan and his new role as a peace-keeper, Gen. Chibber says the desire for reconciliation emerged from within him and it was motivated by a man of "infinite wisdom in India, Sai Baba, who has been working for the

unity of man for so long."

The general sees no chance of any war between Pakistan and India at present and believes that a nuclear war is out of the question.

Gen. Chibber and his wife, Dr Ramesh Chibber, have been in Pakistan since April 21. He says his visit is due to correspondence with General Pervez Musharraf. He started his visit from Islamabad on April 21 and before

Turn to Page 2

# Pak women vow to build bridges

**Kurkum Chadha**  
Jaipur, May 7

**UNLIKE** EMPEROR Akbar who travelled all the way to Salim Chisti's dargah to ask for a son, the all-women delegation from Pakistan prayed for peace in Fatehpur Sikri enroute here.

They said that their relationship with Indians seem to have graduated from the customary "brother Indians" to solid friendship: "We have now earned the right to call you friends," said Hena Jalani, co-leader of the Pak women group.

Guided by State Tourism Minister Bina Kak, children in the historic Pink City buried pistols to reiterate the "no war, no bloodshed" sentiment. "We do not want our borders to be bloody. We want them coloured with a beer and gulal. We do not want tanks to devastate our fields nor body bags to arrive," said the delegates yet agreeing that the Indo-Pakistan relationship was at its lowest ebb. "The relationship is moving from bad to terrible. Peace is a fantasy. The key question was should we accept the inevitability of war or draft an agenda for the people?" "Even if the Kashmir issue is resolved, the vested interests of the

politicians and the media will ensure that the tension remains," said Asma Jahangir, activist and leader of the Pakistan delegation during an interaction at the Jawahar Kala Kendra here.

The peace mission has made some headway from the surface bonhomie during its weeklong stay in India. The shift was clear: from the need and desirability of peace, the focal point seemed to be the why and how of it. If Pakistan had its roadblocks by way of a military regime; India had to ensure that the hard stance of its political leadership underwent a change similar to Pakistan. "We, on our part, will marginalise forces in Pakistan who will not tolerate peace initiatives. You in your country should build an opinion that it is nothing but friendship between India and Pakistan which will bring prosperity," counselled Asma Jahangir amid applause.

Though the mission has not been politically blessed in Pakistan or India, some kind of sanctity has been accorded to it because Union Ministers Jaswant Singh, Ajit Pajja and Sumitra Mahajan and Chief Ministers Digvijay Singh, Shiela Dixit and Ashok Gehlot have interacted with them.

The demand to "institutionalise" this peace initiative has been voiced in several quarters now, but the strength of the mission is that this is not a "one time exercise".

Dr. Syeda Hameed, Member National Commission for Women and team leader for Women's Initiative for Peace in South Asia

(WIPSA), confirmed that the next thing on the agenda is a delegation of lawyers, generals and journalists who will visit Pakistan shortly.

Coupled with this is the determination not to let the men muddle any more. While the first step is to free it from the clutches of the political leadership and convert it into a people's movement, the second is to leave the men on the periphery because of their earlier failures resulting in women being the sufferers. Besides women, as mothers, want to carve a better tomorrow for their children. A tomorrow that is bloodless and bombless.

## **Pak refutes India's charge of LoC violation**

**P**AKISTAN'S FOREIGN Secretary Inam-ul-Haq has refuted Indian allegations that Pakistan is violating the Line of Control (LoC).

"For last 10 years we have been making an open offer to India and the rest of the world in response to

the Indian allegation that Pakistan was violating the Line of Control," he told Voice of Germany. He called upon the international community to send observers to determine whether or not anything of the sort was happening along the LoC.

**HTC, Islamabad**

THE HINDUSTAN TIME

THE HINDUSTAN TIME

5 MAY 200

# Pak delegates discuss media, human rights

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, MAY 4

THERE is no time to make symbolic gestures anymore, we want to convey our fears to policy makers and come up with new ideas for more people to people meetings," said Asma Jehangir, chairperson of the Pakistan Human Rights Commission, at the meeting with mediapersons at the Indian Women's Press Corps in the Capital today.

Jehangir is leading a delegation of 60 Pakistani women comprising lawyers, activists, journalists and theatre personalities, to India. Jehangir said that what they approved of was the private electronic media in India. "In Pakistan the media is state-owned," she said.

Later, Jehangir said that the propaganda disseminated by the state-controlled media of both countries was "disgusting" and made the truth obscure.

One thing in common between women of the two countries is the violence against them. "If we have honour killings in our country, there is bride burning here," said Jehangir, adding: "The difference is that there is a mechanism to respond to your needs here but for us, because of the state's discrimination, it'll take time for things to improve."



Chairperson of Pakistan Human Rights Commission Asma Jehangir (right) along with other delegates at a press conference in the Capital on Wednesday - Express photo by Naveen Jora

But she said that CEO General Parvez Musharraf, had recently condemned "honour killings" and said that the government was soon going to evolve a national policy against such acts.

On the trial of former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Jehangir said that, "He himself was not a great champion of free judiciary," but added that the judge seemed "fair." When asked whether they perceived any safety threats in India, they all voiced a big 'no'. "Human rights activists feel

threatened everywhere so there is no question of feeling threatened here," said one delegate.

Earlier in the day, the visitors participated in a panel discussion on Indo-Pak Trade and Cultural Relations. Among the Indian participants were Khushwant Singh and Rajesh Pilot.

While they agreed that there was a need for the two countries to talk, the Indian participants pointed out that it was not possible in the current atmosphere of mistrust.

## Asma invites Arundhati to join her peace forum

SREELATHA MENON  
NEW DELHI, MAY 4

ASMA Jehangir, president of the Pakistan National Human Rights Commission, who is leading the Pakistani women's delegation to India, could not find enough words to praise the Booker-winning author Arundhati Roy. The praise was not for her prize-winning book but for her essay on peace.

"We used to honour you just for that," she said at a meeting of Indian and Pakistani writers at the India International Centre here.

And the honour came in the form of a request to Roy to be part of a new initiative for regional peace.

Speaking to her during tea break at the India International Centre, Jehangir proposed that she join the group that she would be forming with other peace-loving people in the region.

"This group will stand up for peace and will remain an unwavering factor in bringing India and Pakistan closer, no matter what the political circumstances are," she told Roy.

HUMAN RIGHTS

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5 MAY 2000

# India smiles as Pak covers under terrorism heat

Indrani Bagchi  
NEW DELHI 2 MAY

**I**NDIA WORE a smile of satisfaction as Pakistan squirmed under the heat of the US terrorism review. Although the ministry of economic affairs refused to go beyond the prescription: "confirmation to a large measure what we have been saying" for *muzda*, it is clear India believes the "self-evidence" of the report.

The US state department report predictably drew howls of protest from both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The report said the "locus of terrorism" had shifted from West Asia to South Asia. India has been saying for some time that international terrorism flows out of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Detailing 37 incidents of terrorism against India in 1999, the state department said the US had repeatedly asked Islamabad to end support to elements that conduct terrorist training in

Afghanistan, while credible reports indicate Pakistani support for Kashmiri militant groups that engage in terrorism in Kashmir.

The US stopped short at naming Pakistan as a state sponsor of terrorism, referring to label it instead as a friendly country trying to undo the menace.

But its indictment of Pakistan was especially severe. "The US has urged Islamabad to

## SHREDS OF EVIDENCE

close certain madrassas or religious schools that actually serve as conduits for terrorism."

Along with the rest of the world, the US too is moving towards a more stringent definition of terrorism. In its review, the US state department said, no one definition has gained universal acceptance. But they define it thus: "The term terrorism means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated

against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience."

In his post millennium terrorism review, Michael Sheehan, coordinator for counter-terrorism in the US state department had spelled out what the US meant by "draining the swamps" of terrorists, a term made prominent in the present review.

He had said: "We seek to limit the room which terrorists have in which to operate, plan, move and work. We work to show terrorists that there is no room — both physically and politically — for them to use terrorism as their means of expression."

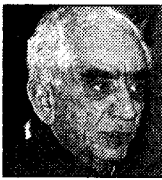
This will entail pressuring state sponsors, and bolster capacities of states to counter terrorism. This will start in India as Indian and US intelligence agencies join hands to fight terrorism in this region.



# 'Pakistan paying for Kargil'

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, April 30 — Pakistan is paying the price for its limited war in Kargil, the external affairs minister said today. "And the country will do so in future."



Jaswant Singh

Speaking a few days before the first "anniversary" of the war, that officially began with the spotting of the intruders on 3 May'99, Mr Jaswant Singh said the Indian Army proved its supremacy in the war which was a challenge for the country.

Mr Singh said Pakistan's "nefarious designs" were exposed during the war. He credited the BJP-led government for successfully countering the Pakistanis with the help of other parties.

The minister was speaking at a function organised here to honour 71 families of Kargil martyrs from Rajasthan.

A committee led by the Union home minister, Mr LK Advani, would go into border management, soldier recruitment and soldiers' problems, and submit

its report within six months.

Other members of the committee are the defence minister Mr George Fernandes, Union finance minister Mr Yashwant Sinha and Mr Singh.

**Musharraf gesture:** General Pervez Musharraf has issued 30-day visas to four Indians to visit their relatives in Pakistan, reports PTI from Chandigarh. The move is perceived as part of efforts to build people-to-people contact between the two countries.

"The Musharraf administration has issued visas for 30 days instead of seven days which Pakistan gave to SGPC sponsored religious groups, that too to a trust whose Pakistani chapter is headed by Mr Nawaz Sharif himself," the patron of the Jati Umrah Indo-Pakistan Parivar Milap Trust, General (retd) Himmat Singh Gill said.

The trust formed to bring together families separated during partition was formed by Gen Gill's father and former Goa Governor Col Partap Singh along with Mr Sharif's friend Mr Arjan Singh and his father Mohammed Sharif in 1998. It took its first batch of those separated to Pakistan in 1999.

# Call Musharraf's bluff

By K. K. Katyal

*India's interests will not be promoted if the Government sticks to the present line and chooses not to explore ways of restarting bilateral contacts with Pakistan.*

TO RESUME or not to resume dialogue with Pakistan — that is the question. The issue has been debated intensely since it first arose in October last in the wake of the military coup in Islamabad. The fact that it has persisted that long shows that the arguments in support of engaging the neighbour are not devoid of force. Had that not been the case, the debate would have died down, with the firm rejection of the idea by the Government. It would be unrealistic on the part of New Delhi to take for granted the continued understanding of its position by the world community. The fatigue factor may come into play soon, leading to an adverse reaction to India's "no" to talks. Before that happens, let Indian diplomacy play a creative role. Apart from a formal structured dialogue, there are some possibilities: (1) talks to prepare for talks (2) back-channel efforts and (3) track-II diplomacy. Any one of the routes — even all — could be explored.

New Delhi's initial caution was, no doubt, justified. It was rudely shaken by the blatant betrayal of the trust reposed in Pakistan through the bus diplomacy. The realisation that preparations for the Kargil misadventure were on even as the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and his then Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, affixed their signatures to the Lahore Declaration and the two sides committed themselves to a new set of confidence-building measures was strong enough reason to banish the thought of a fresh initiative. The wariness increased when the architect of the Kargil operation, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, took over as the military ruler. But will India's interests be promoted if the Government sticks to the present line and chooses not to explore ways of restarting bilateral contacts? No.

This is so even though the most powerful nation, U.S., has ended its tilt towards Pakistan and appreciates India's stand on issues such as terrorism. The U.S. has modified its earlier stand, calling upon India to resume talks with Pakistan, and now wants Islamabad to take the first tangible step with a view to facilitating the process. That, however, is not to be regarded as conferring on India a right to take the negative line for all time to come. There is the risk of New Delhi losing the understanding

and appreciation of others in the world, if it is seen as not doing its bit to set in motion the dialogue process. Last week-end's comment by the U.S. Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Thomas Pickering, confirms this fear. Reiterating the U.S. view that Pakistan needed to create "peaceful conditions", he said: "Kargil cannot be forgotten but it can and should be transcended. We are asking New Delhi to consider very seriously the possibilities for resuming the dialogue".

The conduct of the other side needs to be taken into account by New Delhi. While putting on a brave face in the wake of the rebuff received from the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, Gen. Musharraf has sought to "correct" some of the policy stances considered objectionable by the U.S. He has made a show of containing the militant outfits — announcing steps to disarm the jihadi groups, even though vast sections of Pakistanis themselves are sceptical of the success of the move. Four major sectarian groups have been outlawed, the misuse of the anti-blasphemy law is to be prohibited and the flow of arms and movement of militants from Afghanistan to Pakistan is to be controlled. That, in any case, is what is stated publicly. The activities of Masood Azhar, one of the militants whose release was secured by the hijackers of the Indian Airlines plane, have been restricted.

These steps may be cosmetic, intended for the consumption of the U.S. and other major countries. But can one be sure that the world community will not be taken in, and that Gen. Musharraf will not succeed in his carefully-planned bid to project an image of moderation? Pakistani representatives cite the statement by our Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, that the exchange of firing along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir has subsided to make out a case of improvement. In the midst of propaganda blasts from Islamabad, the reality — continued infiltration of armed bands — may go unnoticed.

New Delhi is well within its rights in saying that a perceptible reduction in terrorist violence is the real test of Islamabad's intentions but to insist on an end to the virulent anti-India propaganda — or similar conditions — for creating the right climate for talks may not be realistic. Pakistan says it will scale down its "moral, political and diplomatic" support to "Kashmir freedom-fighters" if there is reciprocity by the Indian side, and by this it means curtailment of "repression" by the security forces. This is a deliberate bid to create confusion — by ignoring the central point that the operations by paramilitary forces are essentially a response to organised trans-border terrorism. Pakistan's argument is untenable for another reason too — it seeks to link bilateral dealings with changes in decisions on matters of India's domestic concern (of curbing terrorist violence).

A way will have to be found to reconcile India's indifference to the present regime in Pakistan and the need for a working relationship with it. New Delhi's reluctance to be a party to an arrangement that may give legitimacy to the military takeover and the dismissal of the democratic Government was evident on various occasions — (1) the move, at India's instance, to postpone the SAARC summit (because Gen. Musharraf's presence there would have given respectability to him in the region), (2) its support, along with several African states, to the proposal for suspension of Pakistan from the Commonwealth and (3) its role at the recent ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned in the exclusion of military-ruled Pakistan from the grouping — a move that is certain to be pursued at the NAM summit.

But it should not be difficult to evolve a compartmentalised approach, enabling New Delhi, on the one hand, to stick to its concern over military dictatorship (assuming that it is called for) and, on the other, not to block bilateral acts. However, Pakistan may not be expected to talk under

the shadow of non-recognition by New Delhi. As a matter of fact, Gen. Musharraf is keen on the resumption of the dialogue, not because he expects a forward movement on Kashmir but because this course may help neutralise New Delhi's antipathy to the military regime.

The options other than a structured dialogue were tried in the past — and gave rise to hopes, faint though, for breaking the deadlock. The back-channel contacts, involving Mr. R. K. Mishra, a New Delhi-based journalist, and Mr. Niaz Naik, former Pakistan Foreign Secretary, which had begun before the Lahore bus journey continued even after the two sides were locked in a bitter armed conflict in Kargil. The new regime in Pakistan is not averse to the revival of this process. This much is evident from Mr. Niaz Naik being allowed to maintain contacts with the Indian side — in New Delhi and, on the occasion of seminars, in Kathmandu and Colombo — and his statement that he had kept Gen. Musharraf posted with his efforts even before the dismissal of the Sharif Government. However, Mr. Niaz Naik's recent visit to New Delhi produced heat and dust rather than substantive contacts. However, the track-II exercises have of late picked up, thanks to the exchange of visits by women's delegations, poets and persons connected with friendship organisations.

At the political level, there has been no interaction while official contacts are mostly confined to the summoning of the High Commissioners by the host Governments for tough messages. For more than six months after the coup, India's High Commissioner in Pakistan, Mr. G. Parthasarthy, did not get an opportunity to see anyone of consequence in the Government. Recently he was called for talks with the Foreign Secretary to be conveyed the Pakistani stand on the dialogue, with a one-sided account of the meeting finding its way into the local press. Gen. Musharraf later repeated the "offer of talks at any place, any time, at any level". This, according to New Delhi, was a propaganda ploy, in the absence of evidence of deeds matching his words. Let New Delhi call his bluff — with a specific suggestion for talks, in the first instance, to ensure the sanctity of the LoC.

# 'Lahore trip turned Gen. against Sharif'

# Musharraf offers talks to Vajpayee

REUTERS & PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

ISLAMABAD, April 29. — General Pervez Musharraf, has said he's ready to discuss the Kashmir issue with Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee.

"Now I would certainly like to talk to the (Indian) Prime Minister," Gen Musharraf told CNN in an interview today. "And we will be very open, very frank and very flexible, very practical, very realistic but it is the Kashmir dispute which we have to address," he said.

CNN said Gen Musharraf offered to meet the Indian Prime Minister in a neutral West Asian country.

"I would certainly like to talk to the Prime Minister ... the person who is in charge and who is going to decide," he said.

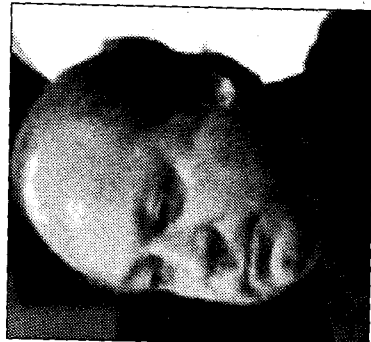
Gen Musharraf denied Indian accusations that Pakistan was involved in last month's killing of 35 Sikhs in Jammu and Kashmir and said the international community should be allowed to hold an independent investigation into the massacre during the US President, Mr Bill Clinton's visit to India.

This is the first call by the Pakistani military ruler for a face-to-face meeting with Mr Vajpayee. Earlier, he had said Pakistan was ready for talks with India anytime, anywhere.

**Advani attacks Pak for terror export:** Cross-border terrorism has become part of Pakistan's state policy to help destabilise India and achieve its political objectives, Mr LK Advani said today. "What is worse is that it is misusing religion in this inhuman campaign," he said at the Intelligence Chief's conference on ISI activities, adds SNS Delhi.

**'We will take Lahore':** RSS chief Mr KS Sudershan today declared that India would have to regain the area that it "lost in 1947". "We have to regain Lahore — the capital of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Khalsa Raj. We have to reclaim Nankana Sahib and several other religious places as also Sindhu (Indus) and Kasoor (all of which are in Pakistan)," adds SNS Chandigarh.

■ **Lahore trip turned Gen. against Sharif**, page 11



Mr Newaz Sharif

A new welcome programme was accordingly chalked out. If Mr Sharif had taken General Musharraf into confidence before finalising Mr Vajpayee's visit, the situation would have been different, Mr Bizenjo said.

Mr Sharif felt insulted by the general's gesture. He apprehended that the army chief would use different agencies to stage demonstrations against Mr Vajpayee's visit.

Mr Bizenjo said General Musharraf was absent at the banquet that Mr Sharif hosted at Lahore Fort to honour Mr

Vajpayee. Mr Sharif was very satisfied with Mr Vajpayee's visit and looked confident in making some headway towards finding a solution to the Kashmir problem.

Mr Bizenjo said that Mr Sharif was sure that the Kargil crisis was precipitated to sabotage the Lahore declaration.

Efforts to lessen the differences between the Prime Minister and the army chief proved futile as General Musharraf wanted the Lahore Declaration to be withdrawn and Mr Sharif was reluctant to do so.

Before leaving for Washington to meet Mr Bill Clinton, Mr Sharif had made up his mind to withdraw the intruders from Kargil. He had even decided to dismiss General Musharraf after the Kargil crisis, Mr Bizenjo said.

Mr Sharif was also unhappy with General Musharraf when he had retired the Quetta Corps Commander, Lt-Gen Tariq Pervez, who had reportedly met Mr Sharif without the army chief's consent.

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

ISLAMABAD, April 29. — Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to Lahore last year was the main cause of tension between Mr Nawaz Sharif and Gen. Pervez Musharraf, a Pakistani leader has said.

Mr Hasil Bizenjo, leader of the Baluchistan National Party, told *The Friday Times* that the Kargil intrusion was aimed at sabotaging the peace process that followed the Lahore visit.

Mr Bizenjo, member of the defunct National Assembly, was present at Mr Sharif's house when the former foreign minister Mr Sartaj Aziz went there to inform Mr Sharif that General Musharraf had refused to welcome the Indian Prime Minister at the Indo-Pak border post.

This created an awkward situation for the government as Mr Sharif himself had invited Mr Vajpayee and, according to the protocol, it was necessary that all the three service chiefs were present to receive Mr Vajpayee, he said.

30 APR 2000

# Pak for reducing tension <sup>28/4</sup> with India

Islamabad, April 27 <sup>HF 29</sup>

PAKISTAN TODAY said that New Delhi and Islamabad should work toward reducing tension along the Line of Control (LoC) and warned that if it was not done it could lead to a full-fledged war between the two countries.

"...we have had experiences in the past that disproportionate reactions started a cycle of escalation ending in war neither side wanted. Therefore, the wise thing to do is to arrest the escalation" of tension along the LoC, Pakistan Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar said in an interview to American television network CNN.

He said that the situation is now much more "dangerous than it ever was".

"I think we should recognise that the nuclearisation, the word nuclearisation of South Asia has greatly aggravated the dangers that existed before," Mr Sattar said.

Reiterating Pakistan's offer to resume dialogue with India, he said, "There could be contacts between the commanders of both

sides so that they talk to each other rather than respond to bullets by bullets."

Admitting that there is traffic across the Line of Control, Mr Sattar, however, said the people who cross LoC are "motivated by various considerations".

"The question to ask is, is such traffic sponsored by the government. Government of Pakistan has to work on the basis of the laws of the country. Political activity, collection of funds is not against the law. What is against the law is violation of the line of control," he said.

**4 killed in Pak gunbattle:** Four people were killed and 20 injured here today in a gunbattle between the Pakistani police and alleged criminals, administration officials and witnesses said on Thursday.

The clash occurred when police backed by para-military troops raided a suburban neighbourhood to arrest an ethnic Pashtun group activist accused of involvement in murders and kidnappings, they said. (Agencies)

# Advani hits Opp. with Pak missile

FROM CHANDAN NANDY

New Delhi, April 27: India today broadbased its threat perception from Islamabad with Union home minister L.K. Advani saying Pakistan's objective was not limited to grabbing Jammu and Kashmir but to "strike at the country's integrity".

Shaking an iron fist at the Opposition which had yesterday poured scorn on his Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel image, Advani today told a CII conference that the BJP-led government had inherited all ills, including the sorry state of internal security, plaguing the country from the previous regimes.

Advani used the occasion to pick up from where he left off in Parliament last night when he wanted Indian Muslims to rise in jihad against Pakistan — a comment described as "unfortunate" by the Congress, which said he should have appealed to all Indians and not a particular community.

This afternoon, the home minister said had the Kashmir question been addressed and taken to its logical conclusion following Pakistan's debacle in the 1971 war, things would not have come to such a pass.

"1971 was a golden opportunity to settle the Kashmir issue once and for all. It was a victory for peace and we missed the opportunity," he said, making a reference to a film he had seen on Sardar Patel. Independent India's first home minister "had been taken by surprise when Lord Mountbatten persuaded Nehru to refer the

Jammu and Kashmir issue to the Security Council."

Advani was targeting the Congress for frittering away the "golden opportunity" that had presented itself before Indira Gandhi in 1971. "And since then, Pakistan has changed its strategy which we are having to bear. It has set the ISI upon our country and is trying to break it apart," he said. Questioning the Opposition, he asked: "Are you not responsible for it?"

The question is being seen as a tit-for-tat response to the Congress' outburst in the Lok Sabha yesterday, when Priya Ranjan Das Munshi said the manner in which Advani was being compared to Sardar Patel was "neither adding glory to Advani nor to Patel".

Advani also admonished the Opposition for "besmirching" India's image abroad by spreading lies about attacks on Christians and Muslims. "Unfortunately for India, in order to score political points, there is a tendency on our part to project problems of Christians or other minorities as if these are daily affairs," the home minister said.

However, Advani said: "In two years, things have changed greatly. There has been a change in the attitude of the international community after Kargil. It was good that Clinton came here". He was quick to add that though his government had "initially exerted itself to see that Clinton did not go to Pakistan, it later turned out that Indian interests were better served by his Islamabad stop-over".

## Pak must revert to path of peace: Jaswant

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 26.** Pakistan must revert to the path of peace and normality and reaffirm the established essentials of bilateral relations between the two countries so as to restore a climate congenial for resumption of the interrupted dialogue process, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, said today.

"We are far more interested in bilateral relations rather than in public relations indulged in by Pakistan," Mr. Singh said in reply to a spate of supplementaries on Indo-Pakistan relations.

To a question by Mr. Mani Shanker Aiyar (Congress) whether the Government could consider "talks about talks to create an atmosphere which would not aggravate the situation," the Minister said "we will examine the possibility of talks about talks. We don't shut any doors nor do we want to aggravate the situation".

On the offer of talks by the Pakistani chief executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf "at anytime or any place," Mr. Singh said "we are not interested in what they say but what they do".

However, he asserted that the right climate must be created for resumption of dialogue and Pakistan should not indulge in this "endless hostile propaganda and continuous call of jihad".

Mr. Singh ruled out involvement of any mediator or facilitator for resolving Indo-Pak. issues, saying "we have made it quite clear that whatever euphemism may be used - facilitator or mediator - it is not acceptable to India".

In the post-Kargil period and after the military takeover, Pakistan has enhanced its sponsorship and support to cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, as also elsewhere in India, he said.

— PTI

India wants to believe that Pakistan under Musharraf has become a global pariah. This is not the case

# If this is isolation...

16-17 1679  
AFTER THE Cartagena Non-aligned Foreign Ministers conference, I asked a senior BJP functionary whether it was necessary for us to take the lead in trying to get Pakistan expelled from the Non-aligned Movement. "We should give up this approach of being thoughtful and impartial," he said. "Pakistan is on the run. It is isolated; we must keep up the pressure on them. This is the only way they will learn their lessons."

While we must retain the memories of Pakistani aggressiveness towards us and remain alert about further Pakistani operational antagonism, there seems to be an additional gung-ho assertiveness in our more recent policy orientations towards. The approach seems to be: "They are politically dead beat, so let us annihilate them at least diplomatically and politically."

We should guard ourselves against an irrational smugness which underpins this approach. The content of this self-satisfaction is the general assessment that the international community led by the United States is now on India's side, that India should take maximum advantage of this situation to put Pakistan on the defensive, generating compulsions which would make Pakistan agree to rational and practical solutions to Indo-Pak issues.

There are reasons for this assessment. Despite great difficulties, the Indian armed forces got the better of Pakistani forces during the Kargil war. India also managed to avoid a nuclear confrontation. The US gave categorical support to India on the restoration of the status quo ante bellum on the Line of Control and ensured Pakistani withdrawal of the LoC. It also announced that the sanctity of the LoC should be respected.

Pakistan did not get any meaningful support from China and important Islamic countries on the Kargil issue. General Pervez Musharraf's assuming power through a military coup has isolated Pakistan from the international community. Pakistan is suffering from economic difficulties and centrifugal pressures. Additionally, President Clinton took a critical stance on Pakistan's Kashmir policies and about the coup during his visit to the subcontinent. The mainstream attitude of the international community on issues of terrorism and narcotics converged with India's policies and attitudes and put Pakistan on the defensive.

BY J. N. DIXIT

While Pakistan's political credibility has declined, India's credibility and economic potentials are being incrementally acknowledged by the major powers. These trends and events put India in a strong position to generate pressure on Pakistan to make it give up its hostile attitudes and activities against India.

There is an amount of factual accuracy and political validity in the above rationale, but it does not reflect the emerging realities or possibilities fully. One must look objectively at the manner in which Pakistan has been dealing with its predicament under Gen. Musharraf's regime.

We must also take note of Pakistan's perceptions and interpretations of the policies of the US and other major countries. Taking the outcome of the Kargil war, Pakistani High Commissioner in New Delhi Ashraf Jehangir Qazi told me that Pakistan humiliated India during the Kargil war by surprising the Indian Army with its massive infiltration and consolidating their new positions across the LoC. Mr Qazi asserted that Pakistani troops withdrew only because of US pressure. He also implied that the post-Kargil statements of Gen. Musharraf indicate he did not accept that Pakistani armed forces were defeated and that Pakistan would continue its subversive activities in Jammu and Kashmir.

As far as Mr Clinton's visit goes, Pakistan has asserted that it was a diplomatic defeat for India because Mr Clinton visited Islamabad despite objections from the Government of India. His short stay in Islamabad did not have anything to do with Indian advocacies, but he was responding to his domestic political constituency. His discussions with Gen. Musharraf as well as his TV address are interpreted by Pakistan as an affirmation of continuing US interest of having a close relationship with Pakistan. The critical elements in his visit and remarks were animated by sentiments of friendship

and concern for Pakistan. India is indulging in wishful interpretations of Mr Clinton's interaction with Pakistani leaders and public.

Pakistan is unfazed about our perceptions and resulting policy stances. It has also undertaken high-level diplomatic initiatives to remedy the critical predicament in which it finds itself, not so much because of Kargil but because of the military coup. That the US wishes to maintain meaningful contacts with Pakistan was proved by the US agreeing to receive Pakistani Interior Minister Moinuddin Haider in March. Gen Haider's visit was followed by that of Gen Mehmud Ahmed, Director General of the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence, and Javed Jabbar, political advisor to Gen Musharraf. Reports indicate that the US and Pakistan are continuing their discussions and cooperation on security matters, on issues related to regional peace and stability, terrorism, narcotics and so on.

We should not be carried away by any impression that substantive distances between the US and Pakistan will have a tempering impact on Pakistani inclinations towards adventurous actions against India. Gen. Musharraf continued his exercise of networking with leaders of the countries from whom he expects political, security and economic cooperation. He visited Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries late last year. He has been to Iran and China, Brunei, Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia.

The Indian media concluded that Gen. Musharraf has been rebuffed in these countries. This is not the case. Gen. Musharraf was received by top leaders of these countries of ASEAN. They emphasised the importance of restoring democracy in Pakistan. But at the same time Gen. Musharraf strengthened trends of economic and political cooperation between Pakistan and these countries. He went to the G-77 summit in Havana convened

by Fidel Castro. En route, in Paris, he held talks with the French government and created an impression of being a sober and practical leader.

On the return journey he visited Egypt and Libya, thereby covering the northern flank of the membership of the Organisation of Islamic Countries. Simultaneously, Pakistani Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar undertook a sophisticated exercise to project Pakistan as a responsible state willing to cooperate in matters of global concerns and work for South Asian peace and stability.

In a newspaper interview, Sattar promised that Pakistan would act against organisations that encourage *jehad* in Kashmir, and that his government would take disciplinary action against *madrasas* involved in violent activities. Sattar followed up this interview with a pretended statesman-like act at the non-aligned Foreign Ministers' conference. He said South Asia cannot afford dangerous confrontation and that Pakistan is willing to engage in a dialogue without pre-conditions.

Though it has lost some credibility and has economic difficulties, Pakistan is not isolated from the international community. It retains its contacts with China, the US and OIC and West European countries. Pakistan's basic policy objectives are: to convey assurances about the restoration of democracy; to establish an image of a mature and responsible state; the government led by Gen. Musharraf has full support of the people; to convey signals that, but for its fears of India, Pakistan wants to join the mainstream of the international non-proliferation agenda; and that it is willing to enter into unconditional talks as soon as India agrees.

It is reasonable to expect that Pakistani moves in the framework of these objectives would succeed with the international community. We must remember that the international community only supported India on specific issues related to Kargil, terrorism and so on and not on substantive issues affecting Indo-Pak relations.

Our getting on too high a horse to put down and isolate Pakistan is not valid. At the fundamental level, we cannot wish Pakistan away as a neighbour. While remaining firm about our interests and alert and decisive about Pakistani skulduggeries, the basic approach should be to work towards restoring normalcy through dialogue without stipulating impractical pre-conditions.



Firmly on his feet: Musharraf in Egypt

# Pak okays Iran-India pipeline through its territory

INDO-PAK  
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, April 20. — Pakistan has announced that it will allow a gas pipeline between Iran and India to pass through its territory.

The announcement is likely to force the Vajpayee government to decide whether it will allow economic advantages to outweigh political considerations.

While a gas pipeline from Iran is a lucrative prospect for India that is facing growing energy needs, the proposal has never been taken-up seriously since the pipeline's most viable economic route lies through Pakistan. The external affairs ministry spokesman, in fact, said today that he was not aware of any such proposal.

The formal announcement by Pakistan, of its decision to allow the construction of the pipeline, will, however, force the government to take a formal stand on the proposal

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which has been in the air for several years.

Reports from Islamabad quoted the secretary of Pakistan's ministry of petroleum and natural resources gas, Mr Abdullah Yousuf, as saying: "We have in principle conveyed our acceptance to the Iranians for this project and now the ball is in their court. They have to go back to India and seek the same kind of political commitment as ensured by us."

Mr Yousuf said at an energy conference yesterday that almost four billion cubic feet of gas a day could be pumped into the pipeline, a project that could cost more than \$ 3 billion.

The Pakistani petroleum secretary said the project would generate \$ 600 million a year in transit fees. It could also be used for buying gas from Iran.

The announcement by the Musharraf regime will necessitate serious thinking among Indian leaders. While the use of

Pakistan territory will have enormous economic advantages for India, it will also have clear economic and diplomatic advantages for Pakistan, a factor that will be taken into consideration by the Vajpayee government while taking a decision.

Not only would the Pakistani economy benefit from the \$ 600 million annual payment in transit fees, Pakistan's announcement of its firm commitment to allow the pipeline also puts the onus on India to do business with its neighbour or come up with good reasons for refusing the offer.

**PML flays Musharraf:** The Pakistan Muslim League has criticised Gen. Musharraf's statement that bus diplomacy and the Lahore declaration were only attempts at fooling the people, reports PTI from Islamabad. The exercises were aimed at normalising Indo-Pak relations, Mr Nawaz Sharif's party said in a statement.

STATESMAN

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## respite for survivors c

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 rm and tidal waves claimed  
 around 8000 lives in Ersama block  
 and washed away thousands of  
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 has reached the survivors to put  
 their lives back on the rails. And  
 life continues to be tough. With  
 polythene sheets their only pro-  
 tection, from the scorching heat  
 drinking water being scarce and  
 no work in hand summer could  
 be indeed bad. Two years ago,  
 over 2000 people had died of sun-  
 stroke.

As Orissa prepares for yet an-  
 other heatwave, the homeless in  
 Ersama run the risk of being vic-  
 tims of sunstroke. With nearly two  
 months of summer still to go, the  
 cyclone survivors are desperate to  
 have pucca roofs over their heads,  
 at least before the monsoon ar-  
 rives in June. But there is little  
 hope for this as the administra-  
 tion has so far failed to take any  
 action. In the absence of any fi-  
 nancial help for constructing puc-  
 ca dwelling units and with the  
 mercury soaring by the day, many  
 of those living under polythene  
 sheets have started putting up  
 small thatched huts. However,  
 these huts might not withstand  
 thundershowers.

The Government's scheme to



**With temperatures soaring, it is a grim batt-  
 living in polythene-roofed huts in cyclone-hit  
 Orissa. —Photo: Ashoke Chakra**

provide loans for building pucca  
 houses has not really taken off.  
 Some voluntary organisations  
 and private companies are now  
 attempting to construct houses  
 for some of the survivors. But  
 their attempt also cannot provide  
 succour to many as construction  
 work would be hampered once  
 the monsoon begins.

"As no construction work has  
 begun in our locality we do not  
 see that we would get houses be-  
 fore the rainy season as our vil-  
 lage is in a "low-lying area and it  
 will be flooded with rain water  
 once monsoon sets in", says  
 Brahmanand Gochhayat of Hana-

gotha village  
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## A 'desi' web portal for

By Anand Parthasarathy

**KOCHI, APRIL 19.** An edition for Indian users  
 with a decidedly 'desi' flavour, of one of the  
 world's best known Information Technology  
 (IT) portals to the Internet, was launched to-  
 day at Bangalore. It promises users here, a  
 convenient clearing house of information  
 about Indian efforts in computers and com-  
 munication, together with product advice and  
 links to suppliers, enabling the online buying  
 of computer products.

ZDNet, operated by the Ziff Davis g  
 lishers of the mass circulated "PC"  
 (US) and other print journals.

"We are thrilled at this tie-up wh  
 us in touch with the exciting soft-  
 opments taking place in India", said  
 Powers, vice-president, Asia-Pacific  
 vis, today, in a telephonic conver-  
 this correspondent. The Indian pa-  
 Davis in this venture is Jasubhai  
 Pvt. Ltd. who publish the monthl

20 APR 2000

## 7/10/79 The Secret Prisoners 18/9

The release from a Pakistani prison and arrival in India of Roop Lal Sahariya after 25 years of incarceration spotlights an issue that has been kept under wraps all these years — the covert intelligence war between India and Pakistan. Mr Sahariya deserves the country's gratitude for the risks he braved and the privations he had suffered. He is entitled to be honoured and compensated like any other prisoner of war; in fact, much more than precedents provide for, since he was under a prolonged sentence of death and in solitary confinement for most of his 25 years in captivity. Those who serve the country in the intelligence war play as vital a role in safeguarding national security as those who face the enemy fire. In a sense it is the failures and shortcomings in waging the intelligence war which result in hot wars, both overt and covert. The country and the government would be serving their own interests by exhibiting publicly their sense of obligation to Mr Sahariya. India should also acknowledge the praiseworthy efforts of retired Brigadier Rao Abid Hamid of the Pakistan Human Rights Commission for getting Roop Lal Sahariya's death sentence commuted and facilitating his repatriation. A reciprocal gesture by New Delhi, if there are similar cases of people in Indian custody, would be not only appropriate but also help to establish healthy precedents.

Pakistan has been waging a cold war against this country for the last 50 years interrupted by sporadic hot wars. During this period not only intelligence personnel but also other innocent people, like fishermen who strayed into the territorial waters of the other country, have been detained and held in custody for unreasonably long periods. There are people of divided families — invariably Muslims — who visit the other country and often overstay. They too are sometimes tracked down and taken into custody. These cases are often pursued at official levels, with no publicity to the victims or their condition. Although there are occasional agreements to release such prisoners, their plight does not attract the attention it deserves. There is a clear case for entrusting the responsibility — of looking into such cases and seeking redressal — to the National Human Rights Commission in the respective countries. Each national commission could collect data on all personnel believed to be under detention in the other country and, through periodic meetings with their counterpart, pursue and investigate the cases with a view to obtaining redressal. This mechanism should be widely publicised to enable people who believe their relatives are detained in the other country to bring the matter to the notice of the respective Human Rights Commission. The process could well be initiated with the chairman of the India's NHRC thanking his Pakistani counterpart for his role in Mr Sahariya's case; and inviting him to India for evolving a common approach to this human problem. Such a step would signal to the people of Pakistan, and the rest of the world, that regardless of the state of government-to-government contacts, autonomous Indian agencies would be willing to deal with their Pakistani counterparts in securing the release of the secret prisoners on humanitarian grounds.

## Friendship train 17/9

THE DECISION not only to continue the running of the Samjhauta Express between India and Pakistan but also to work towards increasing its frequency underlines a level-headed attitude towards the relations between the two countries. Although the recent incidents of smuggling of contraband goods and of fake currency notes had caused much disquiet in India, any move to snap the link would have been detrimental for mutual ties, apart from being a cause of harassment for ordinary passengers who cannot afford more expensive modes of travel. It has to be remembered that even when the relations show signs of grave deterioration, no effort should be spared to keep normal channels of contact and communication open.

Any abrupt cancellation of such ties can not only make a bad situation worse, it can also make it difficult to resume the contact when conditions have improved. In any event, such acts only show a sour temperament, which can convey an unflattering impression about diplomatic attitudes to the outside world. One of the reasons why Pakistan has suffered a diplomatic setback and India's case is now being widely appreciated is, first, the remarkable restraint which New Delhi demonstrated during the Kargil conflict and, secondly, the continuation of the normal train and other services during that period. The cricket games between India and Pakistan were stopped for a short while at the time but were resumed when India participated in the triangular series in Australia during the winter with the home country and Pakistan.

Thankfully, there have been more such games since then at Sharjah, with even a proposal for a tour by the Indian team to Pakistan later this year. Just as Track II diplomacy quietly keeps people in various fields of life in the two countries in touch with one another, similarly the continuation of contacts can be helpful in defusing tension to a considerable extent. True, there are lobbies in both countries which frown on the idea of supping with the devil. They would prefer a stern display of animosity by breaking all links in order to emphasise the prevailing enmity between the two countries. It is possible, however, that their focus is more on the domestic scene where political mileage can be secured by whipping up such feelings with a particular community as the target. It has to be remembered, however, that the 'enmity', if that is the word, is between the two governments and not the people. The latter should not be prevented from maintaining normal relations as far as possible.

# Delhi gifts G-77 walkover to Islamabad

FROM K.P. NAYAR

Washington, April 15: India has handed to Pakistan's military dictator General Pervez Musharraf a diplomatic windfall by its under-representation at the G-77 summit which concluded in the Cuban capital of Havana on Friday.

Contrary to the line put out by New Delhi that Pakistan was on the verge of being expelled from the Non-Aligned Movement (Nam), Musharraf used his unexpected presence at the summit to significantly offset his international isolation as a military dictator who overthrew the elected government of Pakistan.

In meeting UN secretary general Kofi Annan at the Havana summit, Musharraf skillfully exploited Annan's grouse against India which has not only refused to allow any UN role in the Indo-Pakistan dispute but has also cold-shouldered the secretary general's attempts to visit South Asia.

Musharraf discussed with Annan his plans to return to democracy thus pre-empting any criticism that the secretary general was hobnobbing with men in uniform. He also used the meeting to discuss "regional security issues", a subject of concern for the international community in the context of Pokhran-II and Chagai.

Musharraf chose his other interlocutors in Havana with great care as well. He met Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, an acknowledgement that Islamabad was assiduously wooing an Indian ally of long standing. "Bouteflika is western Africa's hope for democracy, moderation and the fight

● Following Friday's agreement between India and Pakistan to allow the Samjhauta Express to run between Attari and Wagah, the train will cover a distance of three km, possibly the shortest rail route in the world.

against Islamic fundamentalism," crowed a Pakistani diplomat. "If he is meeting the chief executive (Musharraf), then obviously, the general is no untouchable for elected leaders as India would have everyone to believe."

Musharraf made his mark — the first Pakistani leader to do so — on a territory over which India had unrestricted sway for 40 years, namely the Cuban public mind. Musharraf's address to the G-77 summit was telecast live.

Musharraf also scored points by his refusal to directly bring up the Kashmir dispute. All previous Pakistani leaders have used every conceivable international forum to rail at India, making the international community fairly fed up of the Indo-Pakistan dispute. Musharraf merely called for peacefully resolving "thorny disputes between countries in accordance with the wishes of the oppressed people". He won praise by making creative proposals — such as an offer to set up a regional institute of research on international trade and investment in Pakistan.

In marked contrast to the Musharraf's erudition, Murli Manohar Joshi drew yawns from delegates when he urged developing countries to stand united against attempts by rich nations to impose "unhealthy prescriptions" for economic growth. Joshi virulently attacked rich countries saying: "We should be alert to the danger of future disempowerment by developed nations". It was not lost on the G-77 that India was precisely trying to get on the bandwagon of free market and economic reform advocated by rich nations. Joshi's speech could have been a re-run of what Jawaharlal Nehru or Indira Gandhi told any gathering of developing countries several decades ago — things that the world is tired of hearing from India.

# Roop Lal savours escape to freedom

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, April 15. — It was a jolly, fit and strong Roop Lal who posed comfortably before the media along with his daughter and her family. "It has been 24 hours and now I am convinced that I am a free man."

If Roop Lal had been unfortunate to have been incarcerated for over 26 years, he feels fortunate that he has been re-united with his daughter, Sumita, who had no recollection of her father, or of the time when they were separated. It is because of the efforts of her husband, Mr Krishan Chawla, that the family is together again.

"I'm thankful to my son-in-law for whom I have got a new life," Roop said. "I never thought I'd return, and that too from a country like Pakistan."

Roop Lal who was taken into custody from Shakar Garh in Pakistan in November 1994. "Though I left the

## LONG WAIT FOR 54 FAMILIES

NEW DELHI, April 15. — They met Mr Bill Clinton and told him about their suffering near-and-dear ones — 54 Indian Prisoners of War rotting in Pakistani prisons. Their submission is with the White House now.

For 25 years, they have been running from pillar to post, and have even written to Gen. Pervez Musharraf. But not much has happened. "I wrote to Gen. Musharraf appealing to him as another defence personnel but he hasn't replied," said Col. Puttu, working president of the Missing Defence Personnel Relatives' Association.

The relatives of the 54 Indian PoWs have now decided to take to the streets if nothing is done soon. After the return of Roop Lal yesterday, the families of these 54 men have decided to sit on dharna outside the Pakistani mission. They have been joined by the younger brother of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Sardar Kulbir Singh. — SNS

Army in 1969, we had been voluntarily venturing into Pakistani territory for 'secret plan' missions which benefited our nation," he said, refusing to disclose what those missions were.

In 1977 a Pakistani army court sentenced him to death for spying. But the order was stayed on the intervention of the Morarji government in 1979.

Luck smiled upon Roop Lal in 1980 when he along with other captives

rity jails.

Struggle for survival continued for Roop Lal. There was "treatment worse than caged animals", and psychological pressure to convert to Islam.

Back in India, Sumita grew up in the home of her paternal uncles in Marara village, Gurdaspur district. Her mother had been married off again, but her grandmother took care of her.

In 1989, at the age of 17, the family

decided to marry her to a Delhi-based Krishan Chawla.

Krishan began inquiring about his father-in-law. "I got to know that Roop Lal was in Multan jail written by my father-in-law to one of his brothers in America and began writing back. In the next letter would surely reach him," he said.

Since 1990, Roop Lal has been in regular touch with his daughter, who left her son-in-law in Pakistan and returned for his return.

"I contacted the MFA and I was helped by R Venkataraman, and the Indian Ministers to approach the Pakistani Ministers for Roop Lal's release," Krishan says. "I got assurances."

Krishan's meeting with the Indian Ambassador Jahanvir of the Pakistan Embassy in New Delhi, and the Indian Rights Commission in Delhi, led to things in Roop's favour. Mr. Jahanvir got his death sentence commuted to life imprisonment in 1998.

APR 15 1994

APR 20 1994

# Pakistan frees Indian soldier after 26 years on death row

Lahore

14 APRIL

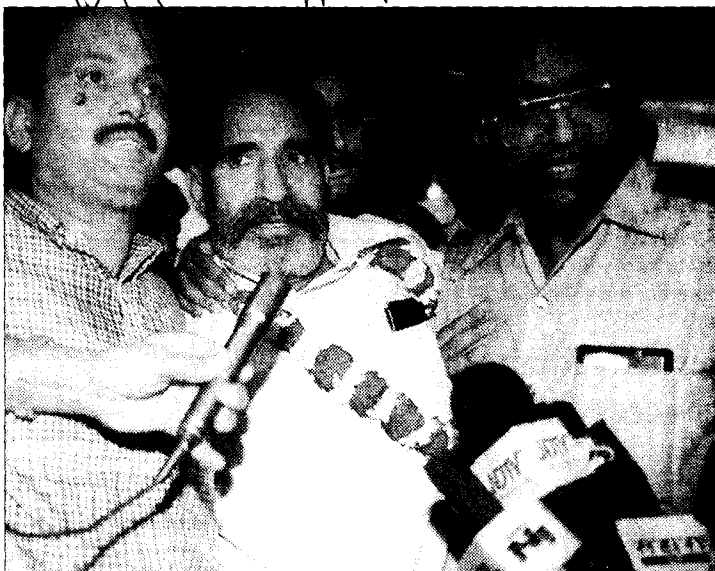
AFTER SPENDING 26 years in a Pakistan prison on spying charges, an Indian soldier, Roop Lal, returned home to India after being freed on Friday, Pakistani officials said.

"It is like a dream come true. I will now be able to return home to see my daughter," Lal told reporters at the Lahore International Airport before boarding a commercial airliner to New Delhi.

Lal was arrested in 1974 and found guilty on eight counts of spying, said an official on condition of anonymity.

Lal was sentenced to death, he stayed in a jail in Sahiwal, 160 km southwest of Lahore, on death row. Then in the late-1990s, his daughter Sunita Chawala sent a letter to General Jehangir Karamat, who was then Pakistan's Army chief, pleading for her father's life.

Karamat commuted the death



HOME SWEET HOME: Roop Lal (centre) talks to the press on his arrival in New Delhi on Friday

PTI

sentence to life. In Pakistan, a life sentence is 25 years.

"Every night I dreamed of seeing my daughter, who is in New Delhi," he said, adding: "Now my

dream will come true."

A representative of the Indian high commission in Pakistan reportedly accompanied Lal to India.

— AP

15 APR 2000

## *Pakistan skirts bilateral issues at G-77*

By Bhaskar Roy  
The Times of India News Service

HAVANA: A possible Indo-Pakistan confrontation at the South summit was averted after Cuban President Fidel Castro kept the gathering of developing countries focussed on inequities of the emerging economic order. He pleaded with the participants to resist their 'inherent bias' against poorer nations.

With the tone set by Mr Castro's rhetorical flamboyance and marshalling of facts to support the disparities of what he called 'neo-liberalism', bilateral issues of the sub-continent had no chance to be aired.

Speaking later, Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, skirted any obvious reference to his country's relations with India. He said that unless G-77 countries resolved their mutual disputes and put a united fight against the pressures of the North on economic issues, they had no chance of survival.

Gen. Musharraf's silence on bilateral issues was greeted with relief by the Indian side which had been uneasy of a possible verbal flare-up at the summit where 42 heads of state were participating.

Reliving its old role as the champion of the non-aligned movement, India took a strident stand against globalisation. The leader of the Indian delegation, Murli Manohar Joshi, made a strong case for freer movement of labour and unhindered flow of technology from North to South. In his speech, which read like an extension of his Swadeshi concept of economics, he demanded that any opening of third world economies should be reciprocated by easy access of markets in the North.

The summit will, however, be remembered for Mr Castro's single-handed effort to bring the focus back on certain issues. "Never before did mankind have such formidable scientific and technological potential, such extraordinary capacity to produce riches and well-being but never before were disparity and equity so profound in the world." He compared the new economic order to a ship whose "85 per cent passengers were crowded together suffering hunger, disease and helplessness." This ship, he said, "seems destined to clash with an iceberg."

# 'I am the happiest man in the world'

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, April 14

HT-ISA

RADIATING JOY emanating from the sweet taste of freedom, Roop Lal arrived at the Indira Gandhi International Airport this evening. He had a gleam to his eyes as he was wheeled out of flight PK-270. Over 25 years of incarceration, repeated torture and a paralytic attack in Pakistan had not robbed him of his vitality.

"I cannot believe I am back in my country with my own people," he exclaimed as he emerged from the arrival lounge of the airport. After being sentenced to death for espionage in 1974 by a Pakistan court, Roop Lal had not imagined that he would ever return home. Yet he did not give up hope. Every day in the prison was spent longing for his family even as he prayed to be free. "For all practical purposes, I knew it was impossible. But somewhere deep down I felt that some day..."

And today was that day. Roop Lal met his daughter Sunita, who he had last seen when she was less than a year old. 25 years later, he did not recognise her, but there were tears in his

he said nostalgically. And, then, as if to convince us of how much happiness the moment had brought him, he added, "I am the happiest man in the world".

The former soldier did not want to discuss details of his traumatic experience in Pakistan. "I was tortured. Not just physically but also mentally", he said, adding that he was moved from jail to jail and never allowed to stay at one place for long. "I was in Sialkot, then Lahore, Multan and many other places". He was finally released from the Sahiwal prison.

He was also pressurised to convert, something that Roop Lal resisted with all his might. "I told them that I was a devout Hindu and nothing would change that", he recalled.

While he thanked many people for his release, the name of his son-in-law Krishan Kumar Chawla, figured next only to God. "I had never met him. There was no apparent reason for him to feel anything for me", said Roop Lal. "If it was not for his hard work, dedication and belief I would not have been a free man today. I have no son but he is a son to me", he said, before stepping into the car that would finally take him home after all these years.



Roop Lal with his granddaughter Shruti, daughter Sunita and son-in-law Chawla on his arrival in the Capital on Friday. Photo: Prakash Singh

eyes after having hugged her. "Even in prison, I knew my blood, my daughter, was alive and well", he said.

Holding his one-year-old grand daughter Shruti in his lap, Roop Lal looked exhilarated.

"It is like holding my daughter 25 years back",



# Track cleared for Samjhauta

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 14. Pakistani and Indian Railway officials have reached what is described as an "interim arrangement" to continue the Lahore-Attari Samjhauta Express, with another meeting being scheduled for April 26 to clinch the deal from May 1 onwards.

Following a day-long meeting of the officials at Wagah, Lt. Gen. Iaved Ashraf (retd.), Chairman of the Pakistani Railway Board, said this evening that from May 1 the Indian side had offered to run the rake of six months though certain details were yet to be firmed up.

According to him, the Indian side wanted the Indian rake to return from Lahore the same day.

Customs formalities could delay the return and, consequently, this issue would be decided on April 26.

Mr. Iqbal Samad, Pakistan Railways General Manager in Lahore, said over telephone that as part of the "interim arrangement" Pakistan would run the rake on April 18 from Lahore to Attari. However, on April 20, an Indian rake and engine would run from Attari to Wagah, where all the passengers would have to detain and continue the rest of their journey to Lahore by a Pakistani rake.

He, too, said that the April 26 meeting would finalise the arrangements by which it was expected that the Indian side would provide the rake and engine for a

six-month period beginning May 1. The Pakistani rake which traversed the 27-km distance between Lahore and Attari on Tuesday and Thursday returned to Lahore everyday. As such, Mr. Samad did not see any problem in the return of the Indian rake to Attari.

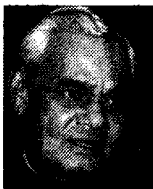
Pakistan had threatened to stop the operation of the Samjhauta Express after April 15 since India had not been providing the rake and engine for six months of the year as per a 1991 agreement reached between the two countries.

The Indian rake had been stopped after a Pakistani objection in 1994 when the plague hit Surat.

India's plea: Page 14

# No talks until terror stops: PM

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA



Mr AB Vajpayee

NEW DELHI, April 13. — The Prime Minister today ruled out early resumption of the Indo-Pak dialogue, saying a congenial atmosphere must be created

first.

Talks cannot restart as long as there is cross-border terrorism, Mr AB Vajpayee told Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) leaders who met him at his home on the occasion of Baisakhi.

The Prime Minister accused Pakistan's official media, both TV and radio, of running a disinformation campaign against India, further poisoning the atmosphere. He assured the Akali Dal leaders that the government will do whatever is necessary to ensure the safety of its citizens from ISI-backed terrorists, a press release by the Delhi SAD said.

It quoted Mr Vajpayee as say-

ing that the people behind the recent killings in Anantnag would not be spared.

The SAD delegation was led by Mr Avtar Singh Hit and Mr Kuldip Singh Bhogal, the party's president and secretary.

Samjhauta talks: Indian and Pakistani officials will meet tomorrow at Zero Point on the Wagha border to sort out problems relating to the Samjhauta Express, the only rail link between the two countries, adds UNI.

External affairs, home and railway officials had discussed the issue in detail after Pakistan Railways said the train might be stopped because Indian Railways had failed to honour a promise to provide rolling stock.

Indian Railways then asked for a meeting which Pakistan Railways accepted.

It has been decided that five Indian Railways officials, led by the executive director (coaching), Mr MN Chopra, will discuss the matter with Pakistani officials.

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## INDO-PAK. SHADOW OVER G-77

# 'Global action against terrorism needed'

110-1  
1374  
By Hasan Suroor

HAVANA, APRIL 12. Though "no sparks flew so far" as an Indian source put it, the shadow of Indo-Pakistan tensions continues to hover over the G-77 summit here chaired by the Cuban President, Dr. Fidel Castro. The leader of the Indian delegation, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, may have already ruffled Pakistani feathers with his rather sharp reference to "state-sponsored and cross-border terrorism," which he said, "threatens peace and stability at national, regional and international levels." He was speaking at the ministerial conference of the summit on Tuesday.

While Dr. Joshi clarified that he had not referred to Pakistan but raised a general issue worrying the international community, read in the context of India's difficulties with state-sponsored cross-border terrorism in Kashmir, the message was not lost on observers. Replying to questions from Indian journalists, Dr. Joshi ruled out any contact with Pakistan on the sidelines of the summit. In any case there had been no feelers from Pakistan, he said but even if there were, he would not bite them.

"This is not the occasion," he said reiterating India's known position that Pakistan must first create conditions for talks. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, he pointed out, had already stated that there must be a "demonstrable evidence" of Pakistan stopping cross-border terrorism in Kashmir before talks could be held.

Asked if he thought Pakistan would raise the Kashmir issue at the summit, Dr. Joshi said that rules and conventions did not permit raising bilateral disputes but if Pakistan did India would certainly respond. "We have the right to reply." Even as officials tried to play down the "Pakistan angle," Dr. Joshi was more

forthcoming on the issue saying Islamabad was already reported to be "lobbying" with officials of other countries. He did not rule out Pakistan making an "oblique" reference to its problems with India when the Pakistani Foreign Minister Mr. Abdus Sattar, and its chief executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, address the summit.

✓ In his speech yesterday, Dr. Joshi called for "collective action" by the countries of the North as well as the South on important global issues such as "cross-border terrorism, drug-trafficking and other such problems."

"In this connection it need hardly be emphasised that terrorism, particularly state-sponsored and cross-border terrorism, threatens peace and stability at national, regional and international levels... The U.N. therefore must facilitate strengthening of international cooperation in order to combat terrorism and its nexus with trafficking in drugs, arms and persons as well as with money laundering," he declared. There couldn't have been a less "oblique" reference to Pakistan, according to observers.

The rest of his speech focussed on greater democratisation of the U.N. and acceptance of the "principle of sovereignty of member-states." Dr. Joshi later said that during the debate, ministers from almost all countries expressed concern about the future of third world economies, and the "shortcomings" in the new world economic order. "Trade, not aid" was the theme of the debate with participants emphasising that what the developing countries needed was a more equitable trade regime rather than handouts in the form of aid.

Meanwhile as officials wrestled to formulate the final declaration India was almost certain that its views on democracy and sustainable development would be incorporated.

# Vajpayee sets terms for talks with Pakistan

Karamsad (Gujarat)

11 APRIL

**PRIME MINISTER** Atal

Behari Vajpayee on

Tuesday set certain pre-conditions for resumption of dialogue with Pakistan saying Islamabad should admit its Kargil mistake and promise to implement all previous agreements between the two countries, including hon-ouring of border treaty.

Addressing a public meeting in Karamsad, Vajpayee said India realised the importance of talks with Pakistan, but before initiating the dia-

logue Pakistan must own up its mistake in intruding in Kargil, stop sponsoring terrorism in India and anti-India propaganda and promise to honour all previous agreements between the two countries.

Vajpayee said Pakistan had been carrying out anti-India and anti-Hindu campaign right from the birth of Pakistan. Asserting that India wanted

peace with Pakistan, he said this, however, could not be a one-sided affair.

Questioning Pakistan's sincerity in holding talks, the Prime Minister said: "Pakistani leaders day come let us have talks. What talks? once we held talks and Kargil took place." Vajpayee said: "One third of Kashmir is with Pakistan and some other areas (of the state) and this would come up during talks, if and when held."

He said just as Bangladesh parted ways with Pakistan, Pakistan would be disintegrated as it was getting increasingly isolated in the comity of nations.

In an apparent reference to Clinton's advice to Pakistan to stop sponsoring terrorism, and resume talks with India, Vajpayee said: "Foreign powers are now asking our neighbour to live and peace and solve their problems through dialogue." —PTI



# Pak mobilising troops: India

New Delhi

11 APRIL

**PAKISTAN HAS** moved a large number of troops and militants close to the international border running along India's western coast state of Gujarat, an Indian military official and state radio said on Tuesday.

But there was no official confirmation of a build-up, and the country's national security adviser said he was not aware of it. A Pakistani army spokesman branded the allegation "a lie."

"We are aware they have moved troops up in that area," an Indian military official said, adding it could be a ploy to divert attention from the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir. "The LoC, after all, is the main theatre they want to keep alive."

Tensions are running high on the Kashmir control line dividing India and Pakistan and in the rebellion-torn Kashmir valley, where there has been a spate of spectacular attacks on Indian army installations and minority civilian communities.

All India Radio (AIR) said defence minister George Fernandes had confirmed a build-up of Pakistani troops in the Ramn of Kutch region in western India, but said there was no need for concern. "...the government is vigilant and monitoring all

developments and taking steps to deal with any eventuality," AIR quoted him as saying. About 3,000 Indian troops are on guard in the Ramn of Kutch area, a military official said in Gujarat.

Brajesh Mishra, India's national security adviser, told Reuters he was checking on the reported massing of troops. "I am not aware of it," he said. "What I am trying to tell you is I have seen the...report and I'm checking up on it."

A Pakistani army spokesman dismissed the report as part of India's anti-Pakistan propaganda. "It is absolutely untrue. It's a lie," he said. Tension between the nuclear-capable arch-rivals has been running high since last summer's undeclared war in Kargil, a mountainous area of the disputed Himalayan territory of Kashmir.

That clash was followed by an incident near the Ramn of Kutch, when India shot down a Pakistani patrol plane, killing 16 people. New Delhi said at the time that the naval surveillance plane had been spying on air defences.

A Western diplomat in New Delhi said both sides are jumpy as the summer, which some speculate could bring another conflict, approaches. The lack of communication lines between them meant there was ample room for miscalculation, the diplomat added. —Red

# Pak withdrawal of Samjhauta Express may be India's boon

Our Political Bureau

NEW DELHI 11 APRIL

INDIAN RAILWAYS has asked for a meeting with its Pakistani counterparts on April 14, a day before Pakistan's self-imposed deadline to stop the Samjhauta Express.

Pakistan has said it will cease to ply the train to India from April 15, alleging that India has failed to honour its end of the bargain. India, for its part, has said Pakistan is unwilling to discuss the issues regarding the train.

The cessation of the train may hinder movement of numerous passengers who regularly travel between the two countries, but India will not be too unhappy if Pakistan actually carries out its threat.

India has been complaining regularly about the train being a conduit for arms, drugs and counterfeit Indian currency. The intensity of such trafficking had increased after Kargil, and in recent months Delhi Police has made several representations to the home ministry to stop the train.

The MEA, however sounded a note of caution saying the decision to stop the train should be in consonance with the overall policy on Pakistan. Pakistan had complained that India had



UP IN ARMS: Relatives of a militant, Jhon Mohammed, protest against his alleged death in custody in Srinagar on Tuesday AP

refused to alternately provide passenger rail cars and engines (rolling stock) for the Samjhauta Express. The original agreement was made in 1976, which was renewed in 1991, and thereafter every three years.

After the Babri Masjid incident in 1992, the train plied only between Lahore and Attari. Earlier, the line stretched to Amritsar. Since the train travelled in Pakistani territory, India has not felt the

need to supply rolling stock.

This is the crux of the Pakistani protest. They maintain that after 1994, India has refused to supply rolling stock. They have now threatened to stop the train from Saturday.

If Pakistan does indeed do it, it will save India from making the uncomfortable decision of stopping the train. Both countries reiterate official platitudes about continuing the train, but certainly India's heart is not in it.

The Economic Times

APR 12 2000

# India and Pakistan must build bridges, says Abdul Sattar

By Seema Guha

CARTAGENA: Pakistan doesn't like to force the pace for talks with India right now, certainly not at the non-aligned foreign ministers' meeting here. "But we cannot afford to take no for an answer," Pakistan's foreign minister Abdul Sattar told *The Times of India* on Saturday. "South Asia cannot afford this dangerous confrontation. We need to build bridges between the two countries, focussing on issues that divide us."

He said Pakistan would find it easier to control militant groups operating from its soil if India also did its bit about the situation in Kashmir.

"It has to be a two-way process," Mr Sattar said. The implication is that India should begin a serious dialogue with the people of Kashmir and give them some political space. Both should work in tandem—Pakistan would then be in a better position to advise moderation.

New Delhi should take a fresh look at the Kashmir situation, Mr Sattar said. "There exists militant violence and also killings by the security forces. India has closed all channels of communication with those who mattered in Kashmir. In such a situation, it is difficult for Islamabad to rein in various elements bent upon a violent struggle. Unless the root cause of the problem in Kashmir is tackled by India, there's little that can be done to ease the situation," he said.

In a couple of months, India would have to reassess its position on talks, Mr Sattar explained.

He said New Delhi's calculation that Pakistan could be isolated and treated as a pariah state by the international community would not work.

Despite its best efforts, India had not succeeded as the recent East Asian tour of General Musharraf showed. Of course, Mr Sattar refused to acknowledge the snubs that Pakistan's chief executive had received. Despite attempts to play the Islamic card, the largest Muslim country of the world, Indonesia, had given him the cold shoulder. Mr Sattar believed that Pakistan was on the verge of turning around.

But will Pakistan allow terrorist groups like the Lashkar-e-Toiba and other anti-India militant groups to continue operations from its soil? The arming of Pakistan, he answered, had begun with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The country had to bear the brunt of massive arms influx. And successive politicians had been unable to control the proliferation of arms in the country. But Musharraf had initiated the process and things were likely to improve in the near future, he said.

Concerning Masood Azhar—one of the persons freed by India—Mr Sattar said, "Soon after his release, he made wild speeches. It is understandable as he had been languishing in an Indian jail for the last five years without a trial. But we convinced him it was not right to instigate violence against India. He understood our position and has not stepped out of line."

## India not willing to talk on J&K, says Musharraf

Paris

10 APRIL



PAKISTAN'S  
MILITARY  
ruler General  
P e r v e z  
Musharraf, on  
Monday, said  
India was not  
willing to talk

on the Kashmir issue despite efforts by his country to revive the stalled bilateral dialogue.

Gen Musharraf, who arrived here on Sunday evening en route Havana for the Group of 77 (G-77) nations conference, met French foreign minister Hubert Vedrine and had an hour-long discussion over the current situation in Pakistan.

"I am prepared to meet anyone, at any time, anywhere in the world to initiate dialogue with India on Kashmir but there is no willingness among the Indian leadership," he told journalists after the meeting.

He also defended the way the trial of deposed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was conducted and said "the trial could not have been fairer than what has taken place."

However, Gen Musharraf could not give any date for Pakistan's return to democracy.

Earlier, during his meeting with the visiting Gen Musharraf, the French foreign minister expressed concern over the delay in restoration of democracy in Pakistan and urged Musharraf to offer clemency for deposed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

— PTI

10 APR 1999

Islamabad to rein in militants, seeks Delhi dialogue with Kashmiris

# Pak give-and-take offer for talks

9/2/91 FROM PRANAY SHARMA (9/1)

Cartagena, April 9: Pakistan today expressed hope of resuming dialogue with India in the coming months despite Delhi's rejection of Islamabad's talks offer.

Pakistan came up with a formula to help create the right atmosphere for the nuclear twins to return to the negotiating table. While Pakistan would try to rein in the militant groups from carrying out anti-Indian propaganda and suspend violence, Islamabad expected Delhi to start the dialogue with Kashmiri leaders, Pakistani foreign minister Abdul Sattar said.

"We can advocate moderation. But the political process also needs to start. Both should be in tandem," Sattar said. He admitted there was a need for moderation and that there was a growing recognition of it all around.

"We can't take no for an answer. It is too dangerous for tension to build up in South Asia. We need to renew contacts," Sattar said at the convention centre here, the venue of the Nam foreign ministers' meet. In between bilateral meetings on the



Jaswant at the meet. (PTI) economy in the next few months.

10/4  
sidelines of Nain, the Pakistani foreign minister looked a little more cheerful than the day before when he had said Islamabad will not force the pace of talks after Delhi's rejection of its offer.

One reason for the swing in the mood could be the exchange of pleasantries during the day with his Indian counterpart Jaswant Singh, who had ignored him during yesterday's two-and-a-half hour flight from Miami to Cartagena. This afternoon, however, Singh not only shook hands with him but also introduced a few of his aides to Sattar.

"We have to re-build bridges," Sattar said, trying to sound his reasonable best. "We need to reconstruct our contacts and focus on issues that divide us," he added.

Sattar gave the impression that though Pakistan may be down at the moment, it is not out. His confidence seems to stem from Pervez Musharraf's ability to provide good governance and improve the Pakistani economy in the next few months.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



# Islamabad talks offer

► FROM PAGE 1

"In a couple of months, people will make a good assessment of the direction Pakistan is taking," he said. He claimed that the military regime will be able to improve the country's economy, improve governance and yield positive results soon.

Sattar argued that Pakistani exports have increased by 15 per cent and its credit rating has already gone up, although marginally. Moreover, the integrity of Musharraf's hand-picked Cabinet members is beyond doubt. "There is not a single corruption charge against any of them," he said.

Sattar felt that the Musharraf regime will be able to withstand pressure to restore democracy if it manages to improve both the economy and the governance.

"Delhi will have to review its calculation that Pakistan can be isolated," Sattar said. The im-

proved situation will have world leaders nudging India more and more towards the negotiating table with Pakistan, he indicated.

Sattar admitted that the rise in militancy has been a concern ever since the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. He said in the short time since it came to power, the military rulers have tried to improve the law and order situation in Pakistan. There has been a ban on display of arms and the process of "de-weaponisation" is already on. The situation in violence-prone Karachi has already improved, he added.

On what the military regime plans to do on India's assertion that cross-border terrorism and hostile propaganda against it from Pakistan needed to stop before the dialogue between the two sides could resume, Sattar said some steps have already been taken. He pointed out that Azhar Masood, one of the

Kashmiri militants released by India in exchange for the hijack hostages, has already been reined in. "Pakistani officials told him that his anti-India propaganda is not helping anybody. Masood seems to have realised this and has subsequently stopped making anti-Indian speeches."

The Pakistani foreign minister, however, felt that on its part India needed to reciprocate the gesture by opening the "political route" with the Kashmiri leaders. Referring to the recent gunning down of some people in Anantnag by Indian security forces, he said India cannot blame the Mujahideen for such incidents.

Sattar argued that once India started the dialogue process with the Kashmiri leaders, Pakistan can try to convince the militants operating from its base to suspend violence and other hostile activities against Delhi to give peace a chance.

## Pak. did not arrange Naik's visit

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 8. Pakistan today said that India, by rejecting its offer of talks, was "going against the trend of the times and the will of the international community".

A Foreign Office spokesman told reporters: "Parrotting allegations of infiltration will take them nowhere. We have repeatedly offered to agree on mechanisms which would permit monitoring of the LoC. That is a serious approach. Repeatedly trotting out allegations is not."

"We have made a public offer of dialogue. They have rejected it. It is up to the Government of India to decide its policy. Their purpose is to continue to

claimed that India had been asked to provide a rake for operating in the second half of 1999, but despite an agreement in principle, the accord was not implemented. "India failed to live up to its commitment of December 1999 to contribute a rake for the service between Lahore and Amritsar, despite our assurances to provide the repair facilities at Lahore."

On the recent visit of the former Foreign Secretary, Mr. Niaz Naik, to India, the spokesman said the visit was not arranged by the Government of Pakistan, "nor do we have anything to do with it. He undertook a private visit..."

The Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf,

INDU

# Samjhauta, Lahore bus under review: Advani

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
CHANDIGARH, APRIL 8

RULING out resumption of dialogue with Pakistan in the present scenario, Union Home Minister L.K. Advani on Friday said that the government was reviewing the continuation of the Lahore bus service and the Samjhauta Express.

Addressing mediapersons here, Advani said that keeping in view the increased support to terrorism from across the border, there was no point in continuing a dialogue with Pakistan. "The way innocent people are being killed in Kashmir, talks would serve no purpose," he said.

When asked about the continuation of the Lahore bus service, Advani said that the matter, besides the issue of the Samjhauta Express, was under the government's consideration, though a final decision was yet to be taken.

Though Advani did not explicitly say that Sikh jathas would not be sent to Pakistan, he hinted at it when he said, "considering the present state of affairs, it would not be proper to send such jathas."

Advani said that a congenial atmosphere was required for continuing talks with Pakistan for which India was ready, but the onus of creating such a conducive atmosphere now rested with Pakistan, for which it would have to stop cross-border terrorism.

The Home Minister said that the escalation of trans-border terrorism, through the recent killing of innocent Sikhs in Kashmir during the visit of US President Bill Clinton, had proved counter-productive, as the focus had shifted

from the Kashmir issue to the scourge of trans-border terrorism. He added that the US had endorsed India's stand on trans-border terrorism.

Regarding talks with militants in Kashmir, Advani said that the government was open for such talks as had been conducted in Nagaland, provided the militants first laid down their arms.

The Home Minister added that the recent release of some Hurriyat leaders was a step towards creating a congenial atmosphere for talks.

"The release of three top Hurriyat leaders was not a casual act, but a well thought out process which had been set in motion in the past several months to initiate peace in Kashmir," he said, adding that the Centre had not yet taken any decision on holding talks with militants in J-K.

Advani refused to comment on whether his Cabinet colleague Murli Manohar Joshi and he himself should resign as both of them were chargesheeted in the Babri Masjid demolition case. In his capacity as Home Minister, Advani said, he would not like to comment on the demand.

He also said that he would not like to comment on the NDA demand for resignation of Bihar Chief Minister Rabri Devi, in view of her being chargesheeted in the disproportionate assets case.

Advani called upon various political parties for seriously considering the issue of election reforms, on which the Election Commission had also convened a meeting on April 30. He also urged consideration of the idea of indirect polls to the Rajya Sabha.

# No talks with a military Pak govt: Panja

AUNDHITA MAJUMDAR  
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, April 8. — While there are visible pointers to growing international pressure on India to resume talks with Pakistan, the government's own policy seems to be losing all coherence and getting mired in a race for populist anti-Pak positions.

Rather than an articulation of a considered stand on this sensitive issue, commenting on Pakistan and bilateral relations seems have become an open playing field.

With constituents of the Vajpayee government trying to outdo each other in their anti-Pak rhetoric, new parameters are being spelt out adding to the confusion. Today, it was the turn of the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr Ajit Kumar Panja.

On a three-nation tour now, Mr Panja, according to reports from Cairo, has spelt out a new

condition for resumed talks with Pakistan, saying no talks would be possible as long as the military regime was in power in Pakistan.

This is a clear departure from the stand spelt out so far by the government which has mandated resumption of talks only on cessation of cross-border terrorism and anti-India rhetoric by Pakistan.

While the government has voiced its misgivings as also its concern over a military coup in its neighbourhood using all its diplomatic skills to secure global condemnation of the coup, at no time did it link talks to the presence of a civilian government.

Yet, Mr Panja was quoted as saying there would be no sanctity to talks held with the Musharraf regime. "Unless Pakistan held elections, whom could India hold talks with. And even if New Delhi held talks, where is the sanctity of such talks... The next elected

government in Pakistan may not find the earlier talks binding," the minister was quoted as saying. But for India to take such a stand would be inviting the charge of illogic, for past Indian governments have been happy to talk with military dispensations in Pakistan, most significantly, with Zia-ul-Haq's government. Not only did India continue its political and diplomatic engagement with the dictator, even specific subjects of contention were taken up for detailed discussions between the two countries.

To fight shy of talking to the military regime would not only be at variance with precedents, it would provide Pakistan a



Mr Ajit Kumar Panja

position can now be dismissed by Pakistan as a clutch of excuses.

Pakistan has already stepped up the tempo of its criticism of India's refusal to resume talks and the Pakistan Foreign Office today again drew attention to this.

The Pak Foreign office spokesman said, "we think, by rejecting dialogue (offer), they (India) are going against the trend of the times and against

handle to accuse India of adopting a recalcitrant attitude.

Pakistan has already been accusing India of obduracy, and it will hardly help matters if India is seen as jumping from one reason to another to refuse talking to Pakistan. What may could have been a reasoned

position can now be dismissed by Pakistan as a clutch of excuses.

Pakistan has already stepped up the tempo of its criticism of India's refusal to resume talks and the Pakistan Foreign Office today again drew attention to this.

The Pak Foreign office spokesman said, "we think, by rejecting dialogue (offer), they (India) are going against the trend of the times and against

the will of the international community".

He also referred to his country's "repeated" offers to set up a mutually agreed mechanism for monitoring the Line of Control.

That Pakistan's arguments do carry weight with the international community, to the limited extent of the need for a resumption of dialogue, was amply clear from recent statements including that of the US State Department.

Contrary to Delhi's attempts to claim that the US was supportive of its position on resumption of dialogue, the US Secretary of State, Ms Madeleine Albright, said recently that "a return to dialogue between India and Pakistan is particularly important now". Tensions had risen

dangerously since the fighting last spring and summer in the Kargil sector of Kashmir, Ms Albright said, adding that "a new beginning could be made

on the talks last February between the Indian and Pakistani Prime Ministers."

If pressure builds on India to resume the dialogue, the government could find itself in a difficult spot. Having spelt out new parameters for resumption of talks the government seems to have boxed itself into a corner.

Once it resumes talks, there will be only two possible inferences from the decision — that India was forced to backtrack on its principled position, or Pakistan had curtailed its terrorist activities. Even if the second explanation were based on ground realities, it is a position the government would find difficult to enunciate since it would, in effect, provide brownie points to Pakistan.

Instead of some clarity on how the government proposes to deal with this logjam, the ministers of the Vajpayee government seem intent on making things more difficult.

# Pak envoy hopeful of better ties with India

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, April 7

FOR THE past decade Ambassador Shirin Tahir-Kheli has brought together senior Indian and Pakistani military, security and economic leaders to discuss measures to prevent conflict and enhance security between the two countries. Today even with prospects of peace at a premium in South Asia, she is full of hope.

Talking to *The Hindustan Times*, the former US representative to the UN for special political affairs spoke of the urgent need for India and Pakistan to engage in a dialogue, based on ground realities, so that an atmosphere is created for forging better relations. She says that the dialogue should be transparent, committed but with-



Shirin Tahir-Kheli

out any pre-conditions. "India and Pakistan have tried everything else but not peace ... an engagement with Pakistan does not detract from the importance of India or Indo-US relations," Ms Tahir-Kheli feels.

Ambassador Tahir-Kheli, who visited Pakistan before coming here, said that there is a certain

amount of disappointment in Islamabad over India's refusal to engage in a dialogue. According to her, the general public opinion is that India is making a concerted attempt to isolate Pakistan. And, this belief has gained currency following the explosion of Pakistan from the Councils of the Commonwealth, postponement of the SAARC summit at Kathmandu and the initial Indian furor over President Clinton's visit to Pakistan.

Ms Tahir-Kheli says that India will become a greater power and

more secure if it reaches out and talks to Pakistan. She feels that there is nothing wrong in talking to General Pervez Musharraf as India has dealt with military regimes in Pakistan in the past.

Her formulation for enhancing security is: respect by both sides of the LoC, de-escalation by both taking into account the nuclear reality and having military to military contacts. She feels that the military-to-military contact in the form of an annual conference would be a far reaching step in easing tension.

# Pak dropped from trans-Asia rail project

FROM M. RAJENDRAN

**New Delhi, April 6:** Indian Railways has decided to drop Pakistan from the Trans-Asia Railway network project connecting Singapore, Myanmar, Bangladesh, India, Europe and the CIS countries.

The transnational railway network covering over 30,000-40,000 km is expected to be completed by 2010. Work on this project has started in Iran and other countries.

The decision to drop Islamabad from the consortium was taken after a Pakistani railway

delegation refused to accept recommendations regarding customs and security. The move could affect bilateral relations.

Railway board chairman V.K. Agarwal said: "We have decided to keep Pakistan out of the network due to technical reasons. We can bridge that gap using the sea route. Goods can be transported from Haldia or any other port to Tehran, from where they can be connected again by railway route to Europe and the CIS countries."

Security issues were taken up at the last meeting in Tehran in December 1999. Sources in the

railway ministry said: "The difference between the two countries arose over who should head the project, when India was requested to head a multi-country task force for establishing a southern corridor. This resulted in a non-cooperative attitude of the delegation from Pakistan."

S. Suryanarayan, additional member, planning, said: "It is a very sensitive issue and cannot be discussed. It is a serious matter and I would need to discuss it with the officials concerned before any details can be provided."

The Trans-Asian Railway scheme is part of the Asian Land

Transportation Infrastructure Development project envisaged at the 1992 Economic and Social Committee for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) session in China.

The scheme conceived of three rail-land bridges between southern China and Europe, Thailand and Europe and South Asia and Europe -- described as the northern, central and southern corridors.

India formed part of the southern corridor linking Singapore to Turkey via Myanmar, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Iran.

According to the plan, the route was to enter India at Tamu in Ma-

nipur, bordering Myanmar, enter Bangladesh at Mahissan or Shahbajpur and re-enter India at Gede. On the western side, it was to enter Attari in Pakistan.

In India, the route from Haldia to Calcutta has been agreed upon as a path of international significance to facilitate sea-cum-rail movement to Central Asia and Europe.

Bangladesh was keen on identifying an additional path through Abdulur-Rohanpur-Singhabad-Raxaul as a route of sub-regional significance to facilitate connection of Bangladesh ports to Nepal.

India has promised to examine this route in addition to the Haldia-Calcutta path with support from Bangladesh and Myanmar. "A team of senior officials would be soon visiting Bangladesh to discuss the issue," Agarwal said.

## Toy train

The Darjeeling toy train will be granted World Heritage status on May 20 by UNESCO. Announcing this, railway minister Mamata Banerjee said: "We will introduce new trains, but we will not do away with trains which have historical significance."

GRAPH

7 APR 2000

## Cornered Pakistan plans another salvo against India

UNITED NATIONS: Facing growing worldwide isolation over its stand on Kashmir and demands to stop cross-border terrorism, Pakistan is trying once again to launch a diplomatic campaign at the UN in a bid to malign India.

It took the first step on Wednesday in this direction when its new UN ambassador Shamshad Ahmad met security council president Robert Fowler of Canada to, what Ahmad called, "brief him about the volatile situation south Asia."

Later, the Pakistan mission to the UN took an unusual step of issuing a press release giving Mr Ahmad's version of the meeting, which alleged India's "belligerence and continued repression" in Jammu and Kashmir was responsible for the volatile situation.

The meeting came within hours of home minister L.K. Advani offering to hold talks with militants within the parameters of the constitution and provided they lay down arms.

A source, on condition of anonymity, told that Mr Ahmad's present plan was to continue his meetings with ambassadors, especially future council presidents. Each member of the council holds the presidency for one month.

Diplomats said there was no question of the council taking up the issue or discussing the situation in the region. A spokesperson of the Canadian UN mission confirmed the meeting and said Mr Fowler would brief other members of the council on the issue as desired by Mr Ahmad but could not give any date or time for it.

In the release, Mr Ahmad, who presented his credentials to secretary-general Kofi Annan only on March 3, said he "apprised" Mr Fowler of the doctrine of "limited war enunciated by the Indian defence minister (George Fernandes) in the context of India-Pakistan relations." He also drew Mr Fowler's attention to the secretary general's recent statement in which he had underlined the need to find a political solution to the Kashmir issue.

Mr Ahmad was apparently referring to the statement issued by Mr Annan on March 21 expressing outrage at massacre of 35 Sikhs by militants in Kashmir.

Mr Ahmed said he also informed Mr Fowler of General Pervez Musharraf's recent "formal offer" to India for resumption of dialogue at "any time, any place and at any level without any preconditions." (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

5.7 APR 1997

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## India declines comment *7/1*

NEW DELHI: India on Thursday refrained from reacting to Pakistan's deposed prime minister Nawaz Sharif getting life imprisonment for 25 years on being held guilty of hijacking and terrorism by a special court in Karachi. *7/1*

"We have no comments to offer," an external affairs ministry spokesperson told reporters when official response was sought to the court verdict, termed by Mr Sharif as "engineered" by Pakistani military ruler General Pervez Musharraf.

The Congress described as an "internal affair" of Pakistan the life imprisonment of the deposed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

"Pakistan is a sovereign state. We do not believe in interfering in their internal matters", Congress spokesman Ajit Jogi told reporters when asked to comment on the development. He replied in similar vein when asked whether the visit of U.S. President Bill Clinton to Islamabad recently had helped the deposed Prime Minister to avoid death penalty.

Asked about government plan to hold dialogue with militants in Kashmir, he said that the Congress had always maintained that dialogue, discussions and negotiations must be held within the framework of the constitution.



HD-13  
574

# Prospects for talks with Pakistan dim *guide. pakk*

By K. K. Katyal

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 4.** The Niaz Naik episode and related developments have proved — if at all a proof was needed — that the prospects for the resumption of the India-Pakistan dialogue are dim at the moment. Likewise, it is not realistic to hope for an early meeting of the SAARC summit, postponed at India's instance, in the wake of the coup in Pakistan.

Reports in the Pakistani Press that Mr. Niaz Naik, a former Foreign Secretary who was engaged in back-channel contacts before the military takeover in Islamabad, would utilise his two-day stay here now for "secret meetings" with the Indian side only served to evoke strong disclaimers by official spokesmen.

They reiterated, with increased emphasis, that the end of cross-border terrorism was a must for a fresh engagement with Pakistan. Mr. Naik who attended a meeting of the Coalition for Action on South Asian Cooperation (CASAC) yesterday returned to Islamabad today. He did not see any one in the Government. He had sought a meeting with the former Prime Minister, Mr. I. K. Gujral, but subsequently cancelled it.

Before his arrival here, Mr. Naik appeared to have sounded the Indian representatives in the CASAC on the possibility of meetings with the National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh, and, perhaps, for a call on the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee. There was, however, no follow-up in view of the strong official opposition to contacts with Islamabad, open or secret, in the midst of the Pakistan-sponsored militancy in Jammu and Kashmir.

As for the SAARC, India stuck to its opposition to a summit because of the situation, created by the dismissal of the democratic Government in Pakistan. The South Asian heads were to get together in Kathmandu for their scheduled meeting some time back, but the plan had to be given up.

The SAARC Secretary General, Mr. Nihal Rodriguez, who met the Foreign Secretary yesterday, was told that India was against the starting of the summit process and, as such, did not favour the idea of convening either the meeting of Ministers or the Foreign Secretaries. However, it would not stand in the way of sectoral meetings of the Ministers, if suggested by the technical committee.

If the continued opposition to the SAARC summit signified New Delhi's views against the military coup, the cold-shouldering of the moves for fresh dialogue was intended not to let Pakistan fudge the issue of terrorism. The Pakistani Press reports on Mr. Niaz Naik's "secret mission" were based on his special position (he enjoyed the confidence of the military rulers in the same way as of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif). His visit here was, thus, seen as an extension of the back-channel diplomacy he had been engaged in after the Lahore visit of Mr. Vajpayee in February last year.

Mr. Naik's mission was not interrupted even by Kargil. The earlier impression that Mr. Naik was on the wrong side of the military leadership because of his public comments on Kargil before the coup was belied by subsequent developments.

Had the military rulers been unhappy with him, he would not have been allowed to go to Kathmandu, for the meeting of CASAC in December last year — he was accompanied by Mr. Javed Jabar, who later became virtually the Information Minister — and then to Colombo for another South Asian group. Mr. Naik, it appears, had kept Gen. Pervez Musharraf posted with the back-channel contacts with India.

The Pakistani view on the present situation, as expressed by Mr. Naik and another colleague of his, in informal discussions, was on the known lines. A strong case was made for the resumption of the dialogue and the Indian opposition was sought to be countered with several arguments — one, that the Pakistani authorities did not exercise control over the Kashmiri militant groups and two, that delay by India in resuming the dialogue would only help to sideline the moderate elements in Pakistan.

When told that India expected Islamabad to take the first step (of controlling terrorist activities), the Pakistani argument was as follows — it would be difficult for the General to make a move in this direction unless there was an evidence of reduction in military activities in Jammu and Kashmir.

According to reports from Islamabad, Pakistani sources had spoken of a suggestion by New Delhi for a meeting between the ISI chief and his Indian counterpart but had expressed doubts about the utility of any such step. New Delhi discounted the move, ascribed to India.

THE HINDU

• 5 APR 2001

# A spirited defence of peace and harmony

By Mahesh Vijapurkar

MUMBAI, APR. 4. Bonhomie, lots of banter and quite some beer marked the get-together of visiting Pakistanis — all non-officials — and Indians at a lunch here soon after they arrived from Karachi by air to travel by train to Bangalore for an Indo-Pakistan peace conference.

At hand to meet with them at a suburban restaurant, all of which was booked for the guests, were left intellectuals and activists who had visited Pakistan for earlier editions of such confabulations.

If Mr. Kaifi Azmi sat at a table, with virtually every visiting Pakistani making a beeline for paying his respects to the man and his poetry, walking around to greet them was Mr. A. K. Hangal, kingpin of the Indian Peoples Theatre Movement, who was ostracised in the past by film-makers because he chose to attend a Pakistan Day on an August 14 evening. The Shiv Sena had triggered that unofficial, unspoken ban.

But today, he seemed a relieved man. "I am coming from a shoot for a film with Amir Khan," he said.

Mr. Javed Akhtar, Mr. Saeed Mirza of *Salim Langre Pe Mat Ro* and *Nukkad* teleserial fame who looked on quite bemused at the effervescent camaraderie of Indians and Pakistanis, conversing amid the hum of the gathering where no speeches were made.

The constituents of the delegation were matched quite well — teachers, businessmen, even Mr. Dalpat Sonavaria, who as a Hindu once advised the Pakistani Government on minorities' affairs and spoke Gujarati like a native of the Western Indian State — on both sides.

Not much of discussion could take place with everyone wanting to talk to everyone else who was



A Pakistani schoolteacher, Ms. Sanaber Nazir and her two daughters arriving in Mumbai on Tuesday. A delegation of 114 Pakistani lawyers, doctors and journalists are in India to participate in Wednesday's Indo-Pakistan People's Friendship Council in Bangalore. — AP

a member of the delegation, with labels announcing a name and the body: Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy. It was as though Kargil had not happened and if it had, then the visitors hoped it would never happen again.

A visitor, Mr. Mohammad Ali Shah, who works among fisher-

men, said, "people want peace between the two countries. If the two Governments decide, it can be so." Like others, he favoured people-to-people contacts.

There were questions aplenty from both sides. Was the media free in "your Mumbai or does it buckle under the Shiv Sena?, Do you get beer in Karachi as easily

as here?" To this, the response was "yes, lots of it but from the bootleggers even if it is made in Pakistan itself." "Family planning?" Yes, "there are religious obstacles" but "people are accepting it because small families mean happiness; they realise that." A gulp of beer in between two questions was normal.

It was a hot afternoon here and the AC too meagre for the restaurant which was chock-full of people.

The team is leaving for Bangalore by train. Part of the bigger delegation is to reach Bangalore, having arrived at Attari by the Samjhauta Express after it was refused permission to cross the border on foot.

The bus for the visitors from the airport to the resting place in Juhu-Vile Parle Scheme and then for their engagements including this lunch was provided with a police escort.

## Convention today

Our Bangalore Staff Reporter reports:

Governance and democracy, de-militarisation and de-nuclearisation, women's struggles, religious tolerance and Kashmir would be discussed at the three-day joint convention of Pakistani and Indian people scheduled to start here on Thursday. About 200 Indians and Pakistani delegates would attend the event. Admiral Mr. Ramdas (retd), president of the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPPFD), India, said here today.

"All discussions will focus on the situation within each country and the relationship between them. Plans will once again be made regarding people's initiatives to defuse tension and demands will be put forth to the governments in this regard," Admiral Ramdas added.

# Pakistan accuses India of showing belligerence

Mubashir Zaidi  
Islamabad, April 1

45-12  
2/11

**P**AKISTAN HAS regretted India's rejection of its offer for resumption of dialogue to resolve the outstanding disputes between the two countries.

"It is highly regrettable. This reflects that India wants to continue with its belligerent attitude," Foreign Office spokesman Tariq Altaf said in a statement.

The spokesman alleged that India had adopted negative and belligerent attitude for quite some time and referred to the provocative and aggressive statements of Indian leaders against Pakistan in this respect.

"India has been avoiding to enter into dialogue with Pakistan to resolve the disputes between the two countries. The rejection of Pakistan's offer shows that India wants to continue with its aggressive designs which is highly regrettable," Altaf further said.

He expressed the hope that India would heed international calls for the settlement of issues through dialogue between the two coun-

## Benazir warning

**FORMER PRIME** Minister and PPP chairperson Benazir Bhutto has warned the military regime that it would find itself more isolated in the world community if ousted Premier Nawaz Sharif was awarded death penalty. "Let's be professional in principles. It is wrong to hang prime ministers. Nawaz may have been a bad ruler, he may have misgoverned, but you do not hang a person for that," she said in an interview with BBC.

HTC, Islamabad

tries. He called upon the international community to take notice of, what he claimed, India's negative attitude. "Pakistan's sincerity for

the negotiated settlement is evident from the fact that Pakistan at the highest level announced its readiness for the resumption of dialogue," Altaf said citing the recent statement of General Pervez Musharraf that Pakistan was ready for a dialogue with India, anywhere, at any time and at any level.

Meanwhile, Pakistani media also blasted India for rejecting its talks offer.

*Dawn* in its editorial said General Musharraf has just made an important gesture by saying that Pakistan will not insist on mediation but is ready to hold direct talks with India. "What more does India want", the paper observed.

"The trouble seems to be that India is basking in the warm afterglow of the Clinton visit and perhaps drawing the wrong conclusions from it," the paper said adding if India thinks that there is no need for engaging Pakistan in a dialogue 'it is grossly mistaken'.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
- 2 APR 2000

## Peace activists insist on walking across Wagah

By Amit Baruah

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 1. Activists belonging to the Pakistan chapter of the Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFD) have made a last-minute appeal to the Government of India to allow them to cross the Wagah border "on foot" tomorrow to attend a conference in Bangalore from April 6-8.

Dr. Mubashir Hasan, a PIPFD activist, telephoned this correspondent from Lahore to say that in case they were not allowed to cross the border "on foot", they would stage a sit-in.

Over 200 persons had been given visas to attend the Bangalore conference, but unlike on previous occasions New Delhi had not permitted them to cross on foot. During the Forum's conference in Calcutta (1996) and Peshawar (1997), the Indian and Pakistani Governments had allowed them to walk across.

Asked if the Government of Pakistan had given them the permission to use the land route (which is open only to third country nationals and diplomats), Dr. Hasan said they would "defy" Pakistani authorities if necessary.

A source in the Indian High Commission stated that visas had been issued and the delegates could go by air, train or bus. They had been promised expeditious clearance if they chose to go by the Samjhauta Express.

THE HINDU

- 2 APR 2000

# Pak takes cautious stand over India's overture

The Times of India News Service & Agencies

ISLAMABAD: Responding to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's announcement of an extension of the ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan said that it had a "positive tone". However, Pakistan's foreign office spokesman Riaz Mohammad Khan said that the announcement fell "short of a clear response to its initiative for an early start to negotiations for a settlement of the Kashmir dispute".

Foreign minister Abdul Sattar, meanwhile, told the BBC that Pakistan was "watching very closely every word that is being said" by Mr Vajpayee and "every other senior leader in India". "What we hear is good. But what we would like to see is the same thing conveyed to us officially, so that we can set the stage for the commencement of a dialogue in consultation with the representatives of the Kashmiri people," Mr Sattar said.

"Conditional statements have been emanat-

ing from New Delhi for nearly three weeks and show a certain amount of reluctance on India's part to respond to Pakistan's response for talks," Mr Khan said. "India clearly needs to make up its mind about a meaningful dialogue as Pakistan envisages a comprehensive approach," he added.

Meanwhile, India said that it welcomed any steps taken by Pakistan for reduction of tension in the region, but rejected Islamabad's suggestion that New Delhi do the same.

Soon after Mr Vajpayee's announcement that the Ramzan truce in J&K could be extended, General Pervez Musharraf responded by announcing a partial pull-back of troops from the border.

External affairs ministry spokesman R.S. Jassal said that Islamabad's assertion on troop reductions had to be verified by the army.

"The defence ministry is assessing the ground situation and we can comment on this only after evaluation of Pakistan's claim," he said.

Referring to Pakistan's demand that India reduce its troops, the spokesman said the forces' strength was determined by the defence ministry in response to the threat "that we face from the encouragement, abetment and incitement of terrorism in J&K and the infiltration of terrorists, particularly foreign terrorists, into the Valley".

He referred to the "unrealistic and inaccurate assessment of the Pakistan spokesman's remarks on the strength of security forces deployed in the state".

The point at issue, as India sees it, is that Pakistan can withdraw troops as it does not need to guard against infiltration. For India, exposed to constant infiltration of terrorists and mercenaries, the issue is entirely different.

Meanwhile, defence minister George Fernandes dismissed Pakistan's claim of having withdrawn its troops from the Line of Control to the cantonments, saying it was physically impossible to do so in such a short time-frame. (Agencies)

► See Edit: India's Olive Branch, Page 10

THE TIMES OF INDIA

22 JAN 2001

# India to wait and watch before pullout response

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE  
& Agencies

NEW DELHI, Dec. 21. — Despite the Pakistan government's declaration of partial troops pullout from the LoC, India will not follow suit till there is enough evidence of such a move.

Mr George Fernandes was sceptical about Pakistan's announcement and said the government would first verify whether Pakistan was indeed pulling out troops.

"We have to understand what this claim means. How can troops be withdrawn overnight from high up in the mountainous terrain that marks the LoC? In such a short time, you can't even shift a company of troops," the defence minister said. He pointed out that Pakistan army had not specified the areas from where it was withdrawing troops, or the strength of the supposed pullout.

Equally sceptical, Mr Farooq Abdullah said: "Islamabad's claim will have to be taken with a pinch of salt as history is witness that when we were initiating friendship in Lahore, Pakistan was pushing its troops in Kargil."

Besides, India was not in a "position to verify the Pakistani claim", he said after a high-level meeting chaired by Mr LK Advani. The meeting was also attended by Mr Fernandes, Mr Kamal Pande, home secretary, Mr Shyamal Dutta, IB chief, and the BSF director-general, Mr Gurbachan Jagat.

The Pakistan army maintained that troops had indeed started moving back. "We are not just making announcements," the director-general of Inter Services Public Relations, Brig Rashid Qureshi, told BBC. "It is now up to India to reciprocate by pulling its troops from the LoC and making a headway for talks."

Senior Indian officials, however, were of the opinion

## APHC decides to meet ultras in Pakistan

SRINAGAR, Dec. 21. — The Hurriyat Conference today decided to send a delegation to Pakistan on 15 January to initiate talks with the militant leadership to carry forward the peace moves "initiated by India and Pakistan".

The Hurriyat described as "bold steps" India's extension of the ceasefire and Pakistan's partial pullback of forces.

Hurriyat bosses are believed to have talked to the Lashkar chief, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, and the Hizbul supreme commander and chairman of the United Jihad Council, Syed Salahuddin, last night.

However, Mr Farooq Abdullah said there was no need to talk to Hurriyat leaders as they would only toe the line fed from across the border. "These people are like black crows, no matter how much detergent you apply, they will remain black. If the Centre wants to talk to the Hurriyat, I will not create any hindrance. But for god's sake, one should understand that talking to them means talking to Pakistan."

— SNS & PTI

that such a decision would be "far too premature" as the Pakistani troops pulled back, if any, might be those that were on the border participating in exercises and war games, not troops on the LoC. Pakistani forces are still occupying several sensitive positions along the LoC, they added.

Nor have Pakistani army officials informed their Indian counterparts about such a withdrawal. The Director-General of Military Operations

of the Indian Army speaks over the phone with his Pakistani counterpart every Tuesday. There was no communication about any pullout this time.

The Pakistan High Commission said troops were already moving back towards the cantonments but "necessary safeguards have been taken against any possible Indian misadventure across the LoC".

Meanwhile, reacting to India's decision to extend the Ramzan ceasefire, the Pakistan foreign office spokesman, Mr Riaz Mohammad Khan, said it had a "positive tone" but fell short of Islamabad's expectations.

Closer home, the decision came under heavy attack from the Panthers Party chief, Mr Bhim Singh, who alleged that the NDA government was toeing the RSS line based on the Dixon formula aimed at making Kashmir a buffer state. Stating that a month of ceasefire saw the emergence of two strong "negative" forces — the RSS and the Jamaat-e-Islami — he said the activities of both were creating insecurity among Kashmiris.

However, Army officers say encounters in the valley have gone down during the ceasefire. Winter normally reduces 'action' in the area, but this time, local militants appear to be less active.

## UN resolution

Pakistan today said the UN Security Council's resolutions on Kashmir could not be invalidated with the lapse of time. Reacting to Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's statement that UN resolutions on self-determination in Kashmir had become outdated after 50 years, Mr Riaz Mohammad Khan said Pakistan's stand on Kashmir was still based on the resolutions for plebiscite.

## Hurriyat team to visit Pak. on Jan. 15

By Shujaat Bukhari

*HD-1* *2/12*  
**JAMMU, DEC. 21.** The All-Party Hurriyat Conference has decided to send a delegation of leaders to Pakistan on January 15 to continue the peace process set in motion by the Government's extension of the ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan's response to it. The party described both initiatives as "bold and appreciable".

The APHC executive, which met at Mirwaiz House, residence of the former chairman, Mirwaiz Umer Farooq, discussed the two developments. Chaired by the APHC chairman, Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat, the meeting was attended by Syed Ali Shah Geelani (Ja-

*Indo Pak*  
mat-e-Islami), Mr. Abdul Gani Lone (People's Conference), Moulvi Abbas Ansari (Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen), Mohammad Yaseen Malik (JKLF), Mirwaiz Umer Farooq (Awami Action Committee) and Sheikh Abdul Aziz (People's League).

Briefing mediapersons later, Mr. Yaseen Malik said the extension of the ceasefire and Pakistan's withdrawal of troops along a section of the LoC were "bold steps". In a bid to take the peace process forward, the APHC had decided to send a delegation to Pakistan, which would interact with different sections of society as also the militant leaders, to find a permanent solution to the Kashmir issue.

**Hizb, Lashkar apprised: Page 13**

THE HINDU

22 JAN 2001

# India plans 'talks about talks'

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, DEC. 21. India and Pakistan are inching towards a dialogue, but peace talks are unlikely to begin until the two sides find a way to bridge their differences over the shape of the table, say highly-placed sources in the Government.

Pakistan's insistence on "tripartite" talks on Kashmir — involving India, Pakistan and the Hurriyat leadership — is said to be the biggest remaining obstacle to the resumption of a full-scale dialogue in the near future.

The "exploratory steps" India plans to initiate with Pakistan are aimed at resolving the differences on how to structure the dialogue. In that sense, the "exploratory steps" are being described by diplomatic observers here as "talks about talks".

The Government is yet to make up its mind on the nature and form of the impending pre-negotiations. There are many channels — both formal and informal — through which "talks about talks" can be conducted.

The simplest one, of course, would be through the diplomatic missions. The High Commissioner in either country is a senior diplomat and fully capable of negotiating with the oth-

er Government on key issues.

The form of the conversation, however, may be less important than the substantive differences over the question of "tripartite" talks. Pakistan claims that an appearance at least of a "three-way" process on Jammu and Kashmir is an important face saver domestically for its future engagement with India.

New Delhi has already rejected the concept of "tripartite" talks. India can in no way countenance its own citizens sitting at a negotiating table with another nation. Further, New Delhi cannot accept the proposition that the Hurriyat is the sole representative of the popular opinion in Jammu and Kashmir.

India, however, is ready to begin parallel talks on Kashmir — one with Pakistan and the other with the various groups in Kashmir, including the Hurriyat. But New Delhi, sources here insist, will never accept a table for three.

According to diplomatic observers here, the way out may lie in the possibility of opening a third track of talks between Pakistan and the Hurriyat. The Government has already hinted that it may let those Kashmiri leaders who want to engage Pakistan travel there. The Hurri-

yat could always hold talks with India separately.

Beyond the differences over the shape of the table, there is the residual question of cross-border terrorism. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, acknowledged in Parliament yesterday a discernible reduction in some aspects of cross-border terrorism during the last few weeks of ceasefire.

But he also pointed to the current unacceptable levels of infiltration and violence and made a specific reference to the continuing terrorist activity by the jihadi groups in Jammu and Kashmir.

India cannot begin and conduct a serious dialogue with Pakistan in an atmosphere in which Islamabad is free to foment violence in Kashmir through the jihadi groups. Pakistan's claim that it has no control over these groups enjoys little credibility here. India would want Pakistan to rein in the jihadi groups before the talks begin.

No one in the Government is willing to specify a timeframe for concluding the proposed "talks about talks". But analysts here say it will be at least a month or two before the two sides complete the exploratory phase, which could then lead to a resumption of the dialogue.

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