

Mood upbeat in Pakistan

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

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ISLAMABAD, MAY 30. A day after the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, replied to the invitation extended to him by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to visit New Delhi for peace talks, there is a sense of elation here.

It is indeed a tribute to the craftsmanship of the Pakistan Foreign Office that there is not a single dissenting voice on the contents of Gen. Musharraf's letter to Mr. Vajpayee. It is believed to have been drafted by the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Inamul Haq. Even the militant and religious organisations that have been counselling Gen. Musharraf not to respond to Mr. Vajpayee's invitation have maintained a diplomatic silence.

A senior official in the Pakistan Foreign Ministry said the dates for Gen. Musharraf's visit would be finalised through the diplomatic channels. "The Chief Executive has already indicated the broad time-frame in his interview to the BBC. It is now for the Indian Government to indicate the convenience of Mr. Vajpayee."

Asked about the possibility of consultations with the militant, religious and political parties and speculation over a round table conference, the official dismissed the idea as "fertile imagination of some journalists".

There could be informal consultations with those concerned, if necessary. "If the Government thinks that such consultations are needed, they would be held. At this juncture, the Government does not feel the need for such a process," he said.

The careful drafting of the reply seems to have

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done the trick vis-a-vis the hardliners and hawks. This is evident from the reaction of the Hizbul Mujahideen, which had expressed serious reservations on the utility of talks between India and Pakistan.

"We are happy that Gen. Musharraf in his letter to the Indian Prime Minister has made it a point to mention Kashmir as the core issue between India and Pakistan. Let the process of dialogue begin at the bilateral level but we insist that involvement of Kashmiris is a must for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute to the satisfaction of all the parties. The bilateral process should lead to a trilateral dialogue," the Hizbul spokesman, Mr. Salim Hashmi, said.

Even the hardliners are not expected to create any major hurdle in the proposed visit of Gen. Musharraf to New Delhi. When the Pakistani daily, *The News*, approached the former ISI chief and known hardliner for his reaction on the letter of the Chief Executive, his response was: "I don't think Gen. Musharraf will sell us out. All other outstanding issues are in reality a corollary of the Kashmir issue and once Kashmir issue is settled, all other issues like Siachin Glacier and Wullar Barrage will automatically be settled."

There is no reaction from the Lashkar-e-Taiba, the most militant among the Pakistan based outfits, to the letter. There is no reference to Gen. Musharraf's response in the regularly updated and well-maintained website of the organisation. There are a number of statements attributed to its chief, Hafeez Mohammad Sayeed, dubbing the Indian invitation as yet another 'trap' but there is not a word on the response of the Chief Executive accepting the invitation.

Vajpayee hails Musharraf response

HT Correspondent
Manali, May 30

THE PRIME Minister today hailed Gen. Musharraf's readiness for a dialogue with India, and expressed satisfaction at the Pakistani Chief Executive's reply.

"There is no need to write another letter. Now we will go in for talks," he told reporters at the Sase helipad near Manali before emplaning for Delhi at 11 a.m. after a week of summer holidays at Prini near here.

Yesterday, the Prime Minister had said he was hoping for a positive response from Gen. Musharraf and described India's initiative for talks with Pakistan as a "well thought out new beginning" made by his Government.

He also made a special reference to New Delhi's persistent interest in peaceful ties between the two countries.

Himachal Chief Minister Prem Kumar Dhumal accompanied the Prime Minister to Chandigarh in the IAF helicopter.

The people of Prini, who had to stay at a distance due to security considerations, gave the Prime Minister a warm send off.

Himachal Vikas Congress chief Sukh Ram, State Minister for Primary Education Karan Singh, Parliamentary Secretary Urmil Thakur, local BJP MLA Chandersen and other State high-ups including Chief Secretary A K Goswami and Director-General of Police A K Puri were at the helipad to see him off.



BSF jawans take cover along the border at Rajinder Singh Pura on Tuesday.

Expect no dramatic results: Jaswant

New Delhi, May 30

PREPARE FOR the long haul to peace. This was External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh's message of the day to members of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs. He warned political leaders against expecting dramatic results from the coming summit meeting between General Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

The agenda of the meeting was "Indo-Pak

relations" and gave Singh his opportunity to make a statement before the consultative committee since the May 23 declaration of cease-fire termination and invitation to the Pakistani chief executive for talks.

Justifying withdrawal of the cease-fire he said it had served its purpose of bringing tranquility along the Line of Control.

He claimed the situation in Jammu and Kashmir was better now than what it was a year ago. The people had welcomed the decision. However, no immediate results should

be expected. The talks initiated by KC Pant would continue while the security forces exercised maximum restraint along the LoC, he said. While most members appreciated the Government's decisions, the only voice of dissent was of the Shiv Sena's Rajya Sabha member Adik Shirodkar. The summit would amount to "posturing" by the Pakistani regime because there were "vested interests" in that country which were opposed to permanent peace with India.

PTI

Indo-Pak summit to mark new beginning, not endgame: analysts

ISLAMABAD: A landmark summit between the leaders of Pakistan and India over Kashmir should be seen as the start of a lengthy process rather than a make-or-break shot at peace, analysts said on Wednesday.

The stage has been set for a meeting in New Delhi sometime in June or July, the first summit between leaders of the nuclear rivals since early 1999. Observers said it would be asking too much to expect Pakistani military ruler General Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee to resolve any of the core differences over Kashmir in their first meeting.

Seasoned Kashmir watchers know that any movement on such fundamental issues — which strike at the heart of Indian and Pakistani national identity — will be as slow as the glaciers in the north of the divided Himalayan state.

“If the process is able to build a framework for structured dialogue that will be good. But I would see this meeting as a process, not an event,” said Mushahid Hussain, a former Pakistani information minister and foreign policy analyst.

“Nobody should expect a 54-year old dispute to be resolved overnight. That is unrealistic. But the fact that one army head and one leader of a Hindu nationalist party are meeting to negotiate is something special.”

Alexander Evans, a research associate and author about Kashmir based at the Centre for Defence Studies at King's College London, said there was a lot of no-man's land and precious little common ground between the Indian and Pakistani positions on Kashmir.

“India and Pakistan remain far apart — particularly on Kashmir. A resolution of a series of other disputes, ranging from Siachen to trade, could easily be concluded by officials,” he said.

“But Kashmir remains the challenge. India sees a so-

lution as far off, and far away from what Pakistan seeks. Pakistan hopes for a favourable resolution, but few, even in Pakistan, expect that to be swift or on Pakistan's terms. “As for Kashmiris, well, they don't get asked their opinion too often by any governments.”

He warned that both leaders were hamstrung by domestic forces which opposed any compromise on Kashmir, a fertile but largely undeveloped state which is divided between Pakistan and India but claimed by both.

“There are a lot of critics who don't want to see talks succeed,” Evans said. “On the Pakistani side, militants and hardliners fear it could pave the way for concessions from Islamabad. This, they reckon, would be an “Indian trick”.

“On the Indian side, insufficient clarity as to what the long-term Kashmir policy can or will be makes serious progress difficult to foresee.”

Vajpayee's offer of talks with Musharraf, made last week and formally accepted by the general on Tuesday, was a dramatic turnaround in Indian policy towards official contact with the Pakistani leadership.

Analysts said the surprise offer of dialogue by India should not be seen as a sign that India was ready for any other compromises. “I do not yet see any indication of flexibility on the part of the Indians to show that they really want to settle the core dispute of Kashmir,” said Khalid Mahmood, a professor of political science at the Islamabad-based Institute of Regional Studies. “Just a couple of weeks ago the Indians were insisting that they would hold talks only with the Kashmiri leaders and not with Pakistan. Now they want to hold talks with Pakistan minus the Kashmiri leaders. It does not necessarily mean that there is any flexibility on the part of the Indians.” (AFP)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

07 JUN 2001

Hawking Peace

Whoever crafted Atal Behari Vajpayee's urbane invite to Pervez Musharraf might well be wringing his hands. For the effect of the politic letter was almost immediately dispelled by the less than diplomatic finesse that marked the subsequent statements of Jaswant Singh, Farooq Abdullah etc. Mr Vajpayee had avoided the K word altogether — not just Kashmir, but also Kargil. He should have known better. At a press conference on Monday, Mr Jaswant Singh laid claim to the entire territory of PoK, besides taking pot shots at Pakistan's "denominational nationalism." He was also categorical that India would not allow a meeting between the general and the Hurriyat Conference. Mr Abdullah too joined in the attack on the Hurriyat. A sample of Indian generosity? This was obviously music to Abdul Sattar and Co. Sure enough, when the missive from the general came, there were cheeky references to India's relations with its neighbours. The day before, the same man had lavished praise on the Indian prime minister. Not surprisingly, the letter also took the focus back to Kashmir and "the wishes of the Kashmiri people". What next, now that letters have been exchanged and a tentative schedule drawn up for the Pakistani CEO's visit? Judging by the rhetoric on both sides, it is a hard haul ahead. It's almost certain that mutual differences will dog the agenda for talks. And yet if there's optimism, it stems from the admission on both sides — contained specifically in the letters written by the two leaders — that the two countries share a past of mistrust.

Clearly, then, the first step should be confidence building. This is the absolute minimum pre-condition for talks regardless of the initial position on either side — whether that involves seeing Kashmir as the core dispute or as part of a complex set of problems between India and Pakistan. The most that can be expected of the first Vajpayee-Musharraf one-on-one is that it will lead to a degree of rapport between the two leaders. It would be unrealistic to expect a 53-year-old problem to be resolved straightaway. Both confidence building and Kashmir could be given over to the mechanism of high-powered discussion involving nominated representatives of the two countries. Ideally this should be done without much publicity or fanfare. The process will get a further fillip should the two leaders reaffirm the principles of the Shimla accord and the Lahore declaration and accept their obligations not to resort to the use of force. Without this there can be no mutual trust or confidence building, which is a pre-requisite for solving the Kashmir problem. Another imperative is for both sides to avoid building up exuberant expectations, or conversely, to make self-fulfilling prophecies. Loose or bombastic talk by ministers and elected representatives is the surest way to torpedo talks. An initiative has been launched by the Indian prime minister with subdued hope and modest expectations. It has been responded to with a measure of constructive cooperation. Care should be exercised on both sides by opinion makers and government officials not to add to the climate of mistrust that has plagued relations between the two countries for over half a century.

The Telegraph

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MEETING SEASON

Summit meetings between Indian and Pakistani leaders generate either public cynicism or hopes of a dramatic breakthrough. Neither sentiment is usually warranted, and can put unnecessary pressure on the leadership of the two sides. It is critical, therefore, that the forthcoming meeting between Pakistan's chief executive, General Pervez Musharraf, and the Indian prime minister, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, is approached with realism blended with a healthy dose of optimism. India and Pakistan cannot become friends through a single event, but summits can help unleash a process that can incrementally introduce steps, which could eventually create the conditions for peace and stability.

Summits of the past provide some helpful guidelines that Mr Musharraf and Mr Vajpayee could do well to reflect upon. Most important, it is vital to establish a personal chemistry. If two leaders cannot trust each other, it is difficult — no matter how great the domestic and international imperatives — for them to arrive at a real understanding that can be shaped into agreements. The most valuable meetings between the two countries have been on occasions when leaders have been able to establish a personal rapport. At Shimla, in 1972, it was the personal equation between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto that led to an agreement at a point when their aides had all but given up. In the late Eighties, Rajiv Gandhi and Ms Benazir Bhutto, youthful and willing to move beyond stereotypes, got along so well that they had almost worked out an agreement on the Siachen glacier. More recently, in the Nineties, the pragmatic and business-like Mr Nawaz Sharif was able to develop a relationship with both the liberal Mr Inder Kumar Gujral, that led to the formation of the various India-Pakistan working groups on bilateral contentious issues, and with Mr Vajpayee that led to the Lahore declaration. Will Mr Musharraf and Mr Vajpayee be able to create a close working relationship? The events in Kargil are, of course, still fresh and, to Mr Vajpayee, Mr Musharraf may still seem like the man who wrecked the Lahore process. On the other hand, both of them probably realize that this may be the last chance that they have to carve out a fresh future for India-Pakistan relations and leave a personal imprint on the history of the Indian subcontinent.

No less important is the need for the leaders to be aware of the vested interests and the domestic constituencies within the two countries and be prepared to carve out agreements that can strengthen the positions of the two leaders. A Nawaz Sharif who cannot sell Lahore to his own people cannot be much of an asset. If the two leaders are genuinely interested in promoting peace they must be prepared to make small but important headways that will strengthen the peace constituencies, and assuage the international community, without compromising on core issues that will weaken their domestic support. In short, Mr Musharraf and Mr Vajpayee must engage with the Kashmir issue knowing that no win-win solution is likely to emerge in the future. In the meanwhile, however, they must forge new agreements to stabilize the nuclear deterrent relationship and to make war less likely. And most critically, they must promise to continue talking and meeting until India-Pakistan relations have reached a point when summit meetings no longer make headlines.

THE TELEGRAPH

31 MAY 2001

Talking to Musharraf

By Salman Haidar

Neither India nor Pakistan can push for a one-sided agreement — there must be something for each if any agreement is to hold.

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Indo Pak

MR. ATAL BEHARI VAJPAYEE has sprung a genuine surprise. No one thought that he had in mind an invitation to Gen. Pervez Musharraf. The quick and welcoming response from the other side means that we have abruptly entered into a new phase of the subcontinent's affairs. The initial excitement at this development has by now given way to second thoughts. Speculation abounds about the meaning and purpose of the Prime Minister's move. Some observers are baffled, others are questioning, and many do not know quite what to make of it. But overall, there is real welcome for the initiative and keen anticipation about where it may lead.

In Pakistan, the Foreign Minister has expressed the view that his country's position on the necessity for dialogue has been vindicated. One can imagine that it must have been galling for his side to see its repeated call for discussions running again and again into New Delhi's disdainful aloofness. Hence there may have been a touch of triumphalism in the Pakistani reaction when India suddenly did a volte face. But it would be wrong to imply that this was a belated policy corrective that India was more or less obliged to undertake. The indications are that it was a deliberate, unforced choice by Mr. Vajpayee. As the shadows lengthen on his tenure of authority, he has taken another initiative, the bus trip to Lahore being the previous one, to try to do something to improve matters between India and Pakistan. A personal commitment on his part is to be seen, and he should be given the credit he deserves.

The simultaneous decision to end the ceasefire by the security forces in Kashmir does not seem to have made much of a difference on the ground. The ceasefire had come to be seen as something of a dead letter, for it brought little, if any, relief to the public. The militants seized upon the opportunity it provided to strengthen their hold and to step up their operations, and the inevitable reply by the security forces meant that there was little letup in the strife. The peace initia-

tive in Kashmir which is centred on Mr. K. C. Pant will continue but it is bound to be affected by the prospect of the Summit. The Kashmiri parties know that their voice will become fainter when New Delhi and Islamabad are in direct touch with each other. The Hurriyat Conference could be choosy when it was invited to talks with Mr. Pant but there is no place for it at the table when the two Heads meet.

What shape can the Summit take? The two leaders have met only fleetingly. The bilateral atmosphere has seldom been so fraught. Since Kargil and the military coup in Pakistan, relations have been frozen in hostility. There has been no contact worth the name between functionaries of the two sides. So the Summit will be something of a leap into the dark for each of the interlocutors. They will have to size each other up, feel the temper of the other, decide if they can do business together. Whatever be the declarations and plans of action that emerge from their meeting, the critical point will be the extent of the confidence they can place in each other.

As they head towards their meeting, the vast differences in their background and position will strike any observer. Mr. Vajpayee leads a hydra-headed coalition that is always threatening to fall apart. Yet he has considerable freedom of action, especially in foreign affairs. Gen. Musharraf sits easy on top of the pile in Pakistan yet he may be boxed in by the consensus positions agreed by his ruling group of generals. Their personalities are also very different, reflecting their respective careers in politics and the army. Yet opposites can attract. Mutual respect and confidence can be generated if they find some compatibility in their goals and purposes.

Even if the chemistry is right and the two wish to move ahead on the large

agenda before them, the objective situation may not permit anything much to be done. The problem, of course, is Kashmir. Unless some meeting ground, however exiguous, can be found on this issue, plans for future progress may rapidly reach a dead end. Neither can push for a one-sided arrangement — there must be something for each of them if any agreement is to hold. One assumes that both parties will approach the meeting with sober expectations. No final settlement, or even a dramatic move forward, is on the cards. Frontiers cannot be expected to take final shape, or the LoC be converted into an international border. Nor will there be any dusting off of old U.N. resolutions to arrange a referendum. On Kashmir, nothing more than a cautious inching forward may be possible.

Perhaps the most that can be aimed for is that Pakistan should progressively reduce, if not wholly eliminate, its support for the armed militancy, which would permit the return of the bulk of the Indian security forces to their barracks — a long-standing Pakistani demand. In such an arrangement, agreed either tacitly or explicitly, both sides would gain something they have been insisting upon for years, while the main beneficiaries would be the people of Kashmir. Adequate monitoring may have to be part of it. If something along these lines is attained, it would be a major confidence-building measure. For Pakistan to have anything to do with such a concept, it would need to be convinced that it is the beginning and not the end of the bilateral engagement. Neither side can shy away from a long drawn process that tries to bridge the differences between them, while giving due regard to the sentiments of the Kashmiris.

Other possibly attainable measures include one or more border crossing points on the LoC itself. The passage of a few people every day from one side to the

other will have no greater security implication than the equivalent movement across the Wagah checkpost. It would also ease the difficulties of many divided families and have useful symbolic value.

Kashmir may dominate but it will be only one of several subjects to be taken up. Many people would like to see the two sides commence work on an agreement for nuclear risk reduction. Also, if matters go well, the leaders can agree in principle to revive and conclude the agreement on disengagement in Siachen that was twice almost in the bag. Beyond that, reduction of the level of military preparedness all along the LoC is not an inconceivable goal. There are big opportunities in the field of trade and economic exchange, especially for Pakistan. On its part, India seems ready to look seriously at the proposed Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline, to judge from the favourable mention it has received from Mr. Jaswant Singh. Many other useful decisions could flow from a successful summit, such as restoration of the Consulates in Karachi and Mumbai, removal of onerous restrictions on travel, easier flow of information, curbs on propaganda — often promised, almost never delivered. These are only a sampler of the possibilities.

Public involvement and support for the ideas that might emerge from the Summit would need to be undertaken on an expanded scale. A number of Indo-Pakistan people-to-people organisations have laboured through the discouraging circumstances of the last couple of years. Their work should receive a considerable boost from the Summit. The ICSSR has taken a commendable initiative to bring together social scientists from the two countries on the occasion of the Summit, which can serve a useful purpose.

The leaders will go to their meeting with the shimmering, albeit distant, prospect of peace and friendship before the two countries. They must hope, as do so many people in India and Pakistan, that their Summit will be an important first step in that direction.

(The writer is a former Foreign Secretary.)

THE HINDU

31 JUL 2001

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 2001

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EVIDENCE OF GOODWILL 31/5

EXUDING A SENSE of goodwill, Pakistan's Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has accepted the invitation for a summit with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee. Yet while launching a charm offensive to reciprocate Mr. Vajpayee's sentiment-laden invitation to a joint adventure of peace and friendship, Gen. Musharraf has minced no words too about his prescription for the means to settle the bilateral dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. However, the pulsating spirit of his communication to the Prime Minister is one of friendliness and not provocative gamesmanship. The crux of the message concerning the Jammu and Kashmir issue is that Pakistan's military ruler has not laid down any pre-condition for the "sincere and candid" talks that he would "look forward" to holding with Mr. Vajpayee. Now, official India and Pakistan will obviously tend to differ on the diplomatic connotations of these two catch-phrases regarding each other's sincerity of purpose and candid disposition. More importantly, the prospective summit will be the best forum for the two sides to address the implications of Gen. Musharraf's stated preference for a solution "in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people". The political leaders on both sides will be well advised to refrain from obstructionist public discourses on the explicit meaning of this formulation or even the possible suspicions about its hidden agenda. Obviously, there are several ways in which the "wishes of the Kashmiri people" could be ascertained, and the objective reality at this moment is that Gen. Musharraf has called neither for a format of tripartite talks, involving India and Pakistan as also the 'Kashmiri groups', nor a plebiscite under the now irrelevant U.N. resolutions on this issue. It is no less a matter of new nuance, too, that Pakistan has now referred to the need to know the "wishes of the Kashmiri people" in regard to a problem concerning the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir. It might be more than a question of mere nomenclature that Gen. Musharraf has spoken about the totality of

Jammu and Kashmir as against Islamabad's past practice of seeking to 'champion' the cause of 'Kashmiri Muslims' in some apparent exclusiveness.

The totality of Pakistan's latest response does not negate Mr. Vajpayee's preference for a "composite dialogue". While harping on the Jammu and Kashmir issue as "the root cause of tension" between India and Pakistan, Gen. Musharraf appears willing to discuss "all other outstanding issues... as well". A pledge of this magnitude is matched by an effort to reciprocate Mr. Vajpayee's earlier reaffirmation of his belief that a stable and prosperous Pakistan is in India's national interest. Islamabad's "wish" is to "see a stable and prosperous India at peace with its neighbours". It will be foolish in the present context to read into this any implicit criticism of India for not having been a peaceable neighbour.

The new political momentum on the bilateral front, generated by the exchange of careful communications at the highest level, should facilitate the preparations for a cordial summit. The challenges before the two leaders cannot be exaggerated, but it will be a tragedy if any pre-summit posturings by them or by others were to make a travesty of this exercise. From the incursion into Jammu and Kashmir in the late 1940s at the time of the Partition to the Kargil crisis in 1999 and beyond, the history of bilateral ties is replete with perceived instances of betrayal and missed opportunities. If the current initiative is not to collapse, the mandarins of India and Pakistan should resist the temptation to raise the maximalist rhetoric to a crescendo ahead of the summit that could take place in June or July. Unseemly indeed was the shadow war of words that the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, and his Indian counterpart, Mr. Jaswant Singh, have waged just now while answering media queries. In the process, their stated respect for friendly atmospherics was nearly lost.

HURRIYAT:

(Continued from page 1)

Therefore, keeping the APHC off track from Gen Musharraf's schedule is becoming quite a problem for South Block. Handling a request for a meeting from the APHC would not be a problem. Difficulties would arise if the request was to come from the Pakistan chief executive himself.

Officials of the external affairs ministry and the home ministry said Gen Musharraf's engagements in India would be controlled by the government. It is part of the protocol that whenever a visitor comes, the host country chalks out his/her schedule and all engagements are to be cleared by the host country.

The APHC chairman, Prof Abdul Ghani Bhatt, told **The Statesman** from Srinagar that the Hurriyat leaders were not keen to participate in the summit meeting between the heads of the two sovereign countries.

He, however, said that they would certainly try to meet Gen Musharraf "separately" during his visit to Delhi this time, "unless the government becomes a hurdle in the way".

Prof Bhatt said a meeting with Gen Musharraf would help open the doors of understanding in future.

He, however, said the APHC had not put in any request with either South Block or the Pakistan High Commission so far.

Asked if Gen Musharraf would like to meet them, Prof Bhatt said it would be for the General to consider that.

Senior BJP leaders have also expressed their reservations about the Hurriyat leaders' plan to meet Gen Musharraf.

Unsure of Mr Vajpayee's reaction on this issue, they are tight-lipped at the moment. Mr Vajpayee had said the Hurriyat leaders should first speak to the chief negotiator, Mr KC Pant, a suggestion which the APHC has turned down.

These party leaders have no clue about Mr Vajpayee's next move as developments are taking place at a fast pace. None in the party expected the Prime Minister to extend an invitation to Gen Musharraf. The bottom line in the BJP is: Leave things to the Prime Minister's Office.

Musharraf's reply pleases Vajpayee

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, May 30. - Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today said he was satisfied with General Pervez Musharraf's response to his invitation for talks and dates for his New Delhi visit would be finalised soon.

"I am satisfied with his reply," Mr Vajpayee said in Manali before returning to Delhi after a week-long sojourn there. Gen Musharraf's acceptance letter was formally handed over to New Delhi yesterday.

Asked if he would send a response to Gen Musharraf's letter, Mr Vajpayee said "the time for correspondence is over. Now the meeting will take place."

Hurriyat rejects PM offer: The Hurriyat Conference today rejected Mr Vajpayee's advice of holding talks with the Centre's interlocutor, Mr KC Pant, a report from Srinagar says.

Reacting to Mr Pant's visit to the state, Prof Bhatt said: "He is fishing in a desert and the government is trying to build bridges over non-existent rivers".

The Hurriyat Conference chairman said Mr Vajpayee was "a man with vision" and hoped the Centre would keep in mind the vulnerable position of Kashmir before deciding on a policy for permanent solution to the problem.

Pant in Ladakh: Mr KC Pant today said he had received several demands for Union Territory status for the frontier region of Ladakh.

"During my visit to Ladakh, I received several memoranda for Union Territory status for the region," he said, adds a report from Srinagar.

Mr Pant was greeted in Leh with a demonstration demanding its separation from J&K and an Union Territory status for the region.

Shops and business remained closed and the entire region wore a deserted look.

A memorandum signed by 19 organisations was handed over

to Mr Pant demanding Union Territory status. Mr Pant later said the protests were peaceful.

During his four-hour stay, Mr Pant met representatives of the Ladakh Buddhist Association, the National Conference, Congress, BJP and various other groups besides the LAHDC.

Meeting with Shah cancelled: Mr Pant's scheduled meeting with former state chief minister and Awami National Conference president, Mr GM Shah, could not be held as Mr Pant was unable to reach in time from Leh.

Pandits meet Pant: A three-member delegation of Panun Kashmir, an organisation of Kashmiri Pandits, today met Mr Pant in Srinagar and pressed their demand for a separate homeland with Union Territory status within the Kashmir valley. The delegation told Mr Pant that any attempt to take back Kashmiri Pandit migrants to the "same suppressive conditions" would be futile.

Kashmir violence: Six militants were among ten people killed since last night in J&K. A major tragedy was averted in Phulwama district with timely detection of a powerful explosive, an official spokesman said today.

Two security personnel were killed and another was critically wounded in a gunbattle following attempts to flush out militants holed up in a mosque at Shopian in South Kashmir today. A joint party of special operations group of local police and Army moved to Khadwara village in Shopian this morning following specific information about the militants' presence there, officials said.

The militants opened fire at the search party killing a SPO, Abdul Rashid, and an Army personnel besides critically injuring a jawan, the sources said.

■ **Musharraf six months late in homecoming: page 8**

Hurriyat may prove to be a ticklish issue

SUDESH K VERMA & BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 30. - A ticklish problem which may arise in connection with the summit meeting between General Pervez Musharraf and Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee is the possibility of a polite diplomatic request from the General himself, or the Pakistan High Commission here, to have a meeting with the leaders of All Parties Hurriyat Conference.

In apprehension, the South Block mandarins are trying to put their heads together to find out ways to overcome such an emergency situation. Officially, they are playing it down.

New Delhi would not take such a suggestion from Islamabad very kindly. India has already clarified that a Hurriyat-Musharraf meet is a "non-issue".

The external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh said in no uncertain or unambiguous terms that Gen Musharraf's visit to India is "on Mr Vajpayee's invitation and he will come to meet the Prime Minister".

The government's message to the Pakistan CEO and the APHC is clear - there is no room for "these additionalities" during the summit meeting. But can the government say "no" if the request comes from Islamabad? After all, the government was not really ecstatic when the German foreign minister, Mr Joschka Fischer, met the Narmada Bachhao Andolan activists during his visit to India.

■ **See HURRIYAT: page 8**

THE STATESMAN

Sharif wants Musharraf to consult politicians before talks

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 29. The former Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, on exile in Saudi Arabia, has urged the military government to take senior politicians into confidence prior to the talks with India.

"The rulers should not create an impression that Pakistan ignores Kashmiris in talks," Mr. Sharif said in his message, read out at his party convention on the third anniversary of Pakistan's nuclear blasts. "The rulers have been begging for talks with India for two years which is a shame," Mr. Sharif said the message, read out by acting PML president, Mr. Javed Hashmi. Mr. Sharif's advice to Gen. Pervez Musharraf is interesting, as the military had not taken kindly to his invitation to the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to take a bus ride to Lahore and the subsequent

Lahore Declaration. In fact, it is cited in Pakistan as one of the reasons for the coup that led to Mr. Sharif's ouster.

Mr. Sharif said Mr. Vajpayee visited "Minare-Pakistan" and in fact recognised Pakistan. "I was dubbed a traitor then. I leave it to the people to decide whether it is betrayal or loyalty to the nation by the present regime".

The former Prime Minister said he conducted nuclear tests for Pakistan's defence despite international pressure. "These blasts would be remembered forever". He paid tributes to the Muslim League workers for their courage and struggle for democracy. "I am hopeful that the supremacy of the people's rule will be restored". He said price hike gripped the country. "I stood against the price hike despite pressure from the World Bank and the IMF". He wanted to know if the present government succeeded in checking prices. "Where is the

government's seven-point agenda"? he asked.

Expressing concern over deteriorating law and order, Mr. Sharif said the chief of Sunni Tehreek was gunned down along with five others in broad day light adding that the police desecrated "Data Darbar".

"I enhanced Pakistan's dignity. I raised salaries of the armed forces. I built motorway. I laid a net of roads across the country. Being Prime Minister I appeared two times in Supreme Court as accused. I resolved a long-standing dispute over distribution of water among the provinces and put an end to octroi system. Whether all these steps were wrong," he asked.

"I admit of committing mistakes. I bow in Haram Sharif to apologise for my mistakes. But I will not bow before any oppressor," he declared. He said he would return to Pakistan soon.

SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 2001

MUSHARRAF CHARTS A PATH TO AGRA

THE HIGH STAKES of summit diplomacy have impelled Pakistan's President and Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, to try and steer away from apparent craters as he explores an uncharted terrain before his scheduled meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, in Agra next month. This should explain the clarification by Pakistan's officials that Gen. Musharraf does not subscribe to the theory that India's invitation to him for the proposed bilateral summit was determined by the U.S.' pressure on New Delhi to settle its disputes with Islamabad at this stage. It is quite immaterial whether the clarification is in response to New Delhi's stinging rebuttal of some earlier reports from Pakistan that its sole leader saw an American sleight of hand behind Mr. Vajpayee's current initiative for a definitive detente with Pakistan. Now, even prior to this storm in a tea cup on the India-Pakistan front, it was indeed clear that the U.S. had played no proactive role of exerting pressure on New Delhi to call Islamabad for direct talks at the highest level at this time. So, a prime reality relevant to the prospective summit in Agra is that the Musharraf administration simply wants to dispel any impressions which might only endanger a mutual spirit of goodwill during the delicate run-up. Moreover, Gen. Musharraf seems to be conscious of the subdued but substantive scepticism within Pakistan that he is but a stranger to international diplomacy of the kind required to engage India. While this may also account for his eagerness to sustain a certain upbeat mood of flexibility, he is no less keen to appear firm too.

Having brought all levers of Pakistan's executive and legislative powers under his absolute control very recently, Gen. Musharraf has not only startled large sections of the international community but also many of his compatriots. It is in this context that his latest consultations with Pakistan's military establishment and civilian-political 'leadership' on the India-Pakistan

differences acquire a rare degree of importance. A faction that is believed to owe allegiance to Mr. Nawaz Sharif, who was toppled by Gen. Musharraf in a bloodless coup in October 1999, was not invited to participate in the latest confabulations on the imminent Agra summit. In contrast, Ms. Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party, which is active abroad in seeking to unfurl a flag of rebellion against Gen. Musharraf's rule in Islamabad, does not wish to associate itself with his current political gestures towards India in any manner. As a result, Gen. Musharraf's consultative preparations at home for the proposed talks with Mr. Vajpayee have certainly not set the Indus on fire.

In a different but equally important sense, though, Gen. Musharraf has secured a broad pre-summit 'mandate' from his military and civilian interlocutors inside Pakistan, where he faces no conspicuous resistance at this moment. Armed with this general 'mandate', he hopes to assess Mr. Vajpayee's priorities for peace with Pakistan as also the Indian leader's options over the Kashmir dispute in particular. As a consequence, many ideas are being bandied about in public discourses in Pakistan and, of course, India. Yet, official Pakistan (as also India) will do well to follow a prudent course of managing the present bilateral expectations by simply brushing aside the temptation to turn the public spotlight on one or more sets of ideas in the name of idealism or even pragmatism. For Pakistan, a particularly emotive issue is whether or not the leaders of the All Party Hurriyat Conference, an umbrella conglomerate of 'Kashmiri' groups, should brief Gen. Musharraf before he meets Mr. Vajpayee. A simple standard of statesmanship is that both New Delhi, which seems obsessed with the notion of keeping the Hurriyat out of the India-Pakistan spectrum, and Pakistan, which appears insistent on engaging the APHC somehow, should not allow this issue to cloud the bilateral ambience at this sensitive juncture of fragile hopes.

THE HINDU

The strategy is missing

India and Pakistan are settling down for the first heads of state meeting after Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf assumed power in Islamabad. The rhetoric is not that strident any more with both governments keen to ensure a first meeting without any controversy. But the Government of India has begun to appear a little shaky about the talks. Minister of external affairs and defence Jaswant Singh was unable to convince journalists at a two-hour press conference as to why the government had decided to change track and invite Gen. Musharraf for talks. What single incident or assessment had been responsible for the change of policy? Mr Jaswant Singh remained evasive throughout, merely maintaining that the atmosphere had changed. He was unable to state what exactly had contributed to changing the atmosphere and there the press conference remained stuck. At the same time while he said he did not want to get involved in contentious issues before the Chief Executive's visit he had to state that the bottom line for the government insofar as Jammu and Kashmir was concerned is that it was an integral part of India. He could have said little else, particularly as the hardliners in his own party and *parivar* are very worried about the outcome of these talks. Reports in the media seem to suggest that US President George W. Bush in his letter to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee made it very clear that he would like the talks to begin without delay. Mr Jaswant Singh, in response to a question, insisted that Delhi would not be pressurised by Washington on these issues but the complete change in position without a proper explanation from the government appears to suggest that the decision was prompted by external, rather than internal, influences. The government is finding it very difficult as a result to evolve a Kashmir policy. Torn between pressures from the US and its own hardliners Prime Minister Vajpayee has not been able to give a credible format to his peace initiative. For the question obviously arises that if Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India then why the government is so keen to talk to Pakistan. The Prime Minister in his letter to Gen. Musharraf, spoke of a composite dialogue while specifically mentioning Jammu and Kashmir as one of the issues for discussion. The invitation is very welcome but it is time now for the government to get its act together at least by the time the two leaders meet. India needs to speak in one voice, to be clear and decisive about what it wants and where it wants to go, to evolve a strategy to deal with the internal and external issues arising out of the dialogue and to take the peace process forward and not backwards. At the same time it has to respect the resolution of Parliament and the people of India, including the Kashmiris. Pakistan has a one-point agenda: give us Kashmir. And it will be quite happy with any solution that makes India lose Kashmir. Delhi, on the other hand, has to preserve national interest and has to accommodate several strains of thought that have always complicated at one level, and at another strengthened this democracy. Unfortunately the government does not seem to have applied its mind to evolving a forward looking strategy. This requires hard thought and clear cut talk which the government is capable of doing, provided it clears the cobwebs of the past and the confusion of the present.

'I am looking ahead with optimism'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 29. The Pakistan military ruler and Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, today hailed the invitation extended to him by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to visit New Delhi as "bold, courageous and an act of statesmanship". He said he was going with a "flexible and open mind".

In two separate interviews to the British Broadcasting Corporation's English and Urdu services, Gen. Musharraf, while continuing to maintain that Kashmir was the core issue, said he was very flexible on the subject. "I have no doubt been saying Kashmir is the core. There are other issues and we have no problem discussing them. We should not sideline Kashmir

in the name of other issues. We should discuss Kashmir plus other issues."

Lauds Vajpayee's 'vision'

Gen. Musharraf praised Mr. Vajpayee for "his vision and courage". "I will give credit to Mr. Vajpayee for his statesmanship and his vision and courage and boldness in accepting reality and starting to address an issue that has bedevilled relations between our two countries. I really appreciate it."

On New Delhi's motives, Gen. Musharraf admitted the invitation had come as a surprise. He said the changed domestic environment in India could have been one of the reasons.

The Chief Executive said that there was no

back-channel diplomacy involved in the invitation. "We avoided that. If we want to talk about Kashmir, let us be up-front."

Gen. Musharraf said his Government would be willing to exert its influence on jihadis active in Kashmir if the dialogue made progress.

Asked if the invitation from India, which considers him the chief architect of Kargil, meant the end of the low point in relations between the two countries, Gen. Musharraf said that the past has not been "very attractive". "Why talk about Kargil? If we go a few years down the line we arrive at Siachen. All that is history. We need to move ahead. Look ahead with optimism. I am looking forward with optimism."

LoC to be a key issue in talks

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 29. — When General Pervez Musharraf comes visiting, a key issue to be raised is the Line of Control, and amending it to make more geo-synchronous sense before agreeing to convert it into international border. As it stands today, the LoC is based on the 1948 ceasefire line. It's not demarcated along well-defined geographical features such as mountains or rivers, making it difficult for the Armies of both countries to defend.

Despite the wars of 1965 and 1971, and, more recently, the Kargil intrusions, the LoC has remained vaguely defined. At some places, even villages have been divided into two, making simple government work like revenue collection difficult.

VISA EXTENSION FOR PAK POET

NEW DELHI, May 29. — After running from pillar to post, seeking asylum in India, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's favourite Pakistani poet, Aftab Hussain, today got his stay extended till 31 July.

Union home ministry sources said: "After Pakistani writer Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Bangladeshi writer Daud Haider, he was the third poet, who was granted extension of visa."

Hussain, targeted by the Pakistani military for publishing Mr Vajpayee's poems, fled to India after the Musharraf administration reportedly wanted him to declare that Mr Nawaz Sharif had ordered him to publish the compendium. — SNS

During the 1971 war (a winter war), areas beyond Kargil town were almost impossible to be demarcated. So Army officers of both sides got together and worked out points exactly midway between their positions and marked them off, leaving many grey, undefined areas.

A better demarcation of the

LoC and the grey areas around the northern outposts would be a major step forward. If both the Armies are engaged in a joint exercise to demarcate the border, it would have a salutary effect on the local population that has coped with the hostilities of the past 53 years.

While the exercise would in-

volve each country giving up some territory here to gain some elsewhere, analysts suggest it's the only workable long-term solution. "After all, how long is India going to say that Kashmir is an integral part of India that legally acceded to it, and Pakistan going to deny that, saying as a Muslim-majority state, Kashmir can't go with India?" a senior official said. "India is not going to give up what it holds and neither will Pakistan, so if they agree to talk, there must be some middle ground."

Both the sides have to show a "little flexibility" at the summit, and since Gen Musharraf has indicated he is open to suggestions to resolve the "core" issue of Kashmir, the proposal for border demarcation would almost certainly be raised.

Musharraf accepts Vajpayee invitation

INDIA PAK ①

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30/5

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 29. — General Pervez Musharraf has formally accepted the Prime Minister's invitation to visit India for a summit.

In his letter to Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, the Pakistan Chief Executive said he was looking forward to "sincere and candid" talks to resolve the Kashmir issue according to the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

The letter was handed over to the foreign secretary, Mrs Chokila Iyer, by the Pakistan high commissioner today.

"Pakistan has always sought to establish tension-free and cooperative relations with India so that our peoples may be able to devote their resources and energies to the task of economic and social development," Gen Musharraf wrote.

While Mr Vajpayee had sent his invitation to Gen Musharraf 48 hours after the Centre's decision was announced, the Pakistan Chief Executive took

four days to respond.

Mr Vajpayee in his letter didn't make any reference to contentious issues including cross-border terrorism, but Gen Musharraf said in no unambiguous terms that "root cause of tension" between the two countries is the Kashmir "dispute".

While the Prime Minister talked about addressing "all outstanding issues including J&K", Gen Musharraf first mentioned J&K and then talked about holding discussions on other outstanding issues.

"I, therefore, look forward to sincere and candid discussion with you to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the wishes of the



General Pervez Musharraf

Kashmiri people. "We are ready to discuss all other outstanding issues between our two countries as well."

He said: "At the beginning of the new century, our two countries must do their utmost to overcome the legacy of distrust and hostility, in order to build a bright future for our peoples".

Mr Vajpayee's letter had said: "For the welfare of our peoples there is no other recourse but a pursuit of the path of reconciliation, of engaging in productive dialogue and by building trust and confidence."

Stating he was accepting Mr Vajpayee's invitation to him and his wife "with great pleasure", Gen Musharraf said: "We wish to see a stable and pros-

perous India at peace with its neighbours". The Prime Minister had mentioned India's desire to see a "stable, secure and prosperous Pakistan" which is in India's "interest".

An external affairs ministry spokesman said: "We're glad that the Chief Executive of Pakistan has very kindly accepted Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's invitation to him to visit India." Dates for the visit will be finalised through mutual consultations, he said.

Official sources said the Pakistan high commissioner, Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, "verbally" suggested some dates when he met Mrs Iyer, UNI adds.

Earlier reports from Islamabad quoted Gen Musharraf as having told the BBC last night that he had proposed some dates for the summit. "We're proposing any dates after the 20th, 25th, end of June or early next month. "I'm available as soon as we arrive at a mutually convenient date," Gen Musharraf reportedly said.

An experiment in Kargil shows how the army can win over the people in Kashmir

Put faith in trust

BY PREM SHANKAR JHA

11-8
30/6

IN NOVEMBER 1998, a small closed-door conference was held at the Army Training Command Centre in Shimla. Its purpose was to discuss the future role of the Indian army in a nuclearised military environment, and to frame issues for discussion at various command headquarters before preparing a blueprint for the future. A key question was whether the possession of nuclear weapons had made conventional high-intensity conflict obsolete.

The Kargil war answered this question within six months. It showed that the possession of nuclear weapons did not rule out conventional high-intensity conflict. It also showed that it was exceedingly difficult for the same troops and the same command structure to fight both kinds of war. As a result, the government split the two functions.

Recognising that the XV Corps, which was headquartered in Srinagar, would of necessity have to spend much of its time fighting a low-intensity war, a second corps, the XIV Corps, headquartered in Leh, was created to deal with the Kargil and Siachen sectors and to man the Line of Actual Control with China. Needless to say, this corps was devoted almost entirely to conventional, high-intensity conflict.

But what followed in the 12 months after XIV Corps became operational was something no one could have foreseen. Not only has it had to come to terms with incipient militancy, but in doing so it has created a model of cooperation with civil authority — both the politicians and the administration — that promises to become a model for territorial consolidation and nation-building throughout the country.

That militancy had made some inroads into Kargil had become apparent during the war itself. But far more disturbing was the realisation that villagers in the valleys below the LoC had known that there were groups of armed men moving around on the ridges for the previous three months. But not one had considered it necessary to inform the army until finally a lone Buddhist shepherd did so in early May. It thus became clear that while militancy might not have actually taken root in Kargil, the precondition for it — alienation from the government and the State — was already far advanced.

When the new corps commander, General Arjun Ray, took over, he faced the need to secure his rear before he could concentrate on his forward defences. It was here that he departed from established practice. Realising that alienation was very different from active militancy, he decided to target not militants but the causes of militancy.

The difference between the two approaches is profound. The former looks upon the population with suspi-



FRUITS OF FRIENDSHIP: Army-civilian interaction in Srinagar

cion, and seeks, by a variety of means, to identify and isolate, if not eliminate, militants. That is what the security forces have been doing in Kashmir and earlier in Punjab. The latter assumes that the people are, if not with the government, at least capable of being won over. The job of the security forces, therefore, becomes one of reducing the distance between them and the State and making them its beneficiaries and ultimately supporters.

With this in mind, Ray launched an ambitious outreach programme, Sadbhavana, to enable the army to win the trust of the people. Elements of Sadbhavana have been in existence almost since the insurgency in Kashmir began. Army detachments have frequently provided medical assistance, repaired school buildings, restored power lines and repaired bridges and roads at the request of the villagers in the areas where they have been stationed. But these efforts have been sporadic and scattered products of individual initiative at the company or battalion commander level.

This was the first time that the organisational, medical, engineering, transport and educational expertise of an entire army corps was put at the disposal of the people, not to combat an emergency or natural disaster, but to promote their social and human development. And all this was done without jeopardising its primary function of training and deployment for high-intensity conflict.

Under this programme, 46,400 persons have received medical treatment at field, command and central hospitals all the way till the Post-Graduate Medical Institute at Chandigarh. Incidentally, the total

population of Kargil is 127,000.

The army has set up 16 primary schools and is setting up 16 more. These will teach over 4,000 children. The number will increase as senior classes are added. Each of the schools had six computers and dedicated software to teach the children English and computer skills written in Urdu.

There are six vocational training centres where 500 girls are receiving training in knitting, sewing dresses, carpet making, computer skills and continuing education till class 12. Two centres have been set up for the mentally challenged. In an attempt to inject cash into the economy, the army is procuring 44 per cent of its vegetables, milk and eggs from local cooperatives that it has helped to set up.

It has launched a recruitment drive to increase the proportion of Muslims in the Ladakh scouts from 8 to 30 per cent. Perhaps most dramatic has been its success in saving over 220,000 apricot trees from dying because of a four-year-long drought in the district.

With government generators having broken down and pumps to draw water from the river on their last legs, the army rushed in pumps and generators of its own and managed to water the trees in time. Much of this year's apricot crop has been lost, but the invaluable trees, which are 25 to 50 years old, have been saved.

The impact that Sadbhavana has had on relations between the people and the army is difficult for those who have not visited these facilities to grasp. Thirty-five years of hearing politicians announce brave new programmes of

miraculous social uplift, only to see them die ignominious deaths, has left me a confirmed sceptic.

But in Kargil two small indicators told me a different tale. In an ultra-conservative, predominantly Shia society, not one parent, Agha or *maulvi*, had objected to girls going out to schools to study. What is even more significant, although most of the schools are in military areas, no one harboured any misgivings about sending adolescent girls into such an alien and predominantly male environment.

Where has this trust sprung from? The answer boils down to one word: trust. The army has one ingredient that civil administration in India lost long ago. This is accountability for work it promises to do. When a senior officer tells his subordinate to provide a pump or generator, or repair a phone line within a specified period, people know that his orders will be obeyed. What is more, they will not have to bribe or wheedle or cajole to see it happen.

In civil administration, the very concept of being held accountable for work done has ceased to exist. In the absence of accountability, corruption and extortion have flourished. For the people, therefore, the State had gradually become a predator, and therefore a hostile one to be shunned.

It is obvious that lack of accountability is not confined to Kargil, but is the sad reality of most of India. Sadbhavana has shown one way in which this can be got

But it also raises almost as many questions. If the army takes over the functions of the executive, will it not further de-legitimise the government? If so, what will happen to democracy?

The answer that XIV Corps has found is to work as closely as possible with the political representatives of the area, the district administration, key private organisations (in the case of Kargil, religious ones) like the Anjuman-i-Islamiyya, and the Khomeini Trust, and the people of the affected area. Whenever possible, it has sought the sanction, and obtained the equipment and finances from the civil authority.

Only when the problem has been urgent and the civil authority too remote for immediate consultation, has it acted entirely on its own. It has thus seen its role as being that of a facilitator rather than an initiator. This is a model that should be extended to other insurgency prone areas, including, above all, in the Kashmir Valley. It can also be extended to states and districts where the administration has, for one reason or another, broken down.

Finally, it needs to be extended to areas where militancy has been suppressed but civilian government is either moribund or incapable of reforming itself. Once again, Kashmir springs to mind.

ALL... | Khushwant Singh

OFF TRACK | V. Gangadhar

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Peace Pervez roots for Kashmir

Four sets of dates for talks

FROM PRANAY SHARMA IN NEW DELHI AND IDREES BAKHTIAR IN ISLAMABAD

New Delhi, May 29: Pakistan's chief executive Pervez Musharraf today formally accepted Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's invitation to come to Delhi for talks, but made it clear that Kashmir was "the root cause of tension" between the two sides and he was looking forward to "sincere and candid" discussions to resolve it "in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people".

That Kashmir will play a crucial part in his proposed discussion with Vajpayee was indicated by Musharraf in an interview with the BBC last night. He said that while he was willing to show flexibility to find a solution to the Kashmir dispute, he was not yet ready to appeal to Pakistan-based mujahideen to halt their operations.

From the hill resort of Manali where he is vacationing, Vajpayee said India did not consider the Kashmir issue a religious one and was in favour of a political solution. He reiterated that the invitation to Musharraf should not be seen as a "weakness" on Delhi's part, but should be viewed as a demonstration of self-confidence.

In his letter to Musharraf last week, Vajpayee had said India wanted to see "a stable, secure and prosperous" Pakistan. The Pakistani general did one better on the Indian Prime Minister.

"We wish to see a stable and prosperous India at peace with its neighbours," Musharraf said in his letter.

The acceptance letter was handed over by Pakistan high commissioner Ashraf Jehangir

Qazi to Indian foreign secretary Chokila Iyer this afternoon in South Block. In his letter, Musharraf also suggested four sets of dates — June 20, June 25, end June or early July. Foreign ministry spokesman R.S. Jassal who expressed India's happiness at Musharraf's acceptance, said the dates of the summit will depend on the convenience of the two sides.

Like Vajpayee, who sought to reassure Musharraf that Delhi bore no ill-will towards Islamabad and wanted to work together with it to tackle poverty and restore peace and prosperity in the region, the Pakistani chief executive, too, tried to underline his regime's attitude towards India.

"Pakistan has always sought to establish tension-free and cooperative relations with India so that our peoples may be able to devote their resources and energies to the task of economic and social development," Musharraf said.

He, however, made it clear that the Kashmir dispute was standing in the way of normalising relations, though he expressed his willingness to discuss all other "outstanding issues" with Vajpayee. "At the beginning of the new century, our two countries must do their utmost to overcome the legacy of distrust and hostility, in order to build a bright future for our peoples."

Earlier, Vajpayee described his invitation to Musharraf as a "new initiative". He clarified that India has never said it will not talk to a military regime in Pakistan as the neighbouring country has had military rulers for long periods of time.

But hinting that Kashmir remains an integral part of India and its problem should be dealt internally, the Prime Minister suggested that the Hurriyat leaders

We wish to see a stable and prosperous India at peace with its neighbours: Musharraf



His Excellency Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, New Delhi

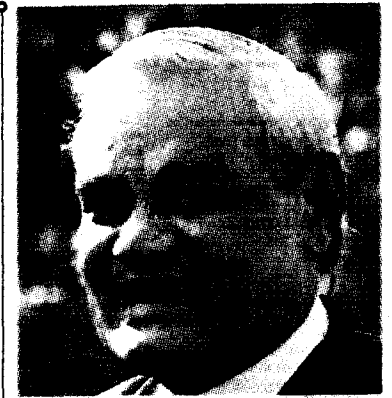
Excellency, Thank you for your letter of 24 May 2001. I accept your invitation to me and my wife to visit India, with great pleasure.

Pakistan has always sought to establish tension-free and cooperative relations with India, so that our two peoples may be able to devote their resources and energies to the task of economic and social development. We wish to see a stable and prosperous India at peace with its neighbours. At the beginning of the new century, our two countries must do their utmost to overcome the legacy of distrust and hostility, in order to build a brighter future for our peoples.

The root cause of tension between our two countries is the unresolved Jammu and Kashmir dispute. I, therefore, look forward to sincere and candid discussions with you to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people. We are ready to discuss all other outstanding issues between our two countries as well.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

General Pervez Musharraf



WHAT ATAL WROTE

ON PAKISTAN

I had recorded at the Minar-e-Pakistan that a "stable, secure and prosperous Pakistan is in India's interest", that remains our conviction.

ON KASHMIR

We have to pick up the threads again, including renewing the Composite Dialogue, so that we can put in place a stable structure of cooperation and address all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir.

should first talk with the government's special envoy on Kashmir, K.C. Pant, before meeting others. His reference was obviously to a meeting between the Kashmiri leaders and Musharraf.

Vajpayee argued that the Hurriyat leaders were released from jail last year specifically for entering into a dialogue with the government and finding a political solution to the Kashmir problem.

Though he made light of the situation by saying "*Doosron ki bari baad mein aayegi* (others will get their turn later)," the possibility of Musharraf meeting Hurriyat leaders here has worried the Indian establishment. Yesterday,

foreign minister Jaswant Singh termed it a "non-issue". But the fact remains there is little that Delhi can do, without obviously drawing adverse publicity, to stop the proposed meeting.

The Indian government had to face a similar dilemma in 1997, when then Pakistan President Farooq Leghari came to Delhi for the NAM summit and met Kashmiri leaders at the Pakistani high commission.

Visiting heads of state or government have an official and an unofficial set of programmes while in the host country but, more often than not, the visitors try to avoid embarrassing their

hosts. During Vajpayee's visit to Lahore in February 1999, the Prime Minister had avoided a meeting with Benazir Bhutto, though she was keen on it.

Musharraf, however, is coming here with an agenda and Pakistan has put a meeting with Kashmiri leaders on it. Though Singh had hinted that Delhi will not be happy if he meets Hurriyat leaders, it remains to be seen how Musharraf responds.

In his interview with the BBC, Musharraf said: "If both sides come to the negotiating table with open minds, then I think there should be no hurdle in the settlement of the Kashmir dispute." He

welcomed the Indian government's decision to invite him and showered praise on Vajpayee for taking the "courageous decision", saying he deserves to be congratulated for showing true statesman-like qualities.

"I am glad over this Indian move but I am more pleased over India's realisation that dialogue is the only way to find a solution to the problems."

Musharraf also said he would like to visit his old home in Delhi. "I would like to, if afforded the opportunity. It is not a primary issue but, if I get an opportunity, I would like to go and see it," he said during the interview.

Hurriyat involvement a non-issue: India

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JUNE 28. The Kashmir issue is an internal affair and the involvement of the Hurriyat Conference during the coming Indo-Pak. summit is a "non-issue", India reiterated here today.

Asked to comment on the references to Kashmir during the meeting of Foreign Ministers belonging to the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC) in Mali, the Ministry of External Affairs spokesperson said India had "dismissed interventionist approaches into our internal affairs".

She was replying to a question on the demand reportedly made at the OIC meet that a special representative of the organisation be allowed to participate in the discussions on Kashmir.

She confirmed that India had officially conveyed to Pakistan, both in Islamabad and New Delhi, its reservations over the Hurriyat's involvement during the summit. Pakistan, she said, had "taken note of our position." She added that the Hurriyat had unfettered access to hold talks and present its views before the desig-

nated Government representatives.

Referring to the proposal of the Pakistan-based Jamaat Uelame Islami's Maulana Fazlur Rehman that militants as well as the Indian security forces should cease fire till the summit, she said India had called for the cessation of activities related to terrorism across the Line of Control (LoC).

The Maulana, in a recent press conference, described the visit of the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, to India as a "sensitive step towards a peaceful solution of the dispute of Kashmir".

To a question on the preparations for the summit, she said that an "advance team" was arriving from Islamabad next week to finalise arrangements for security, protocol and external publicity.

Asked if the Hurriyat leaders were invited at the reception, she expressed confidence that "the Pakistani High Commission will take into consideration our views on the issue".

"Normally it is not a practice to inform about the guest list, but in this case they know our views".

THE HINDU

JUN 29 1997

'NO REASON TO DOUBT VAJPAYEE'S SINCERITY'

A question of Kashmiri rights, says Musharraf

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 28. The Pakistan military ruler and President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, today said the Kashmir issue did not just involve territory but was a serious question of the Kashmiris' right to self-determination and other fundamental human rights.

In his opening remarks at a meeting of the representatives of political and religious groups from the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK), as part of his efforts to ascertain views of a cross-section of society on his India visit, Gen. Musharraf said no solution was possible without taking into consideration the aspirations of the people of Kashmir.

At the same, he concurred with the views of the former President and the Prime Minister of PoK, Sardar Qayyum, that no point would be served in looking for motives into the Indian invitation. The Chief Executive said he had no reason to doubt the sincerity of the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, in his quest for resolving the vexed problem.

Right time

After the meeting, Mr. Qayyum told *The Hindu* that the "summit offered a golden opportunity for both India and Pakistan to begin the process for resolution of their long-standing differences. In my

opinion, with a BJP Government in New Delhi and a military regime in Islamabad, this is the time. If we miss this bus, it would be a political suicide."

Mr. Qayyum, who heads the Muslim Conference in PoK, is in the forefront of those advocating the need for giving peace a chance ever since India announced the Ramzan peace initiative in November last year. In fact, he had appealed to the Pakistan Government and the militant outfits to respond favourably to

the Indian moves. During the course of a conversation here, he admitted that there were voices at the conference questioning India's motives in inviting Gen. Musharraf for talks. "But my point is you have to begin somewhere. How long can we both go on like this? My considered view is that it is this realisation which has prompted India to move forward". Gen. Musharraf said the valiant people of Kashmir had "rendered supreme sacrifices for their right to self-determination

and have faced the atrocities of the occupation forces with courage and perseverance."

The bedrock of his talks with the Indian leadership would be the Kashmiris' aspirations, he said. Pakistan desired peace in the region but it was not possible until the Kashmir dispute was settled in accordance with the wishes of the State's people.

Leaders assured

The General took the opportunity to assure the Kashmir leaders that their struggle would be successful as it was based on the principles of justice and international law.

Representatives of political parties of PoK, the All-Party Hurriyat Conference's PoK chapter, and Kashmiris from the U.S., U.K. and Canada were present.

An official statement said they lauded the principled stand of the Government on the issue of Kashmir and assured unanimous support to Gen. Musharraf's efforts to resolve the Kashmir issue.

The Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Mr. Abbas Sarfraz Khan, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Enamul Haque, and the Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Ghulam Ahmad, were also present. Gen. Musharraf is expected to meet the Ulema and Mushaikh (scholars) on Friday.

More reports on Pages 13, 14

Pak. paper retracts report

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 28. The Pakistani English daily, *Dawn*, has retracted a report in its columns that the President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, during his interaction with editors on June 26, had cited pressure from the U.S. as one of the major factors behind India's decision to invite him for talks.

In a report on Wednesday, the paper said that Gen. Musharraf shared the opinion of some of the editors that the invitation was extended under U.S. pressure and due to operations by militant groups in Kashmir. The report drew a sharp reaction from the Indian Foreign Ministry spokesperson in New Delhi who said that India did not buckle under pressure from anyone. In a report today, the *Dawn* quoting official sources clarified that Gen. Musharraf had talked about the overall emerging environment to resolve issues, including the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir, between Pakistan and India. "However, they said, Gen. Musharraf did not say that the Indians had decided to hold talks with Pakistan on the U.S. pressure," it said.

THE HINDU

THE HINDU

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INDO-PAK DE-FREEZE

55.6 Siachen a good starting point 23/6

REGARDLESS of the mini-controversy that has developed over whether or not a de-escalation of conflict levels in the Siachen sector would be a priority during the forthcoming Vajpayee-Musharraf summit, if there is single military stand-off that needs to be resolved it is the protracted battle there. A battle that involves countering not just the hot lead that continually flies across the Salto Ridge, but where troops of both armies are pitted against extremely hostile conditions of weather and terrain. For close to two decades now have the opposing forces been engaged in operations in which there can be no winner, and suffer more weather/terrain-induced casualties than those caused by gunfire. And at a financial cost that neither nation can really afford — three crore rupees a day is what the previous Army Chief had projected this expense. Other military experts, particularly those who have been actively deployed in the sector confess that its tactical military significance is limited, that a mutual pull-back would put neither side to appreciable disadvantage — but add that it has now become a prestige issue. Hence its being romanticised as “the world’s highest battlefield” and a symbol of the great lengths and hardships that our soldiers go to preserve national frontiers. Even as this newspaper joins in the salute to those gallant jawans and officers, it emphasises the need to de-escalate this eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation.

Two rounds of talks at the defence secretary level have not effected a breakthrough (the first round did come pretty close to it) essentially because of mutual mistrust. Neither side was reassured that even a partial pull-back would not result in the other rushing in to occupy the commanding heights. Should the situation now attract some attention at the highest political level there could be a glimmer of hope. The Siachen war, a conflict in itself, encapsulates in miniature all that plagues complex bilateral relations yet it also lends itself to the least difficult of solutions provided a degree of trust is established. And what else but restoring trust — difficult though that may be after the bus ride to Lahore toppled off the Kargil cliffs — can be expected from next months’ parleys in New Delhi and Agra? There can be no quick-fix solution to Kashmir, boosting bilateral trade will not be accomplished overnight, and disputes over the Sir Creek and the Wular barrage do not have as high a public profile as Siachen. Agreement on even a partial disengagement along the glacier will not really prove expensive to either, it will literally save crores of rupees for both, but it will send out the message that the two countries have the maturity and ability to stop allowing only their guns to do the talking.

Pakistan denies Pervez remark

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 28. — Pakistan has denied that Gen Pervez Musharraf had told a group of editors that India had invited him for talks under US pressure.

Lahore-based daily, *Dawn*, today quoted officials as saying that the President had talked about the "emerging environment" to resolve all outstanding bilateral issues, including J&K. The daily had reported yesterday that Gen Musharraf had shared the editors' perception that the invitation was extended under US pressure. India had strongly denied the charge.

Meanwhile, New Delhi has made it clear to Islamabad that inviting Hurriyat leaders for a talk with Gen Musharraf wouldn't be at par with India's wishes.

India doesn't consider the Hurriyat the sole representative of J&K people. If Hurriyat leaders want to convey their stand on the Kashmir problem, they must get in touch with the Centre's interlocutor, Mr KC Pant.

"India's position on the Hurriyat's meeting with Gen Musharraf and their participation at the reception was conveyed to



BSF jawans (right) welcome Pakistani Ranger, Colonel Rafiq (centre), and his family at Chamliyal post, 50 km from Jammu, on Thursday. Indian and Pakistani border security officers met at Zero Point for the Chamliyal annual fair that is attended by hundreds of people from both sides. — AP/PTI

Pakistan through diplomatic channels," a foreign ministry spokesperson said today.

There have been speculations whether the Pakistani high commissioner, Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, would invite Hurriyat leaders at the "high tea" to be held on 14 July.

"The Pakistani high commission will take into consideration our views on the issue.

Normally it's not a practice to inform about the guest list, but in this case they know our views," the spokesperson said.

The Hurriyat today said the Centre's move has put a question mark on its sincerity in resolving the Kashmir issue peacefully. "It's surprising that India had gone to the level of

■ See PERVEZ: page 8

Panchjanya, Jung in a different race

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 28. — If BJP government may be focusing on confidence building steps for the summit but the RSS mouthpiece, *Panchjanya*, and Pakistani "pro-establishment" newspaper, *Jung*, are reportedly trying to elicit people's response on what the two Heads of State should discuss.

The bureaucracy in the two countries is still trying to work out the possible subjects of discussion. But *Panchjanya* and *Jung* have asked readers to send a 500-word, 10-point article on what Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and General Pervez Musharraf should discuss and why. The best entry for the "people's agenda for peace without prejudice" wins a prize for its author — a lavish holiday on the other side of the border. The last date for sending entries is 4 July.

PERVEZ:

(Continued from page 1)

virtually ordering Gen Musharraf not to entertain the idea of meeting the Hurriyat leaders," the Hurriyat spokesman, Mr Abdul Majid Bandy, said.

The Hurriyat executive committee will meet next week to decide its future course of action.

'Interventionist': India has dismissed as "interventionist" the suggestions of the 28th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at Bamako, Mali. The conference offered financial help for the J&K people and suggested appointment of a special representative to handle the issue. It also offered to send a fact-finding team to the valley.

"We've always dismissed the interventionist approaches," the foreign ministry spokesperson said. The conference adopted four resolutions on Kashmir.

Hurriyat leader Mirwaiz Omar Farooq, who attended the conference, held an hour-long meeting with Pakistani foreign minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, on Tuesday.

PoK Council calls for result-oriented dialogue

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 28. The Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) Council has called on the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to "engage in a substantive, meaningful and result-oriented dialogue with the President of Pakistan, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, during the forthcoming summit meeting to settle the Kashmir dispute in accordance with U.N. Security Council resolutions".

The PoK Council had a special session here today with Gen. Musharraf in the chair. The PoK President, Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, the Prime Minister, Barrister Sultan Mahmood Chaudhary, and other members attended the session called to deliberate on the latest developments with regard to the "situation in Jammu and Kashmir".

Through a statement adopted at the session, the Council "fully supported the efforts of the Government of Pakistan for a peaceful solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of its people through all possible means, including a substantive and meaningful dialogue with India". It also welcomed the coming visit of Gen. Musharraf to India and described it as a "historic opportunity for a resolution of the Kashmir dispute, the root cause of

tension between the two countries".

The Council noted with satisfaction the statements of Gen. Musharraf, in which he had stressed that Kashmir would be the focus of the talks. Welcoming the assurances that he would call

upon India to join hands in a peaceful settlement of the dispute in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people, the Council urged India and Pakistan to agree to the participation of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference in the negotiations for a final settlement of the Kashmir issue.

Jamait faction faces militants' wrath

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 28. The Jamait Ulamae Islam (JUI) faction led by Maulana Fazalur Rehman continues to face the wrath of the militant outfits for its call to ceasefire in Kashmir to enable a successful summit meeting between the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Reports in the Pakistani Urdu press claimed that the outfits belonging to the Deobandi school of thought had dissociated themselves from the JUI (Fazalur Rehman Group) in protest against the Maulana's appeal.

Some Urdu papers reported that these outfits had joined hands with another JUI faction led by Maulana Samiul Haq. The Harkat-ul-Mujahideen chief,

Maulana Fazalur Rehman Khalil, reportedly wrote to Maulana Fazalur Rehman saying the latter's stand on the jihad in Kashmir was a betrayal.

The Harkat chief said the appeal made by Fazalur Rehman had forced the Harkat to part ways with the JUI(F), and that the *mujahideen* (holy warriors) would continue the struggle till the goal was achieved.

The participants, who had come prepared with long speeches, were told to confine their observations to the four questions. At one stage when Maulana Fazalur Rehman asked Gen. Musharraf whether he had any solution for the Kashmir issue in mind, the latter said he was visiting India with an open mind, which was why he was seeking suggestions from the politicians.

THE HINDU

The India-Pakistan summit has been set up in too much of a hurry

The General comes to the Taj

ACHIN VANAİK

How things change! First there was the hyped up euphoria of Lahore. Then the screechings about Pakistan being a terrorist state with which it was not permissible to talk short of its giving up terrorism. Then come Agra and the plaudits about the "statesmanship" of the prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The only common factor in all this is the inconsistency and hypocrisy of our national security establishment.

Let us start from the beginning. In May 1998 when India carried out Pokhran II and our government literally dared Pakistan to do the same (some statesmanship that), it thereby initiated the nuclearization of south Asia. This was not represented, as in truth it should have been, as a new danger — but as the opposite, a new era of greater peace and regional stability. The Lahore summit of spring 1999 was India's initiative and it was an attempt to cover up India's nuclear irresponsibility, to pretend that just such a new era of peace and stability had been ushered in.

That is why there was such a marked contrast between the reactions of the ordinary public in both countries to that summit and that of the Indian pro-bomb community, in particular. The reaction of the ordinary public in both countries was much more sober, welcoming as always, anything that might defuse tensions but cautious and sceptical of what might concretely be achieved. The Indian pro-bomb lobby went hyper, as it had to, since it had to try and make out that nuclearization of the subcontinent was in fact a great peace-enhancing act.

It took Kargil to expose the absurdity of such thinking and to show how embarrassingly naïve the thinking of the bulk of our "national security managers" was, not that our security establishment ever gets embarrassed by exposure (even repeated) of its ineptitude.

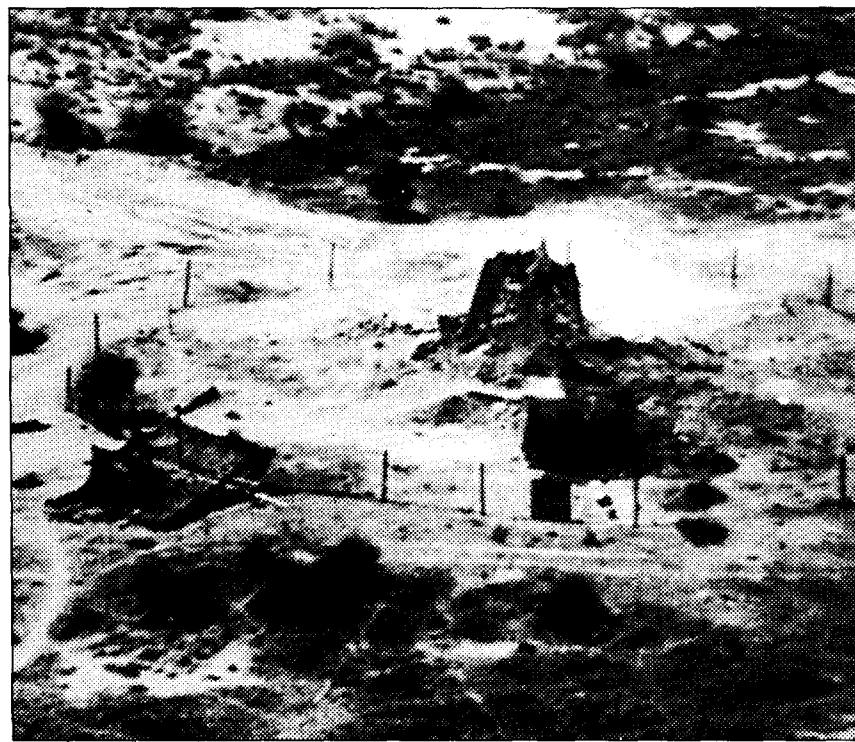
Then came another phase. After Kargil, the Kandahar aircraft hijack crisis, and the steady deterioration of the situation in Kashmir, we had a near unanimous clamour from this same national security establishment about the perfidiousness of General Pervez Musharraf who had unseated a democratic government, and the generally awful, indeed terrorist, character of the Pakistan state. Naturally, the Indian state's own record of terrorist acts in Kashmir and the Northeast (never referred to as terrorist acts, only as "excesses") or its willingness to seek good relations with states like the United States and Israel, whose record of international terrorism is far worse than that of Pakistan, was ignored.

Indeed, in the charged atmosphere of the time, anyone suggesting that one

could not be dishonestly selective about combating international terrorism, or that there should be a more sober response to Pakistan and a willingness to move towards dialogue with whatever government ruled there, carried the high risk of being accused of being both "soft" on terrorism and anti-patriotic.

It is not as if the mindset and prejudices that led to such attitudes have now

highest level of dialogue after, and despite, Kargil. But the self-righteousness that makes it so difficult for the members of the security establishments of both countries to be honestly self-critical remains quite intact. That is why there cannot be any serious breakthrough on the two crucial issues that bedevil Indo-Pakistan relations, the nuclear issue and Kashmir:



suddenly disappeared. On the contrary, they remain part and parcel of the mental make-up of our security establishment. But circumstances change. India is getting nowhere in Kashmir. Newer priorities emerge, most importantly the desire to reassure the US that India is a "responsible" regional power willing to have a dialogue with its neighbours. And an ageing and ailing Vajpayee wants to con India and the world into thinking that he is some kind of statesman when he has been nothing more than the principal apologist and leader of the most communal and anti-democratic political force that has ever ascended to power in independent India. Besides, Indian intransigence has not weakened in any way the hold of General Musharraf in Pakistan.

Still, whatever the motivations, compulsions or hypocrisies surrounding the background to the calling of this summit, is it not to be welcomed? Certainly it should. But for a variety of reasons those background compulsions and hypocrisies should always be kept in mind. This summit is not a diplomatic victory for Vajpayee but for Musharraf who has been far more consistent than his Indian counterpart in calling for the

There cannot be any serious breakthrough on the two crucial issues that bedevil India-Pakistan relations, the nuclear issue and Kashmir

But can there be some forward movement at least? Here the main problem with the summit is that everything has been decided in haste, a lot like General Zia-ul-Haq's one-time cricket diplomacy and visit. That is to say, everything has been vested in the very fact of the summit meeting and its symbolic impact rather than in making a summit meeting the culmination of a much longer, drawn-out and carefully prepared process of ongoing high-level negotiations during which agreed advances are chalked out. Now the pressure will be on to show some "success" at this summit and therefore to hastily bring out of the hat some evidence to this effect. The very haste and pressure to do something on these lines then makes any summit

agreement or communiqué assurances more of a hostage to fortune and the future.

About the nuclear issue the most that can be expected then is some kind of very limited risk reduction measures. Thus, if there is any Agra agreement by both countries to separate warheads from missiles, planes or other delivery systems, or for de-alerting, or for non-placement of shorter-range missiles where they would be effective against each other's territories, then these are all measures to be qualifiedly welcomed. The myth that must always be exploded, however, is that there can ever be a "nuclear-safe" zone between India and Pakistan as long as they both have nuclear weapons. Risk reduction is never a substitute for disarmament but at best a way-station towards it.

Of course, just to list some of the possible relevant nuclear risk reduction measures, as has been done, raises the question of whether, given the current state of relations between India and Pakistan, these are at all likely. Moreover, the real problem with risk reduction measures or what is almost the same thing — nuclear-related confidence building measures — is something that is inherent in the nature of such efforts. CBMs do not really create trust but themselves require a predisposition to trust each other if they are to be truly effective. That is to say, it is steadily improving bilateral political relations that make CBMs more effective/verifiable, and not really the effectiveness/verifiability of CBMs that leads to better bilateral political relations.

This, therefore, imposes serious limits on what can be expected from nuclear risk reduction measures, in contrast to the faith that the pro-bomb community in either India or Pakistan might want us to repose in "properly conceived and verified" CBMs. It is not at all surprising, that the US and Russia made dramatic advances in their mutual nuclear risk reduction measures only after the end of the Cold War and not when it was very much on.

As for Kashmir, there is no evidence whatsoever that either side can come close to serious forward movement. That will only take place when the representatives of Kashmiris on both sides of the line of control are considered legitimate participants (and not just bargaining chips) in a collectively negotiated process of finding a solution to the issue. The most that can be expected are much more modest arrangements, such as maintaining a ceasefire, and so on.

If both sides can move significantly forward in the way that the former prime minister, I.K. Gujral, genuinely sought to do — by easing the movement of goods, services and people — then this would be perhaps the most positive aspect and outcome of this summit meet and therefore, justification enough for its taking place.

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

THE TELEGRAPH

The challenge before Vajpayee and Musharraf is to revive the Lahore process and make it irreversible

First, an agenda

BY A.G. NOORANI

IF THERE is not at the summits of the nations the will to win the greatest prize... doom-laden responsibility will fall upon those who now possess the power to decide. As he spoke these words on May 11, 1953, Winston Churchill added 'summitry' to the vocabulary of diplomacy, to the disapproval of professionals. However, even a sceptic like Henry Kissinger admitted that "the possibility of using summit conferences to mark a new departure in the realisations of States should not be underestimated."

More often than not, the historic break from a sorry past did not lie in the leaders signing an accord, but in initiating a process designed to ensure that.

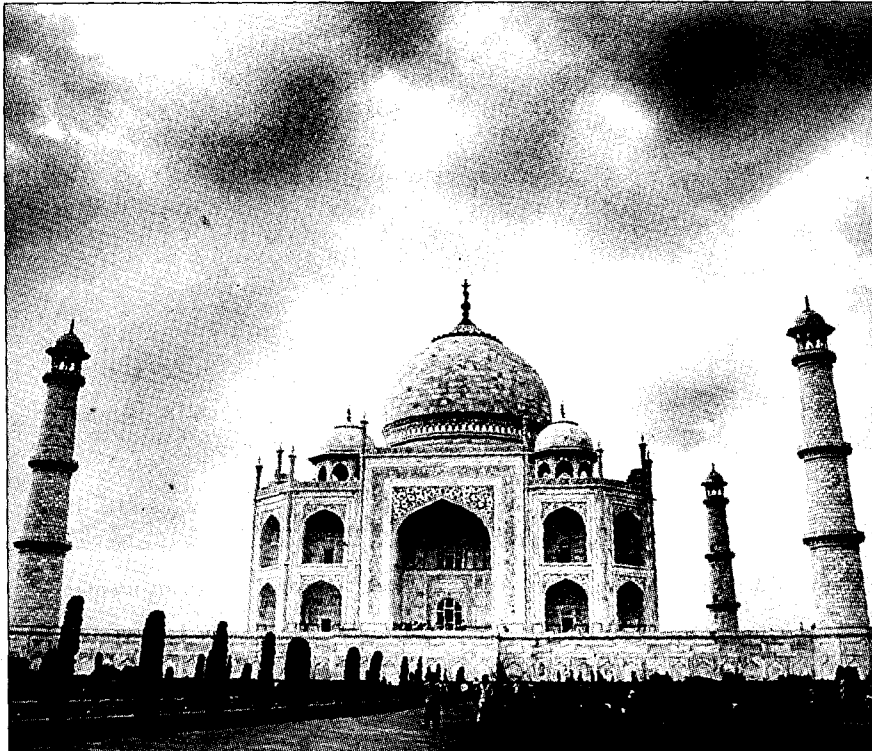
The challenge before Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and President Pervez Musharraf is to revive the Lahore process and make it irreversible. This can be done only by a set of understandings which assure each side that the issues it holds dear will be addressed by the other in earnest and the linkages between them are clearly understood by both. To Pakistan, it is the problem of Kashmir. To India, it is violence in the state and other matters like Siachen, CBMs, trade etc.

Vajpayee's letter of May 24 invited Musharraf to "address all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir". The latter's reply of May 29 urged joint effort "to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people. We are ready to discuss all other outstanding issues between our two countries as well". This apparent accord did not prevent the flow of rhetoric with each side stridently stressing its own concerns.

This is because while Pakistan refused for long to address the 'other' issues — most notably in the January 1994 talks between foreign secretaries — later, when this logjam was broken, India shied away from discussing Kashmir in earnest.

The joint statement issued at Islamabad on June 23, 1997 listed eight issues and envisaged "a mechanism, including working groups at appropriate levels to address all these issues in an integrated manner". To foreign secretaries were assigned Jammu and Kashmir and CBMs, besides monitorship of progress on the rest which other officials were to discuss. India refused to set up a working group on Kashmir or even a substantive discussion on it at a session proper. It insisted, instead, at talks in a "meeting" in a "session" which tackled all the issues in one go.

Inherently flawed, the Islamabad venture collapsed. As Nehru had warned the cabinet secretary on April 6, 1953, "nothing substantial can come out of a discussion of the Kashmir issue on official level". He preferred parleys at the sum-



CAN'T COMPLAIN ABOUT THE VIEW: The Taj Mahal in Agra

mit. Between those parleys, he favoured an alternative, of which little is known.

To Prime Minister Mohammed Ali's suggestion of "secret representatives of the two Prime Ministers meeting to explore possibilities under a fresh approach", Nehru responded in a cable of March 13, 1955, to India's high commissioner: "I entirely agree that meanwhile (i.e. between summits) our approach should be entirely private. I think that instead of two persons selected by either government meeting together, it would be better if some private representatives of Pakistan came here quietly for talks and later some one on our behalf went equally quietly to Karachi for talks. The order may be reversed if necessary. It is desirable for both High Commissioners not to participate directly in these talks as this is likely to prove embarrassing. Also, if two other representatives meet each other, this will lead to publicity."

Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif adopted precisely such a course. The Lahore Declaration of February 21, 1999, recorded a determination "to resolve all issues, including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir".

It became known that they agreed privately not to reiterate "stated positions" — the UN resolutions or Kashmir's non-negotiable status — and appointed representatives as a back channel to explore

the ground in between on which an accord can be built. R.K. Mishra listened intently; Niaz A. Naik talked endlessly, possessed by fantasies of a partition of Kashmir along the Chenab river.

On March 31, 1999, Vajpayee, barely concealing his disappointment, asked Naik for new formulae. Significantly, the PM's *Kumarikom Musings* declared: "In our search for a lasting solution to the Kashmir problem, both in its external and internal dimensions, we shall not traverse solely on the beaten track of the past. Rather, we shall be bold and innovative designers of a future architecture of peace and prosperity for the entire South Asian region." Vajpayee told Naik he sought a final settlement, not an interim one.

How is this part of the Lahore process to be revived now? If a veteran politician K.C. Pant can be a pointman for dialogue with Kashmiris, there is no reason why an eminent public figure cannot be nominated to conduct parleys with Pakistan on Kashmir. The problem is to ensure secrecy in order to maintain confidentiality of the exploration for a middle ground and prevent arousal of high expectations.

In 1967, India's Foreign Minister M.C. Chagla gave Pakistan's High Commissioner, Arshad Hussain, a draft which can be adapted now: "Talks would be

earnest and meaningful and on a confidential and continuing basis. A sincere effort would be made by both sides in a friendly spirit and in conformity with the Tashkent Declaration to seek solutions of various problems existing between the two countries including Jammu and Kashmir which Pakistan regards as a basic dispute between the two countries."

Rhetoric intended for domestic consumption has obscured a highly significant statement by the commander-in-chief (Operations) of the Hizbul Mujahideen, Abdul Majid Dar. He had proclaimed a unilateral ceasefire on July 24, 2000. Now, in an interview to *PTI* in Srinagar on June 3, he said: "Our activities will lessen in proportion to both countries giving up their rigid stand to solve the Kashmir problem in a realistic approach." A week later he told another Indian correspondent: "We cannot expect miracles in just one meeting; but there seems to be some seriousness in the process."

It cannot be a mere coincidence that in an interview to the Karachi monthly, *The Herald* (June 5), Pervez Musharraf spoke in the same vein. He linked decline in violence to progress in the talks. He was asked pointedly: "At one point you had said that if India displayed sincerity in starting a peace process, you would use your influence to try to ask the Kashmir militant groups to scale down their armed activities. Do you think that the time has come for you to make such an appeal?" He replied: "The time has not yet come. The time will come when the talks are held and they make progress. The present meeting is step one in this process. Now it remains to be seen that the talks begin and they begin on Kashmir and then they make headway."

As he put it, "Some solution becomes possible only when the two sides show some flexibility in their stated position." Last April, he gave an inkling of how far he is prepared to go: "Well, the UN resolution... one would like to show flexibility once the process of dialogue begins." The aim is to "reach somewhere in the mid-ground of some place".

But what precisely was the message he sought to convey by his "stated position" on violence? That he accepts it as a matter of legitimate concern to India? Evidently, he fears that once the covert operation designed 'to reopen' the Kashmir issue — launched in Zia-ul-Haq's time — ends, Pakistan loses all leverage. He knows that Pakistan is not making any headway and the Kashmiris yearn for peace. He is, obviously, seeking an exit route with far greater seriousness than any of his predecessors did. Hence his moves to rein in the *jehadis*. He is clearly no longer set on a plebiscite.

(To be concluded)

Indian cyclist gets raw deal in Pak jail

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, June 27

PAKISTAN HAS denied India consular access to Vikas Singh, the Indian cyclist-globetrotter, now languishing in a jail for entering the country without a visa. In fact, even after repeated requests, the Indian High Commission in Islamabad is yet to be officially informed in which city and jail Vikas has been lodged and whether he has been formally convicted by a court in that country.

A foreigner accused of crimes in any country is normally allowed to establish contact with officials of his country's embassy. The embassy arranges for his defence in the host country's court of law and is entitled

to see to it that he gets a fair trial without doing anything to influence the trial. But in Vikas' case, he was refused even this basic human right.

The spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs said today that the Indian High Commission in Islamabad approached the Pakistan Foreign Office on February 2 requesting a visa for Singh when informed that he had been stranded on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border for three weeks prior to that without any money. The request was made again on April 4.

On April 27 the mission was alerted of his arrest by a news item in a Pakistani daily and requested the Foreign Office for consular access. This was repeated on May 16 and in the

form of two notes verbal on June 2 and June 11. Earlier, on June 7, High Commissioner Vijay Nambiar met the Pakistani interior minister. The latest communication was sent on June 18. "We have pointed out to the Pakistani government that Vikas was on a world tour with the message of global peace. In spite of this, they have denied us the right to meet him. The Pakistani government has also not given us any explanation and information as to where he has been detained", the spokesperson said.

However, according to some reports, Vikas was sentenced by a Pakistani court on May 31. His family has sent appeals for his release to General Musharraf, his wife, Begum Sehba Musharraf, the Pakistani High Com-

missioner in India, Jehangir Qazi, and letters to Atal Bihari Vajpayee, External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh and the Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan, requesting they intervene to get him out of jail.

The MEA has no comment on how Vikas, on a world tour since 1987, managed to get into Afghanistan through Iran because as an Indian national, he could not have got a visa to enter the Taliban controlled country.

In normal circumstances, leaving a country for another through a border immigration post is impossible without a visa stamp of the destination country on the traveller's passport. Surprisingly, Vikas not only managed to enter Afghanistan, but also leave it for Pakistan.

Pervez sees US hand in summit, India says wrong

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 27. — General Pervez Musharraf today said Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee had invited him for the July summit under US pressure, but India refuted his remark.

"We don't buckle under any international pressure. It was our decision to invite Gen. Musharraf. The decision was taken after our own assessment on the prevailing conditions," said a foreign ministry spokesman.

Reports from Islamabad quoted the Pakistani President having supported the views that India's invitation was not only under US pressure but also because of the jihadi groups' activities in J&K.

But the spokesman said India's assessment on the prevailing conditions should not be given a different connotation.

Gen. Musharraf shares the opinion of some Pakistani newspapers on US pressure and Islamic militant groups and has ruled out any discussion on independence to Kashmir.

Reporting on yesterday's meeting between Gen. Musharraf and senior editors of Pakistani newspapers, *Dawn* said today that the President agreed with an editor's opinion that Indians faced pressure from the USA to negotiate and resolve issues with Pakistan.

He reportedly agreed that Mr Vajpayee could not have invited him for talks had there been no pressure from the international community. Gen. Musharraf has said the jihadi groups' struggle in J&K too had contributed to India's realisation that it should settle issues with Islamabad.

A Pakistan news agency, Online, has quoted Gen. Musharraf having ruled out talks on the third option during the summit. In turn, the meeting will be "overshadowed" by the core issue of Kashmir, he told the editors.

Some editors said the President had assured them that he

SENTENCED TO DEATH

ISLAMABAD, June 27. — A Pakistani court today sentenced to death a newspaper owner and editor after finding him guilty on two drug smuggling charges.

The district and sessions judge in Lahore found Mr Afridi guilty of the charges brought by the army's Antinarcotics Force. Mr Afridi, chief executive and editor-in-chief of Peshawar-based *Frontier Post*, can appeal against the sentence within a week.

The journalist reportedly has links with self-exiled former Prime Minister, Mrs Benazir Bhutto. Two of his alleged accomplices were sentenced to life imprisonment and a fine of \$4,000 each.

— Reuters

On page 8:

- Ministers in waiting
- Haveli owners fight over playing host to Musharraf
- India seeks consular access to Vikas Singh

would not have any secret understanding with India on Kashmir, Siachen or any other subject.

On a possible meeting with Hurriyat leaders, Gen. Musharraf reportedly told the editors that though he'd try his best to meet them, he would avoid a confrontation with Indian leaders on the issue.

During his three-hour interaction with the editors, he said he had three conversations with Mr Vajpayee over the phone in the past few weeks. He reportedly told the Prime Minister that Kashmir would be the focus of their talks, to which Mr Vajpayee had agreed.

Gen. Musharraf told Mr Vajpayee that some India leaders'

statements, saying Kashmir belonged to India, was vitiating the atmosphere. To which Mr Vajpayee replied that the media had been distorting their statements.

Referring to the importance he attached to Kashmir, Gen. Musharraf has been quoted by PTV as having said that there was a vast difference between talks on Kashmir and all other issues and all other issues and Kashmir.

The Pakistani President was assured by Indian leaders that it would be Kashmir and all other issues and not the other way. The difference between the two approaches is like the difference between the sky and earth, he said.

The official APP news agency quoted Gen. Musharraf as having told editors that he had decided on his India visit after sensing the Indian leader's "realisation" to resolve the Kashmir issue. He iterated that Pakistan would join India at the Agra summit next month with an "open mind and an open agenda" to have a focused dialogue on Kashmir and all other issues.

'No Pervez-Hurriyat meet': India today officially told Pakistan that it wouldn't allow Hurriyat leaders to meet Gen. Musharraf during his visit to India, says PTI from Islamabad.

The Indian reservations on the Hurriyat leaders' efforts to politically resurrect themselves by meeting the Pakistani President in New Delhi has been conveyed at the highest level in Islamabad during talks between the two countries' officials to prepare the groundwork for the summit.

India's stand to keep the Hurriyat leaders out of even the sidelines of the summit assumed significance in light of yesterday's assertion by Gen. Musharraf that he would try his best to meet them during his India visit.

Pakistan plays safe, keeps Hurriyat card close to its chest

By Seema Guha

NEW DELHI: India may not officially say so, but it is well-known that the Vajpayee government is not in favour of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf meeting Hurriyat Conference leaders when he comes here next month for talks with the Prime Minister.

External affairs spokesperson Nirupama Rao said, "Our views on the Hurriyat leaders meeting President Musharraf are well-known." She refused to say if India had formally asked the Pakistani leader not to see them.

A Pakistani diplomat here refuted reports from Srinagar that high commissioner Ashraf Jehangir Qazi had assured the Hurriyat of a private meeting with Mr Musharraf after a high tea to be hosted for him by the mission on July 14. "No such thing has happened," he said. But he refused to clarify whether or not the Hurriyat leaders would be invited for the Musharraf recep-

tion. Pakistan is keeping its cards close to its chest on this issue.

India cannot forbid the Pakistan mission from inviting any person. However, senior government sources said that if Mr Musharraf meets the Hurriyat, it could spoil the atmosphere for the summit talks. "It would be a signal that Pakistan is not serious about



improving bilateral ties," a senior official said.

But no one was willing to confirm that India had formally asked Pakistan not to hold the meeting. From the initial stage itself, India has tried to brush off the Hurriyat meeting as something not germane to India-Pakistan ties. External affairs minister Jaswant Singh, at a news conference after the PM's invitation to Mr Musharraf, said

that the question of the Hurriyat meeting was a "non-issue".

New Delhi believes that the Hurriyat leaders need to talk to India about Kashmir and not use the opportunity provided by Mr Musharraf's visit to take up the issue with him. "Anyway, the Hurriyat has no role in India-Pakistan bilateral talks," a senior government official emphasised.

Officials are of the view that it would be unwise for Mr Musharraf to begin his first day in India on a controversial note. If the Hurriyat meeting with him is held in the capital, it would be on the first day of the visit, before the retreat to Agra for substantive talks between the two leaders. Meanwhile, the PMO also categorically dismissed on Tuesday reports from Pakistan citing General Musharraf as saying that the invitation to him to visit India had come about at the Americans' behest.

► See Edt: The General's Gambit, Page 10

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28/6

Indo-Pak. summit: three scenarios

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JUNE 27. Will it be a terrible disaster, a productive beginning, or a political triumph? How would the Agra summit next month between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, be described in the end?

Having agreed to meet, the two leaders will certainly try and make the Agra summit look "reasonably successful". Avoiding the public perception of a failure is perhaps the base-line diplomatic objective at Agra for both the Governments.

At least three agreements will be necessary for the two sides to pronounce the Agra summit "successful". First, Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf develop some personal rapport and agree on the direction in which they want to take the Subcontinent.

Second will be a decision to meet again — not just

THE ROAD TO AGRA

in some distant future but within the next few months to maintain the momentum. The third is a mandate from Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf to the two bureaucracies to start talks across the full spectrum of bilateral issues.

This minimum positive outcome may be within the grasp of the two leaders. In this scenario, there will be no vision statements; but a bare announcement of the three decisions which make the summit the first step on a long journey. But in meetings like these, nothing can ever be taken for granted. How can anyone predict the outcome when a summit is consciously designed for a direct dialogue between the top leaders without any pre-cooked agreements.

Maybe there will be no personal chemistry between the two leaders. Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf may not find it easy to develop a productive conversation.

Mr. Vajpayee might conclude that Gen. Musharraf is not interested in giving up the levers of violence and terrorism in Kashmir; and that no give and take

is possible with Pakistan, at least for the moment.

Gen. Musharraf might believe India is not serious about a negotiation on Kashmir. He might be under domestic pressure to turn his visit into an exercise in posturing over Kashmir. Then we have all the makings of a political disaster at Agra.

Common sense would suggest both the establishments will try and avoid the disaster at Agra. Expectations from the summit are indeed low. There may be general satisfaction in the region and the world if the meeting in Agra could be described as the first useful step on a difficult journey.

Optimists, however, would like to see more than just an agreement between Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf to meet again. They would want the proclamation of a future vision by the two leaders and immediate agreements to lend it some credibility.

Few would want to bet on such an outcome at Agra. But do not rule it out. After all it is entirely possible that Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf will get along fine; and that their conversation develops positively.

It is not inconceivable that the two leaders will be able to address the core concerns of the other — the Indian one on cross-border terrorism and the Pak. desire for a meaningful talks on Kashmir.

There could be the announcement of steps for the normalisation of bilateral relations and making it easier for ordinary people to move across the border. And there could be confidence-building measures that de-escalate the situation in Kashmir and create a peaceful environment for talks on the dispute itself.

And for good measure, throw in some risk-reduction measures on the nuclear and military front that will appeal to the United States and the international community.

If the aides of Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf can tie all this into a vision statement called "Agra Declaration", there will be a political triumph for both the leaders which can be put to very good use at home.

THE HINDU

An agenda for the summit

By Suba Chandran

THE DATE is fixed. The venue is fixed. But what are we going to talk Gen. Pervez Musharraf? In the past, we did talk to each other and there were meetings which were termed 'historic', 'new beginning' etc. How different will this meeting be from the rest? What should be the do's and don'ts?

First, India should insist on making the summit "condition free" and "composite". India has shifted its stance considerably on the question of pre-conditions for any dialogue in the post-Kargil period. Earlier, India had insisted on Pakistan stopping its cross border terrorism, which was later shifted to "credible evidence" of efforts by Pakistan to control the militant groups operating from its soil. It is now Pakistan's turn to change its stance on the dialogue. Gen. Musharraf should come with an open mind, prepared for a "composite dialogue", which would obviously include Jammu and Kashmir. The "any time, any where, at any level" policy of Gen. Musharraf should also include "any issue".

Second, India and Pakistan should avoid unnecessary criticism of the other. It is very essential to keep the India-Pakistan political atmosphere pleasant. It should be understood that in both countries there are many hawks, who are rhetorically very strong, who could interpret the facts for their own benefit. It would be advisable for both the leaders to request their people to refrain from making unnecessary comments, at least till the summit is over. Gen. Musharraf has already initiated such a move — he has requested the ulema not to make statements against India. Such a move could result in keeping the atmosphere pleasant, and building confidence. For example, Gen. Musharraf's request to the ulema was received well by Mr. Vajpayee.

Third, make the Lahore Declaration the basis for the talks. The Lahore Declaration and its accompanying Memorandum of Understanding signed by the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan are very comprehensive. It includes issues covering civil, military and nuclear aspects of the relations between the two countries.

The forthcoming summit should be based on the Lahore Declaration. Both countries can work towards giving a legal status to the Lahore Declaration and the subsequent MoU. Pakistan, in the past, has suggested a "non-aggression pact" with India. India also has suggested a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with Pakistan. The salient features of these proposals can be drafted into a formal agreement. A Treaty or a formal agreement signed would have a better

and others who have no political aspirations.

Sixth, on the most complicated issue of Kashmir, establish a JWG. In an interview recently, Gen. Musharraf said "We will discuss the Kashmir issue. And with regard to that issue, I shall go there with a flexible and open mind." What would be the flexible position that Pakistan can adopt on Kashmir? Will Pakistan agree to a solution other than holding a

tacts, either in Kashmir or elsewhere. Besides, it would give an opportunity to the Kashmiris living on the other side of the border to see what is actually happening on the Indian side, instead of believing what Pakistan has been telling them.

Eighth, freeze cricket relations for a temporary period. Certain myths need to be cleared on the issue of playing cricket matches with Pakistan. Do Indo-Pakistan cricket matches really improve relations between the two countries? The cricket team to a great extent symbolises the country's prestige and honour, both in India and Pakistan. The game is not watched just as game, rather as a war between the countries. Given the reality, it would be beneficial for both countries to freeze cricket matches for a period till cordial relations are established.

Ninth, propose measures to improve trade between the countries. The official trade between India and Pakistan is about \$200 millions, whereas the non-official trade is around \$1 billion. Goods involved in non-official trade are exported from India to countries such as Singapore and Dubai, from where they are imported by Pakistan. There is enough scope to increase the trade between the two countries for example on items such as tea, coffee, textile machinery and iron ore. At present, Pakistan is importing tea from Kenya, textile machinery from Germany and iron ore from Australia and Brazil. These could be imported from India at a much cheaper price.

Finally, release the non-political prisoners from Indian jails unilaterally as a goodwill gesture. There are a number of Indian prisoners in jails in Pakistan and vice-versa. They include political prisoners and innocent citizens, such as fishermen, who entered the other territory by mistake. There are around 230 Pakistani fishermen in Indian jails who can be unilaterally released.

There is ample scope to cooperate. Let us see whether both the leaders will make use of the opportunity or waste it like the previous meetings. Hope this time history does not repeat itself.

(The writer is Research Officer, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi.)

A treaty or a formal agreement signed would have a better impact psychologically on relations between India and Pakistan than a declaration or a memorandum of understanding.

impact psychologically on relations between the two countries than a declaration and an MoU.

Fourth, revive the Foreign Secretary-Level talks and the joint working groups (JWGs) and institutionalise them. There have been a number of meetings at the Foreign Secretary level since the 1980s on various issues, from a non-aggression pact to increasing people-to-people contacts. Though the outcome of these meetings has not been satisfactory, these Foreign Secretary-level talks should be revived. And JWGs should be established on all these issues including Jammu and Kashmir. Besides, these meetings need to be institutionalised. A breakdown in political relations between the two countries should not interfere in the working of the JWGs, however slow their progress is.

Fifth, make further efforts to increase the people-to-people contact. As a part of this, the Delhi-Lahore bus service, which was launched during February 1999 with two buses a week, could be made daily. Also, India and Pakistan could establish a Foundation, on the model of the B. P. Koirala Foundation between India and Nepal, to facilitate people-to-people contact. Mr. Vajpayee can suggest a Jinnah-Nehru Foundation which would facilitate the exchange of academics, artists

which is afraid of people-to-people con-

Seventh, propose a bus service from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad. It would be in the interests of the Kashmiris to promote such a bus service. India has nothing to lose, but a lot to gain as this proposal would increase pressure on Pakistan, which is afraid of people-to-people con-

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ARD to stay away from all-party meet

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 26. The military government's grand plans of building a consensus on the coming summit meeting between the Pakistani President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, and the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, suffered a setback today with the Alliance for Restoration of Democracy (ARD) deciding to stay away from the "all-party meeting" here tomorrow.

A meeting of the Alliance under the chairmanship of the Pakistan Democracy Party president, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, in Lahore today decided to boycott the meeting convened by Gen. Musharraf to protest the manner in which the latter took over as the President.

A constituent of the 16-party alliance, Awami National Party, was "permitted" to take part after its leader, Mr. Asfandyar Wali, explained that his party decided to attend the conference after considering all relevant factors.

Speaking to *The Hindu* over phone from Lahore, Mr. Khan said, "At the same time we want to make it clear that we have nothing against the process of resumption of dialogue between India and Pakistan. Most of the constituents of the ARD have already welcomed the invitation extended by Mr. Vajpayee and the decision of Gen. Musharraf to travel to India. Our quarrel with the military leadership is only with regard to the manner in which Gen. Musharraf has assumed the mantle of Presidency".

Pressure from PML, PPP

It appears that the ARD was left with little choice but announce a boycott after its two major constituents — the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif) and the Pakistan People's Party of Ms. Benazir Bhutto — declared their intention to stay away.

It is said Mr. Khan was personally inclined to attend the conference. He even tried to convince the bigger constituents of the Alliance that it would not proper to stay away as the matter related to efforts for normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan and the search for a solution to the Kashmir conflict. However, he had to give in to pressure from the "big brothers". Some leaders of the PML and PPP were said to have told Mr. Khan that if he were to attend the conference, it would be the end of the seven-month old Alliance.

Mr. Khan said, "We welcome the dialogue. In fact most of us have been pleading for resumption of negotiations between India and Pakistan. We believe that resolution of the differences between the two countries could pave way for betterment of the people of the sub-continent. So much money being

spent at the moment on defence could be diverted for developmental purposes". Mr. Khan said the ARD would consider doing business with the new President only if he was willing to make a firm commitment on the timetable for restoration of democracy and release all political prisoners.

Rhetoric from India?

He said there was concern over the rhetoric emanating from India. There was specific reference to the recent statements of Mr. Vajpayee, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and the Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani. "We think that if the rhetoric from across the border continues, the summit would not make any progress. If India is really serious in normalising its relations with Pakistan, it should put an end to such statements."

'Which is the real Vajpayee?'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 26. Is the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, engaged in an exercise to figure out the "true personality" of the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, before he meets the latter at Agra on July 15? Yes, if one goes by his remarks at a session with a group of Pakistani editors here today where he is believed to have talked about two poems of Mr. Vajpayee, which gave a contrasting picture of his personality.

The first poem is titled *Jang nahi hone doonga* ("I will not allow war to take place"), but the second makes harsh references to an unidentified neighbour.

A senior editor quoted Gen. Musharraf as saying, "The first poem shows the soft side of Mr. Vajpayee and the second the tough side. Which is the real Vajpayee?"

However the ARD's decision to stay away from the meet does not mean all is lost for the Musharraf Government. The Mohajir Qaumi Movement, which has been fretting and fuming against the military government, has decided to take part. A number of small parties and two leaders of the Nawaz Sharif faction of the PML are also expected to attend tomorrow's meeting.

More reports on Page 13

'Summit may lead to withdrawal of forces from Siachen'

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 26. The forthcoming Indo-Pak summit may result in an agreement by both sides to withdraw from Siachen, a newspaper report said here today.

"The two sides have realised that the Siachen engagement is contributing significantly to tensions between the two countries as well as costing them huge amounts in terms of men, money and material," *The Dawn* said.

Quoting military sources, the daily said initially the focus will be on withdrawing forces from Siachen and halting skirmishes along the Line of Control.

Indian diplomats here, howev-

er, said they were not aware of any sustained Siachen engagement between India and Pakistan in the recent months to reach a conclusion that an agreement was round the corner to pull out forces.

Pakistan military officials were not immediately available to comment on the issue.

The daily said a complete consensus has emerged among Pakistan's corps commanders to resolve differences between the two countries.

The daily, quoting sources, said nobody should expect resolution of major problems during the

summit. "But it will be a breakthrough if both sides agree to continue talking."

About the prospects of talks, the sources said, Gen. Musharraf was ready to "sell anything and buy anything" to achieve peace with India.

"Gen. Musharraf and the Indian premier have had telephonic discussion three times recently. Both agreed it was becoming difficult to sustain their huge armies due to their economic problems for which it was necessary to sit and negotiate and come to terms," the daily said quoting a source. — PTI

THE HINDU

27 JUN 2001

Pak. religious leader appeals for ceasefire in Kashmir

By B. Muralidhar Reddy ¹⁰⁻¹³

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 26. The Jamait Uelame Islam (JUI) led by Maulana Fazalur Rehman, an influential religious party in Pakistan, has appealed to India and the militant outfits operating in Kashmir to declare a ceasefire to ensure the success of the summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf. ^{27/6}

Addressing a specially convened news conference here, the chief of the JUI faction, Maulana Fazalur Rehman, described the forthcoming summit meeting at Agra as a "sensitive step towards a peaceful solution of the dispute on Kashmir" and said all sides should give it a chance.

The appeal is significant for a number of reasons. To begin with, it has come a day before Gen. Musharraf is to meet the repre-

sentatives of political and religious parties as part of his exercise to ascertain the views of a cross-section of the society on his mission to India.

Though the group claims to have no militant outfit and operates essentially in Afghanistan, it has considerable influence among militant outfits like the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and others who draw inspiration from the Deobandi school of thought.

Indications are that no group is expected to heed the appeal, but the very fact that he deemed it necessary to make the plea has not gone unnoticed. There was no immediate reaction from any of the militant outfits identified with the Deobandi school of thought.

The Maulana's appeal is little more than symbolic and intended to send a signal to the international community and perhaps even to India that there are sec-

tions in Pakistan which are equally interested in resumption of dialogue between the two countries.

Maulana Fazalur Rehman had come prepared with a carefully drafted statement in English and the organisers of the press meet had ensured the presence of international and Indian media at the news conference.

In his statement, the Maulana said the summit was a sensible step towards peaceful resolution of the Kashmir dispute that addresses the legitimate concerns of all the parties, especially the Kashmiris.

He said the summit could move forward in expanding areas of mutual cooperation, including trade and nuclear stabilisation in the region. "It calls upon both the leaders to create a congenial atmosphere to make the summit a success."

The Maulana said as a matter of

principle, his organisation had always been supporting resolution of disputes, Kashmir in particular, through dialogue that should precede and follow confidence-building measures by both sides. In this context, he expressed serious concern over the "tough rhetoric" by the two foreign offices and a media war that continues to pollute the atmosphere.

He appreciated the decision of the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) to call off strikes and protests before the summit and urged India and the militant outfits to follow the example.

"No doubt, Kashmir should be given top priority in the dialogue process, all other areas of confrontation, such as the arms race and Siachen, and areas of mutually beneficial cooperation like trade and the gas/oil pipeline should also be given due attention with an open mind."

THE HINDU

Follow-up more crucial than dialogue

By K. K. Katyal

ND-12
26/6

NEW DELHI, JUNE 25. The most important factor about next month's summit is the most obvious — restoration of trust and mutual confidence is a must for a meaningful advance towards India-Pakistan amity. The experience of the last two such exercises was far from happy, though each one of the two top-level contacts — at Shimla in 1972 and at Lahore in 1999 — concluded on notes of supreme satisfaction. Major snags developed subsequently and, as a result, the gains could not be sustained. The reason — continued distrust came in the way of implementing the agreements and undertakings. On paper the documents summing up the outcome of their labours looked fine, the assurances conveyed privately and informally sounded promising. In practice, however, there was no change in the old mindset. As seen by India, Pakistan did not live up to the agreements and solemn assurances. Hopefully, it will be a different — and a pleasant — story now.

No one in India and for that matter in Pakistan, is that unrealistic as to pin high hopes on the interaction between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, General Pervez Musharraf, but, nonetheless, its significance is not minimised. There is the modest expectation that they may set in motion an engagement process, structured or informal. The follow-up of whatever decision is taken by the two leaders will be of crucial significance. The key point will be whether the agreement, even though modest, is sought to be worked in the spirit in which it is finalised.

There would have been no need to emphasise this point, had this simple logic been ob-

served in the past two occasions.

To take the second case first, the very act of Mr. Vajpayee undertaking a bus journey to Lahore, the tone and tenor of his talks with his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, the declaration, signed by them, the memorandum of understanding on nuclear confidence building measures evoked tremendous euphoria. What happened soon after is fresh in the people's memory. Kargil not only undid Lahore, but also inflicted additional serious damage to the bilateral ties, already strained. The very thought that the plans for the Kargil invasion were underway, when Mr. Nawaz Sharif affixed his signatures to the Lahore Declaration was seen as a great betrayal, a stab in the back, because of which New Delhi found it hard to persuade itself to resume the dialogue with Islamabad — especially when the architect of Kargil was the new ruler. The casualties of Kargil included the back-channel diplomacy before, during and shortly after Lahore.

In 1972, the Shimla Agreement between Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister, and Z. A. Bhutto, then President of Pakistan, laid down several wholesome propositions. This one, for instance: "that the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to peaceful and harmonious relations." Then there was the joint commitment to respect the

line of control. Bhutto, it was known, had agreed to the conversion of the LoC into international border but wanted it to be a gradual process to prepare public opinion in his country. As disclosed by Mr. P. N. Dhar, Secretary to Indira Gandhi, who was privy to the delicate discussions, in an article in a national daily in 1995, Bhutto agreed not only to change the ceasefire line into a line of control, for which he had earlier proposed the term 'line of peace' but agreed that the line would be gradually endowed with the 'characteristics of an international border'. Indira Gandhi agreed to accommodate Bhutto and this point was not incorporated in the formal agreement, or in any additional secret pact. India, a victor, according to policy-makers, did not want to appear vindictive, reminding their colleagues that the Treaty of Versailles had been the basis of another war.

This disclosure was widely noted and commented upon in Pakistan. A leading intellectual, Humayun Gauhar, had this to say: "If it took a private talk between Mr. Bhutto and Mrs. Gandhi in which he made certain commitments to her but which he was clever enough not to have written down in the Shimla Agreement or on a separate piece of paper, then it was diplomatic artistry of the highest order. He would have known better than anyone else that such a private secret agreement, which is only verbal, was worthless. Face it Mr. Dhar, even if we accept what you say, Mr. Bhutto fooled your prime minister."

Let there be no more fooling now. Peace and security of the sub-continent is a serious matter.

THE HINDU

26 JUN 2001

Qazi promises a successful summit

By Our Special Correspondent
NEW DELHI, JUNE 25. The Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, today held talks with the Samajwadi Party leaders, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav and Mr. Amar Singh, as part of his consultations with Indian leaders ahead of the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's visit.

Mr. Qazi has already met the former Prime Ministers, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, Mr. V.P. Singh, Mr. H.D. Deve Gowda and Mr. Chandrashekhar.

Mr. Qazi today also met the Chief of Protocol, Mr. Manbir Singh, to iron out details of the trip.

Officials from the two sides are engaged in deciding on a suitable venue for the summit in Agra. A protocol team from the Ministry of External Affairs has already visited Agra. Three hotels — Amar Vilas, Jaypee Palace and Mughal Sheraton — have been shortlisted. The spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs declined to comment on the possibility of a meeting between representatives of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference and Gen. Musharraf.

Government sources pointed out that since Gen. Musharraf's concern at the moment was to ensure that his meeting with Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, progressed without any hitch, he might not insist on a meeting with the Hurriyat. The spokesperson also declined comment on the possibility of discussions

on the proposed Iran-India gas pipeline during the summit meeting.

UNI reports:

Talking to presspersons after meeting the Samajwadi Party leaders, Mr. Qazi said, "It is going to be a very successful summit; I promise you that. We are very confident that this is

the beginning of very successful relationship between the two countries."

Asked about the agenda for the summit talks, he said agendas were never discussed at summit level. "When two senior political leaders meet, they discuss whatever they like. On the political level, whatever they feel is very important, they discuss."

Describing the July 15 summit as an "extremely important occasion in India-Pakistan relations", Mr. Qazi said leaders in both countries were very happy that the two neighbours were now talking. "In India, all are very supportive of the talks. In Pakistan too, leaders are very happy."

Asked whether Kashmir would top the agenda as widely reported, Mr. Qazi said, "You know our policy. There is no need to ask such questions."

Mr. Yadav said the outcome of the summit should be in the interests of the nation. It was more important to create an image and goodwill among the people in Kashmir than an international image. Only the Kashmiri people could defeat terrorism.

He said the policy of the Samajwadi Party of a 'mahasangh' (confederation) of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh was well known. "There should a 'mahasangh' even if a loose one." He, however, declined to elaborate on whether he had discussed the issue with Mr. Qazi. "Whatever we discussed cannot be disclosed."

Mr. Amar Singh described Mr. Qazi's visit as a 'courtesy call'.



The Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, with the Samajwadi Party leaders, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav and Mr. Amar Singh, in New Delhi, on Monday. — Photo: V. Sudershan

THE HINDU

ADVANCE TEAM DEPARTURE MAY BE DELAYED

Musharraf cautious about outcome of summit

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 25. A day before he begins the process of formal consultations with a cross-section of society on his Delhi yatra, the Pakistani President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has once again reiterated that he is "cautiously optimistic" about his summit meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Gen. Musharraf also declared that his Government would not compromise on Pakistan's minimum nuclear deterrence. The President's two statements at a college on the outskirts of Islamabad are perhaps intended to set the agenda for the consultations, and send out a clear signal to those on the domestic front apprehensive of the visit, that they have nothing to worry about.

The "policy statements" came amid indications that the departure of the two-member team to New Delhi to finalise the programme and oversee the security arrangements for Gen. Musharraf was delayed.

"Probably the team may not be able to leave Islamabad on June 27 as announced earlier. The reason for the delay is partly to do with the fact that New Delhi is still busy with the nitty-gritty of the details of the summit and Gen. Musharraf's other engagements during his stay in India," a Foreign Office official said.

In an informal briefing to the press on Sunday, the chief spokesman of the military government, Maj. Gen. Rashid Quereshi, indicated that the agenda for the Agra meeting would not be "rigid". While Kashmir was the "core issue", Pakistan would have no problem in discussing other subjects, he said. In a way, it is an endorsement of the Indian line for a

"composite dialogue" and the eight-point agenda evolved in 1997.

Gen. Musharraf is slated to have a heart-to-heart meeting with a group of editors of leading Pakistani papers. He has also invited 24 leaders of religious and political parties for a discussion. The Alliance for Restoration of Democracy, a conglomerate of 18 parties including the Pakistan Muslim League and the Pakistan People's Party, is meeting in Lahore tomorrow to decide whether or not to respond to the invitation of Gen. Musharraf after he took over as the President.

The meeting with the representatives of parties and groups from the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir will be the last — on June 28. There are different views among the parties and groups in PoK on the Agra summit.

In his speech at the college function, Gen. Musharraf said: "The minimum nuclear deterrence will not and cannot be compromised as the security of Pakistan rests on this capability." "Pakistan's nuclear capability is entirely for self-defence. We have no aggressive designs. We believe in acquiring minimum credible deterrence and do not want to direct our limited resources towards the race of weapons of mass destruction."

Gen. Musharraf said "South Asia must come out of its pit of poverty and learn to live in peace and harmony. It is in this spirit that I have accepted the invitation of Indian Prime Minister".

About his Indian visit from July 14 to 16, he said: "I am going there with cautious optimism." Pakistan, he said, did realise that the Islamic world and it (Pakistan) were left behind in science and technology and a lot of catching had to be done. "This was possible if

we focus on this area," he said.

"If we remain ever-dependent on borrowed knowledge and imported technology, the Muslim world cannot develop." He said without developing a sound indigenous base for science and technology "we can neither prosper nor live in peace and security."

196 Indian fishermen to be freed

By Our Special Correspondent

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 25. The Government of Pakistan has decided to release 196 Indian fishermen, along with their 32 boats, in its custody. They have been detained from time to time for straying into its territorial waters for unlawful fishing.

An official statement said the decision had been taken unilaterally step has been taken by the Government of Pakistan unilaterally on "humanitarian grounds". On June 7, Pakistan had released 157 Indian fishermen together with their 25 boats.

Till recently, there were 200 or so Indian fishermen in Pakistani jails. There are 229 Pakistani fishermen in Indian jails.

India released 160 fishermen in April last and another 63 more are expected to be released soon. Authorities on both sides have taken up the issue and some progress is expected in the weeks to come.

India and Pakistan had agreed, much before the November peace process was initiated, to review the cases of all fishermen detained and it was agreed to release all those detained against whom no charges could be substantiated and there is proof of their identity.

Indo-Pak ICSSR meet is cleared

BY SHAHID FARIDI

New Delhi, June 25: The ministry of external affairs has approved the proposal of the Indian Council of Social Science Research for holding an Indo-Pakistan conference of social scientists and intellectuals a week before Pakistan President Parvez Musharraf's visit to this country.

The ministry has conveyed to the ICSSR that it had no objection to the proposed conference. The conference, to be held on the theme "Development Perspectives in the New Millennium: Forging India-Pakistan Partnership," aims at evolving "flexible and innovative ways to discuss the problems between the two countries and suggest ways to settle them."

The MEA's clearance has come as a shot in the arm to the ICSSR which was worried about the clearance as a recent order by the ministry of home affairs created hurdles for conferences in which participants from Pakistan, Afghanistan, China,

Bangladesh and Sri Lanka were invited.

At least 40 participants from Pakistan are likely to take part in the meet. The conference will be held in New Delhi from July 9 to July 10.

ICSSR chairman M.L. Sondhi told *The Asian Age*: "We also propose to launch an India-Pakistan Social Scientists' Forum with a hope that the two countries will work together for a transformed intellectual, cultural and institutional environment."

Prof. Sondhi said the India-Pakistan Social Scientists' Forum, if it materialises, will sponsor academic conferences and facilitate collaborative work with institutional partners in the two countries.

Other themes of the Indian Council of Social Science Research proposed conference include, "India-Pakistan: A Cultural Continuum; Globalisation: An Economic Opportunity for Improved Relations; Empowerment of Women, and sustainable human development."

THE ASIAN AGE

THE ASIAN AGE

6 JUL 2001

Vajpayee's invitation has mellowed Musharraf

Pakistan expects India's sacrifice

H BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 25. — Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's invitation to General Pervez Musharraf not only surprised Pakistan but it, "mellowed down even a military officer like Gen Musharraf," say senior Pakistani officials.

But Pakistan, despite its "admiration for Mr Vajpayee's statesmanship" expects India, as the bigger partner, to sacrifice something.

Pakistani officials feel if India makes any suggestions as part of its sacrifice on the "core issue" it would have "effective acceptability" to Pakistan as well as the Kashmiris. But the same formula, they are certain, would not work, if people of Kashmir or Pakistan make the suggestions. What more could India sacrifice after giving away so much? On this, officials are clueless.

'Cautiously optimistic'

(Gen Musharraf today said he was cautiously optimistic about next month's summit meeting with Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, adds PTI from Islamabad. He vowed not to compromise on the country's resolve to maintain minimum nuclear deterrence.

("South Asia must come out of the poverty pit and learn to live in peace and harmony. It's in this spirit that I have accepted Mr Vajpayee's invitation." "I am going there with cautious optimism", the

General said. He was addressing the 26th International Nathiagali Summer College on Physics and Contemporary Needs.)

Mr Vajpayee has impressed the Pakistanis by his calculated gestures. It's different from the impression he made

when the General has mellowed down, it clearly means that down the line he has the backing of the people in his country," officials said, in the context of objections that Gen Musharraf received from different quarters.

But would Gen Musharraf be able to contain the activities and statements being fanned by Islamic fundamentalist organisations in Pakistan? Officials feel these so-called fundamentalists have only "street powers" and if a person in power, who is also committed to his religion, gives logical arguments, the fundamentalists fall in line. The general did make a mark when he asked religious leaders at a congregation not to make illogical, rough statements.

PTI adds: In his address at the college, the Pakistani President said he would continue to rely on nuclear deterrence as that was the only way Pakistan could protect its security and economic interests. "Minimum nuclear deterrence will not and cannot be compromised as the security of Pakistan rests on this capability." Pakistan's capability "is entirely for self-defence", he said. "We have no aggressive designs".

Gen Musharraf said: "We believe in acquiring minimum nuclear deterrence and do not want to direct our limited resources towards the race of weapons of mass destruction."

■ Another report on page 8

Jammu station blast injures 43

JAMMU, June 25. — Forty-three people were injured in a blast at the Jammu railway station today. The IED, planted in a scooter parked near the military control office at the station, exploded at 9.30 p.m., officials said.

— UNI

after the Lahore Declaration. This time, there is a lot of hope on the other side of the border, observers said. This despite the fact that Indian leaders have repeatedly been dissuading people from expecting results from the summit meeting.

"So what, even a stalemate in this summit should be taken as a positive sign because there would at least be some kind of beginning through the summit," said a Pakistani official.

Mr Vajpayee's efforts to establish a chemistry with Gen Musharraf on the summit eve has not gone unnoticed. "He has been able to mellow down an armyman which in itself is a great achievement ... and

Musharraf may seek more autonomy

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25/6

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 24. — As the Centre prepares the grounds for the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit in Agra on 14-16 July, the two sides have already exchanged views on the summit agenda.

New Delhi has said the territory on the Indian side of the LoC is not negotiable. Gen Pervez Musharraf has asked diplomatic channels to explore the possibility of granting more autonomy to Kashmir which stands divided between India and Pakistan, officials said.

(A two-member Pakistani delegation will leave for New Delhi on 27 June to finalise the programme for the summit, defence spokesman, Maj-Gen Rashid Qureshi said in Islamabad tonight, adds PTI).

Gen Musharraf is expected to offer more autonomy to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and would expect India to do the same in J&K.

(The Pakistani President has convened a meeting of PoK-based Hurriyat and Kashmiri leaders next week to discuss the Kashmir issue ahead of the summit talks in Agra. Gen Musharraf is already meeting leaders of various political parties in Pakistan. He has also invited Kashmiri separatist leaders based in London and the USA for consultations to ascertain their views on the issue, officials said, adds UNI)

India is yet to react on the Kashmir autonomy issue. If New Delhi accepts it, the issue may be included in the summit agenda. But officials say it's too simplistic a view that India would agree to any such proposal from Pakistan.

On the contrary, India will ask Gen Musharraf to first stop aiding and abetting terrorist operations in the Kashmir valley from across the border.

The word "autonomy" would

■ Editorial: Whither Musharraf? page 6

mean relaxing restrictions on the movement of the people living on either side of the LoC. It would also imply encouraging free mixing of the people and trade between the PoK and J&K. New Delhi is unlikely to accept this, officials said.

Contacted by **The Statesman**, the principal secretary to the Prime Minister and national security adviser, Mr Brajesh Mishra, said: "This is an American proposal. We have not given thought to this subject". Asked if India would discuss the issue of more autonomy to J&K, he said: "This is our internal matter. Why should we discuss J&K autonomy issue at the Agra talks".

The US diplomats have proposed the two leaders should revive the proposal to convert the LoC into the international border if integration of Kashmir

is not possible, officials said.

Mr Mishra's denial notwithstanding, Pakistan is actively mobilising support for this proposal through Hurriyat Conference leaders. The Hurriyat leaders have sought an appointment with Mr Vajpayee before Gen Musharraf's visit.

This is one reason why the Hurriyat leaders want to be included as a party when the Kashmir issue is discussed with the Pakistani President. The government has already ruled out any third party participation in talks between India and Pakistan on this issue.

The Hurriyat leaders, officials say, would raise the question of more autonomy for J&K through Mr K C Pant, Centre's interlocutor on Kashmir. Mr Pant is being consulted at every level of the pre-summit preparations since Kashmir would figure prominently during the Agra talks.

The Hurriyat leaders, who have not met the Prime Minister as yet, have expressed complete faith in his leadership to solve the Kashmir issue.

The All Party Hurriyat Conference chief, Prof. Abdul Ghani Bhatt, has said it's in the larger interest of the people of J&K that the Prime Minister listens to views of Hurriyat leaders before the summit meeting, adds UNI.

The APHC today expressed hope that Mr Vajpayee would grant it an audience.

THE STATESMAN

5 JUN 2001

N-issue may take a backseat in Indo-Pak. talks

By K.K. Katyal

NEW DELHI, JUNE 24. Will the nuclear dialogue and Kashmir be treated separately or not — that is the question. The current public discussion on next month's India-Pakistan summit focuses almost completely on Kashmir — to the exclusion of the key nuclear issue, to cite one instance. There is no denying the importance of this matter to the sub-continent and yet, surprisingly, it has not attracted the requisite attention.

It is odd that those in Pakistan who pro-pound — with a set purpose — the nuclear flashpoint theory day in and day out, are not keen on bilateral engagement with India on this matter. The substantive points involved in devising Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are crucial but so is the procedural dimension. Should the dialogue on nuclear risk reduction be linked with Kashmir or should it be kept separate? If mixed with other matters, it would acquire their complexities as well and become far more intractable. Common sense suggests that it be tackled on its own.

And yet a section of the Pakistani establishment is opposed to this approach — and wants it to be linked with Kashmir. What view the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit takes will matter a lot. Will the nuclear CBMs meet the same fate as was the case with the proposals for a no-war pact? It is not hard to know the logic — or illogic — of the votaries of the linkage among the Pakistanis. They see the nuclear arsenal as giving them a leverage in achieving the mission Kashmir, in their efforts to take control of nearly two-thirds of the State, now part of

India. They felt handicapped all these years — they could not achieve their goal through the tribal raid or wars (Kargil being the last one) or through diplomatic moves. Their bid to internationalise Kashmir or to secure third-party involvement did not work, while the bilateral dialogue with India did not make headway because of their insistence on their own terms. The nuclear weapons are now seen as a valuable currency of diplomacy — and they would like to use it in support of their case on Kashmir.

This is a highly-dangerous game, for it may not be possible to restrict the use of the nuclear issue to diplomatic duels — in the absence of countervailing devices. Nuclear permissiveness in the diplomatic field could well spill over to other areas — with disastrous consequences. There is a case for responsible, mature, realistic approach.

The two countries could not afford to treat the nuclear CBMs in the same way, as the no-war pact proposal in the past. In the mid-eighties, they appeared to have ironed out their differences on it (no-war pact, according to Pakistan, a treaty for peace, friendship and non-aggression, according to India). The two Foreign Secretaries, Mr. M.K. Rasgotra and Mr. Niaz Naik, almost celebrated their success at Muree (over soft drink, the use of champagne being forbidden in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan). But there was a last-minute hitch. The main difference was over Islamabad's reluctance to apply the do's and don'ts of the no-war pact to Jammu and Kashmir which, according to Pakistan, was not an Indian territory.

Some time ago, the two sides agreed to deal with the nuclear matter separately. At Lahore, this approach was formalised. While the two Prime Ministers — Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee and Mr. Nawaz Sharif — signed the main declaration, redefining the bilateral relations, the two Foreign Secretaries — Mr. Raghunath and Mr. Shamshad Ahmad — affixed their signatures to a Memorandum of Understanding on nuclear CBMs. That story, as a Persian saying goes, needs to be narrated every now and then.

The MoU referred to the Kashmir issue thus in the preamble — while recalling an earlier agreement: "Guided by the agreement between their Prime Ministers of 23rd September 1998, that an environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose".

Then followed the operative portion which required the two sides, among other things, 1) to engage in bilateral consultations on security concepts and nuclear doctrines with a view to developing measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at avoidance of conflict, 2) to undertake to provide each other with advance notification in respect of ballistic missile flight tests, 3) to undertake measures to reduce the risks of accidental or unauthorised use of nuclear weapons. They were to stick to their respective unilateral moratorium on test explosions, unless they find their ~~supreme~~ interests jeopardised by extraordinary

events. They, thus, agreed to engage in the nuclear dialogue — which was not to be influenced by the degree of progress in the resolution of other issues, Kashmir not excluded.

Lahore has not lost its validity in the eyes of the present rulers of Pakistan though, soon after the coup in October 1999, it sought to downplay its significance — as evident from the Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar's oft-quoted description — "fal-lana dhimka" (this routine one, that routine one). Of late, however, Mr. Sattar and others affirmed their commitments to all the agreements with India. Logically, it means their continuous support to the Lahore approach (as reflected by the separate MoU on nuclear CBMs). However, that was not the sense one gets from the recent signals from Pakistan. General Pervez Musharraf, for instance, regarded the CBMs as mere cosmetic arrangements. At a high-profile track-II meeting in Islamabad in January, the Pakistani participants went out of the way to stress the linkage between the nuclear issue and the Kashmir problem. Nothing happened since to suggest that this was not the latest Pakistani position. The indirect pointers, too, do not show any departure from the linkage. What, for instance, is the meaning of Pakistan's decision not to accept the doctrine of no-first-use of nuclear weapons, even though India unilaterally announced its adherence to it. New Delhi is not opposed to discussion on Kashmir and is keen on a meaningful advance. With this reassurance, Pakistan could well let the nuclear dialogue take its independent course.

Entire day set aside for Agra summit meet

ISLAMABAD: A full day has been set aside for the summit meeting between Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pakistan's President, Gen Pervez Musharraf, in Agra on July 15, official sources said here on Saturday.

The sources said Gen Musharraf would have a packed schedule during his three-day visit to India beginning July 14.

According to the tentative itinerary being finalised by officials of the two countries, Gen Musharraf, accompanied by his wife, will leave for New Delhi on the morning of July 14. After a ceremonial welcome, he will stay at Rashtrapati Bhavan, where he will have formal as well as protocol meetings with President K.R. Narayanan, Mr Vajpayee, leader of the opposition Sonia Gandhi, Union home minister L.K. Advani and

other leaders. Gen Musharraf is scheduled to visit Rajghat to pay homage to Mahatma Gandhi. He will also visit his ancestral home in New Delhi the same day.

Later, he will attend a high tea hosted by Pakistan's high commissioner Ashraf Jahangir Qazi. He will end the day after attending a banquet hosted in his honour by Mr Narayanan.

After an overnight stay in New Delhi, Gen Musharraf will fly to Agra early the following morning, where he will have a daylong summit meeting with Mr Vajpayee.

The summit is expected to go late into the evening and, if necessary, the following morning, the sources said. "The structure as well as the format have been kept wide open for the two leaders to strike a personal rapport, friendship and understanding," the sources said.

They said the basic format for the participation of ministers of

both the countries as well top officials to assist the two leaders at the summit had not yet been finalised. "The structure may evolve after the first two rounds of meeting between the two on July 15 morning," sources said.

Both sides have not yet decided about issuing a joint communique or addressing a joint press conference at the end of the summit.

On July 16, Gen Musharraf is scheduled to fly to Jaipur, from where he will take a helicopter to Ajmer Sharif and visit the 'dargah' of famous Sufi saint Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti.

From there, Gen Musharraf will return to Jaipur and fly back to Islamabad. The sources said the visit was initially planned for two days, but had been extended by a day at the request of the Pakistan government to devote more time to fruitful discussions with Indian leaders.

Meanwhile, reports from New Delhi said three five-star hotels in Agra had been identified for hosting the summit talks. They are Amar Vilas, Jaypee Palace and Mughal Sheraton. All three, or at least two, may be different venues for the meetings. Officials of the protocol wing of the external affairs ministry, who recently visited Agra, are expected to finalise the venues shortly.

In a bid to secure political legitimacy as head of the summit, Gen Musharraf on Saturday invited 24 political parties for a meeting on June 27 to discuss his visit and has planned to meet Islamic clerics, scholars and leading editors.

The invitations for ex-prime minister Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League of deposed PM Nawaz Sharif have been sent in the name of second rung leaders. (PTI)



9/20 PMK

Geelani admits to differences over summit

HO 8/16

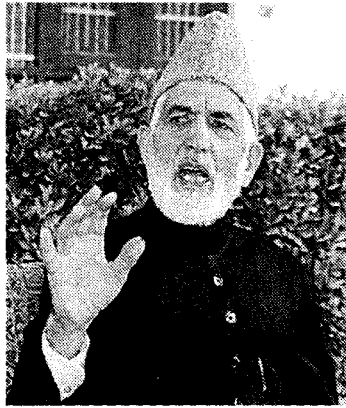
By Shujaat Bukhari

SRINAGAR, JUNE 23. Differences within the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) came to the fore today when one of its senior leaders, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, said the content of the APHC letters to the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Gen. Musharraf, was not approved by the executive council.

Though he repeatedly avoided questions on the Hurriyat's stand on the coming summit, he admitted that there were differences in the conglomerate but refused to elaborate. "I was not present in the June 13 meeting of the executive in which the decision to send the letters was taken.

But I know that the content of the letters was not discussed and the question of its approval does not arise," Mr. Geelani, a former APHC chairman, who has been staying away from Hurriyat meetings, said.

By sending identical letters to the two leaders, the Hurriyat had ostensibly changed its earlier stand according to which India was seen as an "oppressor" and Pakistan a "sympathiser." The



The former APHC chairman, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, addressing a press conference in Srinagar on Saturday.

— Photo: Nissar Ahmad

letters were handed over to the Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, and an official in the PMO, by Hurriyat representatives.

On the recent meeting of the executive which turned out to be stormy, Mr. Geelani said "Behter Yahin Hey Ki Zakhmon Ko Hara Na Kiya Jayey" (It is better not to scratch the wounds). It was a violation of the Hurriyat constitution

which stresses on the resolution of the issue through tripartite talks, he added.

He urged Gen. Musharraf to focus on the Kashmir issue during his summit with Mr. Vajpayee. "The basis of the talks should be the Kashmir issue and Gen. Musharraf should take positive steps in this direction," he said. If the historical aspect of the problem was not taken into consideration, the dialogue would not lead to any solution. However, he was not against the talks. Mr. Geelani stressed that resolution of the Kashmir problem was possible only by implementing the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir.

'Repression':

Mr. Geelani accused the Government of stepping up atrocities against the people ahead of the summit. "I do not understand why on the one hand, the Government is talking about the peace process and on the other, carrying out the genocide of Kashmiris," he said. Referring to his visit to Hanoora village in north Kashmir, he said 28 Rashtriya Rifles had "let loose a reign of terror against the people."

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Agenda in consultation with Pak.: Jaswant

By Amit Baruah

ADELAIDE, JUNE 22. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, said here today that he will "fix the agenda" for the upcoming summit meeting between India and Pakistan after he returns to New Delhi in consultation with the "visitors".

Mr. Singh, who will travel to New Zealand before returning to New Delhi, referred to possible pre-summit contacts with the "visitors" in the run-up to the meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, and the Pakistani President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf.

At a press conference, he said his expectations from the summit meeting were "realistic".

Asked if the U.S. would be provided access to military bases in India given the upswing in relations, Mr. Singh said that Gen. Henry Shelton, a top-ranking U.S. military man, would visit India in July. "Military-to-military cooperation is one of the components of Indo-U.S. cooperation. Access to bases... you are moving far too fast yet. Let these things evolve over time."

To a question, he said he did not think the Jammu and Kashmir issue was "affecting regional security" in South Asia at the moment. "Gen. Musharraf is visiting India shortly. Dates for it have been set. He is coming between (July) 14 and 16 and we'll address this (Kashmir) during his presence."

Asked if there would be anything else on the agenda, he said, "Well, I haven't been back to Delhi since the dates were announced. As soon as I go back I will fix the agenda... It will (have to be fixed) through consultations with visitors." He was evasive on whether the agenda would be "open" or "specific", merely saying, "Why don't you let me get back to Delhi."

Asked to explain the Indian decision of being one of the first to "recognise" the presidency of Gen. Musharraf, he said, "We have never not recognised Pakistan. Please let's be understood. Gen. Musharraf announced that he's President of his country and it is not as if India had withdrawn recognition from Pakistan. We haven't done so ever. This is a matter of internal governance by Pakistan. Talks are to take place and we have simply offered our congratulations on his becoming President."

Will this have any bearing on the dialogue? Mr. Singh said, "I think the dialogue will go on as planned."

Asked by an Australian reporter about the recent comments made by the U.S. National Security Adviser, Dr. Condoleeza Rice, to *The Hindu* that India now "counts", he said, "There is a recognition of reality. This is not any aggressive assertion. India is economically on the move. It is a nation of one billion. It is a nation that stands for stability. It is non-aggressive in ideology or intent. There are great many elements that bring India and the U.S. together as there are that bring India and Australia together. So, if... Dr. Rice has said that India counts, she's not referring only to our population."

The Australian Foreign Minister, Mr. Alexander Downer, said that his country welcomed the summit meeting. "The summit between Indian and Pakistani leaders is a very useful step forward, and I very much hope that through that process there will be greater confidence between the countries and they can together work, over time, towards a resolution of the Kashmir issue, which is, of course, very much at the heart of differences they have."

"Things are, at least, substantially improving in the sub-continent. India is making a big contribution to build a better environment," he added.

END PAGE

Hurriyat tries to edge into talks

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, June 22

THE HURRIYAT Conference, keen to ensure that it has a role to play during the mid-July Indo-Pak summit, today sought separate meetings with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf.

In similar letters addressed to the two leaders, the Hurriyat chairman, Abdul Gani Bhat, called upon them to translate the peace process into a purposeful exercise. The letters were made public soon after Bhat and another Hurriyat leader, Qazi Abdullah of the Jamaat-e-Islami, met Pakistani High Commissioner Ashraf Jehangir Qazi here this morning.

Bhat is understood to have sought a role for the 23-party conglomerate in the summit talks on Kashmir.

Referring to the Hurriyat Executive Committee's June 13 decision to help consolidate the Kashmir peace process, Bhat's letter calls upon the Indian and Pakistani leaders to "demonstrate a deeper sense of responsibility and a higher degree of understanding in dealing with the situation which has unmitigably assumed alarming proportions".

"This is where the Hurriyat feels summoned to acknowledge with appreciation the statesmanship of your Excellencies to have agreed to initiate a dialogue with seriousness and courage at the summit level," the letter says.

In the three-hour meeting

with Jehangir Qazi, the Hurriyat leaders reportedly discussed how to make the umbrella organisation relevant, against the backdrop of New Delhi's tough stance on its plea for a meeting with the visiting Pakistani leader.

Vajpayee has said the Hurriyat must speak to the Centre's pointsman for Kashmir K C Pant, and ruled out any role for it in India's bilateral talks with Pakistan. On his part, General Musharraf has also not responded positively to Hurriyat's pleas for a role in the talks.

The Hurriyat's near isolation came to the fore during Pant's recent six-day "assessment mission" to Kashmir.

Questions had been raised on the representative character that the Hurriyat claims for itself, during Pant's meetings with several organisations, political parties, opinion makers and NGOs in Jammu and Kashmir.

Six J&K ultras held

THE SPECIAL CELL has held six terrorists of the JKLF from the Walled City. The police have also seized Rs 15 lakh, passed on to them through hawala channels for delivery to Bilal Ahmed Beg, a key figure in the organisation.

The accused, Feroz Ahmed Mir, Syed alias Yusuf, Mohd Maznoon, Mohd Latif Hazzam, Abdul Rasheed alias Rashid and Inderjeet Singh Bali had reportedly been forwarded the money from an associate in Pakistan.

The six were all found to be residents of Kashmir.



Two persons dressed up as General Pervez Musharraf and Aral Bihari Vajpayee in New Delhi on Friday. The rally was organised to welcome the Indo-Pak summit.

AFP PHOTO

All-party meet on July 9

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JUNE 21. The Centre today decided to convene an all-party meeting on July 9 ahead of the proposed visit by the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, here from July 14 to 16.

At the meeting, to be presided by the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, the Government is expected to brief the leaders of both the Opposition parties and the allies on the thinking behind the invitation to the Pakistani leader and what the Government hopes to achieve during the summit.

The Opposition parties had demanded such a meeting as they wanted to be taken into confidence on such an important matter.

Announcing the decision, the Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Mr. Pramod Mahajan, said the meeting would be held at the Prime Minister's 7, Race Course Road residence at 11 a.m. on July 9. Party leaders from both Houses of Parliament would be invited.

INDIA: 4/8

(Continued from page 1)

Mr Vajpayee's "aid" gave Gen Musharraf the political leeway which "emboldened" him to "usurp" presidency and gain the "extra political power" to speak to India. "It has helped Pakistan at our cost. It has given constitutional powers to a reckless General who has a record of adventurism and now holds three different powers", Mr Chellaney says.

The director of United Services Institution of India, Lt-Gen Satish Nambiar, thinks otherwise. He feels India's approach has been a matured one because there was no point issuing an aggressive reaction to Gen Musharraf becoming President. "What Gen Musharraf has done is for domestic reasons. When we had already invited him as the Chief Executive, what is the point reacting now?"

"It's no use using rhetorics of undemocratic approaches when one clearly knows it has an impact on the life of people in Jammu and Kashmir." The lieutenant General feels the cards are staked in "India's favour".

Prof Kalim Bahadur feels India cannot react in a negative manner because that would tantamount to "sabotaging" the summit meeting before it even takes place. "It would undermine the summit meeting totally". There is no point "questioning the credentials" of Gen Musharraf. It actually amounts to interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs. "India's stand on democracy is well-known and may be India is reserving its comments for the post-summit", he says.

India welcomes, world condemns

H BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE/

NEW DELHI, June 21. - The President today welcomed General Pervez Musharraf as President of Pakistan but the USA, the UK, Russia, Australia and the Commonwealth nations expressed concern at the move.

The USA today said the action was "another turn away from democracy" and curbs against Islamabad wouldn't be lifted till a democratically elected government took over. The Pakistani foreign minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, said compulsions back home had forced the Chief Executive to take the decision.

China has said Gen. Musharraf's decision to declare himself President was an internal affair.

But India let its acting high commissioner, Mr Sudhir Vyas, attend the oath-taking ceremony. Experts' opinion on India's reaction is divided. Many observers feel New Delhi is feeling coy, having tied itself in a diplomatic bind with Islama-

bad. Others say India's posture is a "matured" one.

Strategic affairs expert, Mr Brahma Chellaney, feels India, by keeping quiet, has not only gone against international opinion, it has "endorsed Gen. Musharraf's second coup". The general managed the second coup with India's help because it gave him the opportunity to do so. "In one stroke, Mr Vajpayee gave him legitimacy, denied to him since his first coup".

Pakistan is going through severe financial strains. The credit packages which it got from IMF, World Bank, ADB and bilateral creditors' nations in December 1999, will end this month. It has been urging for further rescheduling of the debt repayment and desperately looking for legitimacy. "Therefore, Mr Vajpayee's invitation to Gen. Musharraf came from heaven for Pakistan". Its "terrorist country image" would now get blunted, Mr Chellaney says.

■ See INDIA: page 8

Vajpayee knew Musharraf would be President

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE & AGENCIES

NEW DELHI, June 21. — Indian officials did a U-turn today on whether, during yesterday's phone call, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee had addressed Gen. Pervez Musharraf as "Mr President" before the latter's elevation had been formally announced by Islamabad.

After having said that the Prime Minister did not refer to Gen. Musharraf as President during their five-minute conversation, the ministry of external affairs corrected itself.

But the correction came only after some Pakistani newspapers reported on Mr Vajpayee's mode of address.

While the Indian media said Gen. Musharraf had called up Mr Vajpayee, Pakistani media claimed it was the opposite.

The government admitted that hours before Gen. Musharraf became President, Mr Vajpayee said "Good morning, Mr President," and that it was said in "anticipation".

Was it an attempt by the Prime Minister to create a chemistry with the military ruler before the summit?

Although the government claims it was a polite form of beginning the conversation, according to a report of the Pakistani newspaper, *Jung*, Gen. Musharraf replied: "Mr Prime Minister, I'm not the President". But Mr Vajpayee persisted.

Gen. Musharraf apparently said: "Mr Prime Minister, what are you congratulating me for?" Mr Vajpayee replied: "Mr President, I'm congratulating you beforehand on assuming the of-

PM CALLS OPPOSITION

NEW DELHI, June 21 — The Prime Minister today attended his first official meeting after his return from Mumbai. Mr Vajpayee said he would convene a meeting of all party leaders on 9 July to brief them about the talks he proposed to hold with General Pervez Musharraf. He said he would take all parties into confidence on the summit agenda. — SNS

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- Change in Pak attitude a must: Jana, page 8

ice of President after a few hours."

The conversation went on as Gen. Musharraf said: "Mr Prime Minister, I too thank you beforehand for the congratulations."

(The conversation quoted in *The Nation*:

Mr Vajpayee: "Good morning, Mr President."

Gen. Musharraf: "I am not the President, Mr Prime Minister."

Mr Vajpayee: "Yes, I know. I was just addressing in anticipation."

Gen. Musharraf: "Thank you. I accept your felicitation in anticipation.")

The *Jung* reported that the conversation went on for 16-odd minutes. According to diplomatic circles here, India had already come to know through its own sources about the preparations that were going on to elevate Gen. Musharraf's posi-

tion and therefore, was not taken by surprise.

Agencies from Islamabad quoted the *Jung* report and said Mr Vajpayee had informed Gen. Musharraf that he was anxiously looking forward to his visit to India, beginning on 14 July, and that he would be received with full honours.

"Thank you, Prime Minister *sahib*. Our meeting will be fruitless without meaningful talks on resolving the Kashmir issue," Gen. Musharraf said, according to *Jung*.

To this, Mr Vajpayee said: "Kashmir will certainly be discussed along with other issues."

Apparently, Gen. Musharraf's reaction to this was: "Surely I will discuss other issues apart from the main Kashmir dispute."

This is not the first time diplomatic gaffes have arisen after a "phone summit". Earlier this year when the two leaders spoke on the phone after the Gujarat earthquake, the controversy was "who called up whom".

'Pak not enemy No.1': Mr Jaswant Singh, who is in Australia, today said India never regarded Pakistan as "enemy number one" and asserted that Kashmir was not a territorial dispute, a report from Sydney says.

China backs summit: China today gave its backing to the planned talks between Mr Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf, a report from Beijing says.

"We express welcome and appreciation," foreign ministry spokeswoman Ms Zhang Qiyue told reporters.

THE STATESMAN

No cause for euphoria in the July summit

Bring back Shimla spirit

WITH the announcement of dates for the India-Pakistan July summit, General Musharraf has changed his designation from chief executive to President, thereby endowing himself with a formal political status. There have been statements from Vajpayee and Musharraf indicating that there is no basic change in their negotiating stances on Kashmir. Vajpayee has claimed that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and that the issue of Pakistan Occupied Kashmir has to be on the agenda of the summit. Musharraf has stated that resolving the future status of Kashmir is an unfinished task of the Partition.

One would begin with the proposition that there is no place for euphoria about, either India entering into these negotiations from a position of strength, or a presumption that Musharraf is coming to this summit under tremendous pressure. The Vajpayee government came to the conclusion that the peace initiatives, which originated in the declaration of the unilateral ceasefire in November, had reached saturation point without any concrete results.

The invitation to Musharraf clearly states India's willingness to discuss the Kashmir issue. The Indian assessment is that to sustain international understanding and support for Indian concerns on Kashmir, a resumption of a high level and multi-pronged dialogue is necessary. There are sceptics who do not anticipate any concrete results from the dialogue but majority of the people are supportive of the Vajpayee initiative.

Musharraf agreed to the invitation because of the following reasons: first it helps him acquire legitimacy. Second, a summit with Vajpayee will help remedy Pakistan's image as a state supporting Islamic terrorism.

It must also be noted that Pakistan's

foreign minister Abdul Sattar was in Washington during the third week of June. With Secretary of State Colin Powell and President George Bush he would no doubt have utilised the opportunity to convey not only Pakistani concerns, but also expectations, about J&K.

In a manner, the speech given by General Musharraf at the National Seerat Conference in Islamabad, on June 6, was remarkable. He admonished leaders of the Islam-pasand parties and extremist organisations to refrain from adventurist and irresponsible statements about their militant intentions regarding India. He em-



J.N. DIXIT

The prospect of any qualitative breakthrough in the summit is unlikely. The Indian public is firmly opposed to any territorial alienation of J&K from India

phasised that their activities tarnished the image of Pakistan. He contradicted their claims that they are committed to Pakistan's identity and dignity.

What are the prospects from the summit? A limited achievement would be the revival of the Lahore Process. There are possibilities that the two leaders will decide on the follow up action to be taken, especially on the Memorandum of Understanding on avoidance of nuclear conflict and the working on nuclear risk reduction. Although other issues like the military stand-off at Siachen, the border demarcation on Sir Creek and the need to enhance mutual confidence building measures may be discussed, the central issue would be Kashmir.

It is significant that the Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi Ashraf Jehangir Qazi has made a special effort not only to interact with the BJP and its associates in the ruling coalition, he has also contacted Opposition parties, including Communist leaders, in order to persuade them to accept that the future status of Kashmir should be discussed between the two heads of government. In this he has achieved marginal success. The prospect of any qualitative break through in the summit in July is unlikely. The Indian public is firmly opposed to any territorial alienation of J&K from

and the Valley east of Jhelum to become homeland for Kashmiri Hindus.

Pakistan has not signalled that there is any change in its basic stand on the Kashmir issue. In a recent interview, General Musharraf said "a solution is possible if both India and Pakistan become flexible enough to move away from their stated positions."

Musharraf reasons that once a dialogue starts, a movement forward could be possible. However, he firmly believes that a solution should be based on the UN resolution, the Security Council Resolution on Plebiscite. Elaborating his perception on the Kashmir issue, Musharraf stated that the situation in Kashmir is characterised by a "freedom struggle". He feels that India should take note of this reality in dealing with the issue, both with Kashmiris and Pakistan.

In recent months, neither India, nor Pakistan, have referred to the solution visualised at Shimla in 1972. In other words, the conversion of the Line of Control into an international frontier with some necessary adjustments. Such a solution may even have the support of the international community. The people of J&K may accept this solution, if it is combined with autonomy and guarantees of access to Pakistan.

The initiation of a personal dialogue, however, is bound to project the image that India and Pakistan are capable of interaction with each other. This summit must generate the process of continuous discussion. Though there may be no break through, there should be no abrupt termination of the dialogue process simply because it did not lead to concrete results. The summit provides an opportunity for India and Pakistan to decide whether the future of the peoples of two countries should be held hostage to the Kashmir issue.

INDIAN EXPRESS

AD-12 A win-win summit as an idea

22/6
By P. S. Suryanarayana

A peace dividend is an end in itself. It need not be a means to promote India's 'great-power' drive or cure Pakistan's 'failed state' syndrome.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM is that the prospective meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, will be a gamble on good luck. However, the two leaders will have no choice but to think of a win-win summit that can lead to candid parleys over time. The assumption is that Mr. Vajpayee has carefully crafted his invitation to Gen. Musharraf for discussions on a "high road to peace". Now, the dissimilar track records of the two leaders and the doubts over their compatibility as serious interlocutors do not of course hold out much scope for upbeat optimism. Yet, the pervasive pre-summit climate of scepticism, which the crystal gazers have been spotting, can indeed serve as an ideal backdrop for frank discussions by the two leaders. They share the advantage of not being called upon to answer instantly any demanding expectations from either side.

Four dimensions of the pre-summit scene merit close scrutiny. The first two aspects — diplomatic compulsions of the summit leaders and the political atmospherics on both sides — reflect two inter-related variables. These dynamics constitute the context for two other inter-linked facets of the India-Pakistan existential dilemma. This set of pre-summit concerns is more complex. As a result, the efforts by each side to test the will of the other are being determined by a strange alchemy of pragmatism and Micawber-like baseless hopes. The low realistic expectations about the scheduled summit, evident at one level, are interspersed with some fond dreams, discernible on another plane, about the meeting's agenda.

Mr. Vajpayee's invitation to Gen. Musharraf is generally seen in Pakistan as a statesmanlike move induced by a sense of desperation. The crux of the unusual argument, which echoes the Pakistan establishment's unstated reasoning behind Gen. Musharraf's cheerful acceptance of the invitation, is revealing indeed. Simply, India's quest for a global-power status is seen to have induced Mr. Vajpayee to try and establish a good neighbourly equation with Islamabad. The perception in Pakistan is that Mr. Vajpayee's com-

pulsions of this kind can be explained by the manifest failure of his recent ceasefire initiative in Jammu and Kashmir. A relevant fact is that the State is the anti-India battle ground for separatist "jehad" groups, which either owe allegiance to or derive sustenance from Pakistan. India's great-power aspiration is also seen to have been bolstered by the ongoing diplomatic honeymoon between New Delhi and Washington. Closely linked to this perception in Pakistan is the view of some non-official American experts that India may be seeking out Islamabad in an effort to ward off a possible strategy by the present Bush administration to pressure New Delhi on the Kashmir question some time in the future. This theory, too, is derived from a perception about India as a country with great-power dreams or pretensions. Such notions are as partisan as the alternative view that New Delhi can hope to drive a favourable deal with Pakistan only when it finds itself at the precipice of a failed-state abyss. Pakistan today is certainly in turmoil. Yet, Islamabad, which can boast of its sustainable geostrategic advantages and also a record of skills in exploiting them, does not function in a vacuum. It is not in the interests of the major powers to allow a nuclear-armed Pakistan to fail completely as a state. Witness the manner in which the U.S.-led West had sought to manage the international crisis arising out of the collapse of the Soviet Union, a nuclear-armed superpower, in the 1990s. So, while Pakistan is caught in the twin traps of defence-expenditure-driven-poverty and Talibanised religious obscurantism, this grim reality cannot suit India's great-power drive. It is hoped that the leaders of India and Pakistan have recognised this simple but profound insight and, therefore, thought it prudent to engage in talks. A peace dividend is an end in itself. It need not be a means to promote India's 'great-power' drive or cure Pakistan's 'failed-state' syndrome.

Given the stark truth of historical mistrust between India and Pakistan, the atmospheric matter as much as the compulsions for their dialogue. Gen. Musharraf, the unelected ruler with an anti-India military profile, cannot afford to draw a complete blank at the prospective summit. He has struck some really significant notes ahead of the summit. His admonition of Pakistan's proliferant fundamentalist clerics for their reckless talk, which echoes a desire to plant the flag of Islam at the Red Fort in New Delhi, is more than a slap on their faces. It is indeed a measure of Gen. Musharraf's hold over Pakistan at this moment that the shell-shocked clerics have not retaliated.

It is in this context that the former Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, is trying to fish in fast-flowing waters. She contends that any agreement that India might now reach with Gen. Musharraf would run the risk of being dishonoured by a democratically elected civilian government in Pakistan at some unforeseen point in the future. If her intention is to scuttle the imminent summit, Ms. Benazir may do well to remind herself of the fundamentals of global realpolitik and Pakistan's political 'order'. The atmospherics on the Indian side, too, need to be managed better by the Prime Minister, if only because there is an amateurish notion in some influential circles that New Delhi must be able to manipulate its own initiative.

The Ministers on both sides have tried to test the will of each other by adopting maximalist positions. The unstructured agenda of the upcoming summit will be determined in this overall milieu. For sovereign reasons, India will not countenance the idea that the 'Kashmiri' separatist groups, including the All Party Hurriyat Conference in its present state of marginalisation, could knock at the doors of the summit. India and Pakistan are fully cognisant, too, of their respective posi-

tions on the non-enforceable U.N. resolutions on Kashmir, the Shimla Accord and the Lahore Declaration plus the related documents. In a candid ambience, there can also be no doubt about the centrality of the Kashmir dispute to the India-Pakistan relationship in their present unstable nuclear equation.

The strategic vulnerabilities of Islamabad may force it to play the nuclear card in a purely diplomatic sense. So, any proposals for an accord between India and Pakistan on confidence building measures must transcend the doctrines of managing a nuclear standoff and extend to the realm of addressing emotions. Accentuating Pakistan's emotions is its new perception that India is now riding on the U.S.' shoulders to acquire or be assured of missile defence capabilities. This constraining emotional factor, too, heightens the need for prime diplomatic focus on Kashmir. India and Pakistan can now usefully consider holding problem-solving discussions on Kashmir at the political level (not that this approach was not tried in the past). Moreover, an attempt to define the Kashmir dispute and set a reasonable timeline for settlement may help. The two parties must concur about what they really intend to resolve — be it the idea of converting the Line of Control into a permanent border, with or without the free movement of Kashmiris across it, or indeed the question of pronouncing the final constitutional status of an integral Jammu and Kashmir, with or without a sub-text about some or all its constituent parts. A proposal advocated by Ms. Bhutto is a Camp David-style step-by-step approach (apparently, a U.S.-facilitated India-Pakistan dialogue on Kashmir). A counter-argument in Pakistan itself is that any external facilitator, especially Washington, will only favour a solution acceptable to the stronger disputant, India in this case. If this be true, won't external facilitation be a wild card that India can consider playing, if the Kashmir issue is to prove intractable in a renewed and candid bilateral process? There is no need, though, to discount a difficult but genuine bilateral process. When the going gets tough, the tough get going.

RECEPTION AS HEAD OF STATE PLANNED

PM calls up Musharraf, looks forward to summit

By C. Raja Mohan

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NEW DELHI, JUNE 20. Accepting Gen. Pervez Musharraf as the new Pakistan President, India has signalled that there would be no change in its approach to the Agra summit as a result of the political developments across the border today.

The Foreign Office spokeswoman confirmed that Gen. Musharraf would now be visiting India as the "President of Pakistan" and get all the honours due to a visiting head of state.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, called Gen. Musharraf around 10.45 a.m. to say he was "looking forward" to meeting the latter and extend a "warm welcome" to him in India in about three weeks time.

Having already decided to engage Gen. Musharraf last month, the Government was not going to quibble over the somewhat unceremonious ouster of the former President, Muhammad Rafiq Tarar, by the General.

India had invited Gen. Musharraf as the head of government in Pakistan, and he would now be received as the head of state. This would imply only a change in the protocol routine.

There will be 21 guns booming for Gen. Musharraf when he is received here and the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, will now be the formal host instead of Mr. Vajpayee. Mr. Narayanan will receive Gen. Musharraf in the forecourt of the Rashtrapati Bhavan on July 14.

Although the timing of Gen. Musharraf's takeover

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could not have been anticipated, it was widely known that he was planning to take over as President and run the country in the foreseeable future. The decision to advance the takeover, analysts here say, might have been induced by the open questioning of Gen. Musharraf's legitimacy in travelling to India and negotiating with Mr. Vajpayee.

The assessment in New Delhi that Gen. Musharraf was consolidating his power had clinched the debate within the Government some weeks ago on engaging the Pakistani leader and inviting him.

In his telephone call, Mr. Vajpayee thanked Gen. Musharraf for the good wishes he received from the Pakistani leader on a speedy recovery from his knee operation. The Prime Minister reaffirmed his commitment to hold "substantive discussions on the entire range of bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir". Gen. Musharraf said he was coming to India with an "open mind".

Informed sources here said the brief conversation between the two leaders this morning was "very cordial".

Rebutting the initial reports from Pakistan on the conversation between the two leaders, they said the talk was neither combative nor did it involve any complaints from Gen. Musharraf.

The Foreign Office spokeswoman said Gen. Musharraf expressed the hope that "both sides will tone down" the rhetoric that might vitiate the atmosphere before the two leaders meet. Mr. Vajpayee reciprocated the sentiment.

THE HINDU

THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 2001

TOWARDS A SUMMIT OF FRIENDSHIP

THE DIPLOMATIC COUNTDOWN to the India-Pakistan summit, now scheduled for July 14-16 in Agra, has begun on a conspicuously contentious note during a sensitive cross-border telephone conversation. Before assuming Pakistan's highest constitutional position of President on Wednesday, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, who retains his functional status as Chief Executive, complained to the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, about the current political atmosphere on the bilateral front in the specific context of their prospective meeting. The complaint was a sequel to the reported observations by Mr. Vajpayee himself that the question of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir would figure in his proposed talks with Gen. Musharraf. Mr. Vajpayee's reported hint of this magnitude should, of course, be seen in the light of New Delhi's known constitutional affirmation that the entire territory of Jammu and Kashmir belongs to India. Yet, if Gen. Musharraf has felt constrained to urge Mr. Vajpayee to help create a congenial climate of cordiality for their planned consultations, the reason can be traced to the deeply tangled history of bilateral relations. Now, in reassuring Pakistan in some way or other about the historic potential of the imminent bilateral parleys at the highest level, India can usefully combine some imaginative flexibility towards Pakistan's sensitivity with a creative firmness of diplomatic purpose. It is indeed in the larger interests of both India and Pakistan to recognise that diplomatic restraint and political candour can go together.

With Gen. Musharraf having cheerfully accepted Mr. Vajpayee's recent initiative for talks, Pakistan's leader is expected to be doubly conscious of the consequences of a setback, should it occur, on the path to the Agra summit itself. To say this is not to place the onus entirely upon Gen. Musharraf for fostering a sustainable pre-summit spirit of mutual tolerance. Yet, as Pakistan's unelected leader with some political constraints of image and initiatives at home as also

on the international stage, Gen. Musharraf may find himself under more pressure than that endured by Mr. Vajpayee. On the Indian side, the Prime Minister's essential task is to keep in constant focus the vision of a big picture that he himself has raised. It was he who extended a highly evocative invitation to Gen. Musharraf for parleys on how to carve a "high road to peace" across the bilateral landscape. These words may imply an inspirational mood as also a diplomatic signpost for the future. As neighbours with an almost fractured spirit of co-existence, the leaders of India and Pakistan still seem unable to refrain from stating their maximalist demands ahead of next month's summit. However, they will be well advised to observe utmost restraint so that the fragile hopes of the people on either side are not destroyed in the delicate 'hoop' phase of summit-preparations.

It is a good sign of sorts that the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, is reported to have characterised the anticipated Agra summit as a moment of hope. This remark, which has gained currency during his current visit to the U.S., marks a welcome departure from some of his earlier comments that troubled the Indian political establishment in the wake of Mr. Vajpayee's recent summit initiative. No less important is Gen. Musharraf's parallel effort to match Mr. Vajpayee in wanting to change the India-Pakistan history for mutual benefit. However, the leaders on both sides of the psychological divide have fallen victim to the magnetic appeal of their traditional positions even while seeking to strike postures of innovative friendship. The reason is not far to seek. The history of events that largely nullified the bilateral gains of the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration may have something to do with this grim reality. Yet, it is now entirely up to the present leaders of India and Pakistan to seize the latest opportunity. The international community, notably the United States, is watching with considerable positive interest.

THE HINDU

Powell, Sattar discussed Indo-Pak summit

BY AZIZ HANIFFA

Washington, June 20: Hopes about the upcoming India-Pakistan summit, particularly the Kashmir dispute, permeated talks here between US secretary of state Colin Powell and Pakistani foreign minister Abdus Sattar.

In the 90-minute meeting and working luncheon between Mr Powell and Mr Sattar, the July summit between Pakistani military ruler Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee figured prominently.

When asked if India should trust Gen. Musharraf, Mr Powell said, "I think anytime the leaders of two

great countries such as India and Pakistan get together to discuss issues that are of enormous complication, its got to be a good thing and so I hope that these conversations will produce results that will benefit both nations and the people of the region."

Mr Sattar was visibly irritated with the question, and declared, "This is a moment of hope in relations between Pakistan and India and Gen. Pervez Musharraf has exercised utmost restraint to ensure that the atmosphere is not in any way adversely affected by statements with regard to our positions on Kashmir question."

"I've said we hope the two lead-

ers will be forward-looking — I am sure our leader will be — and try to identify a direction in which that will lead to a solution acceptable to the Kashmiri people," he added.

When Mr Powell was asked if the Kashmir question was discussed, Mr Sattar pre-empted him. "I have talked about this issue and expressed the hope that in the meeting that is to take place next month between Gen. Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, the two leaders will address this issue in a constructive manner and identify salutatory directions that lead to a settlement acceptable to the people of

the state of Jammu and Kashmir." Mr Powell replied, "I parallel what the minister just said. We did discuss it in the vein that he just described."

In opening remarks, it was perhaps music to the ears of Mr Sattar and Pakistani officials, Mr Powell said, "We had a very, very good and fruitful discussion of all the issues on our mutual agenda."

Mr Powell said he was "very encouraged by the report that the foreign minister gave me with respect to the preparations that are being made for the elections next year."

Obviously in the wake of Mr Sattar imploring the US to lift sanc-

tions imposed against Pakistan, saying the curbs were driving some factions to extremism, Mr Powell acknowledged that "we talked about sanctions policies."

"We talked about the situation in Afghanistan and the Taliban, we discussed the situation with regard to China and its role in that part of the world," he added.

"There was no issue we could not discuss in a spirit of openness and candor, reflecting the great respect Americans have for Pakistan and the friendship that has always existed between the two countries for many, many years between the people of Pakistan and the people of the United States." (IANS)

THE ALAN ACE

Musharraf image boost bid ahead of summit

Palash Kumar
New Delhi, June 20

BY BECOMING President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf sought to give a semblance of increased legitimacy to his 20-month rule ahead of the first summit with Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, analysts here said.

"I consider this development as a good omen. By coming to this summit as the President of Pakistan, decisions taken at the meeting will now be binding on the nation state," said D Sreedhar, a senior analyst at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses.

Musharraf was sworn in as President of Pakistan on Wednesday, hours after he spoke on the telephone with Vajpayee and the day after New Delhi and Islamabad confirmed the general would visit India from July 14 to 16. An Indian spokeswoman said India's High Commissioner in Islamabad attended the oath-taking ceremony and that Musharraf "will be visiting India as the President when he arrives on July 14." After a ceremonial reception with full state honours due to a head of State, Musharraf will hold direct talks with Vajpayee at the Taj Mahal city of Agra. Kashmir will be at the top of the agenda. Sreedhar said one of the reasons for Musharraf's

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decision to assume the presidency was that his tenure as army chief was ending in the next few months. "His assuming the office of the President is not an unexpected development.

For India, we will feel more comfortable talking to a President than a chief executive officer who assumed power through clandestine means," Sreedhar said.

For months after the military coup in Islamabad in October 1999, New Delhi steadfastly rejected any offer of talks by Musharraf, calling him a military dictator. But while the summit may assume some legal significance with Musharraf holding the title of President, the basic issues at Agra will remain the same. "It does not change the substance of the summit," said J N Dixit, a former Indian foreign secretary. "He is merely taking up a formal identity and sending a signal that he is in charge and that he enjoys the support of all sections. The development implies that he has consolidated his position," Dixit added.

Writing before Wednesday's developments, foreign affairs expert C. Raja Mohan said in *The Hindu* newspaper that Musharraf's political control over Pakistan has "improved in recent months" with the army tightening its grip over the country.

AFP

General's move draws lawyers' flak

Islamabad, June 20

PAKISTANI POLITICAL leaders and lawyers on Wednesday denounced General Pervez Musharraf's decision to become the country's President.

They also slammed the unceremonious removal of President Mohammad Rafiq Tarar, 18 months before the expiry of his five-year tenure.

Tarar had not been given any notice nor was he asked to continue his presidency for an interim period, said Qazi Husain Ahmed chief of the country's main Islamist party, Jamaat-i-Islami.

"The manner adopted in removing President Rafiq Tarar amounts to disrespect to the institution of President," he said.

Musharraf's move has been seen as an attempt to bolster his legitimacy ahead of next month's summit with Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

PTI

Pakistan as a bridge state?

By C. Raja Mohan

HO-12 2/16
HAVING APPOINTED himself the President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf arrives here next month as the all powerful leader of Pakistan. Many in India would want to hold their noses at receiving a man who has so contemptuously ground into dust the last vestiges of democracy in Pakistan.

But may be there is a silver lining. Could India find an interlocutor in Gen. Musharraf who holds all the levers of power and is in a position to deliver on a lasting understanding with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, at Agra?

In crowning himself the constitutional dictator of Pakistan, Gen. Musharraf has buried Pakistan's experimentation with democracy in the last decade. But that is one more tragic episode in Pakistan's history. Would India want to be detained by that? There may be very little India can do about supporting democracy in Pakistan. Instead, the immediate question the Government would want to address is the following: What does Gen. Musharraf's consolidation of power mean for the Indian diplomatic strategy at Agra?

The Indian debate on the extent of Gen. Musharraf's control over Pakistan should now come to an end. President Musharraf is here to stay, for the foreseeable future. His "capabilities" to deliver on any understanding with Mr. Vajpayee may no longer be in any doubt. What remains to be tested is whether he has the necessary intentions.

The story of the Agra summit will be less about public posturing on the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir and other contentious issues. It will be more about getting a fix on the future direction of Pakistan, and a first-hand assessment on where Gen. Musharraf wants to take his nation. It is also about finding out if Pakistan is interested in a normal relationship with India.

The decision to have Gen. Musharraf and Mr. Vajpayee retreating to Agra is indeed a smart move. Even in its original conception at religious seminaries, retreats were about getting away from the mundane and the tiresome. They were about taking the opportunity to rethink the basics, reflect in calmer surroundings about the future, and quietly pray togeth-

The Agra summit will be more about getting a fix on the future direction of Pakistan, and a first-hand assessment on where Gen. Musharraf wants to take his nation.

er for peace and goodwill.

For decades now, all Indian attempts to build peace with Pakistan have turned out to be Sisyphean. India does not have the option of giving up on Pakistan. But once in a while it is worthwhile for India to rethink the strategy towards Pakistan. Agra, the city of the Taj Mahal, should provide the setting, and steady monsoon showers the moment, to step back from daily diplomatic posturing and think of the future.

The key questions about Pakistan are obvious. Is Gen. Musharraf serious about setting a different direction for Pakistan? Is he willing to turn the traditional national strategy of Pakistan on its head? Put simply, does Pakistan want to become a "bridge state" that thrives by linking three strate-

gic regions of the world? Or would it want to remain a state that revels in militarism, jihad and political blackmail?

Both options involve exploiting Pakistan's geographic inheritance. Pakistan would have amounted to nothing in world politics but for its location. Pakistanis are acutely conscious of their geostrategic significance. The history of Pakistani foreign policy is about putting geography to maximum political use.

The thin strip of territory on the western fringes of the subcontinent turned out to be a very suitable piece of real estate for the West. Pakistan was important for three reasons. One, it was to be the rampart in the Anglo-American defence of oil fields of West Asia (in the famed "wells of power" thesis of Sir Olaf Caroe). Two, Pakistan was also to be a "frontline" state against Communism in Asia and the staging post to undermine the soft underbelly of the Soviet Union. Third, Pakistan would act as a check against any hegemonic aspirations of India that was drifting away from the West.

Throughout the Cold War, Pakistan derived maximum benefit from its location. And in the decade that followed the Cold War, Islamabad has sought to expand its

strategic depth by developing new instruments of intervention — that combined the well known tactics of insurgency and subversion with the potent idea of jihad. But the very success of this strategy may have sown the seeds of Pakistan's destruction.

The jihadis, invented by Pakistan and the West to fight the "Godless Communists" in the Soviet Union, have now turned against the United States. They also confront conservative Islam in Saudi Arabia, fight sectarian battles with Iran, and wish to create a caliphate in Central Asia and the Caucasus. While this strategy has given Pakistan an extraordinary leverage against India and other neighbours, it has

WORLD VIEW

also created grounds for isolating Pakistan on the international arena.

The creation of a 'jihadi international' in the area of Pakistan and Afghanistan has become a burden rather than a benefit for Rawalpindi. It has sullied the image of Pakistan as a nation on the verge of collapse. Coming at a time when the Pakistani economy has not been performing well, the politics of jihad has put Islamabad at the mercy of international financial institutions.

All this has brought Pakistan to a fork in the road. Does it want to continue with jihad and leverage it to change territorial status quo? Or does Pakistan want to become a "bridge state" that will link the subcontinent, the Gulf and Central Asia in beneficial flows of trade, commerce and energy? The Pakistani strategic establishment never tires of proclaiming the importance of its geopolitical location. That now begs the question what does Pakistan want to do with it?

The logic of pursuing Pakistan's enlightened self-interest would suggest it would choose to become a bridge state. That by definition would demand a fundamental change of political course in Pakistan.

First, a bridge state puts greater store by geo-economics. But for five decades

the Pakistani establishment has believed geopolitics is everything. Its motto was simple: get the geopolitical equations right and economic requirements will take care of themselves. But in an age when globalisation dominates over the traditional politics of balance of power, the Pakistani elite has found itself a fish out of water.

It has taken more than a decade for the Pakistani Army to figure out, in the words of Gen. Musharraf, that there may be a glaring "incompatibility" between Pakistan's standing as a nuclear weapon power and its parlous economy. The logic of becoming a bridge state would demand that Pakistan shed its ideological adventurism and adopt economic pragmatism.

Second, a bridge state would go out of the way to either dampen or resolve its real and potential conflicts with the neighbouring states. A bridge state seeks economic prosperity and political influence by ensuring harmonious relations with its neighbours. But the politics of jihad has put Pakistan at odds with not just India but with long-standing friends like Iran, caused alarm among other old allies like China, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

The bridge state, by choice, would have to be ideologically moderate, put the worship of commerce a little above that of God? Think of Singapore in South-East Asia and Dubai in the Gulf. Does Pakistan have what it takes to become such a bridge state in our region. Is it ready to resolve the outstanding regional conflicts on a reasonable basis?

If Pakistan wants to be a bridge state that is ideologically moderate, economically pragmatic and supportive of regional stability, it would want to end the five-decades-old policy of compulsive hostility against India. It would want to build normal relations with a neighbour.

If the answer from Gen. Musharraf is positive, it is within the realm of diplomatic possibility to structure an understanding at Agra on how to move forward on all issues, including the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir.

If Gen. Musharraf, on the other hand, says he is irrevocably committed to jihad and a redrawing of the subcontinental borders in blood, India will have no option but return to a policy of active containment of Pakistan.

'KHULI DIMAG CALLS ON KHALI DIMAG!'

BY MOHAN GURUSWAMY

The Pakistani dictator has said that he is coming to New Delhi with an open mind. Let us hope he is being truthful for it is hard to imagine any Pakistani of some political significance whose mind is not hardwired and locked up deep in a medireview vault. Hardwired or not Musharraf is coming here in furtherance of the sole Pakistani national pursuit which, for the benefit of our rulers, seems to need restating. This is to complete the annexation of Jammu and Kashmir into the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. He cannot accept anything less than the Valley, after of course "ascertaining the will of the people", which is what the Hurriyat and the various separatist gangs have also been demanding. They will accept nothing less than that and if that consequentially were to catalyse a chain-reaction of similar demands leading to the balkanisation of India into many states, it would be welcomed in not just Pakistan but further a field, East and West.

The establishment of a modern, secular and egalitarian India was once thwarted by Muslim nationalists incubated in the Gangetic plain, and continues to be high on the agenda of the Punjabi dominated state they begat. A lot of water has flown down the Ganga in these last five decades. Before Partition the Hindu nationalist was equally opposed to the secular Indian nationalist as he was to the Muslim nationalist. Having now abandoned the longing for an *Akhand Bharat* in favour of a Hindu Bharat comprising of Hindu dominated areas, the Hindu nationalist now has something in common with the Muslim nationalist. The notion of a modern, secular and democratic India wedded to egalitarian ideals is equally an anathema to the subcontinent's Hindu nationalists as it is to its Muslim nationalists.

Pervez Musharraf is said, by many who should know is a Pakistani moderate. Therefore this needs some explanation. It only means that his commitment to the establishment of *nizam-e-sharif* is less than absolute, to the extent that he may prefer a shot or two of whiskey in the evenings and has little time in private for the mullahs who seem to be crawling out of his country's woodwork. While we may still consider Musharraf to be a moderate in a country still largely caught in a medireview mindset we must not misjudge him on his determination to achieve what seems to be the only thing that binds his country together.

Ironically things in India are just the opposite. A Brahmin dominated Hindu nationalist cabal has come to preside over a nation where the vast majority still seeks the establishment of a modern society as visualised by the founding fathers and seeks a reversal of the

brahminical order. Vajpayee is fond of recalling that it took an extreme rightwing Republican US president to be able to create the opening to Maoist China, as Nixon's right wing credentials made him immune to attack from that side. He sees for himself a similar immunity, which he feels will enable him to settle with Pakistan.

Vajpayee's learning of history is erroneous. Nixon went to China to intensify the battle against the USSR and to isolate it from the world's largest supposedly communist state. It was a temporary alliance very much in the manner of the short-lived Hitler-Stalin pact. Nixon's China opening did not involve any compromise of essential US or Chinese values. The interests of the two states coincided for a brief period in history and like the truly amoral statesmen they were, Nixon and Mao made the best of this period.

But this does not mean that the interests of Hindu and Muslim nationalists cannot coincide. The Hindu nationalist now not only seeks a Hinduised nation-state, he also seeks a state with Hindu majority regions. Kashmir doesn't fit into this picture. To this extent Vajpayee will see eye to eye with Musharraf, and since his is a well and truly lame-ducked government he may well attempt a trifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir on religious and conveniently regional lines in a bid to get rid of the Kashmiri thorn in his side. The government's negotiator for Kashmir, K.C. Pant, has already said that he sees a groundswell in favour of trifurcation. There is a pattern discernible now since there is a move afoot to create a so-called "Greater Nagaland" which will likewise

be a prelude to an other exercise to "ascertain the will of the people" ala Kashmir? This will sit well with his friends in the West, all those friendships now well expanded thanks to his friends like the Hinduja brothers, as the Hindu nationalist's sell-out can be conveniently packaged to be in tune with the West's sudden love for the right to self-determination.

This fits in fine with the new agenda set by the RSS's gerontocracy, who having abandoned the idea of establishing an *Akhand Bharat*, are now quite satisfied with the idea of a Hindu Bharat. The question is how to do it? This is where Vajpayee's alleged liberalism becomes convenient. He is indeed being used as a *mukhta* under whose supposedly "liberal" dispensation a pristine and homogeneous Hindu nation will emerge, displacing Nepal from its pedestal as the world's foremost Hindu nation.

To the Hindu nationalist the biggest danger to India is from Muslim nationalism and fundamentalism, which are flip-sides of the same coin. Thus the RSS/BJP sees the greatest danger to Indian society from these quarters and not the widening economic and social disparities, the relentless increase in absolute poverty, and the all-pervasive backwardness that is the national hallmark now. How can they when caste and hence economic inequality is the corner stone of Hindu revivalism?

It is little wonder then that the Vajpayee regime has no time and space for a Farooq Abdullah who, for all his faults, still seems to see the establishment of a genuinely secular and democratic India as the ultimate solution to

Jammu and Kashmir's problems. Farooq's ringing espousal of secularism has led to his being sidelined as the Government of India launches its multiple initiatives. The RSS *sarsanghchalak* has already called for the trifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir on ethno-religious lines. One doesn't have to remind the reader about Vajpayee being proud of being a *swayamsevak*, something he has loudly proclaimed from time to time.

Vajpayee's supposed liberalism is skin deep and a deliberate affectation. Quaffing some whiskey and attending a *mushira* or two doesn't make one a liberal. Vajpayee is a moderate just like Musharraf is in the Pakistani context. Both are equally prisoners of their narrow nationalisms.

Thus, while the allegedly moderate Muslim nationalist, Pervez Musharraf, will come seeking to annex Kashmir into his Islamic nation, the allegedly moderate Hindu nationalist, Atal Behari Vajpayee, will be wondering as to how best he could accommodate him. At the moment that seems improbable for the Indian nation is still generally averse to the idea of another vivisection on the basis of religion. If sub-nationalism is to be the basis then the case can be expanded for every other region of India, and this is what the Pakistani Muslim nationalist fervently hopes for.

Yet the Indian opinion makers, most of them with genuine liberal credentials, have generally welcomed the Musharraf visit and see distinct possibilities of an improvement in the relations between the two countries. This assessment is based more on a romantic and woolly longing that a hard-headed analysis of past history and present evidence. Since any improvement implies a reconciliation of the conflicting claims over Kashmir, we should ponder about what shape that reconciliation will take

any improvement implies a reconciliation of the conflicting claims over Kashmir, we should ponder about what shape that reconciliation will take. Shall we give the Kashmiris the right to secede, which is what the demand for self-determination is all about? Shall we handover the part of J&K that is still with us to Pakistan's condign Islamic dictatorship? Or shall we have an India-Pakistan-Kashmir confederation as advocated by the comic strip intellectual, Rajinder Puri? Very clearly what we want depends on what we want to be.

Even on the basis of present economic trends, which do not reflect what is possible, India will emerge as one of the three foremost world economic powers within the next two decades. Our per-capita figures may still be extremely unhealthy, but our GNP figures will have a rosy glow to it. But this sheer economic size will provide it the momentum to be able to transform itself from being a poor and backward country into a modern and developed nation by mid-way this century. But there is one important precondition to that. We must stick together as one nation. Only then can we be able to reform our system of government and transform our economy. Then there is that other important precondition. No nation will be able to transform itself without modernising which implies the destabilisation of all old and decrepit institutions like religion and caste. Present trends on this are discouraging. The RSS's sole link with modern science, the physicist Murli Manohar Joshi, has just deemed astrology, *vastushastra*, numerology, face reading and all other varieties of traditional nonsense as sciences. But like all undigested stuff even this will pass!

So Musharraf will come, as he says, with an open mind. We should hear him out but look for solutions to issues like the eco-vandalism of the Siachen that do not involve people but property. We could even take up the oil pipeline matter, which will further strengthen Reliance's political support to the NDA government. We should stress to him the economic advantages that will accrue to Pakistan by strengthening economic ties with India. We should also impress upon him that putting small quantities of modern automatic weapons and munitions in the hands of the forever alienated could be a two-way street. But as the Prime Minister inimitably said in another context: "*khuli dimag ka matlab yeh nahin ki khali dimag hai*". Well said, but I fear that is precisely what he is approaching Musharraf with. (*Brickbats and bouquets may be sent to Email: mguru@satyam.net.in*)



General Pervez Musharraf

PM's stand on PoK 'counter-offensive'

H BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 19. — Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee's statement in Mumbai on holding discussions on PoK during the summit meeting with General Pervez Musharraf is being interpreted as India's "counter-offensive approach" if Islamabad insists on holding talks on the "core issue" (Kashmir).

Mr Vajpayee said that India's "stand is clear... Kashmir is an integral part of India. What we will be discussing during the proposed talks would be one third of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan." Experts feel that this has been the standard position of Delhi since long.

Former Indian high commissioner in Islamabad, Mr G Parthasarthy, says India has been categorical about its stand and the talks on PoK is long overdue.

Prof Kalim Bahadur of Jawaharlal Nehru University says since India and Pakistan are not ready to give in to concessions on Kashmir, both will be taking an offensive stand on the grounds laid down by the other party. "If Islamabad insists on discussing Kashmir which it considers high in its agenda and the core issue, India will raise also PoK as a counter offensive like Pakistan and its headline approach. After all PoK hasn't got integrated with Pakistan as yet."

The talks will remain deadlocked with Islamabad discussing India occupied

Kashmir' and Delhi raising PoK. But deadlock is not the objective of the summit meeting and none of the leaders would like to come out empty handed, so they are expected to say that discussions will continue and the process will begin", he added.

India supports an agenda for the proposed meeting dictated by "existing realities" to address the whole gamut of outstanding issues including Jammu and Kashmir which is part of the composite dialogue. Delhi will aim at taking up matters to build a stable structure of cooperation between the two neighbours.

Islamabad, however, is against a structured agenda and it also doesn't want

too much of preparation. With Gen Musharraf having a military background, he has knowledge of the border problem. He would prefer to have a one-to-one talk with Mr Vajpayee, instead of a bureaucratic-directed dialogue so that the "tables are clear". The General cannot cut the cake and eat it too. Authoritative sources say Gen Musharraf "understands" that he has to face the reality of India's position on Kashmir.

Following Mr Vajpayee's invitation to Gen Musharraf which came as a surprise to Islamabad, it did not stop voicing double standard viewpoints. On the one hand, Gen Musharraf talked about flexibility, on the other hand he repeatedly said Kashmir is the core issue.

RECEIVED
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Peace talks by tomb of love on 14-16 July

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 19. — The India-Pakistan summit will be held in Agra from 14 to 16 July under the shadow of Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's statement today that Kashmir is an integral part of India. Hence, only the status of PoK could be discussed at his meeting with General Pervez Musharraf.

Though the Prime Minister has tried to bury the ghost of Kargil, he backed the foreign minister's statement that India wouldn't compromise its position on Kashmir during his talks with General Pervez Musharraf.

After Islamabad violated the spirit of the Lahore declaration, India had refused to share a platform with a Pakistani leader, because of which the Saarc meeting couldn't be held for a long time.

But for the "welfare of the peoples", India will pursue the path of "reconciliation" — of engaging in productive talks and trying to build trust and confidence and

decided to give a ceremonial welcome to the Pakistan Chief Executive and his wife in Delhi.

The two leaders will talk peace under the shade of Taj Mahal, the monument of love, in Agra where Gen Musharraf and his wife will enjoy a retreat.

The two will visit the *dargah* of Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti in Ajmer. Begum Musharraf will visit Lucknow too where she's been invited by the Hindi and Urdu Sahitya Award Committee.

Putting to rest speculations on "stage II" over dates and whether the General and his wife's visit would include a retreat, the schedule was announced officially late tonight. Details of the programme are being worked out, a foreign ministry official said.

For Islamabad, Kashmir is the major problem in India-Pakistan relationship. Both are adamant on their stand over Kashmir. While Islamabad says Kashmir is the "core issue", Delhi feels "the core issue of Paki-

stan is the integral part of India's nationhood".

But after being discharged from Breach Candy Hospital in Mumbai this afternoon, Mr Vajpayee told reporters the relative peace along the LoC was a positive sign before the summit.

Mr Vajpayee said he would call all the political parties to a meeting to discuss the summit's outcome. Their suggestions will be sought before any important

■ PM's stand on PoK 'counter-offensive', page 10

decision is taken. "I'm optimistic. I have invited General Musharraf with a hope that a proper climate would be created for resolving various issues and paving the way for closer cooperation between the two neighbours. I am still hopeful."

What did he have to say about Pakistan's Rs 2 billion cut in defence outlay? The Prime Minister said he didn't see any relation between the cut and peace talks.

"But the issue of rising defence expenditure and how it could be

diverted towards increasing development fund may figure at the talks."

Musharraf's aim

Gen Musharraf aims to achieve "constructive results" on all fronts, including Kashmir, during the summit, says PTI from Islamabad.

An information ministry official said: "Gen Musharraf has told his senior ministers that he would approach the summit with an open, flexible mind and confidence to achieve constructive results and initiate hectic consultations with foreign, finance and trade ministries to discuss among other issues improvement of trade and economic relations with India."

8 Pak intruders killed: The Army thwarted two attempts by Pakistani intruders to sneak into J&K, killing eight of them in gunfights which also claimed the life of an Army officer, a defence spokesman said today, a report adds from Srinagar.

THE STATESMAN

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SUMMIT IN AGRA

Musharraf coming on July 14

By C Raja Mohan

*Gen. Pervez
Musharraf*

NEW DELHI, JUNE 19. Even as it announced a very generous welcome to the Chief Executive of Pakistan, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, India today reaffirmed the determination to defend its traditional position on Jammu and Kashmir.

The lavish and traditional hospitality to Gen. Musharraf, when he arrives here on July 14 on a three-day visit, will include a ceremonial reception with full state honours due to a head of government.

Gen. Musharraf and the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, will then retreat to the historic setting of the old Moghul city Agra, where they will hold a substantive consultation on all issues, including Jammu and Kashmir.

Gen. Musharraf, accompanied by his wife, will travel to Ajmer Sharif in Rajasthan that is revered by both Hindus and Muslims in the sub-continent. He will head home to Pakistan on July 16.

The dates and the broad itinerary of Gen. Musharraf's visit were announced this evening by the spokesperson of the External Affairs Ministry.

While deciding to roll out the red carpet to Gen. Musharraf, Mr. Vajpayee has sought to dispel the misperceptions in Pakistan that India is tired of its decade-long war against terrorism in Kashmir, sponsored by Islamabad.

Mr. Vajpayee's assertion from Mumbai that Kashmir is an "integral part of India" is being seen here as a signal to Gen. Musharraf that he cannot unilaterally set the agenda.

Terrorism

Responding to Pakistan's claims that the focus of the dialogue will be on Kashmir, India today declared that a reduction of the level of cross-border terrorism holds the key to progress in the peace talks.

Well-placed sources familiar with the preparations for Gen. Musharraf's visit insist that "unless there is a clear movement towards reduction of cross-border terrorism in Kashmir, there can be no real progress in India-Pakistan relations".

The simple story of Gen. Musharraf's visit to India and his talks with Mr. Vajpayee will be about finding a way to address each other's core political preoccupations and move forward.

Cautioning against expecting too much from the meeting, the sources stress the importance of "patience and realism" in engaging Pakistan. But they are not rul-

ing out "the small chance of a breakthrough or marginal change in perspective". In response to India's concerns on cross-border terrorism, Pakistan has often suggested that reduction in violence can only follow a progress in the talks between the two nations. Islamabad, indeed defines the "progress" in terms of Indian movement on the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir.

India is fully aware that Pakistan wants to use terrorism as a leverage and "keep moving the goal posts" for the reduction of violence and hope to draw India down the slippery slope of concessions on Kashmir.

Indian sources affirm that the question of cross-border terrorism "cannot be fudged" at the summit and credible commitments from Pakistan to reduce its level would be critical for the success of Gen. Musharraf's visit.

Gen. Musharraf's overall political control over Pakistan has improved in recent months, it is assessed here. In marginalising the major political parties, the Army has tightened its grip over Pakistan and the assumption is that Gen. Musharraf is here to stay, at least for a while.

Gen. Musharraf, who in the past has backed off from confronting the jihadi forces, is showing the inclination to take them on. The assessment here is that Gen. Musharraf has the "capability" to deliver on a reduction of terrorism. The question now is one of "intention".

Sources say India is ready to engage Pakistan in "a substantive way" on Kashmir; but they insist Gen. Musharraf cannot hope "to get a sea-change" in the Indian position at the first meeting. They will, however, have a lot of time for face-to-face talks without the constraining presence of bureaucrats.

Summit beneficial: U.S.

PTI reports from Washington: The U.S. today hoped that the summit meeting between Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Pervez Musharraf would produce results beneficial to both the countries and the people of the region. "Any time leaders of two great countries like India and Pakistan discussed issues of enormous complication, it has got to be a good thing, and I hope this conversation will produce results that will benefit both the nations and the people of the region," the U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, said after talks with the visiting Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar.

Dileep Padgaonkar

Many bumps on the road to peace

Will the talks between Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pervez Musharraf merely yield sweet nothings or will the leaders actually zero in on the heart of the fractured ties? **The Sunday Times** investigates whether history will indeed change

The Vajpayee-Musharraf summit is without a precedent. No discussions on substantive matters have taken place yet between the officials of the two countries. Moreover, no one quite knows whether Islamabad and Delhi will head the various ideas, schemes and proposals mooted during the Track Two parleys. Such talk as you get to hear is entirely about intangibles: the 'atmospherics' before and during the event, 'the personal chemistry' between Musharraf and Vajpayee, the state of public opinion in the two countries and so forth.

This is one reason why officialdom and the media alike are cautious. Another reason must be linked to Vajpayee's bus trip to Lahore. The euphoria it generated is now a source of acute embarrassment to both. Kargil drove home the point that optimism about the future course of relations between India and Pakistan rooted in sentimental considerations can be dan-

gerously misleading. This time around even the proponents of people-to-people contacts are playing it safe. Some die-hard cynics cavil at the very thought of an Indo-Pak dialogue. But even those who have welcomed Vajpayee's invitation to Musharraf entertain pretty low expectations from the summit.

Add to this the fact that the signals from Pakistan since the invitation was made public have been mixed. The Chief Executive's warning to the Islamic clergy to stop making 'irresponsible' statements against India has certainly contributed to creating a congenial ambience for the summit. So have his statements admiring people who advocate *jihad* as the only

solution to solve the Kashmir dispute. Furthermore, New Delhi can only note with satisfaction his remarks that he had an 'open mind' on this issue, that he was prepared to demonstrate 'flexibility' to find a solution to it and that it was important for both countries to go beyond their 'stated positions'. The first set of statements were, however, deleted from the official press releases issued by Islamabad. And in his panel discussion on Pakistan TV the General did not think it fit to reiterate his earlier reference to 'flexibility'. That is not the only source of concern for India. It must also contend with other statements and actions which are more ominous. For instance, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Abdus Sattar, has on

several occasions reiterated his hawkish views. Moreover, even while calm prevails on the Line of Control and the Hurriyat, presumably under Islamabad's pressure, has decided to suspend its activities to ensure the success of the summit, militant activity within Kashmir has escalated sharply.

Against this background, India will expect Musharraf to be more explicit about what he means by 'open mind', 'flexibility' and 'going beyond stated positions'. *The Times of India* learns that at the highest levels in the government

there is the will, and indeed the determination, to ensure that the Chief Executive gets every opportunity to discuss substantive issues with Vajpayee. Time will not be a constraint.

The thinking in the government is that India will give Musharraf the 'full treatment' that is extended to a visitor of his status. His past actions

(read Kargil) will be ignored. He will be regarded not only as the army chief but as the effective ruler of Pakistan. The legitimacy of his rule is therefore no longer in question. As one senior official

said: "We acknowledge his responsibilities in their totality. We will conduct a dialogue with him as we would with any head of government."

New Delhi's approach to the dialogue, this newspaper understands, will take into full account reports to the effect that Musharraf is deeply concerned about the poor state of Pakistan's economy, that he is eager to speedily halt the spread of religious extremism in his country and that he realises the consequences of Pakistan's growing isolation within the international community. But it also expects the Chief Executive to understand that India is not the country it was when Vajpayee and Nawaz Sharif met in Lahore early

in 1999. In the intervening period, India has hugely strengthened its relations with all the big powers, including, especially, with the United States, and with leading Islamic nations, particularly Iran and Saudi Arabia.

There are sound reasons to believe that these governments would support any initiative to settle the Kashmir dispute in a spirit of realism. That is decidedly a tricky word. But if Musharraf manages to jettison at least some of the baggage of the past — the self-serving rhetoric, the obsession with ideological rectitude, the need to settle historical scores — and Vajpayee responds in kind, both countries can begin to make common cause to put the past behind them.

AGENDA FOR PEACE

INDIA-PAKISTAN: A SHORT HISTORY OF WAR AND PEACE

October 27, 1947: Undeclared war breaks out between India and Pakistan in Kashmir barely two months after their independence from Britain.

January 1, 1949: Ceasefire, ordered by the United Nations Security Council, takes effect in Kashmir. Negotiations last till 1954 without resolving the Kashmir problem. Indian



prime minister **Jawaharlal Nehru** meets Pakistani president **Ayub Khan** in 1960.

September 6-22, 1965: Full-scale India-Pakistan war over Kashmir begins in the Rann of Kutch, which ends after a UN call for ceasefire.



TASHKENT DECLARATION

January 3, 1966: Indian prime minister **Lal Bahadur Shastri** and Pak-

istani president **Ayub Khan** sign Soviet-mediated peace pact. Both countries pledge continued negotiations and respect for ceasefire conditions.



December 3-17, 1971: India-Pakistan go to war over East Pakistan (later Bangladesh) which ends when 90,000 Pakistani troops surrender. This is after fighting forces 10 million East Pakistanis to flee to India. **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto** emerges as leader in Pakistan and **Mujibur Rahman** in Bangladesh.

SHIMLA PACT

July 2, 1972: Indian prime minister **Indira Gandhi** and **Bhutto** sign peace accord in Shimla. Pakistan recognises Bangladesh in 1974.

May 18, 1974: India detonates first nuclear device, but says it is for atomic research and not weapons.

November 1, 1985: Prime Minister **Rajiv Gandhi** and Pakistani president **Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq** agree to begin talks on a non-aggression treaty.

January 20, 1986: Talks between

Indian and Pakistani foreign secretaries end inconclusively in Islamabad. But both agree on the 'desirability' of a non-aggression pact.

December 31, 1988: India and Pakistan sign agreement not to attack each other's nuclear facilities.

February 5, 1989: Pakistan army chief **General Mirza Aslam Beg** says Pakistan has successfully test-fired its first long-range surface-to-surface rockets, named **Hatf-1** and **Hatf-2**.

Feb 6, 1992: Pakistan says it has ac-



quired knowledge to make a nuclear bomb but will not do so.

January 1-3, 1994: Foreign secretaries of the two countries fail to narrow differences on Kashmir. Pakistan rules out more talks unless India stops alleged human rights violations in Kashmir.

August 23, 1994: Then former premier **Nawaz Sharif** tells rally in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK), that Pakistan has an atomic bomb. The government denies this.

January 30, 1996: Pakistani and Indian military officers meet on ceasefire line dividing Kash-

mir to ease tension after clashes.

June 4, 1996: Pakistani prime minister **Benazir Bhutto** urges Indian counterpart **HD Deve Gowda** to resume dialogue. **Deve Gowda** responds positively, but Pakistan drops idea when India holds assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir.

March 28-31, 1997: Indian and Pakistani foreign secretaries open the first round of peace talks in New Delhi, agree to meet again in Islamabad.

April 9: Indian foreign minister **Inder Kumar Gujral** and Pakistani counterpart **Gohar Ayub Khan** meet in New Delhi. India says several hundred fishermen held by each side will be freed.

'Musharraf will do nothing substantive'



G Parthasarathy

JUMPING to hasty conclusions has long been a national malady. When General Musharraf recently admonished a group of Pakistani clerics for their extremist views, there were expressions of unbridled joy in India at what was believed to be the advocacy of Attaturk style secular views by Pakistan's military ruler. Nothing could be further from reality than such an interpretation. Musharraf pointed out to the assembled clerics that what they were saying about raising the flag of Islam at the Red Fort in Delhi and their criticism of Western donor nations were posing serious problems to their financially bankrupt and intellectually impoverished country. He did not condemn their actions or find fault

with their pursuit of *jihad* in Kashmir and elsewhere. Musharraf does have concerns about the spread of sectarian violence in Pakistan. But, he has neither the will, nor the inclination nor national political support to rein the *jihadis* outfits that spread extremism and violence from Kashmir to Chechnya.

General Musharraf may take a few token measures to pretend that he is acting against Taliban extremism to please American audiences. But, he is not going to do anything substantive even on this score. While foreign minister **Sattar** has a long-term allergy to any mention of the Shimla Agreement, Musharraf has made it an article of faith that the Lahore Declaration should give way to an-

other framework that focuses more exclusively on the "core issue" of Kashmir. Even confidence building measures that enhance contacts between the military establishments of India and Pakistan are regarded as meaningless, unless what former foreign secretary **Krishnan Raghunath** described as Pakistan's "neurotic obsession" on Kashmir is pandered to.

The Musharraf visit will naturally include private meetings between the two leaders and a round of formal talks where both

sides will parrot stated positions and a few sweet nothings for future record. The real agenda will be addressed in detailed discussions and negotiations that Messrs. **Jaswant Singh Chokila Iyer** and **Vivek Katju** hold with their Pakistani counterparts. We will not only have to be imaginative and pro-active, but also insist that we will not agree to any dilution of the primacy of either the Shimla Agreement or the Lahore Declaration. The provisions of the Shimla Agreement after all, forced Pakistan to agree to respect the sanctity of the Line of Control in J&K, when Nawaz Sharif met President Clinton on July 4, 1999.

We should propose confidence building measures that promote contacts between the DGMOs and military commanders, establish links between the air operation staffs of the PAF and the IAF and get the navies to cooperate in avoiding incidents at sea. More im-

portantly, we should strive to promote exchange of information on nuclear doctrines, promote transparency in nuclear policies and preempt situations that could accidentally escalate. We should strengthen the composite dialogue process by agreeing to periodic discussions at the foreign minister level on all issues of mutual interest. Musharraf should be told that we would be quite prepared to reduce force levels in J&K and commence a Muzaffarabad-Srinagar bus service, provided Pakistan ends support for its *jihadis*. We should ask Islamabad to join us in making SAARC a free trade and investment area by 2008 and an economic community by 2020. We should foster people-to-people contacts by easing visa restrictions.

Finally, Islamabad's rulers should be left in no doubt that we have the will, resources and ability to raise the costs for Pakistan and drive it further down the road of bankruptcy and isolation, should they persist in their current course.

(The author was former high commissioner to Pakistan)

'India must not bow to American pressure'



Gen (Retd) Hamid Gul

FRANKLY, I don't hold much hope for the peace talks because they are being held under American pressure. **Jawaharlal Nehru** had made Pakistan's joining CENTO the excuse for backing out of talks with Pakistan. Unfortunately, now it is **Atal Bihari Vajpayee** who's bringing in external pressure. India and Pakistan have agreed to resolve their problems bilaterally. Why has India let America affect the parleys?

We must remember that America and Europe have their own axe to grind on Pakistan. That is how we allowed **Lord Clive** to rule Hindus and Muslims for 200 years. Americans have almost encroached upon Pakistan's sovereignty. Why must India allow it to do the same?

The talks can work only if both nations keep external influences at bay. I don't agree with Pakistan's position that a mediator is essential. They feel it is the only way India will see reason. But my question is, why must anyone monitor the talks? We are mature enough to do so ourselves.

The second point is that what are we discussing? India is the world's largest democracy. And it should take the democratic right of Kashmiris to its highest pinnacle. It must give the right of vote to Kashmiris. But it shouldn't be the American point of view — which maintains that Kashmiris should be given the universal right of choice like East Timor. I have asked think-tankers like **Stephen Cohen**, who you are so powerful, if you are so convinced that Kashmir should have a third option, why don't you scrap the old United Nations resolution. Because you know China will veto it.

I believe the right of choice must be limited by the UN declaration. Because I believe that a division of India took place on a certain formula of a Muslim majority and a Hindu majority state. If Kashmir is again divided on this principle, it will be disastrous for India.

The parleys should focus exclusively on how Kashmiris should go about the right of self-determination as stipulated in the UN resolution. And here India should recall what **Mr Nehru** said: that we would rather hand over Kashmir to Pakistan than let it be independent. It will then be a

play-ground for international intrigue between China and the US. Why should India want to divide the Kashmiri people? Are they like goat and sheep? It is both undemocratic as well as unethical. If two belligerent parties had sat down and agreed to implement this resolution, why is a need being felt now to change it?

Which is why I suspect that Mr Vajpayee's invitation to General Musharraf does not involve a change of heart at all. Nor does it involve a change of policy. I suspect strongly it is the American policy of no free lunches. They baited Vajpayee out on Kargil. It's payback time now. And the price: Kashmir ought to be divided and a portion ought to be made independent for the US to battle China. It is in the overwhelming strategic interest of the US because it helps them in their missile launches and storage sites, especially with the two potential troublespots of Sinkiang and Tibet.

The Americans have inherited this policy from the British imperialists. And **Jaswant Singh** for his own political ambitions has allowed himself to be party to this. I think Vajpayee realises the price but at the moment the pressure is so inexcusable that he's gone ahead with the invitation even though he knows nothing will come out of it.

As for Pakistan, it's been very cheeky of late, criticising the NMD and voting against America in the UN Human Rights Commission. It's an indebted country, it needs America. It needs to accept the invitation, and why not if it gives Musharraf's government legitimacy? As for the dialogue of the gun between India and the mujahideen — that will continue until the dialogue of peace reaches a solution.

(Former ISI chief **Gen Gul** spoke to **Kaveree Bamzai**)

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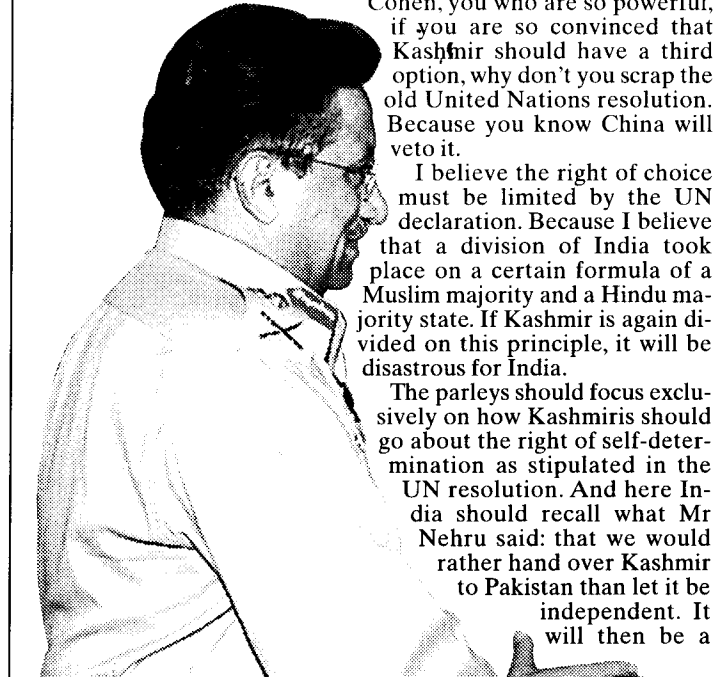
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May 12: Prime Ministers **I K Gujral** and **Nawaz Sharif** hold separate talks at SAARC summit in Maldives.

June 19-23: After second round of talks in Islamabad, Indian and Pakistani foreign secretaries announce eight-point agenda for peace talks.

August 14-15: India and Pakistan mark 50 years of independence.

August 26: India rejects US offer to mediate to end Kashmir border clashes, saying differences should be solved bilaterally.

September 18: Talks between foreign secretaries end in stalemate.

September 22: In a speech to the UN General Assembly, **Nawaz Sharif** offers to open talks on a non-aggression pact with India, proposing that both nations strike a deal to restrain their nuclear and missile capabilities.

September 23: Sharif meets Gujral for talks in New York which end with no breakthrough.

October 26: Gujral says he is cautiously optimistic that his friendship with Sharif will help ease tension over Kashmir, but their meeting on the fringes of a Commonwealth summit achieves little.

February 4, 1998: Pakistan warns it might review its policy of nuclear restraint if India's new BJP-led government redeems election pledge to make nuclear weapons.

April 6: Pakistan tests its longest range, 1,500 km (932 mile) Ghauri missile.

May 11: India conducts three underground nuclear tests in Rajasthan.

May 13: India conducts two more tests and says its series of tests is complete.

May 14: US president **Bill Clinton** says the tests are a 'terrible' mistake and orders sanctions that put on hold more than \$20 billion of aid, loans and trade. Japan orders a block on around \$1 billion of aid loans.

May 28: Pakistan conducts five nuclear tests in response to the Indian blasts. President **Clinton**, his request to Sharif not to test rejected, vows sanctions.

May 30: Pakistan conducts one more nuclear test and says its series of tests is complete.

June 6: UN Security Council condemns India and Pakistan for nuclear tests.

June 12: India and Pakistan invite each other for talks, but fail to agree on the agenda. Group of Eight Nations imposes a ban on non-humanitarian loans to India and Pakistan.

June 23: India suggests talks between the two countries' prime ministers at SAARC summit in Colombo, Sri Lanka.

June 24: Pakistan agrees to talks with India in Colombo.

July 10: Vajpayee offers Pakistan a no-first-use pact, economic co-operation, and appeals for its participation in joint efforts to achieve universal disarmament. Pakistan in turn says it is ready to sign a non-aggression treaty with India.

July 25: Vajpayee says in a magazine interview that India is committed to resolving differences with Pakistan through a bilateral dialogue. He also indicates that India could conduct further tests of its Agni missiles.

LAHORE DECLARATION

February 21, 1999: Vajpayee makes historic trip to Lahore by bus. Signs Lahore Declaration which promises to intensify ef-



orts to resolve all issues, including that of J&K. Vajpayee says it was a brief visit but it "considerably helped shrink the distance between Lahore and Delhi". Sharif says the "ice has been broken between the countries".



May 21: India acknowledges intrusions in Kargil and launches first-ever strikes by jets six days later. War ends on July 26.

October 1999: General **Pervez Musharraf** ousts **Nawaz Sharif**.

May 24, 2001: Vajpayee writes to Musharraf and invites him for bilateral talks.

Invitation to Peace

Pakistan, not Kashmir, is the Issue

9/21/10 By K SUBRAHMANYAM

THE Pakistani corps commanders who constitute real power in that country are reported to have discussed General Musharraf's forthcoming visit to Delhi. General Musharraf came to power as a result of the coup carried out by the then chief of general staff and the corps commander of Rawalpindi. In that sense, he is accountable to the corps commanders. The corps commanders have apparently discussed the reasons that led to the Indian prime minister's invitation of General Musharraf some 19 months after the military coup.

During this period, the Pakistani army chief made repeated requests for a meeting with the Indian prime minister. Anytime, anywhere became his refrain, especially to Indian visitors. Unlike in India where our commentators and media are preoccupied with why our prime minister suddenly changed his stand, what his strategy is, what concessions we shall make to Pakistan, what were the pressures on us etc, the Pakistanis have started with a healthy and normal questioning about India's motivations.

It is quite likely that the Pakistanis now have a fair idea why the Indian prime minister invited general Musharraf at this time. The minister for external affairs Jaswant Singh explained that it was due to a favourable turn of circumstances. That could not have been a reference to the situation in Kashmir. It could only mean the international situation is now more favourable than before for India to initiate a dialogue with Pakistan.

Former US president Bill Clinton had made it clear that the US would not mediate in the Kashmir dispute against India's will. The UN secretary general told the Pakistanis unambiguously what Ambassador Gunnar Jarring said in 1957 that that UN plebiscite resolution is unenforceable. The latest US annual report on terrorism does not mince words on Pakistan's involvement in terrorism in Kashmir. So too the recent UN report on terrorism and narcotics traffic of the Taliban which refers to Pakistan's supportive role in the situation. General Musharraf himself has been forced to admit, in his address to the clergy on the Holy Prophet's birthday, that Pakistan is being increasingly seen as a terrorist nation and a failing state.

The Pakistani supreme court has decreed that Islamic banking has to be introduced in the country. This was done when the last chief justice

was retiring and it is widely talked about that this was done more to create difficulties for the military regime than out of loyalty to Islam. The General and his corps commanders know that the implementation of the Islamic banking system will further isolate Pakistan internationally and make it difficult for that country to obtain foreign investments. General Musharraf in his June 5 speech has highlighted that when a country was economically weak, it should go along with the rest of the world.

Unlike in the earlier periods, Pakistan cannot count on the sympathy and support of the Islamic world either. Saudi Arabia does not view with favour the extremist Islamic jihadis since they often challenge the Saudi royal family and its close ties with America. Shia Iran is extremely concerned about the fanatical Sunnis in Pakistan. Turkey and the central Asian republics are all worried about fundamentalist Islam.

General Musharraf realises that if the army does not control the jihadi organisations, they will expand

IN BRIEF

- An increasingly isolated Pakistan has to move with the rest of the world
- Hostility towards India has contributed to making Pakistan a failed state
- The Delhi summit is an opportunity for Pakistan to break with the past

their influence among the masses, attempt to Islamise the forces and undermine the Pakistani army. The Talibanisation of Pakistan would constitute an enormous setback for it. Neither the Pakistani army, nor the feudals of that country nor its middle class want that to happen. The violent reaction of the jihadi groups to General Musharraf's speech of June 5 is an indication of a basic conflict of interests between the Pakistani state and the Pakistani Talibanists.

General Musharraf has been in office for 19 months but he has achieved very little. He knows very well that he cannot make any progress unless he breaks out of the isolation that Pakistan has imposed on itself through its two-nation theory and the consequent terrorist campaign in Kashmir. Pakistani leaders, including Z A Bhutto, used

to argue that unless India surrendered Kashmir, Pakistan would hold up India's progress. While India's rate of growth would be higher if the millstone of Pakistani antagonism is not there, that same antagonism is threatening to make Pakistan a failed state which the international community may have to take over as a ward. This is the situation which confronts the Pakistani leadership and, therefore, the Delhi summit is a make or break opportunity for the Pakistani leadership.

There are some preliminary indications that the General has started realising it and in his speech ordering his agents in Kashmir — the Hurriyat leaders — to suspend their violence and agitations, at least publicly testify to this development. At the same time, he is subjecting himself to a test to demonstrate whether he has control over Pakistan's jihadi mercenaries operating in the Kashmir valley. General Musharraf's stakes in the Delhi summit are enormous. If he breaks off from the peace process, it will inevitably affect the attitude of the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions. If he agrees to continue the peace process, he has to prove his bonafides by agreeing to build the trust and confidence shattered by his Kargil aggression. Therefore, logically confidence-building becomes the first item on the agenda.

General Musharraf has a unique opportunity to follow the example of his role model, Kemal Ataturk. The Turkish leader broke with the Ottoman past abolished the Caliphate, curbed the clergy and set Turkey on the path to modernisation. Today, Turkey is keen to join the European Union and be a progressive member of the international community. If Kemal Ataturk had not curbed the clergy, Turkey would have been like the other West Asian Islamic nations. The Turkish army stands guard against the inroads of the clergy and politicians who use religion for parochial interests. A few years ago, it got prime minister Erbakan removed from office as he was pandering to the clergy. Pakistan's present condition in many ways is like that of Turkey in 1918. What is at stake at the Delhi summit is not Kashmir but the future of Pakistan. Prime minister Vajpayee should be generous but to enable him to do that General Musharraf should follow the shining example of Kemal Ataturk.

'Islamabad appreciates India's sincerity' Pakistan not to join issue before summit

Quadrant
5-1-87

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

ISLAMABAD, June 17. — Pakistan today said it appreciated India's sincerity in inviting Gen Pervez Musharraf for talks and declined to join issue on Kashmir before the summit.

"Let us not do any thing to viti-ate the atmosphere by joining issues at this stage," the defence ministry spokesman, Maj-Gen Rashid Qureshi said. He was reacting to Indian foreign ministry's statement yesterday that Kashmir is a non-negotiable part of India.

Maj-Gen Qureshi, also the press secretary to Gen Musharraf said, India seemed to be sincere to make the summit successful. "One shouldn't do something to make the Indian government's stand rigid...We would not like to say or do anything that spoils the atmosphere as the past experience is not very encouraging."

Maj-Gen Qureshi's comment comes a day after the foreign secretary, Mr Inamul Haq, said Pakistan would not insist that a solution to the Kashmir issue was a pre-requisite for normalisation of relations, if India acknowledged the issue dominated the bilateral ties.

Mr Haq reportedly told a select gathering of editors and intellectuals that the time hadn't yet come for both sides to settle down for a comprehensive talk on Kashmir.

None of the mainstream papers here reported Mr Haq's meeting with the editors and intellectuals, said to be part of an exercise to build up a consensus before the summit.

'USA should broker talks': Pakistan wants the USA not to be obsessed with forging special ties with India, but to broker an Indo-Pak dialogue to discuss Kashmir and the arms

race in the sub-continent, a report from Washington adds.

"The US should not become so focussed on forging a special relationship with India that it forgets Pakistan's record as a steadfast ally or ignores the realities of the new global political scene in which broad alliances will be crucial," the Pakistani ambassador to Washington, Ms Maleeha Lodhi.

What does Pakistan expect of the USA? "America should broker a dialogue between India and Pakistan that would address problems such as Kashmir and a possible arms race between the two nations.

"America should help construct a South Asian security architecture that has four pillars — nuclear and missile restraint by India and Pakistan, conventional arms control in the region, peaceful resolution of outstanding disputes and sources of conflict, and economic and social revival of South Asia through regional cooperation and global integration."

Ms Lodhi dismissed as "unfair" the White House and Congress' charge that Islamabad was lacking in combating terrorist groups operating from its territory.

'No mandate': The Jamat-e-Islami has said Gen Musharraf has no mandate to visit India. He should not prove himself a traitor to "Kashmiri martyrs who laid down their lives fighting for the right of self-determination of Kashmiri people, a Jamat leader said.

The "jihad", he said, hadn't been launched by Gen Musharraf, nor would he be able to stop it.

JKLF stand: The JKLF's Amanullah Khan group has asked India and Pakistan to solve the Kashmir issue by giving independence to an unified Kashmir.

Indians were "mistaken" if

they thought time would solve the problem and Pakistanis were equally "mistaken" if they thought J&K would fall into their lap, Mr Khan said in a letter sent to Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and Gen Musharraf.

The letter said: "Re-unification and independence of Kashmir could change Kashmir from ...a bone of contention into a bridge of friendship between India and Pakistan."

PoK Hurriyat: The Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir government and the Hurriyat Conference's PoK unit today backed the proposed summit but slammed Mr Jaswant Singh for saying Kashmir belongs to India.

"Such a statement tantamounts to sabotaging the process of talks on Kashmir," a Hurriyat leader said.

The PoK Hurriyat leaders, who met in Islamabad, said the Kashmiri leadership should be involved in the Vajpayee-Musharraf talks to make them more "result-oriented".

Plea to Rocca: Member of the US Congress and India Caucus founder has urged the US assistant secretary of state for South Asia, Ms Christina Rocca, to make "special efforts" to ensure that the Indo-Pak summit addresses the issue of Kashmiri pandits.

"The plight of the Kashmiri pandits is unique and most unfortunate," Mr Sherrod Brown told Ms Rocca.

Quoting the annual state department report on human rights, Mr Brown said: "Attacks by Muslim militants seeking to end Indian rule in Jammu & Kashmir and continuing political violence has driven out almost 95 per cent of Hindus (pandits) in the Kashmir valley to seek refuge in camps in Jammu, with relatives in New Delhi and elsewhere during the last few years."

THE STATESMAN

18-1-87

Two Steps Backward

There are distressing signs that India and Pakistan are both upping the ante ahead of the forthcoming summit between general Musharraf and prime minister Vajpayee. This is a let down after the mutual effort at building a climate conducive to talks. Whatever the compulsions before Mr Vajpayee — international pressure and the futility of prolonging the ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir among them — he did well to forget the bitter experience of Kargil and send out an invitation to Mr Musharraf. Mr Vajpayee's letter steered clear of the usual rhetoric, relying instead on lofty phraseology to lend polish and finesse to the Indian move. This was a calculated signal of generosity, particularly in the context of the post-Kargil period of acrimony and distrust. General Musharraf's reciprocal gesture of asking Islamic hardliners not to attack India was widely welcomed here and seen as just the sort of deft touch required to smoothen the path for a dialogue. Unfortunately, the temptation to play to the gallery is strong on both sides. On the Indian side, Mr Jaswant Singh first made the provocative statement that J & K, including Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, was non-negotiable. And now, the home ministry has inexplicably cracked down on the All-party Hurriyat Conference by taking into custody senior leaders Abdul Ghani Butt and Syed Ali Shah Geelani. The official explanation, that this offensive is to prevent disruption of peace in J & K before the summit meeting, carries hardly any credibility.

For his part, general Musharraf could have avoided stressing Kashmir as the core issue between the two countries. The Pakistani CEO has spoken of Kashmir as the "unfinished agenda", adding for good measure that he will not allow this "core issue" to be sidelined during the talks. Predictably, this hardline emphasis took away substantially from his subsequent remark that he and Mr Vajpayee were going to change the course of history. Bargaining is a part of diplomatic dialogue; the parties to any dispute will first raise impossible demands and then, after a show of give and take, reduce the scale to realistic levels. This applies to India and Pakistan as well. Then there are domestic lobbies with their fears of a sellout. It is significant that both Mr Jaswant Singh and Mr Musharraf made their claims at press conferences where questions are typically suggestive. And yet, for the precise reason that Indo-Pak relations are so very delicate, it is vital that nothing is said or done to upset this balance. The Indian move against the Hurriyat leadership defies logic. If, as the Indian government has been saying, the Hurriyat doesn't represent Kashmir, then, why the crackdown? If anything, this conveys the opposite impression. From the beginning the effort of the government has been to downplay the Hurriyat and yet do everything to establish its importance. It first freed the leaders from jail, signalling that they were crucial for internal talks. Thereafter, they were denied permission to go across to Pakistan, which reinforced their role in Indo-Pak relations. And now the house arrests at a time the Hurriyat is making conciliatory noises. In the event, there is every chance that the Valley will react to what seems like a patently unreasonable official move. This, on the eve of the Musharraf visit, can only belie the Indian government's insistence that all is well in Kashmir.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

18 JUL 2001

Vajpayee, Musharraf must take it a step at a time

Don't heed the hawks

AS the summit is approaching, Pakistan Chief Executive Pervez Musharraf is making statements I wish he had made earlier. That would have improved the atmosphere for talks and deepened liberal thinking in Pakistan. Musharraf's statement that religion and politics cannot be mixed is an observation which would have taken the wind out of the fundamentalists' sails.

The legitimacy which the forces of bigotry have got over the years may well be the reason why militants, though trained and sheltered by Islamabad, challenged Musharraf's statement. They used some mosques and shrines in Kashmir in the last few days to fight their parochial battle, to prove they do not differentiate between religion and politics.

That their organisations have their headquarters in Pakistan intact does not give much credibility to Musharraf's statement. Without any doubt, their purpose was to compel the security forces to damage the sacred places where militants had holed up. New Delhi should have kept this in mind while dealing with them. Maybe, storming is not the best of tactics. The Sikh community has not yet gotten over the trauma of Operation Bluestar.

Of course, the Hurriyat is most to blame. It has tarred the movement for Kashmiri identity with the Islamic brush. Some Hurriyat leaders have openly aligned themselves with religious elements that have killed Hindus and Sikhs in cold blood. Now the Hurriyat did ask militants to stop using mosques. But it was a belated reaction, after much damage was done. In fact, it should have shown the courage to condemn militants for demolishing Charar-e-Sharif, the shrine certain religious parties consider anti-Islamic.

During the Narasimha Rao regime, Yasin Malik, a Hurriyat leader, had brokered the agreement which re-

sulted in the withdrawal of the militants from Hazratbal. He had gone on a fast unto death to make the two sides realise the gravity of the situation. Since he is abroad, some other leader should have come forward to persuade the militants now. This would have been proof of the Hurriyat's new policy not to call for hartals against "state terrorism" in view of the forthcoming summit. But its leaders are sulking for having been left out. They should seriously consider revising their policy to mix religion with politics if they want to play any role.

The founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, wanted religion to be separated from politics. True, he played the Muslim card to muster support. But as



KULDIP NAYAR

Both leaders should ensure a six-month ceasefire, meaning that no bullet would be fired, direct or indirect, open or hidden, at the LoC

soon as he found his dream of Pakistan coming true, he said that people in the subcontinent should cease to be Muslims and Hindus and consider themselves either Pakistanis or Indians. If Jinnah had lived a little longer, he would have established a secular state of Pakistan. This would have brought the two countries closer.

Not to mix religion with politics was also the call Gandhi gave during the independence movement. It remains the country's ethos, notwithstanding the noise fundamentalists on this side make in the name of Hindu Rashtra. This basic belief in secularism is the main reason why India does not entertain the idea of dividing the state on religious grounds, separating the Mus-

lim-majority valley from the rest of Jammu and Kashmir.

In fact, Musharraf has spoken out against the religious organisations rather late in the day. They have been holding Pakistan at ransom for a long time. The Lashkar-e-Toiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed and Hizbul Mujahideen feel so entrenched and powerful that they are ready to bite the hand that feeds them. Maybe they think that a regime which supports the Taliban in

Afghanistan will not go far enough to take action against them. Since Islamabad has done little to stop cross-border militancy, they have reason to believe that they have the support of some in the Musharraf junta. Musharraf's interview with *The Herald*, a monthly of the

for Islamabad's interference to stop.

In fact, the first announcement the two leaders should make after the meeting is that of a six-month ceasefire, meaning that no bullet would be fired, direct or indirect, open or hidden, at the LoC, the international border and within the Valley. When I met Musharraf at Islamabad last year, I found him receptive to the idea. It is true Vajpayee took some time to reciprocate because of his bad experience at Kargil. But when he gave his assent, Musharraf dragged his feet. The message sent through the Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi was not acknowledged. Even a reminder and a letter to Musharraf elicited no reply. Although he subsequently ordered a ceasefire on the LoC and the international border, he did not stop militants from crossing into India.

As regards the solution, it would have to be worked out patiently and over a long period. Both countries will have to go away from the beaten path. What Jawaharlal Nehru told Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in November, 1961, in London is still true: "Zulfi, I know that we must find a solution for Kashmir. But we have got caught in a situation which we cannot get out of without causing damage to the system and structures of our respective societies."

What worries me is that even the announcement of summit has brought the hawks in the open in both countries. Past experience indicates that they become active when the two sides decide to sit across the table.

Some journalists, academics and experts among them have already dipped their pens in poison. They peddle hatred and they are the ones who will not allow a normal, peaceful atmosphere to prevail. They have a vested interest in hostilities. They do not want the war lobbies they represent to go out of business. It will be tragic if Vajpayee and Musharraf listen to them.

FAVOURABLE RELATIONS

AA-7
1976

BY KHALID HASAN

One good thing about America. Few secrets remain secrets for very long. They are either leaked to the press-an honoured Washington tradition or they find their way into some memoir or they get published by the government itself under the 30-year rule.

The recent release of official documents relating to South Asia as part of the series *Foreign Relations of the United States 1964-1968* will leave some Pakistani reputations tarnished, principally that of Mohammad Shoaib, referred to in one US National Security Council memorandum as "our best Pak friend".

While it was almost universally believed in Pakistan at the time that the finance minister was "America's man", those close to Shoaib charged that such allegations were part of a systematic campaign of character assassination masterminded by Bhutto. The foreign minister, they said, had an irrational animus against Shoaib and, since both were rivals for President Ayub Khan's favourable attention, they constantly bickered and spread vile rumours against one another.

The papers establish two things definitively. One that the United States government of the day did not like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, did not trust him and considered him a bad influence on Ayub. Bhutto it was, the Americans believed, who was pushing Ayub closer to China. The Americans were paranoid about China at the time. During the 1965 war, for instance, their principal concern was China. Would China come in on the side of Pakistan and, if so, to what extent and in what form and where?

When Bhutto finally left the Ayub government, a memo addressed to President Johnson on November 29, 1966 by his special assistant Walter Rostow said, "Ayub... and his removal of foreign minister Bhutto was a major step in rooting out the anti-American tone which characterised Pak policy in 1964 and 1965."

The Americans believed that there was a secret Bhutto-China deal against Ayub. Shoaib is constantly referred to as a friend. Once he is received by LBJ at the White House alone for 30 minutes while the Pakistani ambassador waits outside and is only included in the enlarged meeting.

On 4 November 1967, Johnson phones Eisenhower and tells him that he had discussed Bhutto with Ayub in Washington in December 1965. "I just said to him (Ayub)-now, Mr President, I know you rely on Bhutto just like I rely on Dean Rusk and like Eisenhower relies on Dulles, but



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

you can't rely on him (Bhutto) that way and I am not entering your internal affairs, but this man is damn dangerous as far as you are concerned and you are my friend and I am going to give you this warning and I know whereof I speak. (some part of the text here remains classified)." Well, when Bhutto said in 1977, "The bloodhounds are after my blood," he wasn't wrong. They got him twice in 10 years, once when he was foreign minister and then when he was Prime Minister.

As for Shoaib, in a memo dated April 11, 1964, he is counted among "moderate elements" along with G. Moenuddin. Shoaib was constantly keeping the Americans informed. He would tell them of the inner thinking of the Cabinet, of Bhutto's moves, of the degree of friendliness or the lack of it for the US, in short, he was Washington's asset-in-place. When he left the government, he was appointed World Bank vice president, the first man from a developing country to get the job.

Shoaib assures McGeorge Bundy on September 24, 1964, that Pakistan is just keeping on good terms with China and has made "no serious moves". He also tells him that Ayub had no intention of switching away from the US and that he (Shoaib) had

resisted an increase in Pakistan's military expenditure. The minute says, "When the service chiefs had recently gone to Ayub for military purchases, Ayub had vetoed it on Shoaib's plea." The chiefs had gone to the President because India had raised its military spending to \$2 billion. The minute adds, "At several points, Shoaib made allusions to the problem with Bhutto and the MEA (foreign office). He subsequently told Komer (of the National Security Council) that he was aware we knew that Bhutto was at one extreme among Pak policy-makers. Ayub... didn't take all Bhutto's advice. He (Shoaib) repeated what he had told Phil Talbot, i.e. that he had inspired the RCD gambit as an alternative to Bhutto's pressure for new gestures towards China."

Komer's memo to LBJ on 2 April 1965 says, "Our best Pak friend, finance minister Shoaib, said flatly that Aziz Ahmed keeps telling Ayub that the Pak accommodation with Peiping (Beijing) can be carried much further without jeopardising the flow of US aid." What Shoaib is providing to the US is sensitive inside thinking of the Ayub government of which he is a minister.

Dean Rusk's telegram to headquarters on April 8, 1965, refers to a "highly frank and private discussion" with Shoaib on Pak-

US relations. Rusk writes, "I am not certain because of the very personal character of our conversation and the personal politics of Pakistan that Shoaib will report my conversation before Ayub returns to Pakistan." Rusk then adds, "I do believe it would be advisable for the President to have a personal report from me on my talk with Shoaib..." So secret obviously is what Shoaib has told him, that he does not wish to put it even in an "eyes only" telegram.

Shoaib tells American ambassador Walter McConaughy after Ayub's Moscow visit in April 1965 "that nothing transpired during Moscow visit which would seem to jeopardise existence of our facilities (Badaber) and that Aziz Ahmed was probably freewheeling to some extent in an effort to make trouble for us". Why does he tell the Americans what took place between Ayub and the Russian leaders? The ambassador writes, "Shoaib advised me strongly to resist Pak foreign office intrusion into this subject (Badaber) if I possibly could, since it would at a minimum greatly complicate our difficulties."

Another telegram from McConaughy to secretary of state on July 10, 1965, says, "When finance minister Shoaib saw me this morning about postponement [of] consortium pledging session, he said that you had offered him the use of our telegraphic facilities if he ever had a message of special importance and sensitivity which he wished to convey urgently to you. He said he thought the current situation called for such a message and asked that I transmit the following to you on his behalf." The message says that "favourable policy developments" are under way in Pakistan and the consortium meeting should go ahead. Why does a key member of the Ayub government send secret messages to the US secretary of state using secure US transmitting facilities?

On September 19, 1965, Shoaib meets McConaughy secretly at the "home of a mutual Pakistani friend" where he tells him that Ayub is "growingly aware of Bhutto's extremism" and wants a "compromise" with India but needs a face saving. Bhutto's "extremism" lay in his insistence that a ceasefire must be accompanied by an undertaking on a Kashmir solution. Bhutto was overruled: Shoaib carried the day.

Isn't it time Pakistan too released its papers? After all, none of the principals are any longer alive. Truth, they say, must out, except, one should add, in Pakistan.

By arrangement with Dawn

One that the United States government of the day did not like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, did not trust him and considered him a bad influence on Ayub. Bhutto it was, the Americans believed, who was pushing Ayub closer to China. The Americans were paranoid about China at the time. During the 1965 war, for instance, their principal concern was China. Would China come in on the side of Pakistan and, if so, to what extent

More time for one-on-one talks

KO1

By C. Raja Mohan

17/6

NEW DELHI, JUNE 16. The visit of the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, is likely to be structured in a manner that would let him spend considerable time in direct talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee. Extended one-on-one sessions, it is hoped here, would allow the leaders to discuss a broad range of issues without prejudice and the stifling presence of bureaucrats.

Sources familiar with the planning for Gen. Musharraf's visit hope the format would help the two leaders get to know each other better and understand the motivations, objectives and difficulties of the interlocutor. A personal rapport at the top is crucial, it is being suggested, if India and Pakistan are to sustain the latest round of engagement. Neither side would want Gen. Musharraf's visit to become just another one-shot affair, like the summit at Lahore two years ago. The sources also cautioned against excessive expectations from the talks. Having learnt the lessons from Lahore and Kargil, the foreign policy planners are determined to be realistic in their approach to Pakistan. India believes that the encounter with Gen. Musharraf is important and wants to reach out to him. But there is no room for romanticism.

There was a flurry of activity today in the foreign office, assessing Gen. Musharraf's comments on Indo-Pakistan relations in a television programme on Friday. The political assessment of the General's remarks here has not been negative. But the foreign office was certainly outraged by some of his remarks, in particular the undiplomatic comments on the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

A Foreign Office spokesperson responded to questions from the press on Gen. Musharraf's suggestion

that Pakistan may be more open-minded than India with a cryptic counter-question. "How can we gauge how open a mind is until it is opened?" She was implying India would not be found wanting in the game of political posturing and verbal sparring with Pakistan. She would also not let Gen. Musharraf get away with trivialising Mr. Singh's statement at a press conference last month that Kashmir is an "integral part of India". Last night, Gen. Musharraf said he hoped the statement was "just a view" and "not a position" to be taken in the coming dialogue on Kashmir.

The spokeswoman hit back: "The External Affairs Minister was not giving his personal views or simply making a statement. He was reiterating the provisions of the Constitution of India".

At the press briefing, Mr. Singh was reluctant to be drawn into an assertion of well-known positions on Kashmir. And his remarks were in response to persistent questioning from reporters on the emphasis by the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, on "self-determination" for the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf surely know they need to go beyond the stated positions on Jammu and Kashmir. But their foreign offices believe they are under constant pressure to reaffirm all the cliches in response to those from across the border.

Bureaucrats are trained to defend old positions to death. That probably is the reason why Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf want to keep the officials outside the door when they explore a future Indo-Pakistan relationship very different from the one in the past.

THE HINDU

17 JUN 2001

Delhi draws line for Pervez history hope

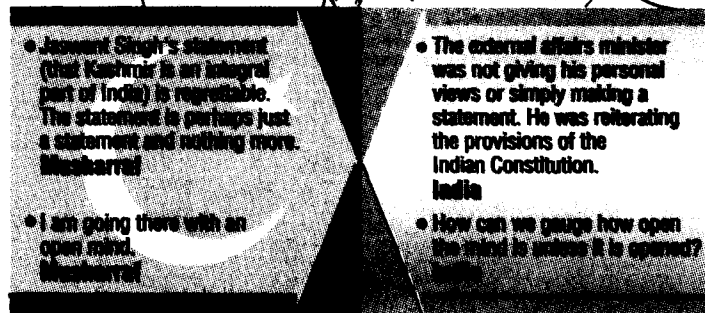
FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, June 16: A day after Pervez Musharraf promised to make an effort at changing history, a reasonable but firm India made it clear that Islamabad should not have any high hopes of a shift in Delhi's position on Kashmir at next month's summit.

Delhi today re-affirmed that Jammu and Kashmir was "an integral part of India", clarifying that it should not be seen as any individual's view, but a position that the government is committed to by the Constitution.

India also made it clear that Musharraf's statement that he would go to the summit with an "open mind" would have to be judged by the kind of proposals he places on the negotiating table.

By saying so, Delhi has sought to send Islamabad the message that it should give up looking at



the Kashmir problem as an extension of its two-nation theory. The leadership here is not willing to buy the explanation offered by Pakistan that the root of the trouble lies in the "repression" of the Muslim majority in the state by the "Hindu majority" in India.

While the government is willing to take measures aimed at building confidence among the people — such as an autonomy package, the creation of a soft border and enhanced trade and move-

ment between the people of the two Kashmirs — much of it will depend on the steps Islamabad takes to rein in militant outfits operating from its soil.

Musharraf had regretted last night foreign minister Jaswant Singh's statement that the entire Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India, saying he hoped the "statement is perhaps just a statement and nothing more".

But Delhi signalled that the general should not be under any illusion. "The external affairs minis-

ter was not giving his personal views or simply making a statement," foreign ministry spokesperson Nirupama Rao said. "He was reiterating the provisions of the Indian Constitution."

The government is also not going overboard with Musharraf's remark that though he would go to the summit with an "open mind", his stance would be directly proportional to the "open-mindedness" shown by Indian leaders.

"How can we gauge how open the mind is unless it is opened?" Rao said, implying that India wanted Pakistan to specify what they were seeking from the talks instead of juggling with words.

It is apparent from her statement that India does not want expectations to soar in the run-up to the summit. It's a reality check as Delhi is trying to assure the people that nothing will be done by compromising national interest.

THE TELEGRAPH

1998

'SOLUTION CAN COME LATER'

Accept Kashmir as core issue, says Pakistan

928
Rox

HO-1
17/6

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 16. Pakistan will not insist on the settlement of the Kashmir issue as a "pre-requisite" for normalisation of relations with India during the coming summit between the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, if India is willing to accept Kashmir as the centrality of the problem.

The Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Inamul Haq, gave indications on these lines here during an interaction session with a group of editors of the Pakistani media and opinion makers over a luncheon meeting. One of the participants at the meeting told *The Hindu* that it was part of the exercise to elicit public opinion before the summit.

Mr. Haq said nothing "conclusive" could be expected from one summit meeting and the stage would not come at the Delhi meeting where either side would get down to discussion on the various options for resolution of the Kashmir problem.

"It would be more in the nature of sizing up each other. Gen. Musharraf has repeatedly stated that Kashmir is the core issue be-

tween India and Pakistan. In our view, by extending an invitation to the Chief Executive to visit New Delhi, India has accepted the proposition", he said.

Stating that Pakistan would not compromise on the question of centrality of Kashmir to the dialogue process, the Foreign Secretary said the Delhi summit would be an endeavour to reach an understanding on how to go about in attempting to resolve the core issue. "We can certainly discuss the follow-up mechanism for resolu-

**Hurriyat leaders released;
pro-India leader
shot dead: Page 8**

tion of the Kashmir dispute once there is clarity and understanding on the centrality of the issue. Once this is clear, there could be progress on many other fronts. We are not averse to discussing progress of other issues but it would certainly not be at the cost of Kashmir", he said.

When a participant expressed the view that in the past India had "betrayed the faith" of Pakistan on the negotiating table by raising

subjects other than Kashmir, Mr. Haq is believed to have said that "it would not happen this time. Our impression is the Indian side will not allow the summit to become a fiasco".

The Foreign Secretary said Pakistan would not commit itself to any position on Kashmir in the beginning stages as it would weaken its case. There was no response from Mr. Haq when one of the participants suggested that while India would have to give up its position of Kashmir as its "integral part", Pakistan should not continue with its insistence of implementation of U.N. resolutions on plebiscite if the summit had to make a headway.

Mr. Haq observed, "if the economic factors and the casualties in the Army are the reasons for the invitation from Delhi, the economic factor was equally valid in case of Pakistan. Economically we are passing through such a critical phase that we are prepared to go all out to secure peace in the region". At the same time, he said that it did not mean Pakistan was prepared for any settlement. "Whatever settlement is reached ultimately, it should be acceptable to Kashmiris".

Byline ■ M.J. Akbar

Notes from Delhi

Delhi becomes eerie when it loses power. With the Prime Minister having shifted camp to a hospital in Mumbai, Delhi has become a city of echoes. The Prime Minister's Office is the heart as well as the solar plexus of the city; it is only fair to note that the brain of the government is a collective entity, and spread glutinously across many corridors. But with the PMO this is a hollow city and government is a shadow play. Even a Cabinet meeting, presided over by home minister Lal Krishna Advani, was only a cursory exercise in semantics, a signal towards some notional hierarchy that has very little value when the moment of decision arrives. Congress Prime Ministers also used to nominate a "Cabinet presider" in their absence, which permitted the nominee to preen around for a little before his spread feathers got clipped by the likes of R.K. Dhawan (kings employ barbers). Ministers who have any real work either wait for the Prime Minister to return, or take a flight if the matter is urgent. This, for instance, is what external affairs minister Jaswant Singh did on Friday when he was in the process of finalising a date for the Musharraf visit to Delhi; he flew down to Mumbai to consult the boss. Democracy does not believe in any parallel order; the only serious difference with royalty is that the people are given the divine right to overthrow a king by reasonably peaceful means. It is as simple as that. Or, if you are Number 2, as complicated as that. In the absence of power, even gossip becomes pale. For a change Delhi, usually in love with its own voice, is hearing what others have to say. Its two ears are cocked in two directions. One is towards the PMO Camp in Mumbai, and the other is towards Islamabad, particularly now that Chief Executive Officer Pervez Musharraf has said that he is coming to change history.

The arrival of history always tends to make me nervous. Most mortals are simply not equipped to handle anything so momentous as history; ordinary life is difficult enough. Leaders who stare at history so often lose the plot. We shall leave aside E.H. Carr, who wrote a full book in answer to the question What is History? And discovered, like a good academic, that there was no consensus. Even for less complicated minds history asks too many questions, most of them from history. Is history terminal? Does it begin somewhere, does it have a destination, and are there stops in between for rest,

recreation and refuelling? Is history made by decisions or is it a process? Am I being impertinent because all I have to do is write a column while more serious people in Delhi have to serve the nation? Or, sometimes, two nations?

General Musharraf has already established a reputation in India. Indians do not consider him to be right on everything, far from that; but they do think he is forthright on everything. This last word is important. Indian and Pakistani politicians have not hesitated to be forthright

Indian and Pakistani politicians have not hesitated to be forthright about each other; they have been more circumspect about their own failings.

General Musharraf has built up credibility by his candour, during interviews with media and at public meetings, about the damage that fundamentalist organisations do by their excesses. No one has described Pakistan's

Jamaat-e-Islami as pithily as him. The General called the chief of Pakistan's Jamaat a lunatic. I can't see the Amir of India's

Jamaat-e-Islami queuing up to meet the General in July. Such straight talk must be raising more than a quiver of concern among the more ardent jihadis who want permanent war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir rather than a settlement

about each other; they have been more circumspect about their own failings. General Musharraf has built up credibility by his candour, during interviews with media and at public meetings, about the damage that fundamentalist organisations do by their excesses. No one has described Pakistan's Jamaat-e-Islami as pithily as him. The General called the chief of Pakistan's Jamaat a lunatic. I can't

see the Amir of India's Jamaat-e-Islami queuing up to meet the General in July. Such straight talk must be raising more than a quiver of concern among the more ardent jihadis who want permanent war between India and Pakistan over Kashmir rather than a settlement.

Perhaps the General meant that he wanted to change facts rather than change history. That would be a more acceptable goal. The danger of raising the profile of the coming summit is that anything less than a dramatic finale will be considered a letdown. Failure and success, particularly on a matter as volatile and sensitive as Indo-Pak relations, are comparative realities. We all know that good intentions are not good enough. We also know that time has not melted the Kashmir dispute; instead, between the two nations more than a hundred thousand crores are spent each year on the cost of confrontation. How many schools, roads and hospitals would that build from Bihar to Baluchistan? This is only the cost of the operational defence infrastructure. Add the cost of lost benefits from trade, and you would need a mathematician with special interest in algebra rather than arithmetic to calculate the true figure. What is sadder is that Kashmir has affected both countries in more fundamental ways, less perhaps with us than with Pakistan. Kashmir has corroded the credibility of our democracy, (how many elections there can be called genuine?) And Kashmir has become the excuse for the militarisation of Pakistan, which in turn makes democracy impossible to sustain in Pakistan.

Since Delhi has moved to Mumbai it was inevitable that work would drag one to the temporary capital of India. The patter started against the windows of the descending jet. All fortnight the skies have been pregnant across Mumbai and the deccan with this year's monsoon. The water has now burst in Mumbai. The sea has the heave and roll of a discotheque. When a wave on a high slaps against the wall of the seafront at Worli, a silver arc of water leaps into the air and lands on the opposite side of the road, an instant roof of water. It rains in bursts, in intense patches, and the breeze from the sea whips the rain midair or as it lands on black asphalt. All umbrellas become like the one held helplessly by Raj Kapoor in *Shree 420*, inverted under the onslaught. The monsoon also stresses the fact that Mumbai is all hill; at other times the stream of traffic seems to create a flat level impression. But now the edges of the roads

become streams going downhill. The new flyovers are hill upon hills. Under their broad swathe is a new shelter for the pedestrian, cool and comfortable. The colour of the sky does not change no matter how many days it rains, and it could continue like this for a week. It almost never lightens to the familiar blue. The trees that have competed against cement in this urban jungle come alive as they feast in this overhead bath. Mumbaikars love the rain, no matter how much chaos it creates in their lives. You might think that living next to the sea

Failure and success, particularly on a matter as volatile and sensitive as Indo-Pak relations, are comparative realities... We know that time has not melted the Kashmir dispute; instead, between the two nations more than a hundred thousand crores are spent each year on the cost of confrontation. How many schools, roads and hospitals would that build from Bihar to Baluchistan? This is only the cost of the operational defence infrastructure. Add the cost of lost benefits from trade, and you would need a mathematician with special interest in algebra rather than arithmetic to calculate the true figure. What is sadder is that Kashmir has affected both countries in more fundamental ways, less perhaps with us than with Pakistan

they would be passe about water. But rain is something else. It is a body-healer and a mind-refresher. Incidentally wet clothes look sexy only in Mumbai-made movies, not in Mumbai real life. The talk here too is of Musharraf, but the context is different. Mumbai's solution in the Indo-Pak problem is specific: if a thousand Pakistanis developed a vested interest in trade with India they would lead

the way to peace via SAPTA (South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement) and SAFTA (South Asian Free Trade Agreement). Let us make money together and live happily ever after. Health, wealth and send politics to the Arabian Sea.

Rain is no deterrent to PM. When they talk of pouring buckets they know exactly what they are saying. By the time I reached the gates of Breach Candy Hospital the patter of rain was interspersed with the thud of special delivery as some circle of cloud 20,000 feet above unleashed a blob. The roads surged with water. Thank God Mumbai is hills; the flood moved. The stream of people and VIPs come to show their affection for a convalescing Atal Behari Vajpayee was undiminished. At the gates of the hospital the security was courteous in conscious contrast to the weather.

Last question. Is too much being expected out of the July talks? History "has been used." History is a demanding mistress; who can live up easily to her expectations? What is certain is that there is a palpable thrill racing through both countries at the prospect of a glimmer of hope. Right. Just the prospect of a glimmer. No more, for now. Two men of declared sincerity have decided to give dialogue a chance. They do not need an education in snares, pitfalls, problems, traps and betrayal.

How would I define success? One: After two days the open mind with which the talks began had not been closed by old or new rules. Two: The language of communication between the two countries began to change. Instead of demand and supply we began to talk of common purpose amidst separate identity. Three: If, at the end of the visit the General and the PM announce a structure for dialogue across a wide clutch of issues from Kashmir to trade to Bollywood. Four: If during the two days they could find space for the culture and communication beyond the limitations of the government. Five: If they could announce that they were going to meet again, in September in Karachi. Why September? Because there is a Test match with India in Karachi then. Cricket is one common fest between the two nations. More than two decades ago India and Pakistan broke ice through cricket at just such a Test match at Karachi. A.B. Vajpayee was finance minister of India then, L.K. Advani was information and broadcasting minister. Mr Advani used the thaw to go home to Karachi and visit the school where he had studied. It is time he went again.

DEJA VU! This is how most Indo-Pakistani watchers feel about the impending summit between Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pakistan's Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf.

Two aspects pertaining to Indo-Pakistani relations are worth analysing - first, India's foreign policy apropos Pakistan as templated under precepts of contemporary international relations and, second, the *modus operandi* for resolving the Kashmir dispute. If these two aspects can be viewed in the correct perspective by both leaders, then *déjà vu* could surely change to *voilà!*

When Gen. Musharraf enacted his coup on 12 October 1999, New Delhi's response was hysterically stereotyped, as if the coup had taken place in India.

Our much vaunted Panchsheel banner of "non-interference in other nations' internal affairs" was thrown out and we took it upon ourselves without so much as a by your leave, to reinduct democracy in Pakistan!

For days, the Indian media carried no other headlines save how bad Gen. Musharraf was, by murdering democracy in his country, and more of the same. We refused to talk to him and went out of our way to get the Saarc meeting which was due shortly, postponed by blaming Pakistan's coup for the postponement.

With sickening regularity, we continued our carping against Pakistan and tried our best to stop Bill Clinton from visiting Islamabad on his way back from India. We failed!

Our traditional characteristic since Independence has been that we have appointed ourselves as keepers of the world's conscience. Never mind that our democracy is far removed from what fundamentals of such a model demand - our system is more "domestic colonialism" - we scream ourselves hoarse championing democracy worldwide, poking our nose into other nations' business and flaunting our halo-cum-chastity belt hoarding.

We have refused to accept the truism that such puerile acts on our part have got us more enemies than friends. We learnt the hard and humiliating way through China, Myanmar and the Taliban

The Musharraf-Vajpayee summit will be all the more meaningful if India can drive home the point that the Kashmir solution lies in converting the Line of Control into a *de jure* border, a UN round table is mooted and any opposition from the National Conference tackled with a firm hand by the Centre, writes J K DUTT



General Pervez Musharraf and Atal Behari Vajpayee: Great expectations

initiative after the Poonch link-up, India and rushed the matter to the UN to internationalise it.

No explanation has been forthcoming to date for this double shuffle. Retrospection suggests that Nehru had an understanding with Mohammed Ali Jinnah that along with a chunk of the country, Nehru ordered an uncalled for ceasefire during the 1947 Jammu and Kashmir operations, just as the Indian Army regained the

required face saver for an old mate

like Jinnah as a "bonus". An inexplicable thing is, China subsequently captured about 34,000 sqkm of Indian territory in Aksai Chin and Myanmar "commandeered" two Indian villages on the Manipur border.

But India did not file any case against these two countries with the UN; whereas, having gifted a part of Kashmir to Pakistan, we complained against it! The period 1947 to 1965 particularly the untold sacrifices

Koreas have the cue

of India's armed forces in the India-Pakistan wars. As long as the Kashmir problem remained, Article 370 remained. QED! Hence, the term "domestic colonialism" is most appropriate to India.

What is the most pragmatic way to resolve the Kashmir dispute? The Kashmir problem's exclusiveness is that the solution also coexists, namely, converting the LoC into a *de jure* border.

All that is required is to implement it. This is what Mr Vajpayee has to drive home to Gen. Musharraf. Shibboleths like "Kashmir is an inalienable part of India" or "Kashmir must have a plebiscite" should be dumped as *non sequiturs*, a function that Jaswant Singh and his counterpart Abdus Sattar have to delve into before the summit.

Mr Vajpayee ideally should suggest that a UN round table be organised comprising Australia, China, Russia, the European Union, Canada, the USA, the Organisation of Islamic Countries and, of course, India and Pakistan.

The formalisation of the LOC into a border would be instrumented at this round table.

However, there has to be a caveat - should India and/or Pakistan demur, severe economic sanctions would be imposed on both the countries.

Other outstanding issues such as Siachen, Wullar Barrage, Sir Creek, maritime boundary, Most Favoured Nation ranking and so on should be placed on the backburner for the moment, to be settled after Kashmir.

It is expected that the strongest opposition to solving the Kashmir problem will come from the National Conference; New Delhi must override this with a firm hand.

The Korean paradigm should become the beacon at the summit. There is every possibility of Gen. Musharraf going by our proposals, if approached rationally.

To this end, Mr Vajpayee needs to excel in his forte, "coercive persuasion". New Delhi has to be decisive in extracting a positive fallout from the General's visit, otherwise posterity will never forgive us.

(The author is a retired Lieutenant Colonel, Indian Army.)

gradually strengthened the sensibility that the Line of Control where the 1947 operations were ultimately halted, would endure as a *de facto* border between India and Pakistan.

In fact, Generals KM Cariappa and Ayub Khan did agree that accepting this reality was the most practical way out of the impasse but they could not carry it through on their own.

Tashkent in 1966 proved to be a surrender on India's part to Pakistan, an even greater despicable act being its crass sell out at Shimla in 1972 where it held all the aces.

An unbiased introspection shows that Jammu and Kashmir's leading political party, the National Conference, is not at all keen on solving the Kashmir problem lest it loses the state's special status under Article 370.

This status has been variously hailed as the "Aurangzeb style" of living - summer and winter capitals, own constitution, own flag, no one to question the state's actions, India to continue with its dubious Kashmir "cause", and most of all, existing on the *leitmotif*, "We are Kashmiris, you are Hindusthanis. You'd better sacrifice for us, or else ...!"

A reference, maybe uncharitable, is often made that Kashmiris being the children of a greater God could never integrate with the citizens of the mother country as the latter are of a lesser one!

Hence, a Kashmiri Prime Minister, aided and abetted by a coterie of Kashmiri advisers, betrayed India at Shimla, particularly the untold sacrifices

THE STATESMAN
THE STATESMAN

16 JUL 2001

Musharraf eager to change history

REUTERS

ISLAMABAD, June 15. — General Pervez Musharraf today said he would seek to make a "new beginning" and "change history" with India at the upcoming summit.

"I'm sure my counterparts in India...will also show open-mindedness and this time we will change history, the Chief Executive told the state television. "I'm going to change this history. If we get cooperation from there, God willing, we'll ...start a new beginning which has not been done before."

He said he would meet Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee with an open mind, and that it would be regrettable if there was no progress over Kashmir. He iterated Kashmir was the key issue between India and Pakistan.

"My agenda is clear. I want to talk on the Kashmir dispute, which is the core issue between the two countries." Any attempt to dilute the Kashmir issue would not help the summit. India was aware of his stand on the summit, he said.

Asked about the reported proposal to start a bus service from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad (PoK capital) he said: "I would love to travel from Srinagar to Muzaffarabad by bus."

Dates to be announced soon: The logistical details of the Indo-Pak summit were being finalised and would be made public "as soon as possible", a foreign ministry spokesman said today, SNS adds from Delhi.

There have been reports that, because of the sensitive nature of the talks, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and Gen Pervez Musharraf may meet outside Delhi, Goa being suggested as a

venue. The spokesman didn't rule out the possibility, saying "no such decision has been made" and "no logistical details have been discussed".

There were speculations that the summit dates would be announced tonight after the external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, met Mr Vajpayee at Breach Candy Hospital in Mumbai. But a PMO spokesman said the foreign ministries of both countries would announce the dates simultaneously after finalising them through diplomatic channels.

Mr Singh, who leaves for Australia and New Zealand tomorrow, made a "courtesy call" on Mr Vajpayee and inquired about his health. The Prime Minister is expected back in the capital on 19 June.

Envoy meets Speaker: The Pakistani high commissioner to India today met the Lok Sabha Speaker to "emphasise how highly the Pakistani government is viewing these talks".

The summit was "a great opportunity to move into a new, higher plane of Indo-Pak relations," Mr Ashraf Jahangir Qazi said.

He clarified that he had not sought that Gen Musharraf address both Houses of Parliament. In fact, the monsoon session will not begin when the Pakistan Chief Executive is tentatively scheduled to visit India, around second week of July.

Sources in the Speaker's office indicated the 40-minute meeting discussed the possibility of Gen Musharraf interacting with senior parliamentarians, possibly leaders of some major parties, during his visit.

He is expected to meet, among others, Mrs Sonia Gandhi.

THE STATE

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India not in 'time warp', always ready for talks

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STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 14. — India's approach has always been progressive and it was Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee who invited General Pervez Musharraf for talks is how the Indian foreign ministry reacted to its Pakistani counterpart's statement today.

The Pakistani foreign minister, Mr Abdus Sattar, said a time-warp was preventing normalisation of Indo-Pak ties, evoking Ms Nirupama Rao, foreign ministry spokesperson's reaction.

Ms Rao told journalists today that the government worked for the welfare of the people and was always ready to engage in productive dialogue and build up trust and confidence.

Yesterday, Mr Sattar had spoken in London about the need to resolve issues in the sub-continent for peaceful coexistence. He had said that Indo-Pak relations had been in a time-warp for over

SUMMIT DATES

NEW DELHI, June 14. — A former diplomat and a senior Opposition leader said that the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit is likely to begin on 8 July and continue for three days. During his visit Gen Pervez Musharraf is likely to meet leaders across the political spectrum, including Mrs Sonia Gandhi. — SNS

five decades, and therefore, virtually after independence.

The Indian High Commissioner to Islamabad, Mr Vijay Nambiar, has returned to India, probably for settling last-minute issues relating to the Musharraf visit.

Speaking about the arrest of two alleged Indian citizens in Slovakia, she said that neither had any documents but were claiming to be Indian citizens.

They had identified themselves as Suresh Paul and Jasbir Singh and while one of them was in a detention centre, the other was in hospital. This was after a boat carrying alleged illegal immigrants capsized. Fifteen passengers are still missing. The Indian Embassy is in touch with Slovak authorities, Ms Rao added.

Musharraf stand: Gen Pervez Musharraf tonight said no solution to Kashmir issue would be acceptable if it didn't fulfil the aspirations of Kashmiri people, PTI adds from Islamabad.

Gen Musharraf said this at a meeting with PoK Prime Minister as part of consultations with political leaders ahead of the summit.

Explosives seized: Police today foiled militants' attempt to target the civil secretariat by seizing an explosive-laden auto-rickshaw as Army shot dead six Pakistani militants, PTI adds from Srinagar

THE STATESMAN

4/18 **Rollercoaster diplomacy** 15/16

INDIA-PAKISTAN relations have always been marked by highs and lows. The trough of the 1965 war, for instance, was followed by the summit of Tashkent when Ayub Khan was the dictator. Not long afterwards, the break-up of Pakistan under another dictator, Yahya Khan, was followed by the Indira Gandhi-Zulfikar Ali Bhutto parleys in Shimla which were expected to set the tone for future contacts. Now, with yet another dictator in charge, the low of Kargil is expected to be partly undone by the forthcoming high of the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit in New Delhi. In this context of ups and downs, Mr Vajpayee's bus trip to Lahore was something of an oddity although it also marked a high, even if an unplanned one.

It is noteworthy, however, that some of the observations made at that time by Nawaz Sharif have been virtually repeated by Pakistan's present foreign minister, Abdul Sattar. The view of Pakistan's then prime minister also was that the two countries should bury the past. Other members of the Pakistan establishment also said that when Europe was dispensing with national borders, why is India and Pakistan at each other's throats? Mr Sattar's latest observation that India and Pakistan should come out

of a "time warp" echoes such sentiments. His admission that enmity with India has hurt Pakistan also denotes a candidness which has not been seen before.

A perusal of recent writings in what may be called the 'mainstream' Pakistani press also shows a remarkable absence of bitterness against India. What is more, there is a clear acknowledgment of India's many plus points, such as a democratic polity, economic resilience and recognition of its importance by the rest of the world. In contrast, Pakistan is painted in these writings as passing through the kind of troubled times it had never experienced before. Quite evidently, the earlier belief that India was on the verge of disintegration has been replaced by quiet admiration accompanied by distress at Pakistan's own degeneration. The threat posed by the *jihadis* in this respect to Pakistan is also recognised. Since the acceptance of reality is the first step towards coming to terms with it, Pakistan's desire to come out of a time warp and leave the past behind should be welcomed in India. If seriously pursued, this new approach can mark yet another high in mutual relations. One can only hope that it will not be followed by a fresh low.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 JUNE 2001

India and Iran offer Pakistan a peace pipeline

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: India will dangle a carrot for Pakistan's chief executive General Pervez Musharraf when he arrives here for the summit with Prime Minister Vajpayee next month.

This will be in the form of a gas pipeline that will provide Islamabad with the opportunity of making over \$600 million. The pipeline will be between Iran and India and will pass through Pakistan. Though no final decision has been taken on the overland pipeline, a feasibility report will be commissioned in July.

The Australian mining and engineering procurement contracts major, BHP, is likely to get the deal. The company will be asked to deliver its findings in nine months time. At the same time, India and Iran have also kept open the option of the underwater pipeline, which will by-pass Pakistan. Last week, Snam Progetti was asked to begin work on a feasibility report for the deep sea pipeline at a cost of \$7 million. The report is to be completed in 12-months.

"We have no preference on either option, the final decision will be taken keeping in mind the cost effectiveness of the project," S.M.H. Adeli, deputy foreign minister for economic affairs of Iran said and Indian officials agree.

Pakistan is interested in the overland route because the money could help to wipe off much of its current deficits. By agreeing with the feasibility reports, India has held out hope for Musharraf.

Though the overland route is more cost-effective, India had stonewalled the proposal after Kargil. During Mr Vajpayee's visit

to Teheran in April, Iran was able to persuade India to shift its stand.

Mr Vajpayee liked the idea of the client-supplier relations as suggested by Iran, Mr Adeli told this paper on Wednesday.

Iran would ensure that New Delhi got uninterrupted supplies of gas. If supplies are stopped by Pakistan or rogue elements operating from that country, Iran will accept responsibility. India would be compensated for any break in supplies thereby minimising the risk factor. "We will deliver gas in a reliable and secure manner," Mr Adeli said.

The arrangements will be finalised in July, when the India-Iran technical sub-committee meets in Iran. The core contract will be a bilateral agreement between India and Iran for selling and buying natural gas. Iran will have a separate contract with Pakistan on transit and security of the portion of the pipeline which runs through Pakistani territory. Mr Adeli said that Iran has not yet begun discussions with Pakistan.

The overland route will entail the construction of a 2,600 kilometre pipeline at a cost of around \$3.5 billion, while the cost for the underwater pipeline could be between \$10-\$12 billion. The largest section — 1,100 kilometres — of the overland route will be in Iran and this would cost Teheran \$1.8 billion. Some 707 kilometres of the pipeline would run through Pakistan and this would cost Islamabad around \$1.2 billion. India will have 850 kilometres of the pipeline and will have to spend \$650 million. For India, the cost of the deep sea line would be expensive as a major portion of the pipeline would be in Indian waters.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

14 JUN 2001

'NO FRILLS, SHOPPING ONLY IF NECESSARY'

Talks may not be bound by rigid structure

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 13. Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, is expected to be in New Delhi in the first week of July and will prefer to engage in a summit dialogue with the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, free from a "rigid structure".

The Indian and Pakistani officials, struggling to work out the programme and dates for the much-awaited summit, feel it is better to leave it to the two leaders to proceed without any rigid framework. Any attempt at defining the agenda for the summit could hamper the dialogue process and come in the way of any meaningful progress, is the favoured view.

"Both sides are understandably hesitant in drawing the framework of the agenda. The view is that it is best left to the two leaders to let the agenda evolve in the course of their discussions. In a way the agenda would be dependent to a great extent on the chemistry between Gen. Musharraf and Mr. Vajpayee," a senior official engaged in the exercise said.

The broad contours of the General's programme have emerged during the parleys between officials on both sides and it appears the consensus is on a tour for a little over two days. A programme beyond that could make things hot for him from the point of view of the domestic constituency.

"Gen. Musharraf should be seen as engaged only in serious

business in New Delhi. The frills are out. Nostalgia about his old house in Paharganj should be kept to the minimum. Shopping only if necessary. Sight-seeing would be seen as a luxury with Kashmir in chains," said a senior Pakistani diplomat.

The truth is Gen. Musharraf cannot afford to prolong his stay for an hour longer than necessary, as vested interests here would be monitoring every moment of the trip. He would have to account for every minute he spends in India to several constituencies here.

During his stay in New Delhi, the chief executive, besides a one-to-one meeting with Mr. Vajpayee, is not likely to meet more than three or four other important personalities, including the Minister for External Affairs and

Defence, Mr. Jaswant Singh. A meeting with the Union Home Minister, Mr. Lal Krishna Advani, is also not ruled out.

There could be also be a meeting with the Army Chief, Gen. S. Padmanabhan. Gen. Musharraf is visiting India in his capacity as the Chief Executive but he happens to wear the hat of Chief of Army Staff. After all he has come to occupy the present occupation by virtue of his position as COAS!

A clear picture on the dates of the visit and the agenda for the talks from the Indian side could be expected sometime this week. India's High Commissioner to Pakistan, Mr. Vijay K. Nambiar, is currently in New Delhi for consultations with those who matter.

Lashkar vows to continue 'jehad'

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 13. The Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba today said it would continue operations in Kashmir despite the coming Indo-Pak summit and vowed to carry on its activities even if the Pakistan Government banned it.

"Talks have taken place in the past also and will continue to be held in future but the process of dialogue has nothing to do with the ongoing *jehad* in Kashmir which will be continued," media reports quoting the outfit's chief, Mr. Hafiz Saeed, said today.

"Even if Pakistan imposed a ban on jehadi outfits, it would not affect them and they would continue their operations in Kashmir. In fact, Pakistan has no right to impose a ban on jehadi outfits as they are fighting in Kashmir and not in Pakistan... Even if Kashmir got liberated from India, the operations would be continued in the rest of India," the *Jung* newspaper quoted Mr. Saeed as saying. He also denied that the militant outfits operating in Kashmir misused their funds or carried any illegal weapons. — PTI

THE HINDU

14 JUN 2001

Peace is a double-edged road

AA-7 18/6
BY AYAZ AMIR

The holy warriors, mindless champions of *jihad*, are at one end of the spectrum; the Track Two peaceniks, who dance the *bhangra* at the sight of Indian border guards and otherwise babble of peace at all costs, at the other end. There is, however, no divine ordinance which lays down that Indo-Pak relations should be a zero-sum game, a choice of absolutes: war or peace, bitter hostility or headlong retreat.

There are real points of contention between the two countries and given these, a kind of rivalry or competition between them will exist for the foreseeable future. Nor is there anything wrong with this. The Berlin Wall fell in the West. In the subcontinent the Iron Curtain or, since this is the subcontinent, the Reed Curtain is still very much in place. So it is not particularly helpful to draw analogies from afar and apply them to our neighbourhood.

When Western ideologues, as relentless in their proselytising as the Christian missionaries of the 19th century, say this is the era of cooperation and not confrontation, they should be looked in the eye and asked, "Pray, for whom?" Europe — minus the Balkans and Russia — beats the drums of cooperation because it no longer has the Soviet Empire to contend with, that dinosaur having crashed to earth under its own weight. There are, however, historical knots elsewhere which remain to be untied. The new missionaries of globalisation and international cooperation should be reminded of this unfinished business. Of what use is globalisation to the embattled Palestinians? To the human flotsam caught in the wars of Africa? To the despairing people of Kashmir?

Plutarch said long ago that conquerors were always lovers of peace: they liked to enter your cities unopposed. Israel is a lover of peace: it would like the Palestinians to accept meekly the terms of conquest imposed upon them. The comparison with India-in-Kashmir I would not like to make because, coupling Israel and India in the same breath is grist to the mills of the hate-India lobby in Pakistan. There is already too much dust (and resulting confusion)

swirling in the atmosphere. We can all do without contrived or manufactured hatred.

But as an aside, let us bear witness to the new imperialism. The Cold War was an affair of West and East. But the Rome and Carthage of the 20th century, imposed their mutual hostility upon the rest of the planet. Now that the nature of the game has changed, a new set of values, without regard to individual differences, is again being imposed from above. The gospel changes; the commandments undergo a revision. But the fury of the reigning prophets remains the same.

India and Pakistan must settle their differences by themselves, on their own terms, and not as a result of outside prodding. India is right in this, and Pakistan wrong. The Pakistani craving for outside mediation or any other form of intervention in the settlement of the Kashmir dispute is evidence of weakness and intellectual confusion. For it is tantamount to saying that on our own, we are helpless and must count on the favour of friends for a favourable outcome in Kashmir.

There are two problems with this approach. Firstly, if our own means be insufficient, why should the world (or the US) give us a free lunch in Kashmir? Weakness on the ground cannot be turned into victory at the negotiating table. Secondly, if someone else brokers a deal, the terms of it will still favour the stronger party. The Camp David and Oslo Accords are not

India's loss was Pakistan's gain. The moment Kashmiri Muslims rose against Indian rule, the scales of bilateralism, hitherto tilted against Pakistan, were restored to a semblance of balance. From the shadows where the Kashmir dispute had lain

exercises in justice. They hold up a mirror to reality and as such they come with qualifications attached. Egypt got back the Sinai as a result of the Camp David Accords, but in return agreed to castration at American hands. It still has a powerful military but this military can fight Libya or Sudan, not Israel. Camp David saw to this.

Pakistan's on-off fascination with the idea of outside intervention in Kashmir is thus based on naive foundations. It is also reflective of adolescent diplomacy. Just because we feel something will go down ill in India, we raise it as a policy option.

True, the UN resolutions, on which our Kashmir case rests, are emblems of multilateralism. Nor is there any reason for us to ditch this concept. But at the same time it would not hurt us to remember that if ever a halfway solution of the Kashmir issue is struck it will be through the collective wisdom of India and Pakistan, not through any outside agency. The Simla Accord was meant to be a victor's document but its insistence on bilateralism as the vehicle for settling Indo-Pakistan disputes is not misplaced. Only a fool would extrapolate from this that we should stop airing our concerns on Kashmir to a worldwide audience. But public relations is one thing, working towards a solution quite another.

Sure, size and economic clout give India the advantage at any bilateral table. How to correct this inherent imbalance? This was Pakistan's strategic problem

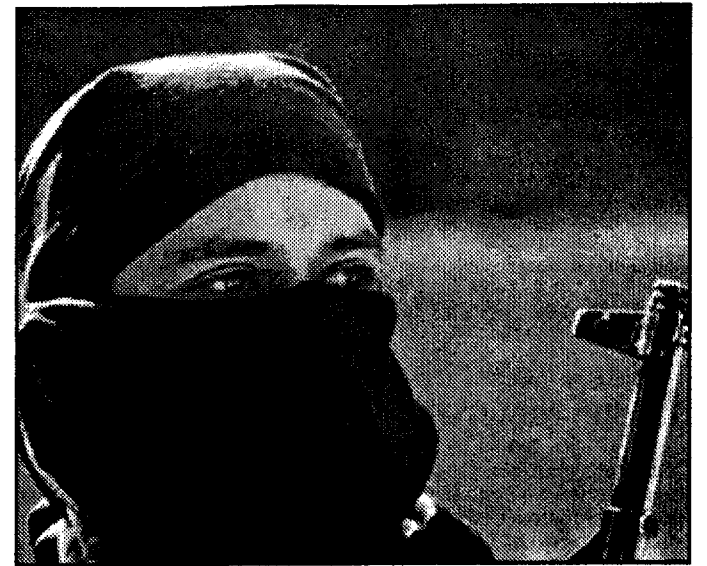
for a full 17 years, it emerged once more into the light. A strategic error once committed cannot be corrected by piecemeal measures. India has responded to the freedom uprising in Kashmir by force and repression and not the tools of imagination. Therein lies its continuing failure

in the wake of defeat in the '71 war and the Simla Accord which soon followed. For close on 17 years — that is, from 1972 to 1989 — Pakistan stopped making even ritualistic noises about Kashmir. That was India's historic chance to settle with the Kashmiri people and bring them closer into the Indian Union. But it bungled the opportunity and is paying the price of failure ever since. When India ruefully contemplates the wreck of its efforts in Kashmir, it should take time out from blaming Pakistan (and the ISI) and ponder a bit over its own lapses.

India's loss was Pakistan's gain. The moment Kashmiri Muslims rose against Indian rule, the scales of bilateralism, hitherto tilted against Pakistan, were restored to a semblance of balance. From the shadows where the Kashmir dispute had lain for a full 17 years, it emerged once more into the light. A strategic error once committed cannot be corrected by piecemeal measures. India has responded to the freedom uprising in Kashmir by force and repression and not the tools of imagination. Therein lies its continuing failure. As for Pakistan, it has merely manipulated the lever placed into its hands by a combination of Indian folly and Kashmiri discontent. In its crucible of dirty tricks it did not forge the lever in the first place.

The fact that, the roots of the Kashmir uprising lie within Kashmir, also accounts for the ultimate failure of the propaganda blitz mounted by India over the issue of "cross-border terrorism". It brought India handsome dividends, and Pakistan no small embarrassment, while it lasted. But it could not erase the facts on the ground. Heaping embarrassment on Pakistan could not by itself put an end to the armed struggle. Hence, the change of tack which is less a concession to Pakistan than an acknowledgement of reality.

None of this is a cause for Pakistan to gloat over. Whatever India's compulsions, it is in Pakistan's interests too, to walk, in Mr Vajpayee's evocative phrase, the high road of peace. Resources poured into militarisation and such follies as the subcontinent's nuclear race are



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resources taken away from social and economic development. We need quiet and tension-free borders as much as India does. Will the Kashmir uprising last into eternity? What if it peters out? What will balance the bilateral scales then?

For a true equilibrium in the subcontinent, our universities and colleges must hold their own against India's; our scholars should be of the highest quality; our research institutions the envy of the East; our maestros the finest exponents of subcontinental music; our skill at technology the best in the region; our agriculture the feeding source of countries near and far; and Lahore's famed Hira Mandi, now sadly going to pot, the hottest international destination between Singapore and the Suez Canal.

With inner strength comes outward grace. On Kashmir, we must stand firm without feeling the need to protest too much, the very consciousness of fortitude allowing us to speak with a softer tongue. In this context, there is no harm in admitting that the Indian invitation to General Musharraf was

more sensitively worded than our response which had the wooden imprint of the foreign office all over it. When will we learn the more subtle use of words?

The challenge for both countries is to realise their limitations. Pakistan cannot win Kashmir by force, India cannot browbeat Pakistan through a mix of swagger and misplaced snobbery. In any true negotiations both sides will have to give something, retreat a bit from their dog-eared positions. Not that a solution to their problems is around the corner. It is foolish even to think on these lines. But both countries will have registered a major advance if they can learn the art of conversing with each other without making a sticking-point of every quibble or comma.

The scope for miracles when Musharraf and Vajpayee meet is thus out. But if the two leaders can lay the basis of a politer discourse in the subcontinent — a discourse free of the hectoring and finger-pointing which seems part of our common inheritance they will have done their bit by history.

By arrangement with Dawn

Vajpayee can afford to smile and invite Musharraf into his parlour

Spider and the fly

BY BENAZIR BHUTTO

AT-8
15/6

Indo Pak

IN A surprise move, Indian Premier Atal Bihari Vajpayee extended an invitation to Pakistani coup leader General Pervez Musharraf to visit New Delhi for talks this summer. The invitation was extended this May, the month which in previous years had witnessed nuclear detonations and fighting in the Kargil area by the two countries.

The invitation by the Indian premier gives a breathing space to the beleaguered general who has pleaded for talks since he assumed office in October 1999. He was quick to accept the invitation.

But even as General Musharraf packs his bags for a visit to Delhi, the city where he was born, he can hardly be envied. He goes there as the weakest leader Pakistan has had in its dealing with its old rival. Pakistan and India have fought three wars and the Pakistan army has long sought to keep parity with India.

To make matters worse, relations with the world's sole superpower were strained, even as General Musharraf pulled his suitcase out to pack. The American media reported the apprehensions in the United States about Pakistan's nuclear programme. It claimed that Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage said this June that the US had "concerns of proliferation with Pakistan" which centred on "people who were employed by the nuclear agency and have retired". Dr Qadeer, one of the key scientists whom Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave the nuclear blueprints to develop, was recently asked to "retire" by the Musharraf regime.

Islamabad is yet to confirm whether the American official was referring to Dr Qadeer or another scientist when it mentioned about the "retired" persons who were employed in Pakistan's nuclear programme. The previous PPP government imposed travel restrictions on Pakistan's nuclear scientists. It did so upon learning in 1990 of a pro-fundamentalist journalist planning, without authorisation, to take a leading scientist to a country desirous of developing a nuclear programme.

The American concern about Pakistan's proliferation profile comes on the eve of the scheduled talks between the Indian Prime Minister and General Musharraf. The concern will increase pressure on Islamabad as it negotiates with India. Islamabad already faces economic pressure. Unlike Musharraf, Vajpayee is an elected leader. He consulted his leader of opposition before extending the invitation to his Pakistani counterpart.

Musharraf, on the other hand, isn't even on talking terms with the opposition in his country. They have been forced into



TALKING THROUGH THEIR HATS: Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Pervez Musharraf

exile. Musharraf thus bats on a weak political wicket in a match where the crowds will root for the home team.

Islamabad was quick to counter the perception that its contacts with North Korea involved senior figures in the Pakistani nuclear establishment. However, Americans claimed evidence of North Korean officials visiting a nuclear weapons related site in Pakistan.

If Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was able to give the nuclear scientists of his time blueprints for the development of a nuclear device, his party gave the programme a fillip. In its two terms, it established and funded the Missile Technology Board as well as enabled the development of ballistic missile technology. Those policies cost it its governments.

It is that ballistic missile technology which is at the heart of current American concerns under its new leadership. President Bush is trying to build a consensus on developing a missile defence system. It is watching missile development like a hawk. Since its nuclear detonations, Pakistan has set up a Nuclear Regulatory Authority. Yet, even as America contemplates the lifting of sanctions against India imposed at the time of its tests in May 1998, sanctions on Pakistan are expected to remain. These are buttressed with other sanctions imposed after the generals seized power.

The external sanctions, the lack of internal props of support, the sword of economic bankruptcy and the dependence on international financial institutions make the India visit an important

one for General Musharraf. He will need to show movement to continue with the oxygen mask given to him through the Delhi invite. In contrast, Prime Minister Vajpayee faces little of such pressures. He can afford to smile and say, as did the spider to the fly, "come into my parlour".

Even as he invited the general, the Indian leader took care of his hardliners. The invite was calibrated with the end of the so-called ceasefire that existed in the disputed Kashmir region for the last one year.

The end of the ceasefire could well mean more activity between Indian forces and Kashmiri militants. And more pressure by Kashmiri militants — excluded from the talks — on Musharraf as he makes his way to Delhi.

Two years back, Vajpayee visited Pakistan in a short-lived thaw between the two countries. Musharraf, then the army chief, was conspicuously absent from the welcome line. The absence signaled army disapproval of the visit. The Musharraf visit illustrates the difference between political and military perceptions.

The same Musharraf who scoffed at the dialogue process by political governments and opposed the Vajpayee visit to Lahore as army chief, perforce changed his tune as the chief executive, calling for talks "at any time and at any place" and agreed to journey to Delhi.

The Pakistani opposition has largely welcomed the start of the dialogue between the two nuclear-armed states. While it has denied legitimacy to any agreement reached by an unelected

leader, it has allowed the prospective visit to set the precedent for better communication between the historical rivals.

The opposition has calculated that a military ruler can make little headway in negotiations given the military's own vested interest in the tension. But, with general elections scheduled for next year, it sees the visit as a softening of the process. Pakistani public opinion is also changing.

Previous leaders that ventured to hold talks with India were often called traitors. That is no longer the case with the new realities as Pakistan reaps the bitter harvest of its nuclear blasts and tensions with India in the form of a collapsing economy.

While Muslim countries took pride in Pakistan's nuclear programme, they were unable to subsidise it with generous aid packages. The sinking economy, the wide-scale poverty and suicides by the hungry, is drawing a new picture of a new society and a new generation. Pakistan in the 21st century is no longer America's "most allied ally".

Gone is the recent talk of "American evenhandedness" between India and Pakistan. As America dramatically and rapidly improves relations with New Delhi, announcing that it will deal with India and Pakistan "on a separate basis", Islamabad needs to chart a foreign policy that keeps pace with the changing realities in the new world order. Those changing realities have filled Pakistan's platter with a host of issues that need digesting.

These include steps in confidence building, improved relations with India through better management of its dispute, a revised Afghan policy that can shake off the threat of terrorist charges, as well as a macro political environment that can give the people a chance at economic opportunity and recovery.

Musharraf's visit to New Delhi will be widely watched and reported. He will enjoy the journey to his hometown that he left at Partition. It will be filled with nostalgia. But the shopping bags he brings home will be empty of substantive agreements. That may be just as well. A Musharraf agreement would lack legitimacy in Pakistan. And India's credentials as the world's largest democracy is hardly helped by dealing with a dictator.

The visit is still worthwhile in its symbolism. It is acquiescence by the Kargil architect that old ways have given way to new. Given the hostility of the Pakistani armed forces to the Indo-Pak talks in 1989 and 1999, that is a big achievement. Even if it took more than a decade to take place.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

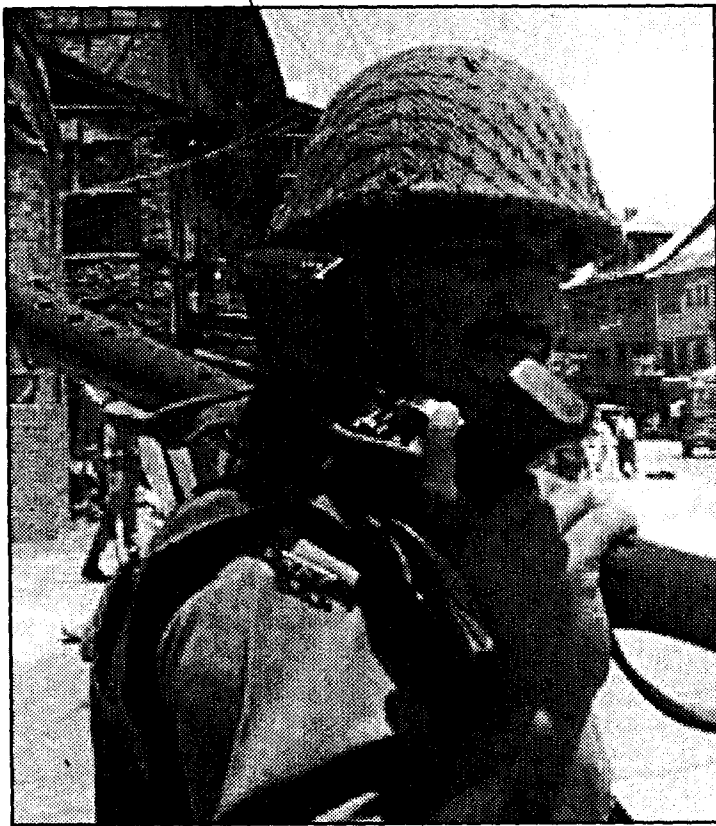
13 JUN 2001

THE DIALOGUE

AA-7 17/6 Judo Park

BY ASHOK KAPUR AND M.L. SONDHI

The Vajpayee initiative must be welcomed as a sincere effort to build a new and sound Indo-Pakistani security architecture. The forthcoming meeting is an opportunity to build a new relationship by starting a serious dialogue now. To succeed it must rely on the continuous involvement of the Indian military leadership and its political masters on the Indian side, and the thinking of the Pakistani military and intelligence establishments and their Islamic constituents within Pakistan and Afghanistan. Non-governmental organisations, well meaning journalists with "Indo Pakistan friendship" credentials, civil society advocates and Tract II advocates have no meaningful role. They are unelected, self-appointed intermediaries, who do not speak for the principals and who more often than not confuse and distract rather than settle issues. They do not face the bullets and talk is cheap because they do not have to take any risks in deadly quarrels. The main stakeholders are the governments on both sides because it is now in their interest to find common ground for regional peace, Track II agendas have more to do with the agendas of the participants than with the development of a win-win situation for the collectivities in India and Pakistan. The real dialogue should be private, both sides should spell out their wish list in a low key manner, and once the agendas are on the table, it may be possible to create the basis of a discourse. The general idea is to first tone down the deadly quarrel in the form of killings and firings over the Line of Control. This is happening. The next logical step is to convert the deadly quarrel into a ritual confrontation where "talk, talk is better than fight, fight". Once the structure of conflict is stabilised, and it is now in the sense that Indians and Pakistanis are aware of the danger of the escalatory potential of conflict in the area and as Kargil showed they acted to contain it even as they fight hard. The principals in the discourse are Indian and Pakistani government practitioners. For instance, the Hurriyat has no role to play. Kashmiri "liberation" forces have lost their influence. They can neither fight successfully nor deliver a political deal i.e. they can neither strike or negotiate successfully. Politics is about strategies which are effective and appreciated. Hurriyat has dealt itself out of the decision loop because it is a sidekick and the negotiations requires the attendance of the principals at the bargaining table. The presence of the Indian armed forces under the continuous direction of the Indian political leadership is now a must because they carry the main burden of the fighting and they have much to gain from ceasefires which lead to a political settlement. There is no danger that the Indian armed forces will run out of threats because the China and the Bay of



A Border Security Force jawan patrols a marketplace in central Srinagar. (Reuters)

Bengal or Burma and Indian Ocean environments will require the full time attention of the armed forces.

The Vajpayee-Mushrraraf dialogue has potential now because both have domestic compulsions and both see an opportunity to develop a new framework of action. The new Bush administration is encouraging discourse privately and it is doing so maturely by shunning the crudity of Madeleine Albright-style pressures. Pakistan is bankrupt economically. No one of stature is electable from Pakistan's political class; the Sharif and Bhutto families have been marginalised. Musharraf cannot extend himself as Army chief when his term ends and he seeks a major role as a civilian, like Indonesia's Suharto, and he needs political legitimacy. Talibanised Islam and Pakistan's support of Afghanistan is giving the Pakistani military a bad name, and the military and the ISI can shed Indian blood but they cannot win Kashmir by force. Moreover, the Indians have staying power and the costs of military operations is higher for Pakistan's defence establishment than they are for

India. At the same time, Musharraf must also calculate that Vajpayee too has his compulsions with pressure from the Congress Party, state election losses and as is typical in the subcontinent, there are many aspirants for the Prime Minister's job in the inner circle. At the same time Vajpayee has courage and imagination. The Pakistani establishment know him as the author of Pokhran II, Kargil containment, opening up with America, pushing the Look East policy, pushing Indian economic reforms and seeker of a dialogue with Pakistan through the Lahore bus diplomacy. For Pakistan, the plus is that Vajpayee is not interested in breaking up Pakistan because it is in the Indian interest to secure Pakistan as a buffer with Afghanistan. Vajpayee knows a cardinal rule of statecraft. Do not create a vacuum in the neighbourhood unless one can fill it. Right now Vajpayee and Musharraf need each other for their political futures and the well being of their countries. The answer does not lie in US mediation which General Colin Powell has sensibly ruled out. The answer lies in a high level discourse, not shrill public diplomacy, and here scholarly back-

The dialogue should rest on several realities. First, the world community is tired about the Kashmir issue. The German problem was solved, the two Koreas have begun a discourse and the situation there is stabilising, so why not try the same in the subcontinent. The prospects of UN or US mediation are nil and any advocacy along these lines is counterproductive. China has nothing constructive to offer in the subcontinent. It is interested more in dangerous meddling in subcontinental affairs rather than in conflict resolution

ground assessments can help define the issues and the arenas for developing multi-pronged channels of building economic cultural and inter-military linkages. The minus for Pakistani military establishment is that, it cannot win Kashmir militarily, there is no fatigue on the Indian side, the Indian public identified with the Indian armed forces' commitment to territorial integrity and national security. The alternative to a negotiated settlement is a costly fight which Pakistan cannot win and which may cause Indians to consider counter-measures in the future. So the time is right for a serious and on-going discourse which should cut out the distracters and the confusing noise makers from the process.

The dialogue will likely be an extended one. It should be multi-dimensional. It is necessary to bring a variety of issues and social forces on the agenda. Can economic linkages between the two be created? Can the Line of Control be considered the international border with friendship huts and an open border, or a custom or an economic union of some kind? Can the activities of "guest mercenaries" be curtailed because they are there because

insurgency is good business, not because they care about Kashmiris? What can Musharraf do to give Vajpayee a stake in the former's political future? Can the Pakistani Corps Commanders Committee become the instrument of Pakistani economic reform and Indo-Pakistani bilateral trade and investments? Can Indo-Pakistani normalisation become the basis of the world community's bigger engagement in the subcontinent's economic reforms and nation building? If such questions are considered, the approach to dialogue can be businesslike, not emotional or sentimental and the baggage of the past can be gradually reworked into a proposition that the two countries must share the neighbourhood for their mutual benefit and the collective well being of the people.

The dialogue should rest on several realities. First, the world community is tired about the Kashmir issue. The German problem was solved, the two Koreas have begun a discourse and the situation there is stabilising, so why not try the same in the subcontinent. The prospects of UN or US mediation are nil and any advocacy along these lines is counterproductive. China has nothing constructive to offer in the subcontinent. It is interested more in dangerous meddling in subcontinental affairs rather than in conflict resolution. Secondly, self-determination is not accepted by the world community as an international norm. The overriding principle in international law and in international relations is to support territorial integrity and sovereignty. So the issue is not one of Kashmiri self-determination. It is to find a realistic basis for an Indo-Pakistani political settlement.

Pakistan is a failing state but it need not fail. It can reform itself in the economic, social and political spheres with outside help. Pakistanis are cosmopolitan people, they are wired to the world, they are talented and motivated. They can be active partners in shaping a dynamic and a challenging regional environment that touches Central Asia, China, the Indian Ocean area and Southeast Asia. Instead of cancelling each other out the two should be developing regional synergy that advances their interests in a non-zero sum manner. The costs of Indian defence in Kashmir and Siachin and elsewhere, are less for India than for Pakistan and India has the option to escalate its military strategy if peace diplomacy fails. Vajpayee and Musharraf must not fail to rise to the occasion and avoid their temptation to play to the gallery when history beckons to a higher calling.

PROFESSOR ASHOK KAPUR is chairman at the department of Political Science, University of Waterloo, Canada and PROFESSOR M.L. SONDHI is chairman of the Indian Council of Social Science Research.

The Vajpayee-Mushrraraf dialogue has potential now because both have domestic compulsions and both see an opportunity to develop a new framework of action. The new Bush administration is encouraging discourse privately and it is doing so maturely by shunning the crudity of Madeleine Albright-style pressures. Pakistan is bankrupt economically. No one of stature is electable from Pakistan's political class; the Sharif and Bhutto families have been marginalised. Musharraf cannot extend himself as Army chief when his term ends and he seeks a major role as a civilian, like Indonesia's Suharto, and he needs political legitimacy

111
'WE DON'T WISH TO DERAILED INDO-PAK. SUMMIT'

Hurriyat to suspend protest plan

HTI
By Shujaat Bukhari 11/6

SRINAGAR, JUNE 10. The All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) today decided to temporarily suspend its general strike programme against "state terrorism" in view of the coming India-Pakistan summit. It has also decided not to support the strike call given by Kashmir Bar Association against the grenade attack at Charar-e-Sharief.

Reiterating full support to the proposed summit-level talks between India and Pakistan in July, the Hurriyat Conference has decided to stop, for the time being, its "organised people's movement" programme against the "atrocities" of the state. This includes the suspension of general strikes, a significant aspect of the Hurriyat's anti-India programme.

Confirming this, the Hurriyat spokesperson, Sheikh Abdur Rasheed, told *The Hindu* that the forum does not want to create a situation which could go against the success of the coming Vajpayee-Musharraf talks. "Since the Hurriyat does not wish that the forthcoming talks on Kashmir be disturbed or derailed in any way, we have decided to suspend the people's movement against state atrocities," he said.

Mr. Rasheed said this was the reason why the Hurriyat had not called for a general strike to protest the grenade attack on the shrine of the revered Sheikh Nooruddin Noorani at Charar-e-Sharief on Friday. "Though we know that a situation was created by none other than the police's Special Operations Group (SOG), which hurled the grenade as was substantiated by people's statements, and a strike call had become inevitable, in the larger interests of the success of the talks we have decided against it."

The Hurriyat has also decided not to support the general strike call for Monday given by the Kashmir Bar Association despite the Association being one of the general council members of the APHC. "They should have

consulted us on this," Mr. Rasheed said.

However, the spokesperson said that other means of protests against atrocities would continue. This includes visits by Hurriyat leaders to affected areas. "We had asked the people to be ready for an organised movement against state terrorism, but we have suspended it only for the time being." Mr. Rasheed added that the Hurriyat was hopeful of a positive outcome of the meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, and Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf.

As protests against the attack on the shrine continued for the third day in the Charar town, police arrested Dr. Ghulam Mohammad Hubbi, a middle-rung Hurriyat leader and native of Charar-e-Sharief. Dr. Hubbi, along with his family members, was on a hunger strike in front of the shrine to protest the arrests of some youth after the incident.

Demonstrations by a few hundred people continued in the town. The situation remains tense with police and paramilitary forces

keeping a strict vigil. (According to PTI, the toll in Friday's attack has gone up to six with two women, Noora and Hajra of Srinagar, succumbing to injuries.)

Senior Hurriyat leader, Mr. Abdul Gani Lone, on his way to Charar-e-Sharief from Srinagar was, however, not allowed to proceed beyond Chadoora. A police contingent stopped Mr. Lone and his supporters and asked them to return to Srinagar. A Hurriyat spokesperson condemned the police action.

Signals positive: Advani

MUMBAI, JUNE 10. The Union Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, today expressed optimism that the latest initiative taken by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, in inviting the Pakistan military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, would yield positive results.

"Basically, I think all the signals are positive. We are optimistic that the latest initiative taken by the Prime Minister will yield positive results," he told reporters here. — PTI

Militants fire from mosque, SOG officer killed

SRINAGAR, JUNE 10. Militants holed up in a mosque tonight fired at security forces killing a police officer in Anantnag district of Jammu and Kashmir, official sources said here.

Troops of the Rashtriya rifles and the Anantnag unit of Special Operations Group (SOG) of police surrounded the mosque at Kokernag, 70 km from here, on receiving information that some foreign militants were there.

The troops asked the ultras to surrender but the militants responded by opening fire, killing the SOG officer. Sources said four militants were hiding there. All escape routes

had been sealed and reinforcements of security forces were being rushed in, they added.

The encounter between the security personnel and the militants was on till late into the night. Police were taking care to avoid damage to the mosque.

Only a couple of days ago, unidentified militants had set off explosions in the premises of the Charar-e-Sharief shrine killing four women worshippers and injuring 60.

Last month, three militants were holed up in a mosque at Shopian in Pulwama district of south Kashmir for 20 hours before being allowed safe passage. — PTI

THE HINDU

Hurriyat to suspend agitation ahead of Indo-Pak summit

SRINAGAR: In a major peace overture in Jammu and Kashmir, the Hurriyat Conference, the apex body of 23 separatist groups, on Sunday decided to suspend for the time being its agitational activities in view of the proposed summit between Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pakistani military ruler Gen Pervez Musharraf.

A statement issued by the Hurriyat Conference here said, "The situation in which the people of Jammu and Kashmir find themselves demands an organised people's movement. But in view of the proposed summit, the Hurriyat has decided to suspend the same for the time being." The statement said it wanted the summit between Mr Vajpayee and Gen Musharraf to succeed and asserted the

Hurriyat would not indulge in any act which would derail the dialogue.

Terming the summit as a "good beginning" towards restoring peace in the state, the Hurriyat demanded its inclusion in the proposed talks. The Hurriyat announcement about peace gesture came nearly three weeks after the

Centre suspended its unilateral ceasefire in the state and invited Gen Musharraf for talks in New Delhi.

In Mumbai, home minister L.K. Advani told reporters that all signals ahead of the proposed Indo-Pak summit had been "positive" so far. "I think that all the signals are positive. One can be optimistic that this latest initiative by the Prime Minister will give results," Mr Advani said.

The Hurriyat statement alleged that several agencies got unnerved following the peace process set in motion by Mr Vajpayee and started engineering acts of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, "the gameplan being to defame the militants."

Referring to Friday's explosion at Charar-e-Sharief shrine which killed four women, the statement said the militants were not responsible for the blast and the "incident is part of a dangerous gameplan".

Meanwhile, the president of Jammu and Kashmir Democratic Freedom Party (JKDFP) Shabir Ahmed Shah, with whom Centre's interlocutor K.C. Pant held talks last week, said recent statements by Gen Musharraf were "positive and indicate his seriousness to resolve the dispute which has strained the relations between two nations in the region."

However, Mr Shah made it clear the issue cannot be resolved in one meeting between the two and may take time. Without naming any party or leader, Mr Shah said there

were elements who were placing hurdles in the Prime Minister's peace initiative.

In a related development, firebrand Hurriyat leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani has attacked 'jehadi' groups which spread hatred against India and resort to emotional slogans like 'crush India', in a statement similar to the

one made by Gen Musharraf which has drawn sharp criticism from militant organisations.

"Our struggle is not based on any enmity against India, not on account of it being a Hindu-majority state but merely because India reneged on its promise to us that we would be allowed to decide our own future," he said.

"I have repeatedly criticised groups which spread hatred against India. I have asked the jehadi groups not to resort to emotional slogans such as 'crush India' as they are neither realistic nor do they reflect the spirit of Islam," Mr Geelani, who is known to be a hardliner, said in an interview to a Karachi-based magazine *Newsline*. (PTI)

Benazir is likely to visit India

ISLAMABAD: Undeterred by the three-year sentence awarded to her by a court here on Saturday for her failure to appear before it, former Pakistani premier Benazir Bhutto is likely to visit India much before the forthcoming Indo-Pak summit between military ruler Gen Pervez Musharraf and Indian Minister A.B. Vajpayee. Ms Bhutto would continue her efforts to go to New Delhi for Gen Musharraf's proposed summit, sources in Ms Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party said on Sunday. (PTI)



Benazir Bhutto

India, Pak,

By K. K. Katyal
NEW DELHI, JUNE 10. "Handle with care" is the message that needs to be given to all those concerned with the preparations for the India-Pakistan summit. Particularly to Islamabad which could not resist the temptation of launching a tirade against India, two days ago, using familiar worn-out phrases like "repression" by security forces, "escalation of terror against Kashmiri people".

If not checked, this trend could jeopardise the improvement in the atmosphere, resulting from conscious efforts by the two sides. Barring the latest statement by the Pakistan foreign office (on the Charar-e-Sharif incident), right noises had emanated from New Delhi and Islamabad — from the people who matter in the two countries. It was essential that the momentum generated by the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee's invitation and the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's acceptance was kept up.

Considering the surcharged atmosphere on both sides of the border since the Kargil conflict in 1999, it was no mean achievement to have given a positive twist to bilateral dealings. The fear of a false step or a discordant note — and, thus, of derailment of the peace process — was there and was not misplaced. There is no dearth of pessimistic predictions. We have to keep our fingers crossed. It will be a pity if the prophets of doom rather than persons of goodwill prove right. There is a case for building up

must keep up summit

on the improvement till around the middle of July, the probable timing of the summit.

Statement misconstrued

Care needs to be taken to ensure that the tone set by Mr. Vajpayee's invitation and Gen. Musharraf's reply are not disturbed. Both the letters were carefully worded, avoiding polemical formulations. However, one sentence in the General's reply was misconstrued by some here.

Responding to Mr. Vajpayee's sentiments about a strong, secure and stable Pakistan, the Pakistani ruler said: "We wish to see a stable and prosperous India at peace with its neighbours." This was interpreted as an implied dig at New Delhi's inability to resolve problems with others in the neighbourhood. Islamabad, however, was quick to dispel the misunderstanding — with words of welcome to the announcement by India and Bangladesh of the dates of their talks on the issues thrown up by the recent incident on the border.

The most significant was Gen. Musharraf's plain speaking to the representatives of the Islamic parties — at a function on Prophet Mohammed's birthday. He called upon them to desist from making irresponsible and rash statements which only served to bring a bad name to Pakistan, with descriptions like a terrorist or a failed state. It had been the habit of the Islamic organisations, to use their platform for blatant anti-India rhetoric — the talk of the "resolve to hoist the Halali Parcham (Muslim flag) on the Red Fort" being a notable

up summit

refrain. This, obviously, was incongruous with the moves for a new beginning and the fact that the General recognised its negative potential has not gone unnoticed here.

However the Pakistani ruler, while promising flexibility in his talks with Mr. Vajpayee, was not prepared to advise the Kashmiri militants to scale down their activities. The stage for such a suggestion could be reached, according to him, when talks are held and make some progress.

Whatever else this may or may not mean, it was clear that Pakistan did exercise control over the jihadi elements, that it was in a position to regulate their actions and that it was not just a case of "moral, diplomatic and political support" to the militants.

Not that there was any doubt about Islamabad's active involvement in the terrorist actions in Jammu and Kashmir, but Gen. Musharraf's remarks provided an implied confirmation.

The reactions to the Gen. Musharraf's advice to the jihadis helped to strengthen the positive trends. Mr. Vajpayee was happy at the goodwill created by it, rightly emphasising the need for stopping hostile propaganda as the first step towards friendship.

Media support

In Pakistan, important sections of the Press endorsed the advice. Said *Dawn*: "Gen. Musharraf specifically referred to irresponsible talk with regard to India and the adverse effect it has on India's Muslim

momentum

minority. This bravado, out of proportion to harsh realities, also affects Pakistan's image in the outside world especially the West and helps those anti-Pakistani lobbies which are very keen to have this country declared as a rogue state."

The Nation had this to say: "Anyone aware of how a particular section of ulama had opposed the creation of Pakistan would readily concede that the practice of using religion for ulterior motives must be stopped." A section of the jihadi groups, however, reacted sharply against it, with denigrative references to the General's warning up to Mr. Vajpayee.

At the same time (both here and in Pakistan), there was a feeling that the General's remark was meant for the consumption of Washington. Attention was drawn to its timing — on the eve of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar's departure for the U.S. for the first contact with the Bush administration.

The U.S. had publicly hailed the move for the summit. So did others in the world community. However, the U.K. while welcoming the Vajpayee invitation, called upon "Indian security forces in Kashmir to show maximum respect for human rights".

This point was, perhaps, made with an eye on the support of Mirpuris (the Muslim immigrants from the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir) in the elections. Now that the poll is over, the British government, it is hoped, would see no need for such statements which tend to create misunderstandings in India about the British stand.

THE HINDU

JUN 10 1999

Autonomy reports a US idea: Pak

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

ISLAMABAD, June 10. — Pakistan today said reports in US media that military ruler Gen Pervez Musharraf is considering to put forward a proposal to grant some degree of autonomy to Kashmir, during the coming Indo-Pak summit, was an idea floated by the US administration and was not the stand of Islamabad.

Reacting to yesterday's *The Washington Times* report stating that Pakistan may propose an autonomy formula during the proposed Musharraf-Vajpayee summit, Pakistan's defence spokesman Maj Gen Rashid Querishi said the autonomy idea essentially appeared to be that of the US government. It appears that the newspaper is quoting the US sources. This is not the position of

the government of Pakistan and I am not aware of such an idea being discussed at any level of our government," Maj Gen Querishi, also press advisor to Gen Musharraf, said. To a question whether Pakistan favoured such an idea, he said: "Our point of view is that the start of a new peace process will be the first step towards peaceful resolution of the long-standing problem.

"It is counter-productive to talk about solutions even before the talks began. Sometimes the talks could get stalled if we go too much into the issues even before the commencement of a dialogue."

Maj Gen Querishi said Gen Musharraf had consistently stressed the need for a dialogue as a first step. "Gen Musharraf always maintains that talks are a first step and a solution can be found if both the

parties demonstrate sincerity and genuine desire for peace," he said.

Asked about the "wild" reactions from religious parties and militant groups to the 5 June address of Gen Musharraf at a religious conference here in which he asked the clerics to stop making irresponsible statements like hoisting Islamic flag at Red Fort in New Delhi, Maj Gen Querishi said the government has taken note of the statements. He said some of the groups, however, misunderstood the context in which Gen Musharraf made the comments.

Benazir may visit India: Former Pakistani Prime Minister, Mrs Benazir Bhutto, is likely to visit India much before the forthcoming summit between General Pervez Musharraf and Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee.

THE STATESMAN

Negotiate with patience

NEWSWATCH



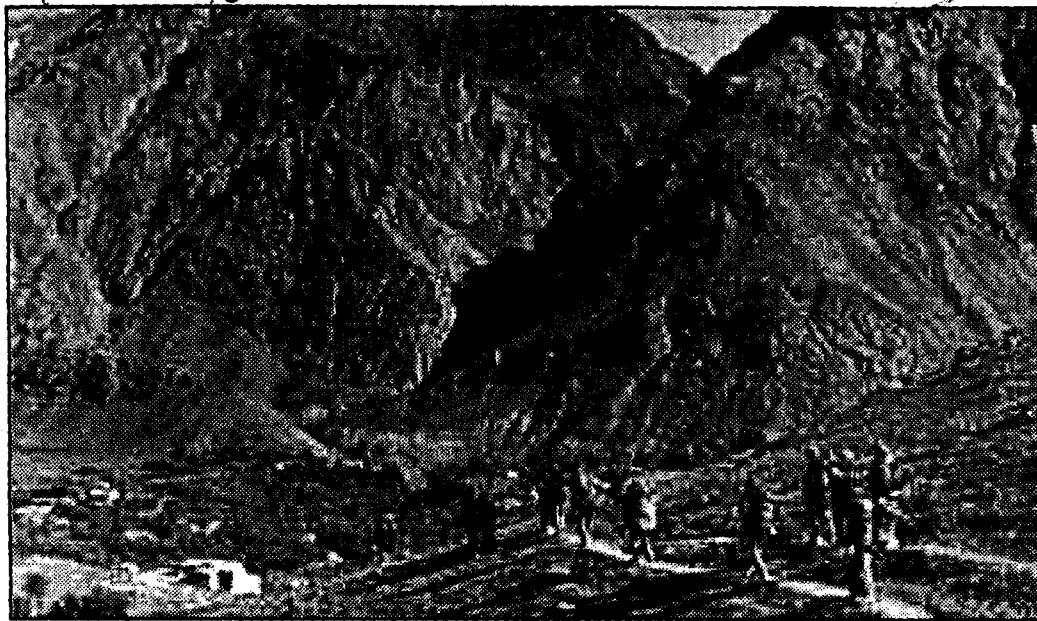
M.K. NARAYANAN

Non-initiation of Combat Operations in J&K which began during the holy month of Ramadan (and was extended thrice till the end of May) marked the beginning of a major peace initiative in J&K. The Centre's decision at the end of the six-month period to end the ceasefire does not necessarily mean that this peace process has been given up. It has been replaced by a fresh initiative viz an invitation by Prime Minister Vajpayee to Pakistan's Chief Executive, General Pervez Musharraf, for talks on Indo-Pak problems. The talks would include contentious issues such as J&K.

The decision to restart proactive operations against militants and mercenaries operating in J&K should be seen in its correct perspective. Implicit in this is an admission that the J&K militants had refused to respond positively to the restraint shown by the authorities. Also that, expectations of an improved climate for political discussions with various groups in J&K had been belied. However, by replacing a limited initiative viz one of reducing violence on the ground in J&K, with a more visionary approach of holding talks directly with Pakistan, India has convincingly demonstrated its commitment to the peace process and its willingness to negotiate a peace settlement.

Gen. Musharraf has responded with alacrity to the invitation for talks. He has also indicated that he is very willing to visit India to meet and hold talks with Prime Minister Vajpayee. He has followed this up by remonstrating strongly with various fundamentalist and jihadi organisations in Pakistan over their fulminations and urged them to rein in their militant rhetoric. The sharp divisions in Pakistan should, however, alert statesmen on both sides to the kind of problems that lie ahead, more so as many of Gen. Musharraf's political advisers tend to be equally intemperate in their beliefs. It might, hence, be unwise to invest too much hope on the outcome of these talks.

Yet, for most of the world, India's willingness to talk with Pakistan has been excellent news. Prime Minister Vajpayee's decision has been equated with his path-breaking trip to Lahore in April 1999, which at the time had created tremendous euphoria about improved Indo-Pak relations. This was unfortunately betrayed by Pakistan's misadventure in Kargil. There is also a fair amount of admiration for the way in which India has tried to enlist the support of its arch-enemy (Pakistan) in trying to secure "real" peace in a conflict-ridden area, and at the carefully structured manner in which each step of the "initiative escalator" is being constructed.



WHAT WILL THE SUMMIT BRING? For Pakistan, India's preparedness to discuss all issues, including Kashmir, means that the legitimacy of the military regime is no longer in question. Pakistan can hence set at rest fears that it is about to be clubbed with countries deemed to be "states of concern" or "rogue states". (Above: Kashmir, the disputed Valley)

None of this, however, takes away from the soul destroying intricacies of ushering in peace in J&K. J&K cannot be viewed in isolation. Several factors concerning Indo-Pak confrontation impact on the situation in J&K. Another aggravating factor is the heightened sense of insecurity that still pervades Pakistan — a legacy of Partition. Thus, while escalating levels of violence are a major impediment to peace in J&K, enduring peace clearly demands a political rather than a military approach. On at least two occasions during the past year opportunities for peace existed, but in the absence of proper political stewardship these initiatives were foredoomed to fail. It is even more important today to give peace another chance, so that fundamentalist violence does not spread further

Over the past several months, India has attempted to bring peace to Kashmir, but has met with major road-blocks. During the period of non-initiation of combat, India had tried to push ahead with peace negotiations, appointing a high level interlocutor, Mr K.C. Pant, to talk to the dissident groups and militant outfits. This effort was largely stymied due to the intransigence displayed by the All Party Hurriyat Conference — which seemed more interested in demonstrating its loyalty to Pakistan and insisting that it be allowed to ascertain Pakistan's views first (by sending a delegation to that country) than in finding an early solution to the J&K problem — and refused to talk to Mr Pant or any other Indian leader

and enlarge the area of conflict. Finessing the peace appears to be the leitmotif of Prime Minister Vajpayee's offer of talks with Gen. Musharraf. The decision to withdraw the six month old ceasefire and simultaneously the offer to talk with Pakistan has been a deft move. It has prevented greater disunity between the "hawks" and moderates within the government. It has conceded, but in a subliminal manner, that the nature of the Indo-Pak equation is crucial for a settlement of the J&K imbroglio. It has, perhaps, made it possible to sell a less than totally satisfactory package to all the parties involved in the present conflict in J&K. It has provided both sides i.e. India and Pakistan, the opportunity to be perceived by their respective constituencies as unwilling to compromise on basics or fundamentals. More than anything else, it induces hope that given statesmanship of a high order, the peace process may have a chance of succeeding.

Over the past several months, India has attempted to bring peace to Kashmir, but has met with major road-blocks. During the period of non-initiation of combat, India had tried to push ahead with peace-negotiations, appointing a high level interlocutor, Mr K.C. Pant, to talk to the dissident groups and militant outfits. This effort was largely stymied due to the intransigence displayed by the All Party Hurriyat Conference — which seemed more interested in demonstrating its loyalty to Pakistan and insisting that it be allowed to ascertain Pakistan's views first (by sending a delegation to that country) than in finding an early solution to the J&K problem — and refused to talk to Mr Pant or any other Indian leader. Consequently, rather than the intended move towards political negotiations, the period witnessed an intensification in violence, creating a new fear psychosis in the state.

The summit should, hence, avoid the temptation to produce half-baked settlements which could collapse at the first hurdle, or grand-standing of any kind. Its most important outcome at this point could be to greatly reduce, even if it may not be possible to totally eliminate, the violence and killings. For India, there is a great deal to be gained by a significant reduction in guerrilla warfare and terrorism by the jihadi outfits. For Pakistan, India's pre-

paredness to discuss all issues between the two countries, including Kashmir, means that the legitimacy of the military regime is no longer in question. Pakistan can hence set at rest fears that it is about to be clubbed with countries deemed to be "states of concern" or "rogue states". This would be no mean achievement for Gen. Musharraf, who could even claim that it was India that "blinked first" and that the offer of talks was made without Pakistan proffering any concessions. Fundamentalist rabble rousers in Pakistan would then not be able to pillory the Gen. for his moderation.

It would be best if exaggerated expectations are avoided on this occasion. This does not mean that the talks should be emptied of all meaning. Also, now that Pakistan and India are about to

Indian policy-makers will need to undertake detailed preparations over the next few weeks to be able to hold their own at the talks. They will have to contend with the 'spiral of hostility', endemic in conflicts which carry a high degree of emotional involvement, and decide what kind of checks and balances will be required. Again, since Pakistan has far less to lose than India, it might find it opportune to exacerbate the crisis atmosphere and even cause a breakdown of the talks so as to strengthen its plea for 'outside intervention' in the J&K dispute. India must not fall into any such trap by over-reacting. Instead it should patiently explain that 'outsiders' 'meddling' in situations of this kind have seldom been successful

begin a dialogue, the security forces in J&K should try and avoid any kind of "excess" that might unhinge the dialogue. If a significant reduction in violence takes place, then the security forces could even consider a "cooling-off period" to see how matters develop while "pro-active" operations are still in place.

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India would also do well to bear in mind that in a conflict of this kind protracted negotiations cannot be avoided. Discussions are also best held away from the public gaze. Undue publicity tends to polarise the leadership and an unending stream of publicity tempts leaders to adopt extremist agendas. Media battles to win international opinion to their point of view can have an unintended effect viz of the peace process being usurped by "outsiders", who have no real stake. This only results in propaganda blasts about the righteousness of respective positions, without any mutual benefit.

If the peace process is to succeed, it needs clear-cut strategic objectives. The main objective at this stage in J&K would be to bring about an end to violence. The others would be to prevent escalation of the conflict and prevent moves to "internationalise" the conflict. Among the tactical objectives would be to enhance deterrence to prevent escalation of violence; avoid major policy mistakes during this phase; prepare the people for peace, so that those whose aspirations are not fully met do not act as "spoilers" (there is a lesson in this for Pakistan as well as the intelligentsia and the military there have still to come to terms with the reality of J&K in the post-Cold War era, as also the futility of trying to alter established boundaries); and offer meaningful concessions such as greater autonomy for J&K.

The aim should be to build a sufficient consensus for a future political settlement. Expert inputs for developing new ideas and identifying new forms of governance in a conflict-torn area should be considered. Total political ownership of any agreement reached by experts or civil servants is, however, important. Rehabilitation of victims, or those who have suffered as a result of the violence and conflict, as well as post-conflict roles for ex-militants require to be devised. Most important, crisis objectives should not shape the final agenda of any settlement. These will need to be patiently negotiated.

M.K. NARAYANAN has served as chief of the Intelligence Bureau

'NO QUICK-FIX SOLUTIONS POSSIBLE'

An important step towards peace: Advani

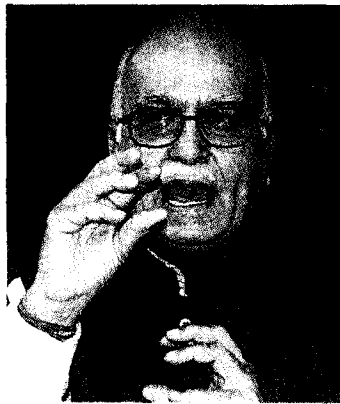
By Our Staff Correspondent

SHIMLA, JUNE 9. The various problems between India and Pakistan, which had defied solutions for more than 50 years, could not have "quick-fix" solutions, the Union Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, said today. The invitation sent by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, to Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, and its ready acceptance by the latter was a "resumption of the stalled dialogue process", he added.

Talking to reporters here, he described the Government's initiative as an important step towards mutual cooperation and hoped for a pleasant dialogue between the two nations. He also appreciated Islamabad's positive response in this regard.

Mr. Advani also blamed the media, which was "always looking for headlines", for misquoting him on the statement that he would not like to create false optimism on the coming summit meeting and said it was a major initiative in the process of normalisation of bilateral relations.

The organisations opposing the resumption of peace talks between the two countries were not only against India but also against Gen. Musharraf and Pakistan. They were, in a way, cautioning the General against taking any peace initiative in the region, he said. Asked why Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf didn't talk when they met at common venues such as the United Nations General As-



sembly, the Minister said Pakistan, after the Kargil episode, had once again unleashed terrorism in the subcontinent and squandered the opportunity for a peaceful dialogue.

International focus

India had regularly raised the topic of cross-border terrorism at international fora, he said. "India has succeeded in internationalising the cross-border terrorism and isolating Pakistan in the world community. Earlier Kashmir was attracting international focus because of some incidents of violence by militants but today it is in focus because of cross-border terrorism which is a major achievement of the government."

India had never been against a dialogue before the Kargil war and had always respected the Shimla Agreement, which advocated a bilateral solutions for all problems instead of internationalising regional issues. In pursuance of this, Mr. Vajpayee, in

1999, undertook the Lahore bus journey which culminated in the signing of the Lahore Declaration. But Gen. Musharraf, who was then against the Shimla Agreement, did not recognise or appreciate the Lahore Declaration, Mr. Advani said.

He further said India had introduced the non-initiation of combat operation (NICO), and the ground situation after its expiry was visible to all. "But we still want peace which is good for both the countries. Let us solve all problems through talks," he said adding "India has again invited Pakistan and we hope it will respond in the same manner."

A positive sign

PTI reports:

Mr. Advani said the manner in which Gen. Musharraf had advised the Muslim clergy in Pakistan against making anti-India statements was another positive sign and the reaction of the Lashkar-e-Taiba also indicated its concern about the summit.

Turning to the All-Party Hurriyat Conference, he said the Government wanted to consult all concerned in the State, including the National Conference, the BJP, the Congress, Kashmiri Pandits as well as the people of Jammu and Ladakh on the peace process.

To a question about the demand of the DMK president and former Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, for recalling the Governor, Ms. Fathima Beevi, Mr. Advani refused to comment.

THE HINDU

JUNE 10 2001

End 'repression' for a beginning: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy HD-1

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 9. Four days after the Pakistan military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, advised the religious and militant outfits in the country to exercise restraint in their anti-India tirade, the Foreign Office today accused the Indian Government of stepping up "repression" in Kashmir and urged it to "end the repression in order to create a positive environment for a dialogue at the summit level".

The ostensible reason for the statement was the explosion inside the Charar-e-Sharief complex in Jammu and Kashmir on Friday in which four persons died. But what stands out in the four-para press release of the Foreign Ministry is the sweeping condemnation of the Indian forces for the alleged stepped-up violence against the people of Kashmir after the May 23 announcement from New Delhi.

Implied in the statement was the charge that the security forces stepped up operations

against "Kashmiris and freedom fighters" after India announced withdrawal of its policy of non-initiation of combat operations and invited Gen. Musharraf for peace talks.

The Foreign Office alleged that Friday's attack was "part of the pattern of escalation of violence and terror against the Kashmiri people' after the May 23 announcement". It said this was manifested in an "upsurge in killings of civilians, including extra-judicial killings, disappearances and rape".

In other words, in the assessment of the Pakistani government, the ground situation in Kashmir had worsened after the invitation to Gen. Musharraf, and that India would have to take steps to improve the situation to create a positive environment for the summit meeting between the Prime Minister and Gen. Musharraf.

The Foreign Office statement follows the two-day conference of the top brass of the military where the invitation to Gen. Mushar-

raf and Kashmir were discussed. The press statement put out on the commanders' conference hardly gave any information on the nature of deliberations on the invitation. It merely said that it had been discussed.

It is difficult to guess what exactly prompted the Foreign Office to react so sharply to the Charar-e-Sharief incident, particularly in view of the coming summit meeting. However, it certainly provides strength to the cause of the hardliners, who can now tout the "we-told-you-so" line. It would be interesting to watch what steps India and Pakistan take to create the right tempo for the summit and ensure that the hardliners on both sides do not take advantage of the situation.

The statement read: "The Government of Pakistan strongly condemns yesterday's grenade attack at the Charar-e-Sharief shrine complex in Jammu and Kashmir at the time of Friday prayers and the ensuing indiscriminate firing by Indian forces."

70 JUN 10 1991

Efforts on to clear Delhi-Islamabad vision

India readies for smooth summit

H BULA DEVI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 9. - Efforts are being made to ensure the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit in the capital next month goes off well.

The ground work is being prepared so that some of the non-issues could be raised during the summit as an appetiser for the "core issue," the dispute over Kashmir.

An environment is being created so that before the summit takes place, New Delhi and Islamabad are able to bridge the gap that distanced the two since Kargil, and so that both are able to do away with "suspicions" about each other. The BALUSA group, a Track II initiative by leading opinion makers from both sides, has also resolved that the proposed summit should be converted into a "Lahore Plus" exercise to "undo Kargil."

The strategic move appears to be on a fast track. It was General Musharraf who pulled up Islamic parties and organisations on Wednesday for making "irresponsible" statements that led the international community to dub Pakistan a "terrorist and failed state".

This move was welcomed by Mr Vajpayee.

The Prime Minister wrote a letter to Pakistani ghazal singer Mehdi Hasan who is unwell after suffering a stroke a few months back. Mr Vajpayee wrote: "I join millions of fans in praying for your speedy and complete complete recovery so that the world of music may continue to have one of its greatest living exponents around

for a long time to come."

Fondly recalling Hasan's ghazal concert at Mr Vajpayee's residence in 1978, the Prime Minister said: "Your music, like the music of the great artistes of India and Pakistan, reminds us of the many common bonds of culture and spirituality that unite our two countries. Its equal popularity on both sides of the border illustrates that a life of peace and goodwill, and a readiness to appreciate the best of

visit to Luna village in Rajasthan, the ghazal singer's birth place.

Meanwhile, it is presumed that at the first day of the Core Commanders' conference on Friday, General Musharraf took his men into confidence about the stand he would adopt on Kashmir and the issue of whether Pakistan would agree to sort out differences on other outstanding issues irrespective of the progress on Kashmir front.

Apparently a day before the Core Commanders' meeting, India's High Commissioner in Islamabad Mr Vijay Nambiar met Pakistan's interior minister Mr Moinuddin Haider. During the meeting, two non-core issues were identified, visa regime and straying of fishermen into each others' territory in the maritime waters.

During the meeting, it was reportedly felt that since peoples of both sides face hardship to acquire visa, the visa regime should be addressed properly and the possibility of opening respective consulates in Karachi and Mumbai should be looked into. Pakistan had closed its consulate several years back.

Regarding the problem of fishermen straying into each other's waters, it was felt that such matters should be dealt as provincial matter.

Reports said that Pakistan is moving very "cautiously" on the summit. Officials would like non-core issues to be part of the dialogue. But, they would also prefer some bit of progress on the Kashmir front before the composite dialogue takes off. Speculations are also rife that Islamabad might reduce import duty on 200 Indian goods in its next budget.



Al Badr member carry the body of a fellow-activist in Havelian, 100 km north of Islamabad, on Friday. — AP/PTI

each other, is the natural aspiration of our peoples."

Expressing his deep feelings after reading a statement of Hasan, published in a recent article in Dawn newspaper, Vajpayee said it "echoes the sentiment of all Indian fans: 'Music and poetry know no boundaries. *Jo haq Pakistanion ko meri ghazalon pe hai, wohi Hindutanion ko bhi hai. Unho ne mujhe kam pyar naheen diya.*'" The Prime Minister has invited Hasan to his residence and for a

India, Pak. can coexist peacefully: Advani

By Our Special Correspondent

CHENNAI, JUNE 8. The Centre's initiative of inviting the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, for talks, even while terminating the ceasefire against terrorist operations in Jammu and Kashmir has started yielding positive results, the Union Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, said here today.

The decision had lent credence to the view that India wanted peace and both New Delhi and Islamabad were keen on deploying their financial resources for economic development, Mr. Advani said.

Addressing the 165th annual general meeting of the Madras Chamber of Commerce and Industry (MCCI), Mr. Advani said the problem created by the Partition in 1947 "cannot be wished away". The Government's decision (of an unconditional dialogue with Pakistan) was a "major beginning" towards a solution, he said, and hoped that it would be a "forward motion".

Describing the terrorism and the proxy war on the Indo-Pakistan border, of the last ten years, as a "turmoil", Mr. Advani said "even if an end to the turmoil is not in sight, we will be moving

forward... Something is going to come out (as a result of the recent initiative)." *HO-1 9/6*

The developments in Vietnam, Germany, Europe and Korea had shown that increasing interdependence and synergy (between nations) were the "best thing possible" and there was no reason why India and Pakistan should not live in peace with each other. "We are taking a long-range view of things," the Minister said.

Mr. Advani said the erstwhile Jana Sangh, under the presidency of Deen Dayal Upadhyaya in the early 1950s, had suggested a Confederation of India and Pakis-

tan — where the two countries could forge their strengths — and this was endorsed by the Socialist Party of Ram Manohar Lohia. "If today we were to make such a proposal, this would, I suppose, include Bangladesh," he said.

India favoured an early end to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka also for peace and stability.

"On a more general plane, the Centre has been working actively with the States and also trying to strengthen cooperation among States, to deal effectively with the challenges of terrorism, extremism and subversive elements. We have recently completed a

most thorough review of India's border management systems. The recommendations of the six task forces set up for this purpose will be implemented soon," Mr. Advani said.

Referring to the setting up of the Constitution Review Commission, he said the Government had intended only a review, not changes. The Commission would take a holistic view of the experience of the past five decades and the "ethical and moral constraints" faced in its proper working.

Talking to reporters at the airport earlier, Mr. Advani said there was no proposal at the "moment" to replace the Tamil Nadu Governor, Ms. Fathima Beevi, for swearing in an electorally disqualified person as Chief Minister.

Ruling out the possibility of conceding the All-Party Hurriyat Conference's demand for holding elections in Jammu and Kashmir under international scrutiny, he said India's commitment to democracy and free and fair election had drawn the admiration of the entire world. "So, there is no question of holding election in any part of India under international surveillance."

'No rethink on alliance with DMK'

By T.S. Shankar

CHENNAI, JUNE 8. The BJP leader and Union Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, today said the BJP's ties with the DMK "were good" and would continue.

Amid speculation of a possible renewal of the BJP's ties with the AIADMK, Mr. Advani said categorically that there was no scope for reviewing the alliance with the DMK. "The present alliance arrangement is very good. There is no scope for review of our ties with the DMK," he told *The Hindu* here.

The BJP leader, here on a day's visit, said he spoke to the DMK president, Mr. M. Karunanidhi over phone, as he could not call on him.

Indian, Pak kids take to theatre to promote peace ✓

Raveena Aulakh
Chandigarh, June 8

HR-9
9/6
A GROUP of 12 Pakistani children are presently in Chandigarh to stage the first Indo-Pak kids' theatre production, *Border Border*, on June 16. These children have already made good friends with their Indian co-actors. Just two days after they arrived in the city, they've moved out of their hotel into the homes of local children.

And no one's happier than Amrit Pal Singh, director of Besten Foundation, which has sponsored this collaboration. "When the Foundation brought Pakistani theatre activist Madeeha Gauhar to the city last May for a workshop, we thought of having a production where Indian and Pakistani kids could work together," he says.

Most of the Pakistani children

PANT TO MEET PARTIES

THE CENTRE'S interlocutor in Jammu and Kashmir, K C Pant, will start meeting representatives of national parties on Saturday. He will first meet Congress leaders Pranab Mukherjee and Ghulam Nabi Azad. Later, he will meet members of other parties, including the BJP and the Left parties. PTI, New Delhi

are part of the Ajoka Children's Theatre, Lahore, which is Madeeha's brainchild.

For both Madeeha and Singh, the main reason for bringing the kids together is to promote peace and harmony between the two nations through children.

"Given the kind of relations our countries have, we know *Border Border* — a tale of two kids accidentally crossing the border and finding everything so similar even though they are told

otherwise — would be a challenge and something different," says Madeeha.

The kids from across the border are having a whale of a time in Chandigarh. Except for a couple of things, they admit it's just like being at home.

As Yasir Abbas, who'll do anything to go to Mumbai to meet his favourite Bollywood stars, says: "It's only the boards, where everything is written in Hindi, which remind me that I am not in Gujranwala. That's the only perceptible difference between India and Pakistan."

But local girls zipping around in shorts on their scooters and bikes, came as a shock. Meeran, a Class VI student from Lahore, comments: "After a certain age, girls can't go outside like this in Pakistan. But everything else is so similar, the people are so nice and India is just like home."

Pakistan bid to blame India

By Atul Aneja

South Asia
FD-14
KATHMANDU, JUNE 7. In a bizarre bid to throw mud on India for last Friday's massacre of the royal family, the Pakistani establishment here is planning to circulate copies of some of its select newspapers which see in the events the end of the Indian intelligence agency — RAW, highly placed sources said.

Copies of the Urdu daily *Nawa-Vaqt* with reports accusing the Indian intelligence agency of plotting the killings are likely to be circulated in some of the capital's mosques during Friday prayers.

Curiously, the views stated in some of the Pakistani newspapers are in consonance with the opinion expressed by the Maoists here at the late King Birendra was a victim of a conspiracy jointly hatched by RAW and the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Sources here do not rule out an understanding between the Pakistanis and the Maoists to exploit the existing situation to India's detriment and point out that regular contacts between the two are being maintained.

In fact, the Pakistanis and the Maoists met in the mid-western town of Pokhara only seven days ago. While meetings have been held, a tie-up on the transfer of arms by the Pakistani intelligence to the Maoists is yet to materialise.

In fact, negotiations for the transfer of RDX did not result in a deal.

This was mainly on account of Pakistani insistence that the

find its feet. After eliciting the support of the mainstream parties in principle, Nepal's monarchy under King Gyanendra is training its guns on the Maoists and their sympathisers.

This was evident when the Government took the astonishing step of arresting a well-connected journalist, Mr. Yubraj Ghimire and charging him with sedition for publishing an inflammatory article by Mr. Baburam Bhattarai,

and the elected Government may not hesitate to go after them.

As for the media, the message is clear — it has to operate within well-defined limits.

It is now likely that after the emergence of King Gyanendra on the throne, the Army for the first time will be let loose against the Maoists, the sources observed.

The new monarch's willingness to make use of the Army was evident when for the first time after the 1990 pro-democracy movement, the latter was freely deployed on the streets on Monday.

Analysts here say that the Government is likely to turn more assertive after it manages to satisfy the people with the results of the on-going inquiry on last Friday's regicide. The Government has noted with concern that the mainstream communists belonging to the CPN (UML) have avoided becoming a party to the probe.

That gives them an option to turn against the Government, in case they, sensing the public mood, feel that it is more advantageous for them to oppose the Government after the committee submits its report.

'Maoist rebel leader's charge ridiculous'

WASHINGTON, JUNE 7. The U.S. today described as 'ridiculous' the Nepali Maoist rebel leader's charge that American and Indian intelligence agencies were behind the assassination of the royal family but urged the authorities to release the three journalists of the Nepalese daily 'Kantipur' charged with treason for having printed the allegations.

A State Department official said the U.S. embassy officials have taken up the case of the journalists with the Nepalese authorities. — UNI

Maoists should not use the explosives in the host country, which condition was rejected by the extremists.

With seven days elapsing after the regicide, the new dispensation in the capital is beginning to

a top Maoist leader.

Sources said that with the arrest the authorities were sending a signal both to the Maoists and the media. As for the Maoists, the move was an indication that the new combination of the royalty

THE HINDU

Indo-Pak. summit — the third factor

By I. K. Gujral

9/16 11/12

IT IS not for the first time that the world media; the think tanks and the leading intellectuals are taking interest in the countries of South Asia and their inter-se relationships. Their well-considered comments and views about the forthcoming Vajpayee- Musharraf meeting are neither casual nor flip-pant. Prof. Stephen Cohen, presently a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a former consultant in the Bush (Senior) Administration, is a highly merited academic. He has been writing about the Indo-Pakistan relations for nearly three decades. He now says, "that the Indo-Pak. summit (is) again on track". Over the years he has believed that the United States has an important role in the Indo-Pakistan imbroglio even though "the relationship between the United States and India and Pakistan is complex. Presently a comprehensive policy review is currently under way by the Bush administration".

As is known, this leading power in the 'complex relationship' has been carefully watching India's nuclear development though not so much that of Pakistan. The American policy-makers spared no effort to make us sign the CTBT and conform to the NPT and the missile disciplines. In this context, Prof. Cohen had been suggesting that the "route to India's denuclearisation passed through Kashmir". Notwithstanding Pokhran-II this proposition continues to impress the U.S. policy-makers.

Prof. Cohen observes that Mr. Vajpayee's invitation to Pakistan's Chief Executive "was realpolitik, not kindness" and his motive was "to pre-empt any American attempt to serve as a regional peacemaker, and there were reports that the Bush Administration intended to mount such an effort, albeit a modest one". If true, this is a very significant revelation. In Prof. Cohen's view, "resumption of the Indo-Pak. dialogue that was abruptly broken off by Pakistan's bold but misguided military action in Kashmir two years ago" is positive though it is an amusing irony that the same "General Musharraf (who) was the leading advocate of the bloody 11-week military confrontation in the icy heights of Kashmir's Kargil region now sits in the seat of pow-

9/16 11/12

If the Delhi meet revives the mutual trust and faith, it will have served a highly useful purpose.

er and his perspective has changed dramatically..."

Whatever be the fate of the Indo-Pakistan dialogue, Prof. Cohen asks the Bush administration to understand that "a reinvigorated peace process will demand more rather than less high level attention from the Capitol Hill and the White House (who) should see in it an opportunity to deepen its engagement in South Asia first by strengthening its ties with India and Pakistan respectively and then by ensuring that these talks are followed by substantive progress on linked problems of Afghanistan, Kashmir and the threat of regional nuclear war..."

Two of the three anxieties that belabour the Washington policy-makers are nuclear proliferation and Afghanistan. India and the U.S. are even otherwise engaged in discussing various aspects of New Delhi's nuclear weapons programme. But the Taliban adventures in Afghanistan and adjoining countries of Central Asia cause deep concern to the near and distant neighbours. The formation of the 'Shanghai Five' (now six) was jointly initiated by China and Russia to manifest this uneasiness. Despite China's leading role in the forum, the Pakistani pleadings for its membership have not been heeded. Four member-states: Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan (apart from Russia and China) believe that Pakistan is the bedrock of the 'Jehadi' intrusions in their countries.

General Musharraf has often described "Afghanistan as a success story", but Prof. Cohen minces no words in saying that the "recent events in Afghanistan offer a brief glimpse of a more likely and equally frightening scenario in these actions (destruction of Buddhist shrines and asking Hindus to wear badges...), in addition to barbaric treatment of women, indicate that the dominant faction in the Taliban (are) like other fanatic groups in Asia such as the (bloody) Khmer Rouge... And that the influence of the Taliban is spreading among Pushtun speakers in parts of Pakistan, (where) the Taliban-like movements openly defy the

Pakistan Government." This reality, in his view, "poses a severe dilemma for India. If it tries to ignore Musharraf and his colleagues while extremist forces continue to grow in Pakistan, India could eventually be faced with a radicalised Pakistan across its borders. Such a Pakistan would be frightening, it could spew out refugees and terrorists in India's direction."

Here Prof. Cohen's analysis yields ground to his known pro-Pakistan tilt. He overlooks the fact that the military regime in Pakistan derives its political sustenance from these very radicals. General Musharraf has so far not made any dent on the economic front nor has he acquired a credible base in the liberal democratic constituencies that could be his allies for uplift of the economy and to effectively resist the flow of the Taliban culture in Pakistan. This makes the Chief Executive lean even more on the fundamentalists who demand support for the 'Jehad' in Jammu and Kashmir and also force him not to sympathise with the Muslim victims of the Afghani savagery in Algeria and Central Asia.

The Pakistani-policy makers, it seems, have not yet taken note of the Moscow meeting of the Shanghai forum that has brought to the fore the growing camaraderie in Sino-Russian relations. Together they feel that the Taliban-abetted disturbances in the Central Asian states tend to flow in their directions too. The forum may not have said so but surely they know that the fountainhead of the trouble is not confined to Afghanistan.

The public support to Mr. Vajpayee's invitation to General Musharraf is manifest though the summits — as we have experienced — are never a quick-fix regarding the contentious issues. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and myself and later Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Sharif had initiated and built upon a process that was succeeding in tranquilising the atmosphere. Together we placed our faith in the efficacy of dialogue. In the joint Indo-Pakistan press conference in the Maldives, Nawaz and I had summed up our

confabulation in the words of the famous Urdu poet Sardar Jafri: "guftgu band na ho bat se bat chaley" (keep the conversation going; one word leading to another). And that was how we had raised the edifice of trusting each other that facilitated travel and trade and was zeroing towards attending to the contentious issues.

If the Delhi meet revives the mutual trust and faith, it will have served a highly useful purpose. Prof. Cohen says, "India and Pakistan had reached an impasse, and were on a potentially disastrous collision course, New Delhi has prudently decided to deal with the Generals in Islamabad now rather than with a rogue Pakistan in future..." With such a situation in mind the Foreign Minister of Russia had counselled New Delhi that the strategy of stay-away had outlived its utility. He was projecting the Shanghai forum's view point that aimed at weaning away the rulers of Pakistan from the disastrous embrace of Talibanism.

Mr. Vajpayee has articulated his willingness to discuss every subject in the spirit of the Lahore Declaration that was "convinced of the importance of mutually agreed confidence building measures for improving the security environment" since "... the environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu & Kashmir, is essential for this purpose..."

An important part of the Lahore Agreement pertained to the nuclear dimension when it said, "(both sides) shall take immediate steps for reducing the risk of accidental or un-authorised use of nuclear weapons and discuss concepts and doctrines with a view to elaborating measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at prevention of conflicts".

Almost every clause of the Declaration and various Joint Agreements signed before it was emphatic in saying, "(both sides) shall refrain from intervention and interference in each other's internal affairs". Its reiteration will help in building good neighbourly relations that are so urgently needed.

'ENDING HOSTILE PROPAGANDA A GOOD STEP'

PM happy with Musharraf advice

By Arunkumar Bhatt

MUMBAI, JUNE 6. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, today said the Pakistani military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's speech on Tuesday advising the Islamic clergy in his country to stop making irresponsible statements against India, had generated much goodwill here.

Speaking to reporters at the Chhatrapati Shivaji airport here shortly after arriving from New Delhi, Mr. Vajpayee said India had always held that stoppage of hostile propaganda was the first step towards friendship. "In India we take care to see that nobody says or writes anything about neighbours that could create ill feelings and now we are glad Pakistan also has taken such a step." However, he would like to read the full text of the speech.

Earlier, he was received by the Governor, Dr. P.C. Alexander, and the Chief Minister, Mr. Vilasrao Deshmukh. The Prime Minister then left for the Breach Candy hospital where the famous specialist, Dr. Chittaranjan Ranawat, will operate on his right knee tomorrow. Dr. Ranawat had operated on his left knee last year. Mr. Vajpayee is expected to be in the hospital for about 10 days and close aides from the Prime Minister's Office and the Cabinet have arrived along with him.

Denying that India was deviating from its earlier position on talks with Pakistan, he stressed that New Delhi had never said it would not hold talks. All issues including Jammu and Kashmir would be discussed in detail during the visit of Gen. Musharraf



The Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, being received by Mr. Manohar Joshi, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr. Vilasrao Deshmukh, and other BJP leaders at Mumbai airport, on his arrival for the knee operation. — Photo: Vivek Bendre

and the talks would be within the framework of the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration.

Asked how he felt about the talks in view of the Kargil conflict, Mr. Vajpayee said, "we had met on the battlefield earlier and now we will meet in the dwelling of peace." He avoided comment on the suggestion that the existing Line of Control be recognised as the international border between the two countries, except saying

"India has already made its stand clear."

Clarification on Nepal

The Prime Minister clarified that he had given "no certificate to anybody" on the happenings in Nepal and expressed confidence that the probe ordered by Kathmandu would reveal the truth about the massacre. "I did not make any hasty statement that there was no conspiracy. I was asked in Bhuj if I saw any

conspiracy. I said I did not see any conspiracy from here (in Bhuj). In fact, those who commented on this were doing so in haste."

On the suggestion that the Centre buy the power supplied by the Enron-sponsored Dabhol Power Company that Maharashtra cannot afford as a possible solution to the current imbroglio, the Prime Minister said the nation also had the same trouble in buying expensive power. He was confident the State Government and Enron would sort out the issue.

He regretted not being able to bring about the meeting of the Chief Ministers of Maharashtra and Karnataka to settle the border dispute between the two States and said he hoped to do something in the matter. His view on the initiation of legal action against those indicted by the Srikrishna Commission was that the law should take its own course.

The Government was continuously reviewing its policies and the differences with trade unions on the current labour policies would be resolved through dialogue, he said.

Cabinet expansion

UNI reports:

He said the Cabinet expansion would be carried out before the monsoon session of Parliament. Asked whether any new allies would be included this time, he said the issue had not been discussed yet.

Lashkar warning to Musharraf;
Pak. envoy's clarification:
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THE HINDU

PM hails Musharraf remark

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

MUMBAI, June 6. — The Prime Minister today welcomed General Pervez Musharraf's warning to the clergy in Pakistan to stop making tall claims vis-a-vis India.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee said: "It (the warning) is the first step towards fostering friendship between the two countries." He clarified that though he had only read excerpts of Gen Musharraf's speech, he had asked for the text of the entire speech.

He complimented Gen Musharraf for initiating positive moves and displaying his sincerity towards the coming summit.

The Pakistani chief executive had asked his countrymen yesterday to stop talking about hoisting their national flag over Delhi's Red Fort.

Asked how he felt about the forthcoming summit, Mr Vajpayee quipped that after being face-to-face in the battlefield,

VAJPAYEE IN HOSPITAL

MUMBAI, June 6. — Mr Vajpayee was admitted to Breach Candy Hospital today for his scheduled knee replacement surgery tomorrow. He was accompanied by his foster daughter, son-in-law and Mr Pramod Mahajan among others. The surgery is likely to be held between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m., but the final decision will be taken by Dr Ranawat. — UNI

"we propose to hold talks in a peaceful atmosphere".

He confirmed that Kashmir would be on the agenda. Any discussion on it has to be keeping in mind the Simla Agreement and Lahore Declaration.

The Prime Minister said the Centre would take steps to resolve the Enron-DPC crisis. When asked about the cases filed against Shiv Sena leaders

on the basis of the Srikrishna Commission report, he said the law should take its own course.

Mr Vajpayee said he would be here for about 10 days since the operation "is a minor one."

'Date with APHC unlikely'

The Pakistani high commissioner, Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, today hinted that Gen Musharraf may not meet APHC leaders when he comes to India adds UNI from New Delhi.

(However, in a clarification issued late tonight, Mr Qazi said that the interpretation of his remarks by a news agency was "totally unwarranted", a report from New Delhi says.)

"Both sides are aware of each others' priorities and sensitivities.... and by adopting a positive approach, we can avoid any problems of this kind," Mr Qazi had said, according to the agency report during a session in the *Talk Back* programme on Doordarshan.

THE STATESMAN

STATESMAN

Musharraf to Pakistanis: Don't live in illusions

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

ISLAMABAD, June 5. — General Pervez Musharraf today asked his countrymen to realise the country's real strength and refrain from making tall claims such as flying the national flag over Delhi's Red Fort.

"Such claims don't help anybody. They cause difficulties to Muslims who are in a minority in India," he said at the inaugural session of the national Id Milad conference here.

He said many Indian Muslims who visited Pakistan had met him and said that such claims and threats surprised them. "The need of the hour for us is to be economically strong. Militarily we are quite strong and a nuclear power state but... economically, we are not strong enough to dictate to the other countries... so why should we antagonise them," he remarked.

He said internal sectarian differences had made Pakistan weaker and sectarian killings had made other countries call it a terrorist state.

Demonstrators thwarted: The government kept a rigid grip on Baluchistan today, searching for any politicians intent on defying an official ban on planned pro-democracy

CBI plea to Pak

NEW DELHI, June 5. — The CBI has requested Pakistan to arrest and hand over the five people who had hijacked the Kathmandu-New Delhi Indian Airlines flight on 24 December 1999. The CBI believes the hijackers are hiding in Pakistan.

This is the first direct contact that CBI has established with Islamabad for the hijackers' arrest and their handing over to India for trial.

The CBI had in May 2000 requested the Pakistani government through the Interpol. The request is still pending with no response yet from the Interpol.

■ Nod to Canada to try A-I bombing accused: page 8

demonstrations, adds Reuters from Quetta.

Police confirmed they had arrested many members of the 16-party Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy based in Baluchistan.

But others, anticipating police raids, went into hiding before the authorities began the round-up on Monday, official sources said.

They said 49 political leaders had been targeted but only some of the senior ones were found.

Police were also stationed at the airport and railway station in the provincial capital, Quetta, and other entry points into the province to ensure ARD leaders from outside did not attempt to defy the ban on their presence in the province.

'Get well soon'

Gen Musharraf today sent his "best wishes" to Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee who will undergo a knee surgery soon, adds DPA.

Please accept my best wishes for the success of the operation and your speedy recovery," General Musharraf said in his letter.

It is his second letter to the Indian Prime Minister in less than 10 days. On 28 May, Gen Musharraf sent a letter to Mr Vajpayee, accepting his invitation for a visit to New Delhi for talks.

The two leaders are reported to be meeting sometime in July after Mr Vajpayee recovers from his surgery.

The meeting will be the first high level contact between the two countries since the Kargil conflict in 1999.

THE STATESMAN

JUNE 5 2001

I'm flexible: Musharraf

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 5. For the second time since the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, extended an invitation to the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, for peace talks, the military ruler has said that he would go to India with a "flexible and an open mind" on Kashmir.

In an interview to the Pakistani English monthly, *Herald*, Gen. Musharraf said India and Pakistan should make an effort for "some sort of breakthrough" by demonstrating flexibility. An open mind, however, did not mean that "we start discussing something else and do not discuss Kashmir."

"We will discuss the Kashmir issue. And with regard to that issue, I shall go there with a flexible and open mind," the General said. Gen. Musharraf clarified that the "time has not yet come" for him to ask the Kashmiri militants to scale down their activities. "The time will come when the talks are held and they make progress. The present meeting is step one in this process. Now it remains to be seen that the talks begin and they begin on Kashmir and then they make headway."

Disapproving of those advocating 'jihad' (holy war) as the only solution to the Kashmir dispute, he said "we have fought wars. I think if we are able to resolve it through peaceful means, there should not be any need for fighting... Those who say there should not be any talks have a wrong attitude."

Asserting that it was he who took all the initiatives, Gen. Musharraf said "we displayed restraint on the

Line of Control. They (India) responded to it. It is I who have been saying that the process of dialogue should be initiated in a peaceful way and they have been rejecting it. I have taken many steps."

On whether he was surprised at Mr. Vajpayee's invitation, Gen. Musharraf said: "I was not sur-

Wishes PM well

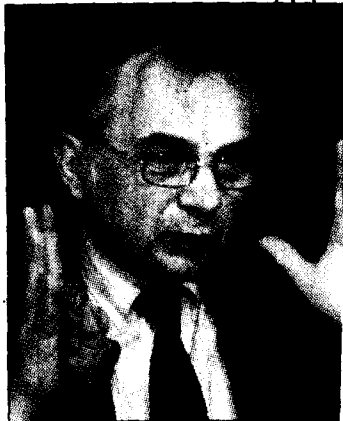
By Our Special Correspondent

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 5. As the build-up for the proposed summit between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan Chief Executive and military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, begins, the leadership in Islamabad is not letting go of any opportunity to demonstrate its eagerness to resume normal ties with New Delhi.

Today, Mr. Musharraf sent his best wishes for Mr. Vajpayee's knee surgery. In a letter to the Prime Minister, Gen. Musharraf said "I have learnt that you will be undergoing surgery on your knee in a few days. Please accept my best wishes for the success of the operation and for your speedy recovery. Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration."

prised. I was optimistic about the dialogue process... But then, so much time passed that I started to become a bit pessimistic and thought that, perhaps, they do not want to have a serious dialogue. (So in that sense) yes, it is surprising."

Pakistani envoy urges 'creative interaction'



JEHANGIR QAZI

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, June 4

IF TALKS between India and Pakistan have to bear fruit, both nations should give priority to issues such as Kashmir that have kept the neighbours apart for years, Pakistan High Commissioner Ashraf Jehangir Qazi said today.

At a discussion organised by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) he wondered why General Pervez Musharraf had been invited by Prime Minister Vajpayee and why the General had accepted the invitation when both nations were aware of each other's point of views.

"The summit would be pointless unless the leaders talked about key issues such as Kashmir," he said.

He urged the two "neighbouring nuclear States" to integrate each other's views towards a "creative interaction".

"In order to move forward we need to be able to try to integrate each other's point of view into our (respective) approaches," he said.

The discussion was marked by efforts on all sides to be as realistic as possible towards the eventual outcome of the summit, overshadowed clearly by the discouraging history of India-Pakistan talks.

While initiating the discussion, ICSSR Chairman Prof M L Sondhi said the weakening absence of social science inputs into the Lahore process contributed to its eventual failure. This should not recur now, he emphasised.

All participants in the discussion mentioned the desire for peace, closer links and eventual prosperity that apparently existed on both sides of the India-Pakistan divide, and High Commissioner Qazi felt that the two leaders must now endanger the process by which an assured forward movement should be rendered feasible.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

4 JUN 2001

Pak envoy for tripartite talks

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 4. — Pakistan's high commissioner, Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, today said he was in favour of a tripartite dialogue for a stable solution to the Kashmir dispute.

Mr Qazi felt the inclusion of the people of the state as a third party in the "constructive dialogue process" between Islamabad and New Delhi was a prerequisite for a "stable" solution to the "core issue." Autonomy or otherwise, any modality would be acceptable to Pakistan if the people of the region were content, he said. On the Hurriyat's role in the talks, the high commissioner said, "We believe there are three parties to the dispute and the people of Kashmir have to be included in the talks."

Regarding the APHC stand on meeting General Pervez Musharraf separately during the summit meet, Mr Qazi said the General would like to meet

them and he did not anticipate any problem in this regard.

Mr Qazi said Kashmir was the most important issue in Indo-Pak ties and the rest were "just derivatives". "Kashmir is not like any other state in India or a province in Pakistan. It is recognised by the UN and the international community, with the exception of India, as a disputed territory." The high commissioner was speaking at a discussion on 'Indo-Pak Relations: Hope or Hype'.

With the two nations' stand on the "core issue" remaining unaltered, the bottomline has already been drawn by both. Responding to a query related to this, Mr Qazi said Pakistan is cautiously optimistic about the summit meet. He ruled out a pessimistic attitude towards the whole process because "cynicism is a barren attitude".

He also emphasised the need to place the relationship between the two countries "in the context of our larger na-

tional priorities" but quickly added that putting preconditions would be detrimental to the process. "One should not be euphoric, the summit meeting will hopefully generate a constructive dialogue process," Mr Qazi said.

Asked how responsive Pakistan was to the conversion of LoC into an international border and whether the "series of dialogues" could lead to Islamabad's acceptance of it, Mr Qazi retorted, "Our perception is that LoC is in conflict with the aspirations of the people of J&K."

Pakistan will approach the summit in a "very positive" way despite "huge differences" between the two nations. "Presence of dialogue always offers a prospect and to that extent I am extremely happy the dialogue is taking place", the high commissioner said.

Asked if Islamabad's demand for a plebiscite in J&K covered PoK also, Mr Qazi said, "We regard the territory of J&K so as to include the whole of J&K."

"The status quo is not acceptable, Kashmiris do not recognise the LoC. They think it divides the territory and also passes through their hearts," he said.

As Mr Qazi referred to the 1952 UN resolution on holding a plebiscite in Kashmir, national security analyst, Mr Brahma Chellany, said the ground situation had substantially altered, with Pakistan ceding a part of PoK to China. "Now there are three parties with China controlling a portion of the territory," he said.

On the relevance of a plebiscite in a region whose demographic composition had undergone a sea change since the UN resolutions, the high commissioner said, "All these issues can be addressed during the talks."

Mr Chellany said Mr Vajpayee's offer of talks stemmed from domestic compulsions, with the NDA government finding itself in a tight spot after the Tehelka expose and the results of Assembly polls in some states.

2001

Preliminary talks on Indo-Pak. summit

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 4. The Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan, Mr. Vijay K. Nambiar, today called on the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Inamul Haq, and held what could be termed a "preliminary round" of discussions on the proposed summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan military ruler and Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf.

This was the first meeting of Mr. Nambiar with the Pakistan Foreign Secretary after Mr. Vajpayee extended the surprise invitation to Gen. Musharraf. According to sources in the Foreign Ministry, Mr. Haq informed Mr. Nambiar that the dates for the proposed visit of Gen. Musharraf were yet to be finalised. There was no indication from Pakistan on the agenda for the summit.

As a senior official in the Pakistan Foreign Office put it, "the truth of the matter is that everything is still very tentative. We are yet to give a serious thought to the

structure and substantive nature of the dialogue at the highest level."

In the course of his interaction, Mr. Haq is believed to have said that with the postponement of the SAARC Standing Committee at Colombo, India and Pakistan had missed out an opportunity to establish high-level contacts.

Indications are that a team of officials from the Pakistan Foreign Office would be in New Delhi soon to chalk out the nitty-gritty of Gen. Musharraf's visit.

Of course, the most important thing for Pakistan is to work, obviously in consultation with New Delhi, on the agenda of the summit meeting.

A clear picture on the agenda from Pakistan could be expected to emerge after the Corps Commanders meeting at Rawalpindi on June 8.

To be presided over by Gen. Musharraf, the meet is expected to focus on the Indian invitation and discuss various scenarios.

Envoy's hope,
Sattar's stand: Page 11

Over to Musharraf

A Chance to Make Amends for Kargil

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

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TWENTY-SEVEN months have passed since the Lahore summit and the Indian prime minister is now making one more valiant attempt to renew a dialogue with Pakistan. He had to allow sufficient time for the wounds of Kargil to heal at least partially. In his invitation to General Musharraf Mr Vajpayee has emphasised the need for both countries to pursue the path of reconciliation and engage in productive dialogue, by building trust and confidence. Two points have to be taken note of. India has chosen the timing of the dialogue and has indicated the agenda it wants to pursue. Unfortunately most of our media and academia are excessively self-focussed. Therefore, ignoring the dynamics of international politics, they insist on knowing even at this stage what concessions India will make. No country can enter into negotiations with another country by disclosing its strategy beforehand. Since Mr Vajpayee is offering confidence-building negotiations, some give-and-take will be involved. India can only decide what concessions to offer during the negotiations, depending on what the other party is willing to put on the table. It is a sign of immaturity and lack of familiarity with hard-nosed international bargaining that so much time is being wasted discussing what India would do even before the negotiations begin.

The Pakistani foreign minister, the high commissioner in Delhi, and General Musharraf in his reply to Mr Vajpayee have reiterated their one-point agenda — Kashmir. The issue is not merely a question of India accepting Jammu and Kashmir as disputed territory. The other side of the dispute is that part of the former princely state is under the occupation of Pakistan, and millions of people in those areas are stateless. The dispute, whether interpreted in Indian or Pakistani terms, cannot be resolved without creating an atmosphere of trust and confidence.

The fact is, India has no trust in Pakistan's bonafides. General Musharraf himself has asserted that Indo-Pakistan relations would continue to be adversarial even if the Kashmir issue is resolved. Now he and his colleagues have made it into a Jehadi issue validating Professor Samuel Huntington's thesis of clash of civilisations. General Musharraf has denied that Indians and Pakistanis share the same

history and culture. Many Pakistani leaders have proclaimed that getting Kashmir is only the first step towards breaking up India. I have personally heard responsible Pakistani leaders expressing scepticism about the continued unity of India. One of them said that a billion people with 20 ongoing insurgencies could not be governed from one centre for long. Against this background, if Pakistani leaders think that India would solve this 'core' issue to their satisfaction so that Pakistan can get on with breaking up this country, they are out of touch with reality.

Pakistanis were out of touch with reality in 1965, in 1971 and in 1999 as well, and came to grief on all these occasions. The world is sick and tired of the Kashmir issue. China does not favour any change in status quo on Kashmir since that might complicate its position on Tibet. Russia does not want a reli-

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- The Kashmir issue cannot be resolved without mutual trust
- Pakistan faces international isolation if it persists with adventurism
- Resolving tension with India is in Pakistan's own interest

gion-influenced solution to Kashmir as this would have a direct bearing on Chechnya. The US has clearly stated that it does not favour ethno-nationalist secessionism in the Balkans and would not tolerate a greater Muslim Albania, an Islamic Bosnia or Kosovo. The Pakistani leadership is yet to realise that the cold war, which was the sole reason for US and Western support to Pakistan on Kashmir, ended 10 years ago. They have not understood the full import of President Clinton's stern warning to them over their national TV and the recent statement of US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage in Delhi. Because of the high cost of its confrontation with India, Pakistan is in danger of becoming a failed state. It can slightly slow down India's progress, but in the process is likely to hurt itself fatally.

India has logically proposed confidence-building as the first item on the summit's agenda. The Kargil

aggression following the Lahore summit had set back the confidence-building exercise by two years. Now Mr Vajpayee, in a unique display of statesmanship, has offered a second chance to Pakistan to get its priorities right. Nothing can move forward between India and Pakistan unless trust and confidence is nurtured between the two. If Pakistan were to reject India's initiative, the world would make its own assessment of the nature of Pakistan's leadership. Holding every aspect of the Indo-Pakistan relationship hostage to its getting Kashmir is in line with the terrorist culture Pakistan has been practising against India, Iran, Central Asian republics, Russia, China and the US. But hostage-taking tactics succeed very rarely in today's world.

General Musharraf has a choice. He can accept Mr Vajpayee's statesman-like offer, and include Kashmir as one of the aspects which the confidence-building exercise has to address, or he can reject it and insist on Kashmir being treated as the core issue. If he chooses the latter option, he will win the applause of religious fundamentalists and terrorist groups in Pakistan, but will face increased international isolation. He has not been able to solve Pakistan's economic problems. The clock is ticking relentlessly on his having to restore democracy within the next 16 months. He has very little to show for the 20 months already wasted. Increasingly, the international community is realising the threat to regional peace posed by the Taliban and Pakistan's close involvement with that fanatical group as shown in the recent UN report.

The Indian move has focused the spotlight on General Musharraf and has put him on trial. Pakistan had been demanding a dialogue, which it has now been offered. The whole world understands that the responsibility for destroying the confidence-building exercise initiated at Lahore rests squarely on General Musharraf and he has to repair the damage he inflicted due to his adventurism. Very rarely in history does a person who caused so much damage to his own country and its neighbour get a chance to make amends. Thanks to Mr Vajpayee, General Musharraf has got one such opportunity. One hopes he will use it wisely, in the interest of his own people and peace in the region.

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Indo-Pakistan realities

By Pran Chopra

PAKISTAN'S CHIEF Executive, General Pervez Musharraf, has complimented the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, for inviting him for talks, and in an interview with the BBC he described the invitation as an act of "statesmanship", and of "courage and boldness". His reason: the invitation amounts to "accepting reality" in addressing an issue that has "bedeviled relations between the two countries", and he has expressed "cautious optimism" about the outcome.

This is all to the good. The talks, due later this month or early the next, will have little chance of bearing fruit unless approached with more optimism than scepticism, and on the basis of "reality", not wild demands and expectations. In that spirit some more realities also need to be listed for the attention of both sides at the summit. Otherwise the mists of avoidable controversies and suspicion will gather again as they have at some earlier summit meetings between the two countries.

It is an obvious reality that the future of Jammu and Kashmir is central to relations between India and Pakistan. There is no need for India to resist that reality. Therefore there should be no pointless dispute over whether the agenda for the coming talks should be "Kashmir and other issues" or "other issues and Kashmir". A very suitable agenda encompassing the one and the others was crafted very thoughtfully for and at the Lahore meeting between Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Nawaz Sharif, and it was warmly endorsed by both leaders.

If Gen. Musharraf wants to suggest changes in the architecture of that agenda he should frankly come up with them and they should receive very serious consideration. But no less central to relations between any two countries is the reality that an agreement between any two nations cannot be disowned by either on the ground that it has changed its leaders. An agreement between countries is viable only in the measure that both abide by it. Failure by either to do so can only discourage future agreements. Pakistan's record on that leaves much to be desired.

The next reality follows from the Shimla

Agreement, which binds both countries to bilateralism unless they mutually agree on an alternative. It does not augur well that on the eve of the summit Gen. Musharraf, in an interview with the Russian newspaper, the *Izvestia*, has sought the intervention of a third party, and of Russia at that. Despite Moscow's possible interest in Pakistan's help in resolving some of Russia's problems with its Muslim population (although Pakistan is more the cause of that problem than a cure for it), it will not encourage initiatives which would be unacceptable to India; and even if it did, that would not cut any ice with India. Even less will India accept any tripartism between itself, Pakistan, and "representatives of the people of Kashmir", whoever the claimants to that title might be.

Not only has Pakistan been wasting its breath in trying to lift the All-Party Hurriyat Conference to that level; it has also impaired the useful role that the APHC could have played at this juncture. True it is, and sad, that at this very juncture New Delhi, particularly the national media, misread the APHC. Instead of listening to the composite voice of the APHC as heard in the resolution adopted by its Executive on April 27, they listened only to the histrionics displayed by its chairman, Mr. Abdul Ghani Bhat, in releasing the resolution, and some of them failed to notice even the existence of a resolution though in it the Hurriyat Conference had tried to distance itself from the role sought to be conferred on it by Pakistan. But be that as it may, there is not going to be a third chair at the summit.

The third reality is the Line of Control (LoC). Gen. Musharraf made an oblique reference to it the other day, which some would find to be tantalising, including the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, who has openly advocated that the Line be made a permanent part of the Indo-Pakistan border. Asked

The Vajpayee-Musharraf talks will have little chance of bearing fruit unless approached with more optimism than scepticism, and on the basis of 'reality', not wild demands and expectations.

for his comments on that, he said he would cross that bridge when he came to it. But it is worth recalling how beguiling that bridge can be without carefully building an approach road to it first.

After the Chinese attack on India in 1962, there were five rounds of talks between the voluble Z.A. Bhutto, at that time the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, and our own smiling sphinx, Swaran Singh. I had watched the unfolding of that drama round after round. Prior to one of the rounds, in Karachi, it had been rumoured that an agreement on Kashmir might be reached by converting the LoC into an international border with some agreed modifications. Therefore great excitement was aroused when we saw maps being ferried into the room in which the two Foreign Ministers were talking.

But that bubble subsided as soon as it became known that Bhutto had demanded a "modification" which would leave one or two districts of Jammu on the Indian side and all the rest of the State with Pakistan. India then countered with a modification which would partition the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) rather than Jammu and Kashmir.

That was 40 years ago. Since then the LoC has been sanctified thrice, first in ink in the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore documents, and then in blood on the heights of Kargil. Therefore scope for anything like a big bargain over "modifications" is virtually nil. At the same time, there is the abiding reality that neither India nor Pakistan can drive the other out of the part of the State controlled by it. Each side has to reconcile itself to this reality, and concentrate on resolving its problems on its side of the state to the best of its ability.

For this reason, if for none other, each country will have to review how much authority it can devolve on those elected to authority on its side of the Line, and how

much scope it can give to its own people to build such relations with the people on the other side as may be consistent with overall security and stability. Call it autonomy or something else, the issue will now be on any table, no matter how many sides it might have.

Two further realities stand out against this background. The first is that however Pakistan might pretend otherwise, it is clearly aiding and abetting terrorist forays into the Indian side. India will have to counter these with all its resolve, whatever that might do to any prospects there that might be for the two countries to get to that bridge.

But potentially the most important development has been panchayat elections in the Jammu region, which have brought entirely new actors into the political arena who also have the proven mandate of the people. Despite appeals by the APHC for a boycott of the elections, the voter participation exceeded 60 and 70 per cent in most constituencies, including those in the Muslim-majority western districts where terrorists from across the Line and from Pakistan had succeeded in establishing strong bases among the local population. A large proportion of those elected are people who are younger, more educated, and more interested in development and careers than in the State's traditional politics of theology.

An explanation often heard for the high turnout is the the APHC does not have much influence in these district and the militants who have some are indifferent to things like elections. That may be, but the turnout shows that where people get a chance to vote they do so enthusiastically and those who get elected are a better reflection of what the people want than outdated politicians can be. There nothing would clean the slate better than effective panchayat elections in the other regions also. Tight security will be needed for holding them in the Valley, but any security provided for enabling people to exercise their right to vote within the limits of law would be politically as well as morally justified, much more than attempts by any elements to deny people their right to vote. It may not be a perfect election but will throw up candidates more mandated to speak on behalf of the people.

19-10/5/6

INDO-PAK RELATIONS GOING BEYOND THE KASHMIR ISSUE TO ENSURE NORMALCY

Fog and illusions on the road to peace

THE holy warriors, mindless champions of jihad, at one end of the spectrum; the Track Two peaceniks, who once the bhanga at the sight of India's border guards and otherwise babble peace at all costs, at the other end. Then, however, no divine ordinance which lays down that Indo-Pak relations should be a zero-sum game, a choice of absolutes: war or peace, bitter hostility or leadlong retreat.

There are real points of contention between the two countries and given these, a kind of rivalry or competition between them will exist for the foreseeable future. Nor is there anything wrong with this. The Berlin Wall fell in the West. In the subcontinent the Iron Curtain or, since this is the subcontinent, the Reed Curtain is still very much in place. So it is not particularly helpful to draw analogies from afar and apply them to our neighbourhood. When western ideologues, as relentless in their proselytizing as the Christian missionaries of the 19th century, say this is the era of cooperation and not confrontation they should be looked in the eye and asked, "Pray, for whom?" Europe - minus the Balkans and Russia - beats the drums of cooperation because it no longer has the Soviet Empire to contend with, that dinosaur having crashed to earth under its own weight. There are, however, historical knots elsewhere which remain to be untied. The new missionaries of globalization and international cooperation should be reminded of

this unfinished business. Of what use is globalization to the embattled Palestinians? To the human flotam caught in the wars of Africa? To the despairing people of Kashmir?

Plutarch said long ago that conquerors were always lovers of peace: they liked to enter your cities unopposed. Israel is a lover of peace: it would like the Palestinians to accept meekly the terms of conquest imposed upon them. The comparison with India-in-Kashmir I would not like to make because coupling Israel and India in the same breath is grist to the mills of the hate-India lobby in Pakistan. There is already too much dust (and resulting confusion) swirling in the atmosphere. We can all do without contrived or manufactured hatred.

But as an aside, let us bear witness to the new imperialism. The cold war was an affair of West and East. But the Rome and Carthage of the 20th century imposed their mutual hostility upon the rest of the planet. Now that the nature of the game has changed, a new set of values, without regard to individual differences, is again being imposed from above. The gospel changes; the commandments undergo a revision. But the fury of the reigning prophets remains the same.

India and Pakistan must settle their differences by themselves, on their own terms, and not as a result of outside meddling. India is right in this, and Pakistan wrong. The Pakistani craving for outside mediation or any other forms of intervention in the settlement of the Kashmir dis-

pute is evidence of weakness and intellectual confusion. For it is tantamount to saying that on our own we are helpless and must count on the favour of friends for a favourable outcome in Kashmir.

There are two problems with this approach. Firstly, if our own means be insufficient, why should the world (or the US) give us a free lunch in Kashmir? Weakness on the ground cannot be turned to victory at the negotiating table. Secondly, if someone else brokers a deal the terms of it will still favour the stronger party. The Camp David and Oslo Accords are not exercises in justice. They hold up a mirror to reality and as such they come with qualifications attached. Egypt got back the Sinai as a result of the Camp David Accords but in return agreed to castrate its military but this military is in Libya or Sudan, not Israel. Camp David saw to this.

Pakistan's on-off fascination with the idea of outside intervention in Kashmir is thus based on naive foundations. It is also reflective of adolescent diplomacy. Just because we feel something will go down in India we raise it as a policy option. True, the UN resolutions on which our Kashmir case rests are emblems of multilateralism. Nor is there any reason for us to ditch this concept.

But at the same time it would not hurt us to remember that if ever a halfway solution of the Kashmir issue is struck it will be through the collective wisdom of India and Pakistan, not through any outside

hitherto tilted against Pakistan, were restored to a semblance of balance. From the shadows where the Kashmir dispute had lain for full 17 years it emerged once more into the light. A strategic error once committed cannot be corrected by piecemeal measures. India has responded to the freedom uprising in Kashmir by force and repression and not the tools of imagination. Therein lies its continuing failure.

As for Pakistan, it has merely manipulated the lever placed into its hands by a combination of Indian folly and Kashmiri discontent. In its crucible of dirty tricks it did not forge the lever in the first place. The fact that the roots of the Kashmir uprising lie within Kashmir also accounts for the ultimate failure of the propaganda blitz mounted by India over the issue of "cross-border terrorism". It brought India handsome dividends, and Pakistan no small embarrassment, while it lasted. But it could not erase the facts on the ground.

Heaping embarrassment on Pakistan could not by itself put an end to the armed struggle. Hence the change of tack which is less a concession to Pakistan than an acknowledgement of reality. None of this is cause for Pakistan to gloat over. Whatever India's compulsions, it is in Pakistan's interests too to walk, in Mr Vajpayee's evocative phrase, the high road of peace. Resources poured into militarization and such follies as the subcontinent's nuclear race are resources taken away from social and economic development. We need quiet and tension-free borders much as India does.

Will the Kashmir uprising last into eternity? What if it peters out? What will balance the bilateral scales then? For a true equilibrium in the subcontinent, our universities and colleges must hold their own against India's; our scholars should be of the highest quality; our research in-

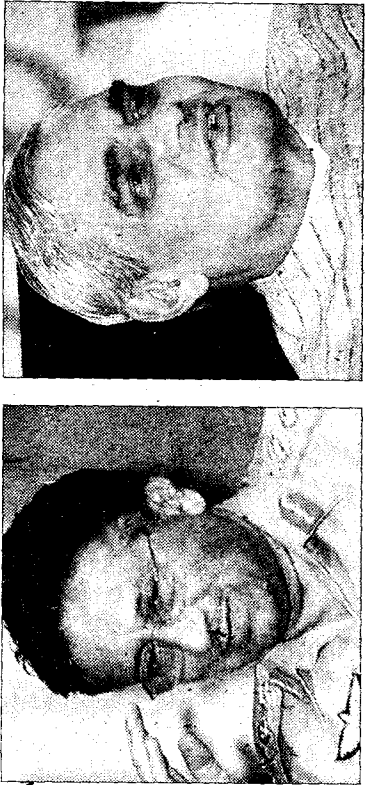
sitions the envy of the East; our maestros the finest exponents of subcontinental music; our skill at technology the best in the region; our agriculture the feeding source of countries near and far; and Lahore's famed Hira Mandi, now sadly going to pot, the hottest international destination between Singapore and the Suez Canal.

With inner strength comes outward grace. On Kashmir we must stand firm, without feeling the need to protest too much, the very consciousness of fortitude allowing us to speak with a softer tongue. In this context, there is no harm in admitting that the Indian invitation to General Musharraf was more sensitively worded than our response which had the wooden imprint of the foreign office all over it.

When will we learn the more subtle use of words? The challenge for both countries is to realise their limitations. Pakistan cannot win Kashmir by force, India cannot browbeat Pakistan through a mix of swagger and misplaced snobbery. In any true negotiation both sides will have to give something, retreat a bit from their dog-eared positions. Not that a solution to their problems is around the corner. It is foolish even to think on these lines. But both countries will have registered a major advance if they can learn the art of conversing with each other without making a sticking-point of every quibble or comma.

The scope for miracles when Musharraf and Vajpayee meet is thus out. But if the two leaders can lay the basis of a political discourse, in the subcontinent — a discourse free of the hectoring and finger-pointing which seems part of our common inheritance they will have done their bit by history.

(From Dawn)



to walk the high road of peace with India

Resources poured into the subcontinent's nuclear race are resources taken away from social and economic development. We need tension-free borders much as India does

For close on 17 years — that is, from 1972 to 1989 — Pakistan stopped making even ritualistic noises about Kashmir. That was India's historic chance to settle with the Kashmiri people and bring them closer into the Indian Union. But it bungled the opportunity and is paying the price of failure ever since. When India ruefully contemplates the wreck of its efforts in Kashmir, it should take time out from blaming Pakistan (and the ISI) and ponder a bit over its own lapses.

India's loss was Pakistan's gain. The moment Kashmiri Muslims rose against Indian rule, the scales of bilateralism,

agency. The Simla Accord was meant to be a victor's document but its insistence on bilateralism as the vehicle for settling Indo-Pakistan disputes is not misplaced. Only a fool would extrapolate from this that we should stop airing our concerns on Kashmir to a worldwide audience.

But public relations is one thing, working towards a solution quite another. Sure, size and economic clout give India the advantage at any bilateral table. How to correct this inherent imbalance? This was Pakistan's strategic problem in the wake of defeat in the '71 war and the Simla Accord which soon followed.

Pak. envoy's hopes of 'constructive process'

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JUNE 4. The Pakistani High Commissioner here, Mr. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, today expressed the hope that the proposed meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan's Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, would mark the "beginning of a constructive process".

"Scepticism may be justified but it should not be pushed to cynicism. There will be difficulties in resolving issues but a productive engagement will lead to the resolution of all issues," he said participating in a panel discussion, organised by the Indian Women's Press Corps.

Mr. Jehangir Qazi said the most important issue was Kashmir. "Any solution of the Kashmir problem should be acceptable to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Solutions which are not based on the will of the people are not stable," he said.

He hoped that the Vajpayee-Musharraf meeting would discuss the "modalities of representation of the people of Jammu and Kash-

mir" and that the summit would lead to a sustainable dialogue leading to a solution of the Kashmir tangle.

To a query if Pakistan was responsive to conversion of the Line of Control (LoC) into International Border (IB), he said: "Our perception is that the LoC is in conflict with the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. We want a settlement that is verifiably acceptable to the people."

He said that India had invited Gen. Musharraf for talks as there was need for a dialogue between the two countries. "It does not mean that you can resolve all issues in one meeting. A process of dialogue has to be generated and it will lead to a productive engagement.

"It will generate goodwill and the presence of dialogue will move forward. The meeting will also provide an opportunity for the two leaders to get to know each other," he said.

Mr. Imtiaz Alam of Pakistan's *Jang* group of newspapers expressed the hope that the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit would lead to a

"well-structured dialogue process".

Our Staff Reporter writes:

Speaking at a discussion on "India-Pakistan summit" organised by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) here, Mr. Qazi said the priority for both countries during the summit should be to reach a new level of relationship. Stating that there was "overwhelming sentiments" in Pakistan regarding the summit, Mr. Qazi said Pakistanis held Mr. Vajpayee in high esteem and were hopeful that the heads of two nations would be "able to find a way forward despite differences".

Mr. Dileep Padgaonkar, journalist, said the summit would mark the beginning of a process of dialogue. "No doubt Mr. Vajpayee's trip to Lahore was a misplaced euphoria, but the danger this time is that expectations from the proposed summit is very low and therefore we are mentally prepared for failure," he said, adding that there was an urgent need to build an environment of trust and faith.

The ICSSR chairman, Prof. L.M. Sondhi, said the pre-summit requirement was to help develop a high level of understanding and not just "shrill diplomacy".

'Conversion of LoC unacceptable'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 4. The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, has said that the oft-repeated proposal to convert the Line of Control into a permanent border, as a solution to the Kashmir problem, was not acceptable to Islamabad.

In an interview to the Pakistan English daily, *The News*, Mr. Sattar said "status quo is the problem. It cannot be a solution. A solution has to be responsive to the aspirations of the Kashmiri people. They have sacrificed 75,000 lives in the struggle for freedom."

Mr. Sattar said the LoC was the result of the ceasefire of Decem-

ber 17, 1971, and was so described in the Shilma Agreement. "It could not and did not prejudice or compromise the right of the people of Kashmir to self-determination. They, as well as Pakistan, have made it clear that a clear settlement must be responsive to the aspirations of the people of Kashmir."

Asked to explain what Pakistan meant by a "flexible approach" vis-a-vis the coming summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, Mr. Sattar said: "We will be going to New Delhi with an open mind of making the summit a success. We hope the Indian side will also

have the same approach." On Pakistan's approach to the Kashmir dispute, the Minister said that solution to the problem was identified fifty years ago.

"The Kashmiri people have to be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination. This is their birthright. It was pledged to them by Pakistan and India, and by the international community in U.N. Security Council resolutions."

The All-Party Hurriyat Conference, "which leads the Kashmiri freedom struggle," favoured improvement of relations between Pakistan and India. The Hurriyat had said that resolution of Kashmir issue required the involvement of Kashmiris.

Blast kills 4 in Srinagar

By Shujaat Bukhari

SRINAGAR, JUNE 4. At least four civilians were killed and 14 others injured in a powerful grenade blast in Batamaloo area here while a commandant of the Border Security Force was killed in an ambush in south Kashmir.

Unidentified militants hurled a grenade at a security force picket in Batamaloo area today morning. It, however, missed the target and exploded among a crowd of people in the market killing four persons, including two women, on the spot. Three of the dead were identified as Mohammad Yousuf, Jana and Ghulam Mohiuddin.

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When neighbours meet

By K. K. Katyal

Despite all manner of constraints, there is scope for a new beginning (at the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit) especially if the mistakes of the past are avoided.

LAST WEEK, *International Herald Tribune* carried a front page photograph of a screaming woman with an effigy held aloft. It was captioned "Anger in New Delhi — Hindu activists opposed to India's invitation to Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf". The next sentence was about Islamabad — "The invitation, has called off Pakistan's bluff on Kashmir". This, obviously, was meant to convey the impression that the invitation had not gone well with the people, that the opposition to the move was intense and widespread. Nothing could be farther from the truth, or so completely misleading. As a matter of fact, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, was backed by national consensus, with the mainstream formations, the Congress(I), the Left parties and the representatives of the third force, hailing his initiative. Non-official commentators, by and large, regarded it a positive step though there were words of caution against euphoria. There was, of course, no denying the existence of fringe elements — taking to gimmicky and, in the process, attracting disproportionate attention. In the past, the electronic media and foreign newspapers vied with one another in projecting them as larger than life. But the *International Herald Tribune* pictorial coverage took the cake. The demonstrators may well appear on the streets during the Musharraf stay, providing striking visuals, but their "action" would need to be seen in a proper perspective, in the context of the total picture.

In Pakistan, too, the summit move was received well, with all the major parties happy over the prospect of engagement. The reaction of the fundamentalist and 'jehadi' groups, however, was expectedly negative. The dissenting voices there, though louder and emanating from a larger area, did not detract from the quality of the overall support. The print media presented a mixed fare, with sober, moderate comments and analysis, on the one hand, and hawkish, unbalanced writings, on the other. No great expectations are pinned by either side.

The mood in both the countries varied between cautious estimate and scepticism about the outcome. Another common factor — suspicions about the

motives, in the domestic political context, of Mr. Vajpayee here and of the military ruler in Pakistan. The Congress(I) president, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, for instance, was "flabbergasted at the total turnaround of the Government... from refusing to talk a few months ago, they have now come a full circle". There was intense speculation on the how and why of it. Was it part of a well-planned strategy to offset the adverse impact of the Assembly poll results on the NDA or to neutralise the damage done by the Tehelka expose?

In Pakistan, the political parties were unhappy that the engagement with India would give legitimacy to the present rulers and, thus, come in the way of the country's return to democracy or help the military regime to perpetuate itself in a democratic garb. Come to think of it, these apprehensions were not baseless. Gen. Musharraf felt a deep sense of hurt all the while because of New Delhi's refusal to do business with him — first evident from its veto over the SAARC summit, due to be held towards the end of 1999 (India did not want a coup leader in the company of democratic or otherwise legitimate heads) and, later, from its refusal to conduct dialogue with the military ruler. Gen. Musharraf badly needed New Delhi's acceptance of his legitimacy — and was happy about the invitation on this count, apart from other factors. The military regime had ascribed New Delhi's foot-dragging on the SAARC summit and the dialogue resumption to doubts over its durability. The Vajpayee invitation was seen as a tacit recognition that the General was in full control and was in a position to deliver on his committed word, without worrying about the reactions of corps commanders, the mainstay of the military rule apparatus.

In any case, New Delhi's strategy, based on a reluctance to deal with the military regime, had begun to wear off. Gen. Musharraf had been able to reduce his isolation in the world community. Major powers — the U.S., with which India's "new beginning" had forged ahead,

was the first to take up the U.N. Security Council resolutions and Mr. Jaswant Singh recalled the parliamentary resolution, that the entire princely State of Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India. Fortunately, the space for creative diplomacy has not shrunk as a result of their utterances. Despite all manner of constraints, there is scope for a new beginning, especially if the mistakes of the past are avoided. Neither of the leaders could afford a failure to begin the dialogue — and neither could afford to be seen as a cause for the failure. There is, thus, an in-built compulsion for a move towards conciliation. Contrary to its earlier stand, Islamabad now affirmed its adherence to the Lahore Declaration — according to Mr. Sattar, "Pakistan, like India, is not running away from the Lahore Declaration". That suggests one line of action — updating Lahore through, say, a New Delhi Declaration, without disturbing its basic postulates.

There could be other openings as well. One, resumption of the dialogue on "outstanding issues" — eight were identified in the past, beginning with peace and security, including confidence building measures, Jammu and Kashmir and Sichen. Pakistan's fears of slow motion mechanisms — like the appointment of authorised representatives to conduct discussions. Two, back-channel diplomacy could be resumed, after an open round. The Pakistani interlocutor, Mr. Niaz Naik, though deputed by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, enjoyed the confidence of the armed forces. This was evident from his participation in track II processes in Kathmandu and Colombo after the military coup. Three, mutually reinforcing measures could be devised, with the aim of bringing about a significant reduction in the activities of militants and enabling India to make a start with thinning out its security forces in the State.

Next month's summit, hopefully, could be the beginning of frequent top-level contacts. At least two opportunities will be there in the near future — the U.N. General Assembly session, beginning in September, could take both of them to New York at the same time and, later, the SAARC summit in Nepal.

and Russia, a consistent supporter, among them — raised doubts about New Delhi's continued negative approach. The Russian Foreign Minister gently made that point during recent talks with his Indian counterpart, Mr. Jaswant Singh, in New Delhi. The U.S. publicly called for the resumption of dialogue — before and after the change of guard in Washington. Some firm evidence was needed to accept the theory of American "advice" behind the Indian action. The mere coincidence of New Delhi's announcement of the invitation a day after the return of the Foreign Secretary, Mrs. Chokila Iyer, from the U.S. after foreign office-level consultations was not sufficient for such a conclusion.

The Musharraf invitation was very much Mr. Vajpayee's idea, the offshoot of his penchant for peace moves — Lahore, the Ramzan ceasefire and the like — the manifestation of his desire for a place in history. New Delhi could not afford to send a negative signal and hence the importance of a countervailing positive step. By now, the sense of outrage over the Kar-gil betrayal had weakened — at the end of two years. Mr. Vajpayee was, thus, able to persuade himself to deal with the architect of Kargil. As this tide reversed, the old theories came to the fore — that it was easier for India-Pakistan problems to be resolved when the BJP was at the helm in India and the military in control of the administration in Pakistan. In varied forms, this theory had been doing the rounds since 1978, when Mr. Vajpayee, then the External Affairs Minister in the Janata Party Government, undertook the Pak. yatra for talks with the military dictator, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq — a mission that worked.

Each side has closely scrutinised the other's communication — the Vajpayee invitation in Islamabad and the General's acceptance in New Delhi — and there was perceptible satisfaction over the various formulations, over the texts and the tone. The two Foreign Ministers stated their maximal position — Mr. Abdus Sat-

In defence of Track Two diplomacy

4/6 By C. Raja Mohan 119-13

LONDON, JUNE 3. As India and Pakistan prepare for the much sought-after engagement between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, there is renewed energy in the so-called "Track Two" talks between the two sides. Along with the spread of nuclear weapons and missiles in the subcontinent during the last decade, there has been a rapid proliferation of the discussions among the chattering classes of India and Pakistan to promote peace and stability in the region.

A conference over the weekend at the picturesque Wilton Park in the English country side brought together experts from Europe and the subcontinent to consider whether the European experience in managing the Cold War has some lessons for the efforts in the subcontinent to defuse tensions between India and Pakistan.

Although it was not planned that way, the timing of the conference turned out to be perfect. Coming barely weeks before the Delhi encounter between the two leaders, the seminar explored the European experience of different negotiating styles, framing of agendas, managing public expectations, and handling complex bureaucratic powerplays.

The South Asian participants generally wary of being "educated" by the West ended up acknowledging the value of distilling European experience in preparing for the talks between Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf. But more fundamentally the Wilton Park conference helped dispel the widespread cynicism about the Track Two process in both India and Pakistan.

Sceptics, particularly in the Governments of the two countries, have tended to dismiss the utility of the Track Two initiatives. They see them as "talk shops" among "bleeding hearts" and "peaceniks" motivated Western foundations determined to promote a dialogue between the subcontinental rivals. The sceptics do have a point but miss the big picture.

Thanks to Track Two diplomacy, there is more intensive communication today between the foreign policy elites of the two nations. The growing familiarity among the talking heads from India and Pakistan has certainly helped understand each other's concerns and at least visualise policy responses that address genuine fears on the other side. One might not agree with the argument of the "adversary"; but talking about helps understand the context and compulsions of the oth-

er side. Track Two diplomacy has allowed retired generals, diplomats, and other former decision-makers to exchange notes on a whole range of bilateral issues and think together about solving problems between the two nations. At a time when the relations between India and Pakistan have lurched from crisis to crisis since the late 1980s, Track Two has helped sustain an element of unbroken engagement.

The very bureaucrats and soldiers who are dismissive of the process when in Government, indeed, end up on the Indo-Pak conference circuit. Every retirement at the top levels of the two Governments brings fresh recruits into the Track Two process. For example, Gen. V.P. Malik who recently retired as the Army Chief in India and Gen. Jehangir Karamat who was the previous boss of the Pakistan Army are today active on Track Two conferences.

The presence of many key political players from both sides of the border contributes significantly to an oral history of the complex engagement between the two nations. Given

DIPLOMATIC NOTEBOOK

the British bureaucratic tradition of secrecy and the reluctance of the many key functionaries to write their memoirs, discussions at Track Two level provide valuable insights into the history of Indo-Pakistan relations and the dynamics of decision-making in past crises.

What with frequent changes in Government on both sides of the border over the last decade, many faces on the Track Two circuit have often shown up in influential positions. In a celebrated instance, Mr. Abdul Sattar, present Foreign Minister of Pakistan, was called away from a Track Two conference in Washington after the military coup of 1999 by Gen. Pervez Musharraf to take charge of Islamabad's external relations.

Mr. Javed Jabbar who participates in the Neemrana dialogue between India and Pakistan became an influential adviser to Gen. Musharraf. Having quit the government after a while, he is back into the Neemrana fold. On the Indian side, Mr. K. Subrahmanyam who was active on the Track Two front became the convener of the National Security Advisory Board that was set up after the Pokhran tests of May 1998.

Few politicians on the Indian side are active on the Track Two front. But there are indeed

exceptions. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, used to participate in many regional and international seminars on foreign and defence policies when he was outside the government. From the Congress side, Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyar and Mr. Jairam Ramesh too are quite sought after in the Track Two circuit.

Track Two is very different, however, from the so-called back channel. Track Two negotiations have no imprimatur of the Government. They involve serious engagement between influential writers, analysts and former decision-makers on problems of mutual interest for India and Pakistan. Ideas generated in the Track Two process certainly find their way into the popular debates in both countries and occasionally feed into the policy-making process.

Back channel is about unpublicised contacts between two governments. Non-officials and special emissaries might be involved in these talks, but with a very specific authority from the highest political level in both the governments. In the past key figures in Track Two diplomacy have ended up as an important back channel between New Delhi and Islamabad. The influence, if any, of Track Two diplomacy is indirect. Back channel is about direct, if somewhat secret, talks between governments.

Mr. Niaz Naik, former Pakistan High Commissioner to India and former Foreign Secretary, is the doyen of the Track Two circuit in the subcontinent. He is the founder convener of the Neemrana group on the Pakistani side. In the few weeks between the Lahore summit between Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee in February 1999 and the onset of the Kargil conflict at the end of May, Mr. Niaz Naik is widely believed to be the back channel between the two governments.

Mr. Naik is believed to have been entrusted with the task of negotiating a possible understanding on Kashmir with the Indian Government. His meetings with the Indian counterpart, Mr. R.K. Mishra, during the Kargil conflict got wide publicity, as the cover over the back-channel diplomacy got blown.

Mr. Naik has a fund of stories to tell on the many back channel contacts between the two governments since the early 1980s. He was a key figure in the efforts of both Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi to engage Gen. Zia ul Haq during the 1980s. He was an important interlocutor during the Lahore-Kargil phase of Indo-Pak relations.

THE HINDU

2001

Pakistani build-up along Jammu border

Arun Joshi
Jammu, June 3

THE PAKISTANI Army has started digging trenches and reorganising border observation posts along the nearly 200 km long international border in Jammu region, in a bid to consolidate their defences. It set off an alarm on the Indian side, when Border Security Force noticed unusual activity along the border on the Pakistani side.

"Pakistan Army regulars are involved in this activity," disclosed a senior BSF officer of the Jammu frontier.

Alongside the defence activity, Pakistani troops are indulging in heavy firing all along the international border.

"In fact, the whole of the border is live," the BSF officer said. He attributed this phenomenon to the cessation of the unilateral ceasefire in J&K and the barbed wire fencing being erected by the BSF on this side of the border.

Immediately after the Government of India announced non-

initiation of combat operations in November, the Pakistan Army decided to exercise what it called "maximum restraint on the borders in Jammu and Kashmir."

The result was calm on the borders that enabled the farmers on the Indian side to cultivate their land and visit their fields without fear of being targeted by Pakistani gunfire. That calm was shattered after news of the fencing became public. Thereafter, there has been no let up in the firing from across the border. "We also fire in return to silence their guns," a BSF official said.

The hyperactive areas are Garkhal in Akhnoor, Pargwal, old Kanachak, Gole Pattan, Chinnor, Pittal Post, Jabowal, Kote, Kuba and Nanga.

BSF officials admit that the level of firing has gone up considerably. There is exchange of more than 10,000 rounds per day now against only a couple of hundreds in the preceding months.

Before the ceasefire was announced, the Pakistani troops

on the International Border fired over 120,000 rounds, 11,000 of them 82 mm and over 5,000 rounds of 60 mm mortar shells in September. The Indian response was close to 90,000 rounds and only 6,000 odd were 81 mm and over 2,500 51 mm mortar in September and October last year.

In November 2000, the firing was lesser in magnitude. Pakistanis fired 9,99,806 small arms rounds and more than 10,000 rounds of mortar fire.

The firing level came down to almost a trickle in December.

Beginning this year, this further got reduced and there was only small arms fire and no mortar fire till mid-May when the fencing became officially known to Pakistan.

"Pakistanis are gripped with fencing phobia," the BSF officer explained, claiming he had reports that Pakistani troops were under instructions to stop fencing at all costs. So much so there has been a big reshuffle in the Pak Rangers set up along the border.



APP PHOTO

A jawan stands guard in Poonch sector, northwest of Jammu, on Saturday.

PSC, Rew
24-15

Musharraf visit will not solve Kashmir issue: Mulayam

4/6

By Our Special Correspondent

JAIPUR, JUNE 3. The Samajwadi Party president, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, today said there would not be any major breakthrough in the Kashmir issue following the visit of the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf. The whole exercise was being carried out due to pressure from the United States, he charged.

Mr. Yadav, who was participating in a meet the press programme at the Pink City Press Club, is in the Rajasthan capital in connection with the three-day national executive meeting of his party which commenced here today. He felt that the invitation to Gen. Musharraf to visit India was sent in a hurry and in a "hush-hush" manner. "Even the members of the Union Cabinet were not aware of the invitation before it was sent," he alleged.

Terming the NDA Government's approach to the Kashmir issue as flawed, Mr. Yadav said the Sangh Parivar wanted Kashmir to be divided into Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. "This would provide them another excuse to alienate Muslims in the country.

They have been now left with no issues to catch the attention of people." The formation of smaller States was not an ideal thing to do, he said.

Mr. Yadav reiterated his party's stand on the formation of a confederation or "Maha Sangh" of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. "We, the socialists have always taken the stand that the division of the country was not rational. Maha Sangh, even if it is a loose confederation would be a viable formation."

Mr. Yadav, who is also the convener of the newly formed "Jan Morcha" or People's Front, blamed the NDA Government for the present crises in the country such as security threat and terrorism and the troubles of farmers, small businessmen and the poor.

"The challenges before the country are more serious than ever before. Divisive forces are at work in the name of religion, region and language." There was a sense of insecurity prevailing from the time of the Kargil intrusion. The killing of BSF jawans in Bangladesh and the terrorist attack inside the Red Fort were a few instances cited by him in this

connection.

However, Mr. Yadav was of the view that the NDA Government would continue in power. "We do not want mid-term elections now."

He alleged that the past policies of the BJP and the Congress had brought only misery to the middle class. "They are out to finish the middle class in this country," he charged. "People are fed up with the BJP and the Congress and hence the new alternative in the form of Jan Morcha," he explained.

Mr. Yadav said his party was on the threshold of emerging as a national party. The decision to hold the national executive in Jaipur was part of the strategy to give it a national character.

He claimed that the Jan Morcha would emerge victorious in the coming elections in Uttar Pradesh. There was no need to project anyone as the Chief Minister, he said replying to a question. "I have been projected enough," was perhaps his indirect way of hinting at who would be the next Chief Minister if his group wins. "I have the affection of people," he observed.

THE HINDU

74 11 23

Talks to cover all issues: Vajpayee

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BHUI, June 3. - India is prepared to discuss all bilateral problems, including Kashmir, with Pakistan, the Prime Minister said here today.

"We are trying to improve relations with our neighbours. We have invited Gen Musharraf to India to discuss all problems, including Kashmir. We are ready to talk on anything," Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee said after laying the foundation of a hospital here.

"We are hopeful of solving all problems through talks," he added.

J&K govt stand: Meanwhile, the Jammu and Kashmir government today termed Kashmir as a "core" issue between India and Pakistan and said a solution to it could be arrived at only through direct talks between the two countries and not through Centre's interlocutor, Mr KC Pant's mission, adds a report from New Delhi.

"Kashmir is the core issue between India and Pakistan. The two countries had gone to war three times in 50 years over this issue," the state's home minister, Mr Mushtaq Ahmad Lone, said.

"This (Kashmir issue) has throughout affected relations between the two countries," he said, adding that Pakistan started militancy which had made the people of the state its victim.

"The resolution of Kashmir issue is of prime concern and essential for establishment of peace in the sub-continent," Mr Lone said.

Appreciating the invitation extended by the Prime Minister to Gen Musharraf, he said it was a "good beginning".

Describing Mr Pant's visit to Jammu and Kashmir as a "study tour", he said the Pant mission was "a good beginning but resolution lies in direct talks between India and Pakistan".

(Photograph, another report on page 8)

THE STATESMAN

SUMMIT PROSPECTS

5x8 Long road ahead 2/6

INDIAN and Pakistani positions appear mutually irreconcilable prior to the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit, with the Pakistani high commissioner letting it be known that a plebiscite in Kashmir was being sought, and Jaswant Singh riposting that Kashmir is an inalienable part of India. Even if one goes along with the MEA's explanation of the Pakistani position as grandstanding for *jehadi* groups, it may need to continue, as *jehadis* form a sizable pressure group on the Musharraf government - on the issue of amending Pakistan's outrageous blasphemy laws, for example, Musharraf backed down under *jehadi* pressure. Some have questioned the propriety of talking to a military dictator, particularly in the light of the recent Indian position that Pakistani support for militancy has to cease before talks can commence. But it is the Army which calls the shots in Pakistan, and past experience, particularly Vajpayee's ill-fated bus ride, shows that any understanding which doesn't have it on board is likely to founder. Musharraf looks entrenched in his position, and it is in India's interest to engage him even if the proposed summit has no dramatic outcome. For those who harp on the Kargil "betrayal", it should be remembered that none of the Pakistan armed forces chiefs were willing to shake hands with Vajpayee in Lahore; India has itself to blame for letting its guard down. But Kargil needs to be kept in mind - India cannot afford to give Musharraf what he wants, an exit from the diplomatic doghouse, without the *quid pro quo* India wants - a cessation of cross-border militancy.

There are indications that Pakistan's nursing of militancy and consequent diplomatic isolation is proving expensive - its economy is in worse shape than India's, and its unsavoury reputation is frightening off investment. The country lives from day to day on IMF handouts. Not to put too fine a point to it, this is the bargaining chip that India has - in case of a prolonged standoff, the Pakistani economy will be worse hit than India. It is upto Vajpayee to make the best use of it, offering economic normalisation and return to respectability as incentives for curbing *jehadi* influence. There is likely to be a diplomatic minuet with Pakistan stressing Kashmir while India stresses other areas of co-operation such as enhanced trade ties and cultural exchanges as well as a reduction of general levels of hostility which would facilitate a solution on Kashmir. At the very least the two leaders will get a personal feel for each other which may come in handy in defusing future confrontation. They should be able to set the ball rolling for rules of disengagement along the LoC, as well as nuclear force and readiness levels. Even if a peace accord proves elusive, it is necessary to reduce the element of unpredictability in Indo-Pakistan relations, as the US and the Soviet Union were able to do during the Cold War.

THE STATESMAN

Advani dispels 'false' hopes over Indo-Pak talks

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

TURTUK (Leh), June 2. - A change in international opinion on the Jammu and Kashmir situation is a reason for inviting the Pakistani chief executive, General Pervez Musharraf for talks, the home minister, Mr LK Advani, said today. He added there should be no "false euphoria" about the visit.

In the past, he said, the international community would react to an incident in the Valley by calling for an international solution to the problem. Today, because India has succeeded in "mobilising world opinion against cross-border terrorism," the international community reacts strongly against terrorism, he said.

Speaking to reporters today after visiting Army develop-

ment programmes in the area (on the Line of Control), which he said, "pleasantly surprised him," he said India had decided after the Kargil war that there would be no talks with Pakistan till cross-border terrorism ended. The international uproar against terrorism is partly responsible for the change in government thinking.

Asked what the government's expectations were from the Musharraf visit, he said the two countries had not spoken for a while and instead, there were "acute animosities." A meeting between two heads of government would not resolve the problem and so, there can be no false euphoria. He also quoted the foreign minister, Mr Jaswant Singh as saying that not a lot was expected

from the visit.

Despite having no great hopes about the visit, he said problems of this kind (India and Pakistan have not been on talking terms) are "ultimately solved by dialogue." He spoke of a proactive approach by the government and the willingness to "re-engage."

Initially, there was a suggestion about the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan meeting first. Then, remembering India took the initiative at Lahore and that the Musharraf government has changed its former stance of rubbishing the Lahore accord, the Vajpayee government decided to take things further. Mr Advani pointed out that Gen Musharraf had said he was willing to speak anywhere and any time.

THE STATESMAN

JUN 2001

Waiting for the General

10-14
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IN THE Valley of distress and discontent, the Government of India (GoI) interlocutor, Mr. K.C. Pant's "Mission Kashmir" has been overshadowed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's peace talks invitation to Pakistan's military ruler, Gen. Pervez Musharraf.

Mr. Pant is seen more as the Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission and not as the Government's chief negotiator. People see him as dealing with development problems, and look to the Vajpayee-Musharraf Summit for a solution to the main political issue.

On the first day of his visit, Mr. Pant addressed a crowded press conference, on the second day, the media presence had fallen by half and the third day saw only a handful of journalists attending his briefing, confined to development issues. "His mission is no different from a visit by

any Central Minister issuing directions to departments and promising an information technology revolution," quipped a journalist.

The impression given on the first day of his visit was that Mr. Pant would be representing the Government of India in negotiating on the political issues in Jammu and Kashmir. But he started his day with a briefing on the development works, which had come to a halt because of delay in finalisation of the State's annual plan by the Planning Commission he heads. When Mr. Pant was talking about an IT revolution in the State starting with the setting up of cyber cafes, the newspapers in Srinagar carried reports that the Centre was yet to give security clearance for the multi-core Software Technology Park at Rangreth inaugurated by the Union Minister, Mr. Pramod Mahajan, this January.

Though Mr. Pant maintained that he was on a mission to understand, except for his informal meeting with the Democratic Freedom Party chief, Mr. Shabir Shah, and the Quami Mushawarti Council headed by Mr. Azam Inquillabi, one of the founders of militancy in Kashmir, he hardly got a feel of the disillusionment and discontent in Kashmir. Mr. Shah had also backtracked from his earlier stand and insisted that the 70-minute-long meeting with Mr. Pant was an informal one.

Even the secret meeting between Mr. Inquillabi and Mr. Pant proved a damp squib. It was followed by Mr. Inquillabi's expulsion from the party. He had met Mr. Pant at the Nehru Guest House in Srinagar but wanted it kept a secret. Even as Mr. Pant confirmed the meeting, he tried to persuade the journalists who saw Mr. Inquillabi leaving through the backdoor not to publish the news.

Once the chief commander of the militant outfit, Operation Balakot, Mr. Inquillabi returned from Pakistan apparently disgusted with its Kashmir policy and bid adieu to guns. What transpired at the meeting was not known. But the secrecy involved showed that separatists in Kashmir, whatever their support base, are not ready to talk to the Government on the present terms.

Mr. Inquillabi ended up being expelled from the party he inherited from the late Sofi Mohammad Akbar who had differed with Sheikh Abdullah when he had an accord with Indira Gandhi in 1975. Mr. Inquillabi's party members maintain that he did not consult them before

meeting Mr. Pant. Though the Quami Mushawarti Council, of which the Mahazi Azadi (which Mr. Inquillabi heads) and the former Chief Minister, Mr. G. M. Shah's Awami National Conference (ANC) are constituents, had a meeting with Mr. Pant, the alliance has not been going well for quite some time.

From the Shikarwalas on the Dal Lake to the ruling National Conference (NC) activists, no one in the Valley talked to Mr. Pant about the political aspect of the problem. Even the Srinagar-based editors stressed on opening job avenues for the unemployed youth as they all felt Mr. Pant's job was related to planning and development.

His meeting with Mr. G.M. Shah too was not encouraging. Mr. Shah, a mainstream politician, did not agree that Kashmir was an integral part of India. "It is disputed," he said in Mr. Pant's presence.

"His visit lost significance since Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf are going to talk on Kashmir," says Mr. Tahir Mohiuddin, editor of the mass-circulated Urdu weekly *Chattan*. And the rejection of the talks offer by the All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) and militant groups active in Kashmir did not add to the significance of Mr. Pant's visit. In the last 12 years, any move on the part of the Government of India towards holding talks with those who do not challenge the accession has not helped in achieving

In Kashmir, there is a feeling that a solution is possible only when hardliners are ruling both India and Pakistan. So, says Shujaat Bukhari, the hopes of the people have been revitalised.

any breakthrough. The APHC outrightly rejected Mr. Pant's appointment as chief negotiator and refused to talk to him.

Though chances of the Hurriyat Conference leaders being called for talks when Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf meet are bleak, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdus Sattar's statement that the General would like to meet them is not discouraging for them. Since the APHC has enjoyed the backing of Pakistan in the past, Islamabad cannot afford to ignore the alliance when talks on Kashmir are held. It may not be possible for Pakistan to find a slot at once for the APHC, but it will try to keep it in the picture.

"The Hurriyat has a role to play. How can India and Pakistan ignore it. It talks about atrocities and repression against Kashmiris, whatever the ideologies its leaders

have," says Mr. Mohammad Sulaiman, a student at the Kashmir University.

The Centre's sincerity on resolving the Kashmir issue has always been questioned in the Valley; and the rejection of the Assembly's autonomy resolution passed in 2000 further contributed to this feeling. "When they are not ready to even have a cursory look at a resolution passed by the Assembly which they say is a legitimate body of public representatives how can they talk to those who challenge the basis of the State's relations with India," asked a senior teacher at the Kashmir University. That is perhaps why the N.C. leaders had not much to tell the chief negotiator about autonomy but complained that the Centre was not wholeheartedly supporting the State's rebuilding.

Whatever credibility the Pant visit had vanished with the tough statements from the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh. For even people like Mr. Shabir Shah it was a setback. "It has hurt me and will not help in continuing with any kind of process," he says.

In the course of Mr. Pant's meetings, demands for trifurcation — people of Leh demanding a Union Territory status, some voices in Jammu asking for a separate State and a handful of Kashmiri Pandits wanting to carve out a homeland with Union Territory status within

Kashmir — again came up which may help the Centre neutralise the demand for the "right to self-determination". In total contrast to the demand for grant of Union Territory status in Leh, those who met Mr. Pant in Kargil stressed that they wanted to be a part of Jammu and Kashmir. People in Kargil appeared more concerned over development of their region.

In Kashmir, there is a feeling that a solution is possible only when hardliners are ruling India and Pakistan. So, the hopes of the people have now been revitalised. With the BJP in power in New Delhi and a General ruling Pakistan, the possibility of a solution is not ruled out, even if it remains confined to an end to violence and adjustments here and there. However, the role of the APHC and the militants groups is not ignored in the talk of any kind of settlement.

The Hurriyat Conference is seen as being pushed to the background when Mr. Vajpayee talked of direct dialogue with Pakistan. But it has not become irrelevant and will not as long as it talks of the solution of Kashmir problem in accordance with the wishes of the people.

Its leaders also are not ready to accept their irrelevance. "We cannot be irrelevant as we represent the wishes of the people," says one of the executive members, Mr. Abdul Gani Lone.

The role of the militants in achieving peace is not undermined in the whole process. It is, in fact, the militants who are calling the shots on the ground irrespective of what the politicians talk about. Even the people do not have two opinions about it. "Yes it is the militants who have to lay down arms and agree to a solution," says Mr. Mohammad Ashraf, a businessman. Whatever the Hurriyat Conference says, the militants have to be taken into confidence. In fact, the shortlived ceasefire by the Hizbul Mujahideen which ended with a round of talks between the Union Home Secretary, Mr. Kamal Pandey, and Hizb commanders had led to euphoria in Valley.

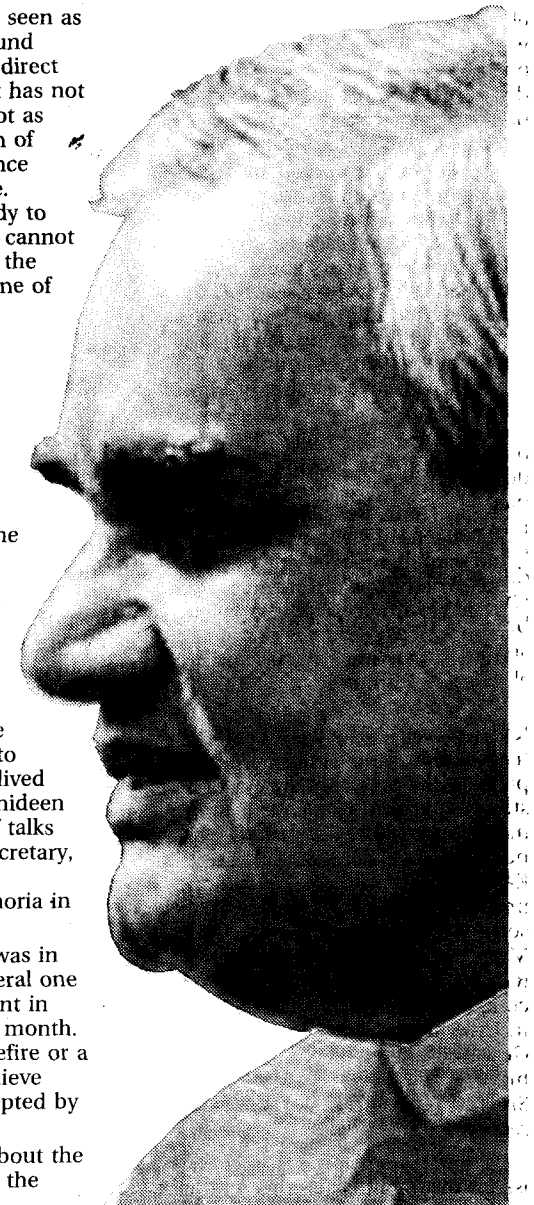
The ceasefire at that time was in total contrast with the unilateral one announced by the Government in November and called off last month. Analysts believe that no ceasefire or a peace process is going to achieve desired results until it is accepted by both sides.

What gives people hopes about the planned high level summit is the fact that Pakistan's military

establishment can use its influence over the militant organisations or the 'Jehadi' groups. "Pakistan has a say in the affair and if they are able to achieve a breakthrough they can convince the militant groups, only which can lead to a peaceful solution," says a senior lawyer in the Jammu and Kashmir High Court.

Even as bilateral agreements between India and Pakistan have not resolved the issue, and more recently the Lahore Declaration could not help in building confidence on both sides, people such as the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, are of the opinion that only the two neighbours can hammer out a solution.

Whatever the outcome of the first round of talks by Mr. Pant with various groups in the State, people in Kashmir will wait and watch for the Vajpayee-Musharraf meeting whenever it is fixed.



Valley voices

Farooq Abdullah, Shabir Shah and Abdul Gani Bhat speak on the proposed Vajpayee-Musharraf summit and the Pant mission.

Farooq Abdullah: I am happy that an invitation for talks has been extended to Gen. Pervez Musharraf. I hope it leads to better relations between India and Pakistan, which can result in a better future for Kashmir as well. I have always maintained that only India and Pakistan can hammer out a solution.

As for Mr. K. C. Pant's mission, it will certainly help in better understanding between the State and the Central leadership. As least the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, has made efforts to find out the views of various section of the people in the State vis-a-vis the peace process.

Shabir Shah: It is a bold step by Mr. Vajpayee. Earlier they had put a condition of first ending cross-border terrorism now they have invited Gen. Musharraf and it is a new beginning which can open ways for a peaceful and amicable solution to the problem. Both Gen. Musharraf and Mr. Vajpayee have demonstrated their capability to think big and act big with ample doses of generosity.

Sending Mr. Pant to Kashmir is again a big step taken by the Prime Minister. Mr. Pant is a seasoned politician and he being the chief negotiator, the peace process can achieve something. But I have made it clear that a

conducive atmosphere has to be created before a formal dialogue.

Abdul Gani Bhat: I have high regard for Mr. Vajpayee. The high level summit between him and Gen. Musharraf is a step forward. Both of them want to improve their relations and want to resolve the Kashmir issue. We have high hopes about this summit.

Mr. Pant's exercise has lost its substance and glamour too, if it had any, against the backdrop of the forthcoming Vajpayee-Musharraf talks. He (Pant) is trying to catch a fish in the desert. It is to build bridges where there are no rivers. — S.B.

'WITH A TOUCH OF FRIENDSHIP, COLD SINDHU WILL TURN WARM'

Our aim is peace: Advani

LEH, JUNE 1. Pakistani rulers must realise India's sincerity in pursuing peace and friendship, reflected in a number of initiatives taken by the Vajpayee Government in the past few years, the Union Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, said here today.

"The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, had dipped his hands in the historic Sindhu river last year during the Sindhu Darshan festival. If (Pakistani military ruler) Gen. Pervez Musharraf had dipped his hands in the river at Sukkur or Hyderabad (in Pakistan) at the same time, he would have realised the warmth, cordiality and feeling of friendship Vajpayeeji has," Mr. Advani said.

"This feeling of friendship has been reflected in the recent peace initiatives of our Government," the Minister said inaugurating the Sindhu Darshan festival and the newly-created "Sindhu Ghat" at Shey-Manla near here.

"The river Sindhu will not only become a symbol of India's cultural unity, but also a symbol of international peace and friendship, say between India and Pakistan," Mr. Advani said adding Ladakh had found a place in the country's tourist map.

Referring to a suggestion by the Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, that the

pilgrimage to lake Mansarovar in China pass through Damchuk in Ladakh, a much easier route, he said the matter had already been raised with Beijing which had "certain objections". "But we will pursue the matter at the governmental level," Mr. Advani said.

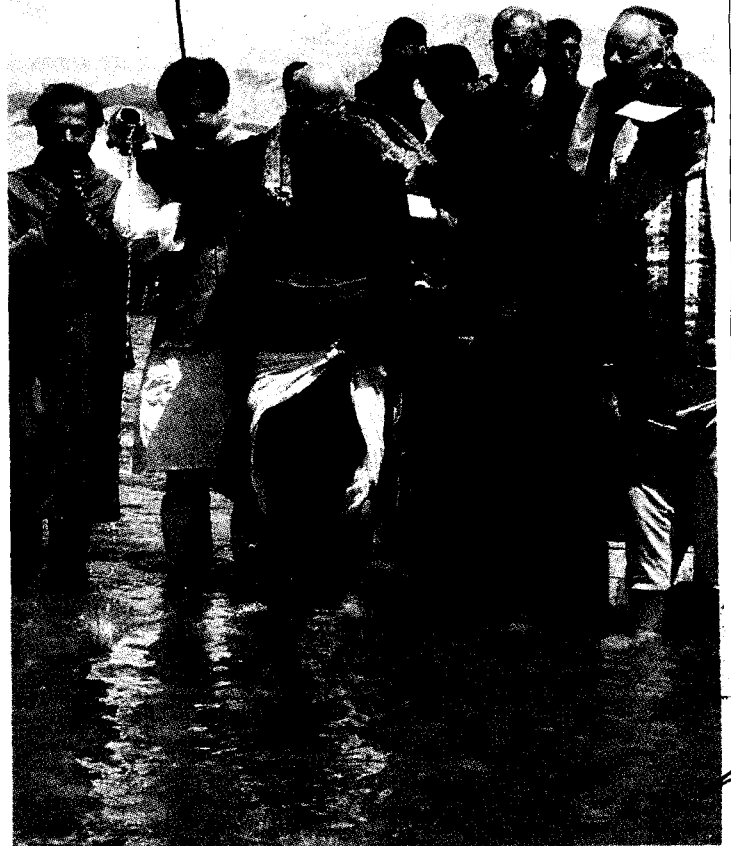
Farooq optimistic

Dr. Abdullah expressed the hope that the coming summit between Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf would "break the ice" and pave way for further dialogue. "I hope talks between the two leaders will break the ice and facilitate further discussions."

On converting the Line of Control into a permanent border, he said, "I don't think there is any other solution." He ruled out trifurcation of the State saying "any such move will end India's oneness".

He said Ladakh was a symbol of national unity as people belonging to all major faiths were represented here and lived peacefully. The Sindhu, which had given birth to the ancient Indian civilisation, was the common factor in the lives of the region's people through the ages, whatever their faith, caste or creed.

The J&K Governor, Mr. G. C. Saxena, and the Union Ministers, Mr. Ananth Kumar, Mr. Chaman



The Union Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, pouring the water of river Brahmaputra into the river Sindhu during the 'Sindhu Darshan' festival in Leh on Friday. — PTI

Great expectations

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 1. Peace is in the air. It really seems so here ever since the summit meet between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, was proposed and accepted. A one-para release of the Foreign Ministry today was more than evidence. Perhaps in an unprecedented move it welcomed the coming talks between India and Bangladesh. The official line till a few days ago was that India had no friends in the subcontinent. In what was seen as quite a turn-around, Gen. Musharraf in his acceptance letter to the invitation had said, "We wish to see a stable and prosperous India at peace with its neighbours." Today's Foreign Ministry statement said, "Pakistan welcomes the agreement between Bangladesh and India on the venue and dates for talks on border issues, which led to a clash between their forces in April. The Government of Pakistan hopes that the two countries will be able to resolve their differences through peaceful means."

Lal Gupta, Mr. O. Rajgopal and Mr. Santosh Gangwar participated. Mr. Amrish Puri, film star, and the Ambassadors of Norway and South Korea also attended.

The Tourism Minister, Mr. Ananth Kumar, said since the Sindhu festival was launched five years ago, the domestic tourist inflow had increased fourfold.

He asked the State Government to create a board for the Sindhu Darshan on the lines of those for Amarnath and Mansarovar yatras.

The Minister of State for Civil Aviation, Mr. Chaman Lal Gupta, said his Ministry had flown special flights for this festival and

offered discount on tickets.

Over 500 tourists from different parts of the country, including Arunachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra, are participating in the three-day festival.

A cultural performance by "Anamika", a team from Kolkata, was the most applauded item at the Sindhughat.

Other performers came from Delhi, Gujarat, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and Ladakh. Several tourists have also arrived from Italy, Germany, Singapore, Japan, Russia and France. — PTI

THE HINDU

JUN 2001

Advantage Musharraf



SEEMA MUSTAFA

It is a victory for the Chief Executive of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf. His consistency has paid off. He has not only ensured an invitation from Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, he has ensured that Jammu and Kashmir will remain central to the discussions. He is now all set to visit India in July to talk Kashmir.

The Government of India does not really know what it is going to talk about. A press conference organised by minister of external affairs and defence Jaswant Singh was an exercise in confusion. First reluctant to define the bottom line, the minister had a change of heart and faithful spokesperson Ramindar Jassal sent a note to some scribes asking them to repeat the question. An obliging journalist agreed and Singh waxed eloquent about Kashmir being an integral part of India. Asked why then he wanted to speak with Pakistan about an integral part of India, the minister fumbled and said something about the government having no problem about discussing Kashmir.

After the change of policy was announced through the letter of invitation by Vajpayee it was left to the bureaucrats to finalise the arrangements, and work out arguments justifying the policy. The officials who have grown to wear khaki knickers under the present regime are now finding it very difficult to take these off and don the garb of peaceniks. The bureaucrats looking for rainbows under what appear to them as dumps of mud are now defending each and every move by the two governments, with the result that even Musharraf's barbed response was projected as "very welcome".

The two sides are optimistic that the body language and chemistry between the two leaders will take the peace process forward. Both have taken care to point out that not much should be expected out of this first summit, except a commitment to continuing dialogue. And this too will depend on how Vajpayee and Musharraf react to each other, how much they decide to trust each other, the personal equations they are able to establish as this according to both India and Pakistani officials "will be a very valuable input into the entire exercise".

Vajpayee had hit it off with former Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif. Their body chemistry was apparently excellent, and both had decided to trust and rely on each other. In fact so deep ran the personal equation that Vajpayee emerged as the only Prime Minister to insist long after Sharif's army had taken position in the Kargil mountains, that he had not been informed and was, hence, quite innocent about the entire operation. Sharif, of course, could not say as much for an ignorant Prime Minister is often worse than a conniving one but the BJP-led Government of India continued churning out excuses for their lost friend. In fact, at the time Jaswant Singh even held a press conference to release some tapes of conversation between the then army chief General Musharraf and a



HARD TALK: 'Musharraf is a soldier whose direct, almost brutal approach, can antagonise those who prefer the softer word'

subordinate which he claimed was proof that Sharif had been kept out of the picture.

Sharif and Musharraf are as different from each as chalk is from cheese. Sharif was a slick politician, using charm and subterfuge to get his way with the world. He was courteous with a decided flair and spoke the double tongue of the politician with expertise. Musharraf is a soldier whose direct, almost brutal approach, can antagonise those who prefer the softer word. It has stood him in good stead with sections of his people, however, who take it as a breath of fresh air after Sharif. He does not mince words, he cannot beat around the bush, and like an army man prefers to talk straight. Too straight for comfort at times.

Vajpayee, in style, is closer to Nawaz Sharif. He is a politician. He does not like the direct word. He specialises in double

What is the meeting point on Kashmir?

India is clear that accession to Pakistan is ruled out. Pakistan gets ballistic at the very mention of the 'integral part of India' phrase. So these two options are ruled out. Sections in government and outside are not averse to the LoC being established as an international border. Pakistan has ruled this out maintaining that the LoC is just a temporary ceasefire line... So this too is ruled out.

Pakistan is very keen on a plebiscite, but India has rejected this demand under the present government as well. What remains? Independent Kashmir is the one option that has not been effectively contradicted by either side

speech. He loves his *kavitas* and is a bit of a loner. But then for those relying on body chemistry to see the summit through there is a word of hope: opposites do attract and the two leaders might just establish that equation when they meet against a backdrop of hostility and acrimony.

What are the two going to talk about? Kashmir will remain central to the discussion, although India would like to divert attention to other aspects like trade, free borders, cultural cooperation and other such happy issues that can also improve relations. But to get back to the point, what is the meeting point on Kashmir?

India is clear that accession to Pakistan is ruled out. Pakistan gets ballistic at the very mention of the "integral part of India" phrase. So these two options are ruled out. Sections in government and outside are not averse to the Line of Control being established as an international border. Pakistan has ruled this out maintaining that the LoC is just a temporary ceasefire line and could not be given any permanent status. So this option too is ruled out. Pakistan is very keen on a plebiscite, but India has categorically rejected this demand under the present government as well. So this option is ruled out.

What remains? Independent Kashmir is the one option that has not been effectively contradicted by either side. Pakistanis turn a little green in the face when asked about it but as the High Commissioner in Delhi Ashraf Jahangir Qazi said in response to a similar question, at least with the independent option also India will lose Kashmir. Delhi has made some anti noises about independence, and even about the possible trifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir along religious lines but the denials have not come from the highest quarters who will be negotiating a final settlement, if any.

The US based Kashmir Study Group formula for trifurcation remains the only option that has not been categorically ruled out by either India or Pakistan. Keep Jammu and Ladakh, and surrender the Valley. The proposal, of course, is far more elaborate and proposes a second

partition of India with new borders, and migration of the population. Now is the time for the Government of India to state its position and go into the meeting with Musharraf with a crystal clear stand on Kashmir and all the possible options.

Of course, the counter argument can be that governments do not spell out the bottom line when they are negotiating. But in this case, what is the government negotiating? The future of Kashmir? And regardless of what Pakistan and the Hurriyat leaders might say, tied to this is the future of India which is far more important than what happens to a single state. For the advocates of Hindutva the Valley is a godsend opportunity to whip up communal sentiments, but for those who still have a dream there are lurking fears and suspicions which the antics of this government are merely strengthening.

Unfortunately the National

Pakistan has a voice in the APHC in Kashmir which it hopes to strengthen with this present support. The government which is trying to buy support with yet another dramatic gesture must take realistic stock of the situation. After all its policy on Kashmir has been just a series of dramatic gestures: release of the APHC, reversal, talks through emissaries, reversal, announcement of talks with Hizbul Mujahideen, reversal, ceasefire, reversal, invitation to Musharraf... question mark. Dramatics can appear as substitute for policy but not for long. The meeting with Musharraf cannot be made dependent on the PM's penchant for drama

Conference under Farooq Abdullah has put itself outside the mainstream sentiment in Jammu and Kashmir. A party which had the advantage of being pro-Kashmir and at least not anti-Delhi has been wiped out as a serious entity in any negotiations about the state. Chief minister Farooq Abdullah who has not taken himself, his government, his party or his people seriously is largely to blame. But the BJP too is responsible in completely marginalising him, and keeping him and the National Conference entirely out of the picture. He is not taken into confidence or consulted on Kashmir any more, and what he has to say he shouts from the roof tops for the media. He has lost the faith of even those who voted for him, and as a result can be easily ignored by the BJP which obviously has other cards up its diabolical sleeve.

The government has, in the process, left itself with no voice in Kashmir. It rejected Farooq Abdullah's autonomy report without ever explaining why. It tried to open a dialogue with the APHC and then set this body aside for the Hizbul Mujahideen which has its headquarters in Pakistan. The ill thought out move backfired as the Hizb made it clear that it would be led by Islamabad and not Delhi. The government then again picked up the Hurriyat and agreed, through tacit silence, to allow a delegation to visit Pakistan for talks. This ran into trouble with the hardliners, and the APHC was dropped like a hot potato which, in Delhi's reckoning, is now too cold to be picked up. So there is this strange situation where the APHC is being shunned by the government which was talking to it every single day just a few months ago, while on the other hand it is being lauded by Pakistan as the only representative of the people of Kashmir.

Instead Pant is floating around in Srinagar trying to find alternatives... Shabir Shah, G.M. Shah cannot be alternatives. The National Conference could have been the alternative at one point of time. But it is probably too late to use it to bolster Delhi's arguments on Kashmir, mainly because under Farooq Abdullah it has lost credibility with the people. The APHC could have been the other alternative for there are enough strains within for the government to have managed very effectively. The one advantage Delhi had over Islamabad in dealing with the Hurriyat was that its leaders are based in Kashmir. But obviously hard-line considerations have prevailed, and in throwing the bath water out the government has dispensed with the baby as well.

Pakistan, on the other hand, has a voice in the APHC in Kashmir which it hopes to strengthen with this present support. The government which is trying to buy support with yet another dramatic gesture must take realistic stock of the situation. After all its policy on Kashmir has been just a series of dramatic gestures: release of the APHC, reversal, talks through emissaries, reversal, announcement of talks with Hizbul Mujahideen, reversal, ceasefire, reversal, invitation to Musharraf... question mark. Dramatics can appear as substitute for policy but not for long.

The meeting with Musharraf cannot be made dependent on the Prime Minister's penchant for drama. The General is coming to Delhi to talk. And to talk hard on Kashmir. He is not the kind to flirt with the frills. The government is here to protect not just the interests but the dignity of India. Can it?

Pak Mohajir leader wants to meet PM

London, June 1

Handwritten: H-1 2/6 Urdu Pak

ALTAF HUSSAIN, exiled leader of Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), spearheading a stir against the discrimination being meted out to Urdu-speaking migrants in Pakistan, plans to visit India and meet Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

London-based Hussain said he wanted to visit his ancestral home in Agra, but declined to spell out why he wanted to meet Vajpayee.

However, in an interview to a UK-based TV and radio production unit, he said he would write to the Indian Government seeking permission to visit the country to talk to Vajpayee and "explain to Muslims of India how economic and human rights of the poor are being abused in Pakistan."

Vajpayee's invitation to Pakistani military ruler Pervez Musharraf for talks was "a good step towards establishment of

PAK POET MEETS ATAL

ATAL BIHARI Vajpayee on Friday assured exiled Pakistani poet Affab Hussain that he will try to help him stay on in India beyond the two-month visa extension period granted to him this week. The poet, who is seeking asylum in India, called on Vajpayee at his residence.

PTI, New Delhi

peace in the region," he said.

Stating that Musharraf's decision to accept the invitation was a positive sign, Hussain said conflicts and disputes could only be resolved through dialogue.

Sincere and meaningful dialogue is the best way to resolve outstanding issues. This was evident from the fact that European countries which had fought each other in World Wars I and II had now come together to form the European Union," he said. PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Invitation to Musharraf a positive step: Pressler

By Our Staff Reporter

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BANGALORE, JUNE 1. India and Pakistan should resolve their differences at the earliest, the former United States Senator, Mr. Larry Pressler, said here today.

HD-11

He was talking to presspersons after delivering a talk on "Making of Telecommunications Policies in the U.S." at the National Law School of India University. Mr. Pressler said the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's willingness to hold talks with the Pakistan Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, was a positive step towards resolving the outstanding issues. "This India-Pakistan conflict is a tragedy and the whole world wants the two countries to put an end to the dispute."

Asked whether the U.S. would play a mediatory role in resolving the Kashmir issue, Mr. Pressler said: "I don't think it could be settled by any outsider." India and Pakistan should find a solution by themselves. Mr. Pressler said he was glad that the relations between India and the U.S. were improving.

The U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, was keen on strengthening diplomatic ties with India, and Delhi's endorsement of the National Missile Defence showed that the two were coming closer. "If India and the U.S. move closer, Pakistan will behave better, and China would be put in place."

He favoured a free trade zone between India and the U.S., and said this would benefit both, especially in areas such as information technology and pharmaceutical. He did not rule out military alliances with India. India and the U.S. were "made for each

YB

other" and free trade would create more employment opportunities. He said the labour unions in India may see the proposal as a U.S. plan to exploit the Indian workforce.

On the economic slowdown in the U.S., he said he did not see a turnaround for the next three years. Delivering a lecture, Mr. Pressler said the main aim of the U.S. Telecommunication Act was to deregulate the system. The policy had worked well in the U.S. as telephone tariffs were down. It was difficult in a developing country such as India to adopt a deregulation policy. This would take some time.

Mr. Pressler is in Bangalore in connection with his responsibilities as member of the Board of Directors of the Infosys Technologies.

U.K. praise for peace initiative

LONDON, JUNE 1. Britain today applauded India for taking the initiative to invite Pakistan military ruler Gen. Pervez Musharraf for talks and hoped the summit meeting would be a "significant positive" development. "I applaud India's initiative, and Pakistan's constructive response," British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Robin Cook said in a statement. Welcoming Gen. Musharraf's acceptance of the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee's invitation for the dialogue, Mr. Cook said "such a meeting will be a significant positive development in India-Pakistan relations, and will serve to build confidence on both sides." — PTI

THE HINDU

2001

Cricket's road to peace

SINCE IT will be unrealistic to expect anything more than a frank, and perhaps occasionally less than cordial, exchange of views on Kashmir — the 'core' issue for Pakistanis — during the Vajpayee-Musharraf summit, it may be worthwhile for those at the meeting also to focus on some of the peripheral issues. These include freer trade between the two countries, less travel restrictions, more cultural exchanges, greater confidence-building measures in the military field, perhaps a gradual disengagement in Siachen and — no less important — the restoration of cricketing ties. The last can be the easiest to achieve and may more than fulfil the primary aim of the other measures — that of introducing an element of normality in mutual relations.

General Pervez Musharraf's personal interest in the game can help to remove the present hurdles. It is undeniable that more of these have been erected by India. There is apparently an element of irrationality also in India's policy in this respect, presumably because the game has become a victim of a tussle between the saffron hardliners and softliners. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain

less popular sports with Pakistan, like hockey, while studiously avoiding cricketing contests on one pretext or another. That some of the excuses like not playing at non-regular venues make little sense shows that whims, and perhaps prejudice, rather than any well-considered approach to the problem determine the making of policies in this regard.

If cricket between the two countries has come to resemble gladiatorial contests, as External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh recently said, it is because they do not play each other often enough. As some Pakistani players have said, more matches will take the tension out of them. In any event, now that India has decided to take the "high road to peace", it will be absurd to keep the lid on the most popular game in the sub-continent, which also provides a treat for the entire cricketing world because of the number of talented players who are involved. Besides, with the world Test championships having begun, and with the World Cup games only two years away, India would have had to make up its mind on playing Pakistan soon enough. Now is the best time to do so, with the atmosphere somewhat less tense than

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

7/11/98

Cricket likely to figure at summit

BULA DEVI
TATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 31. — Kashmir may be General Pervez Musharraf's main concern, but cricket too is close to his heart. The Pakistan Chief Executive is likely to take initiative during his Delhi trip to break the ice in the Indo-Pak cricket ties.

The Pakistani sports minister, Mr SK Tressler, has said: "Although the issue of Kashmir will top the agenda, the Chief Executive will talk about the cricket relations between the two countries."

South Block is abuzz with speculations about how the Centre would react to the issue that has no place in the eight-point composite dialogue framework.

India has clearly stated that all outstanding issues, including Kashmir which is the "core of Indian nationhood" and an "integral part of India", could be discussed at the summit. It wants the talks to be held within the eight-point composite dialogue framework.

Since the foreign and defence minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, has cautioned leaders against expecting anything dramatic from the summit, will New Delhi open doors for bilateral cricket matches as a soft liner? How will the hawks in the government react to such a step?

The Union sports ministry had said that unless Pakistan stopped promoting terrorism in India, "sentimental and patriotic" cricket matches would not be played with that country. And the Centre believes Pakistan is still abetting terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

Despite repeated attempts, Union sports minister Miss Uma Bharati could not be contacted for comments.

India last played Pakistan in the World Series Cup in Australia during the 1999-2000. The last one-to-one series was in 1998, before the Kargil conflict.

The Centre had rejected the Indian Cricket Board's plea to hold Indo-Pak cricket matches to raise funds for Gujarat earthquake victims. The board also pulled out of another triangular series in Sharjah, involving Pakistan and Sri Lanka, in April.

CRICKET:

(Continued from page 1)

Gen Musharraf is likely to raise the issue of an Indo-Pak Test match to be held in Pakistan in September as part of the Asian Championship.

Reports from Islamabad last week said the Indian board had agreed to play a Test match in Pakistan after 12 years.

The commitment to play was given in writing by the BCCI chief, Mr AC Muthiah, at an ACC meeting in Lahore. The board defended its decision by saying the Centre's policy of not allowing Indo-Pak cricket matches applies to only bilateral series and non-regular venues.

However, now that Miss Bharati has pulled up the BCCI for taking the decision without the Centre's consent, doubts have arisen about the 13-17 September match.

Report blames Pak for J&K truce failure

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, May 31

PAKISTAN SABOTAGED the unilateral peace initiative that Atal Bihari Vajpayee had taken, the Defence Ministry said in its annual report released today, weeks before General Pervez Musharraf plans to visit India at Vajpayee's invitation.

The 128-page report, which contains a review of India's security environment with particular reference to its neighbours during the year 2000-2001, highlights Pakistan's role in the violence in Jammu and Kashmir.

"Pakistan continued with its hostile approaches and policies towards India," the report said, accusing Islamabad of stepping up its sponsorship of cross border terrorism.

Referring to the Prime Minister's peace initiative and its three extensions, the report said that the people of Kashmir had widely welcomed the move but terrorists groups close to Pakistani Intelligence agencies escalated violence.

The ministry report said that Pakistani troops all along the Line of Control continued to provide logistic support to militant groups sneaking into Indian territory with the objective of enhancing their capabilities to take on security forces and attack key installations.

The report said that Pakistan's announcement of maximum restraint along the LoC was "clearly self serving" and did not address New Delhi's concern relating to Islamabad's continued sponsorship of cross border terrorism.

That Pakistan had stepped up its patronage of militancy in the Valley was "clearly indicated" by qualitative improvement in

ULTRAS' AMNESTY PROPOSED

KC PANT has said he had received suggestions for granting general amnesty to militants opting for peace in Jammu and Kashmir and for involving them in the peace dialogue. On whether he plans to hold talks with militant groups, he said: "Any militant who wants peace is welcome. But I prefer not to label anyone a militant. A militant of today may not necessarily be a militant of tomorrow." **PTI, Srinagar**

weaponry, communication equipment and training that was made available to all major Pakistan-based groups like Lashkar-e-Tayyeba, Jaish-i-Mohammad and Karkat-ul-Mujahideen.

It said these groups had organised suicide attacks and high publicity actions to project Jammu and Kashmir as a major flashpoint. A conducive environment was an obvious requirement for a meaningful dialogue with Islamabad, the report added.

Outlining the country's security priorities, the report said India's profile of its credible minimum deterrent would include accurate and refined delivery systems. This is necessary, the report explained, because an asymmetry in terms of nuclear forces existed strongly in favour of China which was also helping Pakistan to build a nuclear and missile arsenal.

Maintaining a minimum deterrent was a "sovereign responsibility", the report said. It highlighted the need for indigenisation in armament capability in the wake of restrictions on transfer of weaponry and technology, especially those created by post-Pokhran sanctions imposed by the US.

'SUMMIT MEETING TIME IN MID-JULY'

PM wants to give peace another chance: Mahajan

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MAY 31. For the first time today, the entire Union Cabinet heard from the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, the rationale behind the invitation to the Pakistan's Chief Executive, General Pervez Musharraf. Mr. Vajpayee is understood to have explained that the invitation — as well as the calling off of the "ceasefire" in Jammu and Kashmir — was part of a larger search for peace in the region, and should be seen as a continuation of the "Lahore process."

There was, however, no discussion in the Cabinet on the subject. The Prime Minister was heard respectfully. The Cabinet seemed reconciled to the *fait accompli* of what has been seen as a volte face. It was the Cabinet Committee on Security that had decided on May 23 to call off the "ceasefire" in Jammu and Kashmir and invite the Pakistani ruler to come to New Delhi for talks.

Briefing newsmen after the Cabinet meeting, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Pramod Mahajan, said the Prime

Minister wanted to give "another chance" to his peace initiative. According to Mr. Mahajan, Mr. Vajpayee told his Cabinet colleagues that while India was naturally in favour of engaging a democratic set-up in Pakistan, it could not realistically ignore the presence of a military regime there. In the past, too, India had dealt with military regimes.

On the decision to call off the "ceasefire," the Prime Minister told the Cabinet that the unilateral restraint the security forces had undertaken (as part of the Ramadan initiative) was not being reciprocated by the militant groups, and, in fact, the number of civilians killed had gone up.

One of the crucial inputs in the May 23 decision was the perceptions and impressions gathered by the Union Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani, and the acting Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, when they visited Srinagar on May 19.

According to Mr. Mahajan, since the Prime Minister would be having his knee operated upon on June 7 and would require at least three weeks thereafter to recover fully, the

proposed Vajpayee-Musharraf summit should be taking place in the middle of July. General Musharraf has suggested four dates — June 20, June 25, end of June or early July — for the summit. As per Mr. Mahajan's announcement, the monsoon session of Parliament could begin on July 23. That means the summit should take place some time in the second/third week of July.

Before the Cabinet meeting, the Prime Minister presided over another high-level meeting that decided in principle to extend the ceasefire in Nagaland for one year. The formulation is that the ceasefire would extend to the Nagas living in entire northeast, without in any way constituting a commitment to the concept of "Greater Nagaland" being demanded by the dominant rebel group, the NSCN(I-M), headed by Mr. T. Muivah.

The meeting was attended by Mr. Advani, the Army Chief, the Home Secretary, the Director of Intelligence Bureau, Secretary (R), and Mr. K. Padmanabhaiah, Prime Minister's envoy for the northeast.

JUN 2001

THE HINDU

JUN 2001

A dialogue requires vision

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AT
RANDOM



K. NATWAR SINGH

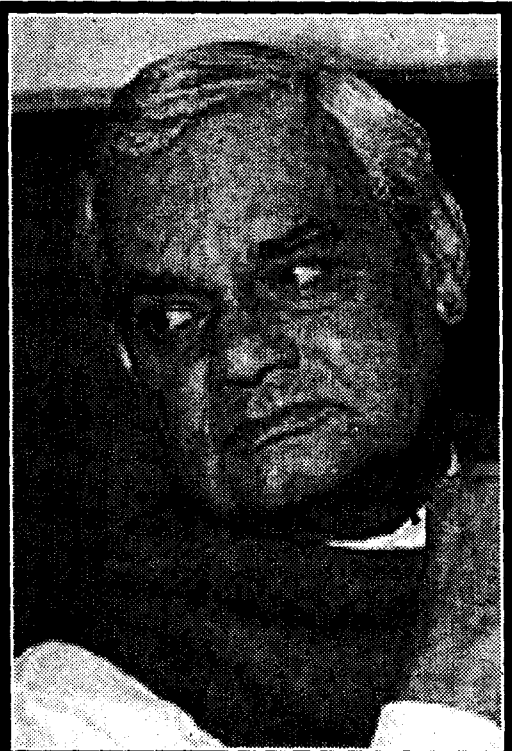
What we need at the ministry of external affairs is a steady hand. Not someone to whom vaporous verbalising and pointless pontificating comes with fatal ease. The Indian external affairs minister has the dubious distinction of being the only one to have welcomed the National Missile Defence proposed by President Bush on May 1, 2001. One telephone call from Washington was all that was needed for him to thoughtlessly welcome NMD.

In Washington the political landscape changed dramatically on May 24, when Republican Senator James Jeffords of Vermont announced that he was leaving the Republican Party and would sit in the Senate as an independent. This gave the Democrats control of the Senate. This change has been termed in Washington as "a political earthquake". The chairmanship of all committees of the Senate will now go to Democrats. Thus, the NMD could meet the fate of the CTBT.

Richard Armitage, the US deputy secretary of state (incidentally, the Japanese foreign minister, Ms Makiko Tanaka unceremoniously cancelled her meeting with him) had given the impression that the Russians would support NMD. The MEA gave the same impression at the end of Russian foreign minister Ivanov's visit to New Delhi. It was actually touted by the external affairs minister that the Indian and Russian positions on the NMD were similar if not identical. This was not so, although our gullible media (there were exceptions) accepted this view. Even then the external affairs minister had to eat his words in the presence of Ivanov and change his stance on the ABM Treaty of 1972 which he had earlier all but called something that enshrined the past.

What is the Russian position today? On Monday, the 28th, Mr Ivanov rejected the American proposal to do away with the ABM Treaty, a core element of the Bush programme. So much for our minister for disastrous affairs.

Prim Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's sudden invitation to General Pervez Musharraf is yet another exam-



LET'S TALK: 'Gen. Musharraf's reply could not but mention Kashmir. Nevertheless he says that he will come to Delhi with an open mind and would be willing to discuss all aspects of Indo-Pak relations'

ple of the erratic manner in which this NDA alliance government functions. However, the Congress Party has welcomed the invitation to the Pakistani CEO. The language in the Prime Minister's letter summoned high and honest impulses from both sides. The enterprise on which India and Pakistan have now embarked, requires visionary statesmanship, not scoring debating

Prim Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's sudden invitation to General Pervez Musharraf is yet another example of the erratic manner in which this NDA alliance government functions. However, the Congress Party has welcomed the... invitation to the Pakistani CEO. The language in the Prime Minister's letter summoned high and honest impulses from both sides. The enterprise on which India and Pakistan have now embarked, requires visionary statesmanship, not scoring debating points

points. The Jammu and Kashmir question is a devilishly complicated one. Both sides carry baggage, some of which will have to be dumped if this process, set in motion by the Indian Prime Minister is to produce the desired results.

General Musharraf's reply could not but mention Kashmir. Nevertheless he says that he will come to Delhi with an open mind and would be willing to discuss all aspects of Indo-Pak relations. However, the General Sahib should do three things, right away. One, tell his foreign minister and high commissioner in New Delhi to exercise verbal restraint. Two, he should publicly state that he does not consider the Simla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration irrelevant. If he does so, then the right atmosphere for his talks with A.B. Vajpayee will be created. Three, he must without delay stop terrorist activity in Jammu and Kashmir. He cannot have the cake and eat it too.

The Simla Agreement ensured peace for 27 years. The opening para of the Agreement reads:

"The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the subcontinent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples."

Often it is asked, "why should we talk to Pakistan?" The answer is that we have been doing so for the past 54 years.

Para 6 of the Simla Agreement states that the two sides would need to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including "...a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir..." The Lahore Declaration is an extension of the Simla Agreement. That is why the Congress welcomed it. Both were auto-da-fe-acts of faith.

When heads of government meet they normally do not get into arguments. There is mutual respect. They do nothing that could be termed unseemly. It would, in my judgment be sensible to hold a joint press conference at the end of their one to one meeting and announce that this process would continue and that the two would meet again in the very near future. It is obvious that one meeting cannot settle one of the most intractable issues that any two countries have had to face. A lot of hard work is necessary to rebuild confidence

One rather extraneous issue has been raised. How should we treat this visit and what protocol should be followed. Is it a state visit or a working one? These are not issues of substance. General Pervez Musharraf is coming to New Delhi at the invitation of the Prime Minister of India. He will be our guest. As a great country we should be correct, cordial and courteous.

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It is obvious that one meeting cannot settle one of the most intractable issues that any two countries have had to face. A lot of hard work is necessary to rebuild confidence, to create goodwill and get the people involved. Let us break down the wall of suspicion and distrust. To achieve this, there will have to be give and take. The Prime Minister must consult Opposition leaders and former Prime Ministers before meeting Musharraf.

On May 30, 1960, one of the very great literary figures of the 20th century died — Boris Pasternak. He was 70. His work had a marked influence on my intellectual life. In India he is known only as the author of *Dr Zhivago*. He was a far greater poet than a writer of prose. Khrushchev's Soviet Union forced him to renounce the Nobel Prize and hounded him to his death. On the 30th of May I picked up *Meetings with Pasternak: A Memoir* by Alexander Gladkov (1912-1976) a great friend of Pasternak who was a splendid talker with a rich vocabulary. Gladkov gives many examples of Pasternak's spontaneous brilliance. Here is one:

"Getting to know yourself is not an exercise with a foregone conclusion. You have to take risks. Taking spiritual risks is the professional duty of a poet — or rather, it is the medium in which he works, like height for a steeplejack, mine-fields for a sapper or the bottom of the sea for a diver..."

A word of caution to letter writer G.S. Hiranyappa (*The Editorial Page, The Asian Age, May 31*) on his comments on the warm letters exchanged between Nehru and Churchill in 1955. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing. I am fully aware of Churchill's India record, which is deplorable and have written extensively about it.