

Ficci for discussion on India-Iran gas project at summit

Pipeline to benefit Pak

5-13 PRESS TRUST OF INDIA 15/7

NEW DELHI, July 14. — The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Ficci) said today it expected the India-Iran gas pipeline proposal to come up for discussion during the Agra summit meeting between the Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee.

"The issue of Indo-Iranian gas pipeline, I think, will be definitely discussed during the summit. The project will be executed once both the leaders are politically comfortable," Ficci secretary-general, Mr Amit Mitra said on the sidelines of Ficci's interface with foreign correspondents.

Brushing aside all security concerns with regard to the pipeline, Mr Mitra said Pakistan would be enormously benefited once the gas pipeline project was completed.

"It is also possible that the two leaders may not discuss the issue publicly, but they are going to talk about it among themselves. "...Although no high level business delegation is accom-

panying President Musharraf, trade related issues are likely to get priority in their discussions," he said.

The visit of the Union commerce and industry minister, Mr Murasoli Maran, to Agra during the summit lends credence to it, the Ficci secretary-general said.

"Business is going to take place between the two countries once the leaders are politically comfortable, and the

Agra summit is a step in the right direction," Mr Mitra added.

India and Pakistan should work together in the area of power as Pakistan has 10,000 MW of surplus power which could be a boon for both the countries, Mr Mitra said.

"An Enormous amount of trade takes place between India and Pakistan unofficially but there is a need to turn this unofficial trade into an official one," he said.

"One must take the example of Indian tyres which are very popular in Pakistan. A particular brand of Indian tyre is a benchmark for quality there. We must focus on these areas now" he pointed out.



Pak porters wait for Indian porters with Afghan fruits, under the security of Indian BSF at Wagah. — AP/PTI

MUSHARRAF ARRIVES, MEETS HURRIYAT LEADERS; OVER TO AGRA

HD-157

Hopes rise for a productive summit

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JULY 14. As a truant monsoon returned to the capital to end the oppressive heat of the last few days, the visiting Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's talks with the top layer of the Indian political establishment today raised hopes of a "fresh start" in bilateral relations.

The first round of consultations between the Indian leaders and Gen. Musharraf, who arrived here this morning to a warm and ceremonial reception, helped clear the air.

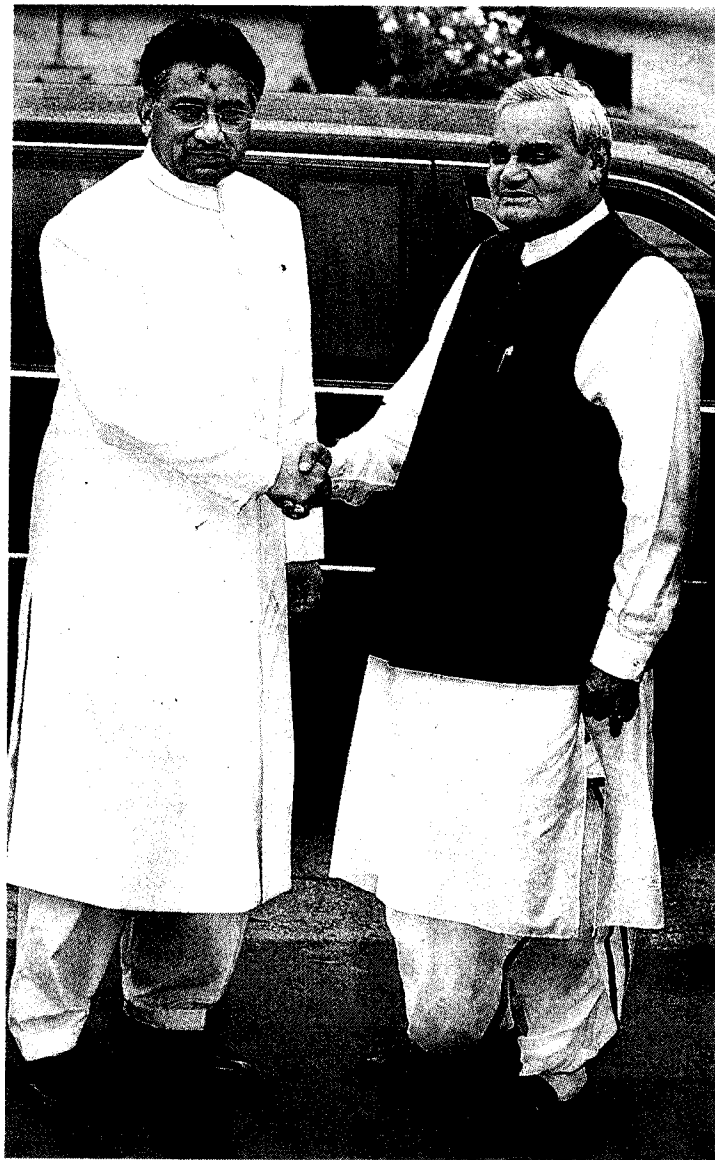
While a political breakthrough in bilateral relations may remain elusive at Agra, the prospect for a productive summit appear to have improved. The mood has certainly lightened after a week of intense posturing on Kashmir by Pakistan.

Highly-placed sources in both delegations talked of the "pleasant nature" of the conversations today and their hopes for a substantive engagement between Gen. Musharraf and the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, tomorrow.

Neither side is promising that an accommodation of each other's principal political concerns is at hand. But they are suggesting that the interaction today had generated enough grounds for optimism about the talks.

"It is the commencement of a journey and the beginning of a process," the spokesperson of the Indian Foreign Office said summing up the talks today between Gen. Musharraf and the Indian leaders, including the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, the Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, and the Leader of the Opposition, Ms. Sonia Gandhi.

Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf had their first informal chat just before they went into a luncheon hosted by the Prime Minister this afternoon. The two leaders seemed to get along well; this should bode well for their talks tomorrow. Calling the talks "positive, purposeful and constructive", the spokesperson said the Indian leaders took the opportunity "to convey feelings, stress concerns



The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, welcoming the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, at the Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on Saturday. — Photo: Shanker Chakravarty

and define interests". Sources in the Pakistan delegation too echoed the positive assessment of the Indian side. They talked of the "many expectations" that Gen. Musharraf had from the visit and his desire to define a new relationship with India.

On the first day of Gen. Mushar-

raf's visit, it was not all nice words and polite conversation. Neither India nor Pakistan pulled any punches in underscoring their core political concerns.

Gen. Musharraf, in a statement distributed immediately after his arrival, reiterated Pakistan's focus on Jammu and Kashmir.

The Indian leaders who met him were equally emphatic in stating India's concerns about cross-border terrorism and the demand for a relationship with Pakistan that was free from violence.

The sources suggested that the talks tomorrow would address the key political concerns of each country. Contrary to speculation in sections of the media, the Agra talks are unlikely to explore solutions to long-standing problems between the two countries such as Jammu and Kashmir.

The focus, instead, is on finding appropriate mechanisms to deal with the core concerns of each other. Pakistan is said to be looking for a framework to facilitate sustained and intensive negotiations on Kashmir.

While India may be prepared to explore the idea of a Joint Working Group to deal with the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, it wants Pakistan to consider the establishment of a similar mechanism to address Indian concerns on cross-border terrorism.

Officials from both sides are tight-lipped about the consultations on a negotiating framework, which are reported to be in an advanced stage. The delegations however, have their fingers crossed; they believe a spanner could still be thrown into the works.

At Agra, India and Pakistan might also discuss the prospects of reviving the talks on nuclear and conventional confidence-building measures. The international community is quite keen to see movement in this field to reduce the danger of a potential conflict in the subcontinent.

Sources in the delegations suggest that the biggest challenge may lie in finalising mechanisms to address the core political concerns of the other. If that threshold is crossed, a whole range of other agreed decisions, on subjects of bilateral relations could be generated.

If that comes to pass, the summit could truly turn out to be a "new beginning". But considerable distance, informed sources in both delegations insist, remains to be traversed at Agra.



Gen. Pervez Musharraf, accompanied by his wife, Ms. Sehba Musharraf, paying tributes at the samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat in New Delhi on Saturday. — Photo: S. Arneja (Report on Page 9)

We need to show boldness: Musharraf

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JULY 14. "So near, yet so far!" proclaimed Gen. Pervez Musharraf as he sat down to address a group of intellectuals on the state of Indo-Pak relations at the residence of the Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, this evening.

Regretting the failure of India and Pakistan to build a cooperative relationship in the last five decades, Gen. Musharraf talked of his hopes for a "breakthrough" in the talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, at Agra tomorrow.

Listening attentively were two former Prime Ministers, Mr. V.P. Singh and Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral, as well as a few retired Generals, former diplomats, academics and journalists.

Asked if a breakthrough could be engineered in the talks, Gen. Musharraf said both Mr. Vajpayee and himself "enjoy a certain political flexibility" in their ability to deal with the issues at hand.

Saying there was enough room for manoeuvre, Gen. Musharraf declared "we need to show the boldness" to utilise

that political space.

Praising Mr. Vajpayee for his bold and courageous step in inviting him to India, he talked of the potential for a breakthrough in bilateral relations.

The first step, he said, was the initiation of the present dialogue. This must be followed by a recognition of Kashmir as the central issue, and the creation of a structure to negotiate a solution within a reasonable time-frame.

Gen. Musharraf appeared relaxed and his aides said he was certainly enjoying his trip to a

city he had left behind as a child 54 years ago. He conversed fluently in English, occasionally lapsing into Urdu. Gen. Musharraf was critical of the media for misrepresenting many of his positions. He insisted that he never said progress on other issues was not possible until the Kashmir issue was resolved.

He reiterated the view that Kashmir dispute was central to bilateral relations, but suggested there could be simultaneous progress on Kashmir and other problems. "Let us move on all issues in tandem," he declared.

Hurriyat comes out smiling from the tea party

Our Political Bureau

NEW DELHI 14 JULY

IGNORING INDIAN reservations and sensitivities, Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf, on Saturday, went ahead with his plans of meeting the leaders of the Hurriyat Conference. In fact, he added to the provocation by setting aside a full half-an-hour for them at high commissioner Ashraf Jehangir Qazi's tea-party, even as two former Indian Prime Ministers, V.P. Singh and I.K. Gujral, and a host of other Opposition leaders waited to meet him.

During his discussions with the Hurriyat leaders, the Pakistan President is believed to have reiterated his oft-repeated position that he was not willing just yet to consider the LoC as the international border between the two countries and that the Kashmir problem could only be solved by involving the Hurriyat in the peace talks.

The Hurriyat Conference leaders who met on Saturday included its chairman Abul Ghani Bhat, Abdul Ghani Lone, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Sheikh Abdul Aziz and Maulana Abbas Ansari. JKLF leader Yasin Malik, in keeping with his threat, boycotted the high tea.

The Hurriyat leaders, who have been suffering from a massive loss of credibility ever since they decided to stay away from



TEA FOR TWO: Hurriyat chairman Abdul Ghani Bhat (right) with party leader Mirwaiz Umar Farooq in New Delhi on Saturday. — PTI

Centre-sponsored talks, were naturally pleased as plum over the assurances from their mentor.

In fact, Pakistan hit upon the idea of inviting them to tea to compensate for its failure to secure a berth for them in the dialogue. Pakistan had maintained all along that any effort to solve the Kashmir dispute must involve the representatives (read

nism has to be evolved to involve them in any solution to the problem. He also agreed that Kashmir was the core issue.

Geelani, known for his hawkish stand, echoed his sentiments. "The President said Kashmir was the main issue between India and Pakistan. It is only after the resolution of this issue that other things could move forward... We've always believed this and we're happy the Pakistan President will be raising the issue with Mr Vajpayee," he said.

Asked whether the summit held out any hope for them, Mirwaiz remarked: "Kashmir is a complex issue. There are three parties involved and any solution to the problem has to include the Hurriyat as it was the sole representative of the Kashmiris."

On whether the Hurriyat leaders had submitted a formula for the solution of the Kashmir tangle, he said: "It is the first time we met the Pakistan President. You can't expect a formula to be put forth in such a short time. We don't expect things to happen in a day or two."

Mirwaiz was confident that the talks would eventually turn tripartite. "In the interregnum, a beginning could be made by holding talks on a triangular basis where each party discusses things with the other party," he asserted.

Delhi pushes for joint PoW probe

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

Agra, July 15: India has asked Pakistan to revive the agreement to form a joint ministerial group to probe whether Indian prisoners of war (PoW) are languishing in Pakistani jails.

The neighbours had agreed during the Lahore peace process in February 1999 to set up a ministerial group to crosscheck the facts of the PoW issue since it has become an emotional matter in India. But before it could be implemented, the Nawaz Sharif government was toppled by Pervez Musharraf.

Foreign minister Jaswant Singh had recently said the PoW issue continued to cause concern

and his government was aware how emotional it was for some families in India. Pakistan has not officially acknowledged their presence which, Singh said, made it difficult to seek help from international agencies in tracing them. "We can only ask for assistance from these agencies once Pakistan acknowledges that there are PoWs in their jails," he said.

Pakistan interior minister Moinuddin Haidar has categorically denied their presence in his country. But, according to reports quoting a human rights body in Pakistan, there are at least 60 Indian PoWs in Pakistani jails. The truth about their existence can only be ascertained if Islamabad agrees to Delhi's suggestion of re-

viving the ministerial team to carry out investigations.

In the run-up to the Agra Summit, the issue has again come centre stage. There have been demonstrations in different parts of the country demanding of the release of PoWs from Pakistani jails.

The issue also came up for discussion at the delegation-level talks between Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf today.

But Islamabad's position on the issue is not yet clear. If it agrees to revive the idea of a ministerial team that will visit Pakistani jails to search for PoWs, it could well be counted

as another confidence-building-measure.

Kashmir troops cutback

India will withdraw thousands of soldiers from Jammu and Kashmir but the cut is not related to the Agra Summit, reports Reuters.

About 600,000 security personnel — soldiers, paramilitary personnel and state policemen — are now battling militants in the state.

"This is a normal, organisational movement and is not linked to the talks," a defence ministry spokesman said.

He refused to give details of the cut, though some reports had put it at 20,000 soldiers over the next two weeks.

THE TELEGRAPH

Pervez invites Vajpayee ■ Pak denies refuting Shimla Agreement ■ Narayanan silent on J&K, General upbeat

Musharraf steps into history

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 14. — Dull gray skies and a smattering of rain captured in essence the mood as a Pakistani President reached Delhi on a state visit today, the first to do so in almost fifty-years. The green Pakistani flag fluttered in the breeze along with the Indian Tricolour — hope and renewal held sway in most minds.

There was confusion as rain hampered arrangements for the ceremonial reception at Rashtrapati Bhavan for General Musharraf. Finally, it was held with due pomp and ceremony at the red-gravelled forecourt. He is the first Pakistani head of state to be accorded a ceremonial welcome in the Indian capital since 1953, when Mohammed Ali of Bogra, then Pakistani Prime Minister, came to Delhi on a state visit.

"It is a great honour to be here," the cream *sherwani-pyjama*-clad Pakistani President told Mr KR Narayanan. The normally ebullient Prime Minister, in his first public appearance since his knee surgery last month, was more restrained in his initial welcome, avoiding the hugs and hoopla that characterised his Lahore visit.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee called on Gen. Musharraf before hosting him over for lunch. The atmosphere of this meeting, where he was accompanied by Mr LK Advani, Mr Jaswant Singh and Mr Brajesh Mishra, was described as "very warm and cordial."

General Musharraf extended an invitation to Mr Vajpayee to visit Pakistan.

(Pak denial: Pakistan today strongly refuted reports that Gen. Musharraf had repudiated the Lahore and Shimla agreements and maintained that his statement had been "misquoted" by the media, adds PTI from Islamabad. "President Musharraf has never said that Shimla and Lahore agreements are irrelevant. What he has said is that Shimla and Lahore agreements did not lead to any progress as they were expected to," the Pakistan foreign secretary, Mr Iman-ul Haq said at a press briefing here)

In his statement at the start of the visit, Gen. Musharraf extended his "warm greetings to the government and people of India" and said he was "looking forward to a meaningful, frank and substantial discussion".

"The Kashmir dispute has cast a shadow on relations between Pakistan and India." "I have come with an open mind," he said, "and look forward to my discussions with Indian leaders on establishing peaceful, tension-free and cooperative relations between our two



HISTORY IN THE MAKING? Mr KR Narayanan smiles as General Pervez Musharraf shakes hands with Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee at Rashtrapati Bhavan on Saturday. — *The Statesman*

countries." Resolving the problems of the Kashmiri people would help resolve all outstanding issues between the two neighbours, he said, bringing economic prosperity.

(President's banquet: Mr Narayanan held a banquet in the evening in honour of Gen. Musharraf. The words "Jammu and Kashmir" didn't figure in Mr Narayanan's banquet speech but they were the "core" of Gen. Musharraf's speech at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Gen. Musharraf said there could be no "military solution" to Jammu and Kashmir.



The General hugs Anaro Begum, who used to work for the Musharraf, in Delhi on Saturday — *The Statesman*

(Mr Narayanan spoke about ruling out violence between India and Pakistan and building upon "the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration". Gen. Musharraf talked about "opening a new chapter" of bilateral relations by facing Kashmir squarely and resolving it once and for all.)

After the ceremonial

■ See SUMMIT: page 10

Advani gives the Gen. a tough time

SANJAY SINGH
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 14. — The 25-minute meeting between General Pervez Musharraf and Mr LK Advani was probably the most intense that the Pakistani President had today.

In keeping with the spirit of the Agra summit, the home minister was "very keen" not to spoil the cordiality of the occasion. But he was equally determined to raise issues vital to India's concerns like extradition of Dawood Ibrahim, cross-border terrorism and New Delhi's point of view on Kashmir. "Soft issues" like cricket ties and release of PoWs too featured at the talks that gave an idea about the subjects to be discussed at Agra tomorrow, officials said.

Mr Advani reportedly told the General not to make peace a hostage on any of these issues.

But the two had one thing in common. Both are students of St Patrick's in Karachi. The home minister narrated anecdotes of his school days and one post-Partition visit to strike an instant rapport with the Pakistani President. Gen. Musharraf offered him another reunion at the school. Mr Advani said such visits should be more frequent for other people too.

Mr Advani said he had been visiting different countries and signing extradition treaties, which was not of much use to India. If the neighbours had so much in common then why shouldn't they have the same treaty? The General agreed. The home minister then demanded Dawood Ibrahim's extradition.

Gen. Musharraf responded that Mr Advani was indulging in "small tactics" and said Dawood was not in Pakistan. Mr Advani responded by saying the Pakistani President, after a lifetime in the army, should know about strategies and tactics. He should broaden the strategy with Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee in Agra tomorrow to bring peace in the region.

The General said India should recognise Kashmir as a disputed territory. Mr Advani replied there were differences in the two countries' views. For India, Kashmir included Jammu, PoK, the northern territories and Ladakh.

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To salute or not is the question

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 14. — Air Chief Marshal AY Tipnis did not salute General Pervez Musharraf at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Indian Air Force officers said there is "no rule that a service chief has to salute a visiting head of state".

The IAF chief shook hands with the Pakistani President during the ceremonial guard of honour and an IAF spokesman said: "When the chief met the President, they exchanged normal greetings and niceties."

Was it not a departure from protocol? Air Force officers said there is no rule... there is nothing in the rule book about it."

The Air Chief Marshal was representing all the three services at the guard of hon-

our and there has been some talk about his not saluting a visiting head of state. Of course, Gen. Musharraf is considered the person who planned Kargil war. Nor was he, as army chief, present when Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee went to Wagah in 1999. The Pakistan navy and air force chiefs too were not present.

Wing Commander Pawan Rishi of the Air Force led the inter-services guard of honour and escorted the Pakistani President as he inspected a 150-strong contingent of defence personnel.

The selection of a tall parade commander, according to some reports, was made deliberately so that the visiting General would have to look up to him at the end of the guard of honour while taking the salute.

SUMMIT:

(Continued from page 1)

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welcome at Rashtrapati Bhavan, General Musharraf, accompanied by his wife Begum Sehba and members of his delegation, visited Rajghat and placed a wreath and showered rose petals on the samadhi to the tune of Kabir's Ram Rahim ek hair re.

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His message in the visitor's book emphasised the importance of the summit. "Mahatma. Gandhi devoted his entire life to the struggle of non-violence and peace. Never has the requirement of these ideals been more severely felt than today, especially in the context of Pakistan - India relations." Many important personalities called on him at Rashtrapati Bhavan, among them the Vice-President, Mr Krishan Kant, the foreign minister, the home minister, and the leader of the Opposition, Mrs Sonia Gandhi, accompanied by Dr Manmohan Singh and Mr K Natwar Singh.

The Congress reminded Gen. Musharraf that it would be better for both countries to initiate a meaningful dialogue which could lead to resolve the issues in dispute. The party urged Pakistan to focus on nuclear and economic issues.

Mr Jaswant Singh raised the government's concern for peace and security in the neighbourhood in the overall context of bilateral ties, while Mr Advani made more specific points.

A foreign ministry spokesman characterised today's exchanges between the leaders as "the beginning of a dialogue" and the "commencement of a journey."

Day 1: India, Pak smile and joust, but Musharraf steals the show

By Seema Guha
The Times of India News Service
 NEW DELHI: The mood in both the Indian and Pakistani camps was upbeat at the end of President Pervez Musharraf's first full day in the capital. The initial wariness as Gen Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee shook hands on the forecourt of Rashtrapati Bhavan gave way as the day progressed and the general met a cross-section of Indian leaders. By the end of the day, the visiting President was much more relaxed, and so were his hosts.

Gen Musharraf, who had said in Islamabad that he wanted to make history, did that when he became the first Pakistani head of state in half a century to pay an official visit to New Delhi, paid homage at Rajghat and expressed extraordinary sentiments about peace and non-violence. The Pakistani leader hogged the day's limelight with the hosts taking a backseat.

Indian and Pakistani officials, however, emphasised that the day's interactions were preliminary, more in the nature of courtesy calls and social chat. The substantive issues will come up on Sunday, when the two leaders engage in summit talks against the backdrop of the Taj Mahal.

President K.R. Narayanan, at the banquet hosted for the visiting dignitary, clearly spelled out India's position. Kashmir was not mentioned at all. "Tomorrow, when you and the Prime Minister of India sit together in Agra for your dialogue, I hope the face of the poorest person in the subcontinent will be before you," he said. Mr Narayanan spoke of the importance of the Simla and Lahore agreements and the relevance of people-to-people contacts.

However, Kashmir remained the leit motif of Gen Musharraf's interactions throughout the day. He also brought it up at his banquet speech. He said the last year had been bad for bilateral relations but hoped a new beginning could be made in Agra. The Pakistani President struck an optimistic note earlier as well when, at a meeting with intellectuals, he hoped the talks would conclude with a joint statement, if not a joint press conference. In

diplomatese, this was viewed as a sign of his upbeat mood.

Pakistan's foreign minister Abdul Sattar, commenting on the summit prospects, said, "The underlying message from President Musharraf is that we need to move forward together. I think the mood on both sides is very positive. We hope to sustain this and carry on from here."

Earlier in the day, Vice President Krishan Kant, home minister L.K. Advani, external affairs and defence minister Jaswant Singh and leader of the opposition Sonia Gandhi called on Gen Musharraf.

Mr Singh made the point that India and Pakistan had made attempts at peace in the past as well. "It is important to recognise the relevance of each of these journeys," he said in an obvious reference to newspaper reports about the general rejecting the Simla and Lahore accords. However, much of this was misreported. Gen Musharraf had merely said that the past agreements had not worked. External affairs ministry spokesperson Nirupama Rao explained this to mean—you need to carry forward the dialogue while at the same time keeping in mind the experiences of the past and respecting the documents worked out by previous leaders of both countries.

"The caravan of peace and progress should be allowed to move forward without interruption," Mr Singh said. The main thrust of all Indian leaders who met the general was that despite differences on many issues, India and Pakistan should be able to live as good neighbours.

Mr Advani, often regarded as a hawk on India-Pakistan relations, told Gen Musharraf that the two countries should move forward in building trust and confidence. He recalled his recent call emphasising "co-operation instead of confrontation". Vice President Krishan Kant advised Gen Musharraf, "Keep talking and keep walking together." The Vice President also referred to his childhood in Lahore and quoted an early 20th century Urdu couplet, "This is the place. This is the place. This is the place where my spirit took wing and I learnt of love and reconciliation".

FIFTY-FOUR YEARS LATER — A HUG, A SALUTE AND A FIRM HANDSHAKE



THE ONE WHO LEFT, THE ONE WHO STAYED BEHIND: Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf embraces 80-year-old Anaro Begum (left) during his visit to his childhood home at Neharwali Haveli in Delhi on Saturday. Anaro was one of the domestic staff who had last seen him as a four-year-old. (Top right) Gen Musharraf salutes the eternal flame at Rajghat. He is the first Pakistani leader to visit the memorial to Mahatma Gandhi. (Bottom right) Gen Musharraf shakes hands with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee at the ceremonial reception at Rashtrapati Bhavan as President K.R. Narayanan and external affairs minister Jaswant Singh look on

Storm over Qazi's tea party blows over

By Siddharth Varadarajan

NEW DELHI: In the end, President Pervez Musharraf's famous tea party turned out to be a weaker brew than everyone had imagined. The Pakistani leader did meet in private with six leaders of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference just before. However, out of deference to official Indian sensitivities, care was taken to deny the media—which had gathered, phalanx-like, in ravenous anticipation—a photo-op of Gen Musharraf talking to or walking hand-in-hand with those whom New Delhi considers secessionists.

Although Gen Musharraf joined the recep-

tion immediately after his "20- to 25-minute" meeting with the Hurriyat, a Pakistani official said the APHC leaders were requested to go in from a separate entrance. Afterwards, whether by accident or design, their paths did not cross again as they mingled with the crowd which had gathered under a huge air-conditioned shami-ana on the grounds of the Pakistani high commissioner's residence.

Since this was the first opportunity journalists had to interact with Gen Musharraf at close quarters, a mad scramble ensued when the Pakistani leader entered. Begum Sehba was so overwhelmed she had to be escorted back into the

high commissioner's residence. The general stuck to pat phrases in the few words he did exchange with journalists. However, in a half-hour interaction with a small group of analysts and politicians just before tea, including former prime ministers V.P. Singh and I.K. Gujral, he spoke optimistically about the prospects for the Agra summit.

Gen Musharraf said he would ask the Indian government to "facilitate" a visit to Pakistan in the future. Asked whether Pakistan would insist on India accepting at Agra that Kashmir was 'disputed territory', Mr Haq told *The Times of India*, "Pakistan would like recognition of Kashmir as a dispute that has to be settled."

Air chief prefers handshake to salute

The Times of India News Service
NEW DELHI: In a virtual tit for tat, Air Chief Marshal A.Y. Tipnis departed from protocol by not saluting Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf at the ceremonial reception at Rashtrapati Bhavan on Saturday morning.

When presented by President K.R. Narayanan during the ceremonial line-up, the IAF chief, representing the three Service chiefs at the ceremonial reception, only shook hands with the visiting Pakistani general who is regarded as the chief architect of the Kargil intrusion.



A.Y. Tipnis

When contacted, the IAF spokesperson refused to say anything beyond, "When the chief met the visiting Pakistani President, there was a normal exchange of greetings and niceties."

Apart from the Kargil intrusion, the move is being seen as a retaliation for the controversy that had erupted during Mr Vajpayee's visit to Lahore in 1999 when the three Pakistani Service chiefs, including Gen Musharraf as the army chief, had apparently refused to come to the Wagah border to greet the visiting Indian leader.

Chilling out at the PM's lunch

The Times of India News Service
NEW DELHI: Sonia Gandhi found Pervez Musharraf engaging but somewhat steely. L.K. Advani said he was a good listener. Shah Rukh Khan told him about his father's family in Peshawar, even as the General told him how "Hum aapko dekhte rehte hain". Even as a white suit-clad Dilip Kumar and Shabana Azmi, dressed in a maroon sari, hobnobbed with Gen Musharraf, the mood at Taj Palace's Durbar Hall was neither stiff nor overflowing with bonhomie.

As both Mr Vajpayee and Gen Musharraf nibbled at the vast menu Mumbai chef Hemant Oberoi had prepared, they exchanged occasional comments. Also seated at the head table, named Ganga, were cabinet ministers Murrasoli Maran, Yashwant Sinha, Jaswant Singh, L.K. Advani, former premier V.P. Singh and

Pakistan foreign minister Abdul Sattar.

Between appetisers such as *dariya ke ratan* (tiger prawns braised in a charcoal fire), *badam bahar* soup, and the main course essentially of *sali boti* and *chaman e chilgoza*, rounded off with a dessert of fresh alphonso, gulab jamuns, rosagullas, and kulfi, the guests spent some time catching up with each other.

Not everyone was so sociable. Haryana CM O.P. Chautala left midway through the meal. Mayawati and Maneka Gandhi, seated at one table, did not exchange a word. Mulayam Singh and Manmohan Singh seemed uncomfortable in each other's presence at the same table, while Shah Rukh Khan had to amuse himself at a far table with rebel Trinamul leader Ajit Panja.

The day of the general

Overcast mood: The ease, warmth and effusiveness of Lahore were clearly missing. Delhi's rain seemed to have cast a shadow on Pervez Musharraf's mood in the morning. He appeared preoccupied, and even the much-awaited handshake with Atal Behari Vajpayee at Rashtrapati Bhavan failed to elicit a 200-KW smile.

Civilian general: He came togged in civvies, and the off-white sherwani bore no medals, merely a tiny badge of the Pakistani flag.

'Sabko mera salaam': At the ceremonial reception at Rashtrapati Bhavan, the general was fairly liberal with salutes. Whenever there were calls from the press photographers' stands for a photo-op, our man of the moment would turn and give a salute. As they might well say, you can take the man out of the general, but not the general out of the man.

Wait for tomorrow: At Rajghat, a journalist called out, "Aap kya leke aye hain, aur kya leke jayenge?" (What have you brought for us, and what will you take back?) The general fielded it with, "Yeh kal batayenge." (I'll reveal that tomorrow.)

Old memories: The old woman who still nurses memories of Pervez Musharraf as a naughty four-year-old was among the first to welcome the President as he alighted from his car at his ancestral home, Neharwali Haveli. It was an emotional moment for Anaro. She spoke animatedly and placed her gnarled hands on the President's shoulders. However, it was clearly local MLA Shoab Iqbal's day—he got to hug the visitor not once but twice.

No golgappas please: At Neharwali Haveli, they had planned a *shakhahari* spread of chaat-pakori, samosas and jalebis to be washed down with khus sherbet and Darjeeling tea. But barring a sip of thandai, the general wouldn't bite.

MONDAY, JULY 16, 2001

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16/7
MANAGING A SUMMIT 'SUB-PLOT'

WITHOUT MUCH ADO, Pakistan's President and Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, succeeded in engaging the Islamabad-friendly leaders of the All Party Hurriyat Conference on the eve of the ongoing Agra summit. Be it a deft stroke of diplomacy or indeed a clever exercise in damage-control, Gen. Musharraf chose to strike a low political posture as he spoke to the Hurriyat leaders ahead of a public reception that was held in his honour by Pakistan's High Commissioner in New Delhi on Saturday. As a result, the meeting between Pakistan's President and the Hurriyat did not assume the proportions of a mini-summit within a major summit. In any case, a sinister gameplan of this magnitude was not manifest in the many statements that Gen. Musharraf had made prior to his departure from Pakistan for the summit, now in progress. However, New Delhi was not amused all the while at the perceived gamble by Pakistan to push the Hurriyat along a track of self-esteem as the "legitimate" representative of the "Kashmiri people". This accounted for New Delhi's deep suspicions that Gen. Musharraf's eagerness to exchange views with the Hurriyat on the sidelines of a tea party might have indeed cloaked his calculations about a perceived 'sub-plot'. New Delhi's fear was that he might have wanted to complicate the Kashmir issue for the purposes of the much-planned Agra summit itself. It is in this context that both Islamabad and New Delhi deserve to be commended for ensuring that the Musharraf-Hurriyat dialogue passed without a dangerous fuss.

By design or otherwise in a planned montage of many symbolic events on the first day of Gen. Musharraf's current visit to India, he found himself being greeted by the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, at the lunch that the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, hosted in honour of his guest from Pakistan. In a sense, Gen. Musharraf was perhaps reminded, if that was necessary, about

New Delhi's assiduous policy of drawing a distinction between the elected leadership of Jammu and Kashmir and the Hurriyat's attempts to claim a superior representative status. As if to complete the circle of contentious representational politics in regard to the big picture of Jammu and Kashmir, a member of the Pandit community was also reported to have managed to catch the attention of Pakistan's leader at the tea party. While it is obvious that the pre-summit mood on the bilateral front had neither been vitiated nor enhanced by these 'happenings', it bears repetition that the Vajpayee administration, which represents a vibrant democracy, need not have allowed the Hurriyat issue to acquire the kind of salience it did. Gen. Musharraf's reaffirmation of Pakistan's support for the Hurriyat is not a new reality.

On a separate plane of diplomatic sentimentalism befitting the eve of a critical summit, Gen. Musharraf did well to recognise the magnificent message of the Mahatma as a political verity with an enduring relevance. It was, however, left to the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, to capture the quintessential spirit of the unfinished search for a defining moment towards friendship between India and Pakistan. Mr. Narayanan clearly pointed to a broad direction as he made eloquent references to the ennobling thoughts of Gandhiji and to Mohammad Ali Jinnah's vision of a long-term relationship between Pakistan and India. If even a pragmatic and mutually beneficial amity is not to remain the proverbial utopia, the leaders of the two countries should address their core interests without hesitation. In this context, it was a good sign that the External Affairs and Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, as also the Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, and the Leader of the Opposition, Ms. Sonia Gandhi, seemed to have minced no words in their meetings with Gen. Musharraf prior to the summit even as he outlined his expectations.

THE HINDU

13

India should bilaterally settle MFN issue with Pak

Prasenjit Bhattacharya
& Sahir Anand

NEW DELHI, 15 JULY

WHILE PAKISTAN sings the Kashmir tune and refuses to talk trade, India actually has the recourse to drag Pakistan to WTO dispute settlement panel for not according India the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status. India has accorded the MFN status to Pakistan quite some time back.

According to trade experts, while Pakistan has allowed trade of 600 items with India, most of the items are of a nature that trade in those items almost never take place. "Of the 600 items on the list of allowed imports from India, Pakistan has put things like pan, supari, pan masala and sugar, hardly items on which a lot of trade activity happens," said economist and CII's trade advisor T.K. Bhowmik.

However, experts say that dragging Pakistan to WTO panel may not serve much purpose since even India winning the case will not necessarily make Pakistan accord MFN status to India. "India's options on



TALKING TRADE

winning the MFN case in WTO are unclear. The best way to sort out the issue is through bilateral dialogue," said Mr Bhowmik.

Industry experts point out that once India submits a case against Pakistan to the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, a three-member panel will be formed to decide on the case. They point out that if the panel's members are from countries with not much understanding of India's position, results can't be expected from the

panel. They point out that even if Pakistan loses the case at WTO, they can always argue that their balance of payments (BoP) position is not of a nature that warrants free imports from India. So, experts say that dialogue with Pakistan is the only way to sort out the MFN imbroglio.

"Pakistan may have 100 excuses, but Indian government must talk with Pakistan to accord India the MFN status," CII's deputy director general Ajay Khanna said. In fact, industry experts point out that the organised section of the Pakistani business community is also of the opinion that India must be accorded MFN status for improved trade ties between the two countries.

The issue of granting MFN status to India will depend on how Pakistan views the current trade balance, said a Ficci official. While Ficci felt Pakistani imports to India can be increased, it said India can easily approach the dispute resolution body of WTO to attain the MFN status from Pakistan, but in the current climate of bilateral relations, which is seeing some hope after Musharraf's visit, such a step will

amount to extreme measure. Ficci officials said India has a trade surplus with Pakistan and ultimately India will have to increase the importable items from Pakistan to keep trade between the two countries at a sustainable level. "We have a trade surplus with Pakistan and some amount of lee-way would have to be accorded by us to import more from Pakistan," an official said. Ficci said that one of the ways that trade could be kept at a sustainable level with Pakistan could be via purchase of items such as power, cotton yarn, raw cotton amongst others.

As things stand, India's share in Pakistan's imports is less than 1 per cent of its total imports. While Pakistan's total imports are \$12 billion, imports from India are around \$250-300 million. The 600 items that India can export to Pakistan forms only 20 per cent of the total import basket of Pakistan. India's imports from Pakistan too is abysmal, despite the MFN status to that country, since except for small manufactured goods there's nothing India can actually import from Pakistan.

Pak blames 'invisible Indian hand' ■ Delhi wanted J&K linked to terrorism, Islamabad said no ■ Pervez cancels Ajmer visit

Kashmir halts walk towards peace

4-BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

AGRA, July 16. — The India-Pakistan summit failed because the two sides couldn't reach an agreement tonight.

Despite efforts throughout the day, the two sides couldn't agree on the contents of a joint statement — the lowest level diplomatic communication.

Amid charges and counter-charges, General Pervez Musharraf left for home around 11.40 p.m. without holding a press conference. Before heading for the airport, he made a courtesy call on Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee.

India offered no explanation for the summit's failure. At 12.20 a.m., the foreign ministry spokesman, Mrs Nirupama Rao, announced that the "destination of an agreed joint statement has not been reached."

She refused to take questions and rustled out of the media centre. She said a press conference would be held tomorrow "at a senior level." But why was she not taking questions? It was past midnight, Mrs Rao said.

She and two senior officials were heckled by some Pakistani journalists at Jaypee Palace lobby for "not allowing Gen Musharraf to meet the Press. A Pakistani official said an "invisible hand" on the Indian side created obstructions and prevented the declaration from



General Pervez Musharraf at a breakfast meeting with Indian journalists at Amar Vilas Hotel in Agra on Monday. — PTI

being signed. with new changes," Maj-Gen Rashid Qureshi, chief of Inter Services Public Relations, told Zee news tonight. He, however, refused to confirm that the

joint statement must refer to cross-border terrorism in J&K. Pakistani officials claimed that several of their proposals were rejected by the Indian team. The officials said their draft declaration had proposed an annual summit between the two heads of state/government and a biennial meeting of the two foreign ministers to tackle three issues: a) peace, security and confidence building measures; b) Kashmir and c) narcotics and terrorism.

It stemmed that while India was ready to accept Pakistan's stand that Kashmir be given a more prominent position than in previous bilateral documents, it sought a greater emphasis on curbing cross-border terrorism. Pakistan wanted no change in the terrorism-drug trafficking link in the previous documents and no specific reference to Kashmir in the context of terrorism. That was the dead-end though both sides struggled late into the second night to work out a mutually-acceptable stand.

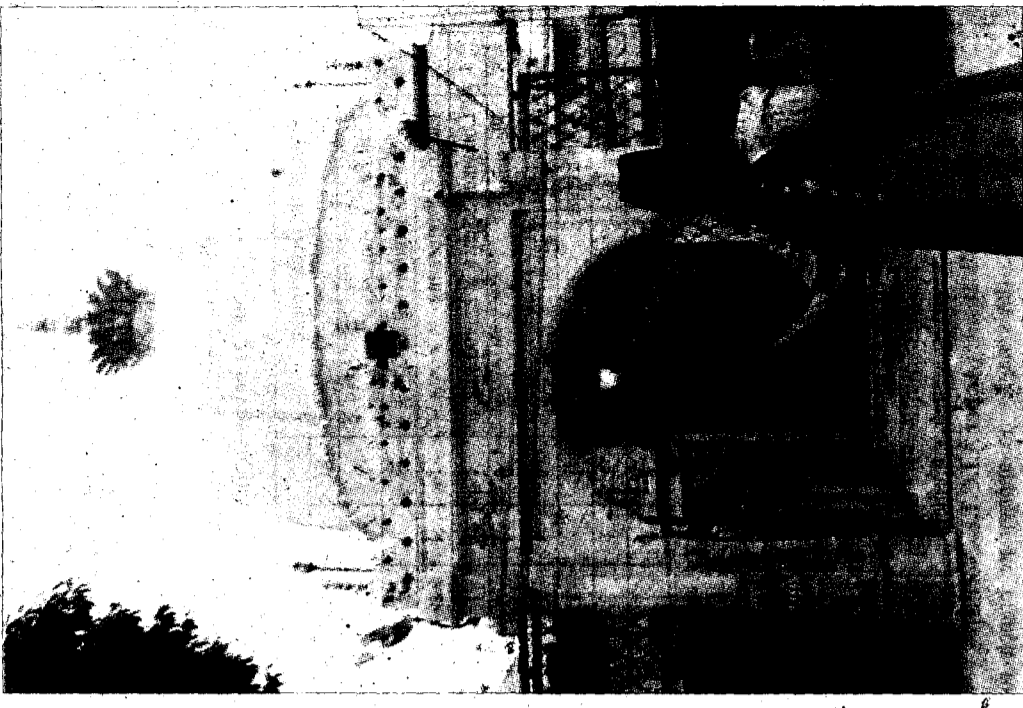
Initially, there was speculation that the Agra agreement would be signed. Later, it was diluted to a joint statement and finally to Mrs Nirupama Rao's briefing that virtually said nothing.

Apart from cross-border

On page 8:
■ Only they visit Ajmer whom Khwaja wants to
■ Pervez miffed by Sushma remarks
■ PoW kin slam govt

that had been discussed between the foreign ministers. They were assisted by the foreign secretaries, Mrs Chokila Iyer and Mr Inamul Haque. Pakistani sources said that even after grappling hard in the post-dinner session the differences between the foreign secretaries, Mrs Vajpayee and Gen Musharraf had a one-to-one meeting this morning.

■ See SUMMIT, page 8



A Khwaja gets the news of the cancellation of General Musharraf's visit to the dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti. In Ajmer on Monday. — PTI

What next after the 'high road' bend is the question

KEITH FLORY
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

AGRA, July 16. — What next? That was the question asked with fear after the "high road" to peace descended to being just as low and insignificant as the bend in the Jamuna behind the Taj Mahal.

The answers would be found over a period in time, but the immediate impact was that Indo-Pak ties were inevitably entering yet another phase of extreme strain. Agreement to keep talking was simply not adequate enough to enthuse even the

most cock-eyed of optimists.

The initial assessment of the summit that was never scaled would obviously be made in terms of diplomatic engagement. An opportunity for the neighbours to try and shed the baggage and burden of the past being squandered. That despite recognition of a degree of statesmanship underpinning both the invitation and acceptance, and glimpses of some chemistry between Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and General Pervez Musharraf. Those were serious enough angles to the equation, but even worse was the fear that militancy in J&K could be

unleashed with renewed fury. Setting off a chain of necessary counter-steps by security forces that would nullify whatever had been gained in recent times. Having little to show from Agra, Gen Musharraf would be in no position to try and restrain the *jehtadis*, even if he had wanted to, which is doubtful in the present context.

There might be no automatic threat to Gen Musharraf's position in Islamabad, provided the army there does not write him off, after he took a step on the road to peace and stumbled. But that proviso is not automatically guaranteed, the hardliners could dem-

and his head, for now his izzat has been studied.

Something similar could be true for Mr Vajpayee too. Projected as the dove in a party of hawks, his inability to leave Agra holding an olive leaf might weaken his position in the BJP and increase his dependence on the NDA partners to fuel his functioning.

The party may not wish to ditch him now but his sway and authority would certainly stand diminished. More so if there's substance in Pakistani contention that "some ministers" of his Cabinet had rendered Agra more than just a bit of a

misadventure. The composition of his ministerial team would suggest that the accusing finger was pointed at Pakistani is not discernible. Again something which could trigger communal tension.

If that position is indeed valid, it may offer a little explanation for the controversial action of Mrs Sushma Swaraj that constituted the first hurdle (at least for public consumption) in what turned out to be a steep decline without a winning post. Some BJP watchers felt that with the subcontinent is so widely seen as a potential nuclear flashpoint.

COLUMN 1

Trinamul suspends
Ajit Panja

KOLKATA, July 16. — The Trinamul Congress today effectively blocked Mr Ajit Panja's entry to the Union Cabinet by placing him under suspension. The decision was taken at a meeting of the party's working committee, held in the evening at Miss Mamata Banerjee's Kalighat house.

— SNS

SUMMIT: Pakistan too needs a deal'

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(Continued from page 1)

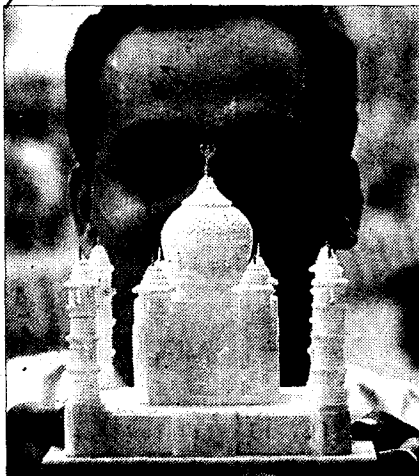
During his breakfast meeting, Gen Musharraf had said he couldn't go back empty handed; he wanted a structured dialogue on Kashmir. As a framework, Mr Vajpayee made it clear: "We firmly believe that a framework to address the differences between us on J&K would have to include the issue of cross-border terrorism in its ambit."

It seems that "some differences" were basically on Pakistan considering J&K as the main dispute and India insisting that central to Kashmir was cross-border terrorism. "The terrorism and violence being promoted in the state from across the border don't help to create such an atmosphere," Mr Vajpayee said in his opening speech to the summit.

If India wants to give the summit the colour of success even if it has to give certain concessions, Pakistan too needs a deal — as long as it can be presented as something short of sell-out. The General is under pressure from the USA, thanks to the Pakistan's economic situation.

As the tension rose after the deadlock between the two leaders during the one-to-one talk this morning, several meetings were held by the two sides before coming to the conclusion that the two foreign ministers should sort out the details of the agreement.

Since the first round of discussion



Artisan Atul Gupta with his miniature Taj Mahal that he wanted to gift General Musharraf. In Agra on Monday. — AP/PTI

remained inconclusive, Mr Jaswant Singh and Mr Abdul Sattar met in the second. They were assisted by the foreign secretaries. On the Pakistani side, there was an additional hand, Chief of General Staff, Ghulam Mohammed, sources said. Many claimed that there were five rounds of talks throughout the day.

Pakistani sources said that in the second round of talks differences were narrowed down. It had already been decided that the President would not extend his overnight stay. In fact, the

PM ADMITS 'VAST DIFFERENCES'

AGRA, July 16. — The government today released the Prime Minister's opening statement at yesterday's plenary session hours after General Pervez Musharraf aired his views on Kashmir at a breakfast meeting with editors.

Gen. Musharraf said a structured dialogue on Kashmir was necessary to "kill" the "suspicion in Pakistan" that this issue is always avoided. He said he would be satisfied if India agreed to address Kashmir as an "issue" instead of "dispute".

India's relation with Pakistan should be based on a "durable road map" with a constructive and firm base. This would ensure lasting peace and amity, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee said.

He admitted the "vast differences" between the two countries and hoped to move forward by addressing them. But Pakistan has to end cross-border terrorism to narrow the differences and continue a meaningful dialogue. India has the "strength and stamina" to resist terrorism and violence in J&K. But this kind of terrorism "doesn't help" create a conducive atmosphere for talks, Mr Vajpayee said bluntly.

If Pakistan wants India to address the J&K issue, it cannot have any leeway on cross-border terrorism. Mr Vajpayee said a framework to sort out mutual differences on J&K would have to "include" this issue in its ambit.

Pakistan has denied having any Indian POWs. India reiterated its strong belief that 54 Indian POWs were still in Pakistani jails. Mr Vajpayee urged Pakistan to treat this issue as a "human problem" and take "urgent and purposeful" steps in this regard.

India has also sought immediate expatriation of some terrorists involved in 1993 Mumbai blasts and hijacking of IC 814 in December '99. Terrorists taking shelter in Sikh gurdwaras in Pakistan should be handed over to India, Mr Vajpayee said. He expressed concern over upkeep of Hindu temples and treatment of Hindu pilgrims in Pakistan. — SNS

draft of the agreement had already been prepared awaiting the top leaders to put their seal on it. It had been decided that as soon as the agreement was ready, Gen Musharraf would visit Jaypee Palace hotel for the farewell call.

The two subcontinental adversaries,

who are burdened by the historical background of having fought three all-out wars in 54 years since Independence, a near-war just two years ago and now declared nuclear powers, agreeing on at least a few points is itself success.

SOUNDBITES

Qazi: Pervez's statements on Shimla distorted

New Delhi: Pakistan on Saturday dismissed suggestion that President Pervez Musharraf had repudiated the Lahore and Simla Agreements and said his statement had been distorted by the media.

"President Musharraf has not repudiated the Simla or Lahore Agreements. His statements had been distorted, misinterpreted, over-interpreted, and understood by the media," Pakistan's high commissioner Ashraf Jehangir Qazi told reporters minutes before Gen. Musharraf's arrival here.

He said there was no fixed agenda for the talks. There are not many ministers in his team barring foreign minister Abdul Sattar.

Asked about third party mediation on Kashmir, he said "it is a sensible option." (PTI)

Pak girls on goodwill trip

Kanpur: When Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pakistan President Gen. Musharraf were busy in addressing thorny issues like Kashmir in New Delhi on Saturday, a group of Pakistani school girls was exchanging flowers with their new friends here.

The guests, comprising ten students and teachers from Karachi, also tied "bands of friendship" to the students of St. Mary's convent school during their goodwill visit to Uttar Pradesh. The Pakistani girls said people in their country wanted peace and friendship with India. (UNI)

High medical alert in Agra

Agra: The Agra administration has made elaborate arrangements to meet any medical exigency concerning visiting Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf. Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee.

"Around 100 doctors, all specialists, have been called here to attend to any exigency," said Agra commissioner S.N. Jha. He said two state-of-the-art ambulances with latest medical equipment provided by escorts, will be both at Amar Vilas Hotel and Palace Hotel, the summit venue. (PTI)

Rain causes confusion

New Delhi: Chaotic conditions prevailed at the Rashtrapati Bhavan where arrangements for the ceremonial welcome of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf were left in disarray by a steady spell of rain since early morning.

The rain upset the arrangements for his ceremonial reception at the forecourt of Rashtrapati Bhavan and officials went into a tizzy while making alternative arrangements within the confines of the Ashoka Hall. Mediapersons, were barred from the forecourt. (UNI)

Sehba will visit Fatehpur Sikri

Agra: When Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf is busy holding talks with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on Sunday, Begum Sehba will visit the Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's 15th century city which symbolises secularism. The begum is likely to spend around half-an-hour there on Sunday morning and will be taken around the red sandstone minarets by archaeologist K.K. Mohammad, the same guide who will show the Taj later in the day to her and the President. (PTI)

Stars spell success for Agra encounter

BY KOUNTEVA SINHA

New Delhi, July 14: India and Pakistan should thank their lucky stars if the summit turns out to be a success.

Eminent Indian astrologer Dr N.P. Sheshadri, who had predicted seven years ago, that Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee would become the Indian Prime Minister, had also made predictions as soon as the BJP government assumed office in June 1998, that Mr Vajpayee would solve the Kashmir impasse sometime between 2001 and 2004, after a meeting with the Pakistani government sometime in 2001.

The 72-year-old Dr Sheshadri, who till recently was admitted in Apollo Hospital of Chennai on a

life support system says the planetary positions predict a positive outcome to the summit with a temporary solution to Kashmir.

"I had studied Mr Vajpayee's birth chart which made me predict that he would become the Prime Minister of India, nearly six years ago. And it came true. I had also predicted that Mr Vajpayee would solve the Kashmir impasse sometime between 2001 and 2004, with a meeting with the Pakistan government sometime in 2001, soon after he took over as the Prime Minister in June 1998," Dr Sheshadri said.

"I have also studied the birth chart of both India and Pakistan since the midnight of August 15,

1947 and a very favourable dialogue is on the cards. Both Jupiter and Saturn are well disposed towards the success of the summit which is a very good sign as these two planets are the most important. There will definitely be an amicable dialogue between the two countries and friendship in the cards," Dr Sheshadri said.

He had also predicted several years ago that Mr Bob Hawke would become the Prime Minister of Australia by simply looking at his photograph during his stint in Sydney as the director of trade promotions for the government of India, which too came true.

"When I was in Australia as the director of trade promotion

in Sydney, I saw the photograph of Mr Bob Hawke and predicted from the photograph itself that he would become the Prime Minister of Australia. And the prediction came true. I have also taught several children in Australia about astronomy and the art of reading into the change of planetary positions which made me very popular in Australia too. A very popular television channel, Channel 7 featured me in their Good Morning Australia Show because of my correct predictions about Mr Hawke," he added.

Dr Sheshadri, who was recently released from the Apollo Hospital is a student of the great astrophysicist late Dr B.B. Raman and hails from Tanjore

where he studied old manuscripts on planetary formations lying around at the Saraswati Mahal.

He has also interacted with great saints like Shankaracharya, Ramanamgarishi, Swami Shivananda and Sri Aurobindo and Mother on astrophysics. He feels that with Mars taking no interest in India and Pakistan, there is little chance of another war breaking out.

"Mars is the planet which determines which country goes to war against another country. But Mars is taking no interest in both India and Pakistan and so these two countries will not have another war against each other in the recent future," he added.

'Pakistan full of hope over Agra summit' 'Invitations to Hurriyat are not a new thing'

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, July 14: Kashmir has never been an issue for the common Pakistani, feels Mr M. Ziauddin, Dawn's resident editor in Islamabad.

"It's the Pakistani Army which has evolved and framed this policy and has never let the people's representatives to do anything with Kashmir. If the Army has decided to talk with India, the people are happy," he continued.

According to him, the people of Pakistan don't have any reservations regarding talks with India. "They will be happy with whatever General Musharraf goes back with."

"The situation in Pakistan is different from what you find in India. Here the Prime Minister consults different political parties. In Pakistan, General Musharraf is a one man Army. The Army accepts whatever he says." Reacting to Mr Vajpayee's invitation to Gen. Musharraf for talks, Mr Ziauddin said the media and the people were rather confused with the invitation.

"None of the Indian demands, including the restoration of democracy or the ending of cross-border terrorism had been met. So, there was a level of suspicion among the Pakistanis. One group thought about the invitation as India's attempt to stop violence in Kashmir while the other group thought that only a true statesman and a visionary like Mr Vajpayee could go back on his statement and sincerely work for ending the animosity between the two nations even when the mood in India was not in favour of the initiative."

On the controversy regarding the invitation to the Hurriyat by the Pakistan high commission, he said, "The feeling in India is that Farooq Abdullah should also have been invited for tea. But maybe the message Pakistan is trying to convey through this is that the Hurriyat is the only representative of the Kashmiri people."

Mr M.H. Askari, columnist with the Daily Dawn, felt that though the summit had raised a lot of expectations, the recent statements by Jaswant Singh that there was no question of a plebiscite and that Kashmir is the core of Indian nationhood were headline and disappointing.

On his expectations from the summit, Mr Askari said, "We hope the problems between the two nations are solved but a lot would depend on the one-to-one meeting between the two leaders. The Pakistani people are looking forward to this summit with high hopes."

His view on the invitation to the Hurriyat, was that the Hurriyat had always been invited on Pakistan's National Day, on Idhar parties during Ramadan and this was not the first time such an invitation had been extended.

Agha Masood of the Daily Jung, felt if the Kashmir issue was resolved there would be a dawn of a new era, economic development, peace and understanding between the two countries. "Without solving this problem the relations can never be normal."

Pakistanis want peace and are very much optimistic for the success of the talks," said Mr Masood. He said that the Hurriyat controversy was pointless. "Even when Mr Leghari visited India, the Hurriyat was invited."

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Pak, India to issue a joint statement after summit

New Delhi, July 14: A joint Indo-Pak statement may be issued at the end of the Agra summit on Monday, highly-placed sources said on Saturday night. Both sides were working on a draft and officials were poring over it in a bid to reconcile the hard positions on several issues, the sources said. A joint press conference by Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, was also likely depending on the way the discussions go between the two leaders, they said.

If a joint statement is made, it would be definitely followed by a joint press conference, they added. When asked about the prospects of a joint statement at the end of the summit, an external affairs ministry spokesperson said no final decision has yet been taken on this subject. (PTI)

Taj Mahal wears a war-zone look

Agra, July 14: The Taj Mahal, the world famous marble mausoleum built by an emperor in love with his wife, looked uncharacteristically grim on Saturday.

Under gray skies, thousands of policemen took up positions in and around the monument ahead of the India-Pakistan summit to be held at a nearby hotel on Sunday and Monday. In the streets and buildings near the 17th-century wonder, and the two hotels where the leaders will stay, there were sharpshooters on rooftops and bomb-sniffing dogs. The Taj remained open to tourists, but fewer showed up than normal. (AP)

Human rights group calls for focus on civil liberties

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Srinagar, July 14: Human Rights Watch on Saturday called on Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, to focus on restoring civil liberties, accountability, and justice in Kashmir. A statement issued by Sidney Jones, executive director of the Asia division of New York-based organisation says "Respect for human rights must be at the center of any effort to resolve the conflict." It adds, "The cycle of repression and violence will only escalate unless there is a commitment by all parties to end human rights violations."

Human Rights Watch pointed to the absence of human rights guarantees as a critical omission in the unilateral cease-fire that was declared by Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee on November 19, 2000. Shortly after the truce's imposition, the state police chief in Jammu and Kashmir, A.K. Suri, announced that the cease-fire would not affect the police counterinsurgency operations.

The statement talks about "arbitrary arrests" and "custodial deaths," continued to be widely reported while the cease-fire, was operative. "The violations have been compounded by a lack of accountability for abuses committed by Indian security personnel in Kashmir," it charges. In this connection, it specially mentioned the beating of 17 journalists by the members of the BSF at Magam in the central district of Budgam on May 10 this year and regrets that officers implicated were subsequently recalled from Kashmir.

'A narrow outlook will achieve nothing'

BY MANISHA JAIN

New Delhi, July 14: Pakistani journalists who are here to cover the summit are hopeful of a positive outcome from the summit. They feel that it was a step forward in resolving more than half a century of acrimony between the two nations.

Mr. Mujib-ur-Rehman Shami, chief editor, Daily Pakistan, and president of the Council of Pakistan Editors, said that there was a need for both the sides to loosen up and be in a mood to accommodate each other's viewpoint. "Dil bada karne ki jaroorat hai," he added. "You cannot find a solution to any conflict unless you really want to. The need of the hour is magnanimity and largesse." He said that nothing could be achieved if one kept a stubborn stance and a narrow outlook. Mr Shami, who is on his second visit to India, said that he has always believed that a strong friendship could be established between the two nations.

"For that both of us have to stop viewing each other with suspicion."



RENEWED HOPE: President K.R. Narayanan and India's First Lady Usha Narayanan greet Pakistan President Gen. Pervez Musharraf and Begum Sehba Musharraf at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on Saturday. A photograph by G.N. Jha

'Diwan may accompany Pervez into dargah'

BY MILAP CHAND DANDIA

Jaipur, July 14: It appears that the dispute over who will conduct the Gen. Musharraf inside the dargah during ziarat and who will receive and accompany him when he comes to visit Dargah Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti on July 16 has been resolved.

There was a dispute since it was known that Gen. Musharraf would be visiting the shrine of the Sufi saint. The dargah is under administrative control of the dargah committee constitu-

ed under a central law but de facto the affairs are controlled by the Khadims who have formed an organisation known as Anjuman Sayezadgan.

The third party who claims right over the dargah is Diwan Zainul Abedin who says that he is the direct descendant of the Khwaja. None of the three parties look eye to eye with each other.

When Gen. Musharraf's plan was being finalised the Anjuman vehemently opposed Mr Zainul Abedin's claim to receive the

Pakistani President and accompany him within the Mazar-e-Sharif. Till Thursday the Diwan and Anjuman were at loggerheads over the issue and had said that they would not allow the Diwan inside the Gumbad Sharif while the Diwan too was unrelenting.

The district administration on Friday, took a serious view of the matter and warned that nothing which would create embarrassing situation during the visit of Pakistani head of state would be tolerated. Both

the parties relented thereafter and agreed to an amicable settlement. The Diwan conceded the absolute right of the Anjuman to perform rituals related to the ziarat and the Anjuman agreed that the Diwan may also accompany the general inside the sanctum sanctorum.

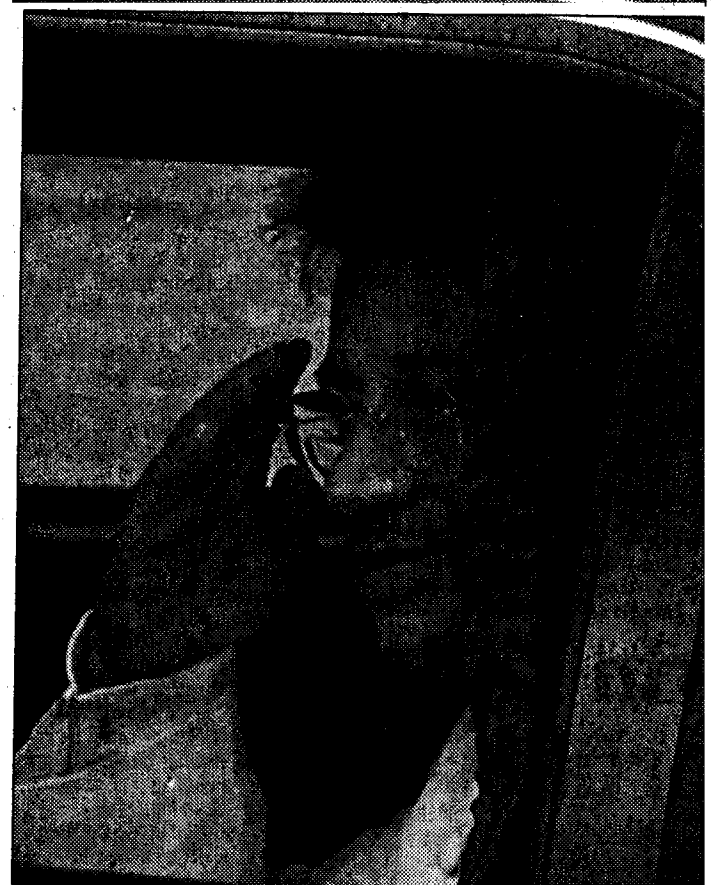
The Anjuman also agreed that the Diwan may also receive the guest at the main gate along with the Anjuman office-bearers, representatives of the dargah committee and district administration. It has also been

decided that the right over the offerings made by the Pakistani President at dargah should be left to Gen. Musharraf himself. In case the Pakistani President offers a substantial amount for the construction of a rest house for Pakistani zairins the same would go to the dargah committee.

Though the Anjuman has agreed to the Diwan's presence in the Gumbad Sharif during Gen. Musharraf's visit, the Khadims, do not appear to be happy with the decision.



SAVING IT WITH FLOWERS: Children and officials await the arrival of Pakistan President Gen. Musharraf and his wife Begum Sehba at Palam Airport in New Delhi on Friday. (AP)



ON A MISSION: Pakistan President Gen. Pervez Musharraf salutes from his car in front of Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on Saturday. (Reuters)

Like Jinnah, I believe in good relations between Pakistan and India: Musharraf

Following is the text of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf's speech at the banquet hosted in his honour by President K.R. Narayanan in New Delhi on Saturday night:

It is a privilege and a pleasure for my delegation, my wife and myself to visit India and its historic capital.

We are also looking forward to visiting Agra and Ajmer Sharif in the next two days. To us in Pakistan, these are familiar names that evoke glorious memories of powerful empires of a flourishing culture and of saintly figures that stirred the souls of countless millions.

On our return to Pakistan, we will carry with us indelible images of the richness of this historic legacy.

I thank you, Mr President, for the warm hospitality extended to us since our arrival in Delhi, the city where I

spent my early childhood. I thank you also for the opportunity my wife and I had, earlier this evening, of meeting you and the gracious First Lady, Mrs Narayanan. Your wisdom and warmth of personality have left a deep impression on both of us.

My meeting with Prime Minister Vajpayee, at lunch today, was extremely rewarding. I am deeply impressed by his wisdom and dignity. During the next two days, we will hold discussions on the future direction of our difficult and troubled relationship.

My presence in your great country brings to an end a hiatus of more than two years, which I believe, has not served the broader interests of either side. As neighbouring countries, we need to bridge the gulf that divides us. I come to India with this purpose.

Fifty-four years ago to the day in this city, the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, said and I quote "sincerely hope that relations between Pakistan and Hindustan will be friendly and cordial. We have a great deal to do, both states, and I think that we can be of use of each other, not to say to the world. Being neighbours, from our side, I do not think you will find goodwill wanting" unquote. Mahatma Gandhi, Bapu of Indian nation, also laid down his life in the cause of non-violence and peaceful coexistence.

Fifty-four years and two generations have passed since then. The world has entered a new century and a new millennium. Regions around the world are focusing on reducing tension for economic prosperity, social well being and poverty alleviation. Regional associa-

tions for this purpose are gaining strength.

Where does our region stand? with 1/5th of the world's population our massive in poverty and deprivation. Our region needs co-operation, mutual trust and peace.

I believe in Quaid-e-Azam's vision of good relations between Pakistan and India. I believe also that this vision is not beyond our grasp. I have come to India because I would like to do everything possible to realise the dream of the Quaid-e-Azam.

The legacy of the past years is not a happy one. Our two countries have been through wars. Blood has been spilt, precious lives have been lost. We have been locked in mutual suspicion and hostility. We have paid a heavy price for it. We owe it to our future generations to do our

utmost to open a new chapter of good will and cooperation.

We must not allow the past to dictate the future. Our nuclear status imposes new responsibilities on us. We must overcome the burden of history. Other nations have done it. We must also do so.

The experience of the last decades and more is before us. The Jammu and Kashmir dispute continues to block progress towards normalisation of our relations. I believe that there can be no military solution of this dispute. It can and must be resolved peacefully. We must be bold enough to face this issue squarely and resolve it once and for all. This indeed, will open a new chapter of fruitful relations between our two countries and also put an end to the sufferings of the people of Kashmir.

I would like to conclude with another

Our capabilities and responsibilities in the new century no longer offer us the option of continuing on the path of a sterile impasse, continued hostility and mistrust.

I am deeply committed to finding a path towards normal relations between our countries. I would like communications to open, trade to flourish, mindsets to change and stereotypes to disappear. The children of Pakistan and India must not be made to live under the constant shadow of conflict. They must also not be made to live in deprivation and crippling poverty. The energies of our peoples must be diverted to the immense and challenging task of social and economic uplift of banishing misery and ushering in an era of progress and prosperity.

Today again I urge you to join me in this noble endeavour. Let us begin this effort now. Let us today embark upon this challenging and rewarding task. Let us join hands in building a better future for our succeeding generations.

With these words, I request you to join me in wishing health, happiness and well being for his excellency the President and Mrs Narayanan, progress and prosperity for the people of India and peace and security for the entire region. Thank you, excellency.

India, Pak. Naval hotline?

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, JULY 14. The Defence Ministry has proposed a hotline between Indian and Pakistani naval commanders to prevent detention of fishermen who may stray into each other's waters and to tackle emergencies at sea.

Being considered at the highest level, the proposal could be formalised during the Agra summit. It envisages the setting up of a hotline between the Directors of Naval Operations (DNO) of the two sides.

A similar arrangement linking the two armies at the level of the Directors-General of Military Operations (DGMO) already exists.

The proposed confidence-building measure (CBM) follows the directive by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, not to detain Pakistani fishermen who may inadvertently stray into Indian waters.

The proposal for an emergency telephonic link will also take care of other key concerns of the two navies.

For instance, it may help tackle the fallout of a possible collision of Indian and Pakistani submarines, especially in the Arabian Sea.

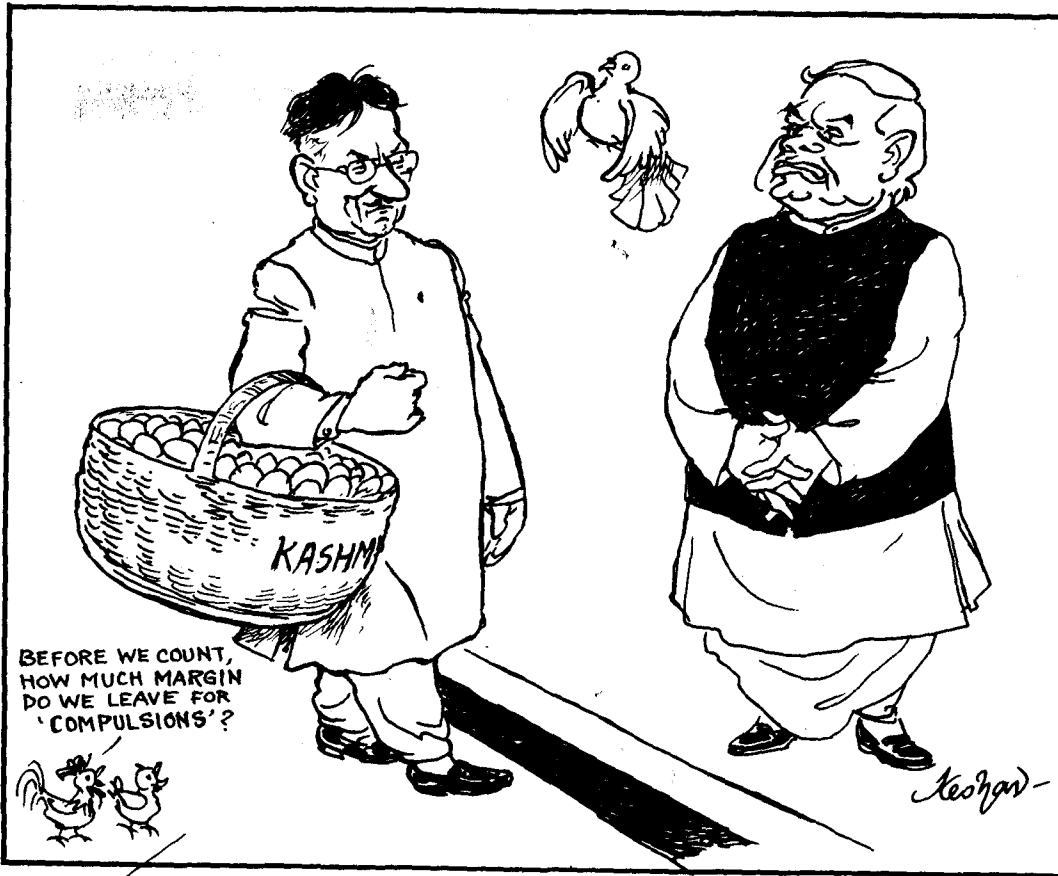
Naval experts say that such an accident cannot be ruled out as detection of submarines, especially in the "dense" waters of the Arabian Sea, is not easy.

By making the "hotline" proposal, the Defence Ministry also hopes to rule out the possibility of India or Pakistan inadvertently shooting down each other's aircraft which may stray close to their warships.

Indian and Pakistani maritime planes are known for "buzzing" or aggressively swooping towards each other's naval ships in South Asian waters.

In such a situation, firing by warships being harassed by an intruding plane is always at risk.

In a related development, defence sources here dismissed reports in a section of the media that India is likely to announce any unilateral pull-back of forces from Kashmir during the summit.



Jaswant against selective rejection of agreements

NEW DELHI, JULY 14. In a clear rebuff to the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's criticism of the Lahore and Shimla peace accords, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, today cautioned against selective rejection of bilateral agreements.

Emerging from a 20-minute meeting with Gen. Musharraf at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, Mr. Singh told presspersons that the two countries needed to keep in touch with what they had learnt in the path of negotiation and dialogue traversed many times earlier. "It would be befitting if we did not selectively reject what we did not like because each of those journeys has contributed to addressing complex issues of India-Pakistan relations."

He recalled the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's letter to Gen. Musharraf on the need for the two countries to traverse the high road of peace together so that they were able to address the principal adversary that faces the two countries, which is poverty, want and hunger.

Reports refuted
The Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Iman-ul-Haq, refuted reports that Gen. Musharraf had repudiated the Lahore and Shimla agreements and main-

tained that his statement had been "misquoted" by the media.

"Gen. Musharraf has never said that the Shimla and Lahore agreements are irrelevant. What he has said is that the Shimla and Lahore agreements did not lead to any progress as they were expected to," Mr. Haq told a press briefing here.

Gen. Musharraf had also said, "Perhaps both sides should sit down and think about it and review why they did not lead to any progress."

Earlier in the day, the Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, said Gen. Musharraf's statement had been "over-interpreted and under-interpreted" by the media.

Mr. Haq also said he would not like to speculate on whether there would be any Agra agreement at the end of the summit. "I would not like to speculate on that. Certainly we hope that a document emerges from the meeting. You will have to wait with me."

He said Islamabad favoured a joint press conference at the end of the summit with Gen. Musharraf and Mr. Vajpayee addressing it sitting side-by-side. Islamabad wanted *Hurriyat* leaders to visit Pakistan and requested the Indian authorities do the needful. — PTI

Acting President of Pak. takes oath

By Our Special Correspondent
ISLAMABAD, JULY 14. The Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Justice Irshad Hasan Khan, today took over as the Acting President of Pakistan following the departure of the Pakistani military ruler and President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, to India on a three-day official visit.

Mr. Justice Abdur Rehman Khan, senior-most judge of the Supreme Court, administered the oath of the office and secrecy to Mr. Justice Irshad Hasan Khan. Mr. Justice Irshad Hasan Khan in turn administered the oath of office of the Acting Chief Justice to Mr. Justice Abdur Rehman Khan.

Gen. Musharraf last month took over as the President of Pakistan, while continuing the office of Chief Justice and Chief of Army Staff, after amending the Provincial Constitution Order (PCO). The amended order provided for the Chief Justice to take over as the Acting President in the absence of President.

Agra decision acceptable to us, says Farooq

NEW DELHI, JULY 14. The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, today urged the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, to make sincere efforts to bring peace in the State.

Dr. Abdullah, who was specially called by Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, to be introduced to Gen. Musharraf during the lunch hosted for the visiting dignitary, conveyed to the General that Kashmiris were looking at the Agra summit with a great hope and expected that Islamabad would make sincere efforts in bringing down violence.

The Chief Minister told Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf that "whatsoever will be decided at Agra summit, will be acceptable to Kashmiris." — PTI

President calls for 'structured dialogue'

By Our Special Correspondent
NEW DELHI, JULY 14. Signalling India's expectations at the Agra summit, the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, today hoped that talks between the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, would initiate a "structured dialogue" that would lead to lasting friendship between New Delhi and Islamabad.

Speaking at the banquet held in honour of Gen. Musharraf, Mr. Narayanan set out three broad themes which should anchor such ties. First, the relationship should be defined by an economic agenda, which also encompassed other South Asian countries under the framework of SAARC. "Tomorrow when you (Gen. Musharraf) and the Prime Minister of India sit together in Agra for your dialogue, I hope, the face of the poorest person in the sub-continent will be before you and you will ponder together how this impoverished common man will be benefited by your deliberations", Mr. Narayanan said. "If this is held before you I believe that all other issues between us will pale into secondary importance and will become amenable to amicable and secondary solutions".

Supporting confidence building measures (CBMs), the President pointed out that "violence from our relationship" has to be ruled out.

He said, secondly, the friendship between India and Pakistan should be based on secular and democratic principles. Drawing attention to the "fundamentals" of tolerance, democracy and secularism, the President said that "it is our conviction that on the basis of these principles, India and Pakistan could regulate their relationship to one of genuine peace, friendship and co-operation."

The President made repeated references to the Mughal Emperor Akbar to highlight the benefits which the principles of tolerance and love have generated for the people of the sub-continent. "The city of Agra is the city of love as well as the city of reconciliation. It is near there at Sikandra where Akbar the Great lies buried. May his spirit pervade the conference chamber tomorrow."

The interaction between the people of India and Pakistan should gather momentum, he said. Calling for the removal of "all impediments" in the path of interaction, the President said that scholars, artists, writers, professionals and common people should meet freely and "sense the warmth of fraternal friendship".

Military solution ruled out

By Our Special Correspondent
NEW DELHI, JULY 14. The Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, today ruled out a "military solution" to the Kashmir dispute, but emphasised the latter had to be squarely addressed and resolved by New Delhi and Islamabad peacefully.

Pointing to the urgency of resolving the Kashmir issue creatively, Gen. Musharraf said that "our capabilities and responsibilities in the century no longer offer us the option of continuing on the path of sterile impasse, continued hostility and mistrust."

Gen. Musharraf made these observations during the banquet held in his honour by the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan. In openly rejecting the use of force, Gen. Musharraf may be indicating his willingness to reign in violence, provided India was ready to look afresh at the Kashmir issue, Government sources said.

Gen. Musharraf, in his address, endorsed some of the observations made by Mr. Narayanan during his speech. For instance, he stressed the need for the economic uplift through "cooperation and mutual trust" and made a special reference to "regional organisations" to fulfil this task.

Referring to confidence-building measures (CBMs), he said in-

teraction between the Indian and Pakistani people must increase so that trade could flourish and old mindset be recast. He pointed to the new responsibilities which had been bestowed on India and Pakistan after their nuclear tests.

At Agra, both sides would hold discussions on the future direction of their difficult and troubled relationship, he observed.

Recalling the vision of the Pakistan founder, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, he said "this vision is not beyond our grasp". He described India as a "great country" and praised the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, for his "wisdom and dignity".

Advani raises cross-border terrorism

By Our Special Correspondent

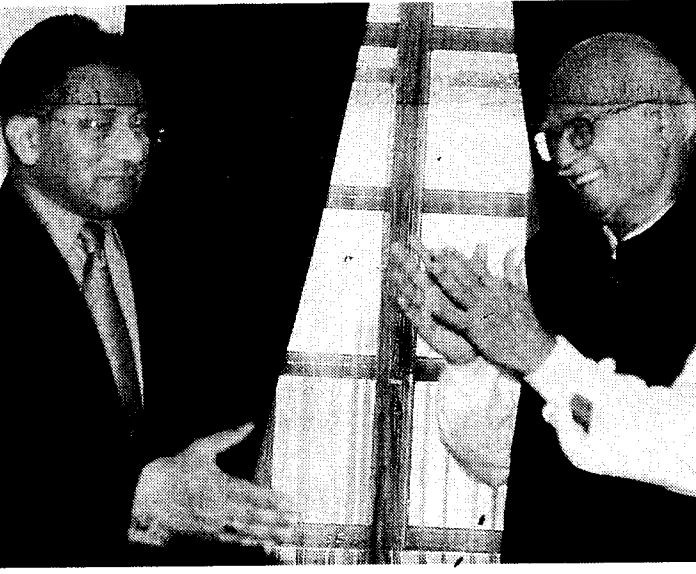
NEW DELHI, JULY 14. India's concern over cross-border terrorism and the need for India and Pakistan to agree to an extradition treaty were conveyed to the visiting Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, by the Union Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, when he called on him at the Rashtrapati Bhavan this morning.

Mr. Advani is understood to have stuck to the position that India did not recognise the status of Kashmir as under a "dispute" but saw it as a problem that arose after the 1947 "invasion". Gen. Musharraf reiterated Pakistan's well-known stand that Kashmir was the "core" issue, and that the "problems" mentioned by Mr. Advani flowed from there. If India did not look at Kashmir as a "dispute", there was nothing for him to say.

Despite some hard talking, the 25-minute meeting was held in a pleasant and cordial atmosphere. Mr. Advani recalled his 1979 visit to Karachi, city of his birth, and his days at St. Patrick School which was also Gen. Musharraf's alma mater.

Immediately afterwards, Mr. Advani drove to the Prime Minister's residence to brief him about this meeting.

India's stance that the two countries needed to engage in a composite dialogue was spelt out by Mr. Advani against the empha-



The Union Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, with Gen. Musharraf, in New Delhi on Saturday. — PTI

sis on the "core issue" of Kashmir by Gen. Musharraf. The differences in perception between New Delhi and Islamabad were apparent at the meeting, but Mr. Advani's point was that efforts must be made "to bridge the wide gulf".

He told Gen. Musharraf that "peace should not be made hostage to the resolution of any of these issues".

At one point, it seemed, Gen. Musharraf was not averse to the idea of an extradition treaty, he said as much. But when Mr. Advani mentioned that India would appreciate if the Mumbai don, Dawood Ibrahim, was extradited, this apparently did not go down too well with Gen. Musharraf.

These were "small tactics", Gen. Musharraf said while denying that Ibrahim was in Pakistan.

In response to Mr. Advani's remark on cross-border terrorism, Gen. Musharraf is said to have remarked that while there should

be peace, firing did go on. Mr. Advani responded that while such a scenario was understandable on the borders, which incidentally had been relatively quiet now, there was no reason why terrorist acts should kill innocent men, women and children.

Mr. Advani also reiterated that the invitation to Gen. Musharraf was the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's personal initiative and it seemed that Gen. Musharraf was gracious enough to clarify that he could never have said it was sent under pressure from the United States as was reported earlier by media.

Briefing correspondents on the meeting, the External Affairs spokesperson said Mr. Advani discussed various aspects to build trust and confidence and stressed the need for greater cooperation. She confirmed that Mr. Advani did raise the issues of Dawood Ibrahim and cross-border terrorism and that Gen. Musharraf took note of these issues.

Apart from the two leaders, the Indian side was represented by the Union Home Secretary, Mr. Kamal Pande, the Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan, Mr. Vijay Nambiar, and the Joint Secretary of Pakistan Desk, Mr. Vivek Katju, while Pakistan was represented by its Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdus Sattar, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Inam-ul-Haque, and one Pakistani High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi.

The General keeps his date with 'haveli'

By Gaurav Vivek Bhatnagar

NEW DELHI, JULY 14. It was an emotional homecoming for the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, as he visited his birthplace at Haveli Neharwali in Daryaganj here this afternoon.

Though he did not find the "big gate" which he remembered all along, he still found immense warmth and love amid those present which made him remark: "Dua karo Allah Miyan dono mulkon ke tallukat achche bana dein!" (Pray that the Lord improves the relations between India and Pakistan.)

As Gen. Musharraf reached the grand old haveli accompanied by his wife, he was received by Delhi's Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Vijai Kapoor, the Police Commissioner, Mr. Ajai Raj Sharma, the local MP, Mr. Vijay Goyal, and MLA, Mr. Shoaib Iqbal. After a warm welcome, the General went around the place with the Director of the Delhi Institute of Heritage Research and Management, Prof. Makkhan Lal.

The General, clad in a blue shirt and creamish trousers, went around cheerfully trying to tally the blurred images in



Gen. Musharraf, hugging Ms. Anaro Devi, a municipal worker, who recalls his childhood days, during his visit to Neharwali haveli in Daryaganj, New Delhi, on Saturday. — PTI

his mind with various sections of the spruced-up haveli. He used to stay in plot No. 5 of the haveli, now divided into eight parts, according to Prof. Lal, who had put up at the haveli an exhibition of rare maps, paintings, lithographs and photographs depicting Shahjahanabad's growth from 1807 to this day.

Gen. Musharraf was presented a report detailing the past, present ownership and architectural features of the haveli and the genealogy of the Musharraf family. The present owner, Mr. Raj Kumar Jain, gave the President a silver shield depicting the haveli as it stands today. However, the Jain family did not get to meet the General as he did not go inside any of the houses.

Most residents could not even catch a glimpse of the

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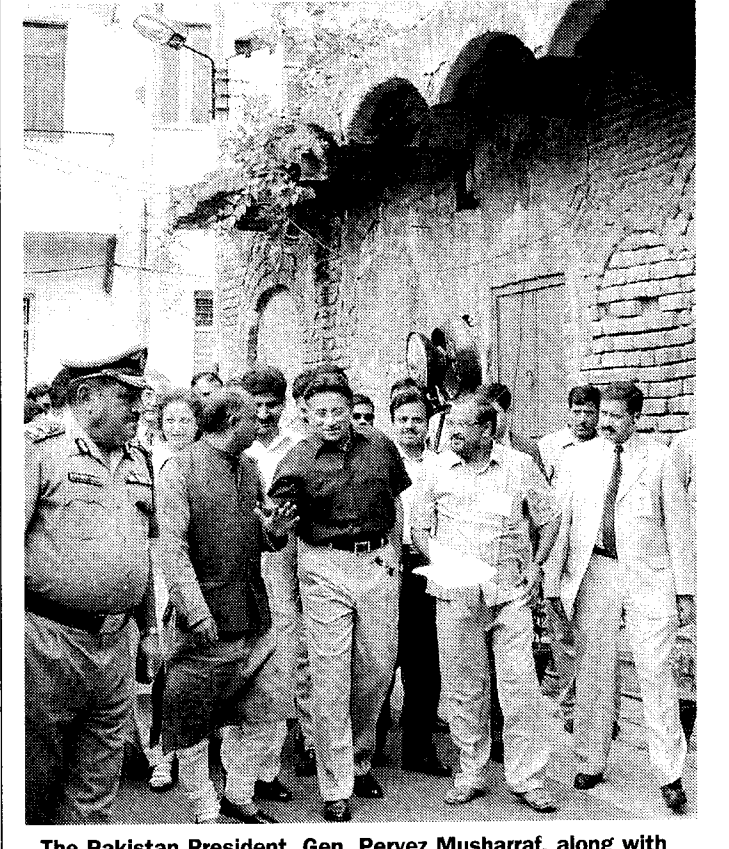


Gen. Musharraf, hugging Ms. Anaro Devi, a municipal worker, who recalls his childhood days, during his visit to Neharwali haveli in Daryaganj, New Delhi, on Saturday. — PTI

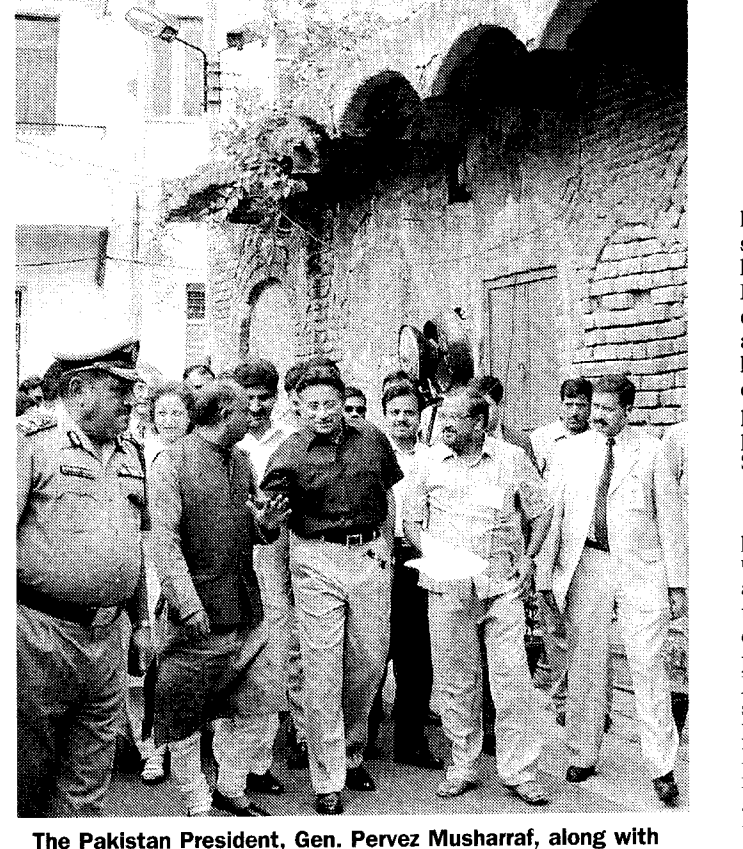
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The Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, along with Delhi MPs and the Police Commissioner, arriving at 'Neharwali haveli', his ancestral home in New Delhi on Saturday. — PTI



The Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, along with Delhi MPs and the Police Commissioner, arriving at 'Neharwali haveli', his ancestral home in New Delhi on Saturday. — PTI

Pak rights panel admits to 35 PoWs

Lawyer's crusade for lost soldiers

Mumbai, July 14

THE PAKISTAN Human Rights Commission today admitted that at least 35 Indian Prisoners of War (PoWs) are languishing in Pakistani jails. The Pakistan Government, however, has been consistently denying this.

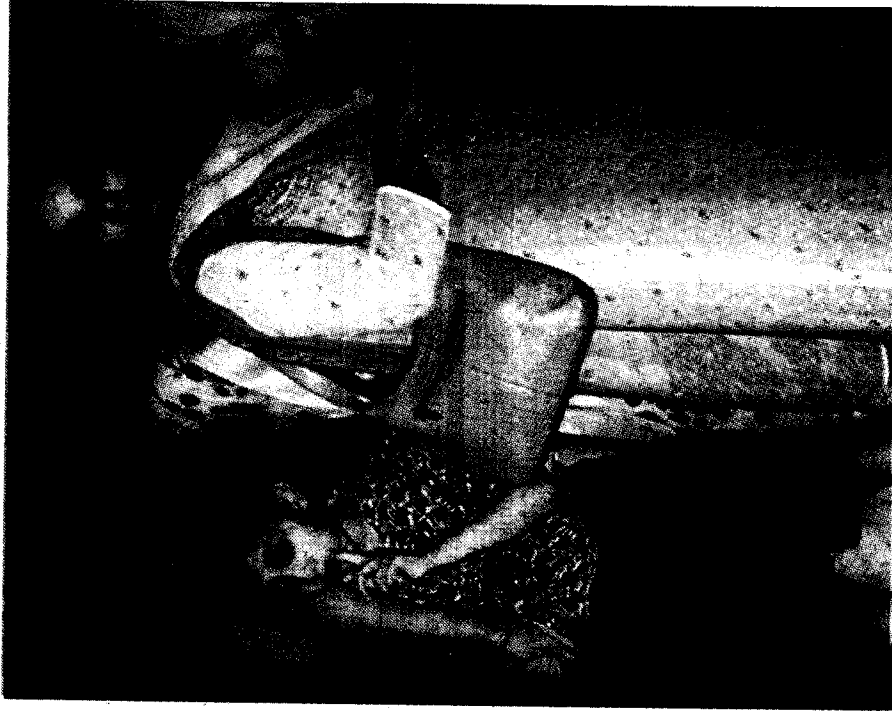
Executive President of the Pakistan Human Rights Commission and head of the Pakistan India People's Forum For Peace And Democracy (PIPFD), IA Rahaman, said 35 families of POWs from India had been in touch with his association for their release.

The PIPFD is also trying to secure the release of Indian fishermen held in Pakistan, Rahaman said.

He said the people of Pakistan were keen to end the five-decade-old enmity with India as the percentage of population below the poverty line had increased with the country's poor economic condition.

Rahaman and Tapan Bose, PIPFD founder member, were optimistic about the outcome of the summit. They hoped that both sides would commit themselves to continuing the dialogue.

The two PIPFD members said any solution to the Kashmir problem should be acceptable to the people in the Valley, whose democratic rights should be restored. "Kashmir should not be treated as a 'territorial problem' between the two countries," said one of the two.



Families of Prisoners of War at a press conference to demand the release of PoWs in Agra on Saturday.

Summit last hope for PoW kin: The relatives of Indian PoWs have urged Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee to take up the issue of PoWs with President Pervez Musharraf.

"We have reports of foreign publications giving graphic details of Indian PoWs being lodged in Attock Jail, Fort Lak-

pat and Attock Fort," president of Missing Defence Personnel Relatives Association (MDPRA), Col (ret'd) R K Pattu, said.

Pattu said even two Pakistani army officials, Asif Safi and Ayaz Ahmed, had confirmed to the relatives privately that there were PoWs in Pakistani jails.

"The Pakistan Government does not want to admit it because as a signatory to the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War, it is not allowed to hold on to the PoWs for a long period... If Pakistan admits it now, it would face severe international criticism," Pattu said.

Vajpayee had taken the issue up during his Lahore summit with the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. "The unfinished task should be given final shape this time as it would almost be the last chance to get back our personnel," Pattu said.

One Mohanlal Bhaskar, who claims to have spent six years in Rawalpindi Jail before being released under the Simla agreement, said he had seen several Indian PoWs in the jails there.

An officer of the Pakistani Army had reportedly confided in him that Wing Commander Harsharan Gill, the seniormost PoW, was detained in Attock Fort.

"The ice is now thawing and the summit would most probably be the last chance for India to get an assurance from Musharraf on the release of the PoWs," he said.

PTI

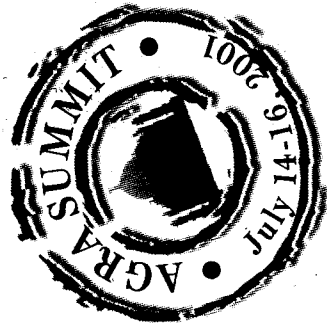
Rathin Das
Ahmedabad, July 14

A GUJARAT lawyer has compiled evidence that Indian soldiers are indeed being held in Pakistani jails and has petitioned the International Human Rights Commission in Geneva to pressure Pakistan to release the PoWs.

Madal Gopal Paul bases his evidence on the testimonies of prisoners released from Pakistani jails, Pakistan Army officers held for conspiring to overthrow Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, reports in Pakistani papers as well as statements from the Indian defence establishment.

The most damning evidence comes from a book written by a British journalist who, being a classmate of Benazir Bhutto in Oxford, had stood by the family during Zulfikar Ali's trial. In an episode mentioned in the book, titled Bhutto Execution and Trial, Victoria Schofield narrates Bhutto complaining to his attorney about his sleepless nights in the solitary confinement as occupants in the adjoining cells kept weeping and wailing. After inquiries with the jail authorities, Bhutto was told that these were Indian Army personnel who had turned mental patients.

As President Musharraf was being given a red-carpet welcome in New Delhi today, an



Indian sleuth who had served 10 years in Pakistani jails was narrating to Paul the plight of Indian soldiers in Pakistani jails. Balwant Singh, who returned in 1998, said Indian PoWs were being treated inhumanly in Pakistan.

Whenever UN and Red Cross teams visited Pakistan, the jails where there were Indian PoWs were sealed off, Balwant told the lawyer, who has taken up the PoW cause under the banner of Missing Defence Personnel Relatives Association.

Another prisoner, Bhogal Ram, who returned in December after serving a seven-year prison term, had told the Indian authorities that there were 62 other PoWs in the same prison, of which 26 had been driven to lunacy by frequent torture. Paul has filed a PIL in Gujarat High Court and written to the rights panels in both

India and Pakistan.

Beware the point of no return

Pakistani human rights and peace activist, Asma Jahangir, says the two neighbours must keep talking, no matter what

Kumkum Chadha
New Delhi

Why is Pakistan obsessed with Kashmir?

The Pakistan establishment and the media are obsessed with Kashmir, not the people. How many times have you seen the people in Pakistan take to the streets for Kashmir? It has been strategically made an obsession for political gain. It justifies maintaining a large army. Every establishment and Government in Pakistan has used Kashmir to its own advantage. It comes handy to divert attention from domestic failures; it is useful to stifle people's voices whenever necessary.

Are you saying the people in Pakistan are not interested in Kashmir?

They have sympathy for the suffering people of Kashmir like they have for the people of Afghanistan. Except, in the case of Kashmir there is a sense of guilt on the grounds that being responsible for the situation we have been unable to find a solution for it.

Some people in Pakistan are saying that between Vajpayee and Musharraf they have more faith in Vajpayee, for the success of the summit.

There is a difference between Prime Minister Vajpayee and General Musharraf. He is a military man; Vajpayee is a seasoned politician. Generals are thick skinned and they feel that they know everything. You are dealing with two different persons with different backgrounds. And given that background, I would have thought, and expected, the Indian people and the Prime Minister to rise above the teacup situation.

Are you justifying Musharraf's move to invite the Hurriyat?

It would have been extremely difficult for him to come to India and not meet the Hurriyat. Therefore, that concession should have been made. For the



JAHANGIR: There is no transparency in this summit

sake of the establishment, which is different from the people of Pakistan, he has to keep making some gestures and Hurriyat is one of them.

He does not want to be seen as coming here as a prisoner who could not see people he wanted to. In Pakistan, there would have been misgivings that he was not in control, was summoned and told what to do. You have to look at it from the point of view of a person who has a record of not wanting to have anything to do with India. However, once it was made clear that this is not what India expected or wanted he should have abided by its wishes and found another way to meet the Hurriyat.

What you think will be the outcome of the summit?

It is very difficult to predict the outcome because the entire exercise, predictably, has had its highs and lows. It remains to be seen what will catch on: the highs or the lows. But I am hoping that eventually, it will not

be a failure — in the sense that General Pervez Musharraf has to return as the one who was completely humiliated, or Vajpayee has to stay here as a Prime Minister who was totally misled by the Generals in Pakistan. That outcome would be disastrous, and could lead to a war.

Since you have distinguished aspirations of the people from compulsions of the establishment in Pakistan, what do people expect from this summit?

They have no hope (of the outcome)...they only aspire (that something will emerge). People are watching silently, leaving history take its own course.

Do you subscribe to the view that Kashmir is the core issue?

Kashmir is the core issue but the core to the Kashmir issue is people's rights.

What is Musharraf's game-plan?

I don't know, but what frightens me is that there is no trans-

parency in this summit. We are so dependant on the chemistry that it is amusing. But the decision to invite or accept should have been based on some minimum understanding and I hope they have it.

The minimum understanding is that let's address issues in totality as India says, rather than harp on Kashmir which Pakistan does.

I think we have come to a point where we have to go beyond that.

Which means?

Which means, continue to talk. Many stubborn disputes have been resolved so one has to push for interaction. The grouse of the Pakistanis is that the Indians are prepared to discuss everything but Kashmir.

And the Indians feel that Pakistan is not willing to discuss anything except Kashmir.

I think what General Musharraf is trying to do is that make India recognise that Kashmir is an issue. He is stated to have said that he wants them to understand that Kashmir is an issue.

Against these diametrically opposite positions what is the relevance or utility of the summit?

All the more reason for talks, because when we are so apart and there is no contact you reach a point of no return.

In a sense, that already seems to have happened: despite or irrespective of the summit.

On the contrary, because there is wisdom among the people of India and Pakistan — and when the time comes — they will assert themselves. Nobody wants war.

Do you subscribe to I K Gujral's view that Pakistan is holding a pistol to India's head?

Yes and no. I would say that we have not behaved like a neighbour who would be genuinely upset if something went wrong with India. But then, we have not been good neighbours. This is exactly the kind of thing I heard during the East Pakistan war. So, whenever there is a chance we both take out our pistols. Pakistan and India look like clowns at international forums and everyone is bored to death (of their squabbling).

Pervez assures Hurriyat of support

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 14. - Ignoring India's strong opposition, the Pakistani President kept his word to the leaders of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference. He spent about half an hour with them at a closed door meeting at Pakistan House this evening.

Gen Musharraf apparently assured them that Islamabad would continue to extend "moral and political support to the people of Kashmir to determine their future."

Six members of the executive of the separatist amalgam - Mr Abdul Ghani Bhatti, Mr Abdul Gani Lone, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, Maulana Abbas Ansari and Sheikh Abdul Aziz -

top leaders of the People's Front in particular, attended the tea-party hosted by the Pakistan High Commissioner in honour of Gen. Musharraf.

Two former prime ministers, Mr Inder Kumar Gujral and Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, Samajwadi Party president Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav and his lieutenant Mr Amar Singh were there to apparently exchange views with the general before the much talked about high tea.

The CPI-M leaders, Mr Harikishen Singh Surjeet and Mr Sitaram Yechury, and CPI chief, Mr A B Bardhan, attended the function. The Congress registered its token presence by sending its foreign cell secretary, Mr Anil Mathrani.

There were film directors Mahesh Bhatt and Muzaffar Ali and film star turned politician Mr Raj Babbar.

The Samajwadi Party leaders had to wait for about an hour as the President was holding talks with the Hurriyat leaders before the reception hosted by the Pakistan high commissioner began.

"I, along with my party leaders, have been waiting for an hour to talk to General Musharraf but he seems to be busy in meeting the Hurriyat leaders. We hope that we will meet him soon," Mr Amar Singh told reporters waiting outside Pakistan House.

Mr Surjeet said: "Well, we had a formal brief interaction with the Pakistan President during the tea-party. We con-

veyed to him our desire and hope to see the normalisation of India-Pakistan relations. On his part, Gen. Musharraf told us he would do his bit towards that end during the summit talks with the Indian Prime Minister."

Some BJP leaders were peeved at the attendance by these leaders but refused to comment publicly. They said that the former prime ministers went in their individual capacities and did not represent the country.

The senior BJP leader, Mr JP Mathur, welcomed the Congress' stand and said this was in keeping with the line of the government. He described the Congress as the main nationalist party among the

No military solution to J&K: Musharraf

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 14. - The words "Jammu and Kashmir" didn't figure in the President, Mr KR Narayanan's banquet speech but they were the "core" of General Pervez Musharraf's speech at Rashtrapati Bhavan this evening. Gen Musharraf said there could be no "military solution" to Jammu and Kashmir.

While Mr Narayanan spoke about ruling out violence between India and Pakistan and building upon "the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration," processes the Pakistani President had recently dismissed, Gen Musharraf spoke of "opening a new chapter" of bilateral relations by facing Kashmir squarely and resolving it once and for all. But he added the issue had to be resolved peacefully.

The Pakistani President said the

Kashmir dispute continued to "block progress towards normalisation of our relations... our capabilities and responsibilities in the new century no longer offer us the option of continuing on the path of a sterile impasse, continued hostility and mistrust," he said during the banquet.

Gen Musharraf spoke of normalising relations between India and Pakistan. There were hopeful notes in his speech and he said that India and Pakistan mustn't allow the past to dictate the future and both countries owed it to the future generations to make peace.

"As neighbouring countries, we need to bridge the gulf that divides us. I come to India with this purpose," he said, adding that both countries had additional responsibilities as they were nuclear states. He felt that the two countries had fought wars and had paid a heavy price for the hostilities.

Both the Presidents remembered Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the Pakistani nation. Mr Narayanan remembered that Jinnah had spoken of the two countries burying the past and remaining friends while Gen Musharraf felt that Jinnah's vision "wasn't beyond our grasp."

"I have come to India because I would like to do everything possible to realise the dream of the Quaid-e-Azam," he said.

Mr Narayanan's statements were more about evolving a structured dialogue "that will lead to the removal of obstacles and misunderstandings... and pave the way to the solution of problems and the creation of enduring friendship" and also, about removing poverty in the two countries.

"Tomorrow, when you and the Prime Minister of India sit together in Agra for your dialogue, I hope, the face of the

poorest person in the sub-continent will be before you and you will ponder together how this impoverished common man will be benefited by your deliberations..."

Echoing those feelings, Gen Musharraf spoke of better communications and trade as well as a change in the mindset of people. He praised Mr Vajpayee, for "his wisdom and dignity" and added that he hoped tomorrow's meeting at Agra would be rewarding.

Mr Narayanan spoke of seeking "friendly and cooperative relations with all states, particularly with those in the neighbourhood" and added "that if India and Pakistan can establish normal bilateral relations SAARC will be transformed into a dynamic regional organisation." He also spoke of the need for an atmosphere of peace and mutual confidence between the two

Hoping against hope for Indian POWs

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

AGRA, July 14. - Living in hope often invites ridicule, yet hope has provided both a life and a bond for the families of 54 Indian defence personnel who are the "unacknowledged" prisoners of war in Pakistan. Hope that these soldiers are still alive.

A new dimension has been added to that hope recently, and that has brought the families of a few of them from dif-

ferent parts of the country to this summit-city. Earlier this year, Gen Pervez Musharraf promised an Indian delegation that he would look into that matter. The families' presence here is intended to remind him and the Indian leadership - that the POW issue is still alive.

Emotions ran high this morning when the Missing Defence Personnel's Relatives Association sought to project their cause to the massive

media presence that the summit has attracted. Things at times things seemed a trifle chaotic. It was only because the victims lacked public relations skills. Their sincerity was never in doubt.

What was presented as "evidence" of their loved ones in Pakistani jails might not have passed judicial scrutiny, but theirs was no plea before a court of law. It was a plea to the heart, to the humane element in the emotional make-

up of the leaders now deliberating larger issues. A breakthrough on this front might serve to reduce the suspicions, tensions and hard line postures that have clouded Indo-Pak ties for decades. The story of unofficial POWs is not new. After the post-war formalities were completed in the early 1970s, information began to trickle across the border that some Indian defence personnel, not accounted for, were in jails in Pakistan.

Optimistic Pakistan decides to gloss over Jaswant's remarks

By Dileep Padgaonkar

NEW DELHI: The sound and fury witnessed in Delhi and Islamabad in the last three or four days could well be a thing of the past when President Pervez Musharraf arrives in the capital on Saturday to renew the bilateral dialogue between the two estranged neighbours. According to the President's spokesman, Major-General Rashid Qureshi, the mood in Islamabad is one of optimism and hope despite the rumblings of discontent about certain things that were said and done in Delhi.

Answering questions on the telephone from Islamabad, the spokesman told *The Times of India* on Friday that Pakistan felt that the statements made by minister of external affairs and defence Jaswant Singh at his press conference on Thursday were unfortunate. This was partly because they came on the eve of the visit and partly because they were not quite in consonance with the good atmosphere that President Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee had been able to create.

The spokesman was reminded that Pakistan had also reiterated its known positions in the past few days and that, too, with an assertiveness that had jarred on Indian ears. It was in response to this relentless reiteration that Mr Jaswant Singh had chosen to set the record straight. It was at this point that Maj-Gen Qureshi emphasised the need to ignore whatever had happened during the past few days and to concen-

trate instead on the tasks ahead. He went on to add that people on both sides were looking forward to peace, tranquillity and economic cooperation and that the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India were endowed with the ability, statesmanship and vision to heed the wishes of the people.

In response to a query, the spokesman emphatically denied that Pakistan had dismissed out of hand the various confidence-building measures

that India had announced. He said, "We have not done so. Our feeling was that these and other confidence-building measures would flow from the summit. That is all."

Asked specifically about the Vajpayee government's decision to liberalise the visa regime, he said Pakistan also favoured the lifting of visa restrictions. Anyone who wanted to come to Pakistan would be allowed. This policy was already being implemented.

He went on to say that it was India which had denied visas to three

Pakistani journalists. One of them had, in fact, been issued a visa which was later withdrawn. No reasons were given.

However, the spokesman quickly added that Gen Musharraf and Mr Vajpayee were beyond all these small things. They would respond to the larger issues. "They have the vision for that," he said.

► See Edit: Slow and Steady, Page 10 /

IN BLACK AND WHITE



A scooterist drives past a cut-out of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf and his wife Begum Sehba at an intersection in New Delhi on Friday.

Not for LoC as permanent border: Musharraf

By Kesava Menon

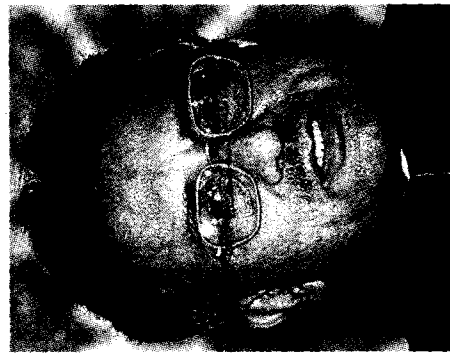
MANAMA (Bahrain), JULY 13. The Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has rejected any move to convert the Line of Control (LoC) into international border (IB) in Jammu and Kashmir, saying he is willing to discuss other issues concurrently but not at the expense of the Kashmir issue.

In an interview to *Gulf News*, Gen. Musharraf said he wanted India to at least acknowledge Kashmir as the main issue. He was willing to stay in India for another 48 hours if New Delhi was serious about resolving the dispute. (According to a UNI report, Gen. Musharraf said that both the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration did not make any progress because they avoided the "core" issue of Kashmir between the two countries. "Anyone, any leadership in Pakistan that makes any agreements, any deals where Kashmir is sidelined, I can say with full certainty, that declaration, or that treaty will never go forward because the people won't let it go forward. And that is why the Shimla Accord and the Lahore Declaration did not move forward", the Pakistani leader said.)

Describing the grant of permanence to the LoC as the problem

and not the solution, Gen. Musharraf said it would be "very unrealistic for any Indian leader to expect any leader of Pakistan to go and accept the permanence of the LoC". While respecting the LoC was one thing, accepting it as the permanent solution to the dispute was a different matter. The announcement of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, in Washington on July 4, 1999 did not mean he or anyone else in Pakistan had accepted that the Kashmir dispute was over and that the LoC was made into the border. "Nobody in Pakistan can accept this and hope to stay in power," the General said in a signal to his hosts for the next few days that he too had his limitations.

At another point, he, however, dubbed proposals such as the grant of permanence to the LoC, autonomy for the Kashmir Valley or trifurcation as matters to be taken up in a final solution. "To discuss a solution that may be in itself contentious, we may not start talking at all. So why talk of solutions. Let us go step by step." The scope for some ambiguity also appeared in earlier remarks where he clarified what he meant when he said he would be flexible and then spoke of Kashmir as the



core issue. "I have never at all said I will be flexible on the issue to be discussed which is Kashmir. I have said that Kashmir is the only issue. Yes, I will be flexible on Kashmir, but I would like to clear this misperception, this misunderstanding. I have never said that flexibility will be shown on the issue to be discussed."

On India's "core" issue — cross-border terrorism — Gen. Musharraf said he was not in total control over the jihadis and that the struggle in the Kashmir Valley was "very, very" indigenous. However, if there was progress on

the Kashmir issue it would "certainly have a sobering effect on the freedom struggle".

Denying that the Pakistan Army had always derailed the process of reconciliation because it had a vested interest in making war, he said the people of Pakistan would not allow any reconciliation until the main conflict was resolved.

He also claimed that the Jamaat Islami and not the Army which stoned Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's motorcade after the Lahore Declaration.

At the very minimum he was willing to accept India's acknowledgement of Kashmir being the main issue and for Agra to be the beginning of a step-by-step approach to peacemaking. "We must also understand each other's compulsions. I would like to work to remove, to lessen the compulsions of the Indian leadership and they should work towards understanding and removing our compulsions." While he was willing to move concurrently on the other issues in dispute he would oppose continuation of discussions on other issues if the discussions on Kashmir got sidelined or dropped. He also did not expect India to start reducing its troop presence in Kashmir any time soon.

Stating that he viewed the end game as to do something that would improve the economic conditions in the subcontinent, Gen. Musharraf reiterated that he believed this could be done only by reducing tensions between the two countries. These tensions could not be reduced by resolving Sir Creek or Wullar Barrage but by resolving the Kashmir dispute.

'A historic moment'

PTI reports:

In another interview to *India Today*, Gen. Musharraf claimed that India and Pakistan had never got so close to permanent peace adding it was entirely upto him and Mr. Vajpayee to be accommodative of each other and be open-minded on the core issue of Kashmir during the summit.

"I certainly want him to see reality. I would request the people of India to see reality on the ground. We haven't fought wars for any other issue or dispute other than Kashmir."

CONSCIOUS DELHI PLAN TO AVOID WAR OF WORDS?

A 'new opportunity' for India, Pak.

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JULY 13. Despite the escalating rhetoric on Jammu and Kashmir from across the border, India today chose to keep its cool and remain positive about the important but exasperating engagement with Pakistan this weekend.

As it prepared to roll out the red carpet to Gen. Pervez Musharraf on Saturday morning, India refused to be drawn into a war of words on Kashmir with the visiting Pakistan President.

Reflecting the quiet calm in the Government a day before Gen. Musharraf's arrival, the Foreign Office spokeswoman declared that the two nations stood "on the threshold of a new opportunity" for peace and progress.

The hopeful message from India, on a day when Gen. Musharraf seemed to trash the earlier agreements between the two nations at Shimla in 1972 and Lahore in 1999, appears to be part of a conscious strategy.

Informed sources here say India has made an overall assessment of its negotiating options on the eve of Gen. Musharraf's visit and is prepared for all outcomes at Agra. The sources add India is "looking forward with hope and expectation" to a successful summit between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and Gen. Musharraf.

But, India was fully prepared for a failure of the Agra summit, if

to gauge the prospects of the summit. The President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, and the Vice-President, Mr. Krishan Kant, will exchange views with the Pakistani General on a broad range of themes of mutual interest.

It would, however, fall on the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and the Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, to convey to Gen. Musharraf, unambiguously, the Indian terms for a rapprochement with Pakistan.

And before the luncheon he is hosting in honour of the Pakistani leader, Mr. Vajpayee will have a few moments alone with Gen. Musharraf, where he will try to size him up quickly and correctly.

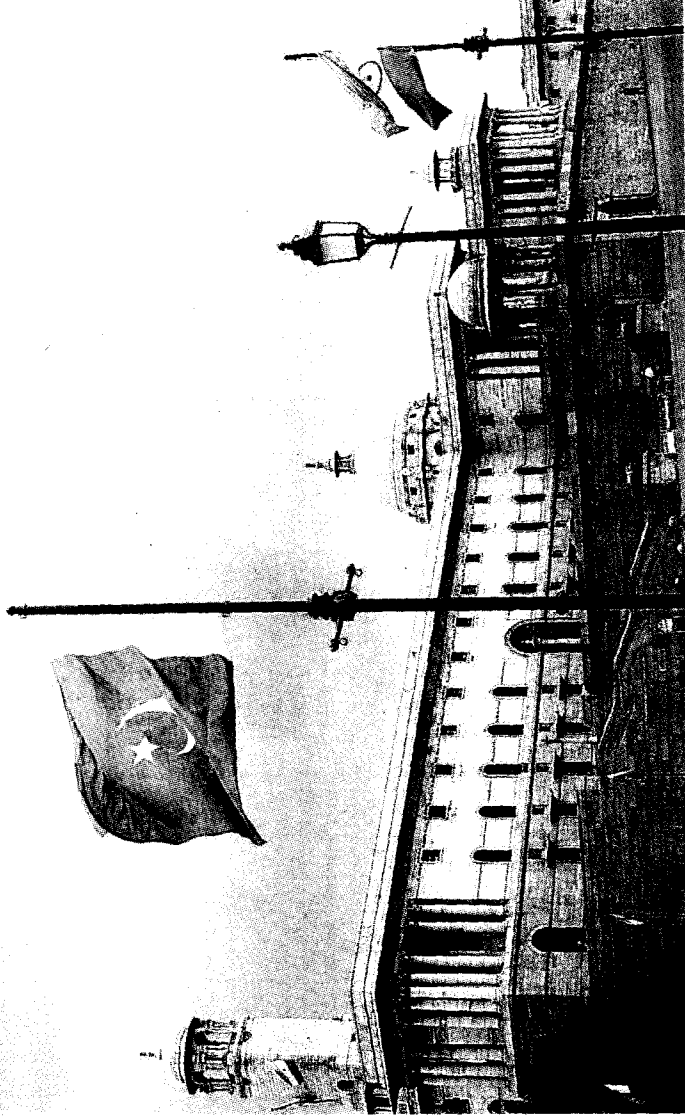
Vajpayee's hope

Behind all the rhetoric heard over the last week from Pakistan, Mr. Vajpayee expects Gen. Musharraf to hold some reserves of reason and pragmatism.

And if Gen. Musharraf is willing to turn a new leaf in the relations with India, Mr. Vajpayee is said to be ready to walk more than half the distance towards a new accommodation between the two nations.

At the heart of any understanding would be the creation of a framework that would address Pakistan's demand for substantive talks on Jammu and Kashmir and India's concerns about cross-border terrorism.

More report on Page 11, 12, 13



The Pakistani flag and the Tricolour fly before the North Block in New Delhi on the eve of the visit of the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf. — AP.

that was what Gen. Musharraf wanted. If the Pakistan President declared "Kashmir or nothing", it was said, "he would indeed get nothing".

Full state honours

First hints on what Gen. Musharraf's visit may lead to will be available tomorrow, as the two delegations feel each other out

that will develop between Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf — two leaders who come from such different backgrounds. It will also depend on whether Mr. Vajpayee believes Gen. Musharraf is a trustworthy partner.

Gen. Musharraf's interaction with the entire top layer of the Indian state and Government tomorrow provides an opportunity

behind the booming guns and the razmatazz of the full state honours extended by India.

Summit level meetings between leaders are usually well prepared and the results pre-cooked. But the meeting between Gen. Musharraf and Mr. Vajpayee is almost like a blind date with all its uncertainties. The outcome hangs on the kind of chemistry

Murky or mature, the conversation must never cease



I.K. GUJRAL

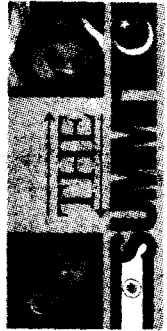
The Agra Summit is assembling in the midst of hope and despair. It is unfortunate that the initial euphoria has evaporated so quickly, yielding ground to sadness. One still hopes that the atmosphere will register a change by the time the President lands in Delhi.

It is symbolic that his first engagement in India would take him to Gandhiji's *samadhi*. That, I hope, will inspire him to discover

● **I.K. Gujral is former Prime Minister of India**

the merits of peace. Of course, the atmosphere has been murkied by his making meeting with the Hurriyat in the way that he has chosen to. This has cast some doubts regarding the purpose of the General's visit. India has shown remarkable maturity in putting behind the agonies of Kargil and expressed its wish to explore the possibilities of building friendly relationships with the neighbour even when the worthy guest is distancing himself from the historic Lahore and Simla agreements.

My proclivity for good neighbourly relations is known. All the same, I cannot help wondering if President Musharraf's perceptions of Indo-Pak relations are widely different than that of his predecessor in office. In each of the seven summits between Nawaz Sharif and me at first, and later between him and Prime Minister Vajpayee, we looked at the



Kashmir issue as a part of the several complex issues that needed attention. But Gen. Musharraf is not tired of telling his people that he has 'bravely' reversed the priorities. Of course, he has, but to what purpose? Along with Nawaz Sharif, we had shared the belief that the core issue was the Indo-Pak relations and much needed to be done to repair them. Obviously, the army chief does not appreciate that the convoluted relationship between India and Pakistan is knotted by a long history that cannot be unravelled overnight nor in one meeting. Only trust and patient perusal might help. The coup in Pakistan has changed the internal power parties wherein the centre of power has shifted from the elected legislatures to the doctrinaire madarsas where such Taliban doctrines are used to shape the attitudes of young trainees, which

project the philosophy of a permanent war with India. Some responsible persons in Pakistan had unabashedly told the Indian visitors that animosity with India would not end even when the Kashmir issue is settled. Unfortunately, the General has not yet cultivated the constituency of the liberal civil society in his own country, which hopes that one day — as per order of the Supreme Court — democracy will be restored, both in form and in spirit.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Murky or mature, conversation must go on

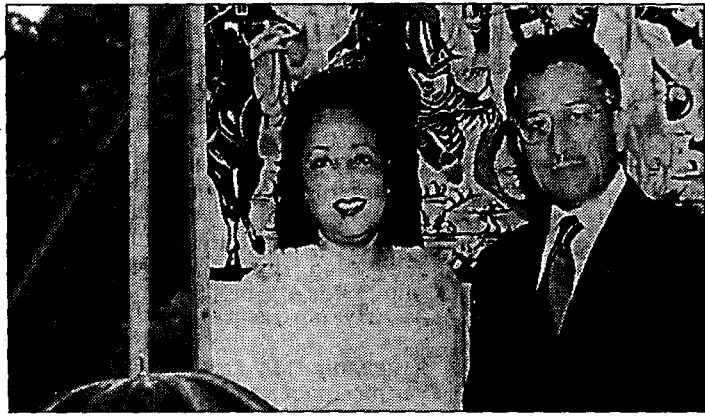
▶ FROM PAGE 1

The main reason for even partial success of the seven summits had emanated from the fact that it was for the first time the two democracies were negotiating with each other. The elected leaders were sensitive to the aspirations of their respective people. They were also conscious of world history wherein no two democracies have ever gone to war and even contentious issues are resolved by negotiations.

At this point of time, it may be difficult to comprehend if the dismal economic situation afflicting Pakistan will make its military rulers choose the path of amity. They have placed faith in the low intensity war with cheap cannon fodder made available by Afghanistan. It may cost much lesser in money terms but its internal fallouts are devastating its stability. The Kalashnikov culture; the Shia-Sunni killings; weakening of the inner cohesion can be traced to the Jihadism that is eating into the nation's vitals.

India continues to believe that a 'failed' Pakistani state is not in its interest. I had personally conveyed this to American policy makers. We wish Pakistan to flourish as a sovereign and prosperous country. We will be happy if it is democratic but it is for the people of Pakistan to decide. India is not in the business of exporting or importing ideologies.

Whatever be the fate of Agra Summit, it is important for us to realise that even in the recent past we have missed opportunities to reduce, if not end, the alienations of our compatriots in Jammu and Kashmir. Amazingly, the Prime



A poster of Musharraf and his wife, Begum Sehba, near the Pakistan high commission in Delhi. Picture by Rajesh Kumar

Minister did not coincide the ceasefire with the initiative for internal dialogue with diverse people of the state. Six valuable months were lost when Mr. K.C. Pant was deputed to undertake his mission. The vacuum was utilised by the Hurriyat and their collaborators to damage the otherwise well-perceived step.

Rightly, we spare no effort in telling the world that the state is governed by a democratically elected government that in turn derives its mandate from the elected legislature, and yet, when it came to it, Delhi disdainly rejected its resolution recommending autonomy for the state within the orbit of our Constitution. It is no one's case that the clock of history can be or need be turned back to 1953 but it would be unwise to assume that the status quo is sustainable. The Assembly resolution had provided a platform and opportunity to engage all segments of state in a debate and discussions that, in the end, would help in evolving a consensus regarding governance of the state. Of course, in all circumstances this must remain democratic and secular. Here I would like to say a word of caution. It would be dangerous to reorganise the state in any manner that may smack of a communal divide. Preservation of its unity-in-diversity is as important as it is in rest of the country.

On the summit's eve, the Prime Minister has announced some measures that would go a long way to further facilitate the people-to-people relations in the two countries. This is consistent with the paradigms that were spelt out in the Gujral Doctrine. Successive governments in Delhi have never hesitated in unilaterally offering such concessions and facilities as would help the cause of good neighbourliness and the people-to-people bonhomie. Of course, the cause of an amiable future will be well served if neighbours would not interfere in the internal affairs of each other nor let their lands be used for any inimical action against the other. This is common sense but it is equally valid in diplomatic relations if we seek peace and co-existence, particularly in the nuclear era.

I had once told Parliament what may be useful for the ears of our visitors, too: "Improvement of Indo-Pak relations would be a slow process and never an event" since these carry a heavy burden of history. In the meantime let me repeat what I had said at Male: "*Guftgu bund na ho, baat se baat chalai, subha tak sham-i-mulakat chalai.*" (Conversation must never stop. One point will lead to another). Nawaz Sharif had agreed with it. I do hope that the Agra Summit will endorse it.

THE TELEGRAPH

14 JUL 2001

SATURDAY, JULY 14, 2001

X9-10 **A SUMMIT OF NEW OPPORTUNITIES** 19/8

INDIA AND PAKISTAN have given themselves another historic chance to rise above the pervasive prejudices of their estrangement and to weave a pragmatic pattern of constructive engagement. The arrival of Pakistan's President and Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, in New Delhi today for tomorrow's summit in Agra with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, will mark the beginning of a truly new exercise in bilateral diplomacy. It is important to remember that India had in the past too engaged Pakistan's leadership-in-governance that was drawn from the military stream. Yet, given the Vajpayee administration's perception of Gen. Musharraf as the man who wrecked the spirit of the previous historic experiment in bilateral diplomacy, which culminated in the Lahore Declaration of 1999, the uniqueness of the upcoming Agra summit is really difficult to capture in words. It is in this context that the expectations about the imminent encounter of the diplomatic kind between Gen. Musharraf and Mr. Vajpayee should be tempered with a great deal of realism. A caveat of this order is not necessarily related to the possible notions of an asymmetrical exchange between a military ruler with an appropriated constitutional status and the Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy. The simple but substantive factor at stake is the enormity of the task of renouncing a bilateral culture of political and diplomatic mistrust and hostilities.

Given the cumulative experiences of India and Pakistan in dealing with each other since Partition in 1947, Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf will do well to seize the new moment of opportunity with much care. There is no place for either the illusions of crafting a grand charter of dramatic friendship or even the undue circumspection of avoiding creative options. While New Delhi has repeatedly clarified that it wants to address the totality of the India-Pakistan rela-

tionship as a dynamic reality, Gen. Musharraf is eager to place the Kashmir dispute at the heart of this equation. Islamabad's constant refrain about a core issue, another term for the Kashmir question, is sought to be matched by New Delhi which wants the spotlight to be turned upon its core concerns pertaining to this problem itself. The people of India and Pakistan will be the obvious beneficiaries if the two leaders can, therefore, strive to envision an institutionalised architecture of dialogue spanning the entire range of bilateral issues. As for Kashmir in particular and the inter-linked questions concerning peace and stability including nuclear security, a strong case can be made for a bilateral working group, at the political level of Ministers, which could be mandated to negotiate in a professional mode divorced from ideological and polemical considerations.

New possibilities exist for bilateral engagement at the people-to-people level too. Some of the pre-summit gestures announced by New Delhi seem to have been guided by such considerations in a fair measure. So, Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf can usefully consider expanding the scope of bilateral engagement so as to give the people on either side some genuine space for creating a joint but informal constituency for sustainable peace and friendship between the two countries. It is in this larger setting that the two leaders should seek to jettison the old baggages of misgivings and explore the scope for charting afresh a possible path to normalisation of ties. To some extent, the pre-summit atmosphere has already been vitiated by the political heat and dust over the relevance of 'Kashmiri groups', notably the All-Party Hurriyat Conference, to the India-Pakistan dialogue process. Gen. Musharraf and New Delhi may today find themselves with qualitatively different options to ensure that this issue does not shatter the hopes about the summit even before it begins.

THE HINDU

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TOP BRASS MEET

Pakistan won't be hustled

IT would be over-simplistic to write off as mere pique Pakistan's rejecting a meeting of the Directors General of Military Operations of the two armies in advance of the Agre summit. That the Indian proposal was announced to the media even before a formal communication was sent to Islamabad is only part of the story. The local grapevine has it that even the Indian DGMO was not aware of the move until it had been made. Which would suggest that it was just one more of the unilateral concessions and goodwill gestures that India has been rushing through. While no serious fault could be found in that approach, trying to get the top brass of the army directly involved is treading questionable ground. It is difficult to fathom what genuine measures the DGMOs could take in the absence of an overall framework to put the bilateral relations on the road to recovery. Even a decision on a de-escalation of conflict levels in Siachen, would be a decision that fell within the political/diplomatic domain. What level of freedom would the Indian DGMO have in his briefcase should an immediate meeting with his Pakistani counterpart have materialised?

Pakistan has been consistent in its line that unless progress is registered on Jammu and Kashmir there is little else of current consequence. It will not be hustled into the Indian contention that Kashmir can be placed on the back-burner. Against this backdrop the slew of goodwill gestures which India has been making despite Pakistan's tepid response point in a not unfamiliar direction. The wise men of South Block seeking to create a congenial atmosphere for the summit are not looking much beyond "atmospherics."

THE STATESMAN

Summit will flop: Sena chief

The Times of India News Service
MUMBAI: Shiv Sena chief Bal Thackeray, in a sharp attack on the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit, claimed it would yield nothing but a big zero. He blasted the National Democratic Alliance for offering 'recalcitrant' Pakistan a package of concessions, including relaxation of the visa rules.

Mr Thackeray said holding out an olive branch to President Pervez Musharraf was like "giving peace sermons to Aurangzeb". He said the visa concessions to Pakistan would facilitate infiltration by the Lashkar-e-Toiba and other ISI activists. The latest bus service between India and Bangladesh would also add to the two crore-strong population of illegal migrants. Such policies would bring India to the brink of ruin, warned Mr Thackeray at a press conference held at Sena Bhavan, the party's central headquarters.

Banquet ban

The Times of India News Service
MUMBAI: The Shiv Sena's ministers in the Union cabinet — Manohar Joshi, Suresh Prabhu and Balasaheb Vikhe-Patil — will not attend President K.R. Narayanan's banquet on Saturday. Mr Thackeray on Friday asked them to keep away from the state banquet in honour of Gen Musharraf, said party sources.

PM briefs President on summit

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 13. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, called on the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, today. Over a 45-minute meeting, Mr. Vajpayee briefed him on the summit starting tomorrow with Pakistan President, General Pervez Musharraf.

Mr. Vajpayee also had a round of last-minute meetings on the preparations for the summit. The Governor of Jammu and Kashmir called on him in this connection.

Speaking in Srinagar, the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah expressed the hope that Mr. Vajpayee would take up the issue of cross-border terrorism forcefully

with the General. The people wanted an end to the gun culture, he said.

The former Foreign Secretary, Mr. Jagat Mehta (who was the Foreign Secretary when Mr. Vajpayee was the Foreign Affairs Minister), was sent for by the Prime Minister today. A number of issues came up for discussion.

Later, officials of the Prime Minister's Office described the meeting as "very useful".

Throughout the day there were consultations with the Union Home Minister, Mr L.K. Advani, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

Despite the hectic schedule and the irritations that have come

from "the other side" it seems that the Prime Minister is completely relaxed. As one official suggested, "He did not allow himself to be provoked even when sharp questions were asked by Pakistani journalists who interviewed him yesterday on the Hurriyat, alleged American pressure on India, Siachen and Kashmir."

The Government, it seems, is not going to be provoked into making any retaliatory or hawkish noises. Although today there was harsh reaction from the Congress to the reported interview given by Gen. Musharraf to a Gulf newspaper where he had rejected the Shimla Accord and the Lahore Declaration (that was how the

agencies reported it), sources close to Mr. Vajpayee said that it was not being viewed by the Government as a "rejection" of the two accords by Pakistan.

The explanation was that Gen. Musharraf had only stated that the two agreements had failed to produce results because they had not addressed the "core" issue of Kashmir.

The Government is trying to explain away the unpleasant rhetoric that is coming from Islamabad as less to do with the summit and more to do with the "home compulsions" of the General and the need to address constituencies like the Hurriyat, the jihadis and the fundamentalists.

THE HINDU

51 Indians in Lahore jail: report

Agra/Islamabad, July 13

AS MANY as 51 Indians arraigned in cases ranging from illegal border crossing to sabotage in Pakistan are confined in Lahore's Kot Lakhpat Jail, a report in *News* said in Islamabad today.

Pakistan has said its jails hold no Indian prisoners of war. Relatives of Indian Defence personnel missing in action since the 1971 war today claimed they had "clinching" evidence to refute Pakistan's denial.

The Missing Defence Personnel's Relatives Association will present "substantive evidence" regarding PoWs in Pakistani jails to the Centre tomorrow.

External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh's assurance that India would raise the PoW issue with General Musharraf during the summit has come as a shot in the arm for the association.

Whether or not there are any Indian PoWs in Pakistan, the *News* report quoted an official as saying: "Ashes of 21 cremated Indian prisoners are also lying at Kot Lakhpat Jail for the last many years, due to the controversy between Indian and Pakistani immigration authorities over their identity." "The jail authorities say they are not to be blamed for this callousness as it is the dead men's own countrymen who have refused to accept them as one of their own," it said.

Kot Lakhpat Jail superintendent, Mian Farooq, told the daily that they were not at all responsible for this apathy as no legal action could be recommended for these foreigners, who died in custody.

PTI

SOUNDBITES

Preserve Pak Sikh shrines, says Dhindsa

Chandigarh: The Shiromani Akali Dal (Badal) on Friday urged Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee to take up the issue of upkeep of Sikh shrines in Pakistan during his summit meeting with President Gen. Pervez Musharraf at Agra.

Party secretary-general Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa told a press conference in Chandigarh that the ruling SAD did not recognise Pakistan Sikh Gurdwara Prabhadhak Committee which had taken over the management of Sikh shrines in the neighbouring country.

"Only the Sikhs have the right to the upkeep of their shrines," he said, adding that Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhadhak Committee should be allowed to station permanent *sewadars* for the maintenance of gurdwaras in Pakistan. (UNI)

'Talk Taliban at summit'

New Delhi: Deposed Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani on Friday urged Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee to ask Pakistan to stop backing terrorism and the Taliban in Afghanistan and also include the issue in his talks with President Pervez Musharraf.

"Pakistan's support to the Taliban enhances terrorism and instability in Afghanistan and in this part of the world. I hope Mr Vajpayee would include this in his agenda of talks with Gen. Musharraf," he said in a statement issued by the Afghanistan embassy. (UNI)

Doctors put on alert for visit

Agra: With a few hours left for the arrival of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf, the district administration here is taking all necessary steps to tackle any medical emergencies that may arise during the visit and has kept reputed and expert doctors on standby.

The administration has asked private doctors, including heart specialists, surgeons and physicians, in the city to make themselves available in case their services were required to meet any eventuality. (PTI)

Punjab DGP calls for vigil

Moga: Punjab's director-general of police Sarbjit Singh has directed his officers and men to be vigilant regarding activities of Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence in the aftermath of the summit meeting between Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and President Pervez Musharraf.

The DGP gave this directive on Thursday at a meeting of senior police officials, while apprehending that the ISI would not sit idle and might step up activities both in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. (UNI)

Special Star TV summit focus

Mumbai: Star news channel will bring direct coverage of Pakistan President Gen. Pervez Musharraf's visit to India, from July 14 to 16.

A release issued by the channel stated that the direct coverage will be from Delhi, Agra and Ajmer. Pakistani leaders and analysts will also take part in discussions on the channel and provide instant reactions to events, agreements and other decisions taken during the summit. Other programmes like *Big Fight* will also be dedicated to the summit. (UNI)

JMM is upset over exclusion

New Delhi: Jharkhand Mukti Morcha vice-president R.K. Anand has written to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee expressing displeasure over the party's non-inclusion in the all-party meeting convened to discuss issues to be debated during the Agra summit.

He said the JMM had been invited to all-party meets in the past and it was surprising how it was left out this time.

"This possibly happened due to oversight. Our party was a part of the NDA and simply because the alliance no longer exists, a policy of exclusion should not be doled out." (UNI)

Kashmir is the only issue to be discussed: Pervez

BY NEENA GOPAL
Gulf News

Islamabad, July 13: Pakistan's President Gen. Pervez Musharraf said in an interview to *Gulf News* here that he would deem the Agra summit a success if "India accepts the centrality of the Kashmir dispute," and added that any Pakistani government which struck a deal with India that left out Kashmir would come to grief.

In the interview, Gen. Musharraf also rejected the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration as failing to address the main issue — Kashmir, and also rejected any move to make the Line of Control as a permanent solution. Excerpts:

Q: The run up to the summit has started off with you being quoted as saying that you were "open" about it and "flexible" about the talks. But it is now being perceived that you have taken an 180° turn to emphasise over and over that talks must focus now solely on Kashmir. Why has that happened?

A: I have never at all said that I will be flexible on the issue to be discussed which is Kashmir. I have said that Kashmir is the only issue. Yes, I will be flexible on Kashmir, but I would like to correct this misperception, this misunderstanding. I have never said that flexibility will be shown on the issue to be discussed.

Kashmir is the issue, it is the reality on the ground. I am not saying anything which is unrealistic. Where is the tension between India and Pakistan? Is there tension because of anything else, therefore the focus should be on the main issue. The remaining issues, certainly if Prime Minister Vajpayee is keen, certainly one would go ahead and discuss those also.

Q: Do you believe then that India is trying to deflect attention from what you see as the "core" issue by raising Confidence Building

A: Yes, this is certainly our perception. And this suspicion is there, not just now, I would say, it has been happening over the last 50 years, if not 40 years. In 1958, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru declared that Kashmir was a part of India and rejected plebiscite, till now Kashmir has always been sidelined by India and may I also add that, now that you have asked this question, even the Shimla Accord and the Lahore Declaration didn't make any progress. Why didn't it make any progress?

That was because it avoided the main issue of Kashmir, anyone, any leadership in Pakistan that goes and has any arrangement with any Indian administration, makes any agreements, any deals where Kashmir is sidelined, I can say with full certainty, that that declaration or that treaty will never go forward because the people won't let it go forward. And that is why the Shimla Accord and the Lahore Declaration did not move forward.

Q: So that means then in the forthcoming Agra agreement — if there is one — if the Indian government does not give you what you see as appropriate on Kashmir, you will go public with your disagreement on the issue?

A: Well, let's not raise issues of opposition and...
Q: Let me rephrase that, what would you like to see in the Agra Agreement?

A: Again, this should be left to what I am going to discuss with Prime Minister Vajpayee. But I will say quite clearly, I am meaning to correct our focus. And we

need to set our focus on Kashmir. And that certainly needs to be done.

Q: General, on the other points of contention such as Sir Creek, the Wullar Barrage and Siachen, it is said that Pakistan and India were this close to an agreement, that surveyor-generals from both sides have demarcated the boundaries, that Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and the Prime Minister of Pakistan were in agreement. Would you allow these issues to be discussed concurrently with Kashmir, or will they be held hostage to the Kashmir issue?

A: No, they could move concurrently, but what I would be against is if we start, and in the process of progress of dialogue, subsequent progress I am talking of, we sideline the Kashmir issue or drop the Kashmir issue, and we keep going forward on the Wullar Barrage and Sir Creek and all that. Now these are not the issues. The main issue is Kashmir. If the Kashmir issue is progressing well, I don't mind progressing up all issues. Certainly, I have no problem with that. But nothing can be done at the cost of Kashmir.

Q: Well then this is obviously going to come up against the Indian government's view which has again been reiterated, over and over, just as you have that Kashmir is the main issue, that it is just one of the many issues that bedevil relations. Only the day before Mr Vajpayee told Indian Opposition leaders that it will be discussed in the totality of relations.

A: Yes, let's do that. I am in agreement with Prime Minister Vajpayee on that. Fine. I am in agreement, I am not saying it should be discussed in any half-hearted way, we will discuss it in totality.

Q: Would you be happy if the Indian government admits in some way or the other that Kashmir is the core issue, is that the

for?
A: Well I am just saying, it's nothing unusual that I am saying, I am not saying anything which is utopian by any nature. I mean we are trying to improve relations between India and Pakistan, engage India. The end game is this, I would say the end game really is to do something, that will improve the condition of this economically deprived region of the world, the most poverty stricken region of the world, one fifth of humanity is living in this Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and maybe if this is the only region to collaborate to improve its economic conditions.

Therefore I think, what India and Pakistan must realise and the leadership in both these countries must realise, is that we must improve the condition of the people of the sub-continent. And how can we do that, the causes of tension between India and Pakistan. And how do we do that? By resolving Sir Creek? Or resolving Wullar Barrage? No, we have to do that by resolving the Kashmir dispute.

I am just trying to be realistic. And if anyone thinks that this tension can be removed, by collaborating on improving economic conditions without resolving the cause of hatred between the two countries, I think, they are not being realistic.

Q: Talking of hatred and animosity, they say that you are the first leader in Pakistan who is trying to remove the animus that has existed these last 50 years in one form or the other, within the

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Where is the tension between India and Pakistan? Is there tension because of anything else? Therefore the focus should be on the main issue.

Pakistan administration by telling them that if India walks the same road towards resolving the issue...

A: Yes, I would say that. Indeed, this is the line I am trying to take. Let's remove the root cause of the problem between the two countries. That is the only way forward between developing relations between us. In fact I would say, that the time has come when the public has also started realising that we must remove this tension, why is this region in the world only in the grip of tension. Of course, at some stage somebody has to come up and take decisions and free this region from this animosity.

Q: There is also the view that the Army has thrived on this very animosity. Just as there is one view that it is only a military government in Pakistan and a Bharatiya Janata Party government in India which can deliver, there is also the opposite view that the Army thrives on this

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very animosity and has every reason to keep the Kashmir pot boiling for its own ends. Will it really be feasible for the Army to deliver on Kashmir?

A: That is the view from India. That whenever there is a movement towards peace, it is the army line. Nothing fell in line in the past, because we were ignoring the basic fact. All the rest troop reduction or tension reduction, will follow through this one agreement, or acceptance or concurrence of views.

Q: Did you change your mind about the Hurriyat after Yasin Malik's comments in an interview in London that 'he did not expect this of Pakistan'?

A: I am not sure...
Q: You did say that you would leave it to India, you would defer to India's wishes on the matter. Yet, a day after Yasin Malik's interview, you issued an invitation to the Hurriyat for tea at the Pakistan high commission in Delhi. Many believe it's a 'storm in a teacup'. Nevertheless, did you change your mind?

A: I don't know whether the Indian government has allowed them to come to tea. I would certainly prefer having them there but I am certainly not going to make an issue of it. Because there's a greater issue involved.

Q: India and Pakistan are nuclear capable nations today. And Pakistan has said time and again, that differences over Kashmir could spark off a nuclear conflict, that it's a nuclear flashpoint. There is a view that if the Agra summit does not resolve the dispute, there is a growing likelihood of nuclear war, that Pakistan would not hesitate about using the nuclear option.

A: Certainly, the leadership of the two countries should show the nuclear path is not the way to go down. And I would not like it said that if there is a failure now in Agra, we are closing to a nuclear holocaust, nothing of the sort. I only hope there is progress, but if there is failure, it will be very sad for the people of Pakistan, the peo-

ple of India, in fact it will be very sad. But not closer to a nuclear exchange, I hope not.

Q: Will there be a nuclear restraint regime?

A: Yes, there is one in place. Certainly, we have erected this regime and we would go along with a nuclear restraint regime or any steps.

Q: How would you describe your feelings as the summit approaches. Two days to go, are you worried, are you confident? What is it that is going through your mind?

A: I never worry. That is out. I am at peace with myself. As they say, one doesn't clap with one hand, so on my side I am going with an extremely open mind so that progress is made and improvement of relations between India and Pakistan does take place. But similar keenness and desire has to be visible, and has to come up, and I am not worried but I am anxious.

And I am intrigued I would say, upon now whether the Indian leadership is going to accept the centrality of the Kashmir issue to be resolved. Because they have never done this before. So it is really intriguing. Because when they invited me, my stand has been very unambiguous, I think.

FIRST PERSON



Gen. Pervez Musharraf

I have never been a diplomat. Really, diplomacy is to put across your view in a diplomatic manner and not to hide the truth, not to speak the truth, I believe in a frank expression of views, and I try to do that as best as possible.

I haven't changed my mind at all. Right from the beginning, I have said, and I am of this view even now, that there are three parties to the Kashmir dispute, the Indians, the Pakistanis and the Kashmiris, and we believe the Kashmiris' representative is the APHC.

Now, Prime Minister Vajpayee has invited me, but I have always been saying, that although as a starter, we accept the non-presence of the Kashmir representatives, but anytime in the future, they have to be included in the process of dialogue, if there is to be progress.

Now, where the invitation for the APHC is concerned, we sent out the invitation because we feel the Kashmiris, the APHC ought to be taken along. However it is upto the Indian government, now whatever their decision on the subject.

Q: That doesn't really answer it. Because if you say, it's up to the Indian government, they don't want the Hurriyat to come to tea.



SYMBOLIC GESTURE: A Pakistani releases pigeons in Karachi on Friday to show his support for the Indo-Pak summit. (Reuters)

ing too much maybe. If there is withdrawal, that would be excellent. But one has to first of all...
Q: Strike a rapport?

A: Yes, strike a rapport and build mutual understanding that strives for peace and the resolution of Kashmir. Everything will fall in line. Nothing fell in line in the past, because we were ignoring the basic fact. All the rest troop reduction or tension reduction, will follow through this one agreement, or acceptance or concurrence of views.

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And I am intrigued I would say, upon now whether the Indian leadership is going to accept the centrality of the Kashmir issue to be resolved. Because they have never done this before. So it is really intriguing. Because when they invited me, my stand has been very unambiguous, I think.

Always without fail, I have been saying that the Kashmir issue has to be resolved between India and Pakistan. Now that they've invited me I have never created any doubt in their mind about where I stand.

Q: The Indian government has made it clear that they have put Kargil behind them and that they are prepared to move forward. But they do have residual doubts about the jihadi elements. The fideyans from the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba are more worrying than the militants from the Hizbul Mujahideen. You had said that you would examine whether you would encourage the suspension of the jihad if the right atmosphere is created. Has that time come?

I would also like to say that when you say India has put Kargil behind them, Pakistan has put Siachen behind it. Because on Siachen, the Indians came in and altered the Line of Control, altered the status quo there which goes very much against and runs counter to the Shimla Agreement. It is written very unambiguously, that no party will alter the LOC, and that was done in Siachen first of all.

Have never been a diplomat. Really, diplomacy is to put across your view in a diplomatic manner and not to hide the truth, not to speak the truth: I believe in a frank expression of views, and I try to do that as best as possible.

Q: Are you saying that Nawaz Sharif by accepting the July 4 agreement with Clinton on respecting the LoC dug his own grave?

A: No, that didn't have any such...
Q: The agreement was that Pakistan would respect the LoC and withdraw its forces.

A: No, respecting the LoC is a different matter, accepting it as a permanent solution is another matter. That doesn't mean he accepted or we accepted that the Kashmir dispute is over and the LoC is permanent. I don't think he accepted that at all, that was not part of the agreement.

Q: LoC, autonomous region, trifurcation...

A: Now you are coming to the final solution... it's rather premature to discuss a solution. I always say that to discuss solutions that maybe in itself so contentious, we may not start talking at all. So why talk of solutions, let's go step by step.

Q: That means then, that Pakistan is looking really for a step by step solution? Talks at regular intervals where Kashmir is discussed.

A: Well, I am for, if at all Prime Minister Vajpayee wants to discuss Kashmir and solve it, with all boldness I can sit there and in two days let's solve it, okay, or we can go 24 hours and solve it.

Certainly, it entirely depends on the process of the dialogue. On this issue a lot of hope has been created internationally. I only hope and pray and desire that this summit turns out to be successful and we move forward towards establishing a better relationship, between Pakistan and India.

Q: Why this utter silence then when India is raising Confidence Building Measures in what they say is a bid to create a better atmosphere?

A: Yes, again, let us not deflect from the main issue, let us not dilute it, or digress from the main issue. How can we have CBMs

the two countries. Let's remove the suspicion first and then go for confidence building measures.

Q: How can you have suspicion and then go for CBMs?

A: This is absolutely ridiculous. Other than these gleaming of fishermen or that cyclist — that gentleman Vikas — anytime I would like to do that, I am an extremely humane person I would say, but on issues like the Director General of Military Operations wanting to meet our DGMO, what does he want to come here and talk. I am going to tell my DGMO just keep quiet. And keep listening.

Myself and Mr Vajpayee have to talk first and then let the DGMOs talk. Anyway, the DGMOs talk every Wednesday on the telephone. What is the point in talking, now before myself and Mr Vajpayee have spoken. It's premature. Anyway, the biggest CBM is the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. What other CBM is better than this. Opening of entry points, opening of trade-routes, all this can follow.

Q: So there will be an Agra Agreement?

A: I have read every single agreement and treaty between India and Pakistan. I have studied it carefully and nowhere does it mention that Kashmir is the issue. Why is that. You see, we must also understand each other's compulsions. I would like to work to remove, to lessen the compulsions on the Indian leadership and they should work towards understanding and removing our compulsions.

No third-party involvement in dialogue, says PM

Vajpayee says no compromise on basic tenets of nationhood

New Delhi, July 13: Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on Friday said he was looking forward to his coming summit meeting with Pakistan President General Pervez Musharraf with a sense of optimism.

In an exclusive interview to UNI on the eve of Gen. Musharraf's arrival here on a three-day state visit, Mr Vajpayee said it had always been India's endeavour to build good neighbourly relations with Pakistan. "We hope that President Musharraf's visit will contribute to that process," he said.

Asked what were his expectations from the summit between the two countries, he said, "Hum ashawan hain (We are optimistic)."

Mr Vajpayee said he sincerely hoped that Gen. Musharraf would "signal for Pakistan a shift in emphasis from conflict towards a relationship based on dialogue, cooperation and reconciliation."

Regarding the controversial invitation by Gen. Musharraf to Hurriyat leaders for a tea party, he said it would have been better if the invitation had not been extended. "Unki apni majboori hogi. (He must have his own compulsions)," he added. Mr Vajpayee said the

fundamental tenets of nationhood, which define the status of Jammu and Kashmir," Mr Vajpayee asserted.

In a reference to Pakistan's renewed offer of a no-war pact on the ground that it would be a step further to the Indian offer of no-first-use of nuclear weapons, Mr Vajpayee said, "There is no relationship between the commonly understood meaning of a no-war pact and the concept of no-first-use of nuclear weapons. Also, how do cross-border terrorism and proxy wars fit into the concept of a no-war pact?" About the suggestion that both sides withdraw troops from Siachen, Mr Vajpayee said Siachen was an identified subject for discussion in the India-Pakistan composite dialogue. He said he was happy that a relative quiet prevailed in that sector. "We need, in the first place, to strengthen and further stabilise this," he said.

Asked if the summit would consider evolving a mechanism to ensure that his Agra initiative was not derailed by the Lahore one was derailed by the Kargil intrusion, Mr Vajpayee said, "While we always remain cautious and vigilant, I hope Pakistan will join us this time." (UNI)

No third-party involvement in dialogue, says PM

BY M.K. RAZDAN

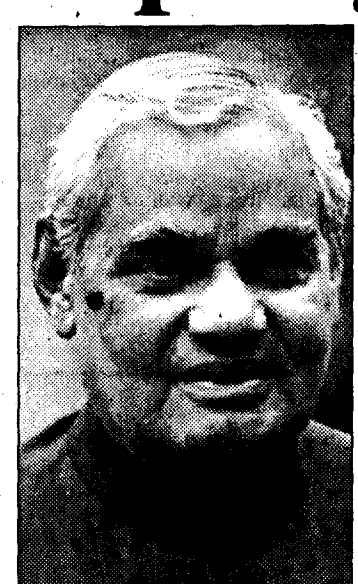
New Delhi, July 13: On the eve of their summit meeting, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on Friday offered to "frankly discuss" with Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf differences on Jammu and Kashmir and other issues, and measures for peace along the Line of Control and the actual ground position line in Siachen.

Voicing the hope that Gen. Musharraf would bring to the Agra summit a desire to bury the conflicts of the past and to build a new relationship of trust, Mr Vajpayee said India had never shied away from addressing any issue, including Jammu and Kashmir, with Pakistan peacefully through bilateral approaches.

Asserting that India's position on what was the core principles of our nationhood," the Prime Minister said in an exclusive interview with PTI that there was no question of any third party involvement in an Indo-Pak dialogue.

A confident and relaxed Mr Vajpayee said that he was prepared to discuss their differences on Jammu and Kashmir, including the sharply divergent views on what bedevils the relations and of Pakistan's responsibility in the situation in the state.

Asked about his feelings towards Gen. Musharraf, who was widely perceived as the man responsible for the Kargil war, Mr Vajpayee said, "No one can forget the brav-



Atal Behari Vajpayee

ery and sacrifices of our armed forces, who successfully vacated Pakistan's armed aggression and intrusion in Kargil.

"But we have to move ahead to the future," he said adding that it was his hope that President Musharraf would bring to the summit a desire to build a new relationship of trust.

About Pakistan's description of India's unilateral confidence building measures as "peripheral," the Prime Minister said that no issue which contributed to the establishment of peace and friendship between the two countries

could be considered peripheral. On Pakistan's insistence that the Hurriyat Conference should be involved in the Indo-Pak dialogue Mr Vajpayee said there was no question of any third party involvement in it.

When asked how hopeful he was in narrowing down the sharp differences between the two countries at Agra, Mr Vajpayee said that it was his hope and desire that his meeting with Gen. Musharraf would contribute to the building of trust and confidence.

Reacting to the Pakistan President's statement that both the countries should go beyond their publicly declared stands on Kashmir and show flexibility, the Prime Minister said, "India's position on Jammu and Kashmir doesn't require any reiteration, and stems from the core principles of our nationhood."

Was there a possibility of Agra summit producing agreements on Siachen and measures to maintain peace along the Line of Control, Mr Vajpayee was asked. "India," he replied, "will do all it can to work towards peace and stability along the LoC and the actual ground position line in Siachen. This would certainly be among the subjects I will discuss with President Musharraf."

He concluded the interview with the hope that his meeting with Gen. Musharraf would contribute to the process of building a relationship of peace, friendship and co-operation with Pakistan. (PTI)

There is no relationship between the commonly understood meaning of a no-war pact and the concept of no-first-use of nuclear weapons. Also, how do cross-border terrorism and proxy wars fit into the concept of a no-war pact?

Naturally we will address all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, as well.

H.D.11
19/7

Cong. disapproves of Musharraf remarks

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 13. The Congress today registered its disapproval of the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's remarks debunking the agreements reached between the two countries at Shimla and Lahore, and his description of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference as the sole representative of the people of Kashmir. Reacting to the remarks made in an interview, the Congress spokesperson, Mr. Anand Sharma, said his party "disapproved of the General's contention that the two accords were not relevant anymore". The Congress always maintained that the Hurriyat had no representative character.

Mr. Sharma said the remarks indicated that the Pakistani President "wants to foreclose the talks even before the summit has begun". The Congress viewed the Shimla accord as forming the very basis of the bilateral dialogue. "Accords are not signed to be disowned; they are meant to be honoured by subsequent regimes. Change of governments do not mean that the accords are dead."

Musharraf-Hurriyat talks not proper: Bardhan

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 13. The Left parties today reiterated their decision to attend the "high tea" being hosted by the Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, in honour of the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, here tomorrow.

Apart from the Congress, which would have a 'token representation', the former Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, is also expected to make an appearance. Another former Prime Minister, Mr. H.D. Deve Gowda, would not be able to attend as he is leaving on a two-week tour of the U.S. on Saturday.

The decision to invite the Hurriyat to tea led the ruling National Democratic Alliance to announce that its constituents would stay away from the party and keeping in line with the decision, two BJP MPs, Mr. Vijay Goel, and Mr. Kirti Azad, decided to keep away.

On the other hand, the CPI and the CPI(M) had made it known earlier this week that its leaders would attend. The CPI general secretary, Mr. A.B. Bardhan, how-

ever, said it did not approve Gen. Musharraf's move to hold private talks with the Hurriyat. "This is not a proper thing to do, yet in view of the larger dimension of the summit talks between the two leaders, we should not allow ourselves to be diverted."

He told *The Hindu* that even during the meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, here on Tuesday, the Left leaders had stressed the importance of not allowing any issue from preventing the summit from becoming a success.

Mr. Bardhan, has decided to postpone attending the party's national executive meeting starting in Bangalore tomorrow in order to attend the tea and banquet being hosted by the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, in honour of Gen. Musharraf.

The politburo member, Mr. Sitaram Yechury, would attend the tea along with the party general secretary, Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet. The Hurriyat is not an issue for the Left parties. Mr. Yechury said.

THE HINDU

Musharraf talks tough, Vajpayee ignores cross-border rhetoric before Agra meet

Two leaders strike discordant notes

NILOVA ROY CHAUDHURY
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 13. — The discordant chords that emerged on the immediate eve of what is being billed as the summit of hope appeared to hold out anything but hope, suggesting instead, a dialogue of the deaf.

Increasingly, General Pervez Musharraf appears to be anything but flexible in choosing not to hear the conciliatory tones from the host, intended as they are to take the dialogue forward.

And the host, the Indian Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, chooses to ignore the cross-border rhetoric that led to a crescendo today when General Musharraf all but debunked the Shimla accord and the Lahore Declaration, that India terms the "cornerstone of bilateral relations" between the two neighbours.

Mr Vajpayee today met President KR Narayanan to brief him of the government's stand on the issues to come up at the summit.

In a string of interviews published today, both leaders have essentially reiterated positions stated for decades by both countries, suggesting little possibility of any movement forward. Even the cautious optimism expressed when Mr Vajpayee sent the formal invitation to General Musharraf, inviting him to "walk this high road" of "building trust and confidence" appears to have dissipated, leaving many wondering why?

Probably for the first time since he invited General Musharraf to India, even the Prime Minister today cautioned against expecting any "dramatic results" from his meeting. On Pakistan's insistence that the Hurriyat should be involved in the dialogue, Mr Vajpayee said there was no question of any third party involvement in it.

"But," Mr Vajpayee told reporters, "we have to move ahead to the future." "I hope General Musharraf will bring to the summit meeting a desire to bury the conflicts of the past

SUMMIT-EVE PERCEPTIONS OF BONE OF CONTENTION

● **Musharraf rejects Shimla agreement and Lahore Declaration because, he says, they didn't address the Kashmir issue**

● **Rules out accepting LoC as permanent border**

● **Willing to extend stay by 48 hours if India is "serious" about Kashmir**

● **Vajpayee offers 'frank' talks on Kashmir, LoC and Siachen. Calls for atmosphere devoid of unnecessary rhetoric**

● **Cautions against dramatic results. 'One hand cannot clap'**

● **No scope for third party (Hurriyat) involvement in summit**

and to build a new relationship of trust."

Any fruitful relationship with Pakistan, the Prime Minister told a news service, IANS, would involve "patience, effort and a non-combative atmosphere, devoid of unnecessary rhetoric," which General Musharraf has chosen to ignore. He

■ **Editorials: Atal and Pervez Top brass meet, page 6**
On page 8

■ **Forces not hopeful of summit outcome**
■ **Agra spruce up: Bill falls behind Musharraf**
■ **Former envoy likely to be negotiator**

appears to have settled on a one-point agenda - Kashmir - to the exclusion of all else. And while the Indian leadership is willing to talk Kashmir, it wants it in the context of a "composite dialogue."

Mr Vajpayee said the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration were the cornerstones of India-Pakistan relations, which committed both countries to address all issues,

including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, peacefully, through bilateral discussions.

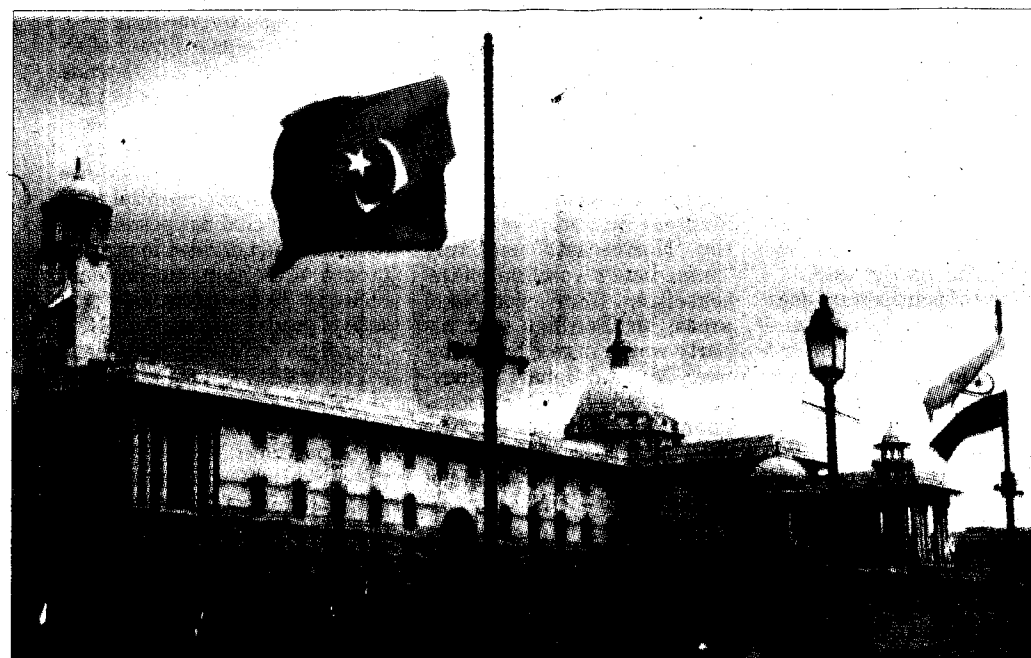
General Musharraf, in an interview to a Dubai-based daily today said: "Anyone, any leadership in Pakistan that makes any agreements, any deals where Kashmir is sidelined, I can say with full certainty, that declaration, or that treaty, will never go forward because the people won't let it go forward. And that is why the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration did not move forward."

In his most forthright critique of both the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration, General Musharraf said they failed to make any progress because they avoided the "core" issue of Kashmir between the two countries.

Mr Vajpayee said: "Naturally we will address all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, as well." He also made it clear that the question of support for terrorism "in the name of jihad" would be taken up with Pakistan.

It was another matter, however, that India's security forces were taking such action as required to defeat terrorism from

■ See SUMMIT: page 8



THE TWIN SHALL MEET: A Pakistani flag flies alongside the Tricolour at North Block, New Delhi, on Friday as the capital readies for General Musharraf's visit. — AP/PTI

Advani-Musharraf talks may set summit agenda

SANJAY SINGH & SUDESH K VERMA
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 13. — The Union home minister, Mr L K Advani's one-on-one meeting with General Pervez Musharraf at Rashtrapati Bhavan tomorrow could set the agenda for the summit at Agra.

Though the 20-minute meeting is considered a short one to raise a host of issues like cross border terrorism, proxy war and Pakistan giving shelter to the likes of Dawood Ibrahim and hijackers, it's believed that Gen Musharraf's response would be vital from New Delhi's point of view and it would accordingly get prepared for the summit.

Officials said given Pakistan's insistence that Kashmir should be the core issue for the summit and no composite dialogue, as desired by India, should take place at that moment as Mr Advani being the home minister is best suited to talk about Kashmir and other related issues. Kashmir after all is India's internal problem and the home minister is best equipped to tackle it.

Gen Musharraf's response to the foreign minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, who will also be meeting the Pakistani President tomorrow, indicates Islamabad's continued stiffness, then Indian

negotiation wouldn't be averse to discuss that. The scope of discussion on Kashmir would be broadened.

Officials said the Kashmir issue included not only the Indian part of it but also Pakistan occupied Kashmir, the portion of Kashmir acceded to China by Pakistan and the northern part of Jammu in Pakistan's occupation. Kashmir also means Pakistan sponsored terrorist activities and the proxy war.

Meanwhile, senior BJP leaders are enthusiastic about Mr Advani meeting the Pakistani President and are confident that he will do some plain talking with Gen Musharraf about the ground situation in Kashmir and prepare the ground for the summit in Agra.

Senior BJP leader, Mr JP Mathur, said the home minister would certainly place the facts before the General on cross border terrorism and ISI activities in Kashmir. The party wouldn't accept the Pakistani President's plea that the Mujahideens were independent and Pakistan couldn't control them, he added.

The BJP leaders calculate that Gen Musharraf could be easily put in the dock as they believe the Indian government has enough evidence to implicate Pakistan about its designs on Kashmir.

Left-out George leaves for Mongolia

CL MANDJ
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 13. — Where is Mr George Fernandes, former defence minister and Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's confidant-in-chief, when Delhi and Agra are buzzing with summitry? Mongolia!

A day after the NDA took a position different from Mr Fernandes on the "Hurriyat tea party", Mr Fernandes last night quietly left for Mongolia on a private visit. He will return only after the summit gets over.

Though Samata Party circles insist their leader is on a scheduled trip on the invitation of the Mongolian government, now being headed by one of Mr Fernandes' old Socialist friends, no one in Delhi has lost the message in the timing of the trip.

If Mr Fernandes' view (now clarified as his "personal opinion") on the invitation to the Hurriyat showed the growing "communication gap" between the government and the NDA convener, his pre-departure remarks — India should not agree to any troop-withdrawal from Siachen; summit-eve expectations are "media hype" — are being seen as signals from an angry rebel sans a job.

Perhaps, Mr Fernandes' only consolation is that he is not the only NDA bigwig to be staying away from Delhi during the summit.

Mr Shanta Kumar, Mr Nitish Kumar, Mr C P Thakur, Mr Venkaiah Naidu, Mr Arun Shourie and Mr O Rajagopal are going to be away as well — destinations vary from Thiruvananthapuram to New York to Netherlands.

SUMMIT:

(Continued from page 1)

across the border. "We have the capability, resolve and stamina to maintain this action," he said.

But, "as part of efforts to restore peace and normalcy in the trouble-torn state, the (Indian) government had initiated a dialogue with all those groups who abjure violence and individuals who are interested in peace. We remain committed to this dialogue process," Mr Vajpayee told news agencies.

As a gesture of goodwill, India has offered a series of confidence-building measures, including an offer to open a checkpoint to allow entry along the line of control (LoC) that functions as a de facto border between the two countries in Jammu and Kashmir.

But in the interview today, General Musharraf said: "Now, who in Pakistan will accept this LoC?" In the clearest indication of the tremendous internal pressure he is under, he said, "nobody in Pakistan can accept this (LoC) and expect to stay in power... I think it will be very unrealistic for any Indian leader to expect any leader of Pakistan to go and accept the permanence of the LoC."

While ruling out accepting the LoC as permanent border, General Musharraf said he is willing to extend his trip to India by another 48 hours if New Delhi is serious about finding a solution to the Kashmir issue.

"LoC is the problem. What is the freedom struggle going on about. It is about the LoC. It is the problem not the solution. How can the problem be the solution," General Musharraf said in an interview to Gulf News published today.

Calling it the main cause of the "independence struggle," the General said: "Respecting the LoC is a different matter, accepting it as a permanent solution is another matter." "That (the July 4, 1999 Washington agreement which resulted in Pakistani troops finally vacating the intrusions along the LoC during the Kargil conflict) does not mean he (former premier Nawaz Sharif) accepted or we accepted that the Kashmir dispute is over and the LoC is permanent," General Musharraf said.

The Indian foreign office dismissed the General's statement, saying "we don't agree with it. The LoC does not extend beyond NJ 9842" implying that infiltration continues apace beyond that point

Musharraf wiser after 12 years

EXCLUSIVE

BENAZIR BHUTTO

As General Musharraf and his delegation prepare to leave for New Delhi airport, my thoughts go back to another airport and another tarmac.

I recall Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Islamabad on a chill December day as the sun shone warmly. The hope for peace and freedom filled the air as we inspected the smart guard presented by the Pakistan Army.

The military and its political supporters sabotaged that spring Indo-Pak relations. The PPP (Pakistan People's Party) was wrongly accused of treason. It is with a sense of personal moral vindication that I watch the army chief, 12 years later, realise the wisdom of my politics and seek to follow in my footsteps in defusing tensions with our larger neighbour.

I do feel a sense of national loss. Twelve years, and many thousands of deaths later, Islamabad begged for a meeting "any time and any place" when a dignified opportunity was available earlier.

The Musharraf visit is controversial for three reasons: legitimacy, military history and Kashmir history.

As an unelected and unrepresentative leader, Musharraf lacks legitimacy. The very army he leads can turn around tomorrow and make this argument when he joins the ranks of former chiefs. Moreover, he lacks the moral and political authority to co-opt the people.

Pakistan's military history

● Benazir Bhutto is former Prime Minister of Pakistan

bodes ill for his visit too. Each military dictator was anxious to offer a no-war pact to India which India rejected.

Both countries know that Islamabad can afford an insurgency and needs to avoid war. True to military history, Musharraf made the same offer.

Then there is recent Kashmir history. Musharraf was the architect of the Kargil crisis where thousands of Pakistani soldiers and Kashmiri militants lost their lives. Musharraf, like Lady Macbeth, finds it difficult to wash the stains of their blood from his hands. When he flies into Agra with his delegation, the ghosts of 3,000 Pakistani soldiers, buried secretly, fly with him. He will see their faces as they starved to death on the icy peaks of Kargil when supply lines stopped.

There are the faces of the living, those forced to retreat when America ordered the unilateral withdrawal from Kargil. Can Musharraf offer them something to compensate their earlier humiliation? For what the martyrdom, for what the operation, for what the refusal to salute if the conclusion was an embrace on a summer day in Delhi?

A new, elected government is free of the constraints of the burden of Kargil. And Kargil was a heavy burden. That is why, it is argued, peace was better left to an elected and representative government. That is why, it was argued, far better for Musharraf to focus on the democratisation process.

But it seems "making up with Vajpayee" was a better option than "making up with the Opposition".

Much of the debate on the Musharraf visit focuses on the intentions of the man as he makes his way half through his term to Agra. His accommodation overlooks the famous Taj Mahal, the monument of love built by a Muslim emperor for his Queen. Obviously, New Delhi hopes the vision can inspire a fresh romance between the two countries.

But are such hopes well founded?

Certainly there is a thinking in



WILL THE SUN SHINE AGAIN? Pakistani and Indian border security forces lower the flags at the Wagah border post. (Reuters)

New Delhi that more is squeezed from a dictator than a democrat. Pakistanis may believe that democrats pioneered the lasting peace moves between the two countries but Delhi hears other arguments. They remember Zia who defended the loss of Siachen posts as "worthless ice where flowers cannot grow".

There is little that Premier Vajpayee can lose in sounding out a Musharraf who pleaded from every platform for "a meeting, any time and any place".

There is much that Premier Vajpayee can gain. Entertaining Musharraf to tea and pastries,

showing him his old home, the shops and the shrines, pausing to mention Kashmir and moving on morally vindicates Vajpayee. His policies bring the Kargil architect to his door on his terms.

What of Musharraf? Three explanations come to mind for the Musharraf visit. First, that Musharraf was reborn the day he seized power from Premier Nawaz. The commando, who refused to salute the hated Indian enemy and masterminded Kargil to highlight Indian impotence, died the day the coup took place. Instead, like a butterfly emerging from the chrysalis, a soldier for

peace was born who yearned to replace the medals on his chest with a Nobel prize.

The difficulty in explaining this "rebirth" is that Musharraf's views are as good as those of the military Establishment. We are yet to see signs of change in a military Establishment smarting from its Kargil retreat after winning the peaks and facing Indian pounding.

The second explanation is that the Musharraf visit is a tactical move on the lines of the Kargil deception. Catching the enemy unaware is the name of the game.

The third explanation is that

the hourglass is ticking away for Musharraf. To win international approval for his continuation in power Musharraf needs to show he is a man the Indians can do business with.

The fourth explanation lies on Pakistan's Northern Front. Embroiled with the Taliban, under pressure from UN sanctions, Islamabad desperately needs to release the international pressure from the Afghan front. What better way to mitigate the bad-cop image than tactically playing good cop in New Delhi?

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Let us not bury the future in our past

FROM PAGE 1

It will be recalled that Sheikh Abdullah had fallen foul of India in 1953 on the question of greater autonomy for Kashmir. Indira Gandhi was keen to bridge the differences which had arisen. She initiated parallel but separate negotiations with him to accommodate Kashmiri sentiment for greater autonomy. Bhutto was well aware of this. It was expected that a successful outcome of talks between Indira Gandhi and the Sheikh would help people in India and Pakistan to accept the understanding.

The accord with the Sheikh was reached in 1975. The essence of the accord was acceptance of the fact that the state had acceded to India and a reassurance that its special status, as enshrined in Article 370 of the Constitution, would be further safeguarded. This stand of his was overwhelmingly endorsed by the people of the state in the most free and fair elections ever held in Kashmir. The Sheikh's electoral victory was expected to convert the Simla understanding into the Kashmiri solution to be finalised between India and Pakistan.

But this was not to be. The Simla agreement got gradually eroded. Within months of its signing, a major event with important economic and political implications took place. This was the sudden enrichment of Saudi Arabia and OIL and Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as a result of the Opec success in raising the price of oil four-fold in one blow. This resulted in an economic boom in these countries and made vast amounts of money available for Islamic causes as interpreted by the fundamentalists.

The investment boom in West Asia opened opportunities for trade and employment which made Pakistan look away from economic co-operation with India. More ominously, Kashmir got added to the list of 'Islamic causes' for which petrodollars became available in plenty. The growth of Islamic fundamentalism, fuelled by petrodollars, started giving a religious edge to Kashmiri nationalism. A popular name for the ethno-cultural nationalism of Kashmiri Muslims, *Kashmiriyat*, was anathema to fundamentalists who decided in 1973 to create a new generation of "more devout and true" Muslims within 15 years.

Things went according to plan, partly assisted by the Government of India's high-handed dismissal of Farooq Abdullah and his replacement by Ghulam Mohammad Shah, who was dependent on the Jamaatis for political support. Insurgency started on target in 1989, within days the entire community of Kashmir. Pandits was cleansed out through carefully contrived means of mass intimidation and selective murder. Their cleansing was followed by the elimination of secular JUI-F (Jamnu and Kashmiri Liberation Front) activists who were betrayed to the Indian security forces by the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen. They hoped that the *coup de grace* will be delivered by the better trained and better armed and more fanatically motivated non-Kashmiri *mujahids* under the control of the Pakistan government's agencies.

The more serious onslaught of fundamentalism after the emergence of Afghanistan under the Taliban and the gradual Talibanisation of Pakistan is resulting in large-scale export of terrorists to Kashmir. General Musharraf has chosen to describe this terror in the highly emotive term of *jihad*. India cannot accept this visceral hostility which continues to be based on Pakistan's propagation of the two-nation theory. As a democratic and multi-religious secular state, India cannot accept these circumstances.

The Kashmir problem will be solved if the Kashmiri Muslims are allowed by fundamentalists to assert their *Kashmiriyat* and if Delhi succeeds in persuading them that their legitimate aspirations of autonomy are safeguarded in law as well as in political and administrative practice. The Indian state has also to reassess its faith in secularism more convincingly.

In such a changed political and ideological environment, leaders in the two countries may triumph and the Kashmir issue may cease to be a matter of such fearful contention between them. At this moment, this seems to be a utopian dream but history offers instances where such dreams have come true. To cite an instance, the Alsace-Lorraine region was a bone of contention between Germany and France and their rivalry over it lasted 75 years. After the second world war, the region was returned to France without causing any heart-burning in Germany.

This miracle could happen only because soon after the end of the war in 1945, France and Germany decided to bury their past animosity and co-operate to build the larger and more prosperous European Economic Community.

Alsace-Lorraine was easily dovetailed into the new economic community without either of the former contending parties being overly bothered about its exact constitutional status or local political hue. The chances of a similar prospect in the Indian subcontinent seem very bleak at least in the immediate future. Given the present intensity of its rivalry with India, Pakistan considers Indian proposals for economic co-operation a camouflage for its hegemonic ambitions and is determinedly following a beg-

garthy *Kashmir* policy towards India, regardless of the fact that the policy is hurting it even more. Not merely that, its strategy of thousand cuts is aimed at bleeding India to death. After Kargil, Pakistan has embarked on a policy of unprecedented terrorism in Kashmir, which it sanctifies as *jihad*.

General Asad Durrani, a former director-general of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence, addressing a seminar in Islamabad which was attended by several foreign diplomats, said openly: "It is our aim to wake India from within and we can do it." A modern-minded and respected columnist like Avaz Amir wrote in the prestigious daily *the Dawn*: "If Kashmir was solved tomorrow, would Pakistan and India rush into each other's embrace and forget the atavistic memories of the past? Kashmir is not the core issue between us. Size and geography are and will remain so 500 years from now." On this assessment, conflict with India will continue till Pakistan gets rid of its obsessions.

Jinnah, who used the two-nation theory in his struggle for Pakistan, realised its limitation as a basis for the new state. In his inaugural address to the Constituent Assembly on August 11, 1947 he outlined the concept of a modern state in a Muslim society. He was to lay the constitutional foundation for a secular, democratic Pakistan. Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to implement his proposal, and his successors lacked his stature and his far-sighted vision to do so. Will the real rulers of Pakistan ever make a similar turnaround and take their country closer to the vision of its founder or will Avaz Amir's fear continue to bedevil Indo-Pak relations indefinitely? The peace and progress of the subcontinent will depend on their choice.

Jaswant Reads Out The Riot Act: Terrorism Is India's Core Issue

India talks tough on summit agenda

Indrani Bagchi

NEW DELHI 12 JULY

INDIA ON Thursday laid out its cards for the weekend's summit, sending a definitive message to Pakistan that the summit cannot be on Islamabad's terms, and for this it is willing to face failure at Agra. In equally unambiguous tones, India also communicated that the onus for salvaging success from the summit will rest with Pakistan.

Addressing a press conference just 48 hours before General Musharraf arrives with his "Kashmir only" song, foreign minister Jaswant Singh took the opportunity to define India's own Kashmir agenda. This, he said, will be cross-border terrorism, Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, PoWs, and "the condition of minorities (in Pakistan)." The composite dialogue will be the mechanism for future discussions and India does not accept the "core" issue argument.

Disabusing any illusions Pakistan might entertain of pushing self-determination or referendum, Mr Singh categorically ruled out any such eventuality. "The question of referendum simply does not arise," he said, adding, "terrorism is our 'core' concern and we will reiterate it at the summit." India will not entertain Pakistan's version of a "no-war pact," which does not incorporate the proxy war in Kashmir.

Coming on the eve of the summit, India's unambiguous articulation of its core national interests is aimed at conveying to Pakistan that these are not on offer at the altar of "flexibility" or "openness," and Pakistan should have no illusions about forcing India's hand on the issue.

The government's tough stance was evident with Mr Singh describing Gen Musharraf's insistence on meeting the Hurriyat as "disappointing," India's strongest objection yet.

"The invitation to Gen Musharraf was to meet the Prime Minister. But we have been disappointed by their insistence on extraneous issues," said Mr Singh,

leaving no room for doubt that Pakistan ran the risk of sabotaging the summit by its insistence.

Jaswant Singh's statements are aimed at telling Pakistan that India is not coming to the table from a position of weakness, and Pakistan cannot use this premise to dictate the agenda. This is important because of the opinions doing the rounds in Pakistan that it was a battle-fatigued India that had invited Gen Musharraf. In what is clearly a battle of nerves, Mr Singh re-emphasised that Kashmir is "not a core issue," it is "at the core of Indian nationhood." India "has never fought shy of discussing Kashmir with Pakistan," but he clarified that the most pressing issue in Kashmir is not "self-determination" but

"cross-border terrorism," debunking Pakistan's notion that it is an "indigenous uprising."

India will certainly discuss Kashmir, but stated that as laid down in the Constitution, India's claim extended to POK, Northern Areas, and Aksai Chin. "The Valley alone is not Kashmir. What does

Pakistan mean by Kashmir? Are you talking also about Ladakh and the Jammu areas. There are also the Northern Areas which have been illegally and wrongly ceded by Pakistan. How can I negotiate the Constitution? he asked.

The only "flexibility" India is willing to show are the implications inherent in its offer to set up a visa post on the LoC in J&K.

Stressing that India does not "believe in denominational nationalism, but civic nationalism," Mr Singh was very clear in saying that the UN resolutions in J&K are "not enforceable."

Recalling the terms of the resolution, Mr Singh said Pakistan will have to declare ceasefire, clear out of both POK and Northern Areas, retrieve the "illegally ceded" territory from China (since all these areas form part of J&K as defined in the Constitution and the Instrument of Accession), only then will India have the responsibility to conduct a referendum under Indian administration.



Students from Pakistan hold the Indian flag as they meet Indian students in a school in Lucknow on Thursday. — AP

Cong to attend Pak tea party on Monday

Our Political Bureau

NEW DELHI 12 JULY



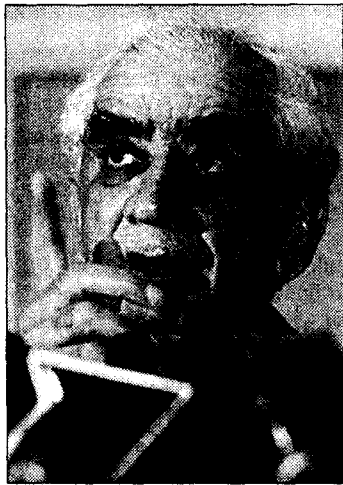
Sonia: Breaking Ranks

Wednesday.

The decision was announced after a 50-minute meeting with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee this evening. The five-member Congress delegation was led by party president Sonia Gandhi.

While announcing this, the Congress declared its oft-repeated position that while it was against tripartite talks, it was all for a bilateral dialogue on all contentious issues, including Kashmir.

Political circles wonder why the party didn't revise its decision to sip tea with Hurriyat leaders even after the issue has split the ranks of the secessionist outfit. Last evening, two prominent leaders of the JKLF, Javed Mir and Yasin Malik, had lambasted their colleagues in the Hurriyat for their eagerness to rub shoulders with General Musharraf. The two JKLF leaders have argued that the Hurriyat's zeal to meet the Pakistan President was inconsistent with their earlier refusal.



Jaswant: On course

CBMs alone won't do, says Musharraf

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 12. The Pakistani military ruler and President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has said that without a movement forward on the settlement of the core issue of Kashmir, all the confidence building measures (CBMs) will not help improve relations between India and Pakistan.

"Kashmir is the core issue. If we will not move forward for its settlement, all CBMs and other related issues will not move ahead. This is the main idea," said Gen. Musharraf in an interview with PTV.

Gen. Musharraf has cautioned that it would be 'premature' to expect a solution to the Kashmir problem in his very first meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee. He said the talks could eventually move on towards a solution.

Gen. Musharraf told the state-run television channel that he considered initiating a process of movement towards the resolution as extremely essential. "Because this is not only my hope but also that of the people of Pakistan."

In reply to a question, Gen. Musharraf said he was ready to discuss Kashmir with Mr. Vajpayee in its totality. "We will talk on Kashmir in totality," he said in response to a question on the reported statement by the Prime

Minister that New Delhi would have talks on Kashmir in its totality.

"There should be talks on Kashmir and whatever its mode we will go along them (Indians). Then we will see how the discussion proceeds ahead," he said. Asked on his vision of South Asia, Gen. Musharraf said, "it is the only region in the world, which is not cooperating for its economic development".

Endorsement for talks

Gen. Musharraf has secured an endorsement from Corps Commanders and other senior officials of the Pakistan Army for his summit-level talks with Mr. Vajpayee.

At a meeting today, the 12 Corps Commanders and the Principal Staff Officers were briefed by the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar and the Foreign Secretary, Inam-ul Haq, about the preparations for Gen. Musharraf's visit.

THE HINDU

10 JUL 2001

ENTER THE HURRIYAT

1977 Storm in a teacup? 5/1/77

THE decision whether or not to boycott the tea party at the Pakistan High Commission, which the Hurriyat will be attending, may seem to be a storm in a teacup, but in reality it is part of the diplomatic chessgame India and Pakistan are playing. The Pakistani invitation pointedly excludes other forces in Kashmiri politics, such as the JKLF or Farooq Abdullah's National Conference; a session with the Hurriyat where Indian representatives are also present would *ipso facto* anoint them as the true Kashmiri voice. Abdullah cannot like this, and must be exerting behind-the-scenes pressure on the government to prevent such a happening. Since Musharraf will also be holding a closed-door meeting with the Hurriyat, he can then go home and tell his constituency that he conferred with the Hurriyat in the teeth of Indian opposition. From what has transpired so far, it appears that the Pakistanis had once assured the Indian side that Musharraf would not make an issue of meeting the Hurriyat on Indian soil in deference to Indian sensitivities, but have since gone back upon it. What should be the appropriate response?

It would simply be to play it cool and send along some junior representatives to the tea party, to ensure that it does not detract from the general atmospherics of the summit. Sonia Gandhi has been burned by tea parties before and is not attending this one, the right gesture to make in this case. As for the issues facing the summit, Musharraf is right when he insists Kashmir is the central issue, but wrong when he considers it amenable to solution by frontal assault, double meaning intended. Opinions from both sides show that Indian and Pakistani perceptions of Kashmir are still very far apart; what Pakistani observers refer to as "completing the unfinished business of Partition" (i.e., dividing Jammu & Kashmir into Muslim and non-Muslim territories) would amount, from the Indian perspective, to reopening the wounds of Partition and legitimising the discredited two-nation theory. This is unacceptable. The right approach would be to tackle the peripheral issues first, and institutionalise contact between Indian and Pakistani leaders, businessmen, military personnel and common people. This, then, would make the atmosphere conducive for solution of the central issue, and it is what Vajpayee is rightly insisting on.

THE STATESMAN

Freedom tempts Pakistani girls to stay on in India

HT Correspondent
Lucknow, July 12

LUCKNOW LOOKS like Islamabad to Farheena, who came down with nine other Pakistani schoolgirls as part of a goodwill trip ahead of their President's visit.

"The only difference between the two countries is in the sign boards. In Pakistan, they are in Urdu, here in India it is Hindi, she said.

The 10 girls are here on an invitation by Asha, a local NGO, and the UP chapter of

Indo-Pak Forum for Peace and Friendship. They are optimistic about General Pervez Musharraf's visit.

Some of the girls felt tempted to stay on in India, impressed with the freedom girls seemed to enjoy here.

Interacting with Indian children, they felt kids in both countries were the same. "They are just like us, but a bit more open," Ayesha said.

"We hope that the two countries become friends, just like we have become friends with the people out here," said

Farheena's friend Lyla. "We had expected people to be hostile, but they have been very nice. I believe the *mehmaan nawazi* of Lucknow is still alive," says Hazra, principal of Islamabad's Khalduniya High school, where these girls study.

"We love Indian music and Hindi films out there," one of the girls said. Lyla, one of the youngest of the group, broke into a dance.

"I simply love the way they raise their hips, swing them and dance," she declared. She is an ardent fan of Rani

Mukherji, Kajol and Shahrukh Khan. Sara too is fond of Hindi movies. The last one she saw was *Lone Ke Liye Kuch Bhi Karega*. Her friend Saleha is a cricket-lover and is tense every time there is an India-Pakistan match. "But it is not like a war."

The girls were invited by *Hindustan Times* for breakfast on their first morning in the city. The girls spoke about the status of women in their country. "It's very different from what you see in India. We were shocked to see women driving

scooters and guys sitting behind. In Pakistan, a girl can be a pillion or drive a car, but a scooter is a big no-no," said Alia.

What about women's sexuality? "The society is more conservative out there. You don't see women walking around in public places. Dressing here is also more relaxed than in Pakistan, as people don't ogle at you."

Alia has a boyfriend back home. She says it is a taboo, but girls do see boys, though the whole thing is hush-hush. Sale-

ha agreed, but felt things had started to change.

Mallika said it was only in the upper classes that the position of women had started to change. She wants to be a lawyer and try to change things for women a little.

Would Pakistani boys be ready to come to India? "The girls were really excited, but the boys were very apprehensive. They would think twice," says Hazra. To which

Sahira added: "But if it's a cricket match, they would surely come."



PHOTO
Students from Pakistan arrive in Lucknow.

INDIA

Failed summit will do Musharraf more damage: U.S. think-tank

WASHINGTON: A failed summit will do much more damage to Pakistan President Musharraf than Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, a leading U.S. think-tank has said.

The Henry L. Stimson Center, the only think-tank with an exclusive confidence building measures (CBMs) programme in South Asia, said: "Mr Vajpayee and Mr Musharraf both need to have a successful summit —or at least avoid a negative one."

"A failed summit would raise questions in India about Mr Vajpayee's surprise invitation to Mr Musharraf." But "the failed summit would be more damaging to Mr Musharraf, compounding his poor international standing."

The Stimson brief, circulated in the Congress, administration circles and the media, recalled Mr Vajpayee's last summit journey in 1999 "drew considerable praise. During his stay in Lahore, Mr Vajpayee visited the Minar-e-Pakistan, the monument erected to commemorate the manifesto calling for the creation of Pakistan as a separate homeland for the subcontinent's Muslims."

During that visit, he scrawled the following lines into the distinguished visitors' guest book: "I wish to assure the people of Pakistan of my country's deep desire for lasting peace and friendship. I have said this before, and I will say it again: A stable, secure and prosperous Pakistan is in India's interest. Let no one in Pakistan be in doubt about this. India sincerely wishes the people of Pakistan well."

The brief, however, pointed out that "while Mr Vajpayee was writing these lines, two brigades of the Pakistan army and mujahideen were preparing to scale the heights above Kargil in a daring effort to

seize and hold territory on India's side of the Line of Control dividing Kashmir."

It said Mr Vajpayee "has again clarified his intentions by his surprise invitation for another summit. But what about Mr Musharraf? This is the key question overhanging this summit. Is he now ready to chart a new course for Pakistan's betterment, and if so, can he deliver?"

According to the center, Mr Vajpayee obviously seemed to think so. "Otherwise," it asked, "why would he bypass the usual diplomatic channels and go right to the top?"

The Stimson brief said Mr Musharraf, like Mr Vajpayee, "is quite capable of taking bold risks, as is amply evident from his biography." But, it argued, "dynamic Pakistani generals who take over the responsibilities of governance usually shy away from subsequent risk taking, having no domestic mandate to pursue major course corrections."

"Will Mr Musharraf be any different in this regard?" it asked, and answered, "We shall certainly know at least a little — and perhaps a great deal more —about the answer to this question at Agra."

The Stimson brief said Mr Musharraf "and his fellow senior officers are now well acquainted with the dreadful state of Pakistan's economy, and the grave consequences this has for their country's future, as well as for the modernization of Pakistan's armed forces." It warned "the solutions to these ills cannot be found in continued, deep enmity with India or in association with militant groups."

The Stimson brief advised that cross-border infrastructure projects have the potential to be of mutual economic benefit, while also improving prospects for

regional security.

"The gas pipeline project running from Iran through Pakistan and terminating in India's energy-hungry western states could benefit the economic growth of all parties all long as all act responsibly."

"The large sums needed from the international community to make the pipeline a reality are unlikely to be forthcoming without meaningful guarantees of responsible behaviour."

The brief hoped the Bush administration, unlike the previous Clinton administration —which strongly opposed the pipeline — would support the project. "If economic projects mandate cooperation and improve the health of national economies in regions of nuclear danger, they deserve U.S. support."

It hoped the summit would address the issue of nuclear risk reduction and warned "the early stages of nuclear competition are always the most dangerous. The Agra summit gives both leaders an opportunity to demonstrate their commitment to reduce the dark shadow cast by weapons of mass destruction over the subcontinent." (IANS)

Hurriyat to spend 15 mts with Musharraf

Rashid Ahmad
Srinagar, July 11

THE ALL-PARTY Hurriyat Conference has finally got a 15-minute appointment with President Pervez Musharraf when he arrives in New Delhi for the Agra summit on Saturday.

The much-hyped but controversial meeting would take place at the Tilak Marg residence of the Pakistani High Commissioner, Qazi Ashraf Jahangir, before a formal reception is hosted in honour of President Musharraf.

The Hurriyat leadership, however, is tight-lipped over how much time has been allotted for the meeting. Abdul Majid Bandey, the chief of the Hurriyat's Delhi unit, told *Hindustan Times* over the telephone that he was not aware of the duration of the meeting. "All I know is that

the Hurriyat leadership has been invited to the reception and we have accepted it," he said.

However, sources revealed that Hurriyat leaders have been asked to drop in at the Pak High Commissioner's residence at 4.30 pm, one hour before the official reception begins. General Musharraf is scheduled to reach there at 5 pm.

Sources said that Hurriyat leaders and the Pakistan President would have a "face-to-face" meeting from 5.15 pm to 5.30 pm in the presence of Abdul Sattar, the Pak Foreign Minister. This will be followed by tea at the reception hall along with other guests and invitees.

Sources close to the Hurriyat indicated that four or five members of the seven-member executive council would participate in the meeting and the reception.

NDA to stay away from ^(W) Qazi tea party

Congress may join boycott

Shekhar Iyer
New Delhi, July 11

ALL CONSTITUENTS of the NDA tonight decided to stay away from Pakistan High Commissioner Ashraf Jehangir Qazi's reception in honour of General Pervez Musharraf.

Protesting against Islamabad's invitation to Hurriyat leaders despite New Delhi's reservations, the NDA expressed its disapproval of attempts to confer legitimacy on the Hurriyat, ignoring other J&K representatives — the State Government, MLAs and the MPs.

Simultaneously, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee firmed up his resolve to discuss issues other than Kashmir during the Agra Summit. He informed his allies that the Ministers of Home, Finance and Commerce — LK Advani, Yashwant Sinha and Murasoli Maran — would be part of the official delegation to the Summit.

Even though Musharraf has excluded his Commerce and Interior Affairs Minister, Vajpayee said his senior Cabinet colleagues would assist him in discussions on key issues like trade, cross-border terrorism and internal security, besides Kashmir.

The NDA's decision to stay

away from the tea party came at the insistence of senior BJP leaders, because Musharraf intended to have a closed-door meeting with Hurriyat leaders before the high tea.

NDA convenor George Fernandes, who had favoured attending the tea party, said his party would abide by the coalition decision. He did not think it would endanger the summit. "Of course, we are not going to let this matter overshadow the summit," he said. "It is the decision of the NDA to stay away. The NDA is not the Government, which is all set to receive Musharraf and ensure that the talks are fruitful."

Shortly after the NDA's decision, the Congress, which had earlier announced it would attend the reception, appeared set for a rethink. AICC foreign affairs department chief K Natwar Singh said, "Under the new circumstances, we will certainly have another look at the issue."

There is no question of our going if Musharraf meets the Hurriyat leaders separately. Such a meeting would be objectionable as the Pakistan President would be showing total disregard for the sensitivities of the host nation."

Pakistan must vacate Kargil peaks before the Agra summit

The Times of India News Service
NEW DELHI: India must ask Pakistan to vacate various strategic heights such as Point 5353 along the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir before the beginning of the Agra summit, demanded Jharkhand Mukti Morcha's Rajya Sabha member and noted lawyer R.K. Anand in a letter to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee here on Tuesday.

"The government claims that it won the Kargil war but the fact is that even now there are various strategic heights such as Pt 5353 which are still under Pakistan's control. The government, through its former defence minister and army generals, then had made contradictory statements regarding the location of these heights, specially Pt

the JMM not invited for all parties' meeting with Prime Minister, Mr Anand said, "Our party was a part of the NDA and simply because the alliance no longer exists the policy of excluding us on such a important issue is not fair."

Before the summit, Mr Anand said that the government must tell whether it believed that the whole Kashmir, including Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (POK), was an integral part of India or was it going to accept the LoC as the "international border" between the two countries?

"People have got a right to know the government's stand. The nation's territory cannot be gifted away at any cost. No Indian is going to accept that POK is not an integral part of India," he said. "It looks like that the all parties' meeting

with the PM, a few days before the summit, was nothing but an eye wash to fool the nation."

"We must learn from past experiences. Since 1947, Pakistan has been an aggressor. When you (Vajpayee) were taking a trip to Lahore by bus on a goodwill mission, Pakistan's forces led by Gen Pervez Musharraf had launched an attack in the Kargil and Mushkows sectors. Gen Musharraf is the key person responsible for the killing of hundreds of brave Indian army soldiers on the Kargil front," he said.

Despite knowing India's opposition, Gen Musharraf has invited the separatist organisation All India Hurriyat Conference's chairman Abdul Gani

Auspicious Monday throws security agencies in a tizzy

The Times of India News Service

AGRA: The security agencies involved in making arrangements for the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit here on July 15 and 16 are facing a piquant situation. For July 16 happens to be the auspicious day of Kark-Sankranti, the second Monday of the Hindu calendar month of Sravana. On this day, lakhs of bare-footed devotees from the city and neighbouring rural areas will circumvent the five Shiva temples situated in this historic city (they have been doing so, traditionally).

Hailing Lord Shiva, these devotees are supposed to carry sticks and garlands made out of sour *karonda* fruit around their necks, walk barefoot all through the night of Sunday, sprinkling holy water on the deity from one temple to another. This pilgrimage will continue till noon. But what is causing concern is the fact that many of them normally walk on a road which Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee will travel on while staying in their hotels.

When this matter was brought to the notice of district magistrate Kumar Kamlesh, he said, "All efforts will be made not to disturb the religious feelings of the people."

5353," said Mr Anand adding that "the ground reality is that these heights are very much within the Indian territory." "India should ask Pakistan to remove its forces from these strategic heights which are delineated in 27 maps prepared after the 1971 war, clearly defining the entire stretch of the 740 km LoC, signed by Lt Gen P.S. Bhagat of India and Lt Gen Hameed Khan of Pakistan in maps exchanged on December 11, 1972 at Suchet Garh," claimed Mr Anand.

Expressing his unhappiness over

Bhat, for tea, Mr Anand said, wondering, "How would Gen Musharraf react if Vajpayee invites Pakistan's former prime ministers Benazir Bhutto or Nawaz Sharif or Pakistan's religious leaders or POK leaders to discuss the Kashmir issue."

"Despite India's military might, we, as a nation, have always remained very soft. That is why we have been paying a heavy price since independence," said Mr Anand commenting, "without sacrifices, no nation can progress."

Peace effort on high seas

SRINJOY CHOWDHURY
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 11. - India has the option of offering Pakistan an Incident at Sea Agreement Treaty as part of the effort to reduce tensions between the two countries.

The offer could be made during the Agra summit and is "one of the options before the government," a top official said, adding that such a treaty could be easier to monitor. The armed forces are in favour of it.

The agreement would have to be a service-to-service one as has been the case internationally. Also, if the equivalent of a flag meeting is held in international waters, it can be considered neutral ground; that will be easier to do than a meeting along the Line of Control, for example.

This means when say, a Pakistani ship enters Indian waters, the relevant naval

commanders can sit and sort out the "intrusion" without having to fire at each other. Even during part of the Cold War, the Soviet Union and the USA had a similar agreement that worked.

Other options before the Centre is a time-related withdrawal from the Siachen Glacier, thinning of forces along the LoC, specially in the 14 Corps area between Dras and Batalik where both Pakistani and Indian armies have placed a large number of troops (both sides have an equal number of battalions in the area). But such a thinning along the LOC would only come if there is a direct assurance from the Pakistani government about reducing infiltration.

A time-related withdrawal in the Siachen, after verification of the current positions, is the other option being discussed. While the communication links on the Pakistani side are very good, the opposite is the case on the Indian side.

This means that if Pakistani forces withdraw say, 100 km and the Indians, say, an equal distance, it is much easier for the Pakistani troops to get back to their posts. This is primarily because the Indians control the commanding heights of the glacier, which are more difficult to reach. So, there is a possibility of suggesting a withdrawal to distances measured in time. For instance, if the Indians need two days to climb back to their current positions which may be 100 km away, Pakistanis should withdraw to positions which also take them two days to get back to, even if it is, say, 400 km away.

Of course, both sides will keep a watch through aerial surveillance and electronic measures. A deal can be worked out - in fact, it was almost done in 1992. There is a problem of implementing agreements (some already exist) on air space violation. Some experts say both sides violate each other's air-space.

...India by the Indo-Pak bus service at the Wagan border on Tuesday. (AP)

Sapru House will host Track II talks from July 29

BY SUGATA NANDI

New Delhi, July 11: The hallowed portals of the Sapru House, which houses the Indian Council of World Affairs, is poised to witness Track Two diplomacy between India and Pakistan. The exercise will start with a seminar on the Agra Summit on July 29. The director of the ICWA said that the plan for this exercise is a brainchild of the external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh.

Director of the ICWA, Mr P.S. Ray, said, "India and Pakistan share several concerns. There are dignitaries and intellectuals in these two nations who can come together on a common forum to discuss these problems. The ICWA has decided to throw its doors open to Pakistan intellectuals for this purpose. This is an effort to take the foreign policy beyond the South Block."

He added that the ICWA warmth to Pakistan can be extended even in case of a one way traffic of intellectuals from the neighbouring country. The Track Two diplomacy is expected to have a inauguration on July 29 when the Council will host a seminar on the Agra Summit. Former Prime Minister Mr I.K. Gujral will be the main speaker at that seminar. The Gujral

doctrine and Indo-Pak affairs will be the main points of discussion on the day.

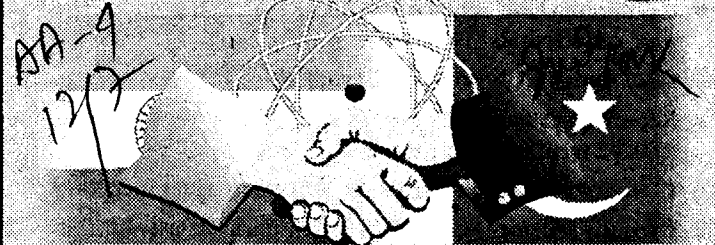
Among the other common concerns shared by the two nations are the decaying environment in the two countries, the common energy crisis and increasing river pollution of the Indus and the Yamuna. "Environmental security, energy security and water security are three areas where India and Pakistan require talks on the Track Two level," Mr Ray said.

The ICWA was founded in 1943. The Council was a result of the earnest efforts of nationalists like Jawaharlal Nehru, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Hridayanath Kunzru. Till the mid-seventies the council played host to important events like a speech made by eminent US dignitary Mr Henry Kissinger.

From the late seventies the Council started losing its importance and it received a fresh lease of life when it was put under the external affairs ministry during the middle of 2000. From then on renovations have been carried out in the ICWA. A major part of the renovation work is still going on at the ICWA library, which, among its several proud possessions, has a number of UN documents on Indo-Pak relations and publications from Pakistan.

INDIA-PAKISTAN MILITARY CBMs: NOW AND THEN

After the May 1998 nuclear tests by India and Pakistan and the induction of ballistic missiles with both militaries, the war, if it happens, could be catastrophic. Both countries, thus, are now aiming to undertake certain Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) to keep the military situation in check.



Military CBMs which could be acceptable in the forthcoming talks (These are mentioned in the February 1999 Lahore Declaration)

- Non-proliferation and a limited military use of ballistic missiles.
- Setting up of nuclear risk reduction centres to avoid unauthorised and accidental employment of nuclear weapons.
- Given the nuclear environment, a need for better, secure and swift channels of communication.

Military CBMs in existence

(These came about after Pakistan's General Zia-ul-Haq claimed nuclear weapons capability in 1987)

- An agreement not to attack each other's designated nuclear facilities and installations. This agreement was signed on Dec 31, 1988 and was ratified on Jan 27, 1991. Since Jan 1, 1992 both sides annually provide latitudes and longitudes of their nuclear installations.
- A joint declaration on Aug 16, 1992, pledging not to use, produce or stock chemical weapons, or transfer the related technology to others. Both countries subsequently joined the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1993.
- Hotline communication established between the Director Generals of Military Operations to talk at least once every week.
- A 1990 agreement to advance notification of military exercises, movements and manoeuvres.
- A 1990 agreement to prevent airspace violations and permitting overflights/landings by military aircraft. Has not been followed sincerely by both sides.
- Advance notification of ballistic missile flight tests. Has been followed since the Feb 1999 Lahore declaration.

Vijay Kumar/KBK Infographics

THE ADVANTAGE

110-1
12/2

**'Indo-Pak. issues
important
for U.S.'**

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JULY 11. The Bush administration has said that while the outcome of the coming Agra summit will have to be left to the Governments of India and Pakistan, the issues the two countries are going to deal with was not only important to them but also to the United States.

"I think we will leave the outcome to the two Governments," the State Department Spokesman, Mr. Richard Boucher, said during a press briefing.

"The question of India and Pakistan and the issues they are going to deal with are very important to them and to the United States. We look forward to them to establish a base of cooperation to produce a more peaceful and stable situation in the region. And it is our hope that they will do that," he added.

Asked if Washington was offering any specific recommendations, Mr. Boucher said, "I think I will leave that to our representatives in the field". The State Department further said that no specific date has been set for the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell's visit to South Asia. "The Secretary has told various people in the region that he looks forward to visit Asia, but there is no particular timing scheduled. That means he will be visiting after the summit."

STATES

110-12
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Need for a realistic approach

By Riyaz Punjabi

IT IS well accepted that one should not expect miracles from the forthcoming Agra Summit between Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee and Gen. Pervez Musharraf. It cannot, however, be denied that this event has given rise to a new atmosphere, which, if sustained, could go a long way in generating goodwill in both the countries.

The summit has sparked a debate in Jammu and Kashmir and the common man is optimistically awaiting the turn in the events leading to peace and an end to the war of attrition. There is also a debate going on as to why the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) failed to seize the opportunity of a dialogue with the Government of India. Moreover, the other political groupings as well as mainstream parties have also become assertive and can be wished away in the future course of events only at the cost of a new confrontation and turmoil.

It would be in place to analyse certain developments which took place in the run-up to the summit. It is equally relevant to assess certain statements made by immediate advisers to Gen. Musharraf which have a bearing on the substance of the summit. This estimation would help in evolving a realistic approach to the summit.

Recently, Gen. Musharraf held a meeting with the political groupings of different hues in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir regarding his visit to India. It is interesting to note that he did invite APHC leaders, including the wavering supporters of an independent Kashmir, viz. Liberation Front and Peoples' Conference, based in PoK. However, he completely ignored other pro-liberation groups which include Mr. Amanullah Khan's Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, Mr. Abdul Khaliq Ansari's Plebiscite Front (active for the last 50 years), Mr. Shawkat Kashmiri's Peoples National Party and Mr. Shawkat Maqbool Bhatt's National Liberation Party apart from some other small groups campaigning for an independent Jammu and Kashmir. Gen. Musharraf also ignored the leaders of Gilgit and Baltistan.

In the meantime, in Jammu and Kashmir, a senior APHC leader, Mr. Abdul Gha-

ni Lone, came out with a statement alleging that Pakistan was trying to create a parallel APHC with the objective of marginalising the Srinagar-based outfit. It seems that the letter of invitation sent to the APHC in Srinagar by Gen. Musharraf was a damage-control exercise. This letter has not ostensibly dissipated the confusion and misgivings about the role and status of the APHC in Jammu and Kashmir but it certainly has created a sense of be-

cannot be construed to mean the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir alone, based on the pattern of confusing the Hurriyat Conference with the 'people of Kashmir'. Moreover, a discussion on the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir involves the rights of the people of the State — their political, cultural and economic rights. India and Pakistan have had agreements at the cost of the economic rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

For reopening the issue (of J&K's territorial boundaries), both India and Pakistan will have to revert to the Act of Independence of 1947. If it were possible to fly back in time, many a problem besetting the world would be easy to resolve.

wilderment among the common people in India. More so when Gen. Musharraf had repeatedly made it clear through his pronouncements that he would give due regard to the sensitivity of the Government of India in this regard.

The tea-party invitation to the APHC has put a question mark on Gen. Musharraf's oft-repeated claim of "adopting a flexible approach" and "coming with an open mind" to the summit in Agra. He might have signalled to his chessmen that they would not be ignored but it is equally a signal to the other political formations, some of them with credible public support across Jammu and Kashmir, that they were not visible to the Pakistan establishment because they had refused to be its lackeys. Thus, the "people of Kashmir" in the comprehension of Gen. Musharraf seems to be only the Hurriyat Conference. The ground realities in Jammu and Kashmir indicate that this is a flawed perception and the Indian leadership cannot afford to go along with this perception.

In the Pakistani perception, Kashmir constitutes the core of the problem between India and Pakistan. This position needs to be recognised and it naturally involves the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir as it existed on August 15, 1947. It

India and Pakistan take credit for concluding the historic Indus Waters Treaty. The fact remains that it was concluded to the peril of the economic development of Jammu and Kashmir. The State remained economically backward and could not build its industrial infrastructure because its main resource of water was bartered away without taking into account its interests. Successive Governments at the Centre were blamed for neglecting Jammu and Kashmir in this regard — even accused of deliberately keeping the State completely dependent on the Centre.

This discussion is relevant today because the Tulbul Navigation Project described as Wullar barrage by Pakistan is again a subject of discussion. During the initial phases of militancy not only this project but even the Salal hydel project became the target of militant attacks. Two Swedish engineers working at Salal were kidnapped by militants. People claiming to be engaged in 'liberation' targeted projects for the economic development of the very land and the people they professed to liberate. It needs to be recognised that the issues which have a bearing on the economic rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir are not negotiable. The people of the State have a right to stand up and

launch a struggle against this bargain, should it ever take place.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister speaks, off and on, about the U.N. resolutions and bilateral agreements and tries to equate the two. In a unique reinterpretation of international law, he argues that in case the U.N. resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir have become irrelevant or invalid (the position taken by U.N. itself through its Secretary-General) then the other bilateral accords, particularly the Shimla Agreement, too have become irrelevant.

The underlying message, not to be missed, is that Pakistan's strategy of raising new questions at international fora persists. Pakistan's hectic efforts to bring in a resolution on alleged human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir at the U.N. Commission on Human Rights in its March 1994 session failed miserably. The move was basically aimed at invoking fresh U.N. General Assembly jurisdiction through the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. Mr. Vajpayee, as the then Leader of the Opposition, was present at the Commission during that period.

After this setback, Pakistan has been repeatedly demanding fresh resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir. The response of the U.N. was first to remove the issue from the agenda and later declare that the resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir had become irrelevant and that it had no role.

The forthcoming summit in Agra should not miss the point that the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir is a legal and a constitutional entity consolidated and recognised by the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir as well as the Constitution of India. The territorial boundaries defined by the law and the Constitution are not negotiable. This is the position of U.N. fora as well as on this issue. In the context of Jammu and Kashmir, for reopening this issue, both India and Pakistan will have to revert to the Act of Independence of 1947. If it were possible to fly back in time, many a problem besetting the world would be easy to resolve.

(The writer, a Kashmiri, is president of the International Centre for Peace Studies, New Delhi, and visiting faculty, JNU.)

Talks to focus on framework

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JULY 11. The Agra talks this weekend between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf are likely to focus on the creation of mechanisms that might address the core political concerns of both nations.

If Gen. Musharraf is prepared to move towards a normal relationship with India that is free from violence, it is strongly held here, New Delhi may be more than willing to address Islamabad's concerns on Kashmir.

The Government may want to initiate sustained negotiations at a political level on Kashmir, if Gen. Musharraf can convince his Indian interlocutors that he is looking at a different future for Pakistan and can be a reliable partner in promoting regional peace and prosperity.

All indications here are that the principal objective of Gen. Mush-

arraf at Agra will be getting India to accept a new negotiating mechanism on Kashmir which he can proclaim as major political victory at home.

India is already committed under recent agreements with Pakistan to discuss the Kashmir issue, along with other problems, at the level of Foreign Secretaries. Gen. Musharraf apparently wants the talks on the Kashmir issue separated from the rest and elevated to a higher political level.

Mr. Vajpayee should be well aware that talks at the bureaucratic levels are unlikely to go anywhere. Raising the talks to a political level and making them continual may certainly inject greater purposefulness into the process. While the details of the mechanism may come up for discussion at Agra, New Delhi is unlikely to enter into such a negotiation without a commitment from Pakistan to shed its compulsive hostility towards India.

Mr. Vajpayee would expect Gen. Musharraf to give credible assurances on ending Pakistan's support for cross-border terrorism and begin to put in place the building blocks of a cooperative relationship. India is unlikely to be satisfied with mere words or promises from Gen. Musharraf, and would be interested in some kind of a mechanism that would help verify if the Pakistan army is serious about ending its dalliance with the jihadis.

India as well as much of the international community want to know if Gen. Musharraf is the man to get Pakistan off the self-destructive path of supporting international terrorism and jihad. If Gen. Musharraf can convince Mr. Vajpayee that he is prepared to walk together on the high road, India may be more than ready to grant a new negotiating mechanism on Kashmir.

In fine-tuning the arrangements for acceptable mechanisms on core concern, New Delhi would

certainly want to avoid a structure of negotiation in which Pakistan can continue to leverage its instruments of cross-border terrorism.

Pakistan's willingness to dismantle the infrastructure for international terrorism on its soil, in a verifiable manner, may then turn out to be the key to a successful outcome at the Agra summit.

PTI reports:

Despite Pakistan's plan to focus on Kashmir at the Agra summit, India today said it was looking at a "broad comprehensive framework" for dialogue for building a stable structure of peace and cooperation. "We are looking at a broad comprehensive framework for dialogue with Pakistan — one that addresses all outstanding issues and one that sets the tone for future direction in relations between the countries," an External Affairs Ministry spokesperson told reporters.

THE HINDU

World attention on summit: Musharraf

100-13
By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 11. With just four days to go for the India-Pakistan summit, the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, today once again asserted that there could be no compromise on the 'principled position' of Pakistan on resolution of the Kashmir in 'accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir'.

The categorical declaration of Gen. Musharraf came at a meeting of the recently re-constituted National Security Council, the highest decision-making body in the military establishment. The council unanimously endorsed what was termed the 'positive response of Gen. Musharraf to the Indian invitation for summit-level talks'.

He used the opportunity to inform the members of the council that his view on the need for resolution of the Kashmir dispute had been unanimously endorsed by the cross-section of the Pakistani society he has interacted with in the course of the last few days.

It was same tone and tenor that marked a brief unscheduled interview that Gen. Musharraf gave to the state-run Pakistan Television in the afternoon. He told the channel that with world attention focused on the India-Pakistan summit, he was going to New Delhi with the firm idea of finding a resolution to the issue of Kashmir.

The Pakistan Information Secretary, Mr. Anwar Mahmood, who briefed journalists in the evening said that Gen. Musharraf welcomed the reported observations made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, at the all-party meeting in New Delhi that India was prepared to discuss the issue of Kashmir in its entirety. "The President is pleased with the remarks of Mr. Vajpayee".

"I go there with all seriousness and aspirations. I go there with all seriousness to initiate a process of movement towards the resolution of the Kashmir dispute," the President said.

"I consider this extremely essential... be-

cause this is not only my hope but it is also the hope of the people of Pakistan. I think also it is the hope of the people of India. And, may I also add it is the hope and aspiration of the people of the entire world. The entire world's attention is focused on this dialogue. So I only hope that we achieve progress in the dialogue towards resolution of the core dispute of Kashmir."

He told the members of the NSC that he was going to India with the support and blessings of the entire nation and he was grateful to all those who met him and shared his thoughts and views with him on the important subject.

Gen. Musharraf expressed the hope that the summit would set in motion the much needed process to resolve the all important issue of Kashmir that has impaired relations between the two countries for more than 50 years now.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, the Minister for Kashmir Affairs and the Deputy Chief of the Army Staff, Lt. Gen. Muzaffar H. Usmani, were among those who took part in

the deliberations. The Pakistan Information Secretary disclosed at the news conference that Gen. Musharraf had taken leaders of 'friendly countries' into confidence about his trip to India. These included the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, President of United Arab Emirates and the Prime Minister of China. The Information Secretary said that Gen. Musharraf had a meeting with the Chinese Ambassador in Pakistan and handed him over a letter addressed to the Chinese Prime Minister about the summit.

The Pakistan official said that the size of Gen. Musharraf's delegation to India had been deliberately kept low to ensure that the focus of the visit was on Kashmir. The official delegation in reality would be just half-a-dozen members. Besides Gen. Musharraf these include the Foreign Minister, the Foreign Secretary, Information Secretary, the Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Ghulam Ahmad and the chief spokesman of the military, Maj. Gen. Rashid Quereshi.

'No PoWs in Pak. jails'

By Our Special Correspondent

ISLAMABAD, JULY 11. Pakistan today maintained that there was not a single Prisoner of War (PoW) in any of its jails and if there was any evidence to the contrary the military government was prepared to look into the matter.

The chief spokesman of the military government, Maj. Gen. Rashid Quereshi, told a news conference here today that the Pakistan Government was surprised to read reports in a section of the press that PoWs of 1971 were still 'languishing' in Pakistan jails.

"Let me state categorically that there are no Indian PoWs in any of the Pakistani jails. If there is evidence to the contrary we are

prepared to look into the matter," he said.

Maj. Gen. Quereshi also made it a point to refer to the decision of the Indian Government to release Pakistani fishermen who had strayed into the Indian waters inadvertently and said a few weeks ago the military government had released 196 Indian fishermen.

On civilian prisoners, the spokesman said that Pakistan was adopting the same procedure as the Indian Government. In response to a question he said that there were 135 Indian prisoners in various Pakistani jails for various offences including murder. Of these, 71 were awaiting deportation. "As soon as the Indian Government acknowledges them as Indians, they can go. As far as Pakistan is concerned they are free go any time."

10-13
2/7

Will stick to Parliament stand on Kashmir: Jaswant

NEW DELHI, JULY 11. The External Affairs and Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, today reiterated that during the coming India-Pakistan summit, New Delhi would stick to its position that the entire Jammu and Kashmir including Pak-occupied Kashmir is an integral part of the country.

In an interview to Doordarshan, the Minister said there was no question of the Government diluting the 1994 Parliament resolution on the status of Jammu and

Kashmir. Asked what India's stand on the Kashmir issue during the Agra summit would be, he said: "On Jammu and Kashmir, Parliament has a stand. How can I be separate from it. I am a product of Parliament." He ruled out any three-way talks on the Kashmir issue involving Hurriyat.

Regarding the Pakistan High Commissioner's invitation to the Hurriyat to a reception in honour of the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, Mr. Singh said,

"it is sad ... The Government has made its stand clear on the issue."

On the 'no war pact' proposed by Gen. Musharraf in a recent interview, Mr. Singh said this could be feasible only if it brought proxy war and cross-border terrorism within its ambit as "all these are inter-related". The issue could be discussed when the Directors General of Military Operations (DGMOs) of the two countries meet after the summit.— UNI/

Commerce minister not to be in Pak team

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 10. - The Pakistani commerce minister, Mr Abdul Razzaq Dawood, won't accompany General Pervez Musharraf during the summit meeting with Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee.

In another development, the Pakistani advance team which had come to review the arrangements at various places which the general would be visiting, has apparently given a negative report on his visit to Hazrat Nizamuddin as well as the haveli in Old Delhi, for security reasons.

Even as the Indian government remained tightlipped about the composition of the 19-member official delegation accompanying General Musharraf, informed sources close to the Pakistani government confirmed that the commerce minister has been dropped from the delegation.

They said the list of a 19-member official delegation which has reached the ministry of external affairs here is a "tentative" one and some more delegates could be added in a day or two. However, they didn't confirm whether the additions would be at the ministerial or official level.

It is believed that the delegation includes the foreign minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, and two high-level officials - foreign secretary Mr Inamul Haq and secretary (information) Mr Anwar Mehmood.

The dropping of the commerce minister clearly indicates that Pakistan is firm on discussing only Kashmir and not any trade-related issues, including

the most favoured nation (MFN) status during the summit.

Even after the Pakistani foreign ministry asked the commerce ministry to submit a report on why most favoured nation status was not granted to India, Islamabad seemed to have become rigid in its one-point agenda - Kashmir.

Although the prospects of a discussion on trade-oriented issues had been raised initially, Pakistan seems to have anticipated that such a discussion could overshadow its prospects on the one-point agenda.

Hence, it detracted from its earlier assessment.

India has granted the most favoured nation status to Pakistan but Islamabad has not so far reciprocated which is considered a violation of WTO norms.

PM discusses security

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee had informal consultations with the Cabinet Committee on Security tonight to discuss issues related to Gen Pervez Musharraf's visit.

Mr Jaswant Singh, Mr LK Advani, Mr Yashwant Sinha, the national security adviser, Mr Brajesh Mishra, the Centre's interlocutor on Kashmir, Mr K C Pant, the foreign secretary, Mr Chokila Iyer and other top officials attended the meeting.

Today's meeting was part of informal consultations Mr Vajpayee has been having with the Cabinet Committee on Security in the last few days.

■ More reports on page 8

THE STATESMAN

'India, Pak meeting under foreign pressure'

The medium differs, but the message from Pakistan's former prime minister Benazir Bhutto is invariably the same: the forthcoming Agra summit will not change status quo in Kashmir.

Ensnared in London, Bhutto has been replying to e-mails from journalists with alacrity. Excerpts from interviews with the *Gulf News*, *Khaleej Times* and a signed piece in *The News*:

● I think there will neither be any relief on the Kashmir issue nor in the intensity of violence in the troubled territory as a result of the parleys.

● India and Pakistan are meeting under pressure from a strong international power... The main objective of Musharraf's meeting was to please the international community in order to show that he is making peace efforts to defuse tension between the two nuclear powers over Kashmir.

● Democracy is the main course of our



politics in Pakistan. We do want peace in the country and cannot accept a military dictator holding talks which should be held by the democratically elected government with full mandate of the public.

● Neither is Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee going to agree with what Musharraf wants nor is Musharraf willing to listen to what Vajpayee wants him to do defuse tension in Kashmir.

● When we tried to make peace with India in 1989, Parliament approved our agenda for peace but the Army's general headquarters said it was against national security and the government was sacked. Our government was doing everything the generals are doing now but with dignity and honour.

● I am definitely not interested in becoming a puppet prime minister for a third time in a situation where power lies somewhere else.... People of Pakistan will have to give me enough votes this

WEDNESDAY, JULY 11, 2001

FLURRY OF PRE-SUMMIT GESTURES

THE UNILATERAL MOVE by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to announce people-friendly gestures ahead of his prospective meeting with Pakistan's President and Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, is evidently designed to stir the conscience of the citizens of both countries towards sentiments of goodwill. Outwardly, Mr. Vajpayee can indeed be seen to have unveiled a bold proposal concerning the highly militarised Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu and Kashmir. He wants the LoC to be thrown open to people with Pakistan's passports at select points. The discernible objective is to allow the people residing in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir to travel to the Indian side of the LoC so as to interact with friends and relatives and also establish new links of goodwill. New Delhi has sought to portray this gesture as an integral part of an overall framework of friendship at the people's level. An old rail link between Rajasthan and Pakistan's Sindh province will also be restored under the latest package of ideas. New Delhi's proposal to facilitate the movement of people across the borders of the two countries should be seen as a sequel to Mr. Vajpayee's recent call for talks with Pakistan at the level of either experts or officials on such critical issues as peace along the LoC and bilateral confidence-building measures (CBMs) in regard to a range of mutual concerns including nuclear security.

Now, India cannot easily implement its people-friendly initiatives without Pakistan's considered consent as also cooperation. It requires no scientific exactitude of rocket science to recognise that Pakistan's active involvement will be as essential to catalyse the peaceful movement of people and ideas across the LoC as it is to reach an accord on CBMs. While diplomacy of the populist kind is eminently relevant to the prospects of long-term peaceful coexistence, India and Pakistan cannot hope to normalise their relationship without an agreement between the Governments of the two countries in an exercise

of their free will. It will be an error of judgment to imagine that New Delhi's latest round of diplomatic activism, manifest in diverse areas ranging from nuclear security to trade and people-to-people contacts, can crowd out the Kashmir issue from a pivotal position at the planned Agra summit on July 15. Mr. Vajpayee has, of course, secured an all-party national consensus that the upcoming summit should not be held hostage to the Kashmir issue. Yet, the big picture of India-Pakistan ties can be improved only through candid discussions on all issues without reservations from either side.

It is in this context that Mr. Vajpayee's latest dream of converting the LoC into a virtual line of stability will need to be seen by Pakistan in much the same light. Three factors acquire importance as a result. First, New Delhi has clarified that security considerations will not be compromised while encouraging civilian travel into India from Pakistan. This may indicate that the Vajpayee administration will take measured steps. Second, Gen. Musharraf himself was reported to have remarked sometime ago that he would be delighted to be able to consider travelling from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad on the Pakistan side of the LoC in an ambience of peace. The third but not the least significant factor is the likely political meaning of any mutually agreed freedom of movement by people across the LoC. For many years, both India and Pakistan have acknowledged the diplomatic relevance of the line as a divider. The principle of the LoC's inviolability in a military sense has been most dramatically established during the Kargil crisis in 1999, and the U.S.' diplomatic persuasion of Pakistan in that connection remains a major event. The question that Islamabad may now address is whether Mr. Vajpayee's notion of authorised civilian movement across the LoC will invest the line with some political connotation of relevance to the final settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

Pak. unimpressed with CBMs

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 10. The Pakistan Government is clearly not impressed with the series of confidence-building measures (CBMs) announced by New Delhi in the last few days, and believes that they should follow, not precede, the summit talks between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, at Agra, on July 15/16.

In a terse response to the decision of sending the Director-General of Military Operations, Lt. Gen. G. S. Sihota, to discuss a host of issues with his Pakistani counterpart, and the relaxation of visa

and travel regime, the Foreign Office here said these and other issues should 'flow' from the summit.

The Musharraf Government apparently suspects New Delhi's motive behind the 'unilateral diplomatic offensive.' They are considered moves aimed at inviting international attention rather than building a 'positive atmosphere' for the summit.

A polite but blunt 'no' was the response to New Delhi's proposal to send the DGMO. "We are left wondering whether they are CBMs or ICBMs (Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles)" remarked a Foreign Office official on the manner in which India has gone

about the whole issue.

"It is supposed to be confidence-building measures and the Indian Government does not have the courtesy of taking us into confidence on such an important proposal. It is conveyed to us just a few hours before the official is to board the flight to Islamabad. We wonder what exactly was the Indian motive behind the move" the official said.

Pakistan has taken exception to the fact that India went public with the proposals, by announcing them in a press conference, without sounding those concerned in the military establishment.

THE HINDU

JUL 13

Agra summit and Kashmir

By Muchkund Dubey

HD-12
11/7

ANY SUMMIT between Heads of Government of two important and relatively large countries is a major political event. This is particularly so in the case of India and Pakistan which have over the past 50 years been carrying the heavy baggage of the bitterness of the past and where the outside world perceives an imminent danger of a nuclear war since both have acquired nuclear weapons. The summit has, therefore, naturally aroused expectations not only in the two countries but all over the world. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, who took the initiative for inviting Pakistan's President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has been acclaimed on both sides of the border as a statesman who has been moved by a genuine desire to bring peace to this troubled region.

However, there is something peculiar about the origin of the summit as well as the posturings of the two sides in the run-up to it. The invitation to Gen. Musharraf was extended as though it was a substitute for the non-extension of the ceasefire in Kashmir. This conveyed the impression that India had come to the end of its tether in dealing with the situation in Kashmir and invited Gen. Musharraf for talks because it saw no alternative to seeking Pakistan's assistance for getting out of the morass in which it finds itself in Kashmir. Pakistan saw this initiative as evidence of India's fatigue in controlling the insurgency in Kashmir.

Over the past few months, developments in Kashmir have followed a very unfortunate course. First, the Union Government botched up the issue of autonomy raised by the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, by rejecting it without even giving it serious consideration. Then, the Centre dissipated the initial gains from the ceasefire it announced by unduly delaying the start of the peace process. It also could not capitalise on the advantages it claimed to have gained from its much-publicised clandestine talks with the Hurriyat leaders. Finally, the peace process started by Mr. K. C. Pant not only came too late but was also fundamentally flawed. It is more like a

The Union Government seems to have stumbled upon the summit after all its misconceived and misdirected efforts to solve the problem with our own Kashmiris failed.

commission eliciting well-known diverse opinions with a view to compiling a final report, than a serious attempt to creatively engage those who really matter. Such an engagement, at least to begin with, has to be in the nature of probings behind the scenes and away from the limelight. The Government seems to have stumbled upon the summit after all its misconceived and misdirected efforts to solve the problem with our own Kashmiris failed. Thus, so far as the Kashmir issue is concerned, we have painted ourselves into a corner at the summit.

The moves by the two sides during the last few days in the runup to the summit reveal yet another aspect. India has made unilateral offers for enhancing people-to-people contacts and trade exchanges, strengthening and stabilising the peace along the Line of Control and discussing nuclear and other military confidence-building measures. These will remain empty gestures until there is cooperation from Pakistan. Gen. Musharraf has given enough indication that Pakistan has no interest in such measures until the Kashmir issue is well on the way to solution. He has stated that "the horse had to be put before the cart." Pakistan has stepped up its propaganda against the alleged violation of human rights in Kashmir by security forces. Moreover, the Pakistan President has expressed a desire to meet the Hurriyat leaders in New Delhi, much against the wishes of his hosts. Thus, the two sides are trying to set the agenda for the summit according to their own priority and to put the other side in an awkward position in the eyes of the world. This game of oneupmanship on the summit eve is not a good augury. Apart from appealing to their respective domestic constituencies, these moves seem to be designed mainly to appeal to and seek the assistance of the outside power which, according to several reports, particularly

those emanating from Pakistan, has played a major role in bringing about the summit.

Whatever the motivations, a summit of this kind can very well acquire its own agenda. For, beyond a point, the two leaders cannot afford to ignore the expectations of their peoples. There is indeed the possibility of the summit adopting a large number of positive measures — in the areas of trade, economic collaboration, energy, information flows, culture and people-to-people contacts. The summit also provides an opportunity to clinch issues such as Siachen and Tūbul on which agreements had been reached in the past at the expert level. Besides, several constructive ideas figured in the outpouring of suggestions from different quarters on the summit eve. All those who cherish the vision of peace and prosperity in South Asia would wish that most, if not all, of these suggestions are adopted and implemented subsequently. However, it is unrealistic to expect that Pakistan will agree to anything without being satisfied that the Kashmir issue will be addressed seriously. Pakistan may accept a formulation on Kashmir which recognises the centrality of the issue and sets in motion a process which would enable it to be addressed in a structured manner and within a timeframe. Even if India agrees to such a process, Pakistan is unlikely to offer any worthwhile *quid pro quo*, including a restraint in the activities of the "jehadis," until it discerns a progress towards solution of the Kashmir problem.

It is true that India is committed to settling the Kashmir issue with Pakistan. However, the only way to solve the issue with Pakistan consistent with India's basic position is to put itself in a position in the State where Pakistan would be left with no alternative but to accept the *status quo*. We could have done so only by having the Kashmiri people on our side,

thereby making it impossible for Pakistan to carry out its "jehadi" activities. The successive Governments of India have failed in this effort both militarily and politically and the present Government seems to be trying to extricate itself by seeking outside assistance and negotiating directly with Pakistan on the fate of Jammu and Kashmir. Once an agreement is reached with Pakistan, it will be sold to the nation on the ground of there being no alternative, even though we have had several opportunities during the last five decades to solve the issue by coming to terms with our own Kashmiris.

Clearly, negotiating the fate of Kashmir with Pakistan is qualitatively different from negotiating it with our own Kashmiris. It is a tragic irony of history that we are not willing to give the fullest possible autonomy to our Kashmiris, but are prepared to bargain with Pakistan the dispensation of the State.

India's Kashmir problem will get infinitely complicated with the entry of Pakistan into the equation. Once the process of negotiation with Pakistan gets under way, the alternative of settling the issue domestically can be taken to be as good as given up. Besides, Pakistan will not be satisfied with any solution which does not lead to an eventual secession of the State to Pakistan on the basis of religion. This will also be the denouement of any solution based on the trifurcation of the State on religious grounds.

Besides, in any negotiation with Pakistan within the framework to be agreed upon at the summit, outside powers will be breathing down our neck, including a power with whom the present Government is over-anxious to forge a strategic partnership. In this situation, it is extremely important to have a national consensus on the final fall-back position on the Kashmir issue. That fall-back position has been pretty obvious all these years but is in the danger of being jettisoned. And it is that any solution to the Kashmir problem must be consistent with India's national ethos of democracy and secularism and must not undermine its territorial integrity and unity.

Hurriyat invitation not an issue: Left to PM

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 10. — The Prime Minister mustn't be bogged down by the Pakistan High Commission's invitation to Hurriyat leaders for a tea party, Left Front Leaders told Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today.

Instead, the focus should be on more important things that should figure in the summit talks and prepare ground for establishing working relations between the two nuclear neighbours, the Left leaders told the Prime Minister during their 40-minute talks with him this evening.

The meeting, attended by the CPI-M and the CPI general secretaries, was part of Mr Vajpayee's exercise to interact with various leaders individually. The foreign minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, was also present at the meeting.

The Left leaders also told Mr Vajpayee not to be extra sensitive about discussing Kashmir with the Pakistani President.

Speaking to The Statesman after the meeting, Mr Harkishen Singh Surjeet said: "We told the Prime Minister not to make an issue out of this invitation to the Hurriyat for the tea-party. Don't we all know Pakistan is in touch with the Hurriyat leaders almost on a daily basis? Didn't these leaders visit Pakistan in the past? So what is this fuss about Hurriyat leaders attending the tea-party at the Pakistan High Commission? We should ignore it."

Mr Surjeet said they had told the Prime Minister to be pre-

NO MORE AN 'UNHOLY' GENERAL

JAIPUR, JULY 10. — The Rajasthan government has persuaded the Dargah Bazaar Market Association not to "clean" the places that General Pervez Musharraf is to visit in Ajmer, a district administration press release said today.

The association had decided to "clean" the area in protest to the Minar-e-Pakistan Market Association's "cleaning" the spots that Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee visited in Lahore two years ago. The dargah association said if "our" Prime Minister's presence could render a place unholy, the same should apply to the Pakistani President.

The Ajmer administration, however, held an urgent meeting with the dargah association, asking it not to "clean" the area after the Pakistani President's visit. For, that would be sending a wrong signal to the world and that it wouldn't be in the national interest to show hostility when the President is coming for a Peace treaty, said the district administration.

Circuit house renovated: The district administration has renovated the VIP rooms in Ajmer circuit house on a hilltop, where the Pakistani President would relax for almost one hour. — SNS

The Mother speaks

NEW DELHI, July 10. — Army has always been the first love of "my son", said Mrs Zareen Musharraf, mother of the Pakistani President. He was attracted to the uniform at an early age. "One of our military attaches was Colonel Mustafa, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's brother-in-law and on seeing him, Pervez aspired to join the army," she told the *Star News*.

"He (Col Mustafa) was a very handsome man and used to look glamorous in his uniform. Pervez used to stare at him and say, 'Ammi, maine to army join karnee hain.' (Mother, I will join the army)," she recalled adding "I also liked army officers." — PTI

pared as General Musharraf will discuss Kashmir. "Naturally there will be discussion on Kashmir from the Pakistan side. It's expected. We should try to ensure that talks are not broken. After all when India and Pakistan are now nuclear states, it's important to have a friendly working relation. It's a

must to revive South Asian forums like SAARC, which is lying paralysed following the Indo-Pak tension."

"We can also discuss trade-related matters. The main idea should be to ensure that more and more talks are held between the two neighbours," he added.



WILL THEY GROW UP TO BELIEVE IN BORDERS? Children wait after crossing the Indo-Pak border by Samjhota Express, at Attari railway station on Tuesday. — AP/PTI

Pak visitors impressed with 'cool-headed' Dilliwalas

DEVIRUPA MITRA
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 10.— The lobby of Indraprastha Hotel has been choc-a-bloc over the past few days. Tomorrow, 180 Pakistani pilgrims will return home after attending the annual urs at Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya's dargah.

With the pilgrims will leave the Intelligence and security personnel, on round-the-clock duty.

Today, the pilgrims gathered on the marble courtyard of the dargah for *tilawat-e-Quran*. The only places they could visit were the dargah and markets. "We had to sign a note before we boarded the train that we'll not make

any statements, political or otherwise, after we reach India," said a Pakistani delegation member. The pilgrims' movements in the hotel were monitored and even an accidental discussion on Indo-Pak politics raised eyebrows.

In the afternoon, the pilgrims stayed in their hotel rooms. Some of them went to the major markets. Mr F Zameer Khan, his uncle, and a friend returned from the market with bagfull of goodies. On their first trip to India, they had "stocked" themselves with latest goods from "Hindustan".

"Our schedule is packed, we had to do enough shopping to last us a year," said his uncle, Mr Ghulam Zameer Khan. "But, I'll send my application for next

year's urs as soon as I return home."

After praying at the dargah, they headed for the markets in the walled city. "We are businessmen and we were impressed with the karobar in the city," said Mr GZ Khan, who runs a cotton yarn business in Punjab.

Mr Riaz Ahmed wanted to "check out" General Pervez Musharraf's birthplace. "I was curious to see the haveli of Musharraf Sahab. There was a lot of construction work going on," he said.

But Mr Ahmed could not manage a peek inside the mansion. "I tried to go inside but I was stopped by a person who said the haveli would be first visited by Sardar (Musharraf) Sahab." The extensive preparations in the city

have impressed the visitors. "Whatever happens at the summit, he (Gen. Musharraf) will get a warm welcome," Mr Khan said.

The pilgrims will carry back home stories and tales of "cool-headed" Delhi-ites, Mr FZ Khan said. "Dilliwalas ko gussa nahin aata hai," he said, "It's so quiet here. I mean, in our city, everybody is constantly using pressure horns," his friend said.

The visit here has been pleasant. But the beginning had not been auspicious. "We had submitted our passports for visa a month ago but got it just a few hours before the train left. Some applications were even refused, and the pilgrims came to know only after they

reached the station," said Mr FZ Khan, fingering the copper medallion on his shirt depicting the Nizamuddin dargah.

The lodging arrangements in a "big hotel" rankled a few members. "The rent is too high for many. We are pilgrims and could have stayed in a dormitory near the dargah, perhaps," said another Pakistani pilgrim.

Despite thousands of devotees thronging the dargah, its chief-in-charge, Haji Syed Kashif Ali Nizami, isn't happy. "Every year, five delegations come from Pakistan to dargahs in India. But not one Indian Muslim delegation has yet gone to Pakistan, despite the Indian government's go-ahead. This is grossly unfair," he said

DGMOs to meet after summit

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 10 — The meeting between the Indian and Pakistani director-generals of military operations will be held after the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit.

The Pakistani DGMO, Major-General AP Kayani, called his Indian counterpart over the phone in the afternoon to say he was welcome in Islamabad to discuss the situation along the LoC and in Siachen Glacier. The two countries' nuclear issues too may be discussed.

Maj-Gen Kayani said there was too little time for preparation now, if substantial discussions have to be held, the Indian army spokesman said.

Initially, the Indian government hoped the discussions would take place before the summit and the Indian DGMO was prepared to leave either late this evening or tomorrow for talks. Now, it appears that the delay in the meeting is a blessing in disguise as both sides will get clearer directions about their job at hand after the summit.

US joint chief of staffs: The chairman, joint chief of staffs of the US armed forces, General Henry H Shelton, will be arriving in India on 18 July, almost immediately after the Musharraf visit.

The general, the senior-most American military official, will be meeting Admiral Sushil Kumar, the chairman, chiefs of staff committee and navy chief, Mr Yogendra Narain, the defence secretary, Mr Brajesh Mishra, the National Security Advisor and the defence minister, Mr Jaswant Singh.

General Shelton was expected on May 31 but his trip was cancelled at the last minute.

Decision to open border doesn't change LoC status

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, July 10

INDIA HAS clarified today that its decision to open check posts along the LoC in Jammu and Kashmir does not amount to recognising the 1972 ceasefire line as the international boundary. The intended check posts, meant for handing visas to Pakistani nationals entering India, were described as "administrative conveniences" to facilitate movement of people from both sides.

"We are not conferring on the LoC any other status than what exists at present," Nirupama Rao, spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs said. By the Shimla Agreement of 1972, India recognises the validity of the LoC without prejudice to its larger territorial claims in Kashmir. Further, a Parliamentary resolution in 1994 clearly articulated India's hopes to regain some day the territories it lost to Pakistan and China.

If the check posts begin to function, the long-held idea of making the LoC "porous" for Kashmiris of Indian and Pakistan-occupied areas will bear

fruition. The spokesperson clarified that "normal identification papers and travel documents" would be enough to get a visa-seeker entry into India. Technically, all inhabitants of Pak-occupied Kashmir are Indian citizens and even have the right to vote in Indian elections.

The Pakistani Government's response to the Indian CBMs is ambiguous. While the Pakistani foreign ministry spokesman described them as "peripheral" with Kashmir as the "core issue", he indicated that Islamabad may respond positively on the question of check posts. However, the DGMO meeting, which India had requested, was put off till after the July 14-16 official visit to India by President Pervez Musharraf.

The two DGMOs, Lt General G S Sihota of India and Major General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani of Pakistan, held their routine, weekly talk over the hotline today. They had spoken yesterday when Lt Gen Sihota called to "request a meeting", but the response could not be given by his Pakistani counterpart without the higher authorities in Islamabad clearing it.

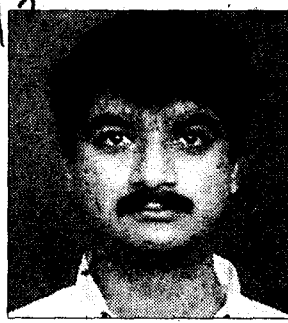
Hope floats for families of POWs in Pak jails

SREELATHA MENON
NEW DELHI

A SUMMIT like Agra has kept the hopes of Suman Purohit alive for the past 30 years. Purohit has been staying in Agra ever since her husband Fl Lt Manohar Purohit went missing in the 1971 Indo-Pak war and was reported to have been imprisoned in a Pakistani jail along with 53 other war prisoners.

Though her relatives were in Rajasthan, she decided to bring up her three-month-old son here, certain that her husband would return any day to Agra, his last posting. Now the proposed visit of General Musharraf to Agra has filled her and her 30-year-old son Vipul with both hope and despair.

Suman Purohit had been married to Flight Lieutenant Manohar Purohit for just one-and-a-half years before war separated them. "I stayed on in this alien town hoping my husband



Suman Purohit (left) and son Vipul; waiting and watching

would return some day and look for me in the town where his last posting was," she says.

Now, Suman and her son Vipul are calling a press conference in Agra a day before the General arrives to make an appeal that Pakistan free the 54 defence personnel said to be lodged in Pakistani jails.

Speaking to *The Indian Express*, 53-year-old Purohit said every effort must be made to make Musharraf talk about the release of the prisoners. "India

and Pakistan are talking of a no-war pact and of peace and a thousand other things. But the two countries must first talk of the release of the 54 jailed defence personnel," she said.

"Other countries take up the cause of their soldiers first. But we play it down. Release of its personnel is always an insignificant line in India's agenda list. We hope our effort would make this the main issue," she added.

Though Pakistan has never acknowledged that it has any In-

dian prisoners of war, Suman hopes that General Musharraf will take a different stand. "He had assured a delegation of ex-servicemen in February this year that he would re-examine the matter of prisoners of wars," says Suman.

Her son Vipul, himself the father of a two-year-old son, runs a gas agency which was donated to his mother by an unidentified benefactor some years ago. Vipul says his father's loss struck him most when his own son was three months old and the Kargil war broke out. "The coincidence still makes me shudder," he said.

According to Suman, the government has always insisted that raising a hue and cry might harm the interests of the prisoners. "But we have seen that caution has not helped the prisoners' release either," she pointed out. The mother and son say it's better to tell the whole world about the prisoners rather than keep quiet about it.

India artists seek wider contacts with Pak

PAKISTAN

BY VISHAL SHRAMA

New Delhi, July 10: Amidst the cacophony of the rhetoric and hyperbole emanating from the politico-diplomatic circles of India and Pakistan ahead of the Agra summit, saner voices from the Indian cultural community has emphasised the need for the two leaders to widen the channels of communications to the maximum extent possible.

Not much sanguine on the positive outcome of the forthcoming summit though, the cultural representatives feel that the least the two leaders can do is to institutionalise the people-to-people contact along with cultural exchange between the two countries.

"There is a need to deepen the relationship between the artist communities of the two countries by further easing the restriction on the mobility of the artists between the two countries. Cultural artists of a country are ambassadors of goodwill. If cultural relation is strong, it will inevitably have a favourable impact upon other aspects of relation between the two countries," says Vivan Sundram, a renowned painter.

He, however, is peeved at the way the current regime has been disposed towards the cultural linkups between the two traditional rivals in recent past.

"Not much has been done by the present government in terms of exploring avenues of more cultural

interactions with Pakistan. Pakistan has a very vibrant contemporary art scene and India has a tremendous reservoir of artists, an ideal setting for enhancing cultural



cooperation. It is this aspect which the two leaders have to agree upon for a fitting prelude to an eventual peace," he says.

Mr Sundram says that National Art Gallery has to be given man-

date to organise more and more cultural functions in which Pakistan artists are invited to participate. "*Khoon ke dabbe hain duley gaingey kinney bareston ke bad* (There has been enough bloodletting, I wonder, how many peace efforts would it need to wash the blood stains)," Mr Gohar Raza, a poet of renown sums up the long strained relationship between the two countries by reciting this couplet. "There have been so many wounds on the psyche of the two countries, that now one dreads placing reliance on any new attempt made to strike peace," says Mr Raza. He, however, sees a beacon of light in the series of efforts made in past in the direction of achieving peace in the subconti-

ment. "Its not without any reason that despite the stiff posturing on both sides over the years, the two countries have endeavoured to attain peace. The reason is the shared history, cultural heritage and the enduring desire of the people of the two countries that have forced the leaders of the two countries to sit and talk peace in past. The forthcoming summit also epitomises the common thread of the longing to have brotherly relation that runs through the two countries," says Raza.

He wants the two leaders to give a new thrust to the people-to-people contact and cultural exchange by lifting all possible restrictions on the movements of people between the two countries.

Vajpayee wins over Oppn with praise and charm

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 9 JULY

OPPOSITION PARTIES, on Monday, rallied behind the government to extend their backing to the forthcoming Pak summit meeting at Agra. The perceptible end to discord notes emanating till Sunday Opposition ranks — especially Congress — came about Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee employing his boyish charm to floor the Opposition at an all-party meeting on Monday, well as the inevitability of the fact that the Opposition could be seen as differing with the government on such a sensitive crucial issue.

Mr Vajpayee's move at the get to praise Opposition leader Sonia Gandhi by referring to the comments on Kashmir which she made during her recent visit to the US clearly had the desired effect of winning over the main opposition. Mr Vajpayee succinctly observed that Ms Gandhi's comments represented "the very essence of the national position on Jammu and Kashmir." Quick to reciprocate, the Congress spokesperson Anand Sharma was smiling on Monday. "The situation was different on Friday. We are satisfied now," he said, responding to questions that the party had strongly criticised the government for failing to take the main Opposition into confidence last week.

The Samajwadi and the Left parties too extended their backing to Mr Vajpayee. "We want that relations must improve between the two countries," Samajwadi party leader Mulayam Singh Yadav said. CPI(M) leader Jyoti Basu, however, maintained that the government must make an effort to convert the opportunity into an ongoing process, rather than making it a one-time event. The NCP leader P.A. Sangma was the only one who sought to know the reasons for the sudden change in the government and of ending the ceasefire in Kashmir abruptly and inviting Mr Musharraf for talks.

Party observers, added that the opposition, in reality, did not have much of an option but to back the government in its initiative. Given the importance of the issue, we have to put aside everything and stand as one at this juncture," a senior leader said.

Nonetheless, the Congress, disagreeing with Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf's stand that Kashmir will be the "core" issue, made it a point to add that the Agra summit will have to include all outstanding issues between the two countries. In fact, this aspect was the only intervention made by Sonia Gandhi at the all party meeting. The party spokesperson reiterated that the resolving of issues will have to be done through bilateral dialogue on the basis of the Shimla accord and the Lahore declaration.

Mr Sharma also maintained that the Congress was against the Hurriyat being a party in the summit meeting. "In principle, we are of the view that this is a bilateral summit and there is no room for third party participation," he said. He maintained that the Congress did not have any objections to the Hurriyat being invited to the tea party at the Pakistani high commission, provided the guest list was a long one. "However, we are opposed to the high commission inviting the Hurriyat alone," he said.

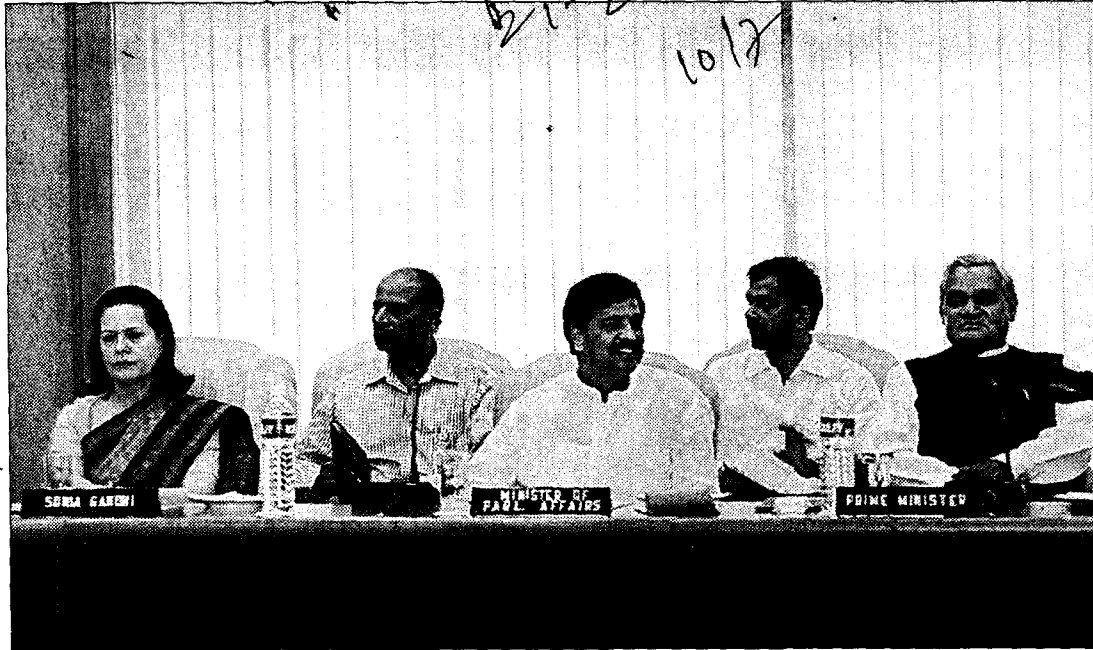
Most parties to boycott tea party

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 9 JULY

THE MEETING convened by Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, here on Monday, saw majority of parties calling for boycotting the tea-party organised by the Pakistani High Commissioner, if the Hurriyat leaders insisted on attending it.

But the Pakistani High Commission, which is in the centre of the storm for inviting the Hurriyat leaders, was unfazed about the development. "We expect that all our guests will attend. However, if they don't, it'll be their decision," a spokesman said.

The all-party meeting convened by Prime Minister Vajpayee earlier on Monday saw the opposition parties seeking the government's views on the tea-party. While G.M. Banatwala wanted the issue of inviting the Hurriyat leaders to be ignored, most of the opposition parties were clearly irked by Pakistan's decision.



UNITED WE STAND: Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee along with Pramod Mahajan and Opposition leader Sonia Gandhi before an all-party meet in New Delhi on Monday. — AFP

Get a visa, cross LoC and come to India

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 9 JULY

INDIA, ON Monday, piled on the pressure with a third set of unilateral measures pushing Pakistan into a real dilemma. The package, which will increase access routes into the country, is expected to aid popular contact. But goodwill apart, it is part of a strategic calculus intended to draw Pakistan out of an unidimensional think mode.

Pakistanis in Rajasthan. "Similar checkpoints will also be opened at designated areas. People will now be allowed to come into India by road by procuring visas at Attari in Punjab or Munabao points along the international border (IB) and the line of control (LoC) in J&K," announced an MEA spokesperson this evening.

If Pakistan accepts India's proposals, it will go a long way to promote an unspoken Indian objective to legitimise the LoC as a border in future. However, Pakistan, according to sources, is expected to fight it tooth and nail, because it does not suit Pakistan at all to put a visa and perhaps a customs checkpoint on the LoC.

The immediate fallout will be to soften the border, a longstanding demand from various quarters including the Kashmiris. This, however, does not mean that the visa process is being eased in any way. It only means that access has been widened.

Monday's move has brightened the prospects of reopening the disused Munabao-Khokhrapar railway line.

India sees no change in Islamabad's attitude to terrorism

Bharti Jain
NEW DELHI 9 JULY

THE GOVERNMENT may be ready to roll out the red carpet for Pervez Musharraf, but chances of Mr Musharraf reciprocating by putting an end to Islamabad-sponsored terrorism looks bleak.

It is in the area of cross-border terrorism that the Indian government does not hope Mr Musharraf to make even a token gesture. "Cross-border terrorism has to be tackled in its own way," sources said. The realistic approach may seem to be out of line with the expectations that have been raked up in certain quarters, but sources said they are on a strong wicket and their caution is borne out by the spurt in the jihadi attacks inside the Valley.

The government thinks that India's success in holding its own against bands of religious fanatics has not been lost upon by Islamabad. Yet, it does not expect any change in Islamabad's use of cross-border terrorism as an instrument of statecraft. To do so will mean going against the very grain of the fundamentalism that reigns supreme in Pakistan and any attempt to change the course can be done by risking his own survival, an official said.

The government, contrary to the belief of a few, does not count Mr Musharraf as one who could attempt such a fundamental shift. And it is also under no false impression that Mr Musharraf's much-interpreted June 6 address to the National Secular Conference signalled one.

The government, on Monday, placed its reservations on record with external affairs minister Jaswant Singh declaring at an all-party meeting that a conventional no-war pact will not serve any purpose in so far as cross-border terrorism is concerned. The government knows what is required is a commitment to stop the jihad.

Musharraf reinforced the assessment last week when he

chose to rationalise the terror in the Valley by using the hackneyed themes of freedom struggle and human rights violations. That he chose to employ the same old rhetoric so close to the summit shows that he will be coming to Agra with a close mind.

The assessment of the government is that the military regime in Pakistan had agreed to open negotiations with India with the twin objectives of earning legitimacy as well as making J&K core issue.

Iran-Pak-India gas pipeline high on summit agenda

Our Delhi Bureau
NEW DELHI 9 JULY

IT IS not going to be an exhaustive economic agenda for the forthcoming summit between President Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee. The single-point agenda is the proposed Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline, feels the visiting Pakistani delegation.

However, there are some frills which have been added to this list. Some crucial decisions on key economic and bilateral trade issues between the two countries will be taken during the summit. This may include free trade movement, enhanced border to border transportation and rationalisation of food items.

"There is an economic agenda, but the gas pipeline issue is at the forefront," ICC Pakistan chairman Tariq M. Rangoonwala said. Mr Rangoonwala said the pipeline is an impending issue which needs to be sorted out between the two countries. "We are keen on settling this issue. If a consensus is reached upon during the summit, at least we have one area which will be permanent between the two countries," he said. Mr Rangoonwala refused to elaborate on the underpinnings surrounding the gas pipeline issue, but said Pakistan sees it as a golden goose. "It is in our business and economic interests," he said.

Laying further stress on cooperation in energy, besides the Iran pipeline, the Pakistani industry is keen that joint collaborations be forged between the two countries on one of the most contentious areas till recently — nuclear energy and nuclear waste disposal. "We need to collaborate on the nuclear energy disposal of nuclear waste as it is in the common interests of both countries," Mr Rangoonwala said.

While energy, free trade movement, enhanced border to border transportation and rationalisation of food items could form part of the broad core agenda, hopes of the Indian industry for attaining the most-favoured nation (MFN) status from Pakistan is still an ad-hoc issue and may be a long way off.

When asked about free trade movement between the two neighbours and about according India the MFN status, the Pakistani delegates said though certain measures may be taken during the summit, it is difficult to tilt the trade dimensions when the trade balance is clearly in favour of India.

The Economic Times

Indo-Pak. social scientists' meet begins ^{no. 12}

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 9. The two-day Indo-Pakistan meeting of social scientists began here today amid tight security with the hope that the two countries would succeed in cutting through the rhetoric and manage to build bridges of communication.

The visiting delegates were confident that the stalemate over a meeting between the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, and the All-Party Hurriyat Conference during the former's visit would not sabotage the summit talks. While they questioned India's resistance to such a meeting, the view was that there was too much at stake to risk the talks over this issue.

Though the participants — both Indian and Pakistani — conceded that they were not expecting any miracles from the Agra summit, there was unanimity on the need to "talk" and "keep talking".

And, one such attempt to provide a channel of communication was opened at the inaugural session of the bilateral conference on 'Development Perspectives in the New Millennium: Forging India-Pakistan Partnership' itself with the chairman of the Indian Council of Social Science Research, Prof. M.L. Sondhi, announcing the setting up of 27 senior fellowships on Indo-Pakistan studies.

Setting the pace for the deliberations, the Deputy Chairperson of Rajya Sabha, Dr. Najma Heptulla, said both India and Pakistan could ill afford the "luxury of expensive rivalries". Dwelling on the common heritage and critical

of efforts to "contest our shared past", she said despite opening both markets to the outside world, intra-regional trade remained low. "SAARC Area Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA) and SAARC Area Free Trade Arrangement (SAFTA) continue to remain hostage to our political differences," she added.

Of the view that there can never be any harvest in the battlefield of war, the Editor-in-Chief of *The Asian Age*, Mr. M.J. Akbar, said ignorance about each other and not suspicion of the other was the greatest hurdle in dealing with the issue. "Five days of bonhomie is not enough to break 50 years of hostilities. But still it is important that we start talking."

Echoing this sentiment was the chairman of the International Relations Department at the Quaid-Azam University in Islamabad, Prof. Mohammad Waseem. Welcoming the "peace offensive", he said: "We need to de-demonise the opinion we have of each other. Even if the summit does not produce concrete results, we should not abandon the initiative that has been taken. We should try to open and establish channels of communication."

Describing the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, as the most unlikely candidates to have taken up this initiative, the Editor-in-Chief of *The Dawn*, Karachi, Mr. Hamid Haroon, said the two have shown that irrespective of what the establishments in the two countries want, the leadership is in favour of talks.

Pakistanis can get visas at checkpoints on border and LoC India eases travel rules

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 9. — India today took a bold and unilateral step of easing travel restrictions for Pakistani nationals visiting the country and decided to issue visas at Attari checkpoint, Punjab, and Munabao, Rajasthan, and designated points along the international border and the LoC in J&K.

The Prime Minister today took the initiative to open the checkpoints along the border and the LoC for first time. The present visa regime between India and Pakistan is confined only to divided families.

One checkpoint may be set up in Uri sector, across Muzaffarabad, in north Kashmir.

A foreign ministry spokesperson said administrative arrangements, including transport,

QAZI INVITES HURRIYAT LEADERS

NEW DELHI, July 9. — The Pakistani high commissioner today invited the seven executive Hurriyat members to a reception thrown in honour of General Pervez Musharraf on 14 July, ignoring India's opposition.

Of the seven, the Hurriyat chairman, Prof Abdul Ghani Bhat, Mr Abdul Ghani Lone, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq and Sheikh Abdul Aziz are already in Delhi. Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi has personally invited Mr Yasin Malik, Syed Ali Shah Geelani and Maulana Abbas Ansari. Prof Bhat met Mr Qazi and discussed some issues expected to be taken up at the summit. — SNS

would be put in place in three months and they could be "traditional" road routes.

Since it's India's conviction that the foundations of peace with Pakistan have to be laid in the minds and hearts of the

■ Editorial: Musharraf's tea party, page 6
■ More reports on page 8

people of the two countries, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee has decided that

henceforth Pakistani passport holders would be allowed to come to India by road and obtain visas at several checkpoints.

It's India's decision to ease

travel restrictions for Pakistanis is part of the confidence-building measures before the summit.

At present, visas for Pakistanis, averaging 350 a day, are being issued only by the Indian high commission in Islamabad. To rule out the inconvenience that Pakistanis have to go through to get visas, India decided to open the checkpoints.

But won't these be misused by terrorists to sneak into India? The spokesperson said: "No aspect of security of the country will be compromised or allowed to be compromised."

How long will it take for a visa to be issued? An official said it wouldn't be issued on the spot. Visa seekers will have to complete certain formalities. The duration depends on the kind of visa applied for too.

AGRA SUMMIT-I

Basic Determinants Must Be Laid Down

MURPHY'S law notwithstanding, the maxim that anything that is likely to go wrong will go wrong, both India and Pakistan cannot, in tired disillusion, write off the coming Vajpayee-Musharraf summit for at least the beginning, seriously, of an effort to salve, to the extent possible, the problems plaguing our mutual relationship. It is not quite as if a "tide" has come up in our affairs which, "taken at the flood, leads on to fortune" and if "omitted" (as Shakespeare warns) "the voyage" of our lives will be "bound in shallows and in miseries". Luckily, there is in neither country an excess of euphoria and instant expectation of results. Perhaps, however, it is healthy and wise to have some modest hopes of at least the beginnings of a process of peace and cooperation. Superior cynicism and derision of the proposed summit can only queer the pitch.

History, "that cruel goddess" (as Engels once said), has punished our two countries for not having been able to win true independence but to acquiesce in Britain's "transfer of power" by an Act of Parliament in 1947 at the price, paid willy-nilly, of the partition of our ancient land.

TRUCULENCE

Ever since then, the "West" (where Britain belongs) has ensured that Pakistan, situated in "the middle of the earth" (Ernest Bevin's words) be kept firmly under its thumb and remain almost as a time-bomb to be switched at will against India.

Not that India was bent on revolution but our freedom struggle, in spite of being basically a tame affair, had lent this country a sort of anti-imperialist truculence which posed a long-term danger to the world hegemony of capitalism. This is why the "West" has never forgiven India her "freedom", while Pakistan, proving more malleable, has often received their deeply devious pats on the back.

For quite some time, however, in a "globalised" world where

By HIREN MUKERJEE

aggration (perhaps only an "exaggeration of the truth") to affirm that Vajpayee and Musharraf, however gainly or gravely they go over their diplomatic rounds, are virtually "marionettes in American hands".

Even so, it is out of this miserable morass where our own historic feebleness and failures have led us, it is out of this tormenting impasse that we

patent rights so that MNC's (multinational corporations) flourish massively at the cost of our people's misery. Shouldn't both our countries, victims of an unequal and unethical globalisation, raise a united voice in world forums? The list can be easily extended but there is no need. The summitters' time, unhappily, is limited and one should not wish them to discuss everything and nothing. But the core issues, with Kashmir having primacy, are many, and at any rate for detailed negotiations to follow, the basic determinants have to be laid down.

Vajpayee's abortive (but imaginatively conceived) bus journey to Pakistan, ostensibly reciprocated then by Nawaz Sherief, has left a sour memory because of its having been followed by the cataclysm over Kargil. It is good that sourness has been largely washed off, and communal hawks — still prolific in both countries — notwithstanding, there does seem to be today a kind of sober, if only modest, expectation of some immediate benefits and of a prolonged but bona fide process of rapprochement.

CONFEDERATION

Here is an opportunity which neither habitual cynicism nor a stance of ideological indifference should be allowed to underrate.

In early 1953 when Ambassador KPS Menon saw Stalin in Moscow, the Soviet leader asked him (as Menon has accorded) if India's leaders contemplated a possible confederation with Pakistan since division of a country on grounds of religion was a "medieval" idea while we needed badly to be good neighbours. Perhaps Nehru never gave much thought to the idea for he was pestered with a terrible plethora of problems and had no time for long-term possibilities.

Recently, Mulayam Singh Yadav, in one of his populist brain waves, seemed to have revived the theme but of course in his own aberrant fashion and it made no impression. For



have to emerge. Perhaps what is rather pompously called the Agra Summit will make as genuine a start of the process that we can achieve. It is not much good quarrelling over the motivations of the summitters and their long-term dependence on the bosses of globalisation. Let us rather see if we can pluck the "flower" — peace — from the "nettle" of dangers inherent in the world situation.

One hopes the two leaders would waste no time over whether the agenda is "Kashmir and other issues" or "several issues including Kashmir". Such debate, worthy only of medieval "schoolmen" should be set aside and if it pleases Musharraf to be assured that in India's view also, Kashmir is the main hurdle to be overcome, let it be okayed at once.

DETERMINANTS

The fact, however, is that other vital issues wait urgently for understanding if not of final settlement, Kashmir may well be deemed the "core issue" but the summit should take note of what someone called "the core danger" (to ourselves and to the world), namely, our pitiful but

Government has barred its pseudo solidarity with Palestine. The Zionist regime... relies on its chants of war will never permit the civil war in our motherland to cease," Mr Rauf Hakeem said. Mr Rauf Hakeem's sacking from the government and the subsequent developments after Saturday night when troops activated a clay-core mine targeted at a tractor carrying militants near Kathiravelli in Trincomalee district on According to sources, eight rebels were killed in Trincomalee district, it said. skirmish at Neelapola, south of Muttur, in the In another incident, two rebels were killed in a report said. kambiwewa in the Wel Uy area in the north.

THE STATESMAN

MUSHARRAF'S TEA PARTY

516 The rhetoric and the pragmatic

IT is not certain that the invitation to the Hurriyat to attend the reception by the Pakistani High Commissioner on 14 July, that is, one day before President Pervez Musharraf's summit with Prime Minister Vajpayee in Agra, is a purely tactical move, designed to elicit a response from India that can be used subsequently to deprecate India's attitude towards Kashmiri aspirations for propaganda purposes or to simply embarrass the Indian government further. The MEA maintains that Hurriyat is a "non-issue" and has "no role to play" in discussions India has with Pakistan. Unofficially, however, according to sources in Islamabad, "strong messages" have been sent that India does not want a meeting between Hurriyat and Musharraf and that it might jeopardise the summit. The Pakistanis themselves are caught between what they consider to be their national commitment towards Kashmir and the new kind of rhetoric, conciliatory and more oriented towards the practical aspects of the problem which they realise cannot be addressed without a degree of cooperation from India.

The Pakistanis are well aware that a meeting with people considered by India to be separatists, at the Pakistan High Commission, has a quasi-official air about it and bestows upon Hurriyat the kind of recognition that India does not extend to it. Maybe the Pakistani hesitation was prompted by apprehensions that the summit may not after all focus on Kashmir as strongly as they would like and, therefore, decided to up the ante in order to ensure that the focus stays where they want it to. Their apprehensions may not be entirely unfounded, although the marked shift in Musharraf's rhetoric indicated that they were expecting some positive outcome, especially on Kashmir. The Prime Minister has called an all-party meeting and the general consensus, in the Opposition, seems to be that the parliamentary resolution declaring Kashmir to be an integral part of India be adhered to and peripheral issues discussed, in which case Vajpayee may not have much room for manoeuvre, a resolution which, apart from its substance is associated with a certain approach towards the issue which India must think sclerotic. Musharraf has understood this better: a change of language must precede a change in approach, which is why the sudden reversion, on 6 July, to the old rhetoric of "moral, diplomatic and political support" along with references to UN resolutions, was unfortunate. The Pakistanis are right when they say that a practical solution to Kashmir cannot sideline independent Kashmiri opinion; the problem is that India contests the Hurriyat's claim in this regard. Besides most of the Hurriyat wants independence, unrealistic and unacceptable. Also why should Pakistan be talking to them, before India does? The questions thrown up by the invitation to the Hurriyat are emblematic of the ambiguous situation in which the people of that state find themselves vis-a-vis the two countries who preside over its destiny.

RAJASTHAN-SINDH RAIL LINK TO BE RESTORED

India to lift barriers on LoC for family reunions

By Atul Aneja

1072
40-1

NEW DELHI, JULY 9. In a historic decision, India today decided to lift barriers at specific locations along the Line of Control (LoC) so that Kashmiris living in PoK and those holding Pakistani passports could travel to Jammu and Kashmir.

In a major announcement on the eve of the summit meeting, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, declared that "designated points along the International Border (IB) and the LoC in Jammu and Kashmir" would be opened up for Pakistani passport holders. Highly-placed sources said that the Government was inclined to open the old Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road for travel. Specifically, Pakistani passport holders may enter Jammu and Kashmir via Chakoti, which is on the Pakistani side, and Uri, which falls on the Indian side of the LoC.

The decision, once implemented, will for the first time in 54 years permit reunion of Kashmiri families living on either side of the 540 km-long LoC. The announcement is expected to be welcomed by Kashmiris on either side of the LoC. By arousing a positive response, it could diminish focus on the controversy revolving around the proposed meeting between the Hurriyat leaders and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf.

In another significant declaration, Mr. Vajpayee said that the Rajasthan-Sindh rail link would also be restored.

According to a statement by the Ministry of External Affairs, Munabao, situated in Rajasthan on the Indo-Pakistan rail map, would be opened up as yet another cross-border transit point. Munabao, which can be reached from the last Pakistani

railhead of Khokraphar in Sindh, was open to traffic until the 1965 war.

With the aim of making travel, especially among Indian and Pakistani youth, "as simple and easy as possible," a decision has been taken to issue visas at the border checkpoints itself. Apart from the proposed new locations, visas would also be issued at the Attari checkpoint in Punjab. Besides, vehicles would be made available close to the transit points so that the travellers do not have problems in going to the interior areas. The decisions are expected to be implemented within three months. To a question, the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs asserted that while it would be India's endeavour to facilitate travel, "no aspects of security will be compromised."

The Prime Minister's directive is part of India's pre-summit peace offensive and aimed at generating goodwill among Pakistani people. India has already taken unilateral steps to promote business ties and facilitate interaction between the youth of the two countries.

In a related development, the spokesperson announced that the proposed visit to Islamabad by the Director-General of Military Operations (DGMO), Lt. Gen. G.S. Sihota, had been officially communicated to the Pakistani authorities.

The DGMO spoke to his Pakistani counterpart over telephone this evening about his visit. The Pakistani High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, was also informed this morning.

Government sources said the DGMO was expected to discuss details, including administrative arrangements for facilitating travel by Kashmiris across the LoC.

Four liberal myths about Indo-Pak relations

A separate peace

9/2

THERE is a touch of the unreal about the forthcoming Vajpayee-Musharraf summit. Hype and near euphoria seem to be the defining emotions of the liberal community in India and Pakistan, with expectations at an all time high. What is frightening is that these hopes of a dramatic breakthrough in India-Pakistan relations are rarely based on a sophisticated analysis of either the ideational or material circumstances that might draw together these long-estranged neighbours. Surely the desire for peace alone cannot be a sufficient instrument for overcoming the deep structural hurdles, that have prevented stability from acquiring deep roots in the last 53 years. On the eve of the summit, it is important, therefore, to conduct a reality check and challenge the myths that are being perpetuated by all those who believe that we have virtually turned the corner in India-Pakistan relations.

Myth one: Pakistan's army alone can make lasting peace with India. This myth has almost become an axiom with Pakistan watchers in India. True, Pakistan's army, because of the long history of praetorian rule, is unarguably the most powerful institution in the country, but it is also the organisation that has the greatest vested interest in the continuing conflict with India. Indeed, its growth in power and influence has much to do with the long saga of enmity with India. There is little evidence, beyond anecdotal instances and an occasional statement, to suggest that the army today is willing to deny itself the most important reason for its existence and sustenance. Recent cuts in Pakistan's defence budget reflect in reality the pressure from international financial institutions, rather than the acceptance that the conflict with India cannot be continued. Instead the belief that the strategy of bleeding India "through a thousand cuts" has worked is still finding expression in the statements of important voices within the armed forces.

In other words, while a deal with

Pakistan's army is likely to be challenged in the short term within the country only by extremists, the armed forces are the one institution that have the least incentive to make peace with India. More important, in the long term, it should be clear that the road to stable peace in the sub-continent can only be on the basis of shared values, especially those backed by public opinion in mature democratic political systems. This has been the experience across the world, and there is no reason to believe India and Pakistan are exceptions to this global norm.

Myth two: Settlement of Kashmir will lead to a breakthrough in India-Pakistan relations. This belief, which has always found expression in Pakistani writings, seems to be grad-



AMITABH MATTOO

The stark reality is that at present there is no win-win resolution of Indo-Pak problems. The best hope is that Islamabad and New Delhi can agree to live and let live

ually finding supporters within the Indian intelligentsia. Notice the mushrooming within the Indian media of proposals to settle the Kashmir issue. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth. Any understanding of the history of India-Pakistan relations would suggest the dispute over Kashmir is only a symptom of the larger structural conflict between India and Pakistan rooted in different conceptions of national identity. As long as Pakistan continues to believe that Hindus and Muslims cannot live together and rejects implicitly the idea of multi-religious plural states, the conflict with India will continue. In short, until Pakistan is able to construct its national identity in terms larger than opposition to India, there is little hope of lasting peace.

The problem is that while the real

road to peace can only be travelled by first accepting that the Partition of India was a mistake, any attempt by Indians to do so will seem to question the existence of Pakistan as an independent state. This will inevitably invite a negative reaction. Thus only when Pakistanis themselves are able to construct a modern nation state on the basis of modern values can there be a real chance of a genuine partnership. It is, of course, not besides the point that at the moment there is virtu-

ally no chance of finding a solution to Kashmir that will be acceptable to both Indians and Pakistanis.

Myth three: Economic interdependence will create the conditions of stable peace. Although the experience from other regions, especially the

real to believe close economic integration will minimise conflict.

Myth four: Dramatic breakthroughs are needed to push South Asia towards peace. All those who believe the Musharraf-Vajpayee summit could and should lead to a breakthrough in bilateral relations often point to the examples of the Middle East and the US-Soviet relationship, where summits generated a peace process. These examples are, however, erroneous. In the case of the East-West relationship, the Soviet Union collapsed after making "peace" with the US, and in the case of the Middle East the jury is still out on whether summits contributed to building what, in any case, is still not peace. Real peace can be created not by dramatic gestures or meetings between top leaders, but by the power of incrementalism. Only through detailed agreements in peripheral areas that can be sustained over the long term can cooperation be learnt and institutionalised. Peace, as has often been said, can only be achieved through pieces.

In other words, the greatest contribution that the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit can make is by institutionalising a process of dialogue at multiple levels that will be continued through ups and downs in the bilateral relationship. On the one hand, by achieving agreement only on a few issues, like nuclear risk reduction measures and Siachen or Wular, Musharraf and Vajpayee will ensure that the summit is not a failure. On the other hand, by resisting the temptation for grand results they will be protecting their constituencies, and ensuring that the process is not subverted by those who will inevitably lose out if a grand settlement is made. The stark reality is that at present there is no win-win resolution of India-Pakistan problems. The best hope is that both Islamabad and New Delhi can agree to live and let live, in the same region but separately.

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MONDAY, JULY 9, 2001

H-12 ✓
SHADOWS AND SUBSTANCE 9/7

THE POLITICAL MYSTIQUE of the prospective meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and Pakistan's President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, is being fostered by them in divergent ways. Surely, the deeply encrusted line of mistrust on the bilateral front is not easy to surmount, and there is no room for grand illusions. So, it is no surprise that the rainbow of hope, a promise that took shape as Mr. Vajpayee invited Gen. Musharraf for substantive talks in Agra on July 15, may now appear to have receded in a pre-summit storm of political suspicions. However, it is a good sign that New Delhi and Islamabad seem to be aware of the dangers of allowing the controversy over the summit-related status of the All Party Hurriyat Conference to spiral out of control. Ignoring Mr. Vajpayee's eagerness to keep the Hurriyat out of the India-Pakistan dialogue process, Gen. Musharraf has made no secret of his move to engage the APHC leadership in New Delhi on the eve of the Agra summit. Yet, the Vajpayee administration has the chance to abide by its own first reaction of treating Gen. Musharraf's invitation to the Hurriyat as a non-issue of peripheral significance to the planned summit in Agra. Islamabad, too, should ensure that its enthusiasm for ascertaining the wishes of the Hurriyat leadership in a direct dialogue does not wreck the spirit of the imminent India-Pakistan summit.

India, an emerging power, does not stand to lose its status or strength as a consequence of any conversation between Pakistan and the Hurriyat, although the Vajpayee dispensation had in recent months raised a hue and cry over this issue. Moreover, Islamabad's official portrayal of its decision to interact with the Hurriyat at this stage is not reflective of any disruptive design by Gen. Musharraf to organise a mini-summit within a major summit. Apparently as some concession to New Delhi's known sensitivity, Islamabad has in-

dicated that Gen. Musharraf might in some unspecified manner engage the Hurriyat leaders over tea on the occasion of a formal reception to be hosted in his honour by the Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi on July 14. A plan of this social-cultural proportion can be interpreted as some form of non-abrasive diplomacy. In fact, the Hurriyat leaders reportedly want to engage Gen. Musharraf within a formal framework rather than on the sidelines of a social event. The Hurriyat dispensation is no less eager to prove its legitimacy as a key 'Kashmiri' outfit. This explains why it is still angling for an invitation from Mr. Vajpayee too at this juncture. India and Pakistan are, nonetheless, far from pronouncing the final word on the relevance, if any, of the 'Kashmiri' groups on both sides of the Line of Control to a final settlement of the issue that certainly concerns them too.

New Delhi and Islamabad have rightly painted the proposals for the agenda of their upcoming summit in broad strokes. It is, therefore, counter-productive to view Mr. Vajpayee's new initiative in regard to the peace-and-security paradigm of bilateral relations as a move to checkmate Gen. Musharraf in his perceived bid to turn their planned summit into an intensive dialogue exclusively on the Kashmir dispute. Yet, in a benign sense, the questions raised by Mr. Vajpayee constitute the core stuff of a critical mass for long-term peace on the India-Pakistan front. He wants some top military officials of the two countries to come up with ideas for lasting peace along the Line of Control and in Siachen. A call to devise confidence-building measures for bilateral nuclear security has also been underlined by him, while Pakistan wants a no-war pact. These and other issues can be discussed meaningfully if the two sides manage to sustain the momentum generated by their latest acts of mutual goodwill in releasing some civilian prisoners.

Fernandes against removing troops from Kargil

NEW DELHI, JULY 8. The Samata Party leader, Mr. George Fernandes, today cautioned the Government against agreeing to any Pakistani proposal for withdrawal of troops from Kargil and Siachen, saying this would be "very dangerous" for the country.

"The Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, may propose pulling back troops from these areas but the Indian Government should not agree," Mr. Fernandes told *Aaj Tak*. Recalling the Shimla pact, he said Pakistan had then spoken about developing a relation based on trust. "But we didn't get any solution from it... There was no improvement in relations."

He said the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's Lahore initiative had helped the countries evolve a road map for improving ties but this had been belied with the Pakistani intrusions in Kargil. "That is why any talk today of removing soldiers from Siachen or from any other areas would be very dangerous for our country."

Welcoming Mr. Vajpayee's unilateral decision to release Pakistani fishermen in Indian custody as a goodwill gesture, he stressed, "We have to move away from the dialogue of guns and start talks on other contentious issues. We should build friendly relations

and try to find new avenues to further consolidate them." On the Hurriyat issue, he said, "What is in the mind of Gen. Musharraf and the Pakistani officials, nobody knows. Each day they say new things on the issue. I sometimes think they are trying to provoke us... But they also have problems in their country and we understand them. We don't want to anger them. I think we shouldn't be upset by it." — PTI

'Use summit to forge new ties'

NEW DELHI, JULY 8. The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, has said India and Pakistan should not have very high expectations of next week's Vajpayee-Musharraf summit which should be used to forge a new relationship.

It was unrealistic to expect resolution of the Kashmir issue in one meeting, he told a private TV channel. It was not easy for India to deal with the person who was behind Pakistani intrusions in Kargil, he said.

Mr. Abdullah, who met the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, said there was no point at this stage in defining parameters within which the two leaders should find out solutions. — PTI

'Discuss Kashmir within South Asian framework'

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

CHANDIGARH, July 8. - "The Kashmir issue should be discussed in South Asian framework since the explosion of identities in the Indian sub-continent could lead to disintegration of the entire region," a statement released by over three dozen political commentators, theatre personalities, academics and others said in a statement today.

"Also the issue should be discussed as one of Kashmiri people needing restoration of their political, cultural, economic rights like those of any other cultural groups in the region," the statement added.

These views were expressed in the context of the forthcoming Vajpayee-Musharraf Summit in Agra.

Prominent amongst the signatories are the political theorist, Professor Randhir Singh, political analyst and commentator, Dr Pramod Kumar of the Institute of Development and Communication, former

Punjab Advocate General, Mr G S Grewal, theatre personality, Ms Neelam Mansingh, chairman of the Sheikh Baba Farid chair of Punjab University, Mr Deepak Manmohan Singh, and commentator on socio-political issues, Professor H S Mehta.

Welcoming the summit, the signatories have expressed grave concern over an increasing trend of authoritarianism in the world, with dialogue generally receding to the background. The two sides were also urged that since historical problems couldn't be solved overnight, the process of dialogue should not end in Agra.

According to the statement Kashmir issue was one concerning restoration of economic, political and cultural rights of Kashmiris, quite like those other cultural groups of South Asian region like Bengalis, Sindhi and Pakhtoon. Also, the summit must attempt to find an answer as to why Kashmir became a problem in the first place.

Significantly, the statement cautions In-

dia and Pakistan not to allow the Kashmir issue to be used for undermining democratisation of polity or as an alibi for their non-performance in the sectors of poverty alleviation, removal of inequalities and remedying unemployment as also denial of cultural and linguistic rights to cultural groups. The leaders of the two countries were also cautioned against allowing Kashmir issue to become an escape route for those who had no commitment to pro-people development process.

The signatories have also appealed to the two leaders to explore the idea of demanding global de-nuclearisation, end of militarisation of the region and demanding an active role for South Asian countries in global decision-making. The summit must evolve means to build the people's stake in the peace-process while this trust should be allowed to percolate into human interaction such as collaborative knowledge generation programmes to meet the challenges posed by the unequal competition at the global levels, felt the signatories.

THE STATESMAN

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9/7

DGMO for Pak. 'early next week'

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, JULY 8. The Director-General of Military Operations (DGMO), Lt. General G.S Sihota, would leave for Islamabad "early next week to discuss with his counterpart, ways to ease military tensions along the Line of Control and the Siachen area," an Army spokesman said here today.

Lt. Gen. Sihota, who may leave on Tuesday, would be the first ever DGMO to visit Pakistan, official sources said. During the visit, prior to the India-Pakistan summit in Agra, he is expected to make a first-hand assessment of the latest Pakistan disposition on Kashmir, the Siachen glacier, possible people-to-people contacts between Kashmiris across the LoC and related military confidence building measures (CBMs).

Gen. Sihota, whose inputs are expected to have a crucial impact on shaping the deliberations during the summit, will discuss with the Pakistani authorities the Indian standpoint on major security-related issues bedeviling the bilateral relations.

It is now fairly clear that the key to any narrowing of differences between India and Pakistan on Kashmir will depend on the extent to which the infiltrations across the LoC can be reduced.

In case the reduction of infiltration can be demonstrated

within a reasonable time-frame, say around one month, other military CBMs and a wider economic agenda can get opened up in the future. A perceptible drop in cross-border movement of militants, for instance, can bring pruning of forces in Kashmir high on the Indo-Pak. agenda. A slowdown in infiltration will also facilitate the possible movement of Kashmiris on both sides of the LoC along the old Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road.

After considerable internal debate, the security establishment is arriving at the conclusion that a discussion on Siachen with Pakistan is not possible in isolation. The Army is of the view that a withdrawal of forces from Siachen by both sides in the future should be linked to an overall reduction of forces along the 540-km. LoC.

As far as India is concerned, Pakistani forces, in case they disengage from Siachen, should be re-positioned north of the Buruzil Pass, main point of entry for its troops located in Gilgit and Skardu. In case mutual withdrawal from Siachen is agreed, the imbalance in force levels, in favour of India will also have to be addressed. The Indian side may therefore be inclined to discuss Siachen pullouts simultaneously with overall reduction of forces along the LoC.

Clarify approach to summit: Opposition

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 8. The mood of despondency and pessimism that seems to have set in ahead of the India-Pakistan summit dialogue next week has led several political parties, especially the Opposition, to ask the Government for clarity in its approach to the summit. Political parties have said they expect the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to do some straight talking and share the Government's approach with them at the all-party meeting tomorrow.

The Opposition leaders today said they expect the Government to give its response to the recent barrage of anti-India statements from Islamabad, especially the charge of atrocities against the Kashmiri people by Indian forces, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's "yes" to the Hurriyat insistence on a meeting with him.

Even the BJP leaders, though more cautious, have said they are not happy with the fast deteriorating "atmosphere" just a few days ahead of the summit. The BJP expects something "positive" from the summit — that would have been handy in the coming Assembly elections and boosted the sagging reputation of the Centre too — but recent aggressive

statements from Islamabad have made it feel that optimism may be misplaced. The party has not forgotten how the euphoria over the Lahore bus diplomacy kaleidoscoped into the Kargil battle.

While the Opposition parties have welcomed the invitation to Gen. Musharraf, most of them are beginning to advise the Government to be cautious in its approach. The Congress said there was no room for tripartite talks and that the Hurriyat must not be involved in the parleys; and the People's Front leaders, former Prime Minister, Mr. H.D. Deve Gowda, and Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav (Samajwadi Party), wondered why the Government did not make its stand clear on the possible Musharraf-Hurriyat meeting here despite its clear reservations on the matter.

One, the Congress, the SP, Mr. Gowda and several others want the Government to spell out its stand on the possible Musharraf-Hurriyat meeting. Two, they expressed shock at Islamabad's statement on repression in Kashmir. Three, the BJP has made it clear that in any "no-war pact", the undeclared proxy war in Kashmir must also be included. And four, parties have cautioned New Delhi against too much hype and too much optimism.

NEWS ANALYSIS

HT-9 877
Meeting with Hurriyat will add lustre to Pervez presidency

**Vinod Sharma &
Udayan Nambodiri**
New Delhi, July 7

WHY IS General Pervez Musharraf so insistent about setting up a meeting with the All Party Hurriyat Conference even if it means exposing Indo-Pak dialogue to early peril? What agenda does he intend promoting in the guise of keeping a date with the multi-party conglomerate?

Pakistan watchers believe that the General's effort to be demonstrative in his patronage of the Hurriyat leadership would help them resurrect their sagging public image in Jammu and Kashmir. It would also be for Pakistan a direct political gain; the APHC being Islamabad's captive voice in the disputed territory.

Moreover, the anti-India combine enjoys greater support among the right-wing Pak lobby, which has rallied around Musharraf in the face of the mainline parties strong denunciation of his military regime.

In fact, the General immediate problem is of carrying con-

viction with the political classes back home. "A meeting with the Hurriyat is linked to his long-term political prospects. It will add lustre to his Presidency," remarked visiting Pakistani journalist Nusrat Javed. If he does not meet the Hurriyat, the General would be perceived in Pakistan as having ditched a faithful auxiliary which insisted on tripartite talks instead of responding to the K C Pant dialogue offer.

Never mind the General's motives, New Delhi has none but itself to blame for getting painted in a corner, said former foreign secretary J N Dixit. He believes that the summit-eve mess could have been avoided had India not made such a big deal of the Hurriyat's demand for a call on Musharraf or its earlier, post-ceasefire proposal to visit to Pakistan.

"We should have treated them with the requisite level of indifference," commented Dixit, regretting what he termed as the Government's failure to anticipate such an eventuality. Another former Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan

opined: "After pretending for a while that the Musharraf-Hurriyat meeting was a non-issue, we betrayed our shakiness over it by formally conveying our opposition to the Pak foreign office".

Advocating a tough Indian stance, Dixit said the Pak envoy to India should not be allowed to get away with the projection of his reception for Musharraf as just another tea party. "The High Commissioner's explanation is spurious. He should be told that it is not an ordinary reception but one for the visiting Pak president", he argued.

"Musharraf should be asked whether he was coming to talk to Vajpayee or the Hurriyat?" said Dixit. "Had it not been for its lack of maturity and a structured approach to the dialogue, New Delhi would not have found itself in this eminently avoidable situation."

In the same vein, academician Kalim Bahadur felt India should strongly resist the Pak move. The Hurriyat, he maintained, cannot be recognised as the sole representative of the Kashmiris.

Army officers suggested DGMO visit

Hurriyat meet only if India agrees: Pervez

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

the 14-16 July summit.

NEW DELHI, July 7. — The Prime Minister today called an all-party meeting on the summit on 9 July after telling the director general of military operations yesterday to visit Pakistan to discuss the situation along the LoC, on senior Army officers' advice.

(In an apparent softening of stance, Gen Pervez Musharraf tonight said his meeting with Hurriyat leaders depended on the Indian side as they seemed to be a little "hesitant" for such a meet, PTI adds from Islamabad.)

("We have invited Hurriyat leaders to a reception of the High Commissioner on the evening of 14 July. But I really don't know. I am not sure, it depends on the Indian authorities whether they permit them to meet me or not", he told journalists.)

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee has invited at least 35 leaders for consultations before his summit with General Pervez Musharraf. He has already held talks with three former Prime Ministers, Mr PV Narasimha Rao, Mr Chandra Shekhar and Mr VP Singh.

Mr Farooq Abdullah, who will return from abroad tomorrow, too will attend in the meeting.

Mr Vajpayee had met senior military officers at a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security a few days before issuing the instruction to the DGMO. Lieutenant-General GS Sihota may leave for Pakistan on Tuesday or Wednesday.

The military officers had given Mr Vajpayee the details of the situation along the LoC and in Siachen glacier. And Lt-Gen Sihota's Pakistan trip was an outcome of the meeting. It was suggested that the DGMO meet his counterpart, Major-General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, in Islamabad before

Mr Vajpayee has consulted, among others, the former President, Mr R Venkataraman, former Prime Ministers and foreign secretaries and officials who have served as heads of mission to Pakistan as part of his pre-summit preparations. Though the overall response to the summit has been favourable, the Prime Minister is keen to fine-tune his preparations to have a positive meeting.

The PMO has been flooded with letters offering suggestions on concessions that could be given to reduce the hostility between the neighbours — from PoWs release, easier visa and travel facilities, increased religious and cultural exchanges, and increased trade relations.

Mr LK Advani and Mr Yashwant Sinha, Mr Jaswant Singh, the Planning Commission deputy chairman, Mr KC

Pant, the principal, Cabinet, foreign, home and defence secretaries attended the meeting. The three Services chiefs too were present.

Hurriyat: Hurriyat chairman Mr Abdul Ghani Bhat may reach Delhi in a day or two to meet the Pakistani high commissioner to finalise the names of the leaders who would attend the reception held in honour of Gen. Musharraf, adds UNI.

'They can wait': Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan, whose Muslim Conference won the PoK Assembly polls yesterday, feels there's no sense in involving

Kashmiri leaders in the summit. Though the Kashmir problem can't be solved without the Kashmiris, they could be involved at a later stage, he said.



LET'S BE FRIENDS: An Indian girl, Rekha (4), reaches out to shake hands with a Pakistani Ranger at Wagah border checkpoint on Friday. — AP/PTI

■ Editorial: Ataturk is welcome! page 8
■ More reports on page 10

THE STATESMAN

10 JUL 2001

'Include sugar trade in summit

5-1⁰ agenda' *g v p*

8/7 SANJAY SINGH
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 7. - The food ministry wants the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit to explore the possibility of exporting Indian sugar to Pakistan.

The Union food minister, Mr Shanta Kumar, has written to the foreign minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, to include sugar trade in the agenda of the coming summit. Mr Singh is yet to respond to the request.

Mr Kumar said India and Pakistan had good amount of sugar trade till recently and there was a need to restore it. India produces more sugar than the domestic market can consume. The annual production of sugar in India is around 182 lakh tonnes and domestic consumption is around 150 lakh tonnes. Besides the country has a carry-over stock of 170 lakh tonnes.

India had imported sugar from Pakistan in 1998-99 to augment domestic supply but since then it had become self-sufficient in sugar production.

The reverse trade, export of Indian sugar to the neighbouring country, had been more frequent. In 2000-2001, Pakistan imported large stocks of Indian sugar to supplement its own production and bring down rising domestic prices. But the situation changed completely after the Kargil war. In March, Pakistan imposed a ban on import of Indian sugar claiming it had sufficient stock.

THE STATESMAN

INVITATION TO HURRIYAT WILL NOT HELP: DELHI

Focus on Kashmir: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 7. With just a week left for the summit-level dialogue between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistani military ruler and President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, in Agra, the message from here is loud and clear. From the Pakistan point of view, Kashmir shall and will be the focus of the agenda of the talks and Islamabad would not allow New Delhi to detract from the main item of its agenda.

This was the crux of the message sought to be conveyed by the Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman at the question-answer session on Friday afternoon, and the terse statement his office issued hours after the interactive session with journalists.

Enquiries with all those concerned in the military establishment about the outburst of the Pakistan Foreign Office on Friday on the alleged 'sharp increase' in incidents of rape and molestation by Indian forces and acts of unprovoked firing reveal that it was meant to convey a message to New Delhi. The message is that as far as Pakistan is concerned, the summit is all about a free and frank dialogue on Kashmir.

It is believed that the Pakistani Foreign Secretary, Mr. Inamul Haq, conveyed the same impression when the Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan, Mr. Vijay K. Nambiar, called on him on Friday evening.

Mr. Haq broached the subject of invitation to the Hurriyat for the tea party being hosted by the Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi on July 14 in honour of Gen. Musharraf. The Foreign Secretary sought to explain the rationale behind the decision.

Mr. Nambiar, on his part, reiterated the Indian position. He told the Pakistan Foreign Secretary that facilitation of any contact between Gen. Musharraf and the Hurriyat leaders during the visit of the former to India could dampen the summit atmosphere.



A 4-year-old Indian girl reaches out to shake hands with a Pakistani Ranger after the 'flag-off', at the Wagah border checkpoint on Friday. — AP

But Mr. Haq was not impressed.

'No fixed agenda'

Pakistan's approach towards the coming summit was evident from the repeated reference to the Kashmir issue by the Foreign Office spokesman on Friday. "Kashmir has been the rootcause

of tensions between Pakistan and India and this is so acknowledged by the world. This issue has to be meaningfully addressed... We are looking forward to the summit resulting in a process which leads to a solution of the Kashmir problem in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people. The

President has stated that he would go to Delhi with an open mind. We would discuss if any other issues are raised, but Kashmir would be the focus from the Pakistani point of view", the spokesman said.

Trade barriers

He even ruled out the possibility of the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status issue figuring at the summit. "India talks about MFN status but they, at the same time, have a number of structural and non-tariff barriers, with the result that the trade that exists between the two countries is heavily in favour of India. Anyhow, such matters can be discussed in the Foreign Secretary-level talks when held. All such issues will be addressed when the climate of relations between the two countries improves".

'Looking for results'

Asked if in Pakistan's perceptions there is a positive climate in India for a 'constructive dialogue', the spokesman said Pakistan was looking for positive results from the summit. It hoped that positive results would be achieved and there would be progress in addressing meaningfully the Kashmir issue. "It would also lead to a resolution of other issues. We hope that the summit would lead to a new chapter of good normal relations between the two countries".

When a journalist referred to the 'bhai-bhai' package announced by New Delhi and sought his comment, he said that Pakistan had always been very sensitive to the humanitarian problems faced by people of both the countries.

In response to another question on the no-war pact offered by Pakistan, he said, "it is an eminently reasonable proposal, which remains on the table. The details of such a pact would have to be negotiated once the other side is ready to discuss them, and naturally such a pact should have an in-built mechanism for addressing disputes".

It all depends on India: Musharraf

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 7. The Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has said that his meeting with the All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) leadership depended entirely on the Indian side.

Talking to a select group of intellectuals here tonight, Gen. Musharraf said India seemed a little hesitant in allowing the Hurriyat leaders to meet him. "We have invited the APHC leaders to a reception of the High Commission-

er on the evening of July 14. But I really don't know. I'm not sure, it depends on the Indian authorities whether they permit them to meet me or not."

On the Indian decision of not allowing the APHC leaders to meet him, he said, "initially it may not impact that seriously, because initially really the important issue is the Indian acceptance of this core issue and a sincere desire to move forward. But, however, no forward movement is possible without the par-

ticipation of the Kashmiri leaders. I think it will be very unrealistic if the Kashmiris did not join this dialogue at some stage in the future."

The General was hopeful that the coming Indo-Pak. summit would be fruitful. "Yes, indeed I think we need to certainly initiate and continue the process of dialogue. And the dialogue certainly should be fruitful. It ought to be aiming at a direction, which moves towards resolution of the core issue."

THE HINDU

7-7-2001

While there can be no doubt about his ability to make wars, General Musharraf seems to be in a mood to make peace with India because he badly needs international sympathy and help

DOCTRINE OF NEED

If anything, the history of Pakistan suggests that it is the strong who ultimately prevail. Thinking Pakistanis might not have approved of General Pervez Musharraf's decision to catapult himself to the office of President and stage, in the process, a second coup in two years. But then, as this writer found out during a 10-day trip to Pakistan, they have hardly any alternative to accepting the reality, particularly after the Lahore High Court's dismissal of the petitions challenging "President" Musharraf. The Court's decision was not surprising. Because, it has been a well-known fact that Pakistani judiciary invariably enunciates "the doctrine of necessity" when confronted with questions relating to military rule.

So far, there have been four cases of presidential dismissal of prime ministers and an equal number of instances in which a General has overthrown the elected government and seized power in Pakistan since 1953. But except in the case of General Yahya Khan when it denounced him as an usurper, and that, too, at a time when he lay sick under house arrest, the Pakistani judiciary has "legitimised" the other three coups on the basis of what Pakistani commentators call a doctrine of necessity. The courts have always accepted the concerned General's claim that the preceding government had pushed the country to the brink of disaster and that he had intervened "in supreme national interest".

As things stand now, General Musharraf is committed to return the country to democratic rule before 12 October next year. But nobody is sure whether that democratic rule would continue to have the same military mandarins, including the General himself, in some form or the other. The parameters of democracy have always been a moot point during much of Pakistan's history. For ins-

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tance, at the time of assuming the presidency, General Ayub Khan had asserted that the democracy of western concept was not suited to "the genius of the people" of Pakistan. He enunciated what was called "basic democracy", an indirect democracy, controlled at the grassroots.

As for "President" Musharraf, it is an open secret that

By PRAKASH NANDA

the provisions that the Nawaz Sharif government had done away with in 1997, particularly the power of the President to dissolve the National Assembly and dismiss the Prime Minister and the federal government "in case of a breakdown of the constitutional machinery".

When Musharraf comes to Agra for his summit with Prime Minister Vajpayee, he should not be dismissed as "the simple soldier pushover"



he is a great supporter of the Turkish model of governance. The Pakistani strongman has spent considerable years of his life — first with his diplomat father as a child and then as the military attache in the Pakistani embassy in Ankara — in Turkey. In Turkey, there is the predominance of the military in the National Security Council (MGK) in which five top military officers sit opposite five elected politicians. The Turkish constitution says that the MGK's decisions are only advisory. However, the fact remains that governments that ignore the advice rarely last long.

General Musharraf is on record as having said that in Pakistan there should be people's participation at the grassroots, but under the vigilant supervision by the powerful institution of the army. As it is, long before he decided to occupy the office of the President, he had set up a committee to suggest administrative reforms. In fact, there have been reports in a section of the Pakistani press that the General is trying to bring out the amendments in the Pakistani constitution that will strengthen the institution of the President and enshrine a well defined role of the army in the future political set up. He would particularly like to restore

The General would also like, it has been reported, to make the National Security Council (NSC), which he set up soon after the military takeover in October 1999, a permanent feature. This NSC, headed by the Chief Executive (who, in the present case, is the Chief of Army, ie, General himself) has six members: chief of the naval staff, chief of the air force and a specialist each in legal, finance, foreign policy and national affairs. Unlike the composition during the civilian rule, the NSC now has made the three service chiefs permanent members.

Now the question is how do the Pakistani intelligentsia view this development. In one sense, General Musharraf has succeeded in dividing the liberal intellectuals and activists. At one end, there are "uncompromising liberals" who are highly dissatisfied with his performance. For them, religious intolerance and bigotry have increased. So have sectarian violence. The downward movement of the economy has not been arrested. Corruption goes on unabated. Intellectuals belonging to this school of thought would seek an end to military rule at whatever cost.

However, this school's influence is considerably less than

that of the collaborationist liberals who argue that a Musharraf is much better than a Nawaz Sharif or a Benazir Bhutto. The collaborationists attribute most of Pakistan's present ills such as corruption, cynicism and disregard for the interests and the rights of the common people to the misrule of the

the so called Leadership Deficiency Syndrome — the collaborationists, thus, resign themselves to the intervention of the military.

On his part, General Musharraf has not disappointed the collaborationists. His recent blistering speech against the *jehadis* and fundamentalists is a case in point. He lambasted those who were planning to hoist the green flag on top of Delhi's historic Red Fort. He was severe on those unscrupulous religious zealots who brought strife to the country through sectarian struggles and by exploiting the ignorance of the masses. Similarly, General Musharraf's denuclearisation campaign in the country has won over many liberals. He has initiated measures by which, except for the tribal areas, persons in civilian clothes would not be allowed to carry weapons.

In other words, whether democracy has failed in Pakistan due to the collapse of the political elite collectively, or owing to the ambitions of the military leadership, or because of the apathetic liberal intelligentsia, or because of the combination of all these factors is largely a matter of subjective thinking.

But, at the moment, General Musharraf has literally no effective rivals to power. So, when he comes to Agra for his summit with Prime Minister Vajpayee, he should not be dismissed as "the simple soldier pushover". Being "the author of Kargil", there can be no doubt about his ability to make wars.

At the same time, it has to be admitted that he can sell peace to the Pakistanis like no other leader in recent years. And, he seems to be in a mood to make peace with India.

That is not because of his change of heart on India but, again, because of the doctrine of necessity. Given the dire state that Pakistan is in, General Musharraf badly needs international sympathy and help, particularly from the US, World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

civilians. They argue that in a country like Pakistan where poverty, illiteracy, overpopulation, unemployment, drug abuse, child labour and environmental degradation have been issues of life and death, civilian rulers — they include the politicians, bureaucrats and business class — have only enriched themselves through the national exchequer. It is pointed out in this context how as much as \$4 billion are owed to banks by defaulters, most of whom are among 320 of Pakistan's wealthy elite.

According to collaborationists, politicians in Pakistan talk of a democracy that is only based on rhetoric and empty promises. Political demagogues like Sharif and Bhutto have taken full advantage of furnishing their political business through corruption in the name of governance.

In fact, the collaborationists attribute the emergence of fundamentalist forces precisely to the civilian misrule. All told, so their arguments run, militant religiosity in Pakistan is essentially class-based. Generally, the poor are prone to religious influences.

Arguing that the leadership crisis in Pakistan is, indeed, the mother of all crises —

HURRIYAT: 'BOTH SIDES WILL BE EQUALLY RESPONSIBLE'

55-8 (Continued from page 1) 9/17

Gani Bhat, today airdashed to Delhi following reports that invitations had been sent out for a scaled-down reception to honour General Pervez Musharraf.

The Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, today sent out invitations to a select number of prominent personalities, politicians and Journalists at his residence - the Pakistan House- for high tea.

Abdullah: The Jammu and Kashmir chief minister, Mr Farooq Abdullah, tonight said India and Pakistan should not have very high expectations from next week's Vajpayee-Musharraf summit which should be used to forge a new relationship.

General Pervez Musharraf has said both Mr AB Vajpayee and he will be equally responsible for the success of the 15 July summit, adds

UNI.
In an interview with *Voice of America*, General Musharraf said: "Fifty per cent is my part, but I am not responsible for the other 50 per cent... I would say we have a desire to remove this tension, this main issue."

The General said he shouldn't be held responsible if the talks failed due to intransigence from India.

"Then, why would I be held responsible. Why

should my credibility be reduced?"

DGMO visit: General Pervez Musharraf has reacted positively to India's decision of sending its Director General of Military Operations to Islamabad to begin talks on nuclear and security issues saying he has no problems with such an initiative.

However, General Musharraf said that his government hasn't yet been informed about the Indian decision to send the DGMO to restore peace along the Line Of Control and the Actual Ground Position Line in Saltro Ridge in Siachen.

"We haven't been told officially at all. If the Indian DGMO wants to come then I would like to look into it and I don't see any problem in his coming here," he said in Rawalpindi last night.

General Musharraf said he would consider it a breakthrough if the structured talks begin as a result of the Agra summit.

Opposition demand: Ahead of tomorrow's all-party meeting convened by Mr Vajpayee, Opposition parties today asked the government to clarify its stand on Hurriyat and outline its strategy for the Indo-Pak Summit in the light of the latest anti-India tirade by Pakistan.

Cautioning the government against Pakistan's insistence on involving the Hurriyat in Indo-Pak parleys, Congress today made it clear that there was no room for making it tripartite.

THE STATESMAN

JUL 15 1997

Musharraf to seek NSC mandate

5/1
9/17

Hurriyat controversy continues

9/20/17

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 8. - The controversy over the high-tea at the Pakistan high commission during the Pakistan President General Pervez Musharraf's visit continued today. Some reports suggested that the party was off, while others said it was very much on.

(Invitations have been issued to Hurriyat leaders to meet General Pervez Musharraf at the reception being hosted by the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi, the Pakistan radio announced today, adds PTI from Islamabad.

(General Musharraf will seek a "mandate" from the newly-reconstituted National Security Council to negotiate a solution to the Kashmir issue, two days ahead of his India visit.

The NSC meeting on 11 July would probably give Musharraf a "mandate" to negotiate with Mr AB Vajpayee to find a solution for Kashmir or to move towards that direction in real terms, *The News* reported today.)

Earlier today, agency reports had said that the tea was cancelled in order to avoid a diplomatic faux pas as the Hurriyat has been invited much to India's chagrin. However, a high-ranking Pakistani diplomat later in the day denied there was any move to cancel the tea-party.

He said there was no truth in the story in the agencies about the cancellation and the tea-party was going ahead.

Indian government officials said they were unhappy about the invitation to the Hurriyat and have privately expressed this through diplomatic channels.

The senior Pakistani diplomat denied there was any move to

cancel the high-tea. Top Indian government officials also said they had no information about the cancellation. An agency report today said the tea-party would be cancelled adding that Pakistan was afraid the presence of the Hurriyat would cause to much of an embarrassment and cast a shadow over the summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, General Pervez Musharraf.

India hasn't liked the idea of General Musharraf meeting the Hurriyat and though there can't be a direct request, the government has politely suggested to Pakistan that a meeting between the general and the Hurriyat wouldn't be seen in favourable light. The Indian government officially said the Hurriyat was an extraneous issue but privately top leaders were divided on the subject as some believed that a photo-opportunity or even a meeting at a tea-party would cause no problems while others felt that such a meet before an important summit would send a wrong message to the people of India. PMO officials said the Pakistan High Commission and the external affairs ministry spokesperson were unavailable for comment.

According to agency reports, the Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan, Mr Vijay K Nambiar, met the Pakistan foreign secretary, Mr Inamul Huq, to convey the government's reservations over Gen. Musharraf's invitation to the Hurriyat leadership at the reception. He made it clear that it would vitiate the atmosphere ahead of the talks.

Bhat arrives in Delhi: The Hurriyat chairman, Mr Abdul

■ See HURRIYAT: page 8

THE STATESMAN

3 JUL 2001

An air of pessimism

By C. Raja Mohan

ND-1
97

NEW DELHI, JULY 7. A week before Gen. Pervez Musharraf arrives here for talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, an air of pessimism is beginning to creep up on the expectations from the Agra summit. The inexplicably harsh statement from Pakistan on Kashmir last night and the insistence of Gen. Musharraf to meet the Hurriyat leaders are forcing a reconsideration of the initial assessment here that a modest but positive outcome is indeed possible at Agra.

Despite the "unexpected provocations" from across the border, informed sources here insist that the Government "will not rush into a negative mode" on the prospects for the Agra summit. As they digest the sudden hardening of Pakistan's rhetoric on Kashmir, policy-makers are suspending, for the moment at least, the initial cautious optimism.

Within the Government, the sources said, there never was any euphoria about the impending talks with Gen. Musharraf. But there were expectations nevertheless that the relationship with Pakistan could be steered in a positive direction and a road map for cooperative bilateral engagement could be drawn. India was also signalling that it was ready to give a special focus to the dispute on Kashmir at the Agra talks, if that is what Gen. Musharraf wants to show as a political gain to be able to move towards a normal relationship with India. It is in this context

that the gratuitous attack on Indian policies in Jammu and Kashmir yesterday by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Pakistan has perplexed New Delhi.

That the Pakistan Foreign Office has launched a sharp attack on Indian armed forces without any apparent provocation has set analysts here scrambling to explain the logic behind the statement. The Government is yet to come to a judgment on the possible motivations and internal political dynamics behind this late night salvo from Pakistan Foreign Office. Whatever the reason, India is taking note of the renewed vehemence in the statements on Kashmir from Pakistan and assessing them with care.

The sudden outburst from Pakistan is likely to strengthen the hands of those who have been highly skeptical of engaging Pakistan and Gen. Musharraf. Segments of the Indian policy establishment here had been cautioning against the assessment that Gen. Musharraf is prepared to walk the "high road" along with Mr. Vajpayee to peace and prosperity in the subcontinent.

They disagree with the suggestion that Gen. Musharraf is battling the hardliners in Pakistan and needs political cover on Kashmir to normalise ties with India. Instead they argue that an uncomplicated reading of all that Gen. Musharraf has said in recent days suggests he is no different from the other Pakistani hardliners on Kashmir.

India to seek Siachen truce

Vishal Thapar
New Delhi, July 7

INDIA IS set to propose to Pakistan a comprehensive ceasefire at the Siachen Glacier, the world's highest battleground where fierce skirmishes have taken place between the two sides at heights in excess of 22,000 feet since 1984.

This is intended as the first in a series of steps leading to demilitarisation of the Siachen Glacier.

After being asked by the government for inputs for confidence building measures (CBMs) in the run up to the Agra Summit, the Army Chief, General S Padmanabhan visited Siachen on Tuesday for an "assessment of the ground position", a senior Defence Ministry official informed.

The Army Chief yesterday briefed the Cabinet Committee on Security on his assessment. Last week, the commander of the Leh-headquartered 14

Corps, Lt.-General Arjun Ray, who commands the Siachen Brigade, was also summoned to New Delhi for extensive discussions.

India is considering an incremental set of measures to de-escalate the 17-year-old conflict for the control of the Salto Ridge (in Indian possession) ahead of the Siachen Glacier.

First among them, is a comprehensive ceasefire in the Salto region based on a freeze of their present ground positions, to be followed by the demarcation ("authentication") of the Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL) beyond NJ 9842 — the last point on the agreed upon Line of Control (LOC).

The Army has also proposed regular flag meetings between formation commanders in the area, and setting up of hotlines between division commanders as CBMs and ceasefire monitoring mechanisms.

The Ministry of External

Affairs today made public the Prime Minister's instructions to the Director-General Military Operations to meet with his Pakistani counterpart to work out modalities for "strengthening and stabilising the process of peace along the AGPL". If the ceasefire works, India would favour discussions on the redeployment of troops leading to eventual de-militarisation of the area.

Former Army Chief General (Retd) VP Malik concurs with the approach, and sees de-militarisation of the Glacier as a possibility.

"There's a wide scope of CBMs at Siachen. De-militarisation is definitely an option, but first there has to be ceasefire," he says.

Both sides regularly exchange heavy artillery and machine gun fire, and maintain brigade-level deployments of 3,000-4,000 troops each to lock horns at Siachen.

"But the point," says defence

analyst Jasjit Singh, "is whether India should trust Pakistan".

The current Indian approach, he feels, is more or less a reiteration of its 1992 agreement, which required India to vacate the Salto Ridge after the demarcation of the AGPL.

India is in an advantageous position as long as it holds Salto.

"In 1992, it seemed sensible, as Pakistan had by and large respected the LOC, and could be expected to observe similar restraint ahead of it. But with the Kargil intrusions, it began questioning even the well-accepted LOC.

This has created doubt about its reliability in honouring agreements. If India vacates Salto, and Pakistan reneges and occupies it, it will be virtually impossible to evict them," explains Singh. He suggests other CBMs "till there's sufficient trust".

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

JUL 10 1997

ATATURK IS WELCOME!

Musharraf must learn to be a statesman first

IT was only a few days ago that the brand new President of Pakistan let it be known that he would respect diplomatic courtesies and the Pakistan High Commission would not invite the Hurriyat leaders clamouring for a place in the summit sun against the clearly expressed wishes of the host country. The Hurriyat thrive on the present situation of conflict but they are a sad and divided lot. About a third of them want to join Pakistan on the unacceptable premise of religious affinity, the rest want independence without any understanding of whether such a state was viable. All Kashmiris are not Muslims, there are Ladakhis, Dogras, Pandits and Kashmir is not limited to the valley. What is common to both groups however is the attraction of power. Atal Behari Vajpayee has striven to ensure a proper atmosphere before Musharraf's arrival — a series of trade concessions have also been announced. Instead of reciprocating, Musharraf seems to have retreated before domestic pressures and faxed a letter to Abdul Ghani Bhat, Hurriyat's chairman on 2 July 2001, reversing himself within twenty four hours and underlining his wish to meet them on Indian soil. One should not rush to the conclusion that Musharraf is sending out deliberate signals that he expects the summit to fail. For once, the External Affairs Ministry spokesman has been impeccable in her response. No damage has been done except to expose Musharraf as a greenhorn in a field which must be strange to him anyway. He is already asking for a joint press conference at the end of the summit. He forgets that a necessary precondition is that there must be some agreed positions reached first otherwise a joint conference would resemble a high school debate. If, for instance India points to the parliamentary resolution that Jammu and Kashmir, whole and entire belongs to India, and Pakistan harps on a plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the people, a position abandoned by the Security Council and the United Nations, as confirmed by the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan himself, then a joint press conference would be counter-productive.

India is right to play it cool. This is the first meeting, it is unrealistic to expect it to be the last, all passions spent and all problems solved. The distance that separates the two countries is persistent and difficult to bridge; it will take patience and skill and a generous dose of goodwill to make progress towards a common position. The next opportunity for a face to face between Vajpayee and Musharraf will be in New York at the United Nations. At some point Vajpayee will no doubt return the visit. The Pakistani President will be well advised to work on the issues instead of concentrating on what can easily degenerate into mere photo opportunities.

Musharraf's difficulties must be understood. Kashmir figures overwhelmingly in the Pakistani view of the world. Islam in danger has helped many a tottering regime in that country but there has been a price tag attached to it. It is drifting from the real world into a world of fantasy and illusion. As a mohajir himself he must know better than anyone else that there are more Muslims in India than in Pakistan and he would be imperilling their existence if the discredited two-nation theory is thrust forward. This is a modern age and religion must be contained within its boundaries, not allowed to intrude into statecraft and diplomacy. Sometimes it seems that Musharraf wishes to cast himself in the role of Kemal Ataturk, his hero.

Ataturk is welcome in India! //

THE STATESMAN

Pak turns on heat, India plays cool

NILOVA ROY CHAUDHURY &
SRINJOY CHOWDHURY
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 7. — With the approach of the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit, Pakistan appears to have hijacked the initiative with a number of provocative statements. In response, India has had to either play them down or deny them.

"The non-issue" of the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) leadership being invited for a 'high tea', which the Pakistani High Commissioner will hold in honour of General Musharraf on 14 July, is perhaps the most provocative.

"I would be disappointed if the first images to emerge out of the President's visit was of his meeting a few leaders who have no base in Kashmir," the minister of state for commerce, Mr Omar Abdullah,

said echoing the government's reservations on the issue.

"It's normal courtesy for a guest to take the host country's reservations about controversial characters into account," a senior foreign ministry official said. "But beyond that, whom the Pakistani High Commissioner invites is his business, and his way of impressing his boss."

Pakistan's diplomatic flip-flop began with Kashmir several days ago, when their President announced that the Kashmir issue was the centre of the dialogue between the two countries. With Kashmir unsettled, and people dying on both sides of the border (both sides?), issues relating to trade and commerce were secondary. Discussing all that was like putting the cart before the horse, Gen Musharraf had added. And this after he publicly appealed to

an undeclared war. Both were penetrated by Pakistan and, even yesterday, the Indian foreign ministry guardedly stated that Pakistan is fomenting trouble in Kashmir.

The initial reaction from the MEA to the Hurriyat presence at the tea party has been defensive, catching it off-guard. It said the meeting was a non-issue. But top officials are clearly in two minds, with one section feeling that a photo-opportunity or even a meeting between Gen Musharraf and the Hurriyat is inconsequential and wouldn't come in the way of talks.

The other view is that such a meeting would send a wrong signal. Now that Pakistan has made it clear that Hurriyat leaders will be invited to the reception at the Pakistan High Commission, India is left with few options beyond trying to dismiss it as "a non-issue." That it

is in favour of giving the India-Pakistan talks at Agra a chance before venturing to comment on what some leaders privately term the "inept handling of the pre-summit developments".

It was highly embarrassing for the country to have first objected to the Hurriyat leaders' attempt to meet the visiting Pakistani President and then say 'it's a non-issue', they said.

On record, however, the Congress wouldn't like to take a critical view of the pre-summit preparations.

Although Mr K Natwar Singh, heading the AICC foreign cell, was not available for comment, some senior party leaders said the Congress would lay emphasis on the Shimla Agreement reached between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the benchmark of the bilateral ties between the two nations. — SNS

rankles, however, is clear. With barely a week left for Gen Musharraf's visit, Pakistan has returned to its "atrocities in Kashmir" line. The Pakistani government has forcefully spoken of repression in J&K and also, about cases of rape and molestation of women in Kashmir by Indian troops. The Indian government has denied this and said it was an old line, but one which can, in the present circumstances, be considered provocative. It is like India claiming that religious minorities in Pakistan and some people in Sind (Muhajirs) are being persecuted.

"The President is speaking in different voices because he is speaking to different audiences. And they have to be kept happy," a senior official said. Perhaps. But it has caused worried frowns on this side of the border.

The other broadside has been the offer of a no-war pact. After all, what has been going on in Kashmir but a form of low-intensity war? And the 1999 Kargil war (when the President was the army chief) was

THE STATESMAN

Pak insists on Hurriyat

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA 5/1 28/7

NEW DELHI, July 6. — Sudden bitterness crept into the preparations for the Indo-Pak summit with an inexplicable outburst by Pakistan and its insistence on a meeting between Gen. Pervez Musharraf and Hurriyat leaders during his visit which India formally opposed tonight.

India's opposition to any meeting between Hurriyat leaders and Gen. Musharraf, plans for which were announced by the Pakistani foreign office today, were conveyed at the highest level late in the night in Islamabad.

In a surprise development, the Pakistani foreign office also issued a statement charging New Delhi with repression and violation of international humanitarian law in Kashmir.

Alleging increase in incidents of rape and molestation of women by security forces, the statement said Pakistan calls upon India to end its repression and respect the norms of international humanitarian law in J&K.

India also hit back saying "violence continues to be fomented in J&K beyond our borders. This must cease."

"This is a well worn out theme that Pakistan has often brought out," an external affairs ministry spokesperson said.

The controversy over Hurriyat also intensified with India telling Pakistan not to focus on extraneous issues and Islamabad justifying the move.

Mr LK Advani made a veiled reference to the issue, emphasising the need for a foreign dignitary to respect the sentiments of the host country.

Advani stand: The Union home minister today favoured the idea of a confederation of South Asian nations and hoped the summit meeting between Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf would create a conducive atmosphere for such a possibility, adds UNI.

"There have been fast-paced changes in the world like the European Union. The two Germanys have united... There can be a confederation of South Asian states like India, Pakistan, Myanmar and Nepal," he said addressing a gathering organised by the ministry of tourism and culture to celebrate the birth centenary of Shyamaprosad Mukerji.

THE STATESMAN

JUL 201

Positive unilateralism, India's new style

By C. Raja Mohan

ND-11
7/7

NEW DELHI, JULY 6. In announcing a slew of unilateral actions and outlining some serious proposals for negotiation just days before summit-level talks with Pakistan, India is unveiling a new diplomatic style. It could well be called "positive unilateralism".

The determination to unilaterally force the pace of Indo-Pak dialogue, interestingly, is being clothed for the first time in what may be called "public diplomacy". In another major departure, India is taking a proactive, rather than a reactive, approach to relations with Pakistan.

After surprising the world and Gen. Pervez Musharraf with the invitation to visit India last month, the Government is now trying to define the agenda for the unstructured talks at Agra.

In coming up with positive proposals and unilateral gestures on a range of issues, India is signalling that it will not let Gen. Musharraf limit the agenda of the Agra summit to a discussion of Kashmir. Nor would it want the diplomatic duel with Islamabad on letting the Hurriyat leaders meet the Pakistani President dominate the proceedings.

Positive unilateralism and public diplomacy are relatively new in India's dealings with Pakistan. Although the former Prime Minister, Mr. Inder Kumar Gujral, emphasised the importance of unilateral actions in India's policy towards its neighbours, he was careful enough to exclude Pakistan from the ambit of that policy.

In the past India used to insist on ponderous talks with Pakistan in the name of "bilateralism" to achieve even the simplest objectives. Now New Delhi is saying it is ready to move unilaterally without waiting for the other side. In short, the message from New Delhi is that it will take the lead in reshaping

bilateral relations with Islamabad.

Equally important, India is now publicising its proposals before the negotiations even begin. In the past, India would come up with useful suggestions in official talks but would not go public with them unless they were agreed to by Pakistan.

In demanding publicly today immediate talks or nuclear and military confidence building measures (CBMs), the Government is trying to reach out to the people of the sub-continent and influence their perceptions of Indo-Pak negotiations in its favour.

In focusing on nuclear and military stability, India is also trying to influence the international community and let it bring its weight to bear on Pakistan in defining the agenda for the Agra summit.

In offering unilateral humanitarian gestures such as the release of Pakistani civilian prisoners in India, facilitating more imports from Pakistan, and now calling for talks on nuclear and military CBMs, India is pointing to the much wider canvas that awaits Gen. Musharraf.

Gen. Musharraf, to be sure, will continue to proclaim that the principal focus must remain on Kashmir and other subjects can wait. While refusing to shy away from discussing Kashmir, India will insist that other subjects cannot be put on the back burner.

The international community, for example, is very keen on seeing the implementation of CBMs between India and Pakistan that will reduce the nuclear danger and the threat of a war in the sub-continent.

Pakistan will find it very difficult to reject India's offer to negotiate CBMs in the name of greater priority for Kashmir. Many of the very simple CBM ideas agreed to at Lahore are still waiting to be implemented. And they can easily be built upon.

THE HINDU

Pressure groups write to PM, Musharraf

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 6. With the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit drawing nigh, more and more pressure groups are coming out with open letters seeking to impress upon the two leaders the sub-continent's need for peace.

Though separated by distances and persuasions, the appeal from different quarters is the same: Spare the continent the "scourge of a potential nuclear war, grinding, abject poverty and mounting frenzy of religious and nationalist extremism".

In its open letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, the Pakistanis for Peace and Alternative Development (PPAD) have said the threat of war can be removed from the sub-continent only if "you interact with each other in a spirit of reconciliation, accommodation and sincerity when you meet on July 14-16 in India to discuss outstanding disputes and conflicts that have plagued relations between the two countries since Independence".

Stating that it would be tragic if this opportunity was wasted through the usual employment of diplomatic manoeuvres, the PPAD has urged the two leaders to bury old nationalist dreams in favour of greater prosperity through trade, cooperative ventures and free exchange of cultural and educational experiences. Citing the example of Europe, the signatories to the PPAD letter assert that "borders drenched in blood only a few decades earlier are now positive sym-

bols of national identity". The open letter has been written by Pakistanis residing in different parts of the world. The signatories include Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed, an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University; Prof. Susan Mussarat Akram, Dr. Nazeer Chaudhry and Prof. Bilal Hashmi from the U.S.; Dr. Ghazala Anwar from New Zealand; Dr. A. H. Nayyar, Mr. Aamir Riaz and Mr. Owais Hasin from Pakistan; Prof. Hassan Gardezi from Canada; and Mr. Ayyub Malik from the U.K.

Militants held with RDX in Delhi

By Our Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, JULY 6. Two Kashmiri militants belonging to the Harkat-ul-Jehadi-a-Islami (HUJI) were arrested with 1.9 kg of high-explosive RDX at the Inter-State Bus Terminus near Kashmere Gate here on Thursday. The police also seized a pencil timer, detonator and battery from them.

The two have been identified as Shabbir Ahmed alias Sher Khan, 22, and Mohammad Razzaq Malik alias Sohail, 25. They were arrested near the ISBT crossing while they were coming from Jammu to set off a series of blasts in busy market places here. Police said they acted on a tip-off that two Kashmiri militants, who underwent training at Pakistan-run camps in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK), were residing in a guest house in the Walled City in the guise of businessmen from Jammu.

Left not hopeful of outcome of talks

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 6. Despite the hype over the coming Indo-Pakistani talks, the Left parties are not hopeful about its outcome, especially with regard to the Jammu and Kashmir issue.

The CPI(M) and the CPI, which had welcomed the decision to resume the dialogue, share the view that the summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, could be a platform for both New Delhi and Islamabad to initiate confidence-building measures.

The CPI general secretary, Mr. A.B. Bardhan, said that while Jammu and Kashmir should be discussed, it would be better if both countries agree to set up a working group on all aspects of the situation.

He said this would keep the dialogue process going on Kashmir and other issues such as trade, cultural exchange and sports so that "confidence-building measures are taken and suitable atmosphere is built".

The CPI(M) said a dialogue with Pakistan would prevent third-party intervention, especially since the United States had expressed its willingness to assist if both countries desired.

Mr. Prakash Karat, CPI(M) politburo member, said the party did not have any "great expectation" from these talks, especially on Kashmir.

This was primarily because the meeting was taking place after a

sudden announcement which gave less time for preparation.

"This summit is not coming at an end of protracted negotiations but at the start," he said adding that in effect it was just resumption of the dialogue.

Explaining why the party did not visualise anything of substance to come out, Mr. Karat said, the Government itself was not clear on what it wanted to do.

He said the Vajpayee Government had taken a series of contradictory steps such as the ceasefire declaration, appointing an interlocutor, withdrawing the ceasefire and inviting Gen. Musharraf for talks.

The BJP-led NDA Government had also rejected the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly resolution demanding autonomy, which it felt could be one of the basis of the Centre spelling out what it has to offer to the people of Kashmir.

On autonomy, he said the CPI(M) had told the Centre's interlocutor, Mr. K.C. Pant, that while the party favoured maximum autonomy, it wanted equitable distribution of resources to all three regions in the State.

It warned the Centre not to go by any other agenda. It expressed concern over the suggestion for trifurcation of the State on 'communal' lines.

In their meeting with Mr. Pant on Thursday, the CPI(M) objected to suggestions such as giving separate international status to J&K as this was far removed from ground realities.

ANOTHER STATEMENT ON 'REPRESSION'

Pak. invites Hurriyat leaders for tea

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 6. On a day of fast changing developments that cast a shadow on the coming India-Pakistan summit meeting, the military Government on Friday confirmed its decision to invite the Hurriyat leaders for the tea party in New Delhi before issuing a sharply-worded statement accusing the Indian forces of stepping up acts of "repression and oppression" in the Kashmir Valley.

In a statement that caught everyone by surprise, the Foreign Office urged the Indian Government to end its "repression" in the Valley. The statement came within hours of a Foreign Office spokesman saying it looked forward for a "positive result" to the Musharraf-Vajpayee summit.

The spokesman said Kashmir would have to be the focus of the summit talks, but added that his Government was optimistic of a "positive result".

There was no clue that about such a strong statement when the spokesman addressed the press at 12.30 p.m. There had been no dearth of such statements by the Government in the past but today's statement, just 10 days before the summit, has its own implications.

It may be recalled that the day Gen. Musharraf took over as the President, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, called the former and the two countries agreed not to issue provocative statements that could spoil the pre-summit atmosphere. Today's statement, therefore, is a total surprise.

Indian apprehensions

Earlier, the military regime confirmed the decision to invite the leaders of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) for the tea party being hosted by the Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, on July 14 in honour of Gen. Musharraf.

India, clearly caught unawares by the development, believes it will cast a shadow on the summit. While the extreme opinion in the Indian camp is that it is the "beginning of the end of the high hopes from the summit", the moderate view is there is still plenty of time before the start of the summit.

Confirming the decision to facilitate a "photo-op" between the Hurriyat leaders and Gen. Musharraf at the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi, a Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman tried to explain the rationale behind the move.

According to reliable sources, within hours of the Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed the invitation to the Hurriyat leaders, India again reiterated its opposition to the idea. It is believed that

India has conveyed to those matter in the Pakistani establishment that facilitation of a contact between Gen. Musharraf and the Hurriyat leaders will "vitiating the atmosphere for the summit". "We may not stop the Hurriyat leaders from attending the tea party. It is for Pakistan to decide its priorities. If Pakistan is serious about the summit meet, then it should give a quiet burial to the idea of

was no plan to facilitate any contact, direct or indirect, between Gen. Musharraf and the Hurriyat during his India visit. We are taken aback at the volte-face by the military government," the diplomat who did wish to be identified said.

Hurriyat status

Why is India so adamant on the question of Hurriyat? India is not prepared to concede the Pakistani viewpoint that the Hurriyat alone represents the "sentiments and aspirations" of the Kashmiris. "We certainly think the Hurriyat is an important component of the Kashmiri opinion. But to concede the status of sole representative of Kashmiris would be a total travesty of truth and justice".

Elaborating on the logic behind the invitation to the Hurriyat for the tea party, the Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman said within days of India's Ramzan initiative (November 19), Pakistan invited the APHC leaders to visit Islamabad for consultations. "We have made known our position in the past as to why Pakistan attaches importance to the Hurriyat for consultations. It is well established that the APHC is the true voice of the Kashmiris and Kashmiris would have to be involved in the consultations for a process of resolution of Kashmir issue."

Tradition to be followed

The spokesman said the venue and time for the tea party had not been finalised yet. "As in the past prominent persons including the Hurriyat leaders would be invited. This is the tradition followed on occasions such as celebration of Pakistan Day and the same would be followed".

Not true: India

NEW DELHI, JULY 6. India tonight strongly denied Pakistan's allegation of New Delhi's continuing "repression" in Kashmir.

"This is a very well worn theme that Pakistan has often brought out," an External Affairs Ministry spokesperson said in response to questions.

"The world knows that there is no truth in these allegations. This kind of allegation runs directly counter to the understanding between the two leaders to tone down the political rhetoric between the two countries in the run up to the summit meeting." — PTI

facilitating a contact between Gen. Musharraf and the Hurriyat," a senior diplomat said.

What has upset India more than anything else is that Pakistan seems to be going back on its word. In the last few days on more than one occasion India has said both in Islamabad and New Delhi that any meeting between the Hurriyat and Gen. Musharraf would only spoil the atmosphere.

"We were given to understand by responsible persons in the Pakistani establishment that there

Delhi keeps its cool

By Harish Khare

NEW DELHI, JULY 6. The Vajpayee Government wants to wait and watch as to what steps Pakistan takes to carry further Gen. Pervez Musharraf's expressed keenness to meet the leaders of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference. Senior officials were confident that, as a good guest, the Pakistan President would not like to do anything that could offend the sensitivities of the host.

The view is that the General had to make some sort of gesture towards the Hurriyat. After all, Pakistan has invested a lot in the Hurriyat and cannot be seen as dumping the combine, according to an official.

The bilateralism implied in the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit has already invoked widespread ridicule for the Hurriyat and its pretensions of being the "third party" in the Valley's Urdu press. The conglomerate has been virtually begging Islamabad for some kind of face-saving gesture, according to the officials.

As per the Indian calculation, Gen. Musharraf would not like to allow the Hurriyat matter to jeopardise the summit. Having provided the Hurriyat the face-saving "invitation," he would now put the onus on his hosts. And the Indian hosts would not mind being seen as unreasonably adamant.

In New Delhi's calculations, the Hurriyat does not deserve any consideration after it turned out the K. C. Pant mission, particularly when the Centre's designated interlocutor had singled it out for a special mention. New Delhi is not going to allow the APHC to advance its claim of being the sole representative of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. This thinking would determine its response to Pakistan's next move, if any, on the Hurriyat front.

'Better trade ties may be key to summit success'

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 6. — The NDA government would consider the summit a success if at the end of it a joint communique made a commitment that the two leaders, President General Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Mr AB Vajpayee would continue to meet regularly to discuss bilateral relations. "If they decide to continue the dialogue on the sidelines of the United Nations or even next in Islamabad, I would say it was successful," the minister of state for commerce, Mr Omar Abdullah, told The Statesman today. "The summit should be about building relationships." Also important would be the composition of Gen. Musharraf's delegation.

"If their commerce minister is p-

art of the delegation, then we will know that Pakistan is looking ahead," Mr Abdullah said. The young, highly articulate Kashmiri minister has been asked by the Prime Minister to be "available" for the period of the summit. "India has extended most favoured nation status to Pakistan, which we didn't withdraw even at the height of the Kargil war," Mr Abdullah said, adding that although Pakistan was a signatory to the World Trade Organisation and should accord similar status to India, he wasn't aware if they could be bound down to adhere to the requirement. "Politics governs everything they do," he said. Among the possible positive outcomes of the summit would be the issue of Pakistan granting MFN to India and an agree-

ment to allow the Iran-India gas pipeline to go through Pakistan.

The NDA government recently decided to open 50 new tariff lines to Pakistan as part of its pre summit "confidence-building measures" but Pakistan is yet to respond to the suggestion. Among the goods India has additionally offered are engineering goods, chemicals and plantation products (including tea, coffee, rubber and spices).

While Mr Abdullah said that the entire range of issues between the two countries, including Kashmir, would be discussed during the extensive one-on-one talks the Prime Minister is scheduled to hold with the Pakistani President, he was unclear on Pakistan's intentions. "If the first international pictures of the summit

are of (President) Musharraf meeting the Hurriyat leaders, I would be disappointed," he said, clearly indicating that the Pakistani vacillation on this issue had not met with favour.

Giving a further boost beyond Pakistan's one-point agenda of Kashmir, the Confederation of Indian Industries today recommended to the government a four-point programme for improving economic relations between the two countries, saying business should gain precedence over political ties.

According to the CII, the two countries should accelerate confidence-building measures, by encouraging mutual sourcing of material, the removal of infrastructural and logistic inadequacies and by improving connectivity between them.

THE STATESMAN

DGMO ASKED TO VISIT PAKISTAN

PM seeks road map for peace along LoC

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, JULY 6. In yet another initiative to set the tone of the India-Pakistan summit, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, has instructed the Director-General of Military Operations (DGMO) to make a visit to Pakistan — unprecedented in many decades — to come out with a road map for a durable peace along the Line of Control (LoC) and the Siachen area.

The DGMO, Lt. Gen. G.S. Sihotia, has been asked to meet his Pakistani counterpart at an "early date" so that "the processes for peace along the LoC and the Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL) can be strengthened further and stabilised", a statement from the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) said.

According to the MEA spokesperson, the DGMO would visit Pakistan prior to the mid-July Agra summit. The AGPL refers to the 110 km of uncharted stretch between the LoC — the existing interim boundary between India and Pakistan in Kashmir — and the Siachen glacier.

By this announcement, the Prime Minister has brought reduction of military tensions



raised by the emergence of India and Pakistan as nuclear powers, the Prime Minister has proposed a security dialogue between experts of the two countries immediately. These specialists will work out nuclear confidence building measures. Both sides have already accepted negotiations on improving their military communication links, nuclear doctrines and ways to prevent the accidental or unauthorised use of atomic weapons.

The proposed visit of the DGMO is expected to address two key security-related concerns. First, he is likely to discuss details which will ensure that infiltration across the LoC is reduced. Sources stress that reduction of infiltration into Kashmir is of prime concern to India. In case cross-border movement of militants reduces, the Indo-Pak.

along the Indo-Pak. border in Jammu and Kashmir into focus. Aware of the domestic and international concerns

agenda has a better chance of acquiring greater substance, especially in the economic arena. Reduction of infiltration is also seen here as the key to encouraging India to trim its forces in Jammu and Kashmir.

Second, the DGMO's visit is likely to initiate regular exchanges between the armed forces. India, to begin with, is likely to urge meetings between the alumni of the pre-Partition Indian Army. Visits to pre-independence institutions such as the Rashtriya Indian Military College, the Indian Military Academy and regimental headquarters which echo the British era cannot be ruled out.

Possible exchanges between the militaries also have operational ramifications. By encouraging inter-personal contacts as well as transparency, there is a better chance that the two sides will stick to the CBMs which may be negotiated.

The visit of the DGMO is likely to result in discussions on the Siachen glacier. After internal deliberations, the Government may be veering round to the view that the discussion with Pakistan on Siachen cannot be separated from a larger debate on the LoC.

THE HINDU

JULY 6

Vajpayee tells top Army officer to visit Pakistan

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 6. - The Prime Minister has instructed the director-general of military operations (DGMO), Lieutenant-General GS Sihota, to visit Pakistan to meet his counterpart, Major-General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, at a mutually convenient date to discuss the military situation along the Line of Control and Siachen Glacier.

The foreign ministry spokesperson said various issues, including infiltration by militants and irregulars into Jammu and Kashmir, would be discussed along with any other issue that would help bring peace and stability in the region.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee has called for an "official dialogue at the experts level" and "non-official exchanges" too, the spokesperson said.

Defence and foreign ministry officials will form part of the official exchanges while "Track-II" diplomats will take part in unofficial exchanges.

Making it clear that "violence continues to be fomented in J&K from beyond our borders," the spokesperson said it should cease, for the establishment of durable peace and stability between the two countries is vital.

The relative calm along the Line of Control and in Siachen in the recent months may have prompted Mr Vajpayee to assign the task to the DGMO, who has first-hand experience of the situation, having commanded the Army's strike corps in Ambala and a Rashtriya Rifles outfit in the Kashmir valley.

The operative word is "relative" because the Pakistani Army has continued firing in Siachen, though the intensity is considerably less. The firing has been from heavy machine-guns and mortars but very little artillery firing has been reported.

Just when the DGMO will leave for Pakistan is not clear and the spokesperson said the dates were yet to be worked out.



Vikas Singh throws up his hands in joy after repairing his cycle at the Wagah border on Friday. He started his journey to Delhi which he might cover in 15 days. - AP/PTI

The spokesperson didn't rule out a quick visit before General Pervez Musharraf's visit. The "trip could build confidence and strike a positive note." The foreign ministry feels it would be a good thing if he went before the Pakistani President landed in Delhi.

Defence officials said there was some talk of a meeting between the two DGMOs at Wagah border post before the Pakistan trip was decided upon. A meeting at Wagah was held after the Kargil conflict, in August 1999. Lt-Gen. Sihota may be accompanied by officers of the military operations directorate who deal with Pakistan.

The spokesperson said India and Pakistan were "committed to engaging in bilateral consultations of security concepts and nuclear confidence building measures". This would be done through official and unofficial dialogue.

Army officers, however, said infiltration had actually increased after the six or seven passes were opened this summer. The number of deaths of militants, mostly Lashkar-e-Taiyaba members, have increased after the ceasefire

ended and casualties among Army officers and jawans have too have gone up in recent times.

Asked about the invitation to the Hurriyat by Gen. Musharraf in his capacity as Army chief, the spokesperson said the "correct priorities should not be lost sight of".

Officials said the government might be in two minds over the invitation. While some senior leaders believe that a meeting or a photo-opportunity would do no harm, there's also the feeling that such publicity before the summit would send a wrong signal to the people.

Qazi meets BJP chief

The Pakistani high commissioner today met the BJP chief to discuss the summit. A BJP press release said Mr Jana Krishnamurthy stressed the need for a series of confidence-building steps to be taken at the summit. This, he told Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, could evolve harmonious and peaceful relations between the two countries that would help address outstanding issues constructively.

Hailing the recent goodwill gestures announced by India, the BJP chief hoped Pakistan would reciprocate with similar gestures.

After the meeting Mr Qazi was guarded in his response to reporters, limiting himself to just expressing his gratitude for the arrangements being made for the Pakistani President.

The BJP statement quoted Mr Qazi as having praised Mr Vajpayee as a "political giant and statesman" who commands "huge respect" in Pakistan. Mr Qazi has also reportedly hailed the goodwill gestures announced by Delhi.

However, the statement was conspicuously silent on Gen. Musharraf's letter to the Hurriyat leaders expressing his desire to meet them during his visit.

■ More reports on page 8

A non-issue, says India

By Harish Khare

NEW DELHI, JULY 5. Though conceding that the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's letter to the APHC chairman, Prof. Abdul Ghani Bhat, does complicate things, the view within the Vajpayee Government is that "it is no big deal" and the General's purported desire for a meeting with the APHC should not be allowed to detract or derail the high purpose of the summit.

According to a senior official, India has made its views known but if a visiting dignitary wants to do things differently, "we can live with it".

However, note has been taken of the General's assurance to the Hurriyat that "Pakistan will continue to extend its full moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiri people in their just struggle."

The assessment is that the letter to the Hurriyat is not exactly an invitation and is basically addressed to the jihadi constituency back home, and that the Pakistan President had no option but to reply to Prof. Bhat's letter. And the quiet confidence is that notwithstanding the euphoria displayed by the APHC chairman, the meeting may not come off.

As far as the Hurriyat leadership is concerned, New Delhi's objections to a meeting with the Pakis-

tani leader are incomprehensible. "The need of the hour for India is to minimise the alienation of the people of Kashmir; instead, India is trying to maximise it by demonstrating to the people that they are helpless and that their representative would not be even allowed to have a cup of tea with a visiting Pakistani leader," said Mr. Abdul Ghani Lone, a senior APHC leader.

Talking to *The Hindu*, Mr. Lone said: "I fail to see what national interest of India gets served by trying to pressure President Musharraf in the matter." As the Hurriyat leader sees it, New Delhi's opposition to a meeting with the Pakistan President is a continuation of the same mindset that spiked the APHC visit to Pakistan.

"If we are allowed to have a dialogue with the top leader of Pakistan, we can ask him how long this business of violence in Kashmir would go on," Mr. Lone said.

For the record, the Ministry of External Affairs dismissed the proposed meeting as inconsequential. "It may or may not be an issue for them. For us, it is a total non-issue," was the reaction of the official spokesperson.

"We are working for the success of the summit. I assume the other side will be equally responsive," she added.

Musharraf's letter to Hurriyat sparks debate

H BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 5. — Is Pakistan President Gen. Pervez Musharraf's controversial letter to the Hurriyat due to the "inexperienced" general's mishandling of diplomacy or is Islamabad trying to set the summit agenda unilaterally?

His letter has definitely generated a debate among experts and Pakistan watchers.

Former foreign secretary Mr JN Dixit was of the view it showed the general is an "inexperienced" person. His inexperience is clear from the "extent he has gone by reducing the prospects of the summit" by writing such a letter on the eve of the meeting. The general is also seen as a person who is trying hard to keep on the right side all his constituencies, leaving space for manoeuvring.

Although the President is being accused of diluting the fundamental approach of the country, he basically wants India to change its stand, says Mr Dixit. The former foreign secretary further feels that India need not be defensive since it is clear about its stand. "It is to be seen how India will resist Pakistan while keeping the recent developments in mind", he says.

Prof. Kalim Bahadur of JNU feels that Gen. Musharraf is trying to "sabotage" the talks by making all out efforts to set an "unilateral agenda" for the summit. "Gen. Musharraf can keep his

JINNAH HOUSE

MUMBAI, July 5. — Jinnah House, the one-time residence of Pakistan founder, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, is once again in the public eye. General Pervez Musharraf wants to set up the Pakistani consulate at posh Malabar hill in south Mumbai.

The mansion with the address of No.2, Bhausaheb Hirey Marg (formerly Mount Pleasant Road), is located opposite the official residence of the Maharashtra chief minister. It was proposed to be rented out to Pakistan for housing the consulate way back in 1977-78 by the then Janata Party government at the Centre. However, the plan was hastily dropped in the wake of a sharp public outcry. The building, under the care of Indian Council of Cultural Relations since February 1997, is guarded by sentries and not open to tourists. — UNI

constituency happy but not at India's cost," he says. According to Prof Bahadur, Pakistan is "forcing" India to "legitimise" the Hurriyat's claim that it is the sole body representing the people of J&K. By inviting the Hurriyat for a meeting with President Musharraf, Pakistan "wants to prove a point that they have done it".

Islamabad Signals

The significance of general Musharraf's exclusive interview to this paper cannot be overstated, containing as it does refreshing new departures from earlier Pakistani formulations. Of course, diplomacy demands that the parties to negotiations do not prematurely declare their positions. Over and above this are domestic compulsions; at the faintest hint of a concession, hawks on either side will be quick to cry foul. In other words, there was simply no point in expecting the general to go easy on Kashmir, and certainly not on the eve of a crucial visit to India. If the general comes through as at once cautious and pragmatic, it is obviously because he has to walk the tightrope between gratifying a range of voices in his own country — from the mullahs to hardline lobbies in the army to the ordinary people — and satisfying an increasingly restive international opinion. So how does the author of Kargil appear up close? Nothing like the uncouth, brash dictator he has been made out to be. He is confident, courteous and quite eager to be seen as genuinely interested in advancing the peace process. And at the same time firm about finding a solution for Kashmir that would be time-bound and acceptable to the Kashmiris. Consider the positive signals first. For the first time since the military coup, the general has affirmed a readiness to stand by all agreements with India — the UN resolutions and more importantly, the Simla and the Lahore agreements. He has also conceded the need to disarm the militants and regulate extremist activities. Most significantly, he is keen that nothing must be said or done that might vitiate the atmosphere before the summit.

The problem starts with his assertion that both countries need to be future-oriented. Some might want to know how this commitment squares with his obsessive repetition that Kashmir is the core issue between India and Pakistan. Or for that matter with his demand that Jinnah House in Mumbai be handed over to Pakistan. In the end, what matters is whether he can instil confidence in the Indian prime minister during the summit and create a favourable personal chemistry. The success of the summit is far more crucial to the general than to Mr Vajpayee who has lived through the betrayed summit at Lahore. If Kashmir is the core issue for Pakistan, for India the core issues are Pakistan's stability as a moderate state and generation of mutual confidence. In actual terms these translate as Pakistan's willingness to control cross-border terrorism. Should the Pakistani president come here with the expectation that the core issue of Kashmir will be resolved to his satisfaction, then, it is equally legitimate for India to demand that Pakistan give up sponsoring terrorism against this country. The success of the summit will depend on the extent to which the two leaders are willing to accommodate each other's core concerns. However, it would be naive to expect that this can happen right away. Besides, given what happened after Lahore, it is best that we temper our hopes with caution. Destination Agra is mainly intended for the two leaders to get to know each other. The summit will have achieved a lot if they should approach it with a pragmatic vision, with no exaggerated expectations of quick-fix solutions.

Pervez wants to meet Hurriyat leaders

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE & AGENCIES

SRINAGAR/NEW DELHI, July 5. — The Pakistan President wants to meet Hurriyat leaders during his visit to India next week, but New Delhi today iterated that the separatist group has no role in the summit.

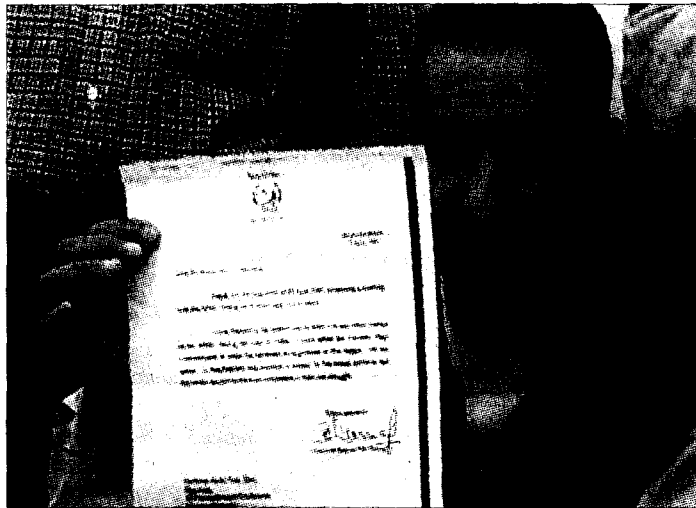
Earlier reports from Islamabad had quoted officials as saying that General Pervez Musharraf had agreed not to meet Hurriyat leaders because the host country doesn't want it.

The General had faxed a letter to the Hurriyat chairman, Mr Abdul Ghani Bhat, saying he was looking forward to an opportunity to meet the group's leaders. "I've asked the Pakistan high commissioner in India to make the necessary arrangements in this regard."

The President also assured the Hurriyat chief that Pakistan would continue to extend its moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiri people in their "just struggle".

Reacting to the letter, a foreign ministry spokesman said: "We've said time and again in the past that this is a complete non-issue."

Had the General flouted diplomatic courtesy by going back on Islamabad's promise that he would not press for a meeting



The Hurriyat chairman, Mr Abdul Ghani Bhat, shows the letter written to him by Gen. Pervez Musharraf to journalists in Srinagar on Thursday. — AP/PTI

with Hurriyat leaders? Will India overlook the meeting if it takes place? The spokesperson said: "I didn't say it wouldn't be flouting of diplomatic courtesy. I didn't say we'll overlook it."

Hurriyat leader Mr Abdul Ghani Lone shot back at New Delhi saying its "arrogance of power" and the decision to keep his group out of the summit has further alienated the J&K people.

"We don't expect any response from the Indian government to our proposal (of a meeting with the Prime Minister). In fact, it tried to block our meeting with

the Pakistani President but failed," Mr Lone said.

The contents of Gen Musharraf's letter to the Hurriyat chief came to light only a day after the Centre announced a series of measures to boost people-to-people contact between the two countries.

The General wrote the letter on 2 July, after the Indian high commissioner to Pakistan, Mr Vijay Nambiar, conveyed to Islamabad New Delhi's stand on the Hurriyat.

The foreign ministry spokesperson said the summit "is a

historic meeting... let's not lose basic sight of that. We're working for its success and I assume the other side will do the same."

What about Gen Musharraf's offer of a "no-war" pact with India, made during a TV interview yesterday? "It's an old proposition," she said.

India and Pakistan, she said, had resolved in the Simla agreement to settle their differences "peacefully, through bilateral talks". Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's letter to Gen Musharraf, inviting him for talks, had defined the spirit of the pact. "We want peaceful ties with Pakistan. That is our approach to the summit."

She iterated that New Delhi has no hesitation to discuss issues, including J&K, that are within the composite dialogue framework.

On 22 June, the Hurriyat had sent letters to Mr Vajpayee and Gen Musharraf seeking appointments with them during the summit. The Prime Minister is yet to reply.

Mr Bhat said: "Many stories had appeared in the media dismissing the Hurriyat as irrelevant...this not only sustained the Hurriyat as a political forum but enhanced its credibility as well."

■ More reports on page 8

THE STATESMAN

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Text of Musharraf's letter to Bhat

Following is the text of the letter the Pakistan President, General Musharraf, wrote to the All-Party Hurriyat Conference chairman, Prof. Abdul Ghani Bhat.

July 2, 2001

Dear Prof. Abdul Ghani Bhat,

Thank you for your letter of June 22, 2001 proposing a meeting with the APHC during my coming visit to India.

I look forward to an appointment to meet you and other leaders of APHC during my visit to India. I have asked the Pakistani High Commissioner to make necessary arrangements in this regard.

Let me assure you that Pakistan will continue to extend its full moral and diplomatic support to the Kashmiri people in their just struggle.

Yours sincerely,
(Gen. Pervez Musharraf)

THE HINDU

Indo-Iran gas project to figure in summit

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 4. The proposed Indo-Iran gas pipeline would figure at the summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistani President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, in Agra on July 15 and 16.

The Oil and Natural Resources Minister, Mr. Usman Aminuddin, told Washington-based Pakistani correspondents in Washington on Tuesday that it was one of the items which figured in the discussions among the managers of the military government on the agenda for the summit.

The about 2,600-km. pipeline

has been hanging fire for several years in view of India's reservations on the desirability of the project via Pakistan.

There have been several rounds of discussions between Indian and Iran in recent months on the subject. Teheran and Islamabad have also been engaged in discussions on addressing the Indian concerns.

Given the history of hostilities between India and Pakistan, at one stage New Delhi even considered the option of the pipeline via the sea route. However, the general assessment is that the cost of transporting gas via the sea would be prohibitive.

Kashmir to come first, says Pervez

HTC and Agencies
New Delhi, July 4

ALL ROADS lead eventually to Kashmir continues to be the mantra of President Pervez Musharraf with the Agra summit only nine days away. In an interview, the General said, "We have been talking about trade, commercial ties, economic relations and cultural relations, of improving communications between the two countries. That is putting the cart before the horse and ignoring Kashmir. This cannot be done." For good measure, he added he would "love" to meet the leaders of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference.

Musharraf argued that nothing should deter talks over Kashmir during his meeting with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Agra would be the first time Indian and Pakistani leaders would sit down with Kashmir on the agenda, he said. "We ought to set a definite direction for (Kashmir's) solution and may be a time-frame towards achieving it."

The General said it was "in the fitness of things" that Hurriyat leaders and he be allowed to meet. "It is entirely up to the Indian Government. But...it is only logical that they be allowed to meet me."

Islamabad sent a different message lower down the chain of authority. The Pakistani High Commissioner to India, AJ Qazi, said in New Delhi that he had decided not to invite the Hurriyat to a reception he planned to hold during Musharraf's visit. "Our main focus is the summit and not a meeting between the President and the Kashmiri leaders."

Further afield, in Washington, Pakistan Petroleum Minister

Usman Aminuddin talked only economics. Speaking at the Pakistan Embassy there, he confirmed Islamabad would push for a discussion of the proposed India-Iran gas pipeline at Agra. It's on the agenda, he said.

Befitting an artillery officer, Musharraf has fired a barrage of interviews at both the Indian and Pakistani media in the run-up to Agra. Indian analysts say he has sought to project Pakistani demands for a discussion on Kashmir and a meeting with the Hurriyat as reasonable and Indian objections as irrational. In his interview on Tuesday, Musharraf warned that the whole world was watching the summit. He added that he hoped Indian leaders shared his "sincerity" about an accord on Kashmir.

Analysts note that the Pakistani leader has held meetings with militant groups, prominent mullahs and select politicians in the past fortnight. Supposedly about the entire gamut of possible summit issues, they ended up being almost exclusively about Kashmir.

One group of clerics warned that there must "be no normal trade with India until the Kashmir issue is resolved." Indian observers feel the General, for all his "let us discuss Kashmir" statements, has already no room for manoeuvre on the issue.

Another thread of Musharraf's media campaign is to portray himself as a common man pushed into the role of a dictator. Earlier this week, he spoke of drawing a single salary, being in debt and having a household budget of Rs 15,000 a month. On Tuesday he once again insisted an elected Government would be in place in Islamabad by 2002.

THE BONHOMIE FACTOR



INDIAN GESTURES

- Pakistani fishermen "inadvertently transgressing into Indian waters" not to be arrested. Release of all Pakistani 'civilian' prisoners to be speeded up.
- Elimination of or reduction in 50 tariff lines.
- Twenty scholarships for Pakistani students to study in Indian technical institutions

- Pakistani poets, academics, writers and artistes to be invited to India as 'guests' of the government.

PAKISTANI GESTURES

- Vikas Singh, the Indian who had been cycling around the world for peace and was jailed in Pakistan, was released today as a goodwill gesture ahead of the Agra summit. He was serving a three-year sentence in a Peshawar prison for entering Pakistan without a visa. Indian High Commissioner to Islamabad Vijay Nambiar, who had met Singh, said that he had been questioned but was in good health.
- Call for putting Indo-Iranian gas pipeline on summit agenda.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Hard talk

HR-8 577

The real challenge facing Vajpayee and Musharraf is to go beyond the atmospherics of Agra and settle on a 'minimum threshold' that would be agreeable to both parties

EVER SINCE Independence, Kashmir has made adversaries out of India and Pakistan. Wars have been fought, meetings on all levels have taken place. Great amounts have been spent by both sides on defence. Yet another effort to find a solution will be made when President Pervez Musharraf visits India on July 14.

The upcoming summit has already attracted greater attention than previous ones. Rajiv Gandhi and Zia-ul-Haq met in February 1985 in Moscow. Both were attending the funeral of the Soviet President. They decided that I (then foreign secretary) should visit Pakistan and start a fresh dialogue. President Zia was very enthusiastic and said that there could not be better conditions as on his side he had Sahibzada Yakub Khan as foreign minister and Niaz Naik as foreign secretary. Both were committed to friendly Indo-Pak relations.

I visited Pakistan and several meetings took place between Naik and me. These led to President Zia coming to Delhi on a working visit in mid-December 1985. Rajiv Gandhi and Zia-ul-Haq agreed on a step-by-step approach, which if it yielded positive results would culminate in a visit by the Indian Prime Minister to Pakistan. The two decided that an agreement would be signed on 'non-attack' on each other's nuclear installations. The first step, a visit by the then finance minister, V.P. Singh, to Pakistan, was very successful. A number of measures were agreed upon which would give a major boost to our economic exchanges. The next step was a visit by me for foreign secretary-level talks.

My wife and I received an extremely warm welcome. I was, however, to receive a shock the next morning when I read in the papers that the Muslim League had passed a resolution stating that economic exchanges between India and Pakistan were against the interests of Pakistan, and that the Kashmir problem could only be resolved under UN resolutions.

A representative of the Muslim League, M.K. Junejo, had just been appointed the Prime Minister. This made the resolution even more potent. I told Naik that I had better pack my bags and return home. He urged that I first meet their new Prime Minister and President. At the meeting with Junejo, I raised the matter. He replied that what he had stated was the position of the Muslim League and it was not binding on the government.

I met President Zia that afternoon. He assured me that the Muslim League resolution in no way diluted his own commitment to improve relations. It only showed the kinds of problems and resistance he was facing from political parties who were only interested in getting votes. He seemed concerned and sincere. I suggested that there should be at least some signal from Pakistan that they were sensitive to India's concerns.

A verdict in respect of hijackers of an Indian Airlines plane was due. I mentioned that a strong punishment would assure the Indian public that Pakistan was sincere. President Zia was rather uncomfortable with what I suggested. But a few days later,

when I was in Karachi, I was taken to see the President who was visiting the city that day. Zia asked me to convey his greetings to Rajiv Gandhi and indicated that what had been suggested was being done.

My visit to Pakistan, however, turned out to be the last step in the understanding reached in Delhi. It was clear that 'internal forces' had prevailed. Zia had serious problems with Junejo. He dismissed him and dissolved the National Assembly on May 31, 1988. Zia was killed in an air crash in August 1988.

In 1991, when Rajiv Gandhi was no longer Prime Minister, he mentioned that Zia and he had come to an understanding which would have settled the Kashmir problem. The solution died with Zia. An agreement on the 'non-strike' on each other's nuclear installations was, however, signed some years later by another regime.

What is different now that could give us some hope? Pakistan is on the verge of bankruptcy. The country is also facing great social and political unrest. Sind and Baluchistan are fed up with the domination of Punjab. If Islamabad does not handle the situation properly, there could be another Bangladesh in the making. The very unity and economic stability of Pakistan is at stake.

At the same time, we have given Pakistan the advantage of having nuclear weapons — thereby gifting away our superiority in conventional warfare. The adventure in Kargil would never have taken place otherwise. We have also shown our weakness by not being able to handle the internal situation in Kashmir.

It has been almost 30 years since the Simla agreement. We have failed to provide the Kashmiris with peace and security. We have not given them economic development or an environment in which they could improve their living conditions. We have shown our own ineptness which Pakistan is taking advantage of.

It is in the interest of both countries that something concrete comes out of the summit. What we do not want is a visit that results only in atmospherics with the two leaders playing to their respective domestic lobbies. Peoples in both countries want an end to the Kashmir crisis.

In any kind of negotiations, there is a minimum threshold below which one cannot settle. Is even our minimum going to be acceptable to Pakistan? And vice versa? It is doubtful unless Musharraf is prepared to consider something centred on the LoC. Regardless of the outcome, however, we must keep talking. A breakthrough may appear in the form of a permanent bilateral ministerial committee.

We must come to an agreement aimed at reducing to the extent possible risks of a nuclear war. We could agree to keep the LoC 'cool' (as has been done on the Sino-Indian border), remove restrictions and go ahead with improving and expanding exchanges in the economic, cultural and social fields. Will this be acceptable to Musharraf and our home ministry? Let us hope and wait.



ALMOST MADE IT: Zia-ul-Haq and Rajiv Gandhi

Practical Musharraf seeks win-win solution for Kashmir

By Dileep Padgaonkar *Quota*
RAWALPINDI: Although he is holding his cards close to his chest, General Pervez Musharraf has, for the first time ever, hinted at the possible steps that he and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee could take at their forthcoming summit meeting to begin addressing the Kashmir issue in right earnest.

In an exclusive interview at the army chief's residence here on Monday night, Pakistan's President reiterated the need for both countries to go beyond their publicly declared stands on the issue, to keep an open mind, to demonstrate flexibility and to shun rigidity. While he would not spell out what he specifically had in mind, arguing that he would like to leave all this to his dialogue with Mr Vajpayee, he nevertheless broadly endorsed the following propositions:

■ Any solution to the Kashmir issue must be acceptable to India and Pakistan and emphatically involve the wishes of the Kashmiri people. This calls for a practical approach. The search for a solution must be future-oriented. It must not be bogged down in history.

■ Pakistan will stand by all the agreements it has with India—beginning from the 1948 UN resolutions and including the Simla agreement and the Lahore

Declaration. (He avoided a reference to the Clinton-Nawaz Sharif statement of July 4, 1999.) But as nuclear powers, both countries need to take a second look at these agreements to find out whether more focus is required on certain issues.

■ The solution has to be of a permanent nature. It must not be piecemeal and its implementation must not stretch over a long period of time.

■ It is preferable to get the dialogue moving in a structured manner and with a certain time-frame in mind.

Throughout the 40-minute conversation, Gen Musharraf, who was dressed in civilian clothes, appeared relaxed, confident and unfailingly courteous. But he wasn't effusive either in his manner or in his speech. He spoke to the point, answered every question as candidly as possible and came across as a leader who will not hedge issues but one who is also willing and able to take bold steps to place relations between India and Pakistan on an even keel.

The general was eager to dispel the impression in India that he is a war-monger and, by that same token, made it clear that he was prepared to go as far as Mr Vajpayee wants him to go to resolve the Kashmir issue to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. He was full of praise for the Prime Minister—specifically for

the courage, boldness and statesmanship he had shown in inviting him for talks—and hoped that he would be able to convince Delhi to begin addressing the Kashmir issue upfront on a priority basis.



GENERALLY SPEAKING

Pakistan's President General Pervez Musharraf in Rawalpindi on Wednesday.

so that swift progress could be made on other matters of mutual interest and concern to the two countries. He also hoped that he would be able to meet the Hurriyat leaders during his stay in India

and see how, and at what stage, they could be brought into a dialogue.

In the interview, Gen Musharraf was also keen to ensure that nothing was said or done in Pakistan that might vitiate the atmosphere before the summit takes place. He denounced as "irresponsible" certain statements made to the effect that Mr Vajpayee had invited him for talks under American pressure or because of militancy in Kashmir had worn down Indian forces. But at the same time he expressed disappointment about certain statements made in India, such as that Kashmir is an *atufang* (inseparable part) of India, or that the only thing to discuss about Kashmir is the future of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

The general would not commit himself to a firm position regarding support for militancy in the Valley once a structured dialogue on Kashmir gets under way. He said, however, that progress in the dialogue would induce moderation in the militants. Scaling down the presence of Indian forces would contribute further to that moderation.

Similarly, Gen Musharraf was not forthcoming on other issues, such as restraint on the nuclear front, agreement on Siachen, reopening of consulates in Karachi and Mumbai etc. On this last score, he was quick to point out that the consulates could

be reopened if India agreed to hand over Jinnah House in Mumbai to Pakistan. All this suggests that the general will focus as tightly as possible on the Kashmir issue during the summit, but he will attempt to do so with dollops of pragmatism.

The general answered a host of questions on Pakistan's domestic issues. He explained his decision to assume the presidency on both political and economic grounds. There was talk that he might revive the assemblies. That had created an air of destabilisation. Once the assemblies were dissolved, the President's position became untenable for he had been elected by them. Likewise, foreign investors had sought assurances regarding the continuance and sustainability of reforms.

He reiterated his determination to recast democratic politics in the country from the grass-roots upwards, to define a permanent constitutional role for the army in the governance of Pakistan, to continue his campaign against religious extremists and ensure that Pakistan continues to be a moderate Islamic republic.

At the end of the end of the interview, I asked Musharraf what would happen if the summit got derailed for whatever reason. "It would be unfortunate for our two countries and for the world," he replied.

► For the complete text see Page 11

Approaching summit

REPARATIONS for the Indo-Pak Summit have gathered momentum. All aspects of the impending event receive increasing attention in the media and there will be saturation coverage when it takes place. Behind the scenes, the two governments must be deeply immersed in the final arrangements. As matters build to a climax, there is great anticipation about what the meeting can achieve, though the expectations are mixed.

This is not for lack of effort from both sides to set the stage for success. At a stroke, India has decided to release civilian Pakistani prisoners, to open its academic institutions to Pakistani students and offer them scholarships, to refrain from arresting strayed fishermen in its waters, to reduce tariffs on several Pakistani products, and to invite poets and intellectuals from that country as its state guests.

There are some comparable Pakistani gestures but essentially the steps taken by India are unilaterally done. These measures have sailed through with the applause they merit. Strange to recall that not so long ago, K. Gujral put into effect a much more modest set of unilateral gestures to ease Indo-Pakistani relations, but at that time, with no great event in the offing, the public response was not wholly supportive. It just goes to show that in such matters timing is all. What would have attracted favourable attention only a few weeks ago looks normal and appropriate in the build up to the summit.

Notwithstanding the goodwill gestures from both sides, the differences in their priorities and approach to the summit have become very evident. For Pakistan, Kashmir is

WIDE ANGLE
SALMAN HAIDAR

what it is all about. They make no bones about it. In an interview to an Indian editor, General Pervez Musharraf has set it out with military precision and forthrightness. Other issues may be addressed but cannot be permitted to "dilute" attention to what Pakistan sees as the "core issue".

By contrast, India looks to promote all-round relations and does not see Kashmir as the sole decisive issue. Hence, there is a greater Indian emphasis on matters like trade, people-to-people contact, and solving smaller disputes like Siachen, Tulbul, and Sir Creek.

These differences between the two approaches are well established and should cause no surprise or consternation. No Indo-Pakistani

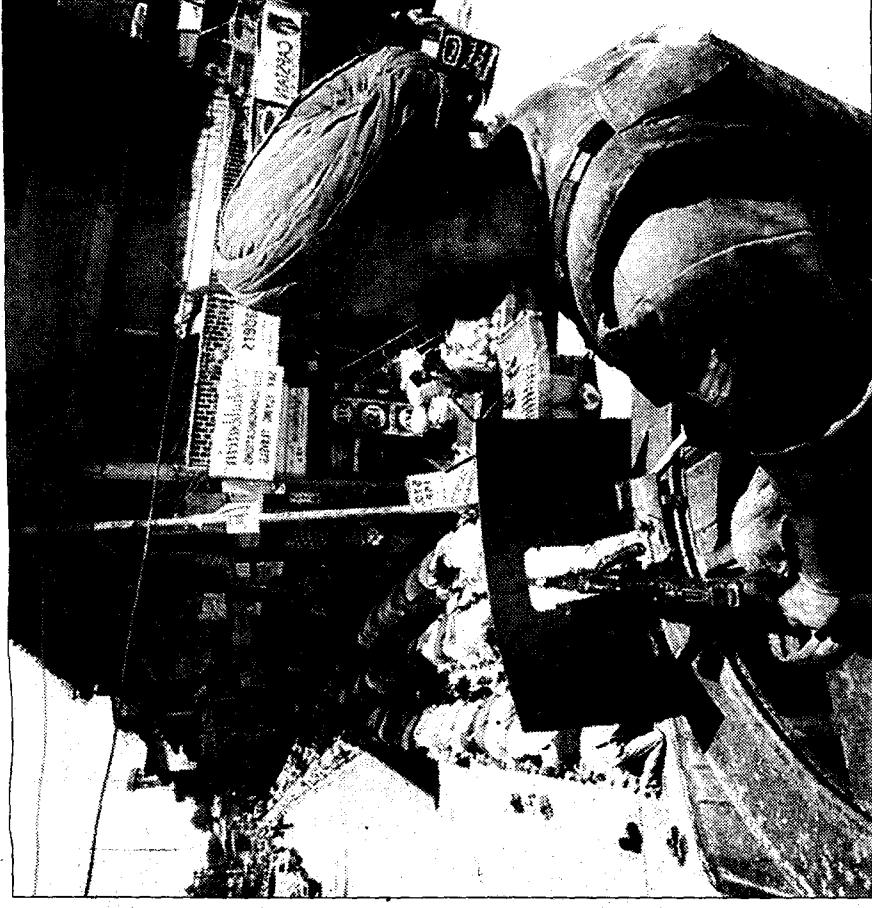
meeting, let alone at the top level, can ignore or bypass them. Whatever their disagreements, both capitals realise that for a successful outcome each side needs to move from stated and long-held positions. Without the readiness for compromise implicit in such moves, nothing much can be achieved. Perhaps, each leader is prepared to show some flexibility, though this is very unlikely to be announced in advance. It can only come out of the meeting itself.

Nevertheless, speculation abounds about what can be achieved and what concrete measures will come out of the summit. One long-discussed project whose time may be approaching is the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline. Unlike the other economic items, this is explicitly de-linked by Pakistan from progress on the "core issue", in consideration of the fact that it involves another party besides India and Pakistan.

It is to be hoped that India is now prepared to shed its reservations about this project. There are strong economic arguments in its favour and it will also serve to open up bilateral relations in the direction that India has always demanded. Agreement to go ahead would be a big step forward.

There are several other subjects on which agreements are attainable and the leaders may be able to assent to a number of them. However, attention is likely to be concentrated on what they agree should be the political follow-up to their meeting.

Many thoughts have been aired on this matter. Some observers feel that a ministerial-level figure should be charged with the responsibility to continue the dialogue. A similar idea is to set up high-level groups to



Mukhtar Singh Bal, a BSF personnel, stands guard on top of an armored vehicle as Muslims perform the namaz in Srinagar. He was posted to Srinagar three years ago and since then has been working more than 18 hours a day because of regular attacks from Pakistan-based militants. — AP/PTI

address different subjects identified at the summit. Few seem to believe that regular diplomatic channels could be the best conduit for the task in hand, though these can often prove to be the most effective means of communication. Doubtless, some process for continuing the bilateral engagement in an effective manner will come out of the summit. We can only speculate on what it may be, and there are many available options.

Perhaps, the leaders will ignore the numerous thoughts that are being thrust at them and come up with something quite unexpected. At present, attention is concentrated on events in New Delhi and Islamabad, but this should not blind us to the sentiment in Srinagar as the summit looms. Cautionary voices

have been raised in the Kashmir Valley to say emphatically that it cannot be expected to acquiesce

meekly in any dispensation that India and Pakistan may decide for it. The moment for a final decision on the dispute may yet be far away but Kashmiri anxieties that the two countries may make a deal above their heads are not to be ignored.

After so many years of enduring violence and loss, Kashmir's own voice is stronger than it was in earlier days and will have to be taken into account. This can only add to the unpredictability of the summit. Its outcome depends on two individuals who hardly know each other and who bring an enormous baggage of history and expectation to their meeting. Perhaps, despite the odds, they will prove capable of transcending the antagonistic positions to which they are both bound.

We can only wait and watch.

(The author is a former Foreign Secretary.)



Gen. Pervez Musharraf in Rawalpindi on Wednesday. — AP/PTI

India to speed up prisoners' release

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 4. In a significant pre-summit goodwill gesture, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, today unilaterally announced the Government's intent to release all civilian Pakistani prisoners, throw open academic institutions to Pakistanis and initiate steps to prevent detention of fishermen who stray into Indian waters.

The Prime Minister's initiative, on the eve of the summit, is seen here as a well thought-out effort to generate warmth towards India among a wide cross-section of the Pakistani people.

According to a statement by the Ministry of External Affairs, the Prime Minister has asked the Home Ministry to expeditiously release all Pakistani "civilian" prisoners currently in India, "after due process of law."

Official sources pointed out that around 229 Pakistani prisoners may benefit from the Prime Ministers directive. Most of these Pakistanis are in custody on grounds of "overstay" or for not possessing valid identification papers.

In a bid to ensure that Pakistani fishermen are no longer harassed, the Prime Minister has directed the Coast Guard not to arrest those who may have inadvertently strayed into Indian waters.

"Henceforth, they (Pakistani fishermen) will be turned back after due warning."

Seeking to encourage imports of Pakistani goods, the Prime Minister has issued instructions for reducing or eliminating tariffs on 50 types of items.

These "tariff lines" will be identified before August 15 this year.

The Prime Minister's focus on the economic issues in his announcement is an elaboration of

his letter of May 25 where he invited the Pakistani President, General Pervez Musharraf, for talks, highly placed sources said.

In that message, the Prime Minister had stressed the need for India and Pakistan to combat "poverty" jointly.

Sources stressed that the economic initiative was meant to encourage direct trade between the two countries.

India and Pakistan trade goods worth around one billion "indi-

Musharraf for no-war pact

NEW DELHI, JULY 4. The Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, today said he is ready for a "no-war pact" with India. In an interview to Zee TV, he said, "India has offered no-first-use of nuclear weapons. I am ready to go one step ahead ... for a no-war pact."

— UNI

'Keen to meet Hurriyat': Page 14

rectly" through third countries. For instance, Indian goods are routed to Pakistan via Dubai, Hong Kong and Singapore.

According to a study by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Indian capital goods are in considerable demand in Pakistan. India, on its part, will find it beneficial to import items such as cotton yarn, textiles, leather goods, fruits and vegetables from Pakistan.

In an effort to encourage young people, academics and artistes to visit India, the Prime Minister has offered 20 scholarships for Pakistani students in Indian technical institutions.

In addition, Pakistani poets, academics and writers will be invited as state guests.

Pak. to free cyclist

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 4. Pakistan today decided to release an Indian round-the-world cyclist, Mr. Vikas Singh, who was jailed for three years for entering the country from Afghanistan without a visa.

An official statement said that "arrangements are being made to transfer him to Lahore, from where he would be taken to Wagah for onward transfer to India".

Mr. Singh, who has been touring the world on his by-cycle, as part of his 'peace yatra' for the last 14 years, was taken into custody by the Pakistani authorities in May this year. Since then Mr. Singh has been languishing in the Peshawar jail.

The release of Mr. Singh has been ordered in response to an Indian request.

PM's boost to Indo-Pak ties before summit

H. BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, July 4. — Exactly two years after the re-capture of Tiger Hill in J&K, the Centre today announced several confidence building measures that will boost people-to-people contact between India and Pakistan. The measures have been taken at the Prime Minister's initiative.

After establishing a rapport with Gen Pervez Musharraf by addressing him as "Mr President" even before Islamabad announced his elevation to the post, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee has now focussed on creating the right atmosphere for the summit.

He has ordered the home ministry to act fast to release all Pakistani "civilian" prisoners after completing the legal procedure. Most of these prisoners had violated immigration laws. Their offence included overstaying in the country.

While there are 229 Pakistani "civilian" prisoners in India, 620 Indian "civilian" prisoners are in Pakistan's custody. Islamabad has granted consular access to 474 Indian prisoners.

Pakistan has reportedly released globetrotting Indian cyclist Vikas Singh, sentenced to a three-year jail term in May for entering the country from Afghanistan without a visa. The head of Chancery, Mr RK Sharma, was allowed to meet Singh in a Peshawar prison today.

Agency reports from Islamabad said Singh has been released as a goodwill gesture. Officials here, however, said they were yet to be informed by Pakistan about Singh's release.

Mr Vajpayee's other measures are addressing problems faced by the fishermen of both countries, reducing tariff on 50 tariff lines to boost Pakistani exports to India and focussing on the welfare of Indian and Pakistani youths.

The Prime Minister has decided to offer 20 scholarships to Pakistani students in Indian technical institutions. Pakistani students, from school to university level, will be invited to visit Indian academic institutions. The Centre will also invite Pakistani poets, academics, writers and artistes to stay here for a month.

India has been trying for a long time to solve the problems being faced by the fishermen of both countries. Mr Vajpayee has ordered the Coast Guard not to incarcerate Pakistani fishermen who inadvertently cross India's maritime boundary. "Henceforth, they'll be turned back after due warning," the Prime Minister order says.

About 202 Pakistani fishermen are in India's custody, while about 196 Indian fishermen are in Pakistan's.

To encourage Pakistani exports to India, Mr Vajpayee has asked the commerce ministry to "reduce/eliminate" tariff on 50 tariff lines. These lines will be identified before 15 August.

■ Another report on page 8

The summit

By Kanti Bajpai

Strong leaders can make and carry through tough but rational decisions. The upcoming India-Pakistan summit is an opportunity to do just that.

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4/7

PEACE RARELY comes as a whole. More often than not, peace comes in parts. The outlines of an India-Pakistan peace as a whole are visible, if somewhat remotely. In all likelihood, it will depend centrally on accepting the Line of Control (LoC) as it is — as a temporary if longish term measure (for the next 25 years perhaps, without prejudice to the competing claims of Indians, Pakistanis, and Kashmiris) — and instituting arrangements that will soften this *de facto* boundary line and thus serve to unify the social and economic life of Kashmiris.

What about the parts that hopefully will take the two countries to this — or some other — mutually acceptable final settlement? The forthcoming summit between the Indian Prime Minister and the Pakistani President is about the construction of some of these parts. The summit is unlikely to deliver a full-blown peace agreement given the complexity of issues, the burdens of history, and the difficulties of domestic politics. It can however make a beginning in reducing the level of tensions and charting out a pathway towards a more thoroughgoing peace.

What should the Prime Minister and the President do in their three-day meeting? There are four modest but important things and, additionally, three rather more ambitious things they should and can do. First, the two leaders should agree to appoint a special representative or envoy to carry the agenda of discussions forward in the months and years to come. This plenipotentiary should be a person who has the ear and confidence of his or her leader, to be sure, but also commands respect across the political board. He or she should be a political figure, in the best sense of the term, with stature and gravitas. Indian and Pakistani diplomats are amongst the best in the world, but it is unfair to burden them with the very hard decisions that must be made, in the end, by the political leaderships. Nor is it possible for the Prime Minister and the President to meet on a regular basis. That would be straining the limits of diplomatic convention in South Asia, as things stand, and in any case is not feasible given their other commitments, both domestic and international.

Second, Mr. Vajpayee and General

Musharaff should announce that their special representatives and their diplomatic/expert teams will meet on a continuous and regular basis, without interruption. As Mr. Mani Shanker Aiyar argued several years ago, the two sides must insulate the talks from the daily ups and downs of domestic politics and bilateral interactions. The special representatives should meet according to a mandated schedule, say three or even four times a year — four would be safer for equity's sake!

Third, if nothing else, the two leaders must commit themselves once again to ending hostile propaganda and scoring cheap debating points. Politics is politics, and we must accept that a certain amount of grandstanding is inescapable. Indeed, to some extent, it is vital if a leadership is to ward off the usual chorus of domestic lament and criticism. At least in private, however, the two sides should agree on what is off limits and what is more or less impermissible from now on in terms of official pronouncements and rhetoric. There is a subtler issue here as well, namely, preparing public opinion for the peace process. Gen. Musharraf has spoken out against the jihadis in Pakistan and may even move against them. Mr. Vajpayee is more constrained in what he can effectively do given the wide-open politics of Indian democracy, but as a leader he must lead, and leadership demands that he speak out publicly against those who demonise Pakistan and inflame public opinion on a critical issue of public policy.

A fourth agreement relates to military restraint along the LoC. The Pakistanis have already been helpful over the past several months in stopping artillery fire across the LoC. They may also have pulled army units back from forward positions in some areas. Gen. Musharraf could help matters greatly by affirming the continuance of this posture. On the Indian side, Mr. Vajpayee should make a statement committing India to military restraint in Kashmir. India's ceasefire in Kashmir,

however imperfect, was the correct step. While New Delhi has terminated that initiative, it must understand that some visible lowering of military force, quantitatively or qualitatively, is a necessary *quid pro quo* for the General.

If the summit does no more than this, it will probably have done quite a lot. Rumours suggest that the two sides may discuss and agree on a number of more substantive things — Siachen, confidence building, trade, people-to-people exchanges — all of which would be wonderful bonuses. Of these, Siachen is the most urgent. The cost in blood and treasure is unconscionable given that, in the end, the glacier is strategically speaking irrelevant. The notion of turning it into an ecological/scientific park is an imaginative one and could turn this killing zone into a valuable common resource. However, there are three other areas where progress may be easier.

The first of these is arms control. With nuclear weapons about, both sides have an interest in reassuring each other and the world at large that they are attentive to the dangers that these weapons pose. The Lahore agreements, which made Gen. Musharraf and the Pakistan Army so neutral in 1999, contained useful ideas on arms control. At least three things are vital here: a nuclear hotline connecting not only political leaders but also military personnel and nuclear scientists; a nuclear risk reduction centre where the two sides, on a continuing basis, monitor each other's nuclear plans, programmes, and postures; and discussions on doctrinal and command and control issues.

The second substantive agreement that Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf should aim for is a bus service between Muzaffarabad and Srinagar. This idea is already doing the rounds and is a small enough venture, one that probably does not require any inordinate expenditure in terms of political capital. It is a simple, modest initiative and has the advantage of not

hurting anyone's interests. On the other hand, it is symbolically rather significant in terms of the softening of the LoC and vitalising a common social life for ordinary Kashmiris.

A third substantive accord would be much more ambitious, but one that has been in the wind for some years, namely, the construction of a gas pipeline from Iran to India through Pakistan. The summit is an opportunity to move this idea towards realisation. India and Pakistan should announce their determination to see the project through and to hold serious, expert discussions on the security and other implications of the scheme. Both countries have at various times supported the idea. Today Islamabad is more enthusiastic in signing an accord, mostly because of the financial benefits that would accrue at a time when the Pakistani exchequer is broke. New Delhi is more sceptical, understandably enough, given that the pipeline must traverse Pakistani territory.

However, India should take comfort from the following factors. For one thing, Pakistan has an economic stake in the pipeline. Second, it has a diplomatic interest in a good relationship with Iran. Third, pipelines are not easy to tamper with or destroy. Fourth, Iran has insisted it would guarantee supplies should they be interrupted. Fifth, India could in any case build up a reserve stock to tide over interruptions. Last, historically, India and Pakistan have shown that they can be pragmatic and honourable under duress. A cardinal instance is the Indus rivers treaty which neither side has violated even in wartime.

Never in the 50 years of Indian and Pakistani post-independence history, except for the briefest moment in 1947-48, have the two countries had at the helm strong leaders on both sides of the border. Whatever one's political estimation of Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf, they are firmly in charge. Strong leaders can make and carry through tough but rational decisions. The upcoming India-Pakistan summit is an opportunity to do just that for the good of over one billion struggling people.

(The writer teaches at the School of International Studies, JNU.)

THE HINDU

Terms of Engagement

Vajpayee, Musharraf Can Deliver Results

By B S MALIK

POST-KARGIL, many people were of the opinion that general Pervez Musharraf was a brilliant tactician but not a good strategist. By declaring himself president three weeks before the talks, he has proved them wrong. He has pre-empted the possibility of his being replaced through a presidential decree if the talks don't go Pakistan's way. Whatever the result of the talks by Musharraf the CE, Musharraf, the president, can approve it and Musharraf, the army chief, can execute it.

In the post-cold war era, negotiations over even the most contentious disputes have moved from 'confrontation', to a higher plane of 'constructive contention'. 'Engagement' has become the new mantra.

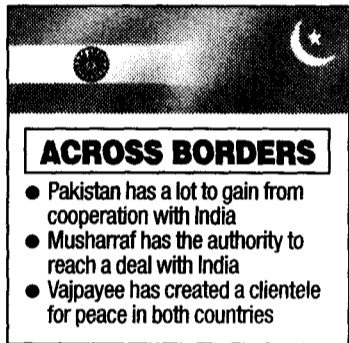
There are more reasons than ever for Pakistan constructively to engage India. Kargil failure apart, by 2002, the SAARC free trade zone is slated to be implemented, followed by the SAARC community. This schedule must be of concern to people in Pakistan. The UN looks at regional organisations as the best working instruments of 'engagement', in an increasingly interdependent world. Then the state of its economy. *The Nation*, from Pakistan, has reported that the serious drought this year has taken a toll of \$927 million in the balance of payment, and pushed down the GDP growth to below three per cent. India's help in tackling the situation through the provisions of the Indus Water treaty could prove vital for Pakistan.

Kargil was a compulsion for the general, as Ashley Tellis explains in the *Rand study on stability in South Asia*, prepared for the US army. To quote, "As Pakistan recognises the extent of India's economic expansion, it acquires incentives to resort to premeditated conventional war, primarily because of its desperation to secure Kashmir before the evolving power transition in South Asia close off such opportunities permanently". However, that is now history and Pakistan must have realised that even that window of opportunity is now permanently closed.

After Kargil, the ball was in our court and we have played it well so far. The invitation to Musharraf was to be our ace, but he has played it deftly. The talks have not only given him legitimacy but also allowed him to become president.

The stakes are high in India too. The government has been on the backfoot what with the UP elections around the corner and trouble in the north-east. The government would certainly not want this sort of unrest to spread. Pokhran did not earn us any accolades on the international stage and attracted sanctions. The Lahore "peace" initiative ran into rough weather. For us, a lot equally rests on the outcome of these talks.

It should not be too difficult to interact at the personal level with general Musharraf. He is a sophisticated man. During the Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS) course in 1990, I spent a whole year with him. At that time he was very close to colonel Ethem Erdagi from Turkey, who is now a serving three star general in the Turkish



army. He may well have foreseen, as a brigadier in 1990, that the army will continue to be important in Pakistan. But this flip-flop model of 'now in power now not', would have to give way to the Turkish model of enshrining military authority permanently in the constitution. Naturally, therefore, Kemal Ataturk, the father of modern Turkey, is his preferred role model.

India should magnanimously put Kargil behind and not fault the general for taking chances for his country. The big question now is not Kashmir but Pakistan itself. After all, Bhutto's declaration that they would make the bomb even if that meant "eating grass" has become a very real possibility, with Pakistan on the brink of bankruptcy. But despite all their troubles, it is to the credit of general Musharraf that he has not allowed it to become an "Islamic bomb", ready for sale — at least not so far.

General Musharraf knows some hard decisions have to be taken. No wonder, he said after taking

over as president "I will not shirk. I will not hesitate. I will not back down". The defence budget cut, howsoever small, should not be seen as making virtue out of necessity, but as a change in policy. And now the anti-terrorism ordinance should give us some hope. General Musharraf has been working hard to prepare public opinion for the talks. Any alternative to him at this stage can only please the undesirable elements who have made Pakistan what it is today and, of course, the Taliban.

If ever there was to be some acceptance of the outcome of talks with India, these had to be conducted by an armyman totally in control of the common soldier and the army apparatus. General Musharraf is such a man. As a Mohajir, he may be suspect among the generals, but his constituency is the common soldier, not the powerful generals and their families. He now has all the authority he requires to plan, approve and execute the agreements. Benazir Bhutto's contention that the agreements brokered by a military leader would not be acceptable to an elected government is without any substance. She has obviously forgotten general Ayub's "Tashkent agreement". Militarily Pakistan got the best deal, with places like the Haji Peer pass in Jammu and Kashmir returned to it.

On the Indian side, if ever there was to be an agreement it has to be by a BJP-led government for obvious reasons. And the BJP could not have had a better person to conduct the talks than Atal Behari Vajpayee. Not many realise that foreign affairs and affairs of war are but two sides of the same coin.

Mr Vajpayee has created a clientele for peace both in Pakistan and India by his stature and conduct. Many people perhaps do not realise how effortlessly Mr Vajpayee sold the idea of keeping the Kargil war limited by not allowing another front to be opened in the plains, despite having nuclear weapons. Any other prime minister would have allowed himself to be pressured into teaching Pakistan a lesson. In recent times, if ever Indians have trusted a leader completely, it is Mr Vajpayee and that gives him tremendous flexibility in the forthcoming talks.

(The author is a lieutenant-general (ret'd) in the Indian army)

Pak soldier among 11 killed in J&K

SRINAGAR: Seven foreign mercenaries, including a Pakistani soldier, and two army personnel were among 11 people killed in Jammu and Kashmir since Sunday night, an army spokesman said on Monday.

Two foreign mercenaries — a Pakistani soldier Abul Jindal with identity card number 79150-box and self-styled battalion commander of Pakistan-based Lashker-e-Toiba (LeT) Abu Talib of Sialkote in Pakistan — were killed in an encounter which broke out during search operations at Khimsar Behak in frontier district of Kupwara on Sunday night, the spokesman said.

A joint search party of special operations group (SOG) of local police and army was fired upon by militants. In the retaliatory action the two militants were killed and two rifles, four magazines and

110 rounds were recovered from them, he said. Army foiled an infiltration bid when they shot dead five Pakistani ultras trying to sneak into this side of the border in Chandankul-Machil sector on Sunday night and early on Monday.

An army officer and a soldier were killed and three others injured when militants engaged them in a fierce encounter at Rajwar-Handwara in Kupwara district on Sunday night, he said. The militants escaped in the cover of darkness.

Militants shot dead a former ultra Nazir Ahmad Nengroo alias Noor Khan at Kaneur-Chadura village in Badgam district on Monday morning, a police spokesman said, adding the body of Fayaz Ahmad Bhat, kidnapped by ultras on June 30, was recovered from Wagat-Handwara in Kupwara on Monday. (PTI)

'The bull is the Kashmir issue, Let's catch it by the horns, let's resolve it'

Dileep Padgaonkar: Since you have been at the helm of affairs, a whole new vocabulary has emerged in the discourse about India's relations with Pakistan. The Prime Minister has spoken about the need for innovative ways to improve the relationship. You have spoken about your determination to go to India with an 'open mind', to demonstrate 'flexibility', and about the need for countries to go beyond 'publicly stated positions'. Do all these signals suggest, even if very modestly, a mind-set in our two countries?

Pervez Musharraf: I think they do. A change in mindset is required in the public and also in the leadership on both sides. I know of the situation in Pakistan. There is certainly a desire to resolve issues, to resolve the Kashmir dispute, which has bedevilled all relations between India and Pakistan, so that we can then focus on improving all-round relations between the two countries.

DP: You have been a soldier all your adult life and Mr Vajpayee has been in public life all his adult life. He is also a poet and an orator. People in India are wondering what will happen when a soldier who has just assumed the presidency of his country meets the Prime Minister. What is the kind of chemistry that will be at work?

PM: Well, it does sound interesting because we are from very different professions. But the issue we have to face is common. Irrespective of our different professions, I think we can easily focus on the issue. These are matters of commonsense, which every professional, teacher or a person who has been good at his own profession would know.

DP: I am not going to ask you to tell me what you really mean by 'open mind' or 'flexibility'. I suppose the meaning will evolve as the dialogue evolves. Nevertheless, I want to know whether these terms you have used suggest that we will be looking at the new framework. Are you saying that we need to have greater give and take and go in for compromises?

PM: Well, certainly, I would not like to go into the details of what really is flexibility and open-mindedness. Clearly it indicates that we must shun rigidity on both sides. This can't be done one-sidedly. Open-mindedness has to be from both sides, if progress has to be made.

DP: In India, we are also struck by the fact that you have said very warm things about Mr Vajpayee. We have not known any other leader of Pakistan who has praised an Indian Prime Minister the way you have. The Prime Minister himself has something to say about you on the basis of your telephonic conversation, which again is something one has not really heard from any Prime Minister before. Do these facts also reveal a certain change in attitudes or am I reading too much into this?

PM: Mr Vajpayee is an elder, much older than me, he is a politician, he is a statesman, he is respected in India. So certainly, on a personal note, I have all the respect for him. And what you have told me before coming here, if those are the views he has expressed about me, I am grateful to him. And I think that's a good beginning. When we meet, we'll certainly meet on a positive note.

DP: There are some people in India who say that Kargil shattered a certain confidence that India had about seeking a durable peace with Pakistan and that the confidence now needs to be restored first. There is another school of thought that argues thus—what's happened has happened. Moreover, things were much more complicated about Kargil than what we were led to believe. Against this background, do you think something can be done between now and the time you come for the summit to accelerate the process of rebuilding trust and confidence?

PM: First of all, I totally agree with the latter view that we must not live in history. I have been saying this all along because if we talk of Kargil, we will open a Pandora's box. History doesn't have limits. We should not restrict ourselves to Kargil alone. We should go further back. And there is no end to going back. I would like to go back to Siachen, to '71, to '48 etc. There is no end to going back to history.

Now for the other part of your statement—what we can do. I think we should not be succumbing to unnecessary rhetoric which disturbs the environment before the conference. We must desist from making statements

which are contentious. We should, in fact, be making statements which are liked by the two sides, so that the job of Prime Minister Vajpayee and my job is facilitated. We may be having very different views about a solution to problems other than through a dialogue process. Let us express warmer feelings rather than unnecessary rhetoric on contentious issues.

DP: General, there are some statements which have come as a surprise to us. For example, that the Indian Prime Minister extended this invitation to you to visit India because of international, especially American, pressure. This, as you will know, is blatantly untrue. How do you react to this statement? Or, for that matter, to the statement that he suddenly decided that he has got to talk to you because the jihadis brought the armed forces in India down to their knees, that their morale was collapsing,

'There was a Consulate in Karachi and we were not given the Jinnah House in Mumbai. So I hope India does give us Jinnah House before we talk about opening of a Consulate in Karachi again'

that sort of rhetoric. How do you respond to that?

PM: These are irresponsible statements. Look here, this is not a child's game going on—who is winning and who is losing. I wouldn't like to dwell on this subject of who has won, who has lost through the initiation of dialogue. I wouldn't like to support anybody making such statements. I think the issue involved is far bigger.

We are trying to resolve a dispute which had bedevilled our relations for 50 years. We have fought wars over it, we have suffered casualties, we have spilled blood on both sides. But at the same time, I would like to say that there have been statements from your side also. Statements to the effect that when we talk of Kashmir, we are talking about PoK, Pakistan Occupied Kashmir only, of Atoot Ang etc. People should desist from making such statements, too. They hamper the process of dialogue. On both sides, I think, we should exercise restraint.

DP: In Pakistan, I haven't heard too many references to the Shimla Agreement, the Lahore Declaration or the Blair House statement. Is this a deliberate omission or are you trying to shift the paradigm? In what are you going to root your approach to the Kashmir issue, if it is not going to be the peace agreements that the two nations have signed?

PM: Well, we do stand by all the agreements. We start with the 1948 UN resolutions, which we need to adhere to. We also have signed the Shimla Accord and the Lahore Declaration. But having said that, I would like to go a step further. A lot has changed since the Lahore Declaration and since the Shimla Accord. We are both nuclear powers now. We probably have realised that the time has come for taking bold decisions. So, things have changed. I would say that may be there is a need to re-examine these accords and see whether more focus is required on certain issues. I'll raise this matter when I meet Prime Minister Vajpayee.

DP: You've got a great many suggestions and proposals emanating from the Kashmir Study Group and the Track II people and so on. Are you taking these into account as a preparation for the summit?

In an interview, President Pervez Musharraf insists nothing should dilute a discussion on the Kashmir issue. "I must involve the wishes of the Kashmiri people because otherwise it would not be workable," he says.

PM: No, not at all. I am not a believer in this. I think the time has come to be upfront, to catch the bull by its horns, to talk straight and talk openly. Let the world know what we are talking about. Let the people of Pakistan and the people of India know what we are saying, so there is no back channel that I am talking of. We need to ensure that there is no secrecy in whatever we talk about. I think the time has come to be very frank and forthright and open and give out whatever we want to do to the public.

DP: What would you exactly like Mr Vajpayee to do in terms of catching the bull by the horns?

PM: The bull is the Kashmir issue. Let's catch the Kashmir issue by the horns and let's resolve it.

DP: I come back to what we have been talking about earlier, namely, that both sides need to go beyond their publicly stated positions. Would you be able to give me a hint as to what you have in your mind?

PM: Frankly, I would like to leave this for the dialogue. It will be too premature if I give my ideas on this at this stage.

DP: Okay, let me list out three, four ideas and see how you respond to them. Would you agree that any remedy to Kashmir must be acceptable to India and Pakistan and that it must respect the wishes of the people of Kashmir?

PM: Yes, indeed. The last part I would like to underline and emphasise. It must involve the wishes of the Kashmiri people because otherwise it would not be workable.

DP: Would you agree that whatever proposals are tabled should be implementable? One can always ask for the moon but the moon is not always for the asking?

PM: Certainly. We would be quite impractical if we propose something which is not implementable.

DP: Would you agree that whatever solutions you come up with will not be tentative in nature?

PM: Yes, I would certainly like to go for a permanent solution.

DP: You are still not hinting at the direction in which we ought to be moving on Kashmir.

PM: I think the direction is pretty straight. There are no two ways. We need to resolve the Kashmir dispute. I think the direction is towards the resolution of the Kashmir dispute and not through unnecessary dilution of the issue or by getting involved in peripheral issues. In the initial stages, we need to address the Kashmir issue and move towards its resolution.

DP: On Kashmir, would you say that your summit meeting would be a success if it decided to initiate a process or mechanism which would enable the senior-most people to address that issue and do it within a certain time-frame, and report directly to the two of you?

PM: Well, I think I would like to leave the success or failure part to a later period. But whatever we do will be very good. It would be in the fitness of things, it would be very logical and profitable, if one was moving ahead in structured manner, in a certain time-frame. I think that is a logical way of going forward.

DP: Do you think, general, that should this be done, the level of jihadi activities would be scaled down?

PM: Well, again, we are getting into the tactics of it. When you talk of the level of jihadi

DP: You have been harping on the fact

that India and Pakistan have addressed the central issue, which is Kashmir. But will there be anything else that you will discuss? For example, would you consider spending a bit of time on issues like Siachen, a free trade movement and a more relaxed visa regime?

PM: Well, the short answer is, as long as all these issues do not dilute the process of dialogue on Kashmir. Because, frankly, the core issue, as I have been saying, is Kashmir. I am sure time Minister Vajpayee will agree with this. We have fought wars on Kashmir.



KEEPING ABREAST OF THE TIMES?

DP: There is also some talk about reopening the consulates in Karachi and Mumbai.

PM: Certainly, if there is progress on Kashmir, one doesn't mind talking on these issues. I do agree that these irritants need to be removed. You have raised this point of consulates which I would certainly like to raise. I hope you do know that the issue of the consulates is India's creation. Because there was a consulate in Karachi and we were not given Jinnah House in Mumbai. So, I hope India does give us Jinnah House before we talk about opening a consulate in Karachi again. We need to move forward on Kashmir and we will

'I am a firm believer that there has to be a balance and moderation. The word 'balanced' is the most appropriate word. In Pakistani society, there are extremists on one side and, on the other side, there are liberal modernists'

talk about whatever the PM wants. As I said, I am going there with an open mind. We can discuss all other issues also.

DP: I would like to shift to certain domestic considerations. General, what are the factors that prompted you to accede to the presidency of Pakistan?

PM: Well, these are matters of national interest, which is uppermost in my mind. Although this is something that I did for myself, I keep saying that I hold national interest supreme and in the national interest there were two issues—one political, and the other economic. The political issue first. There was the possibility of destabilisation

within Pakistan in that the assemblies were suspended and there was a lot of talk that we would restore them. There was a degree of destabilisation because of such talk. So, we thought we might as well remove these doubts by dissolving the assemblies.

When these assemblies get dissolved, the President's position, who has been elected by those assemblies, becomes untenable. This was one issue. The other issue was economic. I thought there was a lot of feeling in the Pakistani business community at home and abroad that foreign investors were asking for continuity and sustainability in whatever reforms and restructuring that my government is doing. To that extent, we thought we needed to show them that there would be continuity. We thought that my taking over as President would initiate continuity and sustainability of all other reforms. So, that was the decision.

DP: I think not too many people were surprised that you did become the President, but I think a lot of people were surprised about the timing of your decision.

PM: Why were they surprised about the timing? Because of the relationship with my visit to India? I did not intend at all to create any impression or improve my stature or anything of that sort. It did not strike my mind at all. I will be too pleased to meet Prime Minister Vajpayee in any capacity. That was not my intent at all.

DP: But now that you have accumulated all the powers that you possibly can, don't you think that the expectations from you have also risen considerably higher and there is no cushion left any more?

PM: Yes, I do understand that. It's a deliberate decision. I have a conviction and I am very confident that I can deliver.

DP: What is the kind of constitutional role that you would envisage for the armed forces? Everyone knows that you are greatly interested in Turkey.

PM: Well, everyone knows that I have been in Turkey for seven years. I spent all my childhood in Turkey. But that doesn't mean I am going to copy it. Every country has its own environment. So, while we would like to study all systems from other countries, the ultimate system that we would acquire or implement in Pakistan will be tailored according to the environment of Pakistan. I haven't come to that stage really. It's only that I am too involved in the local government, which will come in place by August 14. Beyond August 14 we are going to address these issues at the provincial and national level. As they say, we will cross the bridge when we come to it.

DP: But you too have supreme court orders saying that you have got to hold national elections by certain dates.

PM: Yes, we will adhere to it.

DP: General, your speech to the clerics, admonishing them and asking them not to make irresponsible statements, has been very widely reported and very widely appreciated. What have you contemplated? For example, the de-weaponisation of civil society?

PM: Yes, indeed we have already started de-weaponisation. We have banned the display of weapons. We have also told people to surrender all unlicensed weapons. So, we are going to go very strongly against people holding arms and reduce the proliferation of arms in Pakistan. We also intend issuing

an ordinance within a month, which will regulate these extremist activities, extremist tendencies, creating discord in the public, inciting others towards violence etc. I certainly intend moving against such extremist activities which are against the interests of Pakistan and which also disturb law and order and peace in the country.

DP: Let me ask you a broader question. Have you set out to be a moderniser of your society, of your institutions, of your economy? Will that be a correct interpretation of your recent moves, because pitted against you are a variety of conservative and even reactionary forces?

PM: I wouldn't like to use this word 'moderniser'. I am a firm believer that there has to be a balance and moderation. The word 'balanced' is the most appropriate word. In Pakistani society, there are extremists on one side and, on

'Why were they surprised about the timing? Because of the relationship with my visit to India? I did not intend at all to create any impression or improve my stature or anything of that sort'

the other side, there are liberal modernists, westernised, even over-westernised. I don't believe in either of them. Therefore, I would not agree with your use of the word moderniser. We are a moderate Islamic Republic. And I would like to maintain this moderate path of our society.

Well, frankly again, this is the issue we need to address. Now that we have decided on political restructuring, which is one of the most important things that we will do, we are addressing the economic revival part, the governance part, poverty alleviation and political restructuring. But we thought we needed logically to start from the bottom up. Which means we go to local government first.

Power needs to be possessed by the local government to function effectively in a true democratic manner. We then come one step up to the provincial level and see what power needs to be devolved from the Centre. So, the provinces will be examined. And then we will come to the Centre and restructuring at the Centre. Frankly, we haven't crystallised our views on what powers need to be devolved to the provinces. We will do that immediately after August 14. The National Reconstruction Bureau is already addressing the issues.

DP: General, I am sure you've got some idea of the kind of preparation that has been made in India for your visit. Yet, the public at large seems to be in a certain kind of frenzy. There are people who have been beautifying the area around the haveli in Delhi where you were born.

PM: Well, I think, yes, this meeting has evoked lot of enthusiasm all over the world. In Pakistan also, every one is focused on July 14-16. The hottest subject anywhere in the media and in every drawing room is the dialogue between myself and Mr Vajpayee. So, I think it's very good. One should not be anxious about it as such, one should draw strength from the fact that the people are really interested because they want genuinely to improve relations between the two countries.

DP: You know our people are very sentimental. They keep on harping about our common culture. I find that this kind of talk does not go down well in Pakistan. What do you have to say about this?

PM: Well, I would say it doesn't go down well, the main issue has been sidelined. When you sideline the main issue and talk of everything under the sun, that doesn't go down well at all. It is not just the cultural part but also talk about trade, export and import, commercial activity, economic activity, economic collaborations. Nothing goes down well because people here think that there is a degree of insincerity in all that.

How can you be friendly, how can you develop progress on all these issues when the main issue on which we have fought wars remains? When people are dying on the Line of Control almost every day? Thank God now there is a ceasefire. It is holding on the Line of Control. But otherwise both sides were having casualties every day. So, when there is hatred on the borders, what kind of similarities are we talking about? It's quite natural. Therefore, I think the horse has to be put before the cart.

DP: If the summit is derailed for whatever reason, would that be an absolute disaster?

PM: It will be very unhappy for both sides if it gets derailed. I think Mr Vajpayee and myself ought to understand that it will be most unfortunate. The decision for the two of us to meet has created such a hype, such an interest all over the world. If we two fail, for the world and for our two countries, it will be unfortunate.

DP: General, Benazir Bhutto has been writing articles in the newspapers and has been giving interviews to the Indian press, saying that her party will not be bound by whatever decisions are taken at the summit.

PM: Irresponsible, quite meaningless. I think what she couldn't achieve is what we are trying to achieve. I would say this is a case of sour grapes. She doesn't want to admit that she didn't achieve what we are trying to achieve.

DP: General, there are a lot of people in India who are interested in knowing a little bit more about you. What is it that you would like to tell the Indian people about yourself and the kind of country that you are trying to fashion?

PM: Well, I would like to dispel the impression that Indians have about me, that I am some kind of a warmonger. I am a man of peace although I'm in uniform. I believe in peace with honour and dignity. I do want peace. That is the message I would like to send to them.

DP: General, what age were you when you left Delhi?

PM: Four years.

DP: So, you practically have no memories of that period?

PM: Well, very vague memories.

DP: And you have not been in touch with your relatives since then?

PM: Not really. The one that we were in touch with was an uncle. He has died. My parents have been meeting them. They have been to India thrice. I have been hearing about my relatives from them. But I haven't been in touch.

DP: Some new relatives of yours crop up every other day. And each one wants to invite you for dinner, lunch and so on.

PM: I wish I could sit with each one of them separately. I have conveyed to our high commissioner, and I am sure he will talk to the Indian authorities, that all my relations could jointly come once, so I could meet them either in Agra or Delhi. It wouldn't be possible to meet each one of them. We have a job to do which is far more important. Maybe I'll get some time later on some other occasion.

DP: General, are you insisting on meeting the Hurriyat people while you are in Delhi?

PM: I think this is a very pertinent question you have raised. Prime Minister Vajpayee has taken a very bold step in initiating this dialogue. We both have taken this bold step of meeting each other. I think the meeting would remain incomplete without the Hurriyat. I think certainly they should be allowed to meet me at least and, maybe, at some stage, if we make progress on the Kashmir issue, I would request that they be included. A solution is not possible without ascertaining their wishes and desires.

Summit expectations

By K. K. Katyal

HD-12 ✓ 27

The discussions in New Delhi and Agra may, for the most part, cover the modalities for resolving the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan.

EVEN AT the risk of sounding repetitive, the need for guarding against high expectations from the India-Pakistan summit needs to be stressed. It is equally necessary to avoid total pessimism or to write off, in advance, this first post-Kargil interaction as an exercise in futility. What then is a realistic estimate? Some small steps intended to set in motion an engagement process and the establishment of a mechanism or a framework for that purpose. Pakistan is certain to stress the core issue, while India will give priority to peace and security on the subcontinent and, in that context, call for steps to tackle all the problems, causing tensions, of course, with a pointed reference to Kashmir.

A suitable formulation may be evolved that takes care, on the one hand, of Pakistan's insistence on the centrality of Kashmir and, on the other, of India's concern over the totality of the relationship. Pakistan's plea for a time-bound process may not be practical, but the level of engagement may be raised. The task may be entrusted to the specially- authorised emissaries or representatives of the two heads, instead of the Foreign Secretaries as used to be the case in the past. The two sides may have some difficulty in agreeing on the shape of the "framework". Pakistan may like it to be high-profile and Kashmir-centric. India's preference would be for addressing the entire gamut of relations, Kashmir not excluded.

This may roughly be the result of the two-day talks between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and Pakistan's President and Chief Executive, General Pervez Musharraf. Anything more than that will be a pleasant surprise, anything less will be a disappointment.

The words "chemistry", "personal rapport", one can be sure, will recur in the coverage of the summit and the encounter between a seasoned politician and a professional soldier will be viewed from all angles. The fact that the two leaders had met at Lahore (at the Punjab Governor's House) soon after Mr. Vajpayee's arrival there by bus in February 1999 and their three telephonic conversations since the invitation for talks will come handy to the media in their descriptives. Considering

the caution and restraint shown by the two sides in the run-up to the summit, the chances of a hiccup or a mishap are to be discounted. They will disperse to meet again — hopefully, in New York, on the occasion of the U.N. General Assembly session, beginning in September, and on the sidelines of the SAARC summit towards the end of the year, in Kathmandu. The outcome may well be modest but positive.

Of late, a thoughtless utterance from one side did jar the other, but the situation remained manageable. One such instance was Gen. Musharraf's reported remark that American pressure had led Mr. Vajpayee to invite him. The Prime Minister was deeply pained by this ungracious view and, perhaps, the other side was told about it. The report was denied, with remarkable promptness. Likewise, Islamabad was unhappy with stories in the Indian media on divisions in the Pakistan army. Suitable clarifications were provided by some papers which carried the report.

The discussions in New Delhi and Agra may, for the most part, cover the modalities for resolving the outstanding problems. The substantive aspect, especially of Kashmir, may have to be taken up later at other levels, of course, under the political mandate of the heads. New Delhi has been good on tactics, bad on strategies. That, unfortunately was the case since the time of the first initiative, the Ramzan ceasefire. The gains of the ceasefire were allowed to be dissipated in the absence of an action plan at the political level. Had Mr. K. C. Pant, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, been entrusted in November last year with the mission he was given months later, it would have been a different story. The people in Jammu and Kashmir welcomed the ceasefire and the promise of a respite from violence and terrorism. But that relief soon yielded place to alienation, caused by the action of the security forces in controlling some

ugly situations. True, the problem was deliberately created by the militants as part of a considered move to wreck the peace process but the administration could have taken care to diffuse the tension, instead of accentuating it. Had Mr. Pant been in position then, all this may have been averted.

Now there was another master-stroke — the invitation for a summit. The impact was tremendous. Mr. Vajpayee, for a while, seemed the master of the situation — in a position to influence the shape of events. The other side was confused, groping for the reasons that prompted the Indian initiative. Good that far. There was nothing to suggest that India was clear on the road-map, on the next substantive move on Kashmir. Pakistan did take time to gather its wits but soon it was proclaiming from the roof-tops, as it were, its known stand on Kashmir — seeking to make full use of the advantage accruing to it from its role in organising terrorist activities in the State and in communalising the situation. It sought to occupy a high ground of reasonableness by continuously talking of the "Kashmiri sentiments", calling for the involvement of the true "representatives" of the State. It succeeded in hiding the reality — its involvement in terrorist violence and in projecting the pro-Pakistan elements as the true representatives of the people.

For some strange reason, New Delhi found itself in a reactive mould. Pakistan wanted the Hurriyat leaders to be given an opportunity to meet Gen. Musharraf. India rejected the suggestion. New Delhi, no doubt, was on a strong footing — obviously, it could not agree to an arrangement that could have been projected as a trilateral dialogue. As seen by New Delhi, the Hurriyat (or other representatives) had to deal with it but they chose not to do so (as was evident from their refusal to meet Mr. Pant). And yet it was the Centre that appeared on the defensive. The same was the case in regard to the theory of U.S.

pressure behind the Vajpayee invitation.

Some time back, the Centre had a chance to turn the debate away from "azadi" or pro-Pakistan options. That was when the Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, and, at his initiative, the Assembly adopted an autonomy package. The Sangh Parivar and the Central Government reacted sharply, imputing all manner of motives to the sponsors of the autonomy move. Dr. Abdullah might have been prompted by his personal calculations.

In the absence of an officially-backed, straightforward move by New Delhi, the air is thick with the talk of mysterious formulae and propositions for the final settlement of the Kashmir issue. There is the most-talked about proposal, mooted by a group claiming high connections in the two countries as well as the U.S. It revolves round the trifurcation of the State, with Jammu and Ladakh remaining in India, "Azad" Kashmir in Pakistan, with some innovative arrangements, either diluted Indian sovereignty or division, for the Valley. Then there was the soft-border option, mentioned occasionally both in India and Pakistan. If a week-end report in the daily *Dawn* were to be believed, it may emerge as a serious proposition. Quoting diplomatic sources, the *Dawn* story said: "There is a strong policy interest in Delhi which is willing to accept a solution to Kashmir short of its absorption in the Indian Union. If both sides of Kashmir are granted maximum autonomy, with the leaders of Kashmir joining hands to support a transit point of healthy diplomatic and trade interaction between India and Pakistan, Delhi may be happy with this arrangement." Vague but not quite baseless.

The progress of the resumed India-Pakistan dialogue is bound to be slow but it is worth pursuing. The fact that Pakistan is under a military ruler need not be a deterrent. The armed forces are certain to be a major factor in that country whether it has a "democratic" Government or military rule. It is better if they are part of the engagement process; otherwise there could be the danger of another Kargil — and a major setback to bilateral dealings.

Kashmir dispute cannot be solved overnight: Musharraf

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 1. With two weeks to go for the summit meeting between the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, the broad contours of the agenda for their interaction have begun to emerge.

It is now clear that while Kashmir would be the focus of the dialogue, there are enough indications of reasonable progress on other subjects as well. According to diplomatic sources Pakistan was reconciled to the fact that the Kashmir issue could not be clinched at the Agra summit; it may, therefore, settle for a mechanism to address the conflict. The statement made by Gen. Musharraf at the meeting of religious scholars on Friday that he would meet Mr. Vajpayee with an open mind and a "clear commitment to discuss the initiation of a process that would lead to the resolution" of the Kashmir conflict is a reflection of the thinking here.

The President has been harping on the theme, in his pre-summit interactions with various sections of society, that he did not expect an overnight resolution of the Kashmir dispute.

Pakistan has also noted reports from New Delhi in a section of the press, attributed to highly-placed sources, that

the summit would set in motion some kind of mechanism or process to pursue the dialogue on all outstanding issues. It is presumed here in diplomatic circles that these reports were based on interaction either with the Prime Minister or his Principal Secretary and National Security Adviser, Mr. Brajesh Mishra. Hence the importance attached to the reports, they are seen as signals on New Delhi's approach to the summit.

The impressions emerging from India tally with the assessment of the military establishment here. In other words, there is already certain commonality in the perception on the approach to the Agra summit.

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Inamul Haq, talking to a group of Editors a few days ago, said that Pakistan did not expect a breakthrough on the Kashmir question in one meeting. Pakistan would be willing to move towards normalisation of ties with India if the latter was prepared to concede the centrality of Kashmir as the core problem of tensions between the countries. He also hinted about possibility of evolution of a mechanism for the purpose.

What could be that mechanism? There is at the moment a joint working group on Kashmir, headed by the two Foreign Secretaries. One possibility is that the group could be elevated to the level of

Foreign Ministers. Once there is agreement on the approach to the Kashmir issue, both sides could move on for resolution of less contentious issues. And there is no dearth of these subjects. They include confidence-building measures for security, trade, a visa regime and cultural exchanges.

It is still not known whether there would be a joint statement or declaration at the end of the summit deliberations. Both sides are keeping their options open. "Much would depend on the progress of talks between the two at the highest level," is the standard response to any question on whether there would be any declaration or a joint press conference on July 16.

Ivanov thanks Jaswant

MOSCOW, JULY 1. The Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, yesterday thanked the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, over phone for arranging the airlifting of a Russian national from Leh to Delhi for emergency medical treatment.

The Russian national, Mr. Sergei Pripitnyev, was seriously injured in a bus accident on the Leh-Srinagar highway on June 27 and required an emergency operation, the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Alexander Yakovenko, told a television channel. —PTI

ET awards for corporate excellence announced

Business Times Bureau

MUMBAI: The verdict is out. The Economic Times Awards for Corporate Excellence present the men and women who have made a fundamental difference to the way business is done; who have set benchmarks in excellence, transparency and governance; achieved global standards in quality and competitiveness; made dramatic turnarounds in the face of enormous odds; created and distributed wealth, and benefited stakeholders, and ultimately, society at large.

They have been selected as the result of an exhaustive, gruelling process, including a readers' poll, a CEOs' poll, a detailed performance analysis by the ET editorial team, and finally the last lap—a power-packed and distinguished jury of India's leading decision-makers.

And the winners are: Dhirubhai Ambani, chairman, Reliance Group, for Lifetime Achievement. Varghese Kurien, founder of the National Dairy Development Board, also for Lifetime Achievement. NR Narayana Murthy is Businessperson of the Year. Tata Steel is Company of the Year. HDFC Bank is Emerging Company of the Year. And yes, Corporate Citizen of the Year, is Team Infosys.

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Pak not to invite Hurriyat for talks with Musharraf

ISLAMABAD: The Indo-Pak row over inviting Hurriyat leaders to meet Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf during his forthcoming visit has finally been settled with Islamabad agreeing to India's request not to invite them. *GM*

Pakistani officials, confirming media reports on Sunday, said Pakistan was no longer pushing for a meeting between Hurriyat leaders and Gen Musharraf. "This proposition not to invite Hurriyat leaders has been made to us by India and we have accepted it," they said. *MA*

The Dawn quoted a senior official as saying, "We are not pressing hard for the meeting. We expected that the Indians would show better judgment and not impede the APHC's formal meeting with Gen Musharraf. That did not happen. So at this point our focus is on the main summit."

Pakistan's decision follows strong messages sent by India through diplomatic channels that it would not let Hurriyat leaders meet Gen Musharraf even if they were invited for a high tea hosted by the Pakistan high commission in New Delhi on July 14.

The official, however, denied that Pakistan, by dropping the proposal for a formal Hurriyat-Musharraf meeting, had accepted New Delhi's position on Kashmir. "Our position is that the Kashmiris are an integral part of any final solution to the problem. We would

try to press for some sort of a tripartite framework once the two leaders meet in India," he was quoted as saying.

"However, at this point, the most important concern is to establish mutual trust between India and Pakistan. The rest will follow," said the official. He said the idea for the Hurriyat-Musharraf meeting was conveyed to India by Pakistan's high commissioner to India Ashraf Jehangir Qazi and at that time it was hoped that this was a viable way to keep the Kashmiris plugged to the dialogue between the two countries.

"We were also hoping that the tripartite peace initiative that got stuck with New Delhi's refusal to give the Hurriyat delegation permission to visit Pakistan could be revived this way," he said.

Despite elaborate explanations from Pakistani officials, diplomatic sources here see this as yet another snub by Pakistan to Hurriyat leaders, who, in the hope of tripartite talks, had burnt their bridges with Indian leaders.

The first snub came when Pakistan accepted the Indian invitation for Gen Musharraf to visit New Delhi just hours after it was announced. It was subsequently explained by Pakistani foreign minister Abdul Sattar that the tripartite process was the original idea of the Hurriyat and Islamabad had only endorsed it. *(PTI)*

NOT A SINGLE 'DIRTY DUO' TEAM HAS NABBED ANY HARD

India, Pak on war footing in politico-diplomatic buildup for summit

this interaction will set the ball rolling.

While South Asia's focus is on this month's India-Pakistan summit, both countries have undertaken important diplomatic exercises in contacting the governments of major powers to brief them about the motives underpinning the summit and the expectations they have about its outcome.

Pakistan foreign minister Abdul Sattar visited West European countries before arriving in the United States in the third week of June. He met US secretary of state Colin Powell and other important figures in the American establishment conveying a three-point message.

First, that Pakistan will do whatever is possible to control international terrorist activities originating in its territory and will be supportive of the US in countering the phenomenon (he was careful in distinguishing between the so-called "jihad" in Kashmir and general phenomenon of terrorism).

Second, he emphasised that President Pervez Musharraf has agreed to hold talks with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee with sincerity of purpose in finding a compromise in

Kashmir, with the rider that no compromise would be possible without the agreement of the alienated people of Jammu and Kashmir.

The third element in the message was that Pakistan will return to democracy and will undertake positive economic reforms as advised by Washington and the multilateral financial institutions. The credibility of Mr Sattar's assurances, including on restoration of democracy by 2002, was badly eroded because of Gen. Musharraf assuming the presidency, indicating he will continue to be President for five years.

Reports from Washington mentioned Gen. Powell's irritation and disappointment with Mr Sattar for not informing him about Gen. Musharraf's impending plans.

The US authorities apparently told Mr Sattar that the July 14-16 summit should mark the beginning of meaningful dialogue with India and that Kashmir and structuring nuclear restraint should be the two issues the neighbour should focus on.

India has also been in contact with the US and the Russian federation, as well as with China at functional level.

Mr. Brajesh Mishra, principal secretary to the Prime Minister, has proceeded to the US for discussions on both bilateral and regional issues. Foreign secretary Chokila Iyer visited Moscow for three days from June 23, primarily to participate in meetings of the Indo-Russian joint working group on Afghanistan.

The general context in which the senior Indian officials visited Washington and Moscow should be kept in mind. There has been a remarkable frequency in bilateral contacts between the US administration and India since Mr George W. Bush assumed power in January.

External affairs minister Jaswant Singh also visited Washington and met Gen. Powell and President Bush. India was exceptionally prompt in giving general support to the logic of Mr Bush's plans for deploying the national missile defence system. India's reaction must have acquired some marginal additional political significance because even the West European allies of the US voiced reservations about the US plans.

Mr Bush's discussions on the subject with Russian President Vladimir

Putin only highlighted the contrast between the Indian and Russian reactions, despite New Delhi's close relations with Moscow.

The outcome was Mr Bush deputed deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage to New Delhi in May for a detailed exchange of views on political, security and strategic issues. Mr Armitage not only met senior figures in New Delhi but also made it a point to call on Opposition leader Sonia Gandhi to brief her about US policies and to obtain her reactions.

Mr Bush emphasised his interest in consolidating and expanding Indo-US relations in a statement welcoming the new Indian ambassador to Wash-

ington, Mr Lalit Mansingh, in the second half of June. At the same time, there have been official indications from the US that Mr Bush is planning to visit India next year.

Mr Brajesh Mishra, during his visit to Washington, discussed with his counterpart Condoleezza Rice the India-Pakistan summit and conveyed in detail the ground realities in Jammu and Kashmir.

He highlighted that since the November unilateral ceasefire declared by the government, New Delhi has continued its serious efforts to engage all sections of people of the state in a dialogue.

Details of Mr K.C. Pant's negotiations and ambiguities and obdurances of the Kashmir separatist groups led by the All Parties Hurriyat Conference and Pakistan-based terrorist organisations would have also constituted part of this briefing.

Secondly, Mr Mishra would have pointed out the ground realities of Pakistan continuing its support for cross-border terrorism even after Gen. Musharraf accepted Mr Vajpayee's invitation to the summit.

Mishra was that while India is sincerely committed to normalising relations with Pakistan, there was no question of India compromising on its territorial integrity and vital security interests.

Mr Singh's was the most important political-level visit from India to Russia after Mr Vladimir Putin's October 2000 trip to New Delhi.

His discussions with Russian leaders covered the entire spectrum of political and security issues, problems affecting regional strategic stability and defence cooperation between New Delhi and Moscow.

His visit resulted in India and Russia signing agreements on long-term defence cooperation, including transfer of technology and joint manufacture of defence equipment.

Foreign secretary Iyer, in her disbriefed them on India-Pakistan relations and the background and prospects of the Musharraf-Vajpayee meeting.

Ms Iyer also met the chairman and leaders of the foreign affairs committee of the Russian Duma broadening the base of India-Russian contacts at

this crucial juncture in subcontinental developments.

One sensitive problem she had to deal with was Pakistani messages to the Russian government expressing concern about India-Russia military cooperation.

Gen. Musharraf told Russian newspaper *Izvestia* on May 31 that he was disappointed about Russia's refusal to sell modern weapons to Pakistan and its one-sided backing of India.

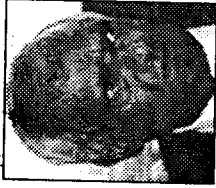
The experts group meeting of the Sino-Indian joint working group on the boundary question held this week, though not a high-level political exercise, conveys a message to Pakistan.

The Indian and Chinese delegations are moving towards substantive discussions on delineating the Line of Actual Control after prolonged discussions.

Improvement in Sino-Indian relations is bound to influence Pakistan's attitude towards India.

These politico-diplomatic initiatives of India with the US, Russia and China have been relevant and timely. (The writer is a former foreign secretary of India) (IANS)

BY J.N. DIXIT



BACK
ground

Changing History

Let's Understand It First

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

11-10
2/2

GENERAL Musharraf has publicly stated that he is hopeful of changing history with his visit to India. Unfortunately, with substantive talks scheduled for only one day in the capital of Akbar, Jehangir and Shahjehan, the general can only initiate the process of bringing about that change. One hopes that his visit to his birthplace in Daryaganj, his short sojourns in Delhi (which encompasses the ancient capitals of the slave dynasty, the Khiljis, Tughlaks, Sher Shah Suri and the Mughals), Agra and Ajmer Sharif will persuade him to revise his view that Pakistanis do not share any history or culture with Indians.

The language of Urdu was developed in this area. Amir Khusro composed his music here. Whatever the Pakistanis are proud of in their culture, sprouted and grew in this soil. Before he can hope to change history, the general should first develop a correct perspective of it. Therefore, he should discard the kind of views he expressed to a US correspondent that Indians and Pakistanis share nothing and belong to two different civilisations. Ideas like the clash of civilisations and two-nation theory are at the root of the unhappy history of tension between India and Pakistan. If that history is to be changed, such anachronistic concepts must be given up.

Europe has many nation-states, but they are proud of belonging to one civilisation. India and Pakistan will continue to be two separate sovereign states. There are very few sensible takers in India for reversing partition. But the two neighbours are parts of one civilisation. Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto tried to take Pakistan out of the sub-continent and find an identity for it in West Asia. But the Arabs do not consider Pakistan part of their civilisation. Nor do the Iranians. They all have their own distinctive civilisations, and Pakistan finds no place in them. Pakistan is not viewed in a friendly manner by the central Asian republics either. The Shanghai group has repeatedly warned about the extremist Islamic threat originating from the Afghanistan-Pakistan area. Like it or not, Pakistan is part of the sub-continental culture and history. Not only can we not undo geography, we also cannot repudiate our shared civilisational inheritance — good or bad.

History is changing on its own. The Pakistan of today is not the Pakistan of 1947, when it claimed to be the homeland of all Indian

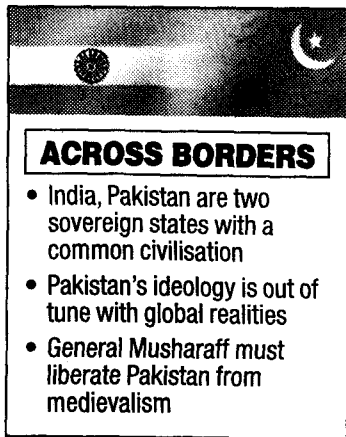
Muslims. Today, the Muslim population of the sub-continent, which has a common civilisational inheritance, is divided among three states — India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Pakistan does not have the same locus standi on the Kashmir dispute as it claimed to have in 1948 when India — and not Pakistan — took the dispute for mediation to the United Nations. The Cold War, which was exploited by Pakistan to get western help, is over. Pakistan was created by the British to be a rampart against perceived Soviet expansionism. It has lost its utility for the west with the demise of the Soviet Union. And it is becoming an increasingly burdensome liability even for China.

A state whose identity rests on a religious basis is an anachronism in the 21st century and the informa-

to the political and social values of the 8th century, and who proclaim *jihad* against the rest of the world, lack knowledge of how the 21st century world runs. They have exploited the weaknesses of the Pakistani polity and have brought a traditionally prosperous area to the verge of bankruptcy. Pakistan today runs the risk of becoming a failed state. Its army, which was once a highly professional force, is slowly being taken over by bearded mullahs in olive green. Pakistan now resembles the erstwhile Soviet Union, which was ruined by a blind ideology which could not adapt itself to the changing world. The Chinese discarded Maoism and have rapidly rebuilt their economy. Pakistan must either discard the outdated ideology based on religious identity, expressed through the two-nation theory, or meet the fate of the Soviet Union.

It is obvious that general Musharraf cannot change Pakistani ideology overnight. Both as a professional soldier familiar with the rest of the world, and as an individual whose family members live abroad, he must surely realise the need to change the untenable and anachronistic Pakistani ideology. But he will have to tread cautiously. Just as Deng Xiaoping eulogised Mao Tse Tung and denounced the gang of four while simultaneously dismantling Maoism, general Musharraf too may have to swear allegiance to the two-nation theory and profess an obsession with Kashmir even while tackling the real enemies of Pakistan — the jihadis, clergy and feudal-bureaucratic-military combine. He will have to be extremely cautious to ensure that he does not suffer the fate of Liaquat Ali Khan. Even among the general's immediate circle, there are a number of fanatics who would like to take Pakistan back to the medieval ages rather than to serve its current and future interests.

Given all these factors, the Agra summit is crucial for the general. If he is able to establish a rapport with prime minister Vajpayee and his credentials as a military leader who wants to save his country from obscurantists, he will be able to count on discreet but crucial support from both India and the rest of the world. While it needs to be pretended that the Agra summit is about Kashmir, perceptive observers will understand that it is really about the future of Pakistan: its stability, its modernity and its liberation from obscurantist medievalism.



ACROSS BORDERS

- India, Pakistan are two sovereign states with a common civilisation
- Pakistan's ideology is out of tune with global realities
- General Musharaff must liberate Pakistan from medievalism

tion age. Larger and larger economic and security communities are required to compete and survive in the globalised economy. In that respect, Indian federalism and secularism are in tune with present-day history, while the religious extremism and sliding back to 8th century tribal economic practices that are being advocated in Pakistan are not. If an attempt is to be made to change history, it should logically be to reverse Pakistan's slide into the medieval age and put it on the road to the 21st century.

While Saudi Arabia has no written constitution, no other Islamic country with a written constitution claims to make the *shariah* the basis of its political and economic laws. No other Islamic country aims to operate its economy without charging interest. Even general Musharraf, in his speech on the Prophet's birthday, recognised that an economically weak nation cannot isolate itself from the international community and has to go along with the rest of the world.

Those who advocate going back

Pak lets Indian officials meet detained cyclist

AFTER REPEATED requests by the Indian High Commission in Islamabad, Pakistan has permitted Indian diplomats to visit jailed cyclist Vikas Singh, who is serving a three-year sentence in a prison at Peshawar for entering Pakistan without a visa.

High Commission officials said they have finally been given access by Pakistani authorities to visit Singh in his prison cell at Peshawar next week.

But there is no indication that he will be released as a special gesture ahead of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf's visit to India.

Singh was arrested at Tirah on the Afghan-Pakistan border when he entered Pakistani territory without a visa. Singh, who has cycled to 62 countries since 1987, said he tried to get Pakistani visa in Kabul several times but was refused. Appeals for his release were made from India as well as Pakistan.

PTI, Islamabad