

No de-escalation: Fernandes

By Our Special Correspondent

BANGALORE, MARCH 30. There is no possibility of a de-escalation on the India-Pakistan border till the two most important outstanding issues are resolved by Pakistan, the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, said here on Saturday. *own pmk*

Speaking to presspersons after handing over to the Indian Air Force two Advanced Light Helicopters (ALH) — christened Dhruv by him — at the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd (HAL), Mr. Fernandes said that Pakistan was yet to end cross-border terrorism originating from that

country. "Even today there was an attack on a BSF camp by a banned terrorist outfit headquartered in Pakistan" he added. The second issue was India's demand for handing over 20 wanted terrorists for which there was a negative response from that country. *HOA 31/3*

"Pakistan claims some of those in the list are its citizens but there are others who are Indian citizens wanted for crimes committed in our country and they are living in a 'royal style' in Pakistan. We want them handed over to stand trial here," he said.

Pakistan was supposed to be

9-Dig-A-Sleazy
involved in the hunt for another international terrorist, Osama bin Laden, he added.

Mr. Fernandes said there was reason to believe that some outfits of the Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, which fled Afghanistan, had moved into Pakistan and were using that country as a transit route to Kashmir.

Asked about the U.S.' suggestion that India and Pakistan hold talks to end tension, he said: "Not when the LeT is on a killing-spree everyday in Kashmir. The international coalition against terrorism should observe the same ground rules for every nation."

THE HINDU

31 MAR 2002

'Enough evidence given to Pak.'

25/3 By Vinay Kumar #10-1

NEW DELHI, MARCH 24. Notwithstanding the claim by the Pakistani authorities that India had not provided "concrete evidence" against those named in the list of 20 wanted terrorists and criminals, the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) today maintained that the evidence given to Islamabad was enough for taking action.

Well-placed CBI sources said that a number of those in New Delhi's list were Indian nationals and that there should be no difficulty in deporting them. Sources said three parameters needed to be fulfilled while assessing the evidence — establishing the identity of those wanted, details of the cases registered by the police and Interpol Red Corner Alert notices issued against them.

The list, given to the Pakistani Deputy High Commissioner here on December 31 last, includes the names of five hijackers of the IC-814 flight of the Indian Airlines commandeered to Kandahar in December 1999. All the five happened to be Pakistani nationals and their identities with details of their addresses in Pakistan had already been given to the Federal Investigating

Agency (FIA) of Pakistan by the CBI through Interpol. In the case of the Pakistani nationals, the least the authorities in Islamabad could have done was to put them under arrest on the basis of the Interpol Red Corner notices. As a member-country of the Interpol, there is an international obligation upon Pakistan to arrest those against whom notice has been issued. The notice is issued by Interpol headquarters only after it is satisfied that prima facie evidence against the wanted person exists.

"The law enforcing authorities in Pakistan have shown no inclination even to arrest the hijackers of the Indian Airlines plane. The arrest is a preliminary stage after which the evidence supplied by the CBI could have been placed before an extradition court. It is for the court to decide upon extradition of wanted criminals. The court could have weighed the evidence and even decided against the extradition plea," CBI sources argued.

They cited the example of the Bollywood music director, Nadeem, who was named as accused in the Gulshan Kumar murder case and whose extradition was sought from the U.K. but a London court examined the evidence and turned down India's

request though Mr. Nadeem was an Indian national.

All the five accused in the 1993 Bombay serial blasts, including Dawood Ibrahim, Tiger Memon and Chotta Shakeel, are Indian nationals and their deportation to India should have posed no problems, sources said. Both the cases — Bombay blasts and IC-814 hijacking — were investigated by the CBI.

Two Babbar Khalsa activists, wanted for the assassination of the former Punjab Chief Minister, Beant Singh, are also on the list. Nine of the accused are lodged in jail and are facing trial in the case probed by the CBI. The crucial factor of establishing the identity of a criminal wanted by India from another country came to the fore recently when Indian authorities failed to conclusively pin down Abu Salem's identity and passport details which prompted the UAE authorities to let him off the hook. Similarly, the delay in judicial proceedings also prove too dear. Maulana Masood Azhar and Omar Sheikh, both Pakistani nationals, who were freed in exchange for hostages in the hijacking case, had spent a number of years in Indian jails without facing a complete trial.

INDIA

25 MAR 2002

Forget J&K, Atal tells Pak

HT Correspondent & PTI
Shimla, March 24

HITTING BACK at Pervez Musharraf's Pakistan Day speech, Atal Bihari Vajpayee on Sunday warned Pakistan to stop cross-border terrorism and declared that it would never be allowed to gain control over Kashmir.

Speaking at a function marking the completion of Himachal Pradesh Chief Minister P K Dhumal's four years in office, Vajpayee said Pakistan was under pressure to heed the chorus against terrorism. He said Pakistan, which could not retain control over the erstwhile East Pakistan, is now keen to gain control over Kashmir.

He said the recent attacks on Parliament and Jammu and Kashmir Assembly did

not indicate that Pakistan was looking for friendly relations with India, no matter what its public posturing is. He commended the security forces for repelling the attack on Parliament, saying they prevented a major bloodshed.

The Prime Minister's warning to Pakistan came amid reports that the ISI would try to push erstwhile Taliban forces evacuated from Afghanistan into the State this summer to boost militancy. Senior Jammu and Kashmir police officers say some wireless intercepts and confessions of arrested militants suggested that ISI had "rehabilitated" the Taliban in Bagh, Kotli and Mirpur areas of PoK.

"We have information that Pakistan will push these Taliban forces into the State

5 killed in Jammu

TWO MILITANTS and three policemen were killed in separate encounters in Jammu on Saturday night. Hizbul leader Mukhtiar Ahmed was killed in an encounter in Poonch district. In another encounter in Rajouri three policemen and a Lashkar-e-Tayyeba militant were killed.

PTI, Jammu

during the summer because primarily it wants to keep them out of its soil because of the international pressure," said a senior officer.

"The second reason is, the ISI desperately wants to increase the level of vio-

lence in the State, which has been comparatively low of late. The State polls are scheduled later this year and Pakistan desperately wants to project a picture of popular discontent with the poll process."

Taj security: Special troops and police are guarding the Taj Mahal following a threat from Pakistan-based terrorist outfit Jaish-e-Mohammed to blow up the monument along with other historic monuments in the country, adds PTI.

Securitymen had been deployed in the Taj area following interception of a message from the JeM that it would be blown up along with the Qutub Minar, India Gate and Charminar, an official said.

Pak official's remarks peeve militants

Mubashir Zaidi
Islamabad, March 24

THE MUTTAHIDA (United) Jihad Council, an umbrella alliance of militant groups of Kashmir, has accused Pakistan's newly appointed National Kashmir Committee Chairman Sardar Abdul Qayyum Khan of creating misgivings about jihadis and criticising their role in Kashmir.

"India has been trying in vain since long to create misgivings between the mujahideen and the freedom-seeking Kashmiris, but it seems that this task has now been taken up by the NKC chairman," a spokesman for the alliance said in a statement issued in Muzaffarabad, the capital of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

The spokesman said Qayyum was

Al-Jehad resurfaces

PRO-PAKISTANI OUTFIT al-Jehad has resurfaced in Kashmir and has warned people not to take part in the Assembly elections. The outfit, in a statement said on Sunday: "We have not rendered sacrifices for power and our struggle is based on the goal of freedom."

PTI, Srinagar

backing up India's attempts to bracket the freedom struggle with terrorism by resorting to mud-slinging against the freedom fighters.

The MJC's reaction was to Qayyum's latest outburst against the jihadis in one of his interviews

given to a national Urdu daily in which he said that the activities and loyalties of Jaish-i-Mohammad had always been suspect. Sardar Qayyum was appointed chairman of the committee in January by President General Pervez Musharraf. On the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba, he told the paper that though it's top leadership mostly comprised sincere people, rogue elements have crept in.

"According the status of a hero to Masood Azhar was a mistake, like the Jamaat-i-Islami had done in case of Mast Gul (in 1995). Today Gul might be pushing drugs somewhere," Sardar Qayyum said.

Mast Gul was associated with the Hizbul Mujahideen and shot to fame in 1995 when the shrine of Charar-e-Sharief in held Valley, where he and

some other fighters had been holed up, was burnt to ashes by the Indian forces. Later, he quit Mujahideen and joined some other group.

The MJC spokesman came down heavily on the committee chief for the "character assassination of freedom fighters".

"His controversial statements are raising a question on the Kashmir policy of the Government of Pakistan." The spokesman said the people of Kashmir could not make their movement subservient to the agenda of any individual.

The Kashmir committee, he said, was set up to evolve a policy regarding the freedom movement but the chairman is taking up the task left incomplete by the Indian Government.

'NO SIGNS OF CHANGE IN ATTITUDE'

Pak. should act fast on five demands: Advani

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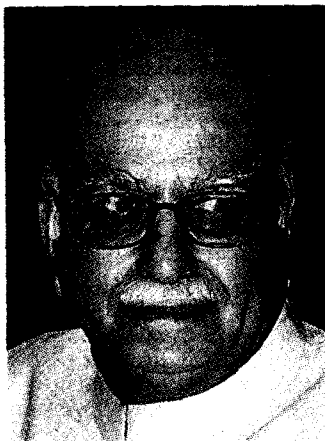
By Our Staff Reporter

GURGAON (HARYANA), MARCH 23.

Pakistan must immediately fulfil the five demands placed by India if it wants to improve bilateral relations.

"Pakistan needs to act fast on the five demands. It must stop abetting terrorism by supply of arms and ammunition to terrorist outfits. It should hand over the 20 terrorists and criminals, whose names have already been given to it, end infiltration and stop supply of finances and training to terrorists," the Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, said here today.

He was speaking after laying



the foundation for a new training centre of the Central Re-

serve Police Force at Kadarpur.

With forces of both sides deployed along the Line of Control, Mr. Advani said infiltration by terrorists was "impossible" without Pakistan's support. He came down heavily on Pakistan for what he called "its adamant approach of non-compliance" on these demands. It had done nothing to show results on the ground.

Asserting that there were no signs of change in Pakistan's attitude to terrorism vis-a-vis India despite "big promises" by its President, Pervez Musharraf, Mr. Advani said India would move for a dialogue only if the demands were met. He accused

Pakistan of fomenting communal disharmony in India after being "cornered" by the international community over the issue of "proxy war".

"Now that Pakistan has been cornered, it is trying to incite communal disturbances here. Therefore, not only the security forces but also each one of us must contribute to maintaining harmony in the country."

Defending the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance (POTO), he said there was an urgent need for such special laws against terrorism. Even the United Nations Security Council had stressed the formulation of such laws in view of the "new dangers".

"The world realised that India's concerns over terrorism were proving correct and felt the need for a united approach to defeat the challenge," he said. The Security Council passed a resolution on September 28 asking the member states to formulate "special" laws to counter terrorism and cut the financial supply lines of terrorists, he said. "India is also taking steps in this direction."

Referring to the new CRPF Academy, which would be completed over the next five years, Mr. Advani said there was need for such a centre to impart the best training to CRPF personnel and prepare them for any kind of eventuality. Considering that earlier there was no centralised training centre and also that the CRPF's strength had grown manifold over the years, Mr. Advani said the setting up of such a centre would prove beneficial.

THE HINDU

24 MAR 2002

Pervez talks tough but offers talks

Islamabad/New Delhi,
March 23

PERVEZ MUSHARRAF used his Pakistan Day address to renew the call for talks with New Delhi, but qualified it with the threat of responding with an "unforgettable lesson" should India think of using "the language of force".

In New Delhi, a spokesperson for the Ministry of External Affairs brushed aside the contents of the address as "nothing new".

"All issues including the Kashmir dispute should be settled through negotiations," the Pakistani president said in a 10-minute address over radio and TV on Saturday.

"But if India wants to use the language of force, it should not harbour any doubts... Pakistan is capable of defending itself and can thwart any aggression. If anyone dares to challenge Pakistan, it would be taught an unforgettable lesson."

The spokesperson said Musharraf had only restated Pakistan's "well-worn" position. "There is really nothing new in what he had to say today.

Agencies

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

24 MAR 2002

HD-12

India, Pak. exchange fire

18/3

By Our Correspondent

JAMMU, MARCH 17. India and Pakistan exchanged heavy mortar shelling in the Samba sector of Jammu region today.

A jawan was injured when Pakistani troops unleashed heavy mortar shelling from the Glar Janda border outpost on an Indian outpost.

BSF sources said Indian troops fired in retaliation and the exchange continued for four hours.

Panic gripped the Samba sec-

tor with people from the adjoining villages of Fakira Chak, Sadoh, Ben and Glar migrating to safer places. Some cattle were also reportedly killed.

The J&K Government has banned processions throughout the Jammu district in view of the situation in various parts of the country after the 'shiladhan' at Ayodhya.

According to an order issued by the Jammu District Magistrate, Rohit Kansal, no person would be allowed to proceed from Jammu to any outside area

for any 'kar seva'.

13 militants killed in encounters

Thirteen militants were gunned down by security forces in separate encounters in the State since yesterday.

Defence sources told *The Hindu* that in Surankote area of Poonch district security forces gunned down two militants in an encounter late last night. The slain militants were identified as Abu Kamran (Lashkar-e-Taiba) and Shahbaz (Al-Badr).

In another encounter, securi-

ty forces shot dead Zubir of the HUJI outfit. They also shot dead a foreign militant at Humber Gall sector in Rajouri district last evening, the sources added. The forces busted a hideout in Gambhir Mughlan near Rajouri and seized 104 rounds of AK ammunition, 17 rounds of PIKA ammunition and a grenade.

Four foreign militants were killed by security forces in a fierce clash in the frontier district of Kupwara last night. Four AK rifles and five magazines were recovered from the slain militants, sources said.

THE HINDU

18 MARCH 2002

Pak. regrets Vajpayee's remarks on talks

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Pak - 11

27/3

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MARCH 26. Pakistan has described as "unfortunate" the remarks of the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, that the situation is not conducive for the resumption of a dialogue between India and Pakistan.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, told a news conference here that "all I can say is it is unfortunate that Pakistan's very genuine and good offers of dialogue are being interpreted like this. The entire international community has appreciated Pakistan's genuine offers. The Indian leaders should realise that the best course of action is to sit across the table and resolve all issues".

Mr. Khan was responding to a specific query on Mr. Vajpayee's observations in Shimla on Monday. The spokesman reiterated that Pakistan desired peace and resolution of all differences through dialogue.

The Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, Rashid Qureshi, who was also present at the briefing denied suggestions that Pakistan had pulled some of its troops from the Indian borders for deployment elsewhere. It was for India to initiate steps to reduce the tensions by withdrawing troops and begin talks.

"There is very little change at the borders. Pakistan has not pulled back any of its troops. There may have been some adjustment made. The border situation remained same," he said.

He was of the view that there was "realisation" among the Indian masses about the need for de-escalation. "That is why the confusing and self-contradictory statements are being given from time to time. One hopes that better sense prevails and concrete steps are taken to reduce tension," he said.

Asked if efforts were on to reduce tensions

between the two countries, Mr. Khan said whatever Pakistan had done was only in retaliation and in response to the steps taken by India for which Pakistan was not responsible.

"We do not like the state of tension. We would like reduction in tension. We have briefed the international community about it and our desire to resolve all issues through peaceful dialogue. That had its effect."

He said the international community had agreed with Pakistan's stand and called for reduction of tension. "Our stand has been accepted by international community. It is for them (India) to undo a situation that they have created. It is for them to take concrete steps.

There is not yet any step from their side that could give any hope for reduction of tension. We would like that to happen."

Mr. Khan said the ground situation had not been changed. The reality was that the entire Indian Army was deployed at the borders in an offensive posture. "So they have to take steps to reduce tensions". Pakistan had tried to bring down the temperatures.

"We have continued to offer to resolve all issues through dialogue. It is for India to respond and the ball is in their court."

Asked about Mr. Vajpayee's observation that there was little chance of a conflict between India and Pakistan taking a nuclear turn, Mr. Khan said, "war is a deplorable thing and should be avoided. The focus of the region should be on peace and progress. Attention should be on these issues rather than drumming up war hysteria".

Major Gen. Qureshi denied India's claim that nine Pakistan soldiers were killed in the recent exchanges of fire between the two countries. He alleged that the Indian forces made such claims only to account for their own casualties.

THE HINDU

27 MAR 2002

Talks only after cross-border terrorism ends: PM

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MARCH 12. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, has said that talks with Pakistan can begin only after it puts an end to cross-border terrorism.

"There is no basis for resumption of talks till cross-border terrorism stops," Mr. Vajpayee said while speaking at an Arya Samaj function at his residence here today.

His remarks assume importance in the light of recent statements from Pakistan advocating resumption of dialogue.

Mr. Vajpayee said that Pakistan had been internationally isolated and terrorism had replaced Kashmir on the international stage. He praised the Information and Broadcasting Minister, Sushma Swaraj, who

was recently in Pakistan for forthrightly projecting India's stance.

BJP 'punished'

PTI, UNI report:

Mr. Vajpayee said the BJP and its allies were "punished" by the electorate due to their "shortcomings" in the recent Assembly polls.

"Janata ne humein shayad hamari kuch kamiyon ka liya saja di hai," (perhaps people have punished us for some of our shortcomings), he said adding he hoped that BJP and its allies would go in for "self-inspection" so as to remove the shortcomings to win back the confidence of the people.

Warns detractors

The Prime Minister warned his political detractors against deriving political mileage out of

Gujarat violence and said an inquiry had been ordered and the truth would come out. It was for the first time that a communal riot was brought under control within 72 hours, Mr. Vajpayee said.

Gujarat had witnessed communal disturbances in the past also, he said, explaining that by saying so, he was not trying to justify the recent violence.

He also added that he would not like to say anything more as Parliament session was on and he might be hauled up for his utterances.

Mr. Vajpayee advocated peaceful resolution of all problems in the country through dialogue. "It is necessary that whatever problems we have in the country, efforts should be made to resolve them peacefully through talks."

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Withdraw troops on border: UNHCR chief

1873

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MARCH 12. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, has called for the immediate withdrawal of troops on the Indo-Pakistan border and the resumption of talks between New Delhi and Islamabad.

In an informal chat with correspondents here after meeting a delegation of Kashmiris, Ms. Robinson said the de-escalation of tension between India and Pakistan would greatly help address the human rights issue in Jammu and Kashmir. She expressed concern over the "human rights violations" there.

A delegation of the Pakistan National Kashmir Committee also called on Ms. Robinson and apprised her of the dangers to the human rights of the people

in Kashmir in view of the tension and unresolved Kashmir dispute.

The Committee, headed by the former Prime Minister and President of the Pak. Occupied Kashmir (PoK), Sardar Qayyum, briefed her on the initiatives taken by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, for defusing tension in the region and persuading India to come to the negotiating table to resolve all issues, including Kashmir.

A three-member delegation headed by the former Chief Minister of Sindh and Pakistan People's Party leader, Syed Qaim Ali Shah, also called on Ms. Robinson. It expressed doubts about the "transparency and fairness" of the elections scheduled for October 2002, as the Musharraf regime had repeatedly said that it would not

allow the former Prime Minister and Pakistan People's Party chief, Benazir Bhutto, to come to power. Ms. Robinson was apprised of the "efforts of the military regime to manipulate these elections."

A nine-point suggestion was given to Ms. Robinson in response to her question on how to meet the challenge of the election process and to restore more confidence in the democratic process. The delegation stressed the need for a truth and reconciliation commission to be set up.

The delegation also briefed Ms. Robinson on the "victimisation" of the PPP and its leadership. She was also informed about the concocted cases against Ms. Bhutto, her husband and other party leaders.

THE HINDU

13 MAR 2002

Controversy over Mangla dam in PoK

Kavita Suri in Jammu

March 12. — The Pakistan government's decision to increase the height of the Mangla Dam at Mirpur in PoK has come in for sharp criticism from the Mirpuri community settled in Jammu and Kashmir.

Thousands of families, who have migrated from Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir in 1947 and are presently living in Jammu and Kashmir and the adjoining states of northern India, have expressed serious concern over the decision of the Pakistani government to raise the height of the Mangla dam and has sought immediate intervention of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, in the matter.

Mr Rajiv Churni, president, SOS, an NGO engaged in the welfare of PoK refugees, told The Statesman that with the

increase in the height of the dam on Jhelum river in PoK, over 27,000 families will be affected.

Most houses and the land belongs to refugees who escaped during the Partition riots. As they could not go back thereafter, these families will be deprived of the compensation for their lands and property with the rise of the dam's height.

The decision to increase the height has also been resented as the Mirpuri community feels that this will further worsen the living condition of the people.

Mr HL Bhagotra, retired judge and the Mirpuri community leader who lives in Jammu, said the raising of the dam's height will result in further environmental damage in the region. Besides, the community isn't likely to get any benefits. He added that the community registered its protest over the ineptitude of the Pakistani government in handling the issue.

The Mangla dam was constructed amid

protests in 1964, when a part of the Mirpur town was submerged. In the absence of flood control measures, the region has witnessed frequent devastation in the area. Many Mirpuris have since migrated to the UK.

Demanding that the Government of India should pressure the Pakistani government not to raise the height of Mangla dam till the fate of PoK refugees and their properties is decided, Mr Churni urged the Prime Minister to raise the issue with the Pakistan President, General Pervez Musharraf, and arrive at a solution on humanitarian grounds.

Lambasting the state government for its apathy towards PoK refugees, he said while the Jammu and Kashmir government has set up a different department as custodian/evacuee property to keep the record of the land and houses of Muslim families which migrated to Pakistan and is even trying to bring them back to the

state and settle them with the help of the J&K Resettlement Act, there is no record of the Hindus who left their properties in PoK.

The Jammu and Kashmir government never bothered to form such a department. He also alleged that thousands of such migrated families living in Jammu have even no voting rights.

Besides, Mr Churni also said that it has been established that refugees of Mirpur and Kotli (both with Pakistan) had deposited their money in the Jammu and Kashmir Bank branches there. The record was available in the Main head office of the bank.

He said a large number of families escaped overnight during the raid and most could not carry even passbooks and other valuables. Some people who carried pass books after a long struggle managed to get the record traced in the bank which was set up in 1938, well before Partition.

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THE STATESMAN

13 MAR 2002

Delhi accuses Islamabad of delaying tactics

SI-6 12/3 India Pak
Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, March 11. — India today dubbed Islamabad's suggestion of an extradition treaty between two countries to enable it to hand over 20 fugitives as "delaying tactics". Pakistan could take action on New Delhi's list of wanted criminals under an existing mechanism, it said.

New Delhi has said action on some of the criminals in the list could be a "starting point" of Islamabad's intent to take meaningful action but it is not good enough for negotiations to resume.

An external affairs spokesperson said: "We have always advocated composite dialogue to cover all aspects of the bilateral relationship to build mutual trust and confidence but under the present circumstances, you do not see an atmosphere conducive for talks."

A 1989 agreement between Pakistan's federal investigating agencies and the Central Bureau of Investigation provided "enough scope" for Islamabad to take action on the Indian list, the spokesperson said. There are "existing arrangements" and "practical mechanisms" for this purpose.

The two countries do not require a new agreement to ensure that their territory was not used for terrorist activity as Article

1(2) of the 1972 Shimla Agreement already requires both countries to prevent "organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations". Pakistan just needs to taken action in consonance with the provisions. "That is what we look to from Pakistan," the spokesperson added.

The MEA clarified that Union I&B minister Mrs Sushma Swaraj had not promised resumption of dialogue with Pakistan if Islamabad handed over seven to ten of the criminals demanded by India and reduced cross-border terrorism by 30 to 50 per cent. Mrs Swaraj had just said it could be a "a starting point that could be construed as an indication of intent from Pakistan."

Action has to be taken on the whole list. So far, there has been no action whatsoever on any aspect from Pakistan," the spokesperson said, emphasising that Pakistan would also need to stop sponsoring cross-border terrorism.

The external affairs ministry said Pakistan had not placed any formal proposal of pulling out additional troops deployed on the borders since the 13 December attack on Parliament. "We have to see action on the ground (relating to India's central concerns) before we contemplate such issues".

THE STATESMAN

12 MAR 2002

India 'no' to Pak. proposal

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, MARCH 11. India today brushed aside a Pakistani suggestion for an agreement, by which either side would deny the use of its territory for cross-border terrorism, and reiterated that Islamabad had not responded positively to its demand to check infiltration.

Responding to questions, the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs, Nirupama Rao, said the proposal of the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Abdul Sattar, through the media, had already been addressed in detail under the 1972 Shimla Accord.

According to Government sources, Pakistan had put forward a similar proposal during the SAARC summit in Kathmandu. India, however, had said that instead of a joint statement — as sought by Islamabad — a separate statement in which Pakistan made an explicit reference to cross-border terrorism could be considered. However, progress on the issue was stalled because in its individual draft, which was subsequently given to the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Brajesh Mishra, Pakistan had

avoided referring to cross-border terrorism.

India also described Pakistan's advocacy of an extradition treaty as "delaying tactics." Pakistan could take action on the list of 20 fugitives provided by India under the 1989 agreement between the Central Bureau of Investigation and Pakistan's Federal Investigating Agency, Ms. Rao said.

By referring to the return of 7 to 10 fugitives out of India's list of 20, the Information and Broadcasting Minister, Sushma Swaraj, during her visit to Islamabad, wished to highlight the point that New Delhi would see such a step by Pakistan as "a starting point and an indication of its intent" for further action. According to the spokesperson, Pakistan had not taken any action on the Indian list of 20 criminals and terrorists so far.

On the reported remark of Pakistan's Interior Minister, Moinuddin Haider, that Islamabad was willing to re-prioritise the question of Jammu and Kashmir during future discussions with India, she declined comment. However, she stressed that New Delhi had been advocating the conduct of a "composite dialogue" which covered eight subjects, including Jammu and Kashmir.

India rejects Pak claim on IAF plane

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, March 11. — The defence ministry today dismissed Pakistan's claim that an IAF aircraft was attacked yesterday for encroaching on the country's air space. The ministry also sought to end speculations over an incident on 19 February.

"No such incident has taken place," the official spokesman said, reacting to a statement by Major General Rashid Qureshi that Pakistan forces had shot at an IAF plane monitoring ground positions along the LoC in Jammu and Kashmir. The statement didn't mention the specific sector in which the incident occurred.

Meanwhile, breaking three weeks of silence, the defence ministry today sought to

scotch rumours regarding the 19 February incident in which an AN-32, piloted by a senior IAF officer, was damaged by a ground attack while flying over the Kargil sector.

An official statement said there was "no evidence whatsoever" of the transport aircraft having come under attack, directly or indirectly, from ground fire by the Indian army. The statement said "the Indian Army is assisting the IAF in every possible way in the investigations to establish all facts."

The statement follows media reports saying major differences had arisen between the Army and the Air Force over the incident. The defence minister is understood to have taken serious note of some "out of turn" comments by senior officers that had fuelled the speculation.

The "friendly fire" theory did the rounds

after the Army rejected the view that there were militants entrenched on the Kargil heights who used a shoulder-fired missile to attack the AN-32 as it made its landing approach to the airfield at Kargil.

Earlier, Air Force sources had rejected speculation that the plane had been hit by ground fire from across the LoC after it had strayed close to the frontier, possibly in violation of a bilateral agreement on the flights of military aircraft along the border.

While regretting the speculation when an official inquiry was in progress, the MoD did confirm that the aircraft had been hit and damaged and had to divert to the airfield at Leh.

The incident is one of grave importance for it questions the utility of the new airfield at Kargil for military operations.

India looking for a face-saving formula, says Pakistan

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MARCH 11. Pakistan today claimed that India was keen on withdrawal of its forces from the frontline positions but was on the look out for a "face-saving" formula to send back its troops to peacetime locations.

The Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, Rashid Quereshi, told a news conference here that the threat of conflict between India and Pakistan would persist as long as the troops were amassed on the border and the forces had the capability to strike.

He was responding to a question on the assessment of the Pakistan establishment over the current situation on the borders. "Personally, I believe India would like to withdraw its forces. They are looking for a face-saving and not finding it".

On whether Pakistan would be willing to withdraw its forces on guarantees from the United Nations and some of the influential countries, Maj. Gen. Quereshi maintained that Pakistan did not believe in outside guarantee for its security and safety.

He argued that if the design of the Indian Government through deployment of forces was to coerce Pakistan or score political points back home, it has not worked. "It is evident that the whole operation has proved to be counter productive".

Mr. Quereshi said that whatever be the motives and desires of the Indian Government on troop deployment, Pakistan would only take into account the factor of capability of the Indian forces to strike and prepare accordingly to safeguard its interests.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, who was also present at the briefing, described the comments made by the Information and Broadcasting Minister, Sushma Swaraj, during her visit to Islamabad on Indian conditions for resumption of talks as "unfortunate".

Answering a question on Ms. Swaraj's statement that India would consider resumption of dialogue only if Pakistan was willing to address its concerns, Mr. Khan said the position of Islamabad on the issue had been spelt out several times in the last few weeks.

Islamabad favoured an immediate reduction in tensions through withdrawal of troops from the frontline position. India should come to the negotiating table to discuss resolution of all differences between the two countries.

Mr. Khan said Pakistan had already responded to the Indian demands and expressed its readiness to negotiate on all issues. "The ball is in India's court. We only hope better sense would prevail on India and the international community would continue to pressure New Delhi to resume the stalled dialogue," he added.

THE HINDU

12 MAR 2002

Sushma sets terms for border troop pullback

Dubai/Islamabad, Mar 10

TROOP DEPLOYMENT along the India-Pakistan border was a well considered decision, I&B Minister Sushma Swaraj today said, and the Army will not be pulled back until the proper conditions are created.

"It is not child's play to deploy the Army along the border and then to withdraw the soldiers," she said during her stopover at Dubai after attending a three-day meeting of Saarc information and broadcasting ministers in Pakistan.

The Army was deployed in view of several factors affecting the country's security. Unless the circumstances that led to the deployment of troop withdrawal, she said.

India had taken several steps toward peace, including the Lahore Summit, unilateral ceasefire after



SUSHMA SWARAJ

Kargil, resumption of train services to Pakistan and an invitation to President Pervez Musharraf for the Agra Summit.

"But Pakistan has been trying consistently to create the impression that India was on the belligerent side," she told a breakfast meeting organised by the Indian Association in Dubai. The gathering included Indian

ambassador K C Singh and Consul-General George Joseph.

Before leaving Pakistan, she said dialogue with Pakistan would not be resumed unless Islamabad handed over at least some of the 20 criminals and terrorists wanted by New Delhi, and stopped cross-border terrorism.

"India will wait and see the change on the ground situation before agreeing to talks. If Pakistan hands over seven to ten fugitives wanted by us and brings down cross border terrorism by 30 to 50 per cent, then the relations can be normalised," she said.

She said Musharraf's refusal to denounce "cross-border terrorism" and insistence on making Kashmir a "core issue" stopped any positive development towards improvement in Indo-Pak relations.

PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

11 MAR 2002

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An opportunity missed

By K. K. Katyal

The first visit of an Indian Minister to Pakistan after the recent escalation could have been put to constructive use.

WHAT HAPPENED during the visit of Sushma Swaraj to Islamabad for the SAARC Information Ministers' Conference served to convey a rather unhappy message — that an immediate end of the India-Pakistan standoff was not in sight. It was an unintended message, communicated at the very start of the meeting with the highlighting of the issue of India's ban on Pakistani overflights. Not a good augury; for though Mrs. Swaraj's trip was not meant to be an occasion for bilateral discussions, it could have been used by the two sides for discreet, subtle inquiries on mutually acceptable ways to break the ice. It was not destined to be that way.

The first visit of an Indian Minister to Pakistan after the recent escalation and could have been put to constructive use. True, New Delhi had made it clear that Mrs. Swaraj was to take part only in the SAARC meeting and was not to engage in bilateral discussions which could appropriately be conducted by the Minister for External Affairs or a functionary of the Ministry. There had been several instances in the world where major diplomatic moves were initiated through indirect, informal channels and yielded positive results. But there was an essential pre-requisite — political will. Obviously, it was lacking in this case, both in Islamabad and New Delhi.

Given the intricacies of the India-Pakistan problem, every opportunity, formal or informal, should be grasped for finding a way out. Informal or preferably unpublicised back-channel moves could yield better results than formal contacts, under media glare. Had not such an initiative before and after the Lahore meeting made considerable headway? It even survived the Kargil conflict but collapsed after the coup in Islamabad. The Sushma visit could have been used for paving the way for some such initiative.

That ways need to be found for the

resumption of flights by the aircraft of India and Pakistan over each other's territory — as also for re-starting rail and road travel — had been the subject of lively discussion in the past few weeks. For instance, the issue cropped up through informal comments at Kathmandu in early January when delegates from Pakistan for the meetings of the SAARC and South Asia media conference complained of the difficulties caused by the long detours they were forced to make. But it did not acquire the adversarial dimension witnessed at Islamabad. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, could have briefly responded to the Bangladesh Minister's complaint of the discomfort caused to him for the journey to Islamabad and avoided the theatrical gesture — of an on-the-spot offer to lift the ban if Mrs. Swaraj had the authority to do so from the Indian side. He need not have over-stretched the point. On her part, Mrs. Swaraj could have avoided labouring the technicality that the SAARC, in the terms of its charter, was not a fit forum for taking up bilateral issues. She could have explained New Delhi's position — as she did in the subsequent TV interview.

That the ban on the SAARC taking up bilateral matters should be removed was the known position of Pakistan and it had made use of every SAARC summit to call for an amendment of the charter. There was nothing wrong in Pakistan — or, for that matter, any other member-country — suggesting changes in the norms of the SAARC's functioning but the final decision rested on consensus, which had been elusive. There was no need for India to be touchy on this subject. It could have just expressed the contrary viewpoint. What is the

outlook for de-escalation? Going by the official stand of New Delhi, immediate steps for de-escalation seem unlikely. This is evident from the recapitulation of the positions taken by the two Governments (without passing a value judgment). First, the Indian stand. The build-up on the border, undertaken after the December 13 strike on Parliament House, was intended to secure an end to cross-border terrorism. New Delhi did see a bold departure from the past in Gen. Musharraf's January 12 speech but felt that the new orientation was sought to be limited to the domestic scene, leaving uncovered the Kashmir-specific activities of the militants. Such references as "Kashmir is in our blood" and reiteration of "moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmiris" were seen as continuation of the old approach and hence a matter of concern. The assurances by Pakistan (and, at its instance, by the U.S.) that the anti-terrorism package of the General was certain to have a beneficial effect on India failed to allay fears. The real test was to be the ground situation in Jammu and Kashmir. Officials in New Delhi say they have not been able to reach a firm conclusion, chiefly because there is a drop in the level of violence around this time of the year because of the snowfall in the region (which has been unusually high now). In another two to three months, it would be possible to make a correct assessment. Then there is the list of 20 wanted persons, given to Pakistan some time back. At one stage, there was some hope of Pakistan talking to the Indian side on this subject. Islamabad was not prepared to discuss the cases of six of them, Pakistani citizens, and, by implication, appeared willing to talk about

the others. Subsequently, however, it had second thoughts — as such the impasse continues.

New Delhi may be willing to relax non-military embargoes — the suspension of rail and road traffic, prohibition of overflights and recall of the High Commissioner from Islamabad — in the case of meaningful discussion on the list. As for the de-escalation on the border, New Delhi insists on credible evidence of efforts on the other side to check infiltration across the LoC. What India looks for is a sea change, not a statistical comparison with the terrorist activities in the past. It says it has a yardstick to find whether irreversible anti-terrorist steps had been taken.

The Pakistani view. The General went a long way in addressing Indian concerns, related to the December 13 attack. The organisations linked by India with terrorist activities were banned and their accounts seized. There was a clear indication that Pakistani territory would not be allowed to be used as a springboard for violent activities in India. As a result, there had been a marked decline in violence across the LoC, says Islamabad, citing, in support, the acknowledgement of this point by senior military officials. It sees signs of unannounced second thoughts by New Delhi, like the "clarification" that the freight traffic was not covered by the embargo on the rail journey, and reports of de-alert on the border by the Indian side (including the cancellation of "no leave" and "no courses" orders for the defence personnel) and movement of administrative units away from the border. With this evidence of improvement, there is no case, it says, for continued escalation.

The versions of the two sides are conflicting. The Sushma visit ran into difficulty. The political stances continued to be rigid. But if the objective reality has changed for the better, it needs to be made known — and serve as the basis for appropriate diplomatic moves.

11 MAR 2002

THE HINDU

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H.D. 1 'PAK. MUST TRANSLATE PROMISE INTO ACTION' 31/1

PM rules out troop pullout for now

NEW DELHI, JAN. 30. Ruling out de-escalation along the Indo-Pak. border, the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today asked Pakistan to translate its promises on cracking down on terrorists into action.

"There is no such proposal at this juncture", Mr. Vajpayee told presspersons here when asked if there was any move to withdraw or reduce troops deployed on the borders following mounting tension.

• He was responding to queries after inaugurating an exhibition on 'Khadi - the fabric of freedom', sponsored by the Volkart Foundation of Switzerland, at the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA) here.

Asked how long the Government would wait for Pakistan to act on its assurances of cracking down on terrorists, he said, "we hope there will soon be uniformity in its (Pakistan's) words and deeds (Hamein ummid hai unki kathni aur karni mein ekroopta ayegi)".

About India's next steps, Mr. Vajpayee said the Government's ideas were being transformed into well-knit plans and action was being taken on the basis of these plans. "Hamara jo vichar hai woh yojana mein parivartit ho raha haiIske adhar par ham kam kar rahein hain", the Prime Minister said.

Mr. Vajpayee was non-committal on the question of the Jharkhand Governor, Prabhat Kumar, stepping down in the wake of the controversy over his alleged links with a tainted businessman and the Opposition's demand for his recall. "Aage jaisa hoga woh apke

same ajayega (whatever happens will be in front of you)", he said.

Prominent among those present at the function were the Planning Commission Deputy Chairman, K.C. Pant, the Minister of State for Small Scale Industries, Vasundhara Raje, and the Delhi Chief Minister, Sheila Dikshit. After New Delhi, the exhibition would be held in Mumbai, Bangalore and Kolkata.

India to wait and watch: Jaswant

LONDON, JAN. 30. India would "wait and watch" Pakistan's steps to end cross-border terrorism and abandon it as a matter of state policy before deciding on resumption of the Indo-Pak. dialogue, the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, said today.

"I am waiting for developments and the creation of an atmosphere that facilitates dialogue. I would like to see developments in this regard on the ground," Mr. Singh said addressing a press conference here. "India's response for a dialogue has never been negative. But whether Pakistan is serious about what it declares or Pakistan Government's intentions... We will judge how Musharraf translates them into action on the ground," he said in reply to a question on the possibility of resumption of Indo-Pak. dialogue.

Asked whether there had been a decline in the infiltration from across the border in the

recent days, Mr. Singh said, "there is considerable fall. It is part of a pattern owing to the heavy snowfall in the Kashmir and Jhelum valley."

When a correspondent asked whether there was any link between the build-up of forces on the border and the coming elections in Uttar Pradesh, he said India had been combating terrorism for over two decades.

He said India had been combating terrorism for over two decades much before the September 11 terrorists attack on the U.S. During the last two decades "we had numerous elections," he said rejecting any such linkages.

To a question on the test-firing of Agni, he said it was part of a continuing missile development programme. Pakistan also had its own missile development programme and it had been getting considerable help from its neighbour (meaning China).

Mr. Singh, who attended the Commonwealth ministerial committee on terrorism on Tuesday, said he was glad that the Commonwealth had added its distinctive voice for greater international cooperation to combat terrorism in a comprehensive manner.

Referring to his meeting with the British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, Mr. Singh said "we agreed that following Prime Minister, Tony Blair's recent, highly successful visit to India, we will work together to implement the Delhi declaration, which provides a blueprint for the future partnership between India and the United Kingdom". — PTI

THE HINDU

40-9 2001 "Ball in India's court" ^{gms}

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 29 Pakistan today termed as unfortunate the statement made by the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, ruling out chances of talks between India and Pakistan and accused New Delhi of coming up with "absurd excuses" not to engage in dialogue.

The Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, said at a news conference that India's attitude was unfortunate despite the "goodwill" shown by Islamabad.

"We regret that once again India did not accept our sincere offer," Mr. Khan said in response to a question on Mr. Vajpayee's statement. "The ball is now in India's court," he added.

Mr. Khan said the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, had extended the hand of sincere friendship in Kathmandu and again in his message to Mr. Vajpayee on the occasion of Republic Day of India.

'List not yet ready'

Mr. Khan maintained that the list containing the names of fugitives it wants India to extradite is not yet ready and the government is still in the process of including names on the proposed list. "we will have the names once the list is ready". This observation

by Mr. Khan is a clear indication that the Musharraf Government is in a bind over the list.

'Preposterous'

The Press Secretary to Gen. Musharraf, Rashid Quereshi, speaking at the news conference, termed as "preposterous" a report in the *Washington Times* that during his recent visit to the United States the Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, had conveyed to the Bush administration that India would like some portion of the land on the Pakistani side of the Line of Control to check infiltration. "No one has conveyed such a demand to us. If at all someone has made such a demand, all I am sure they know that it would never be conceded by Pakistan. If at all made, it is a non-serious demand", he said.

Maj. Gen. Quereshi was agitated over reports in a section of the western media that Osama bin Laden was treated at a Pakistan military hospital for his kidney problem a day before the September 11 attack on the U.S. "I fail to understand as to who is feeding such absurd stories. Most of the time we have traced such reports to New Delhi", he said.

Maj. Gen. Quereshi also dwelt at length on the charges made by India on the Kolkata incident and said that New Delhi had lost all credibility in the eyes of the world after several u-turns on the American Center shoot-out.

THE HINDU

30 JAN 2002

Waiting for Pak. action: Brajesh Mishra

30/1 By Vaiju Naravane HD-9

PARIS, JAN. 29. The National Security Adviser and Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Brajesh Mishra, today ruled out any immediate de-escalation on the border with Pakistan.

He said, "Pakistan needs to take visible steps for us to be satisfied that what the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, has said on January 12 (about combating terrorism and fundamentalism in Pakistan) applies to India as well. One of these steps will be handing over terrorists to India. That will constitute solid proof. The other is stopping infiltration, which is the mother of terrorism, into India."

Addressing a press conference before the start of the Indo-French strategic dialogue, the 8th session of which opens here tomorrow, Mr. Mishra said Pakistan had refused to hand over the six Pakistani nationals who were on India's list of 20 terrorists.

"We can discuss that. But what about the other 14 who are Indian nationals? It will be very easy for him to hand them over. That will

constitute concrete proof," he said. *In 20 park*
Mr. Mishra said India would "not act irresponsibly". India had been waiting for action since Gen. Musharraf's January 12 speech. "As soon as we detect improvement we will begin to de-escalate," he said.

Asked whether India had a time-frame in mind for Pakistan to give concrete proof of the genuineness of its intentions, Mr. Mishra replied, "No, we want to know whether they have a time-frame." He said he would not like to speculate about India's stance if Pakistan failed to follow-up on its declarations.

Rejecting the contention that the test-firing of the Agni missile was "provocative" in any way, he said the test, originally scheduled for December, was delayed because of the heightened tension between India and Pakistan.

Mr. Mishra will be meeting Gerard Errera, Director-General of the French Foreign Office and President's appointee for conducting the strategic dialogue with India. He will also call on the President, Jacques Chirac, and meet the Foreign Minister, Hubert Vedrine.

These exchanges take on added importance in the light of the terrorist attacks in India, which, Mr. Mishra said, had clear links with Pakistan. "India and France have much, much better understanding than they have ever had." The French armaments industry is keen on increasing arms sales to India and New Delhi is reported to be considering the purchase of French-manufactured submarines.

The French armaments industry is looking at the top-level military talks between India and Washington with some alarm. Mr. Mishra made the point that India's trade with China was larger than its trade with France. While political and cultural relations were excellent, the business relationship between France and India had not taken off. France had openly said it would back the bids of Japan, Germany and India for a permanent U.N. Security Council seat. It has been mild in its condemnation of the Agni missile test and would be prepared to enter into civilian nuclear cooperation if such a possibility arises.

THE HINDU

10 JAN 2002

TOWARDS DE-ESCALATION OF TENSION

Pak. offers talks on phased withdrawal of troops

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 29. For the first time since the military build-up on both sides of the border following the December 13 attack on Parliament, Pakistan today made a formal offer to India for talks on a phased withdrawal of troops to defuse the tension.

In a *suo motu* statement at a news conference here, the Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, said the offer was a "sum-up and re-affirmation" of his country's position on the tension. There are four other components (see box) to the statement that essentially seeks India to come to the negotiating table to discuss all issues, including Kashmir.

"Pakistan is willing for talks with India on phased withdrawal of troops on both sides from their forward positions to their peacetime locations. Once an agreement has been reached, troops should be withdrawn in a specific time-frame," he said.

Mr. Khan said that Pakistan would not be the first to initiate "military action" along the International Boundary and the Line of Control. "However, if attacked we would reply with full force," he asserted.

On the face of it, the offer of talks for a phased withdrawal appears to be a reiteration of Islamabad's earlier stance, but it certainly indicates its desire for an early de-escalation.

The offer could be interpreted as yet another effort by Pakistan to tell the international community that despite its persistent and

consistent measures to defuse the tense atmosphere, New Delhi is being adamant.

It can also be seen as a reflection of the pressure on Pakistan on account of the military build-up.

Diplomatic and political observers here believe that the costs involved in mobilising thousands of troops on the frontlines is proving to be a huge burden on the resource-hit Pakistan.

By linking troop withdrawal to resumption of a comprehensive dialogue to resolve all outstanding issues, including Kashmir, Pa-

kistan is sending a signal that there could be no peace in the region as long as Kashmir remains unresolved.

Rashid Quereshi, Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, who was present at the news conference, said that on the Pakistani side the U.N. military observers had 'free access' to visit any area.

"It is the Indians who do not let them go beyond Srinagar because they have something to hide," he alleged.

In response to a question on allowing the peacekeeping troops in Afghanistan to make use of some of the facilities at Karachi, Maj. Gen. Quereshi maintained that there was no truth in the reports.

"The international community has preferred Pakistan for certain facilities to the peacekeeping troops in Afghanistan. Nothing has been handed over to any other country. Every thing in Karachi airport is under the control of Pakistani authorities," he said.

The other aspects

- Pakistan is willing to restore on a reciprocal basis air, rail and road links severed on January 1.
- Withdrawal of troops should be followed by a comprehensive dialogue on Kashmir and other issues.
- The United Nations Military Observers Group on India and Pakistan should be beefed up to credibly monitor the LoC.
- New Delhi should allow human rights groups and international media to monitor human rights record in Kashmir.

Stop cross-border terrorism first: India

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, JAN. 29. India today rejected Pakistan's offer of talks for a phased pull out of troops from the borders and reiterated that tensions between the two sides could ease only after Islamabad curbed cross-border terrorism meaningfully.

Asked to comment on the statement of Pakistan's foreign office today, the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs, Nirupama Rao, said the "central issue is, what is Pakistan prepared to do meaningfully to address cross-border terrorism, infiltration and action on the list of 20. That is the situation".

Government sources here said that Pakistan had to ensure that it curbed cross-border terrorism "irreversibly" by destroying the entire infrastructure that facilitated infiltration. Pakistan should dismantle the Kashmir cell run by the Inter-Services Intelligence.

In response to a question on the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee's observations in Raipur on Monday, the spokesperson said there was no change in India's position on the status of Jammu and Kashmir. Parliament had taken a position that the entire

State belonged to India. This included Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and the Northern Areas. "This is a principled approach", she said, adding Pakistan was "sitting on territory belonging to India and it had to be reminded about certain home truths". She, however, clarified that India was not laying any new conditions to improve relations with Pakistan.

Official sources here say that Mr. Vajpayee's observations need to be seen in the context of Pakistan's "fixation" on Kashmir as the central issue that is bedeviling relations between the two countries. India, whenever talks begin, would wish to see the revival the "composite dialogue" process with Pakistan on eight issues, including Jammu and Kashmir. India, in fact, may be inclined to prioritise discussions on Jammu and Kashmir, provided Islamabad takes meaningful action to counter terrorism. Talks between the two sides on the sidelines of the SAARC summit at Kathmandu, sources say, could not make any headway as Pakistan did not commit itself against terrorism, while advocating the revival of talks.

Keeping up the pressure on Pakistan, the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, is in

London to participate in a meeting of the Commonwealth Ad Hoc committee on terrorism. This committee will look at implementation of the U.N. Security Council resolution 1373 that demands that all countries root out terrorism from their soil. India, on its part, wants the international community, under resolution 1373, to focus on Pakistan to ensure that the latter takes meaningful steps to curb terrorism. The committee is also looking at ways to increase intelligence sharing among the member countries. During his stay, Mr. Singh is expected to hold discussions with his British counterpart, Jack Straw.

In response to a question, the spokesperson said she was not aware of any move by India to seek the imposition of sanctions against Pakistan, as part of its on-going "diplomatic offensive." But India, she stressed, was engaged in sensitising the world that it had been compelled to take certain diplomatic measures against Pakistan following the December 13 attack on Parliament House. It was with the objective of presenting its case, that teams of parliamentarians were currently visiting key world capitals across the globe.

30 JAN 2002

Checking infiltration, Musharraf's litmus test: Advani

HD-9 29/1

WASHINGTON, JAN. 28. A halt to infiltration of terrorists into Jammu and Kashmir and ending their training will be the "litmus test" by which India will judge whether the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, has abandoned the use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy, according to the Home Minister, L.K. Advani.

Mr. Advani said he cannot judge whether Gen. Musharraf has stopped training, arming and financing terrorists. "But we can certainly see whether infiltration has stopped or not. That would be perceived, of course, over a period of time, not immediately," he said in an interview to *Newsweek*.

Mr. Advani, who was in the U.S. recently, said he had no objection when asked if India was agreeable to Gen. Musharraf handing over the wanted fugitive, Dawood Ibrahim, to the U.S. for trial. "I have no objection. But, I do not think he would agree to that," Mr. Advani said and recalled Gen. Musharraf telling him in Agra in July last year that Ibrahim was not in Pakistan.

He also recounted a Pakistani High Commission official subsequently telling him that "Gen. Musharraf was very upset when you made him speak a blatant untruth in the presence of all his officers".

Asked whether the conversion of the Line of Control into a permanent border would help India and resolve the Kashmir issue, Mr. Advani said "if you are to discuss with an adversary a contentious issue, you cannot start with a position, which may be the agreed solution".

On the issue of suggestions for converting the LoC into an international border, he said "I believe that when the Shimla Agreement was carved out between (Zulfiqar Ali) Bhutto and Mrs. (Indira) Gandhi in 1972, after the last war between the two countries, that was the undeclared agreement. That was what I understand".

Asked whether he supported the agreement, he said "I would think that if I were to say I support it, it would mean I am going contrary to a unanimous resolution of Parliament that Pakistan-occupied Kashmir is still part of India".

Kashmir not to define Indo-Pak. ties

The Kashmir problem should not define the relationship between India and Pakistan and it is upto Islamabad to decide the kind of relationship it wants to have with India, the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, has said.

In an interview to *Newsweek*, Mr. Singh said

Gen. Musharraf's speech was for domestic consumption. In terms of its impact on Indo-Pakistan relations, there's not much. Pakistan has to come to a decision about what kind of long-term relationship it wants with India.

India, he said, wants a stable, prosperous Pakistan and a Pakistan that is at peace with itself. But if it continues to pursue a path of compulsive and perpetual hostility as part of its national identity, then no matter what reforms it introduces for itself, "then, in Indo-Pak. terms, what is it to me?"

Asked whether the Indian Government had room to negotiate on Kashmir, he said "yes". "We have said we will talk about all issues, including the issues of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. (Chinese premier) Zhu Rongji has just been here (India). We have an unsettled border problem with China, which is a matter of concern for both countries.

"We have pursued a policy in which we have said, "yes, we recognise each other's concerns. Let these concerns not define the relationship. Let's place these concerns on the table, address these concerns and move forward". — PTI

THE HINDU

29 JAN 2002

Talks with Pak. a futile exercise: PM

SIPAT (Chhattisgarh), JAN. 28. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today rejected Pakistan's call for talks with India saying it was a futile exercise and maintained that there was threat on the border.

23/1
Asserting that India's peace overtures to Pakistan like the Lahore initiative were always followed by events like Kargil, he said "our neighbour keeps inviting us for meetings and talks. But I ask them, what do we do with meetings if we have to meet to fight once again. It is better to remain separate". Mr. Vajpayee's rejection of talks follows the Pakistan President, Pervez Mushar-

raf's calls for a "serious and sustained dialogue" with India in his Republic Day greetings to the Prime Minister.

10-1
Mr. Vajpayee was addressing a public meeting after laying the foundation stone for a super thermal power project being set up by the National Thermal Power Corporation.

"There is threat on our border and we will defend our country as well as bring development in every field," he said.

"We want friendship. After all we are neighbours. You can change friends but not neighbours," he added.

He said India wanted to spend

more money on development, eradication of poverty and unemployment but unfortunately, a large part of the resources was being spent on defence and acquisition of armaments as there was threat on the border.

"There is threat on our border and there is danger of terrorism in the country," he said. "I went to Lahore in a bus with a message of peace. We talked friendship but actions were different and we were attacked in Kargil."

Mr. Vajpayee said that despite all this, India did not hesitate to enhance friendship with "our neighbour".

"We invited them for talks in Agra hoping that they would get some inspiration by seeing the Taj Mahal."

23/1
Humne socha ki Taj Mahal dekh kar unke man main prem jagega. Taj Mahal unhe pasand bhi aaya, lekin vyavahar uske anusar nahin hua (We thought after seeing the Taj Mahal they will develop affection. They came and liked the Taj Mahal but did not respond accordingly)," he added.

Emphasising that there was no place for terrorism in a civilised society, Mr. Vajpayee said killing of innocent children, attack on women and burning homes would not be tolerated. — PTI

THE HINDU

29 JAN 2002

We're not in missile race: Pak. ⁹²⁰⁰ ^{Pak}

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 26. While renewing its offer for a dialogue with India, Pakistan today said that it was not in the race with India to test missiles and would not go for a similar test like the Agni variant merely as a reaction.

The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Abdul Sattar, told CNN that Islamabad had deferred testing of Shaheen in view of the "provoca-

tive implications" at the current juncture.

Addressing a news conference here, the Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, Rashid Quereshi, said: "We respond to our technological needs and reserve the right to test when we feel there is a need. Whenever any sort of tests are required these tests will take place".

The Pakistan Foreign Office

spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, who was present at the news conference said Pakistan had always been in favour of peace and de-escalation of tension in the region. "Our offer for dialogue still holds", he said in response to a question on the Agni missile test.

Mr. Khan said Pakistan was not going to be intimidated by any threatening postures from across the border and that its armed forces and people had the capability to defend themselves.

Mr. Ahmed Khan claimed that Pakistan's position had been vindicated as the world capitals had vocally asked for military de-escalation while supporting its stand for peace and a return to dialogue.

Maj. Gen. Quereshi said, "there is a perception in the world of complete rejection of India's stand on the Kolkata incident. The Indian charges against Pakistan have been completely rejected. There is total frustration in the Indian camp".

Asked whether the test-firing of the Agni variant by New Delhi on Friday was a message to Pakistan, Mr. Khan replied, "we have been giving our own message of peace

and a call for de-escalation and peaceful resolve to all problems. But should there be a threat, we can take care of it. The international community has already given their reaction to whatever message that was sent (test fire)".

Asked about the talks between the Deputy Prime Minister of Canada, John Manley, and Mr. Sattar on Friday, the spokesman said that the main aspect of these talks was related to the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's statement of January 12 which has had a positive reaction in India. "They are looking at it in positive light. Other aspects of the talks, I cannot say anything now".

The second meeting between Mr. Sattar and Mr. Manley evoked a great deal of interest in the diplomatic circles. Mr. Manley had returned back to Pakistan after a visit to India and had a long meeting with the Pakistan Foreign Minister.

On Friday, Mr. Sattar had sent out a message to New Delhi when he told the media that Pakistan had taken serious note of the Canadian Deputy Prime Minister's impressions and ideas after his visit to India.



Indo-Pak. tension: Musharraf may bid for greater U.S. role

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 25. In his meeting with the U.S. President, George W. Bush, on February 13, the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, is expected to urge him to play a more active role in persuading India to reduce the tension on the borders and agree for a dialogue to resolve all bilateral differences, including Kashmir.

A senior functionary in the Musharraf Government said Islamabad had taken several "concrete measures" in the recent weeks to address the concerns of the international community and New Delhi. "From our side, we have done a lot. Now the ball is in the court of India."

Pakistan expected the U.S. to play a role in reducing the tensions between the two countries and help resolve the Kashmir issue, he said. Gen. Musharraf, in his January 12 speech, had directly appealed to the international community in general, and the U.S. in particular, to help find a lasting solution to the Kashmir problem.

"Now you must play an active role in solving the Kashmir dispute for the sake of lasting peace and harmony in the region. We should be under no illusion that the legitimate demand of the people of Kashmir can ever be suppressed without their just resolution," the General had said. And his meeting with Mr. Bush would have to be seen in the light of the appeal, the official said.

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Pakistan was pleased with the invitation extended by Mr. Bush to Gen. Musharraf for a special visit. It was also happy with the White House statement which described Pakistan as a "steadfast partner" and praised Gen. Musharraf for his "excellent" cooperation in the campaign against terrorism.

An official announcement said Mr. Bush would host a lunch in honour of Gen. Musharraf.

Details of other engagements during the three-day visit were being worked out.

In another development, an American reporter of the *Wall Street Journal*, investigating the links of extremist groups in Pakistan to the terrorist mastermind, Osama bin Laden, has gone missing in Karachi. Intensive search has been launched to trace the reporter.

Security concerns to figure in Bush-Musharraf talks

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 25. The U.S. President, George W. Bush, is looking forward to discussing with the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, Operation Enduring Freedom, regional security matters, economic and educational cooperation, human rights, democracy, the coming national elections in Pakistan, as also means to further strengthen bilateral relations, the White House has said.

"Pakistan is a steadfast partner with the United States and provides excellent cooperation in Operation Enduring Freedom. The United States-Pakistan partnership plays a key role in the international coalition against terrorism," a statement issued by the Press Secretary said.

Gen. Musharraf will have official talks with Mr. Bush and other senior members of his administration at the White House on February 13. Against the backdrop of the ongoing tensions in the sub-continent and the travel to the region by high-level functionaries of this Republican administration, the expectation is that regional security and relations between India and Pakistan will merit a high level of attention during the talks here.

Meanwhile at a Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, the U.S. Under Secretary of State for Arms Control, John Bolton, has maintained that the tension between India and Pakistan is "dangerously high". Arguing that the proliferation of nuclear materials and technology poses a serious threat to international security, Mr. Bolton warned that those "enterprises" in some countries involved in missile proliferation faced the prospect of U.S. sanctions.

THE HINDU

26 JAN 2002

Unwise behaviour, says Pak. 26/1

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By B. Muralidhar Reddy 1/19-97

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 25. The test-firing of Agni has been termed by Pakistan as an "unwise behaviour" and Islamabad said that it threatened peace and stability in the region.

In a statement, the Pakistan Foreign Ministry said New Delhi had informed Islamabad of the test in advance, but it was ill-timed given the tense military stand-off between the nuclear-armed neighbours.

"The Indian test also has regional implications. We hope the international community will take note of this Indian behaviour, which is prejudicial to the pursuit of stability in our region, especially during the current situation," it said.

At the same time, the statement mentioned that "Pakistan had capabilities to match those of India. We also have the means to defend ourselves. However, Pakistan will not abandon the course of responsibility. Our missile programme follows the logic of technical requirements".

The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, said that there was no justification for India to escalate the tension on the borders.

Addressing a conference of Air Force officers, Gen. Musharraf declared that the Pakistan army was fully prepared to thwart any 'nefarious designs' of the enemy.

Reacting to the Agni test, the Press Secretary to the President, Rashid Quereshi, has said that it posed a threat not only to Pakistan but also to South Asia, South West Asia and Middle East.

"We would wait for the international reaction to the test. We have missiles with similar

range and capability. Pakistan would take whatever action is necessary in the light of the Indian test", Maj. Gen. Quereshi said.

Wrong signals sent, says Britain

NEW DELHI, JAN. 25. India's test firing of Agni evoked mixed reaction from the international community with Britain and Australia saying it would send wrong signals within the region and exacerbate Indo-Pakistan tension.

Russia, an old ally of New Delhi, showed "understanding" with India while China, a traditional friend of Pakistan, chose not to comment immediately. The British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, said, "I regret India's decision to test a ballistic missile, particularly in the light of current regional tension".

Mr. Straw said in a statement that the test sent "wrong signals within the region and beyond". "I believe that restraint in developing possible nuclear weapon delivery systems is in the long-term interest of India and the region."

"I continue to urge India and Pakistan to resolve their disputes through diplomatic means," he added.

The Australian Government expressed fears that the test firing could "exacerbate tension" in South Asia and urged Pakistan not to retaliate with renewed missile testing, media reports in Sydney said.

Russia, expressing "understanding" with India, said it was the country to be briefed by New Delhi in advance about the test.

"We understand this. Russia was among the first countries to be briefed by India in ad-

vance on the coming Agni test and the test itself was completely transparent under the international confidence-building measures," a Russian official in Moscow said.

Though China did not react immediately, its official news agency Xinhua carried the report of the test firing and the statement of the External Affairs Ministry that the missile test was not meant to send any message to anybody.

In Berlin, the German Foreign Minister, Joschka Fischer, said the German Government regretted the missile test as given present tensions between India and Pakistan could lead to "avoidable misunderstandings".

He said the fact the Agni I missile could carry nuclear warheads was also a cause for concern. Against the background of Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests of May 1998, this gave a "wrong signal for nuclear non-proliferation".

In his statement, Mr. Fischer recalled that the United Nations Security Council in June 1998 called on both countries to exercise restraint in order not to endanger regional stability and global non-proliferation aims.

Germany could continue working for the adherence of both states to the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty, he added.

In Paris, France expressed regret that India had test-fired a new version of its Agni I missile at a time when tensions with its neighbour and fellow nuclear power Pakistan were running high.

"In the current regional context it is certainly not the most helpful signal to send," the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Francois Rivasseau, said. — PTI

THE HINDU

25 JAN 2002

HD-10
28/1

Report demolishes myths on Indo-Pak. trade

By Sushma Ramachandran

NEW DELHI, JAN. 27. Even as tensions mount between India and Pakistan, a report on South Asian economic development has highlighted the need for relaxing curbs on bilateral trade and the positive impact on the economies of these two developing countries. It argues that waiting for political relations to improve before expanding trade ties will only weaken both countries.

Besides, global experience has shown that trade is increasingly being used as a prelude to political reconciliation and can be used to enhance mutual confidence between politically hostile nations as in the case of China and the U.S.

The need to demolish the myths surrounding India-Pakistan trade has been specially mentioned in the South Asia Development and Cooperation 2001-2 report released recently by an official think-tank — the Research and Information Systems (RIS).

The report, which points out that India is increasingly having economic ties with other countries in the region through alternative trade arrangements, maintains that political expediency triumphs over economic rationality in the case of India-Pakistan trade. The report contends that fears of the domestic markets in both countries being swamped by foreign goods have no intellectual basis.

It argues that mutual trade would not exceed beyond a few percentage points even after relaxation of trade restrictions. For instance, even if Pakistan were to award the most favoured nation (MFN) status to India, as is being demanded by this country, its trade with India would still remain less than 2.5 per cent of its total trade.

Secondly, it is noted that trade would emerge from different strengths since Indian goods are noted for

cheap prices while Pakistani goods are considered qualitatively better.

The RIS team, which prepared the report, also points to the fact that domestic markets are already flooded with all kinds of foreign goods through smuggling. Besides, it suggests India and Pakistan should buy from the cheapest source to reduce their trade deficit even it turns out to be a hostile neighbour. It makes perfect economic sense, for instance, for Pakistan to buy wheat from India rather than from Canada and America since there would be a saving of \$ 25 per tonne on freight costs alone.

The RIS also cites areas of possible collaboration including textile machinery, dyes and chemicals as well as steel, of which Pakistan imports 70 per cent of its requirements. The benefit to people of the sub-continent is considered to be enormous in terms of lower prices of millions of consumers, with Pakistani citizens benefiting immensely in the bargain.

In fact, estimates based on the Human Development Report of the U.N. indicate that Pakistani consumers can reduce their food bills by 20 to 30 per cent through increased trade with India.

The report also demolishes the myth that domestic producers need more time before increasing bilateral trade. While some domestic products may be displaced by foreign competition, this calls for making essential adjustments within the countries rather than blocking bilateral trade.

The RIS suggests the two countries can continue to trade while maintaining a negative import list of key items for a defined period of time. Incidentally, it finds public revenues will rise through higher trade since smuggled items will then move through the formal trade route.

THE HINDU

28 JAN 2002

Delhi gives Islamabad details on wanted 20

Islamabad, January 24

TO BACK its demand for the extradition of 20 criminals and terrorists, India has provided Pakistan evidence in the form of Interpol red corner notices and details of the crimes committed by them along with their fake names, Pakistani passports and ID numbers.

The evidence relating to the 20, provided by India on January 18 to the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi, included case sheets and red corner notices from Interpol with a two-page covering letter seeking their arrest as well as extradition.

The case sheets, in some instances, contain specific details of their travel, flight numbers and destinations, the Pakistan Observer reported today.

The case sheets also indicate that the Indian Government had

made some requests for extradition to the UAE Government for these alleged criminals and terrorists, it said.

The two-page letter begins with pleasantries such as "Government of India presents its compliments to the High Commission of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in New Delhi and has the honour to recall that from time to time, details of fugitives from law residing in Pakistan and wanted in connection with crimes committed in India, including those who were involved in the Mumbai bomb blasts of 1993 and the hijacking of IC-814 to Kandahar in December 1999, have been provided by the Government of India to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan."

The letter further said "on 31st December 2001, India again handed over to Pakistan details of 20 fugitives

from law wanted in connection with various crimes committed here.

"Fifteen of these fugitives have Interpol red corner notices issued against them. For the remaining five, the issue of Interpol red corner notices is in process."

The letter in the form of clarification said that "according to Interpol norms, resolutions, decisions and procedures, red notices are documents intended for both the police and judicial authorities and can be considered valid requests for provisional arrest because they are only issued on the basis of valid national arrest warrants."

It mentioned the 1989 agreement between the CBI director and the director-general of Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency to cooperate and work together in cases of this nature.

The agreement specifically provides for the FIA in Pakistan and the CBI in India to act as nodal agencies in their countries to locate and trace fugitives from law and to arrange handing over such wanted and absconding criminals to each other without cumbersome and time consuming procedures, the letter said.

It also mentioned the communication of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf to Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee on December 13 in which he had expressed shock at the terrorist attacks on Parliament and strongly condemned it.

The letter spoke about Musharraf's address on January 12 in which he stated that no organisation or individual in Pakistan would be allowed to practise terrorism in the name of Kashmir.

PTI

'If we catch them, Pak law will take over'

PAKISTAN HAS denied giving asylum to any Indian national and said the government is trying to locate the alleged terrorists being wanted by India.

"First we will have to locate those non-Pakistani alleged terrorists whose extradition is being sought by India. Once they are located they will be dealt with according to the law of the land. If there is a case against anyone, we will proceed against him," Director General of the Inter-Service Public Relations, Maj-Gen Rashid Qureshi, told newsmen on Wednesday.

Talking about the list of terrorists wanted by Islamabad, he said that in the recent past the government wanted to bring back a Pakistani criminal who had been given refuge in New Delhi by the Indian government.

"But we were told by the Indian government that there existed no extradition treaty between the two countries, therefore nobody could be extradited to Pakistan," he added. Pakistan, he alleged, did not raise a hue and cry like India.

In reply to a question about de-escalation, Maj-Gen Qureshi said there were no signs of withdrawal of troops to peace-time locations by India. "They are just making excuses," he said, agreeing that the Indian Government was not likely to withdraw its troops until elections in Uttar Pradesh in April.

HTC, Islamabad

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

25 JAN 2002

NUCLEAR STANDOFF-II

First Use Is Not Operationally Necessary

By GURMEET KANWAL

589 25/1
It is now universally accepted that nuclear weapons are political weapons and not weapons of "warfighting". However, there is undeniably a close link between nuclear weapons and a nation's conventional military capabilities. If a nation's conventional capability is extremely low vis-a-vis a nuclear-armed adversary, that nation may choose to adopt an *in extremis* first use strategy to thwart a conventional military offensive that may threaten to undermine its territorial integrity and lead to its break up. This is the situation that Pakistan finds itself in.

Operational reality

While India may have no intentions of launching a major conventional offensive into Pakistan, given India's conventional superiority (no matter how slender the edge may be), Pakistan has based its national security strategy on the first use of nuclear weapons to prevent its comprehensive military defeat like in 1971 and, consequently, its disintegration as a nation. It is for this reason that Pakistan does not accept India's offer of a bilateral no first use treaty as a nuclear confidence building and risk reduction measure.

While nuclear doctrine must undoubtedly be based on sound theoretical underpinnings, it has to be ultimately tested in the crucible of operational reality. The proponents of a first use strategy for India need to ponder the threat scenarios. Starting at the lower end of conventional conflict with low intensity conflict and Pakistan's ongoing proxy war with India, it is worth considering whether the use of a Stinger or Unza surface-to-air missiles by Pakistan-sponsored mercenary Islamists to bring down an Indian Airlines aircraft over Kashmir Valley justifies an Indian nuclear strike. Or, would a proactive punitive response across the LoC with massive artillery and air power sustained over a few weeks be more desirable?

In another scenario, would a battalion or even a brigade-size attack by the Pakistan army across the LoC, or even Kargil-type intrusions on the Indian side of the LoC, that result in some gains for Pakistan, justify the first use of nuclear weapons by India when their retaliatory use by Pakistan would be a certainty? Or, would a punitive conventional response with ground and air forces across the LoC (and perhaps across the international boundary by the IAF) in another sector yield better dividends? It is well known that there are areas on the LoC where Indian forces could be heading for key value objectives in PoK within days of the outbreak of hostilities in J&K.

In case such exchanges across the LoC escalate to a larger conventional conflict, as they well might, Pakistan may launch its offensive strike corps in the Sialkot-Jammu sector with a view to cutting off

NH-1A, Kashmir's lifeline, between Pathankot and Jammu. If Pakistan achieved initial success, such an offensive would undoubtedly pose a grave danger to the security of J&K. Would the first use of nuclear weapons be a rational choice for India under such circumstances? Or would it perhaps be more prudent to launch one or more counter-offensives with Indian strike corps across the international boundary in Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat, as General Harbaksh Singh had done in 1965, to make the Pakistanis

Inherent in an Indian nuclear first strike option, as advocated by the opponents of no first use, is the Pakistani nuclear retaliation that would inevitably follow on Indian cities and military targets. Cities like Jodhpur, Bikaner, Ahmedabad, Jalandhar, Ludhiana and perhaps even New Delhi and Mumbai, would be the likely targets of a retaliatory Pakistani nuclear strike. In all the above scenarios, given the limited gains that an Indian first strike may achieve and the real possibility of successful Pakistani nuclear



recoil from their offensive in the Jammu sector? Surely, the launching of sizable counter-offensives into Pakistan's heartland would be a better way to relieve pressure on J&K.

Unsound strategy

Another option favoured by military analysts is the concept of "zero warning" in which Pakistan is given the credible capability of launching what may be termed a "cold start" conventional war due to the proximity of its cantonments to the international boundary, or by concentrating strike formations under the garb of training exercises. There is some merit in the initial military viability of such an option but not if India strengthens its technological intelligence and human intelligence (humint) capabilities. However, careful consideration of the "day after" impact of India's counter-moves to checkmate such a Pakistani offensive should pour cold water over such cold start options.

retaliation, with horrendous consequences, the only rational answer to a first use Indian nuclear option is to say no to it. An Indian nuclear first strike would not be justified as the costs of Pakistani retaliation would be prohibitive. Nor would it be operationally expedient. In none of the above scenarios India's survival as a nation-state is likely to be seriously threatened. Various other even more pessimistic scenarios could be considered but the result would be the same.

It clearly emerges that across the entire spectrum of conventional conflict, the first use of nuclear weapons by India does not make sound strategic sense. Besides, a first use doctrine would invite international opprobrium, seriously undermine India's efforts towards total nuclear disarmament and be prohibitively costly to implement. It is not generally well appreciated that a first use doctrine requires a massive investment in surveillance and target acquisition infrastructure by way of satellite and aerial

connaissance and humint to execute "launch on warning" and "launch through attack" strategies, with the nuclear forces being maintained on permanent hair trigger alerts. A first use doctrine also requires quick political decision-making and decentralisation of the control of nuclear weapons to theatre commanders. Hence, such a doctrine is inherently more risky and likely to lead to accidental, even unauthorised, use of nuclear weapons.

Punitive retaliation

It would, of course, be far better to mutually negotiate a no first use treaty with adversarial nuclear-armed states as that would be the best nuclear risk reduction measure. Russia and China have signed a mutual no first use treaty. In case India's nuclear-armed adversaries continue to be recalcitrant in signing a binding no first use pact, it would be worthwhile for India to consider some essential qualifications to India's unilateral no first use doctrine. The first is to clearly spell out that a nuclear strike on Indian soldiers, including those who may be within Pakistani territory during war, would be deemed to be a nuclear strike on India and would invite massive punitive nuclear retaliation.

The absence of this rider would negate India's conventional edge over Pakistan as the army would be forced to restrict its plans to launching only shallow, limited objective, conventional offensives to avoid risking nuclear strikes on the mechanised spearheads leading India's advance. As is well known in nuclear theology, Bernard Brodie had argued many decades ago that the advent of nuclear weapons had fundamentally altered the relationship between war and national policy and that nuclear weapons were so destructive that their only real purpose could be the avoidance of war itself. India's declaration of its no first use doctrine has once again focussed international debate on the efficacy of no first use policies, even though India has repeatedly reiterated that it is willing to negotiate no first use treaties bilaterally or multilaterally with all nuclear weapons states including China and Pakistan.

India's desire to develop a credible minimum nuclear deterrent against nuclear blackmail and the threat of use of nuclear weapons, is an eminently justifiable national security imperative. India's no first use, retaliation-only nuclear doctrine is not only morally befitting and worthy of India's civilisational heritage; it is also operationally sound strategy. It also gives India sufficient leeway to prosecute a conventional war to safeguard its national security interests, should it become necessary to do so.

(Concluded)

THE STATESMAN

25 JAN 2002

India gives Pak proof of terror designs

Times News Network & Agencies

ISLAMABAD/NEW DELHI: While demanding the extradition of 20 criminals and terrorists from Pakistan, India has provided Interpol with red-corner notices and details of the crimes committed by them, along with their fake names and Pakistani passports.

The evidence relating to the 20 was provided by India to the Pakistan high commission in New Delhi on January 18, and includes case sheets along with the red-corner notices as well as a two-page covering letter seeking their arrest and a request to hand them in to India. The case sheets provided by the Indian authorities contain details of crimes and in some cases specific details of travel and flight plans, the *Pakistan Observer* reported on Thursday.

New Delhi will also seek the extradition of Dubai-based underworld don Aftab Ansari, who has claimed responsibility for Tuesday's attack on the American

Center in Kolkata, minister of state for external affairs Omar Abdullah said. "The government will request the United Arab Emirates authorities to hand over Ansari since India has an extradition treaty with them," Mr Abdullah said.

The home ministry team, led by special secretary A.K. Bhandari, which returned from Kolkata on Wednesday, has submitted its report on Tuesday's shootout outside the American Center.

According to official sources, the four-page report indicates that "causing terror" was the motive of the crime and that it was linked to Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence besides involving Dubai- and Pakistan-based underworld figures.

"Obviously, it was not a revenge killing emanating out of inter-gang

rivalry. Why should they shoot policemen, and that too only in front of the American Center? It is clearly a symbolic attack, which a frustrated terrorist outfit has tried to execute," a senior government official said.

Giving details of the incident as it happened and as was reported by

the local authorities, the report also indicates the slackness with which the local police authorities had handled the situation. Sources

also said that it also mentioned the handicaps faced by the state security apparatus, such as lack of modern weapons.

The report broadly indicates the various leads on which a joint team of security experts has been working. The linkages under investigation range from Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh to Bihar and West Bengal.

There are many external ramifications. Since investigations are still under way, the report does not make any definite statement about the nature of the crime, sources said. The report was submitted to home minister L.K. Advani on Thursday and top central authorities were going through it, sources added.

Following up on the stepped-up cooperation between India and the U.S. and Washington's promise of help to New Delhi in combating terrorism, the CBI has forwarded to the home ministry a list of 21 persons wanted for crimes here and known to be based or visiting the U.S.

Interpol has issued red-corner notices against them and the home ministry will forward the list to the FBI for action, CBI sources said on Thursday. "We would not be surprised if the FBI investigations show that some of these fugitives have links with Al Qaida or other such terrorist groups," said a CBI official.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

- ▶ Home ministry submits report on Kolkata shootout
- ▶ New Delhi will seek extradition of Ansari
- ▶ CBI forwards list of 21 criminals to govt

THE TIMES OF INDIA

25 JAN 2002

'TWIN-TRACK APPROACH WILL HELP'

Withdraw troops from frontline, Kofi Annan tells India

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 24. The United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, today urged India to withdraw its troops from frontline positions for de-escalating tension in South Asia immediately. He advocated a twin-track approach for India and Pakistan in the long-run to resolve all their differences, including Kashmir, through peaceful means.

Addressing a joint news conference with the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Abdul Sattar, here, on the first day of his two-day visit, Mr. Annan said the twin-track approach should consist of a sustained and determined action against "armed extremist groups," and an equally sustained dialogue to resolve all differences.

"No doubt the immediate need is the military de-escalation. But end of the immediate crisis is not enough. The world does not want another conflict between the two countries in the next few weeks and months. I believe a twin-track approach is needed for a permanent peace. My good offices would always be there if help is needed."

It was indeed a tightrope walk for Mr. Annan. Having taken the position during his visit in March that the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir were not enforceable, he was careful in his formulation this time, given the latest tension between India and Pakistan.

Mr. Annan began his opening remarks at the news conference by saying the events of the last few months had totally changed the situation in the region and the international community was fully conscious of the dangers of the tensions in the sub-continent.

Praising the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's speech of January 12, in which he announced his intention of reining in the 'jehadi' elements within Pakistan, Mr. Annan described it as a "step in the right direction." India and Pakistan had so much in common that they had everything to gain by resolving their differences, which



The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, and the visiting U.N. Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, in Islamabad on Thursday. — AFP

included Kashmir, and much to lose by confronting each other.

Mr. Annan stuck to his position on the status of the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir and maintained that they "cannot be self-fulfilled and implemented." When asked about the "validity" of the resolutions, he said they were very much there and "when both parties sit across the table, there are elements in the resolutions that could help... These resolutions can only be enforced when both the parties agree and accept (them). There are several instances where the U.N. resolutions have proved to be useful when both the parties come together."

When a Pakistani scribe said Islamabad had gained nothing despite being a frontline state twice

(during the Afghan war from 1979 to 1989 and the current global war against terrorism), Mr. Annan merely said the Security Council required all member countries to take action against terrorism.

On sending U.N. military observers to India and Pakistan to monitor the situation, the Secretary General said the conversion of military observers into peace forces would require a separate Security Council resolution.

Mr. Sattar said he had appraised Mr. Annan of Pakistan's earnest efforts to preserve peace, de-escalate tensions on the borders and resume a dialogue with India.

Later, Mr. Annan met Gen. Musharraf and exchanged views on the prevailing situation in the region and the developments in

Afghanistan. He will leave for Kabul tomorrow and proceed to Teheran.

'Asylum not given to any Indian'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 24. The Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, Rashid Quereshi, has said Islamabad has not given asylum to any Indian national whose name is in the list of 20 fugitives handed over by New Delhi recently. Search is on to find out if any of them is in Pakistan, he said.

Wrapping up a two-day media workshop for Pakistani presspersons on 'defence reporting' here on Wednesday, Maj. Gen. Quereshi said "we have not given asylum to any Indian. So first we will have to locate those non-Pakistani alleged terrorists whose extradition has been sought by India. If they are in Pakistan, once they are located, they will be dealt with according to the law of the land."

He reiterated that no Pakistani would be handed over to India. If New Delhi provided solid evidence against those indicated in the list, they would be dealt with in accordance with the State's laws. According to Indian media, a majority of the names in the list of 20 was not in Pakistan, "which is self-explanatory."

The armed forces of Pakistan were on a "high alert and fully prepared to thwart any aggression," Maj. Gen. Quereshi said. "Any misadventure would cost them (India) beyond their imagination. Of course, a response will be given in case the other side starts withdrawal of its troops. If they move back, we will follow suit."

According to the State-run news agency, Associated Press of Pakistan, earlier, a senior officer from Pakistan Navy said in a media briefing that all necessary measures had been taken as soon as the force was asked to move to the strategic positions.

THE HINDU

25 JAN 2002

NUCLEAR STANDOFF-I

Contrasting Doctrines Of India And Pakistan

By GURMEET KANWAL

India's tough approach after the terrorist attack on Parliament House on 13 December has led to an Indo-Pak military standoff and war clouds have been hovering on the horizon. Quite apparently, India's threshold of tolerance has been crossed and India is unwilling to accept anything short of a complete halt to Pakistan's sponsorship of terrorism in Kashmir and elsewhere in India through ISI-managed rabidly Islamist mercenaries whom it unsuccessfully tries to pass off as Kashmiri freedom fighters. While the two armies are deployed in battle positions and the navies and the air forces are standing by, the world's attention is focussed on South Asia as a nuclear flashpoint.

Nuclear control

The Indian political and military leadership believes that nuclear weapons are political weapons and their sole purpose is to deter the use and threat of use of nuclear weapons by a nuclear-armed adversary. Indian political and military leaders and strategic analysts, specifically Mr George Fernandes, General VP Malik, the former army chief, Air Commodore Jasjit Singh and Mr K Subrahmanyam, among others, have articulated the belief that there is a clear strategic space for a conventional conflict below the nuclear threshold. However, Pakistan's nuclear doctrine revolves around notions of nuclear warfighting and it is this aspect that causes anxiety to the international community.

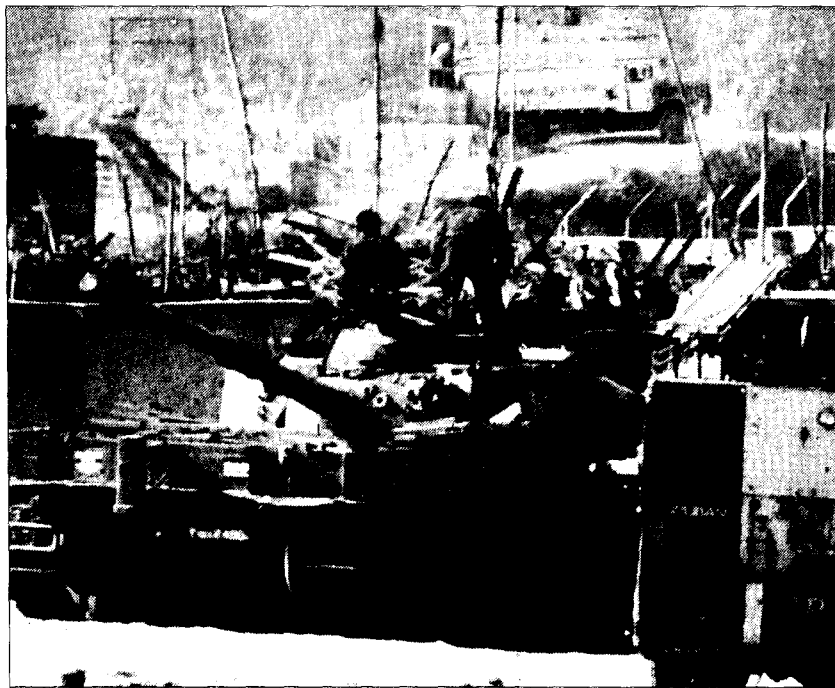
As Pakistan's military rulers have so often emphasised, Pakistan's rationale for its nuclear weapons is not only to deter the threat of India's nuclear weapons but also to counter India's conventional military superiority. Even during the short interludes when duly elected civilian Prime Ministers have ruled the country, Pakistan's foreign and military policies have been crafted in the army's general headquarters at Rawalpindi, particularly the policies relating to India and Kashmir. Ever since the inception of its nuclear programme, Pakistan's nuclear weapons have been in military custody and the country's civilian rulers have had no control over them. It is, therefore, no surprise that Pakistan has adopted a "first use" nuclear doctrine. Its military and political leaders have repeatedly stated that Pakistan would resort to the early use of nuclear weapons in a conventional conflict to prevent its comprehensive military defeat at India's hands and to ensure that its survival as a viable nation state is not threatened.

Among others, Lieutenant General Sardar FS Lodhi has cogently spelt out Pakistan's rationale for its first use

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doctrine. Writing in the Pakistan Defence Journal, General Lodhi stated; "In a deteriorating military situation when an Indian conventional attack is likely to break through our defences or has already breached the main defence line causing a major set-back to the defences which cannot be restored by conventional means at our disposal, the government would be left with no option except to use nuclear weapons to stabilise the situation. India's superiority in conventional arms and manpower would have to be

Brigadier Saeed Ismat of the Pakistan Army has also expressed similar views. He propounds the first strike doctrine to checkmate an Indian offensive, which almost all Pakistani defence analysts appear to believe will be aimed at dismembering Pakistan: "There could be many scenarios (of Indian offensive strikes into Pakistan) but just to illustrate this point, let us visualise if an Indian military invasion came through the Rajasthan desert directed towards the Grand Trunk Road near Rahimyar Khan, in a matter



offset by nuclear weapons... Pakistan's nuclear doctrine would, therefore, essentially revolve around the first strike option. In other words, we will use nuclear weapons if attacked by India even if the attack is with conventional weapons..."

'Option enhancing'

"Pakistan would use what Stephen Cohen calls an 'option enhancing' policy. This would entail a stage-by-stage approach in which the nuclear threat is increased at each step to deter India from attack. The first step could be a public or private warning, the second a demonstration explosion of a small nuclear weapon on its own soil, the third step would be the use of a few nuclear weapons on its own soil against Indian attacking forces. The fourth stage would be used against critical but purely military targets in India across the border from Pakistan — probably in thinly populated areas in the desert or semi-desert, causing least collateral damage... Some weapons would be in reserve for the counter value role."

of days, India could cut off our north-south communication, divide and dislocate our military forces and divide the country in two. The capture of this critical space could act as a springboard to launch further manoeuvres of exploitation towards areas in depth. If they choose to limit their objectives, they could consolidate and retain these spaces. This action by itself can cause strategic division and isolation of our forces, leading to ultimate defeat and break up of the nation. In conjunction with (ground) offensives in other areas as well, they could prolong the war and go for our areas in depth. Pakistan's options would have foreclosed — except one! We should have a well defined and declared strategy of using our ultimate choice of nuclear weapons aimed at the destruction of those military forces, which have intruded in our territory."

In an interview with CBS TV in October 2000, General Pervez Musharraf had also asserted that Pakistan could use its nuclear bomb against India if its security is jeopardised. This may actually

be rhetoric designed to deter India through a doctrine of irrationality, rather than a carefully considered policy option that can be executed when the chips are down. If Pakistani military and political analysts think things through, they will be forced to conclude that while Pakistan may initiate a graduated nuclear response, as General Lodhi recommends, and achieve short-term tactical gains, India is likely to retaliate massively as per its declared nuclear doctrine of punitive retaliation and Pakistan would cease to exist as a viable nation state.

Exemplary

Pakistani government spokesmen and scholars have been particularly critical of India's "no first use" doctrine on the grounds that it is only a declaratory policy and can be easily changed when the need arises. They have failed to take note of the fact that a country's nuclear force structure, command and control system, alert status and its deployment posture are based on its nuclear doctrine. First use doctrines require hair trigger alerts, launch-on-warning and launch-through-attack strategies and elaborate surveillance, early warning and intelligence systems with nuclear warheads loaded on launchers and ready to fire.

Nuclear-armed aircraft would need to be ready on runway alert, if not constantly airborne as in the case of the erstwhile US Strategic Air Command. India cannot ever resort to any of these measures without Pakistan learning about them almost immediately. What the Pakistanis also forget, or deliberately ignore, is that India has offered to negotiate a mutual no first use treaty with Pakistan that would be binding and verifiable. India's track record of adherence to international treaties has been exemplary.

The no first use doctrine is a carefully thought through policy that has taken decades to mature, even if it was not publicly well articulated. Foreign minister Jaswant Singh has written: "No other country has debated so carefully and, at times, torturously, over the dichotomy between its sovereign security needs and global disarmament instincts, between a moralistic approach and a realistic one, and between a covert nuclear policy and an overt one".

Even during the mid-1980s, defence analysts like General K Sundarji and K Subrahmanyam were advocating a minimum deterrent capability for India and had ruled out the need for tactical nuclear weapons as these were meant for nuclear warfighting — a concept that India has never subscribed to. Hence, minimum deterrence is not a new concept in the Indian context that has been suddenly thrust on an unsuspecting nation.

(To be concluded)

Getting rid of Netaji

100 years ago

THE STATESMAN

24 JAN 2002

'India will not pull back till infiltration stops'

9m 20
pork
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29/1
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pork

By Sandeep Dikshit

NEW DELHI, JAN. 23. India will not pull back troops from the border till it is convinced that Pakistan is firm on curbing terrorism and shelling on Indian territory. "It is clear from the beginning that unless they stop infiltration and border shelling, we will not move back," the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, said here today.

Apart from cutting off logistical space to terrorists, India wants Pakistan to suspend shelling along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir as a first step towards de-escalating border tension. The build-up on the border, which has been noted with concern by world leaders, was not broached during his wide-ranging talks with American policy-makers. "The next step cannot be taken till the situation improves," he

said while interacting with newsmen after a six-day "very positive and productive" visit to the U.S. and the U.K.

Asked whether India trusted Islamabad to keep its promise of stopping cross-border terrorism and extradition of criminals and terrorists, he said India had a bad experience in trusting Pakistan. "But, you have to take a decision according to the situation and today's situation demands improvement before the next step is taken regarding Indo-Pak relations."

He identified the signing of the bilateral General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) as a crucial development in establishing closer ties — in sharing of intelligence on security, terrorism and investigations into terrorist crimes. The pact prohibits the signatories from re-

vealing confidential information gathered during access to each other's military hardware and processes to third countries.

Mr. Fernandes, who met the U.S. Vice-President, Dick Cheney, the Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, and the National Security Adviser, Condoleezza Rice, was confident that the interaction would catalyse closer ties on military and security-related issues. In defence cooperation, he feels it is a "very productive visit". The lifting of the post-Pokhran sanctions and the revival of the institutional mechanism to promote closer interaction at higher levels of the security establishment would lead to 'positive results'. "Defence cooperation between the two countries would now be at much higher level than ever before".

THE HINDU

7 4 2001

Delhi won't rush to blame ISI

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, January 22

THE ATTACK on the American Centre in Kolkata cast a shadow over the last day of the talks between Indian and United States officials on counter-terrorism. It certainly dominated the interaction that visiting Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director, Robert Mueller had with his interlocutors here.

While the identity of the attackers is still unknown, the Joint Working Group reiterated that close co-operation between the two countries is essential to

combat the scourge. The spokesperson for the Ministry of External Affairs said that the fact that the attack was timed during the JWG meeting "emphasises that the threat of such events still exists".

But India and the US are officially mum on the link between Tuesday's attack and the usual suspect, ISI. Since January 12, there have been two gruesome killings in Jammu and Kashmir which the External Affairs Ministry was seen reluctant to pin on Pakistan directly.

The new formulation, as articulated by Jaswant Singh while

hosting Colin Powell last Friday, is that "certain demented elements" may be out to undermine General Musharraf's efforts to break the back of jihad groups operating in India.

Official sources said that unless New Delhi's independent inquiry into each of these incidents, including today's at Kolkata, clearly establishes a link with the ISI, it will not venture to give broad-brush treatment to all terrorist strikes as "cross-border terrorism".

This is reinforced by inputs from the Home Ministry which suggest that with or without

Islamabad's direct support, it will be some time before the ISI's modules in India are rendered non-operational.

The antecedents of Aftab Malik alias Farhan, supposedly a Dubai-based don, who has claimed responsibility for the Kolkata strike, is being checked out. The nexus between the ISI and such underworld characters is a well known fact.

New Delhi has an extradition treaty with the UAE, signed last year. However, exercising that option once Malik's role in the affair is established, is a time-consuming process.

Jaswant enthusiasm gives Pak cold feet

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
ISLAMABAD, JANUARY 22 961

AFTER announcing that it was drawing up a list of its terrorists allegedly holed up in India, Pakistan today declined to give details of the list, instead calling for talks to discuss and sort out differences arising out of India's list of 20.

Stating that Pakistan had taken "note" of External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh's statement that India would respond in "double-time" to extradite any Pakistani fugitives hiding in India, Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman Aziz Ahmed Khan said Pakistan was still preparing its list. "As far as the list is concerned, I cannot give any details. These are things that procedurally take some time," he told reporters.

22/1
"Rather than discuss these matters either through the media or diplomatic channels or otherwise, it is much better that all issues and all subjects are discussed across the table. Pakistan always called for talks on all issues, including J&K, through negotiations across the table," Khan said.

Earlier, Khan told BBC he knew very little about the list himself. "I cannot tell the details because I don't know the details." When asked why Pakistan hadn't drawn up its list earlier, Khan said, "Such things take time. Facts have to be collected. We don't want to prepare such things as they may appear to have been prepared abruptly."

A BBC (Urdu) report claimed that Sindhi nationals figured prominently in Pakistan's list.

INDIAN EXPRESS

23 JAN 2002

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pnt 110-1

Pak. for talks on lists

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 22: In yet another twist to the ongoing tussle over the lists of fugitives from both sides, Pakistan today asked New Delhi to come to the negotiating table to discuss various "complicated" aspects related to the issue.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, said at the regular briefing that sensitive and complex issues related to fugitives could not be discussed through the media. He was responding to a specific question on the status of the list of wanted criminals Islamabad wanted to give to New Delhi. On Saturday, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Abdul Sattar, had announced that Pakistan was ready with a list of its own.

The spokesman said he was not in a position to give details of the list of terrorists alleged to have taken refuge in India on the plea that it would take time to collect details and facts. He urged the Government of India to discuss and sort out differences

over the "complicated questions" and legal problems arising out of Pakistan's response to the Indian demand for the extradition of 20 criminals.

Asked about the statement of the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, that India would respond in "double-time" to extradite any Pakistani fugitives hiding in India, Mr. Khan said Pakistan had taken note of it.

Asked why Pakistan chose to wait till India gave its list, Mr. Khan gave a detailed reply in which he stressed the need for the two countries to discuss the lists as well as related issues. "In such matters there are several complicated questions involved. There are questions of legal, local legislation, existence or non-existence of extradition treaty. These are matters that cannot be discussed like that, either through press statements or by making statements. I think the best course of action would be that the two countries sit across the table and discuss all issues," he said.

THE HINDU

23 JAN 2002

9.2.93
Pak. charge
baseless: India ✓

By Our Special Correspondent

27.1.89
NEW DELHI, JAN. 21. India today rejected Pakistan's charge that wheat supplied by it to Afghanistan was infested with germs and diseases. The claim was "baseless," because not a single consignment meant for Afghanistan was transported through Pakistan, a Foreign Office spokesperson said, implying that Islamabad had no opportunity of evaluating the quality of wheat.

Of the one million tonnes of wheat pledged by India to Afghanistan, one half had been delivered through routes avoiding Pakistan. "We are pursuing various options for the remaining wheat," the spokesperson told newsmen. Maintaining that Pakistan's transit curbs on Indian wheat were superfluous because New Delhi had not asked Islamabad for any transit facility, the spokesperson said "it is a matter between the World Food Programme and Pakistan."

India had the necessary wheat stock to comply with its promise and they were free from germs and diseases.

THE HINDU

27 JAN 2002

27 JAN 2002

PERVEZ PLEDGE YET TO MATERIALISE: JASWANT

Prompt action if Pak sends list

Stateaman News Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 21. — India will work "double time" to send back any Pakistani fugitives when and if it receives a list of such persons, Mr Jaswant Singh said today.

No matter how the request comes, even if through "an open fax," there would be a prompt response on India's part, the foreign minister said. "The earlier it comes, the better."

Mr Singh, however, remained critical of Pakistan's obduracy regarding the 20 criminals India has asked for. "We are not playing a cricket match to indulge in slow bowling so that we don't play out the mandatory 50 overs," he said. Though "it had only been 10 days since (General Pervez Musharraf's) speech," his words have not so far been translated into action on ground.

Mr Singh was answering questions after his address at a conclave by a newsmagazine.

"We've seen his statement of intent. We want to see whether it is translated on ground," he said, adding, as a note of caution, that a couple of days ago, the head of an umbrella group of terrorist organisations, Syed Salahuddin, based in Islamabad, said there was "no change" in the activities of the militant groups in Kashmir. Mr Singh's answer was in the context of a statement the Pakistani High Commissioner in New Delhi, Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, had made earlier this morning. Mr

Qazi said Pakistan had addressed India's concerns (in the course of Gen Musharraf's speech) and it was now India's turn to reciprocate.

But India is yet to see Gen Musharraf's words translate into action, the foreign minister said.

Kashmir, Mr Singh said, was not the "core" issue between India and Pakistan. He dismissed as rhetoric, Gen Musharraf's statement that Kashmir runs in the blood of every Pakistani. "If that is so, why at least Jammu and Kashmir is not part of the body of Pakistan?" he asked. It was, he said, "at the core of Indian nationhood," and "just on the basis of the religious inclination of some of the population...we are not going to reinvent the two-nation theory," he said. There was no question of going through endless partitions of the country.

Although he did say that "we have to recognise reality" and the era of map-making was over, Mr Singh would not accept the LoC as a final solution. "I'm a creature of Parliament" and it (across the LoC) does remain PoK," he said.

He said his function was "to facilitate dialogue", not "provoke hostility" and said India had repeatedly offered Pakistan talks similar to its dialogue with China, leaving contentious issues to be worked out while pushing ahead with others.

Agency reports from Muzaffarabad say the PoK Prime Minister today refused to arrest or seal the offices of the Lashkar-e-Taiyaba and the Jaish-e-Mohammed despite a ban imposed by the military regime.

THE STATESMAN

22 JAN 2002

Pakistan resorts to wheat 'germ warfare'

ISLAMABAD: In a move that could further affect its relations with India, Pakistan has said that it will not extend transit facility to the 50,000 tonnes of Indian wheat procured by the World Food Programme (WFP) to be sent to Afghanistan on the ground that the wheat could have been "infested with germs and diseases".

"We have decided not to allow the transit of Indian wheat through Pakistan following reports of it being infested with germs and diseases, which can harm Pakistani wheat," Pakistan's federal minister for food, agriculture and live stock Khair Muhammad Junejo said on Saturday.

He said the government had also communicated its reservation to the WFP and informed it that Pakistan would not

take any risk, which might harm its wheat production.

The WFP had procured 50,000 tonnes of wheat from India for Afghan refugees, which was to be transported through Pakistan. Pakistan, on the contrary, sold two lakh tonnes of wheat to the WFP to be sent to Afghanistan, of which 80,000 tonnes have already been sent, Mr Junejo said.

Meanwhile, India has asked Pakistan to furnish a comprehensive list of militant groups that had infiltrated into Jammu and Kashmir in recent times.

The report in *The News* was published a day after Pakistan foreign minister Abdus Sattar said that Islamabad would provide India

with its own list of wanted men for extradition.

The Pakistani daily said the Indian demand for a comprehensive list of militants who had infiltrated into J&K was conveyed to Pakistani officials during the recent visit of U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell.

Pakistan reacted sharply to the new Indian demand, complaining to the U.S. authorities that Islamabad was being "pushed against the wall" by the Indians with more demands irrespective of their impact on Pakistan, it said.

Earlier, Pakistan President

GRAINS OF DISCORD



- ▶ Indian wheat bound for Afghanistan infested with worms, says Pakistan
- ▶ India asks Pakistan to furnish a list of militant groups which had infiltrated into J&K in recent times
- ▶ Kashmir remains the core issue between New Delhi and Islamabad, says Gen Musharraf

Pervez Musharraf, in an interview with a group of American national security experts in New York on Saturday, said that Kashmir remained the core issue between New Delhi and Islamabad and suggested that the two sides move away from long-held positions in resolving differences.

He urged India to respond to his call for a comprehensive dialogue that would acknowledge the centrality of Kashmir to the long-standing dispute.

"Indians say, 'let's discuss all issues,' but sometimes they leave out Kashmir. Kashmir is the core issue," he said in the interview published by *The New York Times* on Sunday. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

21 JAN 2002

Now, Delhi wants a list from Pak

Inds - Pak
H.T. 1
2/11

Islamabad, January 20

INDIA HAS asked Pakistan to furnish a comprehensive list of militant groups who have infiltrated into J&K recently. An apparently upset Islamabad has said it is being "pushed against the wall" by New Delhi.

The report, published in Pakistani daily *The News*, said the Indian demand had been conveyed to Pakistan during US Secretary of State Colin Powell's recent visit. It said India had made it clear to the US authorities that unless all its demands, especially concerning Kashmir, were met, they would not withdraw forces from the border.

"Pakistan was of the view that by demanding such lists, New Delhi was actually playing a game to defame Islamabad and establish its military involvement in Kashmir," the daily said.

According to reports, Pakistani Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar has said Pakistan was preparing its own list of terrorists that were sheltered in India. The list would be handed over soon.

An NDTV report quotes Union Minister for Parliamentary Affairs Pramod Mahajan reacting to the statement tonight: "(India) has heard for the first time of any such claim. Pakistan has never made it before. It is like filing a cross-FIR at a police station. You commit a crime and you file the FIR so the police cannot take action against you. Really, we do not take this list very seriously."

Meanwhile, a *Friday Times* report says militant groups in Pakistan have made it clear that they would continue their operations from PoK as it does not fall within Islamabad's purview and

'Contaminated' Indian aid denied transit

PAKISTAN HAS refused to extend transit facility to 50,000 tonnes of Indian wheat procured by World Food Programme to be sent to Afghanistan on the ground that the wheat could be "infested with germs and diseases".

"We have decided not to allow the transit of Indian wheat through Pakistan due to reports that it was infested with germs and diseases which can harm Pakistani wheat," Pakistan's Federal Minister for Food, Agriculture and Livestock Khair Muhammad Junejo said yesterday.

PTI, Islamabad

warned they could wage jihad against Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf. It quoted Intelligence agencies as hinting that the religious clerics might fight back and were instigating students in madrasas to a jihad.

Hizbul Mujahideen supremo Syed Salahuddin had recently stated that banned outfits like Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Tayyeba could continue their activities from PoK.

Meanwhile, supporters of a banned Islamic group threw stones at the police in Dir, 270 km from Peshawar, and staged a rally defying the ban on their activities. The group threatened to launch a protest if its jailed leaders and activists are not released by next Sunday. At least six policemen were injured. No more details were available because of the remoteness of the area.

President Musharraf banned three sectarian Islamic groups, including the Tehrik Nifaz Shariat-e-Mohammedi, and two Muslim guerrilla groups fighting in Kashmir in an attempt to curb religious extremism and violence in Pakistan. Over 2,000 activists of the banned and some other hardline groups have been arrested and over 600 of their offices been sealed since January 12 when Musharraf announced the tough measures against extremist groups.

Core issue again

In New York yesterday, Musharraf said again that Kashmir remained the core issue between Delhi and Islamabad. He suggested that the two sides move away from their long-held positions to resolve differences. In an interview to a group of US national security experts, he urged India to respond to his call for a comprehensive dialogue that would accept the centrality of Kashmir to the long-standing dispute between the two countries.

"Indians say, 'let's discuss all issues,' but sometimes they leave out Kashmir. Kashmir is the core issue," he told *The New York Times*. India and Pakistan had an "obligation" to avoid war. The two sides should eliminate from discussions what each finds unacceptable, and finally, construct an agreement on the basis of alternatives to long-held positions.

The daily said Musharraf voiced disappointment that the Indian Cabinet had overturned what "a declaration" negotiated in Agra to hold talks on Kashmir and other disputes. It was "scuttled" by hardliners, he said.

Agencies

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

AN

Delhi dangles Dawood dividend

OUR BUREAU AND AGENCIES

Jan. 20: Diplomatic posturing spilled on to the public platform today with Delhi frowning on global pressure for a pullback from the border and asserting that the handover of Dawood Ibrahim would have a "dramatic effect" on Indians.

"If Pakistan extradites Dawood to India, it will have a dramatic effect on the pulse of the people here," home minister L.K. Advani told a public meeting in Mumbai — the target of the serial blasts masterminded by the underworld don.

Advani described Dawood, whose name is on the most-wanted list submitted to Pakistan, as the "personification of terrorism in India".

Advani's comment was the clearest indication yet that India and Pakistan have narrowed down the focus of their bargaining to the handover of some of the 20 suspects named on the list.

Advani hinted that setting aside convention, armed security could be deployed inside Parliament in the light of the December 13 attack.

If Advani chose Mumbai to put the chips on the table, defence minister George Fernandes picked an Indian audience in New York to put forth his case.

Fernandes took objection to western countries asking India to pull back its troops on the border and termed the talk of nuclear danger in the subcontinent as an insult to the people of the region.

US secretary of state Colin Powell said the Indo-Pak situation has "improved a little" and a political decision has been taken to find a diplomatic solution.

But India was at pains to stress again that Powell's shuttle-diplomacy last week did not amount to "third-party mediation".

Even as minister of state for external affairs Omar Abdullah was making the statement in Srinagar, a 10-member American team, including US ambassador Robert Blackwill and an admiral, landed in Jammu. The American delegation met chief minister Farooq Abdullah.

Across the border, Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf, too, kept up the pitch, iterating that Kashmir is the core issue.

The New York Times quoted him as again blaming hardliners in India for scuttling progress on Kashmir in Agra. But Musharraf suggested that Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee's "body language" indicated that he wanted to be more conciliatory on Kashmir.

Referring to the crackdown on extremist outfits, Musharraf said: "I thought 10 times about putting my hand in the beehive of religious extremism." But after seeing the scale of the militants' protest against the government, "I realised that this was the maximum they could do, and the vast majority of the people were with me", he added.

THE TELEGRAPH

21 JAN 2002

INDIAN FUGITIVES NOT IN PAK.: MUSHARRAF

We too have a list: Sattar

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 19. The war of words between India and Pakistan over the list of 20 fugitives, who New Delhi says are in Pakistan, has taken a new turn, with the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, maintaining that the Indian citizens figuring on it are not in Pakistan.

At a news conference here along with the visiting Deputy Prime Minister of Canada, Johan Manley, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Abdul Sattar, asserted that if the Indian citizens on the list were traced, the demand for their extradition would be examined on merits.

Mr. Sattar announced that Islamabad soon

intended to hand over to New Delhi its own list of fugitives allegedly sheltered in India. It is for the first time since India has handed over the list of wanted criminals that Pakistan has talked of its own list.

Mr. Sattar said he had gone through the file on the fugitives demanded by India only this morning. "We have received background information provided by India about the list of 20 persons allegedly in Pakistan. In some cases the background goes as far as 1981. We have to study it and if they are traced we would consider each case on merit."

(On Friday, in an interview to CNN, the Pakistan President had maintained that the 20 persons wanted by India were not in Pakistan. "They have a list of 20. I said, as far as Pakistanis are concerned, we are not going hand over any Pakistani and if at all we get evidence we will try them here. Now, as far as non-Pakistanis are concerned, I do not know anybody in the list. We do not have them," he said).

Asked if Islamabad was planning to forward its own list of criminals sheltered in India, Mr. Sattar said, "We have names on our list. We will forward it in the course of time to the Government of India".

He said that neither India nor Pakistan had any reason to shelter any criminals. "Let's say that neither country had any reason whatsoever to protect criminals who have committed crimes in one country or the other."

"As for extradition that is a complex, political and legal issue. We shall, as the President said, examine the cases of Indian nationals who are alleged to be in Pakistan and try to trace them, study the information that is provided to us by the Government with regards to these people and then take further action in accordance with the merits."

'It is Vajpayee's turn now'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 19. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, has said that India will have to demonstrate its willingness and desire for the resumption of a dialogue with Pakistan.

In an interview to CNN, Gen. Musharraf said tension between the countries had begun easing after the diplomatic efforts of the past week. He believed that the Indian Prime Minister, A.B. Vajpayee, desired to take the dialogue forward to address all issues, including Kashmir.

On whether there was any change in the situation as the two countries were on the brink of war two weeks ago, he said, "I would agree. I think if you are talking of one week, yes. With the passage of time, the vibes coming from India and the efforts of the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, have changed the environment."

Asked why he would not call Mr. Vajpayee over the phone to ease the tensions further, he said he had been taking a lot of initiatives for some time. "It is high time that he (Vajpayee) takes some initiative also."

Asked whether he was optimistic about having fruitful talks with India, he said, "I am quite optimistic. There has to be a desire from the Indian side for a dialogue. I cannot say for sure, but since I went to Agra and I met the Indian leadership and met Prime Minister Vajpayee, my reading is that there is a desire on the part of Mr. Vajpayee in moving forward on dialogue... having a dialogue with Pakistan and also addressing all issues, including Kashmir."

Asked why there was no response from the Indian leaders to his direct appeal, Gen. Musharraf said the lack of response was due to "extraneous factors".

"Lot of extraneous factors are influencing the minds of the Indian leaders," especially the elections (Uttar Pradesh Assembly polls). "I see a visible disharmony in India's ruling coalition," he said, adding, "I do not think there is harmony in their (Indian leaders) judgments and thoughts. That is the reason they have not decided whether it (his appeal) was enough."

THE HINDU

30 JAN 2002

JAN 2002

Musharraf has backtracked: Advani

Pak flashes its list of wanted

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 19. — In an apparent bid to counter India's demand for handing over 20 criminals and terrorists, Pakistan today said it would provide New Delhi with its own list of wanted men, allegedly sheltered in India, for extradition.

"We've names on our list. We'll forward it in due course of time to the Government of India," the Pakistani foreign minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, said at a joint press conference here with the visiting Canadian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr John Manley.

Mr Sattar termed as background material and "not evidence" the latest information provided by India for extradition of 14 Pakistani nationals named in the list. "India has provided us with the names and background of most of these 20 people. I saw the list this morning that gives the background of some cases going back to 1981... We'll, as President Pervez Musharraf said, examine the cases of Indian nationals who are alleged to be in Pakistan and try to trace them, study the information that is provided to us by the government about these people and then take action accordingly."

Mr Sattar's comments followed Gen Musharraf's interview to CNN in which he said: "As far as the non-Pakistanis (who are on the list India had handed over to Pakistan) are concerned, I do not know anybody in the list. We do not have them."

Mr LK Advani today said Gen Musharraf backtracked on an

extradition treaty the moment a reference was made to the Mumbai blasts accused staying in Karachi. He recalled that during his meeting with Gen Musharraf on the eve of the Agra summit, he broached the subject and the Pakistani leader agreed on an extradition treaty. Speaking at a function in New Delhi, Mr Advani said he told Gen Musharraf that these Mumbai blasts accused were staying in official residences.

The minister said he raised the extradition issue with him because the Pakistani President came from Turkey after signing an extradition agreement there.

Earlier, *The News* said Pakistan might be willing to consider handing over the Indians who feature on the list of 20, if New Delhi is prepared to send terrorists wanted in Pakistan, specially those belonging to ethnic organisations in Karachi currently hiding in India. This had been conveyed to Gen Powell when he was here for talks two days ago, the daily said.

The two countries clashed on the terrorism issue in the United Nations.

Speaking at a Security Council debate on Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by Terrorist Acts yesterday, India's UN ambassador Mr Kamallesh Sharma said the world should not be convinced by the justification being offered for the "moral, political and diplomatic support" to what is clearly terrorism. Islamabad in turn accused India of fudging the very definition of terrorism.

Fresh fire in Pak building

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 19. — A fire today broke out again in the state-owned building which was destroyed in a blaze on 15 January.

Sensitive records of the federal ministries in Pakistan, including those of the interior ministry, were destroyed in the earlier incident.

Files lying abandoned on various floors of the 16-storeyed building caught fire, the APP news agency said quoting a police officer.

Reacting to the reports, the director, municipal administration, Mr Mustafeen Kazmi, said today's blaze is an unresolved mystery.

Fire was noticed on the 16th, 11th and eighth floors of the building, he added.

An inquiry has been instituted to determine the cause of today's fire. Confidential records, including files relating to militant outfits banned by Pakistan and those of the Intelligence Bureau, were destroyed in the 15 January fire and the authorities didn't rule out sabotage.

The government, however, downplayed the loss saying the documents were not so sensitive and instituted an inquiry to probe into the incident. — PTI



WEATHER

Partly cloudy sky. Minimum temperature likely to be around 19°C.

Yesterday's readings:

Maximum temperature up to 5.30 p.m. was 29.9° C (+3)

Minimum temperature up to 8.30 a.m. was 18.8° C (+5)

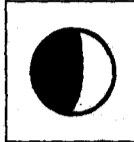
Relative humidity: Maximum 98%, minimum 52%

Relative humidity at 8.30 a.m.: 93% (+15) and at 5.30 p.m.: 70% (+15)

Rainfall: Nil.

Sun sets today at 5.16 p.m.; rises tomorrow at 6.19 a.m. Moon rises today at 10.34 a.m.; sets at 11 p.m.

First quarter of the moon tomorrow.



Hooghly river tides at Garden Reach:

Jan 20: High water 5.14 am 4.37 mt
Jan 20: Low water 1.44 pm 1.59 mt
Jan 20: High water 5.37 pm 4.05 mt
Jan 21: Low water 1.52 am 1.90 mt

CITY	Max	Min	
Delhi	23	2	Partly sunny
Mumbai	30	12	Partly sunny
Chennai	31	21	Partly sunny
Bangalore	28	15	Partly sunny
Hyderabad	30	15	Partly sunny
Siliguri	27	11	Partly sunny
Bhubaneswar	30	15	Partly sunny
Patna	27	11	Showers



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Lashkar hawala racket busted

MUMBAI, Jan. 19. — Hawala operators Rajesh Khodabai Prajapati (24) and Mehboob Karim Merchant (37) were yesterday arrested at Naupada and Bhuleshwar in south Mumbai for siphoning off money to the Lashkar-e-Taiyaba, the joint commissioner of police (crime), Mr B Mohite, said today.

Mehboob and his brother, Sultan, who has a courier office at Naupada, gave Rs 28.25 lakh to Prajapati, he said. "Prajapati transferred it through hawala to one Dilip Barot of Delhi and this was to be delivered to Adil Nazir, a Lashkar man." Sultan is absconding.

Prajapati and Mehboob were today produced before the additional chief metropolitan magistrate and remanded in custody till 22 January. They have been handed over to Delhi Police for interrogation to establish their links with the four ultras, including Nazir, held in Delhi on 14 January. About 7.98 kg of RDX and Rs 34,90,000 were seized from the Lashkar men who had allegedly planned blasts in Delhi on Republic Day. Barot was also held for funding them. — PTI

No smoking on trains

NEW DELHI, Jan. 19. — The Railways have decided to ban smoking on trains, railway stations and offices saying any violation would attract a fine of Rs 100. The decision comes in the wake of a Supreme Court direction banning smoking in public places.

"No body would be allowed to smoke in railway premises including the Rail Bhavan, all office buildings of Railways, platforms and other premises housing railway establishments including the railway production units," an official release said today.

Asserting that the Railways Act empowers the Railways to prohibit smoking, it said the Act would help strict implementation of the Supreme Court directives. — PTI

India, Pakistan ① inch towards a compromise

19/11 9:20 PM 55-1

More by Chandan...

Jan. 18. — There is likely to be a thaw in subcontinental relations shortly as there are hints of a give-and-take between India and Pakistan within this month.

Government sources indicated that Islamabad may hand over some of the key accused in the Mumbai blasts case, possibly within the next 10 days, and, if ground conditions were conducive, New Delhi would consider sending back the recalled high commissioner, Mr Vijay Nambiar, to Islamabad, possibly by the end of this month.

(The Pakistani foreign minister has said the tensions have begun easing on the diplomatic front after General Colin Powell's visit, but tensions on the ground is yet to be defused, PTI adds from Islamabad. Armies of both the countries were still in eyeball-to-eyeball position, the Urdu daily *Jung* quoted Mr Abdul Sattar as having said.)

While there are a lot of 'ifs', the Indian stand on Pakistan has softened and the government is looking for graceful "exit routes" to mend fences with its estranged neighbour. The measures will, however, stop short of pulling back troops, and will require Pakistan to deliver some of the 20 criminals wanted by India.

Mr Nambiar returned to New Delhi last month after India scaled down its diplomatic relations with Pakistan, as part of a series of measures to protest against the attack on Parliament.

General Pervez Musharraf's speech last Saturday has been viewed by the world as "path-breaking", and New Delhi is feeling constrained to not appear intransigent.

But the government is not about to relax its military deployment on the border just yet, realising that the build-up has opened before it a "window of opportunity" to resolve the issue of cross-border terrorism with Pakistan. While

maintaining troops along the border, India's diplomatic manoeuvres could be scaled back as "mutual confidence-building measures", if and when some of its "conditions" are met.

The visit of the US secretary of state has come at an opportune moment for India. It has provided the government with channels to convey its views to Islamabad without Gen Musharraf feeling directly threatened by India.

The government has agreed to convey additional evidence to Pakistan on some of the 20 criminals on the list of "most wanted", and indications are that not just the Sikh militants, but at least some key Mumbai blasts accused, possibly even Dawood Ibrahim, would be handed over shortly.

(The additional evidence were today handed over to the Pakistani deputy high commissioner, Mr Jaleel Abbas Jilani, PTI reports.)

Musharraf on crackdown: Gen Musharraf today said the crackdown on militant outfits was in Pakistan's own interest and asked India not to sit in judgement on his efforts to rein in the ultras, PTI adds. Islamabad had "to show no action to anybody," he told Islamic clerics.

He asked the mullahs to leave issues such as Kashmir to his government to resolve. "We are going to deal with it. Have faith in me and leave it to me."

In an interview to a Lebanese journalist, he said there were "fluctuating signals" from India on easing tensions and ruled out Islamabad accepting LoC as a border for a solution to the Kashmir issue.

Meanwhile, police in Pakistan have arrested a large number of cadres of banned groups and sealed several of their offices in PoK. The daily *Pakistan* said the outfits were co-operating with the government and have surrendered weapons. The weapons are kept in PoK and other areas adjoining the LoC.



Mr Jaswant Singh with Gen Colin Powell. — AP/PTI

Editorial: Pakistan and Hurriyat, page 4

THE STATESMAN

19 JAN 2002

The Powell touchdown

His circle of friends in South Asia may grow after all

IF US Secretary of State Colin Powell's purpose in touring the subcontinent was to ferry messages across the heavily militarised border between India and Pakistan, his visit must be termed a success. As he touched down in Islamabad and New Delhi this week, he made it a point to underline the positive nuances he captured from the leadership in both capitals. Restraint has always been the cornerstone of the Powell doctrine, and he has carefully worded his statements to reflect the perceptible lessening of post-December 13 tensions. He emphasised that Pakistan had not exactly ruled out the extradition of the non-Pakistani nationals on India's list of 20 most wanted criminals — that India could still get the evidence it seeks of Pakistani sincerity to follow through on General Pervez Musharraf's promises of cracking down on all terrorists. And before he left for Kathmandu, he dwelled on his assessment that Musharraf's televised address had been well-received in New Delhi. The information revolution may be well under way, but nuclear neighbours clearly need a trusted diplomat to help exchange courtesies before moving towards dialogue.

But during his whistle-stop visit, Powell did more than just prove his skills as a messenger. At a time when India has unequivocally signalled its resolve to end infiltration of terrorism from Pakistani soil, he has given ample indication of long-term American engagement in the region. A flurry of crucial journeys after December 13 to and from Washington — Home Minister L.K.

Advani and Defence Minister George Fernandes' meetings there and now Powell's rendezvous in New Delhi — have more or less established one thing. That this bout of American involvement in South Asia is not a one-shot deal, that its spatial and temporal limits are not defined by the US's campaign in Afghanistan. Powell, while urging New Delhi to give General Musharraf more time to translate his words into concrete action, said the US would monitor follow-up, confidence-building measures taken by Pakistan. It is also well that the American secretary of state has appreciated the dynamics of India's coercive diplomacy in its own campaign against terrorism. De-escalation of tension along the border with Pakistan is dependent not on the two armies being ordered to retreat to peacetime positions. De-escalation hinges upon critical political and diplomatic breakthroughs — breakthroughs that can only be judged by a perceptible drop in cross-border terrorism. This, it is important to note, is a judgement call that cannot be made in a matter of days, maybe even weeks.

But diplomatic efforts are not evaluated on the basis of what is said alone, little dances around prickly issues tell their own story. Powell was careful to hush any mention of mediation, a word that carries tremendously negative connotations here. Yes, any visit by a Western official that passes off without a gaffe (a la Tony Blair's strenuous acrobatics with the word "position", or peripatetic American senators' unsolicited advice) has to be a good thing.

INDIAN EXPRESS

Trust me, says the President with appeal to leave foreign policy to govt

Pervez keeps clerics off Kashmir

FROM SIMON DENYER

Islamabad, Jan. 18 (Reuters): In his drive to crack down on Islamic extremists and co-opt moderates, Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf told clerics today his people should not meddle in foreign policy and should trust him to sort out Kashmir.

Musharraf, seeking to end a military standoff with India, told the group of handpicked Islamic leaders that he would not abandon Kashmir's mainly Muslim people.

But his tone was one that revealed his frustration with Pakistan-based Islamic groups that have spawned extremist offspring to fight Indian rule in Kashmir and are blamed for bloody attacks on Indian soil.

Pakistan had to steer a mid-

dle course between westernisation and radical Islam, he said.

Musharraf urged religious leaders not to interfere in the dispute with India that has prompted the biggest military build-up along the border since the 1971 war.

The soldier-turned-President said he would not abandon Kashmir's people, but wanted to isolate Islamic extremists advocating a "holy war" against India.

"Let the government handle the foreign (policy) issues such as Kashmir," he said.

"Trust me. We will take action in line with the interests of Pakistan and the aspirations of the people of Pakistan."

Musharraf said he was confident in the defensive and offensive capabilities of his mili-

tary and was satisfied that this ensured there would be no war with India, even though both armies continued to stand "eye-ball to eye-ball".

"I am fully satisfied that, God willing... there will be no war," he said. "We don't want war, we want peace, but if war is imposed on us then we are fully ready to face it with full might and power."

"For us, the guarantee of peace... rests on our own strong shoulders. The real guarantee is our own defence. While that is intact, no one can harm us."

Musharraf said he rejected both the "ultra-modern" or westernised elite from Lahore and Karachi as well as the radicals who do not want to teach anything but religion in the Quranic schools.

"We don't want westernisa-

tion in Pakistan," he reassured the clerics. "We should adopt the middle path."

Musharraf, who became an international pariah after he took power in a 1999 military coup, has seen his image transformed since September 11, when he abandoned Afghanistan's fundamentalist Taliban rulers and threw his weight behind the US war on terrorism.

Domestically, this transformation has allowed him to push through his vision of a modern Islamic state and make a series of moves designed to marginalise violent extremist groups.

"The atmosphere of violence, terrorism, hatred, sectarianism and extremism has to be eliminated," Musharraf said.

In a landmark speech last weekend, he banned five militant Islamic groups, including

two pro-Kashmiri groups blamed for an attack in New Delhi that sparked the military standoff with nuclear rival India.

This week he also ended 16 years of electoral discrimination against religious minorities by allowing Christians, Hindus and others to vote for mainstream political parties.

Musharraf made no mention of either move in his speech today, but instead stressed the need for Pakistan to educate its people and take its place in the modern world.

In a speech in Urdu littered with English phrases like "economic development", "transfer of technology" and "import substitution", Musharraf urged clerics to modernise the madaras where the Taliban were born.



Musharraf addresses Islamic clerics at a conference in Islamabad on Friday. (AP/PTI)

Response after Pak. acts on list: Jaswant

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, JAN. 18. Without committing itself to a dialogue, India today indicated that it could look afresh at the diplomatic and political measures it had adopted against Pakistan after the terrorist attack on Parliament, provided Islamabad took action against those named in the list of 20 sent to it earlier.

"If there is action with regard to the list of 20 wanted terrorists and criminals, then I am very hopeful that there would be a distinct move to a situation that would be similar to what existed before the 13th of December", the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, said at a joint press conference with the visiting U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, today.

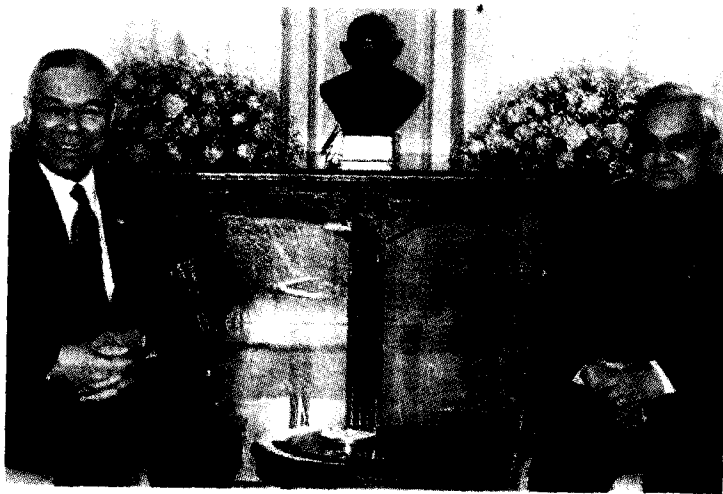
Distancing India from the possibility of a war, Mr. Singh said that New Delhi was looking for a diplomatic solution to the crisis engulfing the two neighbours.

The "central thought" in the mind of the Indian leadership was the "restoration of confidence" between India and Pakistan. Once that was achieved, "everything would fall into place."

India had recalled its High Commissioner from Pakistan, slashed the staff in its diplomatic mission in Islamabad by half and denied Pakistan planes access to its airspace following the December 13 attack on Parliament.

Simultaneously, it had mobilised its forces towards the India-Pakistan border.

Government sources here clarified that India could sequentially roll back some of the diplomatic and political steps it had adopted



The U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, with the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, in New Delhi on Friday. — Reuters

after December 13, provided Islamabad met its expectations on three counts.

First, Pakistan should act on the list of 20 that it had been provided. Gen. Powell indicated at the press conference that it would be easier for Pakistan to take action against the 14 Indian nationals on the list.

According to Mr. Singh, the Pakistani police may not find it too difficult to pick up the 14 persons. "It is not as if they are hiding in some caves in Karachi", he said.

Gen. Powell, the sources said, showed special interest to see Pakistani action against individuals on the terrorist list. At the press conference, he urged the Pakistan

HQ-1 19/1
President, Pervez Musharraf, to take "further action" against them.

Second, the infiltration of terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan, Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) as well as the Northern Areas needed to be restrained. During talks, it was pointed out to Gen. Powell that radio intercepts monitored by India as well as those independently obtained by the U.S. had made it clear that the level of infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir was yet to drop.

India, as a matter of policy, was currently sharing the tapes with key countries including the U.S., France and Russia, the sources added.

Third, India was awaiting a visible downturn in externally-aided internal violence in Jammu and Kashmir.

Sources pointed out that the revival of an Indo-Pak. dialogue and pullback of forces by India was still far away.

India would be ready to de-escalate its troop presence once the Pakistani crackdown becomes irreversible, they said.

The Army had also stated that it

was logistically difficult to mobilise as well as pull back forces at short notice.

India, however, indicated to Gen. Powell its readiness to prioritise discussions on Jammu and Kashmir as part of its "composite dialogue" format later, in case Pakistan effectively cracked down on terrorism that sprang from its territory.

Gen. Powell, on his part, acquainted the Indian side about his discussions in Islamabad. Gen. Musharraf, according to sources, conveyed to the U.S. delegation that restoration of democracy in Pakistan could not precede the establishment of public order there.

Gen. Musharraf also conveyed his response to India's military mobilisation. The Pakistani leader said his country would robustly counter any military action by India.

On the list of 20, the Pakistani side said it was looking for concrete evidence about the involvement of the individuals in terrorist and criminal activity.

It was in response to this demand that New Delhi agreed to provide additional information at U.S. request.

Sensing the possibility of a gradual reduction in Indo-Pak. tensions, Gen. Powell said, "we exchanged a number of ideas on how we can move forward and I leave here very encouraged that we can find a solution to this troubling situation."

Gen. Powell, even before his arrival here, said the purpose of his visit to the subcontinent was to arrest the downturn in Indo-Pak. relations.

Musharraf resents Fernandes remarks

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 18. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, today resented what he termed "rhetorical" statements from Indian leaders, particularly the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, asking him to back his denunciations against extremism with deeds, and asserted that Islamabad would not allow anyone to sit in judgment over the action it has initiated in the interest of peace and prosperity.

In an hour-long speech at a two-day conference of religious scholars, organised by the Ministry of Religious Affairs to debate the situation in the light of his January 12 speech, Gen. Musharraf, was at pains to emphasise that the reforms initiated were not opposed to Islam. The purpose of the conference was to explain the rationale behind the series of measures in recent days against religious extremism.

He made a specific reference to Kashmir as an example of the region where "fellow Muslims were facing repression" and said "leave these matters to the Government. We would deal with them, and take my word the Government would not let down the people of Pakistan".

Even as Gen. Musharraf was on his feet, some in the audience got up to complain about the excessive zeal of the authorities enforcing the restrictions on use of loudspeakers in mosques and the arrest of innocent citizens in the name of fighting extremism. He promised action on the complaints and sought their co-operation in transforming Pakistan into a more tolerant society.

Gen. Musharraf said there should be no doubt in anyone's mind that Pakistan was an Islamic society. "We are opposed to those

who blindly ape the West. At the same time we want to confront those on the other side of the spectrum, religious extremists. The middle path is the ideal option for Pakistan and we seek to promote it", he said.

He devoted considerable time to speak on the current tension between India and Pakistan and gave sufficient indications that the threat of war had receded.

'Accepting LoC no solution to Kashmir'

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 18. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, has said that he has been receiving "fluctuating signals" from India on easing tensions between the two countries, and ruled out chances of Islamabad accepting the Line of Control (LoC) as a solution to the Kashmir issue.

In an interview to a Lebanese newspaper here, he outlined a "step by step approach" to normalise relations with India through talks which included accepting Kashmir as the core issue. "There is fluctuation in the signals we are receiving from New Delhi. They are not consistent in their statements," he said.

On the measures to contain extremism within Pakistan, he said, "the U.S. is quite satisfied with the steps I have taken."

On the possibility of the LoC as a solution to the Kashmir issue, he said, "it cannot be the solution to the problem. We have fought four wars over the LoC".

"The first step should be the resumption of peaceful dialogue. The second should be to accept Kashmir as a central issue. The third is to negotiate any solution which is not acceptable to both countries and the fourth — to solve it according to the wishes of the Kashmiris".

'Talks could not be Kashmir-centric'

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 18. The visiting U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, today asserted that a dialogue between India and Pakistan "could not be Kashmir-centric."

Gen. Powell made this observation during an interview with New Delhi Television. During the conversation, he said the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's words will have to be matched by

action, but believed that the steps had been taken by the General that could lead to de-escalation of tension between India and Pakistan.

Additional evidence handed over

In a related development, India today handed over additional evidence against terrorists and criminals named in the list of 20, who,

it believes, have taken refuge in Pakistan. This additional information was given to Pakistan's Deputy High Commissioner, Jaleel Abbas Jilani, by Arun K. Singh, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs.

The External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, said this afternoon that Pakistan was well aware of the whereabouts of the 14 Indian nationals who were on this list.

Pullback only after concrete Pak. steps'

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 18. India cannot withdraw forces from the border until Pakistan ceased cross-border terrorism and handed over the 20 terrorists sought by it, the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, stated here.

"It is only when we realise that Pakistan has taken specific, very concrete steps to end cross-border terrorism we can discuss the withdrawal of the troops that are now on the frontiers," Mr. Fernandes said at a press conference at the Indian Embassy on Thursday evening.

While acknowledging that the diplomatic efforts had yielded "substantial results," he said India was not looking at a time-frame for "non-infiltration." The Indians in the list of 20 would have to be handed over and New Delhi and Islamabad could discuss over the Pakistani nationals.

"If there is any problem with regard to the Pakistani nationals, it could be discussed further. But so far as people of Indian citizenship who have been used for terrorist activities and since found shelter in Pakistan are concerned they should be handed over forthwith."

Mr. Fernandes was generally upbeat over the nature and scope of bilateral defence cooperation and exchanges. "Today this relationship is qualitatively different from the days of the Cold War", he remarked on more than one occasion.



The U.S. Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld, with the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, during a press conference in Washington on Thursday. — Reuters

In the realm of defence cooperation between the United States and India, it was announced that the next Round of meeting of the Defence Policy Group will be held in May, before which there will be a meeting of the Executive Steering Groups. Next month the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Richard Myers, will be visiting India and the return visit of the Chief of Army Staff, Gen. S. Padmanabhan is set for April.

India and the United States on

Thursday signed the General Security on Military Information Agreement (SGOMIA). In the view of the Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, the agreement paves the way for "greater technology cooperation" between the two countries.

Mr. Fernandes, both at the Pentagon and later during the press conference, made it known that there was absolutely no problem with the Bush administration on the Israeli sale of the Phalcon sys-

tem; and that the reporting to that effect had been wrong. The administration here, according to Mr. Fernandes, had given the "categorical assurance" that there is no change with respect to the Phalcon.

The impression, however, is that while Washington approves of the Israeli sale, it is leaning on the Jewish State not to go through with it at this time in view of the existing tensions in South Asia.

Mr. Fernandes did not foresee any difficulty with regard to weapons procurement from the United States, saying that was satisfied with the assurances that there would not be any obstacles.

"Several pending cases of supplies of defence equipment and spare parts from the U.S. to India, such as engines and other systems for the Light Combat Aircraft and Weapons Locating Radar were discussed. We have been assured that these licences are in an advanced stage of processing within the U.S. system and final decisions are expected to be conveyed shortly."

On Thursday, Mr. Fernandes was received by the Vice President, Dick Cheney. Earlier, he was at the White House for a meeting with the National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice, which was followed by a meeting, including at the delegation level, at the Pentagon.

Mr. Fernandes also met the Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, and termed the meeting as "very productive."

BJP faces uphill task in U.P.

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 18. The seat-sharing exercise between the Bharatiya Janata Party and its allies in Uttar Pradesh is more tension-ridden than anticipated. The leaders of allies have begun approaching the Prime Minister to bring pressure on the State leaders to concede more seats. The battle has intensified with the BJP declaring candidates for 309 seats in the Assembly of 403.

The BJP's complaint is that the allies have an exaggerated notion of their support base, and there was no way the party could concede so many seats (and end up losing them). On the other hand, the allies know that a considerably weakened BJP in U.P. has a high political stake, and it badly needs them. And they intend to exploit this to their advantage.

The president of the Rashtriya Lok Dal, Ajit Singh, met the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today.

The RLD is interested in the Khehra Assembly segment in its Baghat Lok Sabha constituency, which the BJP is unwilling to relinquish as its sitting MLA, Roop Chaudhary, is the all India general secretary of the Yuva Morcha. So both the BJP and the RLD have declared their candidates for the segment. According to the RLD, Mr. Vajpayee asked BJP State leaders to accommodate the RLD, and another round of talks was on till late tonight to smoothen out differences on some six "overlapping seats".

Although yesterday a senior BJP leader indicated that Maneka Gandhi's Shakti Dal would be given "two or three" seats, today her party declared its list of candidates for 14 seats.

The Samata Party, the Janata Dal (United) and the Lok Janshakti have decided to wait a day or two before declaring lists. Reports suggest that so far the number of seats offered by the BJP to them was far short of what they expected.

TIME
PEACE!

U.S. keen to see Indo-Pak talks: Powell

NEW DELHI: U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell on Thursday night said the Bush administration was anxious to see a dialogue between India and Pakistan on all issues, including Kashmir.

Addressing the media after holding talks with external affairs minister Jaswant Singh, Gen Powell expressed hope that the standoff between the subcontinent neighbours in the wake of the recent tensions would be resolved quickly.

He added that the U.S. was willing to stand by the two countries to help resolve their bilateral problems.

Mr Singh, who also spoke to presspersons, reiterated that India would respond adequately and effectively after seeing Pakistan's actions in combating terrorism on the ground.

Speaking about the promises made by Gen Musharraf, Mr Singh said, "As soon as we see (such action), we will respond adequately and fully."

Reacting to the external affairs minister's statement, Gen Powell said Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf had taken some steps and it was for India to judge if the actions constituted sufficient basis to change its policies regarding Pakistan. Making it clear that the Kashmir issue had to be resolved through a direct dialogue between

India and Pakistan, the secretary of state said the U.S. would always be ready to bring about a dialogue between the "two friends".

On New Delhi's demand for the extradition of 20 terrorists and criminals based in Pakistan, Gen Powell said India was sending more evidence to Islamabad for action against them. The American official claimed that Pakistani leaders, during their talks with him on Wednesday, had assured him that

action would be taken against non-Pakistanis figuring in the list of 20 terrorists and criminals that India had handed over to Pakistan. As regards the Pakistani nationals wanted by India, he said Islamabad was ready to take action in accordance with the law of the land, provided more evidence was given against them. "The more evidence we can provide, the better," he remarked.

Asked about the U.S.' reaction to the issue of converting the Line of Control (LoC) into an international border, Gen Powell said, "We are anxious to see a dialogue between India and Pakistan on all these issues, including Kashmir. We hope the current situation is resolved as quickly as possible. It has to be resolved through a dialogue. The U.S. will stand by to help the two friends." (PTI)



Colin Powell meets Jaswant Singh in New Delhi on Thursday.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

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Shaping peace in Kashmir, unilaterally

By Amitabh Mattoo

110-8, 17/1

HERE IS an overwhelming consensus in this country that the real test of Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf's intentions and sincerity lies not in the power of the address that he recently delivered, but in the resoluteness with which he undertakes to execute the policies that he so deftly articulated in the speech. It remains to be seen whether Gen. Musharraf is really as attached to the ideas and policies of Kemal Ataturk as he claims to be, and if he truly has the capacity to deliver his country from the mess brought about by his predecessors. India has to carefully watch and decide whether Gen. Musharraf continues to be the erstwhile commando, driven by expediency and tactics, or is he — in his new avatar — a Mikhail Gorbachev-like leader who, even while being a product of the established order, has realised that the system is so rotten that unless he radically changes policies, internally and externally, his country will slowly slip into nothingness. In the interim, therefore, New Delhi will have to sustain the diplomatic and military ante to ensure that Islamabad is in no doubt that words alone cannot assuage the anger and frustration that the people of India have experienced in recent years at Pakistan's obdurate behaviour, and which was accentuated by the violation of one of the country's most sacred institutions on December 13.

However, even while the wait-and-watch phase continues, the time may have come to fashion a concrete plan for peace in Jammu and Kashmir. India has demonstrated its steely resolve, but the occasion may, hopefully, not be too far off to reveal the moral fibre of the Republic. Although the success of any peace project in the State will be dependent on the ending of violence, or at least its significant reduction in the Valley and beyond, many of the principal elements can, I feel, be put in place unilaterally and must be undertaken as early as is possible. While such a programme of action would have to be necessarily executed in different parts, three in the case of the plan outlined below, the total blueprint should be made available for discussion and dissemination even before any action is taken. Moreover, the different parts of the

Although the success of any peace project in Jammu and Kashmir will be dependent on the ending of violence... many of the principal elements can be put in place unilaterally and must be undertaken as early as is possible.

unilateral peace process could be initiated in parallel.

Part one of the peace plan would demand unilateral gestures of goodwill by the Government and the people of the rest of India towards the people of Jammu and Kashmir. There is recognition throughout the country of the deep suffering the Kashmiris have endured over the last 12 years, and this latent reservoir of empathy needs to be tapped. The time has come for the nation to reach out to the Kashmiris. If and when the violence comes down, and there is sufficient proof that Pakistan has indeed closed down the terrorist camps and stopped infiltration, the most important gestures will be to significantly reduce the presence of the Army, the paramilitary and other security forces. The maintenance of law and order must again become the responsibility of the local police, and all special operation agencies and vigilante groups, wherever they exist, must be disbanded.

In addition, the biggest private sector companies must be encouraged to invest in the State and extraordinary incentives must be provided to ensure that this happens. Equally, large corporations should be persuaded to employ men and women from the State, and — if necessary — reserve a quota of jobs for youth from the region. Further, a central task force must be set up, with the explicit purpose of strengthening the State's infrastructure, particularly in the areas of power, roads, education and health, and a special fund created to ensure that there is an efficient and time-bound execution of the projects that are taken up.

Similarly, a special relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation commission needs to be formed, which includes leaders from various communities and social groups, to set into motion the process of rebuilding civil society, providing support to those traumatised over the last decade,

and repairing inter-communal relations. Civil society groups, including cultural organisations, from the rest of India have begun to make their presence felt in the State, but so far it is simply not enough. The verve, vitality and commitment of India's powerful non-governmental sector must find expression in Jammu and Kashmir, and there is a need for engagement in practically every area, from environment to education, from theatre to traditional crafts.

Part two of the peace plan is probably the most vital as this would involve ensuring that Kashmiris secure peace with dignity. Elections to the Assembly, which will be held within the next nine months, offer a historic opportunity to restore the faith of the ordinary Kashmiri in Indian democracy, justice and fair play, and to demonstrate to the world New Delhi's capacity for conflict management and problem solving. Clearly, if the elections have to count for something, they must be credible and inclusive and ensuring that this happens forms the backbone of the programme for peace. Credibility should not be difficult to achieve. The Election Commission of India, together with a group of eminent persons from the country who are requested to observe the elections, can ensure that there are no malpractices and that all charges of foul play are promptly investigated.

Ensuring popular participation, especially from those alienated by the past record, is much more difficult. But this may be possible, if a unilateral promise is given, without prior negotiations (which have proved to be so frustrating) with Kashmiri leaders, that post-elections the quantum of autonomy necessary to fulfil Kashmiri aspirations will be negotiated with the elected representatives within a definite period of time and the agreement arrived at will be guaranteed for the future. It will then become the responsib-

ility of all the Kashmiris who are so desperately seeking peace to ensure that there is popular participation. Simultaneously, a nationwide information campaign on Centre-State relations and decentralisation must be initiated to ensure that there is a widespread realisation that autonomy, in essence, is about empowering people, making people feel that they belong, and about increasing the accountability of public institutions and services. Separatism grows when people feel disconnected from the structures of power and the process of policy formulation; in contrast, devolution ensures popular participation in the polity.

Finally, part three of the plan for peace would include a signal to Pakistan that there would be a sustained dialogue on Kashmir if Islamabad not only rejects violence, as an instrument in its totality, but also commits itself not to attempt subverting the first two parts of the plan. No less important, the dialogue on Kashmir must be embedded in a larger programme of peace and cooperation. It should now be obvious to the political leadership of Pakistan that the conflict over Kashmir is only a symptom of deeper differences, rooted in the manner in which the two nation-states were differently conceived and have grown over the last 50-odd years. Thus, even as Pakistan reconstructs itself, as hopefully a modern and liberal nation-state, unprecedented economic and political cooperation and eventually soft borders on all sides must complement the dialogue on Kashmir. In January 2001, the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, declared in his "musings" from Kumarakom: "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. In this search, the sole light that will guide us is our commitment to peace, justice and the vital interests of the nation." The time may shortly come to translate the promise of those words into reality.

(The writer is Professor of Disarmament Studies and Director, National Security Programme, JNU, New Delhi.)

JNU

11

Agenda for Pakistan

12/11 11-10 920 112

In an ostensible effort to defuse tensions between the two neighbours, US secretary of state Colin Powell is visiting Pakistan and India for the second time in the past four months. He has already expressed satisfaction that the hair-trigger confrontation on the Indo-Pakistan border has eased, and has urged that the dialogue between the two countries be resumed. The fact that defence minister George Fernandes has chosen this time to visit the United States should reassure Washington that the Indian mobilisation is essentially an exercise in the use of force without war — in other words, it is coercive diplomacy and nothing more. The Indian cabinet committee on security affairs has welcomed General Musharraf's speech of January 12 and has agreed to give Pakistan time to stop cross-border infiltration and to hand over those charged with terrorist acts in India, the majority of whom are Indian citizens. What seems to have been obfuscated in this excessive focus on the border tension is the significance and consequences of General Musharraf's speech, and its implications for Indian preparedness against further possible terrorist outrages. The speech was a direct result of the ultimatum delivered by British prime minister Tony Blair, on behalf of the US and the western alliance, that General Musharraf should initiate far-reaching reforms to purge Pakistan of extremism and terrorism. The whole exercise was part of the war against terrorism, and the Kashmir issue was incidental to it. By far the greater part of the general's speech dwelt on the urgent need for internal reform within Pakistan.

By doing this General Musharraf has put his own life at risk. This is the most courageous act undertaken by any Pakistani leader since 1947. If General Musharraf succeeds, his achievement will parallel that of Turkey's Kemal Ataturk, and he will be hailed as a great reformer. However, his reforms are likely to be resisted by elements in the Pakistani army, intelligence organisation, clergy and the feudal establishment, and there could be serious attempts to remove him. The jihadis may instigate acts designed to embroil India and Pakistan in a conflict and thus derail the process of reforms. In these circumstances, Washington, which has placed the general at risk, has a special responsibility to ensure his success and to contribute to his consolidation. The general has to be rewarded economically, and in such generous terms that the majority of Pakistanis will have a stake in him and his reforms programme. At this stage — when the situation is in a state of flux with the general under threat and having yet to establish himself firmly — it is obvious that issues like Kashmir will have lower priority than the task of selling his reforms programme to the people of Pakistan who have been conditioned by five decades of the extremist two-nation theory. Both India and the US have enormous stakes in ensuring that the proposed Pakistani reforms succeed, take root and are followed by further doses of similar curative medicine until Pakistan becomes another Turkey. It is this, and not lesser issues, that must set the agenda for Mr Colin Powell's discussions with the Indian leadership.

Guard the Legacy

THE TIMES OF INDIA

17 JAN 2002

Powell against plebiscite, rules out mediation

Press Trust of India

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 16. — General Colin Powell tonight rejected a mediatory role for the USA in resolving disputes between India and Pakistan but said he was carrying "some ideas" to New Delhi for initiating a dialogue between the two countries on several issues, including Kashmir.

The US secretary of state, however, made it clear that the immediate aim was de-escalation of political and military tensions.

After talks with General Pervez Musharraf on the first leg of his South Asian tour, Gen Powell was asked at a press conference whether he would commend to India a plebiscite in Kashmir to resolve the issue in the light of his statement earlier in the day that the problem could be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people. "No, I was not suggesting anything specific," he said.

Gen Musharraf, in his last week's address, had sought Washington's mediation to resolve the Kashmir issue.

The Pakistani foreign minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, said at the press conference with Gen Powell today that the USA was in a "unique" position to resolve the disputes.

In a subtle but significant shift in the US stand, Gen Powell said: "Kashmir is a very difficult issue. The solution of the problem lies through dialogue between India and Pakistan and in the course of the dialogue there will be many issues that will be discussed". That would be the thrust and the USA would encourage both sides for a dialogue which could satisfy the wishes of the people of the region, he said.

Gen Powell said, tomorrow when he meets the Indian external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, and other leaders in New Delhi, he would review the outstanding issues. "We have some ideas which we will share with them (India) before we share with the world".

Gen Powell said the USA

would keep its efforts on the political track and see that both the rhetoric and diplomatic and military tensions are reduced.

Asked if the USA would act as a facilitator for Indo-Pak talks, he said: "I would like to get the two sides talk to one another. If the two sides want USA and other countries, we stand ready to assist. They have to reach out and for their assistance they will find America waiting with their hands ready to stand by".

At this point, Mr Sattar interjected to say that Gen Powell was right now involved in high-level diplomacy.

Gen Powell said Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and Gen Musharraf were looking at possible solutions as both understood that resolution of issues should be through diplomatic means.

Asked what Gen Musharraf should do more in the campaign against terrorism, Gen Powell said he has done a great deal in recent times and he was sure he would do more.

He said there would be military de-escalation through political and diplomatic steps and not through conflict.

An SNS report from New Delhi says Pakistan has not formally communicated anything on the list of 20 criminals and terrorists that India wants

handed over, though 14 of them are technically Indian nationals and despite the fact that a formal communication demands a formal response.

There are "enabling arrangements" that exist between the Central Bureau of Investigation and the Pakistani Federal Bureau of Investigation since 1989 that would permit the exchange of criminals between the two countries, even without a formal extradition mechanism, the foreign ministry spokesperson said. These "working arrangements", with both state-run organisations being affiliated to Interpol, are adequate for Pakistan to communicate their responses, the spokesperson said, but Pakistan has not ever done so since 1989.

Spiking the guns, page 4

Fire 'destroys' jihadi papers

Press Trust of India

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 16. — Confidential records and files pertaining to Pakistan's banned militant outfits were destroyed in a fire today. Authorities didn't rule out sabotage.

The fire destroyed confidential files including those maintained by the interior ministry on the religious parties and jihadi outfits recently banned by the Pakistani President, Gen Pervez Musharraf, the daily *Nation* reported.

But the Pakistani government declared tonight that no confidential records relating to the outfits were destroyed. An official spokesman said only some old records of the interior ministry have been lost and no confidential record of jihadi organisations or Taliban were kept in the building.

THE STATESMAN

17 JAN 2002

'MUSHARRAF SPEECH PATH-BREAKING'

Handing over criminals will prove sincerity: Advani

By Neena Vyas

HD-1
17/1
NEW DELHI, JAN. 16. India will judge Pakistan's sincerity in wanting to end cross-border terrorism based on the latter's decision to hand over the 20 men wanted in connection with acts of terrorism here, the Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, said today. He, however, could not give a definite timeframe for Islamabad to act.

Addressing a press meet, Mr. Advani said the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's address was no doubt "path-breaking" from the point of that country's "internal perspective," but what New Delhi looked forward to was "the end of Islamabad's role as an exporter of terrorism." An "immediate proof" of the General's sincerity would be available if Pakistan handed over the wanted criminals, he said.

"The bottomline is that Pakistan has to abandon terrorism as an instrument of state policy; put an end to funding of terrorists, arming them, training them and finally giving them a safe asylum after they commit acts of terrorism," he said.

'De-escalation after concrete Pak. steps'

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 16. On the eve of the visit of the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, India has ruled out third-party mediation and said Pakistan must take "concrete steps" to ensure de-escalation of tensions along the border.

Asked about the prospects of resuming dialogue with Pakistan, the External Affairs Ministry spokesperson reiterated in her daily briefing that India had never shied away from talks. The onus was on Pakistan to create a conducive atmosphere for starting a dialogue. She declined comment on whether India was considering the de-escalation of forces prior to

the commencement of a dialogue with Pakistan. Her observations assume importance as Islamabad — especially after the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's televised address last Saturday — is insisting on a pullback of Indian forces from the border.

Asked about the U.S. offer of help to bring the two sides together if they agree, the spokesperson asserted that "outstanding issues between India and Pakistan must be discussed bilaterally and directly by the two countries. There is really no room for third-party mediation." Gen. Powell, who arrived in Islamabad today, will also hold discussions with the Indian leadership here on a wide range of issues, including reduction of Indo-Pak. tensions.

To a question, the spokesperson said U.S. diplomatic activism in the sub-continent did not amount to mediation. As two mature democracies, both sides were listening to each other but were entitled to their views.

Gen. Powell had welcomed India's response to Gen. Musharraf's address and described it as "measured and positive." He had also underscored the need for Pakistan to take further action on the ground for improving the situation.

Asked whether India was delinking the arrest of the four Lashkar-e-Taiba militants in the capital on Tuesday and their connections in Pakistan, she said investigations were under way. "These have to be completed before we come to any conclusion." On the 20 terrorists and criminals who had taken shelter in Pakistan and were wanted here, she said Islamabad had information on their whereabouts.

Soon after his arrival, Gen. Powell will hold talks with the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh. His call on the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, and a meeting with the National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, is slated for Friday. At the end of his visit, Gen. Powell will leave for Kathmandu on his way to Tokyo to attend the meeting of Afghanistan's donor countries.

THE HINDU

17 JAN 2002

Nice words alone will not help, says Advani

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17/1

By Neena Vyas

NEW DELHI, JAN. 16. No doubt the bold statement with which the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, denounced theocracy and made a firm commitment to rid Pakistan of religious extremism has gone down well with the Government here, but it has also been stated plainly that only a concrete act of cooperation by Pakistan, like handing over the criminal terrorists wanted by India, could convince it that the General meant business.

The Home Minister, L.K. Advani, who has just returned from a five-day visit to the United States, today made it clear that the December 13 attack on Parliament was a "watershed," a "decisive moment" and India was no longer prepared to go forward on the basis of nice words. He said the past experience had left the country sceptical and cynical of Pakistani intentions.

Sharing with the media his experiences during his visit to the U.S., Mr. Advani said that it had been a "surprising" and a "gratifying" experience to see that not only the top leaders of the Government in the U.S. but also some important members of 'think tanks' "could see that India's position after December 13 was justified and legitimate." Contrary to some apprehensions created by "some people describing the Government stand as war-mongering" he found that in the U.S. people, including those in the media, were understanding of India's views.

"Everyone I met said we can see your point of view," Mr. Advani said, pointing out that his one-point mission was trying to drive home the point about cross border terrorism from which India had been suffering for two decades — first in Punjab and then Jammu and Kashmir.

He disclosed that during his meeting with the U.S. President, George Bush, he was pleasantly surprised when Mr. Bush said to him: "I am as angry as you about the attack on your Parliament." Contrary to earlier impressions that the Americans were not very appreciative of India's concerns in relation to problems with Pakistan, Mr. Advani met with "little dissonance" among media persons, experts with various think tanks, and senior government leaders.

The Centre is plainly admitting that General Musharraf's address to his nation on January 12 was "path breaking" in that no leader of Pakistan had earlier dared to cross swords with the mullahs and the religious clerics, no one had talked about the call of 'jihad' having gone terribly wrong, but as Mr. Advani put it "that was important and path breaking from the point of view of Pakistan's internal perspective."

The bulk of the speech of the general had been addressed to correcting the wrongs of religious extremism at home, but "what India looks forward to was the end of Pakistan as an exporter of terrorism." The proof of that would have to be seen in the ground situation, and when asked, Mr. Advani was not willing to say how long India would have to watch before declaring the results had been positive or negative.

He indicated that while such proof on the ground could take some time, Pakistan could immediately help establish its sincerity by handing over to India those wanted by it for terrorist acts here. Although Mr. Advani did not say as much, this seems to be the "minimum" price the country is pressing for, and it seems that is what India will be telling the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, when he begins his official visit here tomorrow.

THE HINDU

17 JAN 2002

Pervez speech path-breaking: Advani

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 16. — Mr LK Advani today had a word of praise for General Pervez Musharraf.

"From Pakistan's internal perspective his speech last Saturday was very important, in a way path-breaking. I have never heard any Pakistani leader denouncing theocracy in the manner in which he did."

"However the bulk of his views were addressed to the extremism at home. India's concern was only peripherally or marginally

addressed," the home minister said. What India looks forward to is Pakistan no longer acts as an exporter of terrorism and abandons terror as state policy, he said, while adding that reassurance can come after a change in the situation on the ground level.

Mr Advani said the reports of a general crackdown on militant organisations in Pakistan were not immediately verifiable. Pakistan's addressing India's concern — handing over the 20 extremists and stopping infiltration across the border — would be satisfactory for India, he added.

The home minister said de-escalation of

troops on the border was subject to Pakistan's yielding to these two demands. Though there was no time-frame as yet, it was for India to decide. "We are waiting and watching the situation", he said.

On his talks with Mr George W Bush, Mr Colin Powell and Ms Condoleezza Rice, he said what surprised him was that New Delhi's strong reaction to Pakistan's cross-border terrorism as manifested by the 13 December attack on Parliament was accepted readily. "They saw the justification and legitimacy of India's position and the series of steps we have taken."

5 injured in Lahore airport shootout

Press Trust of India

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 16. — Five Pakistani security personnel were injured, two of them seriously, when a couple of unidentified car-borne gunmen fired at them at the main gate of the Lahore Airport this morning.

The incident occurred shortly before the US secretary of state, Gen Colin Powell, arrived here to hold talks with the Pakistani President, General Pervez Musharraf.

The gunmen after pulling up at the the entrance of the airport fired several rounds at the security personnel.

The two then escaped in their car.

The reason for the attack which occurred around 2.15 am (local time) is still not known, reports quoting Lahore police officer Mohammad Arshad said.

In another incident, a Pakistan International Airlines flight to New York from the Karachi International airport made an emergency landing back at the airstrip minutes after it took off this morning after a fire alarm went off in the cockpit.

Subsequent investigation revealed nothing. The airport officials concluded that the alarm was a false one. The flight was scheduled to leave Karachi later in the day.

A little bit of WTC under their idli, dosa

Jaya Menon in Chennai

Jan 16. — Residents of Chennai may soon be eating their idlis and dosas off the 100th floor of the WTC. Yes. Off, not on. The steel from Ground Zero, imported by a city-based scrap dealer, will soon be on the market in Chennai and other parts of Tamil Nadu, some of it in the form of the steel tumblers and plates no self-respecting Tamil household can do without. For, the scrap steel, after being recycled into ingots at the many steel melting units in and around the city, will be sold to small and medium-scale manufacturers to be made into various steel products, including utensils.

The twisted remains of the steel girders and beams that were once the WTC and are now "medium quality" steel scrap arrived here on January 1 on the bulk carrier Borzna sailing from New York. Nearly 10,000 tonnes of the 33,000 tonnes of scrap

steel on the Borzna was the twisted, burnt remains of the steel beams and girders that held up the World Trade Centre. The entire wreckage of the WTC's twin towers totalled over three lakh tonnes.

For young businessman, Mr Sashikumar, who imports scrap steel from all over the world, it was merely a business deal. As far he is concerned there is no significance to the consignment just because it was from the WTC wreckage. "It is just scrap," he told The Statesman. Mr Sashikumar has been handling thousands of tonnes of steel scrap from various buildings, aircraft, railways and bridges from around the world for the past five years. He bought his latest consignment of scrap for U.S. \$ 120 per tonne from a trader based in Dubai.

Part of the WTC wreckage is headed for Kandla port in another vessel and three vessels carrying the wreckage are

headed for China. The entire consignment meant for Chennai took only five days to load at the New York port. The Borzna, which berthed at the Chennai port, would sail by the month-end after discharging its cargo.

According to Mr Sashikumar the contract for processing the steel scrap from the WTC site went to the New Jersey Scrap Processor Metal Management. In a bid invited by New York city authorities, the company was successful in buying 40,000 gross tonnes of steel.

The huge steel beams and girders were shredded and cut into small bars. The New York Port, which accepted the contract to process the cargo, segregated it into non-ferrous, cement and also cut it into blocks, which is how the steel arrived in Chennai. Scraps of steel from the WTC site were shipped to scrap dealers around the world, including Mr Sashikumar in Chennai.

NDFB goes down 13

GUWAHATI, Jan. 16. — Suspected NDFB militants gunned down 13 non-tribals at Dailongjhar near the Indo-Bhutanese border in Bongaigaon last night. — SNS
Details on page 2

Taltala murder

KOLKATA, Jan. 16. — Zia Ul Haq (24) stabbed his brother Rafiqul Islam (22) to death at a guest house on Nilmadhav Sen Road, Taltala, this afternoon. The guest house staff called the police when they heard screams coming out of the room. The manager of the guest house had also locked the door from outside to prevent Zia from fleeing. Zia told the police that he had brought his brother from their village in Malda in order to kill him. Rafiqul had brought disgrace upon their family by marrying a divorcee, he said in his confession. — SNS

14 SA blacks shot at

JOHANNESBURG, Jan. 16. — A drunken white South African today fired at blacks, wounding 14, police said today. The man faces charges including attempted murder when he appears in the court tomorrow. — Reuters

KOLKATA

Mamata tightens party leash over KMC — Page I

CESC-SEB row leaves city blinking — Page I

War against winged menace loses sting — Page IV

THE STATESMAN

17 JAN 2002

India should end Kashmir's tragic alienation and restore diplomatic ties with Pakistan

Start talking

BY J.N. DIXIT

9/20
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16/11

THE DEVELOPING south Asian security situation is now in the focus of the US's foreign policy due to rising tensions between India and Pakistan. L.K Advani has visited Washington. Colin Powell is coming to India. The US is engaged in an intense exercise of defusing the emerging crisis.

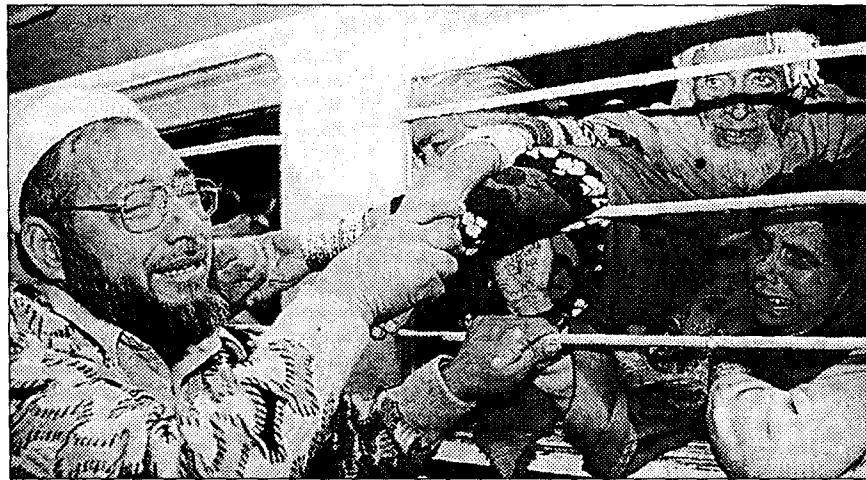
Distances lend perspective and endow processes of cognition with some detachment. I left Delhi for the US a day after the terrorist attack on Parliament. What was most noteworthy in US reactions to this development was the undercurrent of self-centred focus, rather than any critical understanding of the trauma which India has experienced.

The US government and media had only two concerns. First, that the attack on Parliament should not lead to an Indo-Pakistan war, which may explode into a nuclear conflict. Second, Indian punitive actions may result in Pakistan diverting its political attention and its security forces to counter India, which may result in a disruption of the US's anti-terrorist military campaign in Afghanistan.

Governmental advice from the US to India and Pakistan to act with patience and restraint had the full support of the US media. There was also reticence about acknowledging Pakistan's links with the terrorist organisations which attacked the Indian Parliament. It must, however, be acknowledged that President George Bush and senior members of the US government were categorical in their condemnation of the attack on Parliament. Spokespersons of the state department stated on January 8 that General Musharraf's and Pakistani's future welfare will depend on how effectively he deals with terrorism in his country.

Those who attacked Parliament were members of the Pakistan-based terrorist groups Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Tayyeba. The funding and organisation of the attack had the clear stamp of operational support from the Inter-Services Intelligence of Pakistan. The attack on Parliament following the attack by the same terrorist groups on the assembly building in Srinagar in October signified their intention to escalate levels of violence against the Indian State. The objective changed from terrorising civilians and putting Indian security forces on the defensive to disrupting the institutional framework of democracy and destabilising the political cohesion of the country.

That this violence was perpetrated even as Pakistan was supporting the anti-terrorist campaign of the US was aimed at proving General Musharraf's claim that the militants operating against India were not terrorists, did not have any links with Pakistan, and that they were indige-



WILL WE EVER MEET AGAIN?: The last train from Pakistan at Wagah border

nous Kashmiris whom Pakistan could not control. India's strong political and operational response over the last month is logical, as India had to counter the motivations of Pakistani strategies.

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee has described the attack on Parliament as a direct attack on the nerve-centre of Indian democracy. He declared that India's fight against terrorism is entering its last phase and India would take corrective actions of the type necessary at a place and time of India's choice.

Musharraf was politically adroit in his response. He condemned the terrorist act and conveyed sympathy and support. He was prompt in informing the US and other major powers of his reaction to the December 13 incident. His reaction was a calculated political and cosmetic exercise. When India demanded that he ban the Jaish and Lashkar, and that he should arrest and extradite the leaders of these groups for trial in India, he asked for specific evidence. He did not consider evidence conveyed by India based on intercepts of messages and the documentary proof of linkages between the terrorists and the headquarters of the organisations in Pakistan as sufficient.

It is only after Bush included the Jaish and Lashkar in the list of terrorist groups, and only after the US government froze the assets of these entities, that Musharraf fell in line. He put the leaders of the JeM and the LeT under house arrest. He has also detained several members of various Islamic militant groups.

Other pressures generated on him included the incremental diplomatic and political action taken by India. India withdrew its high commissioner from Pakistan. We decided to ban over-flights by

Pakistani civilian/commercial aircraft through Indian airspace. India also decided to indefinitely suspend bus and train services between India and Pakistan.

The message was that India is not interested in maintaining a cosmetic relationship with Pakistan while it continues to subvert India. The second element in the message was that India would be serious in considering an entire range of punitive actions to counter Pakistani subversions and challenges against India's unity and territorial integrity. There has also been a strengthening of security forces on the LoC and all along the Indo-Pakistan international border.

Pakistan is undertaking parallel military deployments. There are reports that Pakistani troops from Multan and Khairan cantonments have moved to forward positions and the military air base at Sargodha has gone into an operational mode. There have also been reports of civilian population on both sides of the border evacuating the border villages.

There is a palpable heightening of tensions between India and Pakistan. US and other major powers are concerned about these developments. Musharraf and Vajpayee, as well as Jaswant Singh and Abdul Sattar, have been contacted by their counterparts from the US and other governments asking for patience and restraint. Tony Blair's visit to India and Pakistan in the first week of January added insistence to this advice.

It is necessary for Pakistan and India to move beyond the current short-term diplomatic, political and military moves. The traumatic threshold in Indo-Pak relations generated by the attack on Parliament provides both countries with an opportunity, even an incentive, to move

towards bold options to get out of the rut of their adversarial relationship.

The civil society in Pakistan is now sharply fractious due to the contradictions between forces of moderation and religious fanaticism. The international campaign against terrorism provides Musharraf with the opportunity to act decisively against fanatical violence. He would be taking a substantively positive step in normalising Indo-Pak relations if he arrests Dawood Ibrahim also, and Sikh terrorists like Wadhawan Singh Babbar, and extradites them (along with Masood Azhar etc.) to India. He should stop supporting militant outfits in Kashmir, financially and militarily.

While doing this, he could suggest the revival of the Indo-Pak dialogue. India will not be taken in by what Musharraf says for public and international consumption. India will respond to what he actually does on the ground.

India, while remaining alert about countering terrorism, should revive its focus on the political dialogue with dissident elements in Kashmir to find a solution responsive to their aspirations. Though the period between November and February every year is the period of military exercises in Pakistan and India, India must examine possibilities of moving back from forward military deployment postures, in consultation with Pakistan, to ensure that Pakistani forces also move back. This could be done by reviving contacts between the Directors General of military operations of both the countries.

That Jaswant Singh and Vajpayee did not avoid contact with Sattar and Musharraf during the recent SAARC summit at Kathmandu was a practical approach. This should be followed at least by three steps. India should send back its high commissioner to Islamabad in the context of Pakistan not having withdrawn its high commissioner. After a brief gap, we should also restore the train and bus services as well as over-flight facilities for Pakistani commercial aircraft, because these facilities affect the common people of both the countries. Indo-Pak dialogue should also be revived by the spring or summer of this year, possibly at the level of foreign secretaries.

While there should be no erosion of our will to act decisively against any terrorist threat, it is time for Pakistan to give deep thought about moving away from its adversarial and subversive policies towards India. India must address the problems of J&K with political insight and maintain a measured and practical political and military posture in relation to Pakistan. Sabre-rattling, beyond a point, cannot be a substitute for meaningful policies.

China frowns upon anti-terror hegemony

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, Jan. 15. — A top Chinese General today urged India and Pakistan to ease the current military stand-off and cautioned New Delhi that it should not practise hegemony in the name of anti-terrorism.

"No country is allowed to practice hegemony in the name of anti-terrorism," the Chief of Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) General Fu Quanyou told the Chairman of Joint Chiefs of the Staff of Pakistan General Muhammad Aziz Khan, the official Xinhua news agency reported.

Gen Fu, who held official talks with Gen Aziz, said China hoped Pakistan and India would ease the current tension, seek solution through dialogue, and maintain regional peace and stability.

He said the military ties between the two sides is an important component of the Sino-Pakistani relations and also a key sector for an "all-weather" cooperative partnership between the two countries.

The Sino-Pakistani ties will be strengthened under the utmost care of the leaders of the two countries and the joint efforts of the two peoples, he said.

THE STATESMAN

16 JAN 2002

Pak. urges India to move back troops from border

By B. Muralidhar Reddy *7 nls PAK*

ISLAMABAD, JAN 15 Pakistan has urged India to move back its troops from the border to de-escalate the current tension between India and Pakistan.

Addressing a news conference here Rashid Quereshi, Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, said India had deployed a large number of troops on Pakistan borders and as long it continued, tension would not come down. *HO. 11*

"We expect India to move its troops back to peacetime positions and continue the process of dialogue. This is the only way to defuse tension," he said in response to a question on the current situation after the speech of Gen. Musharraf on January 12 and the Indian response. Answering a question on the Indian reaction to Gen. Musharraf's address to the nation, the Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Kamran Niaz, said New Delhi's response could have been 'warmer'. He, however, hastened to add that the response articulated by the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, was not negative.

Gen. Quereshi emphasised that there was an urgent need to reduce the tension straightway in view of the danger of conflict with the armies standing

eyeball to eyeball. The process of dialogue should start.

Mr. Niaz said Pakistan favoured immediate de-escalation and hoped that 'better sense would prevail' and that India would agree to discuss all outstanding issues with Pakistan sooner than later.

Answering a question, Gen. Quereshi argued that Pakistan was taking action against extremists as a policy matter to eliminate terrorism and not on India's demand. As a matter of policy, Pakistan condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations that included state terrorism. "We have joined international coalition on the basis of this policy and we would continue to implement the state policy against terrorism," he said. Gen. Quereshi said Gen. Musharraf, in his speech, had outlined what the Government had been doing for the last two years to control extremism and sectarian violence in the country.

About implementation of measures announced by Gen. Musharraf of certain organisations, Gen. Quereshi said there should be no doubt about the Government's resolve and capabilities to implement its decisions.

THE HINDU

16 JAN 2002

India insists on time, Pak shifts onus

Statesman News Service & Agencies

NEW DELHI/ISLAMABAD, Jan. 15. — India today asserted it needed more time to assess the situation regarding cross-border terrorism and infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir, while General Pervez Musharraf told the newly-constituted National Kashmir Committee (NKC), that the onus was on India to ease tension on the border and vowed not to compromise on the Kashmir issue.

A day before the visit of the US secretary of state, Gen Colin Powell to Pakistan, the Pakistani President said the entire world wants de-escalation and Pakistan also wished the same. However, he said the initiative to de-escalate the tensions rested with India as it was the first to escalate the border crisis. Once India initiated de-escalation, Pakistan would respond instantly, Gen Musharraf said.

In Delhi, the external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, pointed out that it has been "only three days since Gen Pervez Musharraf's speech" and said it was not sufficient time to assess the situation. Mr Singh said India would want action on terrorism and 20 most wanted criminals.

Mr Singh, who was speaking to reporters after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security, said the government had information that Dawood Ibrahim has been taken away from Karachi. "Where they have been taken is not important, India just wants them," he said. Asked whether Pakistan actually wanted the criminals

handed over, Mr Singh said, "I will not comment on Pakistani intentions."

Asked about the move to send parliamentary delegations abroad to mobilise international opinion in support of India's fight against terrorism, Mr Singh said "the delegation of MPs will go ... and those who do not want to go will not". He said the tour programmes had been finalised.

No de-escalation on border: Advani

NEW DELHI, Jan. 15. — Mr LK Advani today ruled out troop de-escalation along the border. "There are situations when action may have certain risks but inaction can prove disastrous," he said.

The home minister had said the same in response to Gen Colin Powell's statement during the former's five-day US visit that "a conflict at this stage would get Pakistan off the hook". Mr Advani said India had been facing cross-border terrorism for the past 15 years, but the threshold had been crossed after the terrorist attack on Parliament on 13 December.

— SNS

In Islamabad, President Musharraf sounded tough on the Kashmir issue while addressing the NKC today, saying as far as Pakistan was concerned, it should be 'crystal clear' to everyone that there could be no compromise on it and there should also be no doubt about the government's commitment.

"We will continue to support the just freedom struggle of Kashmiris politically, diplomatically and morally," he said. Pakistan is expected to make a strong case for US and international mediation on the Kashmir issue during talks with Gen Powell, who arrives in Islamabad tomorrow, particularly in the light of Gen Musharraf's commitment to crackdown on militants in the country.

Gen Musharraf said the NKC has to work for the peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions and wishes of the Kashmiri people.

Gen Musharraf hoped that the newly-established committee, headed by former president of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, Abdul Qayyum Khan, would give a new thrust to the campaign of eliciting international support for the Kashmir issue.

THE STATESMAN

16 JAN 2002

You blink first, we will instantly follow: Pak

■ Another Senator stirs pot: 'Kashmiris, India, Pak should talk'

AGENCIES
ISLAMABAD, JANUARY 15

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ON the eve of US Secretary of State Colin Powell's visit, Pak President Pervez Musharraf promised an instant response if India eased border tension in the current stand-off.

"India has to start the de-escalation and Pakistan will respond instantly," the official APP news agency quoted him as saying in a speech to a committee formed to "publicise" the Kashmir issue.

Musharraf's statement comes a day after Defence Minister George Fernandes had ruled out any de-escalation until Pakistan put an end to cross-border terrorism. Fernandes had said that an end to shelling from across the border and infiltration would be Islamabad's "first signal" that it meant business.

Musharraf also used the timing of Powell's visit to reiterate his stand on Kashmir as outlined in his address to the nation although that has been rejected by New Delhi.

He said that Pakistan would not give up its traditional support for the "freedom struggle" in Kashmir despite his crackdown on militants. "There should be no doubt in any mind about our commitment to the Kashmir cause and the people of Kashmir," he said. "We will continue to support

Preparing for Powell: Crackdown continues

■ **'1,400 BEHIND BARS'**: Police have in all sealed 390 offices and rounded up around 1,400 suspects, and instructions have been issued to the Central State Bank to freeze the accounts of these groups, said officials. However, media reports said some of the detained activists, including members of the Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Toiba, were released after scrutiny

■ **COVER FOR POWELL**: Pakistan police will deploy special commandos and reserve troops during Colin Powell's visit. Commandos will also be deployed on the rooftops of buildings, Pakistan daily *Dawn* reported

■ **ANNAN'S VISIT**: UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan may visit India and Pakistan after attending a conference on Afghanistan in Tokyo next week. Annan will finalise his programme after a positive response, es-



pecially from India, said diplomats

■ **PAK TANKS UP**: Pakistan has increased its oil storage capacity to offset an emergency demand should border tensions with India erupt. "We have increased the crude storage capacity to 20 days from the normal 15 days," an official at a state-run refinery told AFP. "We have also raised the output to 80% from the normal utilisation of 70%"

the just freedom struggle of Kashmiris politically, diplomatically and morally."

Meanwhile, US Senate Majority leader Tom Daschle, who is in Islamabad, said today that the current standoff had catapulted the thorny Kashmir issue on to the world stage and the moment should be seized to make peace.

"Kashmir has become much

more of an issue...I think there is a new opportunity for dialogue among Kashmiris, Indian people and certainly people in Pakistan," he told a news conference here.

"We need to capture this opportunity, we need to take advantage, seize the moment and find a way to move this peace process along. But it must happen through dialogue," he said.

INDIAN EXPRESS

16 JAN 2002

PLAN TO SEND MPs' DELEGATIONS ABROAD STAYS

Waiting for 'visible action' by Pakistan: Jaswant

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 15. After welcoming the announcement of the President, Pervez Musharraf, on banning Islamic extremist outfits and promises of ending cross-border terrorism, India today indicated that it was awaiting "visible" action by Pakistan to curb terrorism.

"It is only three days that President Musharraf had announced certain steps in this regard. It is not sufficient time to assess the situation," the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, told presspersons after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS). The meeting lasted for well over an hour and reviewed the overall security scenario.

The CCS meeting assumes significance as it took place on the eve of the Defence Minister, George Fernandes' scheduled visit to the U.S. even as the Home Minister, L.K. Advani, returned today after a six-day visit to the U.S. and briefed the CCS meeting about his sojourn there.

Mr. Singh said that India expected Pakistan to end cross-border terrorism and prevent infiltration of militants into India.

"We also want action on the list of 20 terrorists and criminals wanted here," he said.

Asked about the decision to send Parliamentary delegations to various countries to mobilise international opinion in support of India's fight against terrorism, Mr. Singh said: "The delegation of MPs will go ... and those who do not want to go will not go."

On the coming visit of the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, he said that Gen. Powell was coming to the capital on the way to Tokyo for the conference on reconstruction of Afghanistan. "As I am preoccupied and will not be able to go to Tokyo, Gen. Powell will hold consultations with me on Afghanistan, Pakistan and also discuss the announcements made by President Musharraf on curbing terrorism."

According to Mr. Singh, the Home Minister told the CCS meeting that there was "no dis-

sonance" of views on the issue of terrorism between India and the political leadership in the U.S.

On his return from the U.S., Mr. Advani told reporters: "I conveyed India's concerns and I feel the U.S. leadership understands them." He said that Washington "did not contest even a word of what New Delhi stated."

He explained to the U.S. leadership that the attack on the Parliament House on December 13 was a "turning point" in shaping India's response in definite terms to tackle terrorism.

Steps 'legitimate'

He said the U.S. establishment felt that India's strong steps after the December 13 terror strike were "legitimate". The steps were "not disputed" by anyone. In his perception, Mr. Advani said, the U.S. establishment also felt that India's steps were "serious" and if Indo-Pak. conflict was to be averted India's views could not be disregarded.

Keeping up the flurry of diplomatic activity, Mr. Fernandes was

leaving here tonight on a six-day official visit to Washington.

Mr. Fernandes who is heading an eight-member high-level delegation has said that in his talks with top U.S. officials, the increased military-to-military relationships between the two countries would figure prominently.

Maintaining that he was not going to Washington with a shopping list, Mr. Fernandes said at a press conference here on Monday that New Delhi had submitted a detailed list of defence purchases and hoped that their procurement would be speeded up.

Besides Mr. Fernandes, the delegation would include the Defence Secretary, Yogendera Narain, the Additional Secretary, Ajay Prasad, and other officials.

PTI reports:

India is waiting for "concrete action" on the ground by Pakistan on its President's promises which included steps to end cross-border terrorism, an External Affairs Ministry spokesperson told reporters.

'NO COMPROMISE ON KASHMIR CAUSE'

It is for India to act, says Musharraf

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 15. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, has asserted that Pakistan would never 'compromise on the Kashmir cause' and favoured a just solution, addressing the concerns and interests of the people of the State.

In his inaugural address at the meeting of the newly-constituted 'National Kashmir Committee,' Gen. Musharraf maintained that Pakistan would continue to extend its 'moral, political and diplomatic' support to the Kashmiri people and the Committee would strive for peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Through his address, Gen. Musharraf has sought to send out two messages. The first one is that henceforth the focus of Pakistan on Kashmir would be on 'moral, diplomatic and political' support. Of course this was the stated position of Islamabad even before his January 12 but there were few takers for the line given the open operation of a number of militant outfits in Pakistan espousing the cause of Kashmir.

It has been the contention of New Delhi that Pakistan was aiding and abetting the militant outfits and this was reflected in the charge of 'cross-border terrorism'. Gen. Musharraf sought to address this concern of New Delhi when he denounced violence in the name of the Kashmir cause and expressed determina-

tion of his Government to deal with the jihadi groups operating in Kashmir.

The second is the linkage of a solution to the United Nations Resolutions. In the run-up to the Agra Summit, Islamabad had given up the emphasis on the UN Resolutions (promising a plebiscite in the Valley to enable the people of the State to decide on whether they want to be part of India or Pakistan).

Now it appears that Pakistan once again wants to emphasise the importance of the UN Resolutions and mobilise international opinion to pressure India to sit across the table for resolution of the dispute in accordance with the 1948 and 49 resolutions.

"As far as Pakistan is concerned, it should be crystal clear to every one that there could be no compromise on Kashmir issue and there should be no doubt in anybody's mind about the Government's commitment to the Kashmir cause", Gen. Musharraf told the Committee members.

About the situation on the border, he said the whole world favoured de-escalation of tension. It was for India to do the needful as it had amassed troops on its borders. If India withdrew its troops, Pakistan would respond instantly. Gen. Musharraf said that the best deterrence of war was "our will and resolve" to respond to any aggression with full force. An official statement said there was general

appreciation by the members to the firm commitment of the President to the Kashmir cause.

Crackdown on 'jihadi' outfits

In a massive crackdown on the outlawed jihadi ('holy war') outfits the Pakistan police are believed to have rounded up over 1,500 activists and sealed more than 400 of their offices in different parts of the country.

Offices of the outlawed outfits have been sealed and members of the organisations have also been picked up from the Pak-occupied Kashmir (PoK), Gilgit and Northern Areas.

The Musharraf Government today formally notified the ban on five outlawed militant groups. They are the Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Jaish-e-Mohammad, the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), the Tehreek-e-Jafferia Pakistan (TJP) and the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Muhammadi (TNSM).

The notification under the Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997, said that the Sunni Tehreek had been placed under observation. Under the Act, once the ban is enforced against an organisation its offices would be sealed, accounts would be frozen and all literature shall be seized.

The Pakistan Interior Secretary, Tasneem Noorani, said that the operation against these organisations would continue.

No Ataturk, this!

5/9 15/1 9/20 10/20
Musharraf's virtuoso performance

General Pervez Musharraf's virtuoso performance and only a performance, on Saturday night was aimed at two distinct audiences, one domestic, the other foreign — it was cleared in advance by the Americans, the precaution had the advantage of ensuring Colin Powell's advice to India even before Musharraf opened his mouth and Tony Blair following up immediately after the pre-censored version was delivered, to ask India to open a dialogue with Pakistan on the basis of what Musharraf said. Blair would be better advised to downsize his self-imposed international role and concentrate on the Irish question, which seems to be coming apart again despite his brave and well-meant efforts. Musharraf was genuinely concerned over the sectarian violence within Pakistani society between Shias and Sunnis and seemed to blame Zia-ul-Haq for it, which may not be entirely undeserved. Being a *mohajir* himself he refrained from mentioning how the establishment treats those it considers to be lesser Muslims. The crackdown on militants, which is for real is directed principally at those who perpetrate such domestic violence, not at all with its export to Kashmir and India. On the contrary he stiffened his resolve to help the struggle of the Kashmiris with *moral, diplomatic and principled support*; as he has never admitted doing anything else, it does not take us very far. In fact he has moved the two Pakistan led formations Jaish and Toiba to POK as we have noted earlier and therefore it was safe for him to be seen on television putting locks on their no longer used offices in Karachi.

Musharraf wants all madrassas in the country to register with the government and reform their curriculum, to include the study of science and technology, not merely turning out half-baked mullahs taught only the Koran. Acknowledging the role of mosques in fomenting domestic violence, he wants all mosques to register with government and no new ones to come up without government approval. This was an extraordinary and courageous decision. In time it should have an effect on Pakistan escaping from the preoccupation with religion and Kashmir but this will take time, even on the assumption that he succeeds in getting those in charge of existing madrassas and mosques to comply with the law — a tall order anyway. However, we do wish him luck — he will need it!

His blunt message to Vajpayee was no more than a bow to domestic opinion, the good little guy standing up to the big bad bully, as was the ringing statement that not a single Pakistani will be handed over as India demands. As it happens the list of twenty includes 15 who hold Indian nationality but serve Pakistan's purpose abroad and are based in Pakistan; he said nothing of them. The Americans should be nudging him to comply. Having forcibly taken first 20 and now another 30 Al Quaida and Taliban terrorists from Afghanistan in chains to detention camps in an American base in Cuba, Donald Rumsfeld correctly refused to regard them as covered under the Geneva Conventions relating to prisoners of war. He called them irregular combatants and he was right. The same argument applies to terrorists who take shelter in Pakistan and may or may not be Pakistani nationals. Let Musharraf start with non-Pakistani nationals, the rest can follow.

The hour-long performance had lots of quotes from Jinnah and his portrait could be seen in a corner of the television screen. Notably absent was any reference to Ataturk. Somebody must have told our wily friend that such a comparison would offend the Turks. When Ataturk wanted to reduce the power of the red fez mullahs, he did not ask them to register he appeared for two years in public in every other headgear except the fez. When he wanted women to shed the veil and his *firman* was not followed because the men would not allow it, he withdrew the edict and replaced it with another saying all prostitutes must wear the veil. Promptly the veils disappeared! His commitment to democracy was so strong that in later years he asked his principal lieutenant Ismet Innonu to leave him and form an opposition party. A tearful Innonu complied and Turkey became a democracy.

Has the Pakistani president got the stomach for it or will parrot Pervez continue with — Kashmir, Kashmir Kashmir?

THE STATE

15 JAN 2002

No immediate pull-back: Fernandes

Times News Network

NEW DELHI: Defence minister George Fernandes has made it clear that India will not pull back its troops from the border with Pakistan until Gen Pervez Musharraf translates his words into "concrete action" on the ground. The onus is now on Gen Musharraf to "act fast" and deliver on his commitments.

"The mobilisation of Indian forces at the border is complete and any effort at de-escalation can come only, and I repeat only, if and when cross-border terrorism is effectively stopped," said Mr Fernandes at a press conference on the eve of his visit to the U.S.

Asked if there was any time-frame within which Gen Musharraf had to deliver, Mr Fernandes said India would definitely give Pakistan "some time" to achieve this but the wait "cannot be indefinite".

"We have had his word. Now we wait for the deed. India will wait for effective and full implementation of whatever measures have been announced by (Gen) Musharraf. If he means to do it, I am sure he knows he needs to do it fast, especially since troops from both sides are on the frontline," he said.

Pakistan, for a start, could stop the ongoing shelling across the border, he said. Mr Fernandes said the Pakistani army was still firing across the border as well as the Line of Control, especially in Kargil town, Drass and the Mushkoh Valley.

New Delhi also expects Gen Musharraf to "deliver" the 20 terrorists and criminals named in the list handed in to Pakistan.

GEORGE'S JINGLE

- ▶ De-escalation only after cross-border terrorism stops
- ▶ Musharraf must act quickly
- ▶ Mobilisation of forces complete
- ▶ Forces are prepared for any eventuality

He said India was keen to resolve issues peacefully, but if it could not be done that way, New Delhi may have to go in for other options. "Our forces are prepared for any eventuality," said Mr Fernandes.

"I would like to make it clear that we have had enough (of terrorism) and shall have no more of it. The entire nation is

fed up and looks for a permanent solution to this problem. Of course, there have to be political solutions, but they cannot be brought about through terrorism," he added.

Discounting the possibility of a nuclear flare-up, Mr Fernandes said, "No sensible person would like even to think of using a nuclear weapon. We look at nuclear weapons as a deterrent and nothing beyond that."

On Gen Musharraf's invitation to the U.S. for mediation in the Kashmir issue, Mr Fernandes said New Delhi did not want any "mediator or facilitator" between India and Pakistan.

Brushing aside questions on the continuing Chinese military and economic help to Pakistan, he said that it was not the first time that Islamabad was acquiring weapons from China and he did not attach any special significance to it.

"Our relations with China are correct and friendly. We are making progress, howsoever slow it may be, for the resolution of our border disputes. In the meanwhile, there have been no incidents on the ground during the last four years. Political, economic and cultural relations with China are on the upswing," he said.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

15 JAN 2002

Pak positive on talks

FROM IDREES BAKHTIAR
AND AGENCIES

Islamabad, Jan. 14: Pakistan today said India's response to President Pervez Musharraf's speech was not negative but lacked warmth, and hoped it could resume deadlocked peace talks soon.

A foreign ministry spokesman said Islamabad had "taken a note" of Delhi's guarded welcome to Musharraf's declaration of intent to stamp out terrorism from its soil. Foreign minister Jaswant Singh had hailed the ban on five terror groups, but had linked the defusing of military tensions with improvement on the ground.

Pakistan, too, said today it would not lower its guard on the tense shared border until its nuclear rival pulled back its forces

to peacetime positions.

"We hope (India) will soon move towards the desired direction," foreign ministry spokesman Kamran Niaz told a news briefing. Military spokesman Rashid Quereshi said at the same session it was "difficult to predict" if the worst standoff since the 1999 Kargil war would now ease.

But Pakistan moved to ease tension with its neighbour, detaining hundreds of activists from the five outlawed groups in a continuing nation-wide crackdown.

An interior ministry official said about 1,100 activists had been detained since Saturday and 390 offices sealed. Abdul Ghafoor Haidari, secretary general of the pro-Taliban Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, was arrested today in Quetta, police said.

"We have detained almost all

activists from the banned groups, but their leaderships have gone underground... we will manage them also," he added. Figures compiled from police sources suggested the actual number of detentions could be as high as 1,500.

Though there has been no immediate backlash to the crackdown, a prominent Muslim cleric said Musharraf was sowing the seeds of an Islamic revolution. "There may not be instant reaction but they will respond when the dust has settled," Maulana Abdul Aziz of Islamabad's main Red Mosque said.

Foreign ministry spokesman Niaz said the Pakistan President's speech was the most authoritative exposition of government policy on a wide range of issues, in particular religious violence and extremism.

ler showcases cheesecake chariot to turr Indian

THE TELEGRAPH

15 JAN 2002

Pak asked Dayood, Tiger to leave before address

Sentinel Singh In New Delhi

Jan. 14.— Government officials said today that Pakistan had asked Dawood Ibrahim, Tiger Memon and their associates to leave the country before President Pervez Musharraf's televised address to the nation.

Sources said the Pakistani authorities had asked the gangsters to leave so as to allow President Musharraf the option of denying that Indian criminals wanted by India were in Pakistan.

Officials said that Tiger Memon had left for Dubai before the President's speech and Dawood Ibrahim and others had also left for destinations outside Pakistan. Pakistani intelligence authorities have reportedly instructed Dawood, Tiger and others not to get in touch with their contacts in Karachi or in any other Pakistani city. Sources said this

was to preclude Indian or other intelligence agencies from establishing the gangsters' Pakistani connection via intercepted communication.

Pakistan tonight nailed attempts by some of the banned militant outfits to resurrect by declaring that none of the five groups banned by President Pervez Musharraf can change their names, adds PTI from Islamabad.

One of the banned outfits, Tehrik-e-Jaffria of Pakistan, said it had changed its name to Millat-e-Jaffria. Reports quoted militants of Jaish-e-Mohammed as saying that it would continue to operate under a different name.

Referring to these reports, an interior ministry spokesman cited a relevant provision of Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997, which prohibits the activities of a banned organisation to operate under a different name. No banned party can operate under any new name, he said.

Pakistan, however, refused to pull back its troops from the Indo-Pak border before India does it to defuse the tension. It said it had expected a "warmer" response rather than the way welcome India gave to President Musharraf's announcements.

"Pakistan is constrained to keep what it requires for its defence close to the border," defence spokesman Major General Rashid Qureshi said shortly after Mr George Fernandes ruled out any de-escalation on the border till cross-border terrorism is effectively stopped by Islamabad.

"We expect the Indian forces to move back to their peacetime positions, and thereby reduce tension," Maj-Gen Qureshi said. The Pakistani foreign office spokesman, Mr Kamran Niaz, who was also present at the briefing, said Pakistan didn't consider as negative India's reaction to Gen Musharraf's announcements but would have preferred a

warmer response.

Asked about the Indian stand that Gen Musharraf should match his words with deeds, Maj-Gen Qureshi said the Pakistani President had said it very clearly that Pakistan stood against all forms of terrorism and its manifestations.

Pakistan is constructing missile launch silos near its border with India and has recently moved a number of missiles towards the area, a report from Washington today said, quoting US Intelligence officials. The missile launch sites are believed to be for short-range M-11s (originally obtained from China and duplicated now under the name of Hatf in Pakistan), which US Intelligence agencies believe are in the process of being taken out of storage and deployed.

Editorial: No Ataturk, this! page 4
Pak militants regroup, 1,600 arrested: page 6

No pullback from border

HT Correspondents
New Delhi/Islamabad, January 14

INDIA WON'T pull back its troops from the border until Islamabad stopped cross-border terrorism, Defence Minister George Fernandes said today. Pakistan responded, saying it too won't withdraw its troops, unless India made the first move. Islamabad was expecting a warmer response from Delhi to General Musharraf's Saturday night speech, Pakistan Foreign Office Spokesman Kamran Niaz said.

In Delhi, Fernandes said, "The mobilisation of our forces is complete, and any effort at de-escalation will come only when cross-border terrorism is effectively stopped." He was speaking to reporters before setting off on his weeklong tour of the US.

The benchmark for satisfying India "very much includes" action on the list of 20 people wanted by India. "We expect President Musharraf to hand over these men, who are charged with specific offences in India. We've had Musharraf's word. Now we wait for his deed. We'd like to believe he means to do what he's said. I'm sure he's aware that he has to do it fast, particularly because the troops from both sides are on the frontlines," Fernandes said. Pakistan, he pointed out, had shelled Kargil town even after Musharraf's speech.

"On his reforms within Pakistan against all those (terrorist)

PAK MISSILE SITES NEAR FRONTIER

US INTELLIGENCE officials have disclosed that Islamabad is building missile launch sites near the Indian border. The Pakistanis had already moved a number of missiles towards the border, the *Washington Times*, quoting US Intelligence sources, said on Monday. The Pakistanis have built five such sites the location of three of which had been identified, the newspaper said. US Intelligence agencies believe these are for short-range M-11s or 'Hatf' missiles, which are reportedly being taken out from storage sites for deployment. Mobile missile launchers are expected to be stationed at these sites. The agencies have also reported spotting a convoy of some 95 trucks at a missile storage facility at Sargodha, about 100 miles south of Islamabad. The Intelligence officials said India too had deployed 'Prithvi' short-range ballistic missiles.

HTC, Washington

elements which he has identified, I'd give him 7 marks on a scale of 10. As far as the situation in India is concerned, he's yet to submit his papers," he added.

Pakistan termed the Indian response to General Musharraf's speech as 'not negative' but said that it was expecting a warmer response from Delhi and resumption of dialogue on Kashmir.

"We were expecting a warmer response from India but the fact remains that they have responded," Foreign Office Spokesman Kamran Niaz told a news briefing.

Military spokesman Maj-Gen Rashid Qureshi, also present at the briefing, said Pakistan was expecting India would move its troops back to peacetime positions in response to Musharraf's steps to curb extremism. "The

action was already under way and has been completed to a great extent," he said, in response to India's demand that the Pakistan President translate his words into actions. Qureshi referred to the Government crackdown over the past three days in which more than 1500 activists of *jehadi* and sectarian groups had been arrested and their offices were sealed.

Powell mission

US Secretary of State Colin Powell would hold talks with General Pervez Musharraf on Wednesday as part of his peace-making mission to the region. "He will be arriving here on January 16 on a one-day visit and will hold talks with President Musharraf", a Foreign Ministry official said.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 JAN 2002

ISI tentacles deep & wide

Mohan Bhatia in New Delhi

Jan. 14. — The ISI has established a formidable network in India that spans across 40 operating centres spread over Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Delhi, Maharashtra, Bihar, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and, of course, Jammu and Kashmir.

According to an official assessment, the details of which were made available to The Statesman, in J&K alone, the Pakistani agency spends Rs 50 million per month by way of making payments to militant organisations, equipping them with "hardware" (arms and ammunition), paying "sympathisers" and running clandestine communication networks.

The inputs from the assessment will be used to prepare the long-promised white paper on ISI. There are around 3,000 Pakistan-trained militants in J&K, out of which about 25 to 35 per cent are armed with "sophisticated weapons". Some of the weaponry will do the Army proud, intelligence officials said. Apart from Kalashnikovs, the agents have heavy machine guns, 120 mm mortars, rocket launchers, anti-aircraft guns, sniper rifles, night vision devices, communication sets and rugged construction materials.

The money and effort that's put in is backed by a mission statement, one that varies rather significantly from what

Uttar Pradesh:

- ✦ Muzaffarnagar
- ✦ Saharanpur
- ✦ Bijnor
- ✦ Keirana
- ✦ Moradabad
- ✦ Bareilly
- ✦ Kanpur
- ✦ Varanasi
- ✦ Azamgarh

West Bengal:

- ✦ Kolkata
- ✦ Murshidabad
- ✦ Dinajpur
- ✦ Siliguri

Bihar:

- ✦ Siwan
- ✦ Darbhanga
- ✦ Purnea
- ✦ Kishanganj
- ✦ Katihar
- ✦ Gaya
- ✦ Patna
- ✦ Hazaribagh

Maharashtra:

- ✦ Mumbai
- ✦ Thane

Gujarat:

- ✦ Ahmedabad
- ✦ Saurashtra region
- ✦ Kutch

Kerala:

- ✦ Thiruvananthapuram
- ✦ Calicut

Andhra Pradesh:

- ✦ Hyderabad

Tamil Nadu:

- ✦ Coimbatore
- ✦ Madurai
- ✦ Dindigul
- ✦ Trichy

Karnataka:

- ✦ Bangalore

ISI network widespread also in New Delhi and Jammu & Kashmir

General Musharraf now says he wants. According to one statement, "Pakistan is India's immediate neighbour. We can never be friends. India is and shall remain our enemy number one. India's scheming machinations, subversion and espionage activities have to be fought at every front and with all strength at our disposal."

Most of the centres in India are used for sheltering and processing agents. These centres also act as support bases for primary logistics. For terrorist strikes outside J&K, the ISI apparently favours western India and Nepal as launching pads. Money transfers are done through couriers, except for large amounts, when the preferred mode is the hawala.

But intelligence sources said the ISI is usually not in favour of the hawala route, and that hand delivery of cash to agents in India is one of the most frequent ISI activities.

The Jamaat-e-Islam Hind is a major ally of the ISI. The Jamaat acts as recruiters in India, Nepal and Bangladesh. It does the primary indoctrination of young men, often in their teens, the "more promising" of whom are later selected for ISI cells. The most convenient targets are young men without much money but plenty of anger. Indian authorities, however, would not be drawn into disclosing the exact assessment of the number of these foot-soldiers in waiting. "Thousands" is the most they would say.

THE STATESMAN

15 JAN 2002

India must wait to see if Musharraf follows up his words with deeds

9:00 PM
1-12
15/1

Hints of change

CHANDRASHEKHAR DASGUPTA

Pervez Musharraf's much-awaited speech of January 12 has received a cautious welcome in India. "We welcome the now declared commitment of the government of Pakistan not to support or permit anymore the use of its territory for terrorism anywhere in the world, including the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir," said the external affairs minister, Jaswant Singh. The minister added, however, that India will await effective implementation of the assurance on the ground. Musharraf's televised address to the Pakistani people covered three interrelated issues: religious extremism in Pakistan, terrorism, and Kashmir. The major part of his speech was devoted to the first theme which, to employ a phrase beloved of the General, forms its "core issue".

This was not the first time that Musharraf has addressed the burning domestic issue of religious extremism. It must be said to his credit that he had made an attempt to tackle the danger of religious extremism even before the United States of America launched its "war against terror". On October 17, 1999, in his very first address to the nation, Musharraf spoke about the threat to internal law and order and the devastating effects of sectarian strife resulting from religious extremism in Pakistan. This was followed by an attempt to mop up the vast armoury of unlicensed weapons — estimated to be 1.2 million — floating around the country. The Musharraf government also announced a ban on the public display of weapons and on the forcible collection of funds for *jihād*. These initiatives ran into heavy opposition from powerful vested interests and turned out to be largely abortive.

The "war against terror" left Musharraf no option but to take the bull by the horns. The extremist organizations were vociferously opposed to Pakistan's cooperation with the US. Musharraf decided to detain three of their leaders for inciting people to stage violent anti-government protests. He replaced the head of the Inter-State Intelligence who was notorious for his pro-taliban sympathies. Following in the footsteps of Washington, he froze the assets of certain pro-taliban organizations.

Urged by Washington, Musharraf is now turning on the heat against the extremists. "This extremism has been going on for years and now it is beyond limits," he said in his latest address. "The day of reckoning has come." Calling for a "progressive, modern and dynamic" Pakistan, Musharraf an-

nounced that he would not allow mosques to be used for political purposes and would soon issue an ordinance to reform the *madrassahs*. Most significantly, he declared that under Islam, only the state has the authority to wage *jihād* in the form of a militant struggle. He announced a ban on the Lashkar-e-Toiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammed, two terrorist organizations the assets of which he had earlier

However, the Pakistani president failed to respond satisfactorily to India's extradition list, stating that Pakistani nationals would not be extradited to India, while other cases would be considered if requisite evidence is provided. Musharraf's statement seems to imply that Pakistani citizens charged with committing terrorist offences in India would be granted immunity from extradition proceed-



Sikandar Hayat Khan, the so called "prime minister" of POK, has endorsed Musharraf's speech

frozen in deference to Washington. He also declared a ban on three extremist groups which were responsible for sectarian violence between Sunnis and Shias.

Musharraf made it clear that these measures were being taken in the internal interests of Pakistan. On cross-border terrorism, he offered a general assurance that he would not allow Pakistani territory to be used for terrorist activities in the name of religion. He promised to deal severely with any group found to be involved with the December 13 attack on the Indian Parliament.

The most significant aspect of Musharraf's speech is that he refrained from repeating his earlier attempts to draw a distinction between terrorists and "freedom fighters". As Jaswant Singh has pointed out, Musharraf's statement amounts to a "major shift" in Islamabad's policy.

delay. Failure to do so would rightly be seen in India as proof of insincerity.

On Kashmir, Musharraf simply reiterated the standard Pakistani line, appealing for US involvement in seeking a resolution, accusing India of practising "state terrorism" and demanding a monitoring role for international human rights bodies and the United Nations. It was only to be expected that the general would make a vigorous restatement of Pakistan's basic position on Kashmir while formally renouncing terrorism as an instrument of his Kashmir policy.

If Musharraf is really serious about implementing his promises, his January 12 address could prove to be a turning-point not only in Pakistan's domestic affairs but also in India-Pakistan relations. Since the Zia period, successive governments in Islamabad have given active encouragement to so-called "Islamic" militant groups in a failed attempt to further their objectives in Afghanistan and Kashmir. This has resulted in massive internal lawlessness and sectarian conflict, and Pakistan has been steadily drifting towards ungovernability. Inevitably, it has also resulted in a confrontation with India. We can only hope that Musharraf will make a sustained effort to pull the country back from the precipice. He must match his words with action.

Musharraf's assurance that terrorists will not be allowed to operate from Pakistani territory will be truly meaningful only if it also covers Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. We must take note of an important first step in this context. Sikandar Hayat Khan, the so-called "prime minister" of PoK has stated: "I fully endorse the speech of President Pervez Musharraf and we will take action in our area in line with it."

India will have to exercise patience as it waits to see if, and how, Musharraf matches his words with deeds. New Delhi has already made it clear that a comprehensive dialogue including Kashmir will be resumed only after there is a cessation of cross-border terrorism.

ings. This retrograde step is inconsistent with Pakistan's international legal obligations. India should seek a clarification of Islamabad's intentions in this regard. India's list of 42 "most wanted" terrorists include some "Khalistan" extremists whose activities had nothing to do with Kashmir. These individuals are now a spent asset for Pakistan. He can turn these terrorists over to India without raising a storm of domestic protest. As an immediate first step, Musharraf should hand over these terrorists without any

Is there any reciprocal gesture that India could appropriately make at the present stage? New Delhi should consider sending our high commissioner back to Islamabad. In coming days we will require clarification of Pakistani intentions on various issues. The presence of a senior envoy in Islamabad will be helpful in this context. On the same grounds, as well as for reasons of reciprocity, we should simultaneously consider resuming our dealings with the Pakistani high commissioner in New Delhi.

The author is former ambassador to China and the European Union

THE TELEGRAPH

15 JAN 2002

India welcomes Pak policy shift, awaits ground action

Times News Network

NEW DELHI: India has welcomed the "major shift" in Pakistan's declared policy not to support or permit terrorism on its territory, but said it would wait for Pakistan to "operationalise" its intent before resuming dialogue.

An end to cross-border terrorism and infiltration were the two benchmarks spelt out by external affairs minister Jaswant Singh on Sunday in the first Indian reaction to Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf's policy statement on Saturday night.

India, Mr Singh said, remained committed to the process of bilateral dialogue and addressing all issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, in a purposeful time-bound manner, but rejected any third-party involvement.

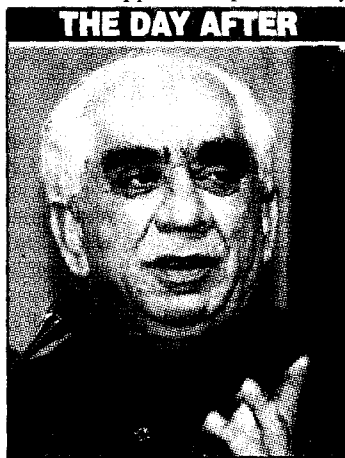
He said easing of tensions between India and Pakistan would depend on the steps Pakistan "takes internally to translate its commitment into action".

Expressing disappointment over Pakistan's refusal to hand over the 20 persons named by India, he hoped Islamabad would take action against them. Commenting on the ban on the Lashkar-e-Toiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad, Mr Singh hoped it would be implemented and measures taken against other organisations as well.

While India's response, a conditional welcome of Gen Musharraf's intent, was along expected lines, the tone and tenor of the reaction saw a marked change. The harsh indictment of the past few days was replaced with a moderate expression of hope and there was no counter to

Gen Musharraf's spurts of belligerence. Even the Pakistani President's reference to human rights abuses in Jammu and Kashmir evoked only a muted disagreement, with Mr Singh saying the government "rejects entirely and categorically" the comments about the situation in Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr Singh said India welcomed Pakistan's declared commitment "not to support or permit any



External affairs minister Jaswant Singh addresses a press meet in New Delhi on Sunday.

more the use of its territory for terrorism anywhere in the world, including in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir", as also the fact that Pakistan had "dropped the advocacy of cross-border terrorism or state-sponsored terrorism in J&K and has stopped equating terrorism and terrorists with freedom fighters".

Acknowledging that this was a major shift, Mr Singh, however, reiterated time and again that

India wanted the gap between declaration of intent and implementation to be bridged quickly. "The earlier it is implemented the earlier both India and Pakistan can move towards dialogue on all issues, including on J&K." India, Mr Singh repeated several times, would "go two steps forward" for every step that Pakistan took.

He reiterated though that no third party could be involved. Intervention was not practicable, nor workable or acceptable, Mr Singh said. He commented that the UN Secretary-General had already said the UN Security Council resolutions were no longer implementable.

The visit of U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell did not amount to mediation of any kind but was part of the normal process of consultation, Mr Singh said. And China did not have any intention nor shall it play any mediatory role, he added. Acknowledging China's "special relationship with Pakistan", including its "military equipment supply relationship", Mr Singh said India remained committed to improving relations and the visit of China's premier Zhu Rongji was expected to see significant movement forward.

Mr Singh said Gen Musharraf's policy statement was an outcome of India's diplomatic measures, which would continue. Most of the measures outlined by Gen Musharraf were internal and India welcomed them in so far as they had an external dimension. India remained mindful of the dangers of the forces operating within Pakistan, he said.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

14 JAN 2002

Bush hopes Musharraf speech will lead to solution

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 13. The United States President, George W. Bush, has hailed the speech of the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, and is hoping that it would set the framework for a diplomatic solution to reducing tensions in the subcontinent.

"President Bush welcomes President Musharraf's firm decision to stand against terrorism and extremism and his commitment to the principle that no person or organisation will be allowed to indulge in terrorism as a means to further its cause," the White House Spokesman, Ari Fleischer, said in a statement.

"The President applauds Gen. Musharraf's vision of Pakistan as a progressive and modern State and his strong efforts to promote education and a better economic future for his people," the spokesman noted.

"Reaffirming Pakistan's role as a front line State in the coalition against global terrorism, Gen. Musharraf unequivocally rejected terrorism, pledging to take action against any Pakistani organisation, group or individual involved in terrorism within or outside Pakistan," Mr. Fleischer said.

"He (Gen. Musharraf) clearly stated that the solution to Kashmir lies in peaceful means and dialogue. Gen. Musharraf banned four extremist organisations, including the two that have been accused of participating in the attack on Parliament, the Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad."

Mr. Bush also welcomed Gen. Musharraf's condemnation of the attacks on Parliament and the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly as terrorist acts and said the perpetrators must be brought to justice.

A bold stand: Powell

The U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, welcoming Gen. Musharraf's speech, said the General has taken a bold and principled stand to set Pakistan squarely against terrorism and extremism both in and outside Pakistan.

Applauding the banning of the Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad, Gen. Powell said the U.S. welcomed Gen. Musharraf's "explicit statements" against terrorism "and particularly notes his pledge that Pakistan will not tolerate terrorism under any pretext, including Kashmir".

Calling the offer of Gen. Mush-

arraf to the Indian Prime Minister for solving differences through dialogue as "encouraging", Gen. Powell said the speech "reconfirms Pakistan's role as a front line state in the war against global terrorism".

"In light of the speech and the strong actions that President Musharraf has taken so far, the U.S. believes the basis exists for the resolution of tension between India and Pakistan through diplomatic and peaceful means," he said.

Speech a major step: Annan

In New York, the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, welcomed the speech of Gen. Musharraf, in particular the emphasis on tolerance, the rule of law and the need to fight terrorism and extremism. Mr. Annan sees this as a major step towards reducing tension between the two countries.

"He (Mr. Annan) regards the anti-terrorist measures announced by the President, including the banning of several armed extremist organisations, as a significant step towards easing the dangerous situation in the region," a U.N. statement said.

'Pak.'s Kashmir policy influenced by Chinese strategic umbrella'

NEW DELHI, JAN. 13. The Director of U.S. House Committee on Terrorism, Yossef Bodansky, tonight indicated that Pakistan's Kashmir policy was influenced by Chinese strategic umbrella. "Whenever we discuss Kashmir, we have to remember that Pakistan depends on the strategic umbrella from the People's Republic of China," he said.

He said "the lifeline of Pakistan goes through the Karakoram Highway and through PoK. They cannot withdraw from there, they cannot disengage from China. These are the things that dominate Pakistan's approach to Kashmir and it would continue to dominate as long as they are dependent on Chinese strategic umbrella".

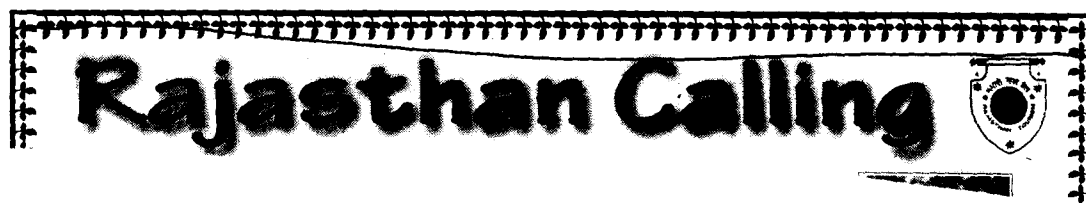
In an interview to Star News, he accused Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) of diverting spe-

cialised equipment, supplied by Washington during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, to Kashmir.

Stating that there was an extremely complicated connection between the ISI, Pakistan's special forces and militants against India, he said truckloads of weapons could not have been supplied without involvement of the Pakistani establishment.

Former ISI chief, Hamid Gul, while asserting that Pakistan's policy towards Kashmir could never change, however, discounted Mr. Bodansky saying that after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, weapons of U.S. and Russia could have been transported anywhere.

Mr. Gul said the CIA was fully aware that during the Soviet occupation, people from 38 nations were operating in camps in Afghanistan. — PTI, UNI



THE HINDU

13 JAN 2001

Window for diplomatic solution opens a crack

Pramit Pal Chaudhuri
New Delhi, January 13

THE WORLD is breathing a little easier after India and Pakistan exchanged speeches this weekend. The words may be sharp, but diplomats see the outlines of a de-escalation of the subcontinent's latest crisis.

The first diplomatic goal of the international community had been to get Pervez Musharraf to publicly renounce the sponsorship of terrorism, in whatever language he chose. This was New Delhi's bottomline.

Despite the daily telephone chats between US Secretary of State Colin Powell and Musharraf, Washington was never entirely certain of what the General would say. The US did have a rough idea of the content, but not the language he would use — one reason Condoleezza Rice arranged for her own translator before she watched Musharraf on Saturday.

Musharraf delivered. He promised that no attacks would be launched against another country from Pakistani soil. He said no more terrorism under "the garb of Kashmir."

The General left himself escape clauses. Islamabad claims Azad Kashmir is not Pakistani soil. It can still call Kashmiri militants "freedom fighters." But such clauses are to be expected as Musharraf doubts whether India intends to have a real dialogue on Kashmir.

Also expected was Musharraf's call on the US to become a third party to Kashmir. That likelihood, say diplomatic sources, is

'GENERAL AT A DANGEROUS CROSSROADS'

PAKISTAN PRESIDENT Pervez Musharraf stands at a dangerous crossroads by announcing measures to curb terrorist elements that are "heavily armed and sworn to kill" anybody coming in the way of their holy war, with no assurance of the Army's continued backing, the US media reported on Sunday.

It felt that the ban on Lashkar-e-Tayyeba and Jaish-e-Mohammad will have "little practical effect" as Pakistan has already detained the leaders of these terrorist outfits, raided their offices and frozen their bank accounts.

In the half century since Pakistan was born, no Pakistani leader has faced more menacing challenges than those Musharraf confronted in his address to the nation, said *The New York Times*.

The General essentially gave himself the task of redefining Pakistan's sense of itself after two decades of drift into lawlessness and violence, *The Times* said. He has no political establishment to share his decisions with, and no assurance of the army's continued backing if the road ahead gets rough.

PTI, New York

zero. But New Delhi had anticipated an appeal for "internationalisation" in Musharraf's message.

The world's next concern: India's reaction. If New Delhi rejected Musharraf's speech outright, the carefully constructed diplomatic edifice of the past few weeks would collapse. War clouds would start rumbling.

India had two reasons to be constructive. One, Atal Bihari Vajpayee's "musings" had spoken of a readiness to hold a dialogue with a Pakistan which renounced terrorism. Two, if India was seen closing its ears to Musharraf's pleasantries, it would lose the moral high ground held post-December 13.

Even before the speech, India had indicated it would be looking at what Pakistan did on the ground. This was the crux of Jaswant Singh's response today.

It has all left foreign diplomats crossing their fingers.

India and Pakistan had, it seemed, indicated a willingness to deal rather than just fight. Yes, India had slammed talk of mediation over Kashmir and wagged a finger over Pakistan's refusal to extradite.

But that was par for the course in South Asia. "We discount much of that automatically," said a Western diplomat.

The game now is to get Pakistan to practice what it preaches. Powell's arrival in South Asia this Wednesday will be the focus now. The expectation: He will ask Musharraf to follow through and ask India to be patient.

Regardless of what it says publicly, the US does not expect India's military to stand down just yet. But the buzz is that the window on a diplomatic settlement has opened a crack.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

14 JAN 2002

MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 2002

A POSITIVE GESTURE FROM PAKISTAN

THE POLITICAL COURAGE exuded by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, in addressing India's concerns raises the visions of a truly promising turn in the crisis-ridden bilateral relationship. The welcome steps, which he announced in his internationally televised address during the weekend, range from the banning of two anti-India terrorist organisations to a declaration that any form of terrorism to promote the Kashmir "cause" will not be tolerated by the Pakistani state. By staying the course and taking irreversible actions to translate these and other new policies into a definitive reality, he can foster the long-term interests of Pakistan as a terrorism-free zone and as a fraternal neighbour of India. It is a positive sign, therefore, that New Delhi has taken note of what it surely regards as the India-friendly aspects of Gen. Musharraf's prescriptions for a radically new Pakistan. Understandably, however, New Delhi has at the same time rejected his portrayal of India as a purveyor of "state terrorism" in Kashmir. Also reaffirmed is official India's opposition to Pakistan's renewed plea for America's intercession in the overall process of resolving the Kashmir dispute.

On balance, though, *gen. Musharraf* *HP-10 14/1* daunting indeed were the circumstances in which Gen. Musharraf skillfully tried to meet the demands that India made in the context of the recent terrorist outrage at the Parliament House in New Delhi. In a critical sense, the United States and the United Kingdom were breathing down his neck and urging him to think of a broad framework for Pakistan's future interactions with India in an atmosphere free from the politics of terror. Now, appearing to ride the crest of these challenges themselves, Gen. Musharraf has really managed to create some new political and diplomatic space for himself. By and large, he seems to have succeeded in redefining the terms for defusing the present dangerous tensions on the India-Pakistan front. So, given the overall peace-evocative thrust of Gen.

Musharraf's speech, India will be well advised to reciprocate his gesture by ordering an immediate de-escalation of the military mobilisation near the border with Pakistan. For India, a diplomatic re-engagement with Pakistan ought to be a meaningful priority of the highest order in this unusually positive situation of near-epochal importance.

By announcing a categorical ban on the activities of both the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and the Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), the two Pakistan-based terrorist organisations implicated in last month's assault on India's Parliament, Gen. Musharraf has certainly met a prime Indian demand. If the LeT and the JeM outfits are furious with the Pakistan President, the reason can be traced to the genuine fears of these terrorist organisations that he might act decisively against them under the watchful eyes of a newly awakened world. Gen. Musharraf has pointedly responded to several specifics of India's check-list of what Pakistan should do. In a balancing act, he will not hand over to India any of the Pakistani fugitives who figure in a list of terrorists and criminals whose extradition New Delhi has repeatedly sought. Yet, he is willing to consider the transfer of non-Pakistani conspirators who might still be at large in his country. No less significant is the assurance about bringing to justice any Pakistani group whose complicity in last month's attack on India's Parliament could be established. In a larger perspective, Gen. Musharraf's compulsions go beyond the need for a new equation with India in the present global anti-terror milieu. Of far-reaching scope in this context are the reforms that he has announced so as to rescue the Pakistani society from the practitioners of a false theology of terrorism itself. A stable and modernising Pakistan will be in India's best interests as well. Gen. Musharraf's efforts towards this end are, therefore, as important as a brave new vision of peace that India and Pakistan might be able to project.

THE HINDU

14 JAN 2002

926

Primetime reversal

Musharraf may offer too little, but it's not too late

HOW long will it take for General Pervez Musharraf's primetime telecast to be translated from the Urdu into concrete action? Or rather, how long would be long enough? Depending upon the reply — from the Indian government, from international observers, from the Pakistani public — one would get a fair inkling of the amount of time Pakistan's president has won himself to wriggle out of his corner. In the immediate aftermath of the address, therefore, Musharraf appears to have elicited guarded optimism from all quarters; he has held out to each audience the possibility of making great strides, if only they would all give him the space and the time. To India, he has dangled the promise of restraining anybody from using Kashmir to justify terrorist activity. To the international community, especially the US, he has conjured up visions of a progressive, non-theocratic Pakistan, thereby consolidating his post-September 11 acceptability. And to his domestic constituency, he has sought to position himself — and himself alone — as the great moderniser, determined to reverse decades of anarchy and orthodoxy. What a masterful balancing act.

India has rightly stated that its response must necessarily be to actual action undertaken by Pakistan to address its concerns on cross-border terrorism and the criminals being sheltered in its territory, not just to Musharraf speak. But the prospect of a troublesome neighbour suddenly intent upon renouncing terrorism and tackling contentious issues through dialogue has to be enticing. Indeed, the prospect of Pakistan suddenly abandoning jihad and terrorism as means to

wrest the diplomatic edge and divert domestic discontent has to be welcomed. And visions of Pakistan focusing on modernisation and development can only be good news for the region. But some troubling thoughts prevent outright endorsement. Despite the conspicuous absence of any reference to "freedom fighters", Musharraf has given few instances of the concrete action his regime would undertake to stop cross-border terrorism. Long after they rechristened themselves, he has banned Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed, a few more from among their ranks have been rounded up. Other than that, there is little evidence yet to suggest that a dip in terrorist violence is imminent. Musharraf still speaks of "moral, diplomatic and political support" to Kashmir, Pakistan's traditional euphemism for material support to Kashmiri terrorists. He still demands evidence to implicate the much implicated criminals India wants brought to justice. And he still calls for third-party mediation, something he himself deemed unnecessary after the Agra summit. That's a pity. He has worked up a certain momentum towards a bilateral thaw, it is his responsibility to undertake action now to prove his sincerity.

Still, Musharraf's words could mark a bold, new beginning. The range and depth of socio-political changes he envisages for Pakistan — the end of the Kalashnikov culture, the depoliticisation of the mosques, the abandonment of dreams of a theocratic state — are noble. Questions remain whether can he carry through these changes by military edict alone. However, this newspaper can only wish him well in that endeavour.

INDIAN EXPRESS

14 JAN 2002

Jehadi outfits to back Kashmir cause

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 13. The jehadi organisations and religious parties in Pakistan have reacted sharply to the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's speech and vowed to continue their fight in support of the "oppressed" people in Kashmir.

While at least two of the banned outfits, one sectarian and the other a religious organisation popular in the tribal areas, have threatened to challenge the legal validity of the ban, most of the outfits have denounced the ban on the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad, as a setback to 'jihad' in Kashmir.

Political observers are of the view that Gen. Musharraf's success in purging the jehadi elements would be directly related to the progress in the resolution of the Kashmir conflict and normalisation of India-Pakistan ties.

The United Jehadi Council (UJC) chief, and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen leader, Syed Salahuddin, has hailed the vocal support for the Kashmir cause. At the same time, he has regretted the decision to ban the Lashkar and the Jaish and urged the Pakistan President to "re-consider" the action.

In a statement issued here, Syed Salahuddin said that the ban was without justification and that the action would have an adverse impact on the "freedom struggle" in Kashmir.

In his speech Gen. Musharraf had indicated that Pakistan was willing to consider the extradition of Indian citizens figuring in the list of 20. However, it is not clear if the Pakistan Government considers those hailing from Kashmir and operating either from Pakistan or the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) as Indian citizens.

When asked whether the ban would affect other jehadi outfits, Mr. Salahuddin said that the PoK had been the base of Islamic militant organisations fighting in Kashmir and they had legal right to use it for their "freedom struggle". Despite the ban, the jehadi outfits would continue their activities from the base camp, he said.

Another jehadi outfit, Al Badr, has said that Gen. Musharraf had no authority to stop outfits from waging jihad outside the country. A spokesman of the outfit said that the Al Badr would take part in jihad in every part of the world, including Kashmir.

The Jamaat-e-Islami acting chief, Munawwar Hasan, accused Gen. Musharraf of ignoring "real issues" and said that the whole speech was devoted to lawlessness in the country. He said the situation was an outcome of the General's own actions against the country's political leadership and Consti-

ution. He said Gen. Musharraf, who had been supporting Kashmiri jehadi outfits earlier, had announced the ban under American pressure.

The Jamaat-Ulema-Islami charged Gen. Musharraf of breaking 'self-created statutes'. A spokesman of the party alleged that Gen. Musharraf himself was an extremist.

PPP flays Govt.

The three main parties — the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and the Muttahadi Quami Movement (MQM) — have said that Gen. Musharraf should have sought the support of political parties before going in for a ban and argued that it would not work without political mobilisation.

In contrast, many small parties have welcomed his speech and said the measures contemplated by the Government would help in getting rid of the menace of ethnic strife.

The PPP, led by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, which had been asking the Government to crack down on militants for some time, castigated Gen. Musharraf for delaying it till India amassed its troops along the borders.

The PML(N) spokesman, Ashan Iqbal, urged Gen. Musharraf, to work for consensus on core and strategic issues.

Former cricket player and

chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf, party, Imran Khan, said that Gen. Musharraf had given a clear message to India that it would be replied in the same coin if it attempted any misadventure against Pakistan. The PML secretary-general, Gohar Ayub Khan, welcomed Gen. Musharraf's speech saying "it was positive and the steps announced by the President would help overcome extremism and terrorism in the country".

Leader of the PML (Quaid-i-Azam), Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain, lauded Gen. Musharraf for giving a clear message to India that the nation firmly stood behind its armed forces.

The Pakistan Awami Tehreek (PAT) chairman, Dr. Tahirul Qadri, said the ball was now in the court of international community to demonstrate positive response to the steps taken by the Government and work for the resolution of Kashmir issue.

The chairman of Alliance for Restoration of Democracy, (ARD), an umbrella organisation of Opposition parties, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, condemned the "rules of behaviour" relating to activities of religious organisations announced by Gen. Musharraf.

The Awami National Party secretary-general, Innayatullah Khan Kakar, welcomed Gen. Musharraf's address.

EU calls for India, Pak. dialogue

BRUSSELS, JAN. 13. Welcoming Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's last night address to the nation, the 15-nation European Union (EU) has urged New Delhi and Islamabad to promptly renew dialogue to resolve the current tension.

A High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, Xavier Solana, said in a statement, "I am pleased by Gen. Musharraf's commitment to a peaceful solution of Pakistan's dispute with India over Kashmir, and I urge both India and Pakistan to promptly renew their dialogue."

In Madrid, the Spanish Foreign Minister, Josep Pique, had contacted his Pakistani counterpart, Abdul Sattar, to express his approval of Gen. Musharraf's speech.

Mr. Pique was also waiting to speak to his Indian counterpart once New Delhi gave its reaction to the speech, the Foreign Ministry statement said yesterday.

Spain holds the rotating six-month presidency of the European Union. — PTI, AFP

Hurriyat welcomes Musharraf's stand

SRINAGAR, JAN. 13. The Hurriyat Conference today welcomed the stand taken by the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, on Kashmir in his broadcast and asked India to respond positively to resolve the issue. "We welcome the stand taken by Gen. Musharraf on the Kashmir issue and urge India to respond positively to find a solution to the issue," the chairman of the 23-party separatist conglomerate, Abdul Gani Bhat, told PTI.

Claiming that there was no "policy shift" in the General's statement, the former Hurriyat chairman and Jamaat-e-Islami leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani, said "the speech is a realistic one if viewed in its totality, although there is some scope to differ on some points. Generally, the speech is appreciable as far as Musharraf's stance vis-a-vis Kashmir is concerned". On the ban on the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad, he said "nobody has the right to ban such individual acts where Muslims come to help their brethren". Mr. Geelani said Kashmir issue should be resolved in accordance with the aspirations of the people.

The former Union Home Minister and Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party president, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, welcomed Gen. Musharraf's address saying "it would help war clouds hovering over the sub-continent

evaporate. Dialogue is the only way to resolve problems and issues confronting India and Pakistan, including Kashmir".

Ex-separatist hails gesture

A report from New Delhi said the former Kashmiri separatist leader, Hashim Qureshi, welcomed Gen. Musharraf's statement of abjuring violence in Kashmir and said it vindicated the stand of peace-loving Kashmiris.

"The denouncing of violence by Gen. Musharraf has not only vindicated my stand but of all those Kashmiris who want a peaceful resolution of the issue", Mr. Qureshi told PTI.

Pandits object

NEW DELHI, JAN. 13. Amidst a feeling of "distrust" over the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf's actions matching his words, Kashmiri Pandits today guardedly welcomed the Pakistani leader's assertion to rein in jehadi elements operating from his country but expressed strong objection to his utterances over Kashmir.

Leaders of the community, which was the prime victim of the Pakistan-sponsored terrorism resulting in the en masse exodus of over three lakh people from Kashmir valley in 1989, asked the Centre to continue the diplomatic offensive to "force" Islamabad to "translate words into action". — PTI

'NO SCOPE FOR THIRD PARTY INTERVENTION'

Match words with action, India tells Pak.

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, JAN. 13. India today welcomed Pakistan's decision to snap its support to the terrorists heading for Kashmir and expressed its readiness for direct talks, provided Islamabad backed its words with action.

"We welcome the now declared commitment of the Government of Pakistan not to support or permit anymore the use of its territory for terrorism anywhere in the world, including the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir," the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, said at a press conference.

Mr. Singh described the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's decision to clamp down on Kashmir-centric extremism as a "major shift" in Islamabad's policy. Gen. Musharraf had also dropped his earlier distinction between terrorists and "freedom fighters" in his

much-publicised television address on Saturday, he said.

India would insist on the extension of the Pakistani commitment against terrorism to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) and the Northern Areas too. Pakistan's crackdown in "territories under its control," that included the PoK, was central to ending cross-border terrorism, as this area was the hub of infiltration in Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Singh said.

India would now look forward to an effective implementation of the General's intent on the ground. If Pakistan operationalised its intention and moved positively towards eliminating cross-border terrorism, India "will respond fully", and would be prepared to resume a dialogue.

Rebutting Gen. Musharraf's accent on internationalisation, Mr. Singh said talks with Pakistan could be held only within a bilat-

eral framework. "There is no scope for third party intervention."

India wanted the resumption of a "composite dialogue" process, based on the Lahore Declaration. That would mean New Delhi was ready for simultaneous discussion on all the eight issues mentioned in the document, including Jammu and Kashmir.

Responding to a question, Mr. Singh said the visit of the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, next week, could not be construed as an expression of third party intervention. He, however, had spoken to Gen. Powell this morning, besides conversing with the Russian Foreign Minister, Igor Ivanov, earlier. A Russian national security council delegation, led by Oleg D. Chernov, also arrived here this afternoon for consultations on counter-terrorism.

India, according to Mr. Singh,

saw the termination of "infiltration" as a benchmark for gauging Pakistani seriousness in combating terrorism.

The Indian and Pakistani security forces might have to coordinate to check cross-border movements in the coming days, Government sources said. India also saw the closure of the "Kashmir cell" in the Pakistani Intelligence as another index of Islamabad's seriousness.

India today expressed its disappointment over Pakistan's decision not to hand over its nationals, included in a list of 20 fugitives that New Delhi had sent to Islamabad. But Mr. Singh hoped Pakistan would act against the 15 Indians who had been detailed.

The Minister clarified that India was ready to give enough time to Gen. Musharraf to implement some of the measures he announced last night. But, it was un-

likely to deviate from its present diplomatic focus to defuse the crisis with Pakistan, in case there was a recurrence of terrorist strikes. New Delhi was aware of the possibility of such an eventuality, especially after the recent spill-over of the Al-Qaeda cadres from Afghanistan in Pakistan.

On the possibility of de-escala-

Continue peace efforts, Bush tells Vajpayee, Musharraf

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 13. The U.S. President, George W. Bush, today spoke to the leaders of India and Pakistan, Atal Behari Vajpayee and Pervez Musharraf, urging them to continue the peace efforts. A White House spokesman said Mr. Bush thanked Gen. Musharraf for his pledge on Saturday to crack down on terror outfits; and the President discussed this speech with Mr. Vajpayee.

The conversations are said to have lasted for about five minutes each. The White House has not released details. "Both South Asia leaders agreed to continue to work to reduce tension in the region", the spokesman said.

He repeated what Mr. Bush thought of Gen. Musharraf's speech. The President, according to his spokesman, "welcomes his (Gen. Musharraf's) firm decision to stand against terrorism in all its forms and applauded his vision for Pakistan".

At least one senior lawmaker, Senator John McCain, Republican from Arizona, has taken the view that Gen. Musharraf's speech had "improved" the situation. "Now he's got to back it up", Mr. McCain has said.

Mr. Bush is sending his Secretary of State, Colin Powell, to South Asia early next week with a view to defusing the rising tensions in the subcontinent. Gen. Powell will also visit Afghanistan.

tion on the borders, Mr. Singh said the decision to pull back the Indian forces would depend on the speed with which Gen. Musharraf clamped down on the terrorists. India's tough diplomatic measures, backed by troop mobilisation, had contributed to the visible shift in Pakistani stance, he said.

Islamabad enforces ban on militant outfits

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 13. The Pakistan Government has begun enforcing the ban on the five militant and sectarian outfits identified by the President, Pervez Musharraf, in his address to the nation on Saturday.

Authorities are believed to have started the operation of rounding up of activists of the organisations and closing down their offices. The operation against the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad has been going on for several days now. The Radio Pakistan, quoting authorities in the Punjab province, reported that in the last 24 hours, police had locked over 250 offices and detained 533 activists of the outfits in different towns.

In Peshawar, 10 leaders and 100 workers of the Tehreek-e-Jafria and the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan were arrested. An NWFP police offi-

cial has been quoted as saying that directions had been issued to launch a crackdown against four outfits. More than 150 leaders and workers of "jehadi" and religious outfits had been arrested from different parts of Sindh, including Karachi. Most of them belong to the SSP. In the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, the police arrested dozens of workers of the outfits apart from sealing the offices. The LeT office in Islamabad has also been sealed.

Police continued the midnight operation in various parts of the country including Kohat, Hangu, Peshawar, Hyderabad, Dera Ismail Khan and Sargodha and arrested more than 700 workers of religious and "jehadi" outfits. A number of Jamiat Ulemai Islam workers were also arrested.

The managers of the military Government are pleased over the response of the media,

particularly on the General's observations on the Kashmir issue. They were worried on this count in view of the apprehensions that the Musharraf Government would give up its "principled stand" on Kashmir under pressure from the international community.

Gen. Musharraf is expected to elaborate on the strategy of his Government vis-a-vis the Kashmir issue at the first meeting of the National Kashmir Committee scheduled for January 15.

AFP reports from Muzaffarabad:

The ban on the Lashkar and the Jaish will also be extended to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. "I fully endorse the speech of President Pervez Musharraf and we will take action in our area in line with it," Sardar Sikandar Hayat Khan, Prime Minister of PoK, said today.

Jehadi groups vow to continue fight: Page 11

A positive sign, say political parties

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 13. Political parties here were appreciative of the strongly-stated intention of the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, to rid Pakistan of religious extremism and terrorist outfits, but were disappointed with his statements on Kashmir during his televised address to his nation on Saturday.

After a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security, the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today chaired a meeting of major political party leaders to elicit their views on Gen. Musharraf's address. Members of the CCS — the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, the Finance Minister, Yashwant Sinha, and the Defence Minister, George Fernandes — were also present.

Broadly speaking, the reactions were positive, with the leaders emphasising the need for India and Pakistan to engage in a dialogue to resolve long-standing disputes, but not without cautioning the Government against "third party" mediation.

Although most of them said they would wait to see whether the General was able to deliver what he had promised, there was no doubt that they were hopeful that the development would lead to the easing of tensions on the border where the armies of the two countries are fully deployed.

Although the de-escalation of military build-up did not come up at the meeting, the general view was that this could take place in a



The Congress president, Sonia Gandhi, with senior party leader, Manmohan Singh, the CPI(M) leader, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, and the CPI leader, D. Raja, after the meeting at the Prime Minister's residence in New Delhi on Sunday. — PTI

week or two. The CPI(M) politburo said: "Gen. Musharraf's statement should help create the atmosphere for de-escalating tensions" and the "first step should be to demobilise troops on both sides of the border." The CPI national secretary, D. Raja, also hoped that the new situation would lead to the "de-escalation" of tensions on the border.

There may, however, not be any immediate let-up on the diplomatic offensive against Pakistan — at least on the demand for the hand over of those alleged to be involved in criminal and terrorist acts here.

The Congress leaders, Sonia

Gandhi and Manmohan Singh, said they would like to see Gen. Musharraf's promises translate into action. "The proof of the pudding is in the eating," Dr. Singh said.

The party was disappointed because while expressing his wish for a dialogue on Kashmir, the General had made no mention of the Shimla Accord or the Lahore Declaration. Instead, unfortunately, he hinted at a preference for third party mediation. "Gen. Musharraf said Kashmir was in his blood, if that is so he needs diplomatic dialysis," K. Natwar Singh, chairman of the Congress foreign affairs department, said.

Vijay Kumar Malhotra, chief whip of the Bharatiya Janata Party, strongly objected to Gen. Musharraf's refusal to hand over criminals and terrorists — Indian and Pakistani nationals — to India. "This would mean that Pakistani citizens can commit crimes in other countries with impunity and go back to the safety of their country."

The party also took exception to the General's reference to "state-sponsored terrorism" and "human rights violations" in Jammu and Kashmir and the need for a third party to "monitor this." But there was appreciation for his comments on the misuse of 'masjids' and 'madrassas' in Pakistan for encouraging terrorism. "It was good to hear him, let us see what he does on the ground," was how Mr. Malhotra put it.

In a statement, the CPI(M-L), which was not part of the meeting, urged the Government to "stop whipping up war hysteria" and respond positively by engaging Pakistan in a "serious and comprehensive" dialogue.

THE HINDU wishes its readers A HAPPY PONGAL and SANKRANTI

Our office will remain closed today and there will be no issue of THE HINDU dated 15th January, 2002.

JOINT MANAGING DIRECTOR

We'll wait & watch, says India

gndv
14/1

HT Correspondents
New Delhi/Washington, Jan 13

IN A measured response to President Musharraf's stand against terrorism, India today welcomed it as a major shift in Islamabad's policy. But before accepting the Pakistan President's offer of a dialogue, New Delhi would await ground-level implementation and evidence that he is ready to keep his pious promises.

External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh said this after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security followed by consultations with leaders of all political parties, who said the speech had some "positive elements" but the Government should wait for "credible action on the ground".

Musharraf's bid to hoist the third-party bogey expectedly evoked an outright rejection from New Delhi. Jaswant said India remained committed to bilateralism in accordance with the Simla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration.

"Should Pakistan operationalise its intention and move purposefully towards eradicating cross-border terrorism, India will respond fully and be prepared to resume the composite dialogue process that includes Kashmir," he said, expressing hope that Musharraf would check the origin of terrorism not just in Pakistan but "all territories under its control" such as PoK and the Northern Areas.

He said, "India will not be found wanting. We are willing to take two steps for every one that Pakistan takes. For starters, we would like to see a halt to all infiltration across the LoC and the International Border."

India's disappointment with the General's speech was evident in Pakistan's refusal to deal with

the 20 "fugitives from law" whom Musharraf has sought to segregate on Pakistani and non-Pakistani lines. Hoping for action against them, Jaswant said 14 or 15 of them were Indians.

After heading the question whether Musharraf came around on the terrorism issue under US pressure or Indian brinkmanship, Jaswant ruled out an immediate de-escalation in the military standoff. "It would not be practical to expect that to happen just with a speech. We'll have to watch whether words are matched with action".

Broadly, New Delhi's reaction was conciliatory without any sign of an altered Indian bottomline. The only time Jaswant sounded generous was when he refused to set a deadline for the General as he agreed the promised reforms could be time-consuming and would run the risk of internal sabotage.

Jaswant gave no hint of an early withdrawal of the post-December 13 sanctions against Pakistan. In fact, the diplomatic campaign to explain New Delhi's position will go full stream ahead with teams of parliamentarians heading for world capitals soon, he said.

US Secretary of State Colin Powell today spoke to Jaswant and discussed Musharraf's speech and his upcoming visit to the region. The minister said India looked forward to the visit but dismissed suggestions that it was any sort of mediation or intervention on Indo-Pakistan issues.

On Islamabad's decision to ban Lashkar-e-Tayyeba and Jaish-e-Mohammad, he said: "We look forward to full implementation of this measure so that their members do not continue under other names." There is a similar need to address other



AP PHOTO

Securitymen seal the office of a militant organisation in Quetta on Sunday as part of the crackdown following Pervez Musharraf's speech.

Hundreds held as Musharraf cracks the whip

Islamabad, January 13

HUNDREDS OF activists of the five banned organisations have been arrested and seven of their offices sealed in overnight raids across the country. Local media reports said 350-600 had been arrested, but there was no official confirmation.

Reports from Karachi said over 400 activists were rounded up in southern Sindh. Banners and flags of all religious groups were removed and their offices sealed. Police have also taken into custody the records of these organisations. These included students of several madrasas.

President Pervez Musharraf has directed the ISI and other intelligence agencies to assist the police in nabbing the terrorists of the banned outfits, particularly the ones belonging to the sectarian militant groups.

The News said many groups banned last night were likely to be busted in a few days. Musharraf has directed intelligence agencies to review and update the information on the target groups so that the core groups of these outfits are held and not their second and third tier street agitators.

Legal hitch delays ban: The official notifications to ban the five militant groups, announced by President Musharraf, have been delayed because of legal complications. They were delayed at the last moment pending resolution of a legal issue and will be issued on Monday.

Agencies

BUSH CALLS UP ATAL

PRESIDENT BUSH spoke to A B Vajpayee over phone on Sunday night and "appreciated" India's response to Pervez Musharraf's speech. Bush also called up Musharraf and told him to work with India to reduce tension.

PTI, New Delhi

ground in response to specific demands that we have made of Pakistan," he said in New York.

Advani asserted that India would not tolerate Pakistan-sponsored cross-border terrorism any more or allow itself to be led by it. "Pakistan should withhold any assistance to terrorists, including funding, arming, training and infiltrating them into India."

should turn into ground reality his pledge to fight terrorism and stop infiltration of militants into India. "We shall not judge any change in Pakistan's policy on terrorism only on the basis of the statements and pronouncements of its leaders. India shall be satisfied only if categorical renunciation of terrorism as a state policy is accompanied by a demonstrable action on the

terrorist organisations targeting India as well as their parent organisations, he said. Reacting to the charge that India's reaction was far too cautious, Jaswant said: "I don't think caution is a bad policy. As a traveller, I have seen from Lahore to Kargil, to Agra and to Kathmandu."

Home Minister L K Advani echoed his Cabinet colleague, saying the Pakistan President

6-11 AND THE WORLD 1A/1

It is a pity that Mr Pervez Musharraf's radical plan to reform Pakistan's state and society is not matched by an equally far-reaching plan to make peace with India. Although the Pakistan president's speech did address many of the issues that have caused deep concern to India in the recent past, it is unlikely that Mr Musharraf's words alone will lead to a rapid de-escalation of the tension that has gripped south Asia over the past few weeks. India will need more than just a promise of better behaviour from Pakistan. And Islamabad needs to translate Mr Musharraf's words into concrete action if it wants to reintroduce a modicum of civility and stability into its relations with India. It is now clear that the top leadership of Pakistan has realized that the real danger to its survival is not as much from external threats as it is from forces of extremism and obscurantism within the country. The danger that Pakistan could become a failed state or a "nuclear Somalia", with warlords and terrorist groups fighting each other, may still not have been averted, but recognition of a threat is the first step towards recovery. If indeed Mr Musharraf succeeds in converting Pakistan into a liberal modern nation-state, at peace with itself, it will be a force of stability in the region and beyond.

India, like other countries, can only welcome this change. There are three other specific issues that may well contribute to a thawing of India-Pakistan relations. The Pakistan president made it clear that no individual or organisation would be allowed to indulge in acts of terrorism in the name of Kashmir, and that stern action would be taken against any Pakistani found guilty of perpetuating terrorism outside the country. Mr Musharraf also announced a ban on both the Lashkar-e-Toiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad. These are believed to have been responsible for the attacks on the Indian Parliament on December 13, and had — so far — been operating more or less freely within Pakistan. And even on the list of the 20 wanted persons sought by India, Mr Musharraf seemed to show some flexibility. Although he ruled out handing over any Pakistanis on the list, he signalled that action could be taken against Indian nationals on the list. However, despite these noteworthy gestures, given the experience of the past, India will not be easily convinced that there is a fundamental shift in Islamabad's policy towards New Delhi. Mr Musharraf did not demonstrate the slightest flexibility over Kashmir, nor did he call for a comprehensive ceasefire and an end to all violence in the valley and beyond. The only real test of Mr Musharraf's intentions, therefore, will be on the ground. If indeed there is an end to infiltration across the border and acts of terrorism, New Delhi must generously respond to Pakistan's offer of a dialogue.

THE TELEGRAPH

14 JAN 2002

DILSHAD CASE

HT-5 ✓✓ 14/1

Police probe hawala route

HT Correspondent
Siliguri, January 13

SLEUTHS HERE have started interrogating Abdul Bari Panwala, the man from Delhi who supplied hawala money to ISI agents such as Mohammed Dilshad for ISI operations in North Bengal. Bari who claims to own a paan shop in Delhi was brought here today by a special police team.

Police arrested Bari in Delhi immediately after Dilshad and four of his accomplices were arrested here on January 3 with 500 gram RDX and a grenade.

Bari was remanded in police custody by a Siliguri court today. Denying the allegations of funding ISI agents, Bari told reporters he is innocent and has been trapped in Dilshad's conspiracy. Bari said he did not know Dilshad and has not seen him before. He said his family has been in Delhi for the past 70 years and has relatives in Pakistan. He and his family members had visited Pakistan a couple of times but had not worked against the interests of India.

Bari said he has no proof of his innocence but "Allah will do justice". "My family is surviving on whatever I earn from my paan shop," he said.



BISWARUP BASAK/HINDUSTAN PHOTO

Abdul Bari (left) being taken to court after arriving in Siliguri from New Delhi on Sunday.

Investigating officers are, however, not buying his story. An officer said there had been no time for a detailed interrogation before the court appearance. Dismissing Bari's claims of innocence as 'rubbish', he said the interrogation carried out so far has provided sufficient leads to pin Bari down as one of the main financiers for ISI operations in North Bengal. He

said sleuths are now working to find out other destinations of the hawala money circulated through agents like Bari.

Interrogating agents have been successful in cracking Dilshad who has revealed important plans including the ISI's strategy to operate in the North-east from Nepal. Dilshad has said many newly-recruited ISI agents in Nepal visit Siliguri

regularly and stay back for a couple of days. They go back to Nepal after observing the movements of the Indian Army in the region. But the ISI agents recruited for different tasks do not know each other even though they operate in the same area, an investigating officer said.

In a move to find out destinations of the hawala money, police on Saturday took Dilshad to the Siliguri branch of Indian Overseas Bank on Hill Cart Road. Though Dilshad has no account in the bank, he frequented the bank to make drafts which were sent outside. He had already sent drafts to Kolkata and Hyderabad.

Dilshad said he has no account in any bank in Siliguri. Police, however, are looking for his deposits of the huge sum paid to him for collecting information on the army and believe it could be in other names. Sleuths are hopeful of more arrests after the money is tracked.

Meanwhile, the Army has denied involvement of any of its personnel in the ISI's information collection network headed by Dilshad in the region. Army officers are, however, investigating into the matter.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

14 JAN 1983

Look ahead

GENERAL Pervez Musharraf's speech to his nation on Saturday may seem long on rhetoric but short on concrete measures that address India's concerns. Such a reading, however, would amount to focussing on the immediate while losing sight of longer term gains. True, Gen Musharraf has reiterated Pakistan's commitment to the "Kashmir cause" and his assertion that terrorism in the name of the Kashmir cause will not be tolerated may be viewed with some scepticism, as the Indian government has. True also that he has refused to hand over any Pakistani national in the list of 20 wanted men that India has submitted to Pakistan, even if there is evidence of their guilt. Sceptics might also feel the ban on the Jaish-e-Mohammad and the Lashkar-e-Taiba may not amount to much in practice. Hence, we may see no immediate downswing in militancy in the Kashmir Valley. Yet, the gains from the speech must be seen not in Gen Musharraf's reaction to India's demands, but in what he had to say on Pakistan's internal situation. No head of the Pakistani state has ever launched such a no-holds-barred verbal assault on religious extremism. The general minced no words in accusing Imams of misusing mosques for acts which have brought Islam and Pakistan into disrepute. His condemnation of the misuse of madrasas was no less unequivocal. Also significant were his assertions that "Pakistan comes first" and that his country had not taken a "theka" (contract) for spreading jihad all over the world. Nor would it be wise to ignore his attempt to posit a jihad against hunger, poverty and illiteracy as much more important than the religious jihad. He has also asked a question of his people – should Pakistan become a mere theocratic state or should it attempt to become a modern Islamic welfare state and a responsible member of the comity of nations?

India could dismiss these as noises the general had to make to keep his US mentors happy. That may be true, but should not detract from the effect of the rhetoric. It is bound to lead to a debate within Pakistan on the desirability and efficacy of the jihadi project. In that lies hope of a lasting peace. India must play its part by helping to de-escalate tensions and not reject dialogue outright. It must also wake up to the danger posed by religious extremism of any form and nip all such forms in the bud. Else, the gains will soon be frittered away.

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The Economic Times

14 JAN 2002

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Pak. to be judged by its actions: Advani

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 12. The Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, now on a visit to the United States, has once again argued that Pakistan was going to be judged by its actions and not statements.

Mr. Advani said at a meeting with Editors and reporters of *The Washington Post* that the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, should find it relatively easy to suppress anti-Indian militants compared with his decision to break ranks with the Taliban.

"We will wait. We will watch. But what I can emphasise is cynicism and scepticism about Musharraf is intense in India... Statements are not going to suffice unless they are accompanied by actions," Mr. Advani said.

The spokesman of the Pakistani Embassy here has been quoted as saying that the task of taking on the Kashmiri militants would prove more difficult as exiles from Kashmir who were supporting the cause of the militants held a number of influential positions in the Pakistani Army, the Government,

the media and the business community. Prominent dailies in the U.S. are giving extensive coverage to the current standoff between India and Pakistan, the rising tensions and the heightened rhetoric, one of the latest in the latter category being the statements of the Army Chief, S. Padmanabhan, characterised in one report as being "pithy and bellicose" remarks not cleared in advance by the Prime Minister's Office.

'Resolve strengthened'

PTI reports from New York:

Mr. Advani has expressed India's determination to stamp out cross-border terrorism of which the country has been a victim for the last 20 years.

After visiting the site of collapsed twin towers of the World Trade Center, Mr. Advani said this had further strengthened his resolve to fight to the finish terrorism in all its forms.

Mr. Advani also met the former U.S. President, Bill Clinton, but no details were available.

13 JAN 2002

13 JAN 2002

Russia offers 'shuttle diplomacy'

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JAN. 12. Russia will press for a political solution to the "alarming" tension between India and Pakistan, the Russian Foreign Minister, Igor Ivanov, said here today.

He told the state television channel ORT that Russia was in "close contact" with both India and Pakistan and "will take all necessary diplomatic efforts, if necessary in the form of shuttle diplomacy to facilitate a political solution to the crisis."

This is the second time in a week that Moscow has offered to mediate in the standoff between

India and Pakistan. Earlier the Itar-Tass news agency quoted a senior diplomatic source as saying Moscow could send a special envoy to South Asia, if both Delhi and Islamabad sides agreed to Russian mediation.

Mr. Ivanov described the situation in South Asia as "alarming" and said Russia, together with other countries, was taking "very active political and diplomatic measures" to avert a military confrontation. "We will strive to confine the situation to the political framework and prevent the crisis from flaring into an armed conflict, which would have extremely dire consequences for both coun-

tries and for the region as a whole, especially considering the nuclear factor," Mr. Ivanov said.

The Russian President, Vladimir Putin, and the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, in a telephone conversation on Thursday stressed that "the curbing of all forms of terrorist activities from the territory of Pakistan is instrumental for a resumption of dialogue between Delhi and Islamabad," the Kremlin press service said.

A delegation of senior Russian security officials left for Delhi on Saturday for a scheduled discussion which will also cover the current Indo-Pak. crisis.

"The barbarous act of terrorism committed by Islamic extremists (on December 13) highlighted once again the pressing need to take the most drastic and harsh measures against those who trample upon the most precious gift - the man's right to life," said Oleg Chernov, Deputy Chief of the Russian Security Council, who leads the Russian delegation.

"Russians take close to heart the feelings of anger and hatred of the Indian people against the perpetrators of the bloody crimes and their spiritual leaders and patrons in Pakistan," Gen. Chernov told the RIA Novosti news agency before departure from Moscow.

THE HINDU

13 JAN 2002

USA, Britain, Russia welcome speech 18/1

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PRESS TRUST OF INDIA & REUTERS

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12. — The USA, Britain and Russia today welcomed President Pervez Musharraf's address to the nation, saying it provides a basis for calming Indo-Pak tension.

Britain expressed the hope that India would respond positively to Gen Musharraf's remarks about resolving the Kashmir issue through peaceful means and to the ban imposed on Lashkar-e-Taiyaba and Jaish-e-Mohammed groups responsible for the attack on Parliament, while Russia said it would judge Pakistan by its actions.

The US State Department today welcomed Gen Pervez Musharraf's speech today. The speech, a senior state department official said, "provides a basis for both sides to ratchet down the tension."

The official, who asked not to be identified, also said Gen Musharraf's speech "marks a clear break with the violence of the past in Kashmir and Pakistani society as a whole." The USA was hoping that Gen Musharraf's speech would help ease tensions between India and Pakistan.

The US Secretary of State, Gen Colin Powell, is set to visit Pakistan and India next week to try to encourage the two countries to step back from military conflict. "We welcome President Musharraf's clear appeal for a normalisation of relations with India and the resolution of differences over Kashmir through peaceful means and dialogue," a statement by the British Prime Minister, Mr Tony Blair's office, said.

Mr Blair's office hoped that India would respond positively to the message and to the banning of the two terrorist outfits involved in the 13 December attack on Parliament.

In Moscow, a statement issued by the Russian foreign ministry noted the "positive tone" of General Musharraf's declared intention to put an end to the activities of extremist religious organisations operating from Pakistani territory, but asserted the country would be judged by concrete actions to halt terrorist actions.

THE STATESMAN

13 JAN 2002

GOT THAT, MR PRESIDENT?

Bush must respect India's concerns

THE timing, the tone and the content of the press conference of the Army Chief, General S Padmanabhan, could not have been better. Coming in the wake of LK Advani's compelling meetings in Washington with President Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell and others including the National Security Adviser and before Musharraf's televised performance scheduled for Saturday night, it will have the effect of conveying an unambiguous message to Washington, that India is in earnest and will not be fobbed off by Musharraf's gestures like saluting Vajpayee in Kathmandu or inviting himself to Agra. If General Padmanabhan's message conveys anything it is that India is ready for war if it is thrust upon us, that we are fully mobilised and even if Pakistan uses nuclear weapons we have a second strike capability which will place *the continued existence of Pakistan as a nation in doubt*. General Padmanabhan also did well to elaborate that in that event the effects, he means radiation, will jeopardise the safety of America's oil rich friends in the region. That was a shrewd move; it has the merit of being frank without being belligerent. And it reminds America of its vital interests in cheap oil for which it has shown many times over it will travel great distances. American worries showed in the unusually aggressive manner of the anchor conducting the interview with Advani on CNN. 5-8-161

Advani has rightly laid down our minimum demands before India demobilises. We will need evidence on the ground in the shape of total cessation of cross-border terrorism and handing over of the wanted terrorists, and concrete evidence that Musharraf has finally abandoned terror as a weapon everywhere. India will no longer accept his assertion that he is part of the world-wide campaign against terrorism, and empty gestures like shifting the Jaish and Lashkar organisations based in Karachi to other locations, which so impressed President Bush that he asked India to take note. Take note we have but not as Bush intended. We have noted that the gestures are not only empty they are also deceitful. Bush should have realised that banning these organisations came about only after he got the nod from Musharraf that it was safe to do so; the proof is in the statements of these same terrorist leaders that the action taken will have no effect on them. They chose not to expound for Bush's benefit that before the banning orders they had moved men, material, command requirements and money to safety. How? Ask Pakistan's ISI. The CNN anchor did not realise that her question to Advani that if some Kashmiri sets off a suicide attack in Kashmir, will India blame Pakistan was beside the point. Here India is seeking recognition of the evidence already presented of Pakistan's deep involvement in terrorism first with the Taliban but also with building up local outfits to attack targets within India.

Musharraf is allowed to plead the absence of an extradition treaty as an obstacle to handing over the twenty terrorists wanted by India after having asserted earlier that he would not hand them over under any circumstances. 20 Taliban and Al Qaida prisoners have been forcibly taken by the United States from Afghanistan and flown in chains to the American base in Cuba. Was that under an extradition treaty with Hamid Karzai's administration? This newspaper approves the American action but it deplores the use of double standards by President Bush and his administration. To spell it out for Bush's benefit if the absence of an extradition treaty with Afghanistan did not prevent the taking of the men wanted by the United States, it needs no extradition treaty for Musharraf to hand over the men India wants for terrorist attacks on its soil.

Got that Mr President?

THE STATESMAN

13 JAN 2002

PERVEZ:

Grand Park
(Continued from page 1)

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damentalist, Islamic state was not the Pakistan of his dream. He wanted a modern, dynamic nation that could serve as a beacon to all other Islamic nations on the path to modernisation and international assimilation.

On that aspect he did offer specifics: a new set of regulations for Madrasas that would ensure that their wards were equipped to perform much more than religious duties and enter the professions. So also regulations to prevent mosques from becoming the breeding ground of extremism, dissent, divisive action, violence and so on.

In what was a candid admission of the degeneration of his internal conditions, Musharraf called for writ of the state to be re-established, the end of the Kalashnikov culture. And warned of strict action against those who tried to impede that drive.

All that, he said, was for the good of his country and the best interests of Pakistan. He dwelt at length on how the nation and its people had suffered by allowing religious extremists to set the agenda, the disastrous involvement with the Taliban in Afghanistan, and how from the day he assumed office he had strived to liberate his people from the shackles of fundamentalists.

He said 11 September, 1 October and 13 December were black days - but his fight against religious-induced terrorism had begun long before.

THE STATESMAN

15 JAN 2002

Musharraf bans Lashkar, Jaish, invites Vajpayee for talks

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 12 In his much-awaited address to the people of Pakistan, the President, Pervez Musharraf, tonight banned the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad along with three other sectarian and religious extremist outfits and urged the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, to sit across the table for a resolution of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State for normalisation of Indo-Pakistan ties.

The hour-long speech was direct and aimed at addressing the concerns of the international community and India to some extent on religious extremism and militancy in Pakistan. He utilised the opportunity to warn India against what he termed any military "misadventure" and asserted that Pakistan forces were fully prepared to give a fitting reply.

On the list of 20 wanted persons sought by India, Gen. Musharraf categorically ruled out handing over any Pakistani citizen and said they would be dealt with under the laws of the country if evidence against them was provided. However, with regard to Indian citizens on the list, he said Pakistan had not given "asylum" to any of them and could consider their extradition if they were found in Pakistan.

Right from the word go, Gen. Musharraf launched a diatribe against the religious extremist forces in Pakistan and sought to



The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, addressing the nation on Saturday. — AP/Pakistan Television

make it clear that they would no longer be allowed to challenge the writ of the state. He spelt out "rules of behaviour" that would henceforth govern all citizens and organisations in the country and declared that "the writ of the state shall prevail."

Gen. Musharraf said mosques would not be allowed to be used for political purposes and for inciting people to violence. He asserted that no one in Pakistan would be allowed to interfere in the "internal affairs" of other

countries. The speech was aimed at the people of Pakistan, the Prime Minister of India and the international community in general and the United States in particular. Towards the end of his speech, he chose to address Mr. Vajpayee directly on the issue of Kashmir and the military build-up along the borders.

Quoting from Mr. Vajpayee's speech at the SAARC Summit calling for altering the mindsets and shedding the historic baggage, Gen. Musharraf said he was prepared to take the offer. "I am prepared to accept your offer. Let us work together on it."

Gen. Musharraf said Indo-Pakistan relations could be normalised only if the Kashmir dispute was resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State through the process of peaceful dialogue. "Mr. Prime Minister let me tell you it is our joint responsibility to resolve the issue."

He said that as commander of the Pakistan armed forces he would like to convey to the Prime Minister that the Pakistan army was fully deployed and ready for any eventuality. "Our soldiers are ready to fight till the last drop of their blood. Don't attempt to cross over the LoC. We would be forced to reply with all our might. Let there be no illusion on this count."

Turning to the international community, Gen. Musharraf said he would like to particularly ad-

dress the United States and send out a clear signal that Pakistan rejected terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. He maintained that Pakistan would never allow its territory to be used against any other country, but at the same time he appealed to the U.S. to play its role in resolution of the Kashmir tangle.

"Let there be no illusion. We have to find an amicable solution to the Kashmir dispute for peace and harmony between India and Pakistan. On Kashmir we expect you to ask India end state terrorism and allow neutral and U.N. observers to monitor human rights violations."

Gen. Musharraf spared no punches in attacking the extremist religious forces in Pakistan and asked the people of Pakistan to ponder over the damage they had caused to the country in the eyes of the comity of nations. He repeatedly referred to their recent role in siding with the Taliban militia and maintained that they had never bothered about the welfare of the people of Afghanistan or Muslims.

The Pakistan President dwelt at length on the concept of 'jihad' (holy war) and said that under Islam only the state had the authority to wage a militant struggle

against oppression and denial of rights to fellow Muslims. He wondered why the religious extremist forces in Pakistan had never bothered to wage jihad against fundamental issues like poverty, illiteracy and backwardness.

"There is a perception that Pakistan has become a soft state and the writ of the Government does not run. Let me declare here with all my authority at my command that no individual or organisation in Pakistan would have the right to break the law. And those who break the law would be dealt with sternly," Gen. Musharraf said.

Lashkar vows to continue 'holy war'

KARACHI, JAN. 12. The Pakistan-based Kashmiri militant group, Lashkar-e-Taiba, today vowed to continue its "holy war" in Kashmir despite being banned by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf.

"The Government of Pakistan has no right to ban us as we are a Kashmir-based group fighting against the Indian forces and we will continue our jihad (holy war)," the Lashkar spokesman, Abdullah Sayyaf, told AFP.

'Resolving Kashmir, our joint responsibility'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 12. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, tonight made a passionate plea to the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, for resolution of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State.

At the same time, he warned him that any 'misadventure' by the Indian forces across the LoC would be met with decisively.

Addressing the people of Pakistan on the state television and radio, Gen. Musharraf sent a direct message to Mr. Vajpayee on the Kashmir tangle and the importance of solving it for the normalisation of bilateral ties.

"I would like to recall your own words at the SAARC summit in Kathmandu. You

said mindsets have to be altered and historical baggage has to be jettisoned. I take the offer. Let us sit across the table in that spirit and resolve our differences," the General said.

Kashmir would have to be addressed in accordance with the promise made to the people of the State — allow them to decide their own fate. "Prime Minister, it is our joint responsibility to resolve the issue."

As the commander of Pakistan's armed forces, Gen. Musharraf had another message for Mr. Vajpayee. "Pakistan Army is fully prepared and ready. Our soldiers are ready to fight till the last drop of their blood. Don't attempt to cross over the LoC. We would be compelled to reply with all our might."

HIGHLIGHTS OF ADDRESS

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 12. The following are the highlights of the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's address to the nation tonight:

- Bans Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad.
- Rules out handing over of Pakistanis wanted by India.
- Considers taking appropriate action against non-Pakistanis wanted by India.
- Warns India against crossing border
- Offers fresh dialogue with Atal Behari Vajpayee on Kashmir.
- Pledges to continue moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmir cause.
- Says no organisation to be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of religion.
- Says he will not to allow Pakistan's territory to be used for terrorist activities.
- Bans extremist groups such as Sipah-e-Sahaba, Tehrik-e-Jaffria, Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat (Mohammedi).
- All madrasas to be registered by March-end this year
- No new madrasa to open without Government permission.
- Foreign students for admission in madrasa have to seek permission of Government.
- Any group found involved in December 13 attack on Indian Parliament & October 1 attack on the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly to be dealt with severely.

Musharraf lays down the law

The following is the portion of Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf's speech where he proposes action:

In my view there are three problems causing conflict and agitation in our minds. They include; first the Kashmir cause, secondly all political disputes at the international level concerning Muslims and thirdly internal sectarian disputes and differences.

These are the three problems which create confusion in our minds. I want to lay down rules of behaviour concerning all the three.

Let us take the Kashmir cause first. Kashmir runs in our blood. No Pakistani can afford to sever links with Kashmir. The entire Pakistan and the world knows this. We will continue to extend our moral, political and diplomatic support to Kashmiris. We will never budge an inch from our principle stand on Kashmir.

The Kashmir problem needs to be resolved by dialogue and peaceful means in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the United Nations resolutions. We have to find the solution of this dispute.

No organisation will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir. We condemn the terrorist acts of September 11, October 1 and December 13. Anyone found involved in any terrorist act would be dealt with sternly.

Strict action will be taken against any Pakistani individual, group or organisation found involved in terrorism within or outside the country. On this occasion, as President of Pakistan, I want to convey a message to Prime Minister Vajpayee: If we want to normalise relations between Pakistan and India and bring harmony to the region, the Kashmir dispute will have to be resolved peacefully through a dialogue on the basis of the aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

Solving the Kashmir Issue is the joint responsibility of our two countries. Let me repeat some of the observations made by you Mr Vajpayee some time back, and I quote: "Mind-sets will have to be altered and historical baggage will have to be jettisoned".

I accept your offer. Let us start talking in this very spirit.

Now as commander of the armed forces of Pakistan, I wish to convey another message: Let there be no attempt of crossing the border in any sector as it will be met with full force. Do not entertain any illusions on this count.

I would also like to address the international community, particularly the United States on this occasion. They must play an active role in solving the Kash-



People watch Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf's televised speech in a Karachi electronics shop. (Reuters)

mir dispute for the sake of lasting peace and harmony in the region. We should be under no illusion that the legitimate demand of the people of Kashmir can ever be suppressed without their just resolution.

Kashmiris also expect that you bring an end to Indian state terrorism and human rights violations. Let us allow human rights organisations, Amnesty International, international media and United Nations peacekeepers to monitor activities of the Indian occupation forces.

Now we come to the second problem which causes confusion in our minds and is of our particular concern. It relates to conflicts involving Muslims. Our religious leaders involve themselves in such conflicts without giving serious thought to them. I don't want to talk at length on this. It is for the government to take a position on international issues. Individuals, organisations and political parties should restrict their activities to expression of their views. I request them to express their views on international issues in an intellectual spirit and in a civilised manner through force of argument.

Views expressed with maturity and moderation have greater convincing power. Expressing views in a threatening manner does not create any positive effect and anyone who indulges in hollow threats is taken as an unbalanced person by the

world at large. I would request that we should stop interfering in the affairs of others. First, we should attain the strength and the importance where our views carry weight when we express them.

Now we come to internal decisions.

The third issue causing conflict in our minds relates to sectarian differences. As I have already pointed out that writ of the government will be established. No individual, organisation or party will be allowed to break the law of the land.

Now I come to the extremist organisations. Terrorism, and sectarianism must come to an end. I had announced a ban on Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipah-e-Mohammad on August 14 last year. On that occasion, I had pointed out that Sipah-e-Sahaba and the Tehrik-e-Jaffria (TJP) would be kept under observation.

I am sorry to say that there is not much improvement in the situation. Sectarian violence continues unabated. We have busted several gangs involved in sectarian killings. You would be astonished to know that in 2001 about 400 innocent people fell victim to sectarian and other killings.

Many of the gangs apprehended include people mostly belonging to Sipah-e-Sahaba and some to TJP. This situation cannot be tolerated any more. I, therefore, announce banning of

both Sipah-e-Sahaba and TJP. In addition to these, the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat Mohammadi being responsible for misleading thousands of simple poor people into Afghanistan also stands banned.

This organisation is responsible for their massacre in Afghanistan. The government has also decided to put the Sunni Tehreek under observation. No organisation in Pakistan will be allowed to call itself as Lashkar, Sipah or Jaish. Any organisation or individual would face strict punitive measures if found inciting the people to violence in internal or external contexts.

Our mosques are sacred places where we seek the blessings of God almighty. Let them remain sacred. We will not allow the misuse of mosques. All mosques will be registered and no new mosques will be built without permission. The use of loudspeakers will be limited only to call for prayers, and Friday Sermon and "Vaaz" (sermon).

However, I would like to emphasise that special permission is being given for Vaaz. If this is misused the permission will be cancelled. If there is any political activity, inciting of sectarian hatred or propagation of extremism in any mosque, the management would be held responsible and proceeded against according to law. I appeal to all Pesh Imams to project the qualities of

Islam in the mosques and invite the people to piety. Talk of obligations towards fellow beings, exhort them to abstain from negative thoughts and promote positive thinking. I hope that all Nazims, district police officers and Auqaf department officials will take quick action against violators of these measures.

On madaris, a detailed policy will be issued through a new Madarsa Ordinance. The ordinance will be issued in a few days. I feel happy that the madarsa policy has been finalised in consultation with religious scholars and mashaikh. I have touched on the merits and shortcomings prevailing in the madaris.

Merits have to be reinforced while shortcomings have to be rooted out. Under the madarsa policy, their functioning will be regulated. These madaris will be governed by same rules and regulations applicable to other schools, colleges and universities. All madaris will be registered by 23 March 2002 and no new madaras will be opened without permission of the government.

If any madarsa is found indulging in extremism, subversion, militant activity or possessing any types of weapons, it will be closed. All madaris will have to adopt the new syllabi by the end of this year. Those madaris which are already following such syllabi are welcome to continue. The government has de-

cid to provide financial assistance to such madaris.

The government will also help the madaris in the training of their teachers. The ministry of education has been instructed to review courses of Islamic education in all schools and colleges also with a view to improving them.

So far as foreign students attending madaris are concerned, we have set rules for them. Foreign students who do not have proper documents would be required to comply with the formalities by 23 March 2002 otherwise they can face deportation. Any foreigner wanting to attend madaris in Pakistan will have to obtain required documents from his/her native country and a no-objection certificate from the government. Only then, he or she will get admission.

The same rules will apply to foreign teachers. Some Ulama were of the view that some poor people who come to Pakistan for religious education should not be deported to the countries of their origin.

I agree that this is a genuine demand but such people should regularise their stay in Pakistan through their respective embassies. As I have said, all such activity has to be regulated and the writ of the government must be established. With a view to ending conflict, I have explained to you at great length the three areas causing confusion in our minds.

Making rules, regulations and issuing ordinances is easy but their implementation is difficult. However, I feel all the measures I have announced are of utmost importance. We have to implement them. In this regard, the law enforcement agencies including police must perform their duty.

We are introducing reforms in the police with a view to improving their efficiency. A great responsibility lies on their shoulders. I have directed the police to ensure implementation of the steps announced by the government.

We are also taking steps in consultation with the judiciary for speedy trial of cases relating to terrorism and extremism.

Apart from these issues, I would also like to inform you, my brothers and sisters that we have been sent a list of 20 people by India. I want to clear our position on this. There is no question of handing over any Pakistani. This will never be done. If we are given evidence against those people, we will take action against them in Pakistan under our own laws.

As far as non-Pakistanis are concerned, we have not given asylum to any one. Any one falling under this category will be proceeded against whenever one is found.

Pervez should walk the talk: Advani

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, Jan. 12. — Union home minister Mr LK Advani today said Pakistan President Mr Pervez Musharraf should walk the talk if he wanted to ease the increasing tensions between the two countries.

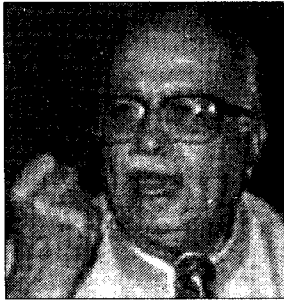
Reacting to General Musharraf's address to the nation this night, Mr Advani, who is now on a visit to the US, said he could not comment on the speech as he had neither heard or read it.

"I have no idea what

General Musharraf said today. However, we can just hope that Pakistan takes credible steps to prevent terrorist activities," he said.

He said he was in touch with external affairs minister Mr Jaswant Singh. "Any official comment on the speech would come from New Delhi," he told Aaj Tak Television in an interview from the US.

Mr Advani said he was "satisfied" with his trip to the United States, which understood India's concern over terrorism. It should cooperate to address the issue, he added.



Mr LK Advani

HIGHLIGHTS OF MUSHARRAF'S SPEECH

■ **Kashmir:** Kashmir issue has to be resolved peacefully in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the UN resolution. Pledge to continue moral, political and diplomatic support to the Kashmir cause.

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■ **Madradas:** All madrasas must be registered by end-March to stop their misuse by fundamentalists. Any madrasa found indulging in militant activity will be closed down immediately. No new madrasa to open without government permission.

■ **Foreign students:** All foreign students have to get no-objection certificates from the government for admission to madrasas.

■ **Masjid:** Mosques have been misused by religious fundamentalists due to which Pakistanis were scared of going to the places of worship.

■ **Jihad:** Action would be taken to curb elements misinterpreting "jihad" and bringing a bad name to Islam. Sipahi-e-Sahaba, Tehrik-e-Jafria and Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat (Mohammedi), three other religious fundamentalist groups, banned.

■ **Non-Pakistanis:** Appropriate action against non-Pakistanis wanted by India will be considered.

— SNS

THE STATESMAN

13 JAN 2002

The time is now

149-19
139/1

EVERY WAR, or the threat of it, is an opportunity for adversarial nations to rethink the premises that govern their bilateral relations. As India and Pakistan stare down the abyss of nuclear confrontation, there may be a historic opportunity at hand to move decisively towards a final resolution of the long-standing dispute over Jammu and Kashmir.

If the international community succeeds in persuading the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, to discard the instrument of cross-border terrorism with which Islamabad has bled India for nearly two decades, the confrontation could be de-escalated. And if Pakistan follows up with actions on the ground to curb terrorist activity on its soil, India must be ready to launch a serious political process that will explore an early and final solution to the Kashmir dispute.

There is a deep suspicion within Pakistan that if it puts the gun — pointed at India's head — down, New Delhi will have little incentive to negotiate purposefully on Kashmir. This view does have some sympathy within the international community, despite the current pressures on Pakistan to stop cross-border terrorism.

India, which in the last few weeks has displayed uncharacteristic ability to indulge in nuclear brinkmanship and coercive diplomacy against Pakistan, must match it with a bold political vision to initiate a peace process with Pakistan, at the heart of which is the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. There is no doubt that India has deliberately escalated the confrontation with Pakistan in the last few weeks in pursuit of its demand for an end to cross-border terrorism. For, the threshold of India's tolerance to Pakistan's proxy war was breached on December 13. Having upped the military ante to the highest level in three decades, India must also be ready to seize the moment that could emerge in the coming days for peace.

Not since 1971 have the Indian armed forces been mobilised to the extent they have been in the last few weeks. And unlike in 1971, India has the luxury of moving a substantial number of troops from the Eastern front to the West. In 1971, Pakistan was a still a reality in the east. And the relations with China were tense.



Will they sort it out?

The current crisis between India and Pakistan provides a unique opportunity to resolve the longstanding dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, writes C. Raja Mohan.

But today, India has mobilised the maximum possible numbers of troops for what could be a decisive confrontation with Pakistan.

Unlike in the winter of 1987, when the large-scale 'Brass Tacks' exercises initiated by the Army appeared to spin out of control towards a military

confrontation with Pakistan, the present troop mobilisation, as the Army Chief, S. Padmanabhan, said on Friday, is not a military exercise. It is about preparing to go to war as a conscious political choice.

In May 1990 too, there was military tension between India and Pakistan and the exchange

of hot words. But it would have been a skirmish compared to what could happen this time around.

If diplomacy fails and a war does occur, the prospects for which are not entirely nil, the conflict will be much larger than the one witnessed in Kargil during the summer of 1999.

India had successfully vacated the Pakistani aggression across the Line of Control in the Kargil sector through a confrontation that was limited to a small space. This time it could be a full-scale war that could take place not just on the Line of Control in Kashmir but the entire international border stretching from Kashmir to Gujarat.

The nuclear shadow now looms much larger than in the Kargil war. The fear of escalation to the nuclear level made India exercise great restraint in military operations limited to its side of the LoC. Despite considerable pressures, India was determined not to cross the LoC and widen the war. But this time, India is deliberately taking the risk of a full scale war with Pakistan to achieve its objective of an end to cross-border terrorism.

The real possibility of a nuclear exchange has given the present confrontation an unprecedented edge as well as the potential for an enduring peace between the two arch rivals. The nuclear factor coupled with the international concerns about terrorism have made the current crisis between India and Pakistan a unique opportunity to resolve the long-standing dispute over Jammu and Kashmir.

The danger of a nuclear war has forced the international community to become engaged with the problems between India and Pakistan as never before. In 1987, 1990, and 1999 there was indeed international diplomatic intervention to cool the tensions between the two sides. But this time, as the prospects of a nuclear war loom large, the engagement of the international community has been one of the most intensive the subcontinent has ever seen.

That this escalation between India and Pakistan has taken place amidst the American war against terrorism in Afghanistan has contributed to the basic transformation of the context of the international involvement in the subcontinent by altering the terms of the debate in India's favour.

The dramatic terrorist attacks on Washington and New York on September 11 have forced the world to accept the Indian concerns on terrorism. The United States could not but see the parallels between September 11 and December 13 and demand that Pakistan crack down hard on all sources of terrorism on its soil, not just

those relating to Afghanistan where America's principal interest was seen as lying.

Despite the fact that Islamabad has been an ally in its war in Afghanistan, the U.S. has applied unremitting and unprecedented pressure on Pakistan to change a fundamental feature of its recent policy towards India — the support for cross-border terrorism.

As a result, Pakistan finds itself in quandary that even its most paranoid military planners could not have thought of. Pakistan's quest for strategic depth in Afghanistan has ended in an unexpected problem on two fronts. The U.S. military is operating on Pakistan's Western borders and India has mobilised a massive military force on its Eastern. And, Washington and New Delhi are demanding that Pakistan shut down the business of jihad.

If this pressure begins to work, and it indeed might, New Delhi should be prepared to quickly shift gears from nuclear brinkmanship to political statesmanship. If Gen. Musharraf makes it clear that he is changing course on Kashmir and follows up with actions on the ground, India must be ready to begin the diplomatic and military de-escalation of the crisis.

India must demonstrate that it has no desire to pocket Pakistani concessions and turn its back on Kashmir. If Pakistan has to learn from the current crisis that cross-border terrorism is too risky a strategy between nuclear neighbours, India will have to recognise that the problem in Kashmir cannot be made to disappear by just ignoring it.

If Gen. Musharraf does put the gun down, India needs to recast its own approach to Kashmir — by easing the military pressure within the State, renewing the offer of a dialogue with the indigenous militant groups who are ready to give up violence, and initiating a genuine peace process with Pakistan.

The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, has proclaimed his desire to "get off the beaten track" in exploring a solution to the Kashmir dispute. If Gen. Musharraf heads in the right direction, Mr. Vajpayee must make good his own words. The Kashmir question may now be ripe for a resolution. The present conjunction of circumstances is a rare one and Mr. Vajpayee must grasp it.

'No Pakistani will be handed over'

Musharraf moves

against jihadis

KEITH FLORY
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Jan. 12. — Declaring a commitment to eliminate religion-induced violence from Pakistani soil and banning the Jaish-e-Mohammed and the Lashkar-e-Taiyaba, President Pervez Musharraf tonight appeared to address some of the Indian concerns that have brought the countries to the brink of war in recent weeks.

Whether that will suffice to persuade India to lower the ante will depend, as the President himself in regard to his domestic initiatives, on the implementation of the statement of seemingly good intent that marked his much-awaited televised address tonight.

Yet, as was only to be expected, he stressed the importance of a resolution of the Kashmir issue as the key to better relations with his eastern neighbour. While he did not talk of it being the "core issue", and spoke of a negotiated peaceful settlement, he also stuck to his guns in calling for international efforts at mediation. Something which India has consistently opposed, and insists on bilateral action as envisaged in the Simla Agreement.

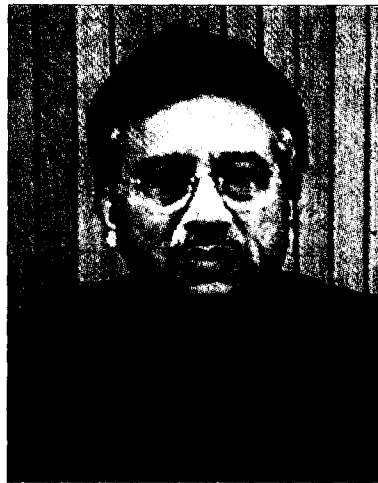
Gen Musharraf also banned three other religious fundamentalist groups, Sipahi-e-Sahaba, Tehrik-e-Jafria and Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat (Mohammedi).

He simultaneously waved a red rag to the Indian bull by calling for international human rights organisations and United Nations peacekeepers to monitor what he described as "state terrorism" by Indian security forces in Kashmir.

Even as he assured his people that no Pakistani would be handed over to India for legal action for terrorist activity, he said that if any others (non-Pakistanis) named in the list submitted by the Indian government were found in his country their extradition could

be "considered."

It was evident that Musharraf was keen to try and convince the international community of a



A TV image of Gen Musharraf addressing the nation. — AP/PTI

A message for PM

NEW DELHI, Jan. 12. — Gen Musharraf tonight had a message for Mr Vajpayee. "As the President of Pakistan," the General said, "I want to say that if one wishes to normalise Indo-Pak relations and bring back harmony, the Kashmir dispute has to be resolved peacefully, through dialogue."

Quoting Mr Vajpayee's remarks that "mindsets will have to be altered and historical baggage jettisoned," Gen Musharraf said: "I take you up on this offer. And let us start talking in this very spirit." But as the supreme commander of the Pakistani armed forces, he warned Mr Vajpayee not to make the mistake of "crossing the border." — SNS

determination to eradicate terrorism, extend an olive branch to India, but careful not to get down to the specifics that might invite

internal trouble.

As far as India would be concerned, the plus-point would be that apart from banning the two militant outfits deemed responsible for the attacks on Parliament House and the J&K Assembly — which he condemned — Musharraf declared that henceforth there would be no permitting Pakistani soil to be used as a launch pad for violent activity in Kashmir, or anywhere else for that matter.

Though he did not breathe the proverbial hot and cold, he was at pains to dispel any impression that he had been cornered, or was speaking from a position of anything but strength. Hence, as commander-in-chief of the Pakistan defence forces, he warned India against any military offensives — his troops were combat-ready to retaliate forcefully, operationally deployed and prepared to shed their last drop of blood.

President Musharraf made a personal appeal to Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee to live up to his call to jettison the baggage of history. Yet also insisting that Kashmir was a matter that could not be wrenched from the heart of every Pakistani.

India would have to carefully scrutinise what follows his speech, for in the absence of visible follow-up action it could wind up little more than a circus act. His feigned ignorance of the presence in Pakistan of those who perpetrated the Mumbai blasts and the Kandahar hijacking would prove cause for doubting his intentions, as also his seeking evidence from India against the Pakistanis it wants so that they could be tried under Pakistani law.

If the Indo-Pak angle to what Musharraf said tonight could be removed from the equation, what the President declared tonight was of considerable significance to Pakistan's domestic affairs. He made it clear that a narrow, fun

■ See PERVEZ: page 10

Govt to analyse address

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Jan. 12. — The government today chose to not officially react to General Pervez Musharraf's address, preferring instead to analyse the contents in detail before formulating a reply.

But the general reaction appeared to be that the General had tread a very clever line, addressing primarily a western audience — for whose benefit he even switched from Urdu to English — and that there was very little of worth for India.

A foreign ministry spokesperson said the ministry will "study in depth" the contents of the speech before reacting tomorrow.

Officials indicated that the speech was along expected lines, with Gen Musharraf banning the Lashkar-e-Taiyaba and the Jaish-e-Mohammed, and trying to sell the crackdown on Islamic fundamentalism and militancy through the "greater glory of Islam."

"There has been no change in his basic stance, on Kashmir, or on the list of 20 most wanted criminals," an official said. "There is nothing new from India's point of view," he said, adding: "but even if Gen Musharraf manages to stop militancy in mosques and madrasas, it will benefit us."

The Pakistan president's clubbing together of the terrorist acts of 11 September with 1 October

and 13 December appeared to be the only element in his address that some officials saw as a "sop".

What appeared to irk officials was that the General had spoken of continuing "moral, diplomatic and political" support to the Kashmir cause, though he qualified it by saying no violent 'jihad' would be permitted from Pakistani soil. His highlighting of "state terrorism" in "Indian-occupied Kashmir," and inviting US mediation to help resolve the issue also didn't go down well. The list of 20 criminals that India has handed over to Pakistan was mentioned by him, but with the same responses as before: no Pakistani would be handed over.

THE STATESMAN

3 JAN 2002

9:50 pm
Getting real *HT-8 12/11*

THE HASTY acquisition of fighter aircraft from China seems to be Pakistan's only consolation at present. Otherwise, it appears to be very much on the losing side where diplomacy is concerned. Not only has the UN ruled out the possibility of any intervention in Kashmir, it, too, has joined the US in asking Islamabad to act against the terrorists operating from Pakistan. The US has been even more forthright. In addition to President George W. Bush letting it be known that Pakistan cannot continue to use terror as a policy measure, Secretary of State Colin Powell has virtually endorsed India's position that Pervez Musharraf cannot continue to take shelter behind comforting promises but has to show through action that he is serious about curbing terrorism.

There is little doubt that L.K. Advani's visit to Washington has helped to dispel some of the mists which had earlier clouded Washington's perception of what Pakistan was up to. Mr Advani's plain speaking clearly has had an effect. Before his visit, there was an impression, mainly in the western media, that now that General Musharraf had shaken hands with Mr Vajpayee (and might have embraced him if the table had not been in the way, as the Pakistani president said), all that remains to be done is for India to withdraw its troops from the border and begin a dialogue

with Islamabad. Mr Advani, however, appears to have succeeded in convincing those he met that such naivete fails to take into account the duplicitous nature of the game that Pakistan has been playing.

It has long been a part of Pakistan's strategy to extend one hand as a gesture of friendship while feeding the terrorists with the other. The very nature of the proxy war is based on this ploy of pretending to offer only 'moral' and 'diplomatic' support to the subversives in Kashmir while providing arms and training to the terrorists and assorted mercenaries in Pakistan. Even though Pakistan has now been forced against its will to take steps against a few terrorist outfits, even these measures have been described as a sham by a British newspaper. Nor is this surprising considering that the use of terror has been a part of Pakistani policy ever since it teamed up with the Taliban in the mid-Nineties. Even now, it cannot be said for certain that Islamabad's links with the Taliban and Al-Qaeda have been broken or that Pakistan's home-grown *jehadis* have lost hope in the ISI's and Islamabad's support for their murderous cause. India, therefore, cannot afford to trust General Musharraf — the villain of Kargil and a friend of the Taliban — till there is irrefutable proof that he has realised the folly of his past policy of coddling Islamic fundamentalists.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

12 JAN 2002

UN rejects Pak request for mediation

9nd PAK-11-9
United Nations, January 11

THE UNITED Nations Security Council has virtually rejected Pakistan's request that it intervene to defuse the Indo-Pak tension.

There is no support for Pakistan's request among the Security Council's 15 members who stress that it is a bilateral issue and that it needs to be resolved between the two countries, council diplomats said.

They said the immediate issue was the need for Pakistan to crack down on terrorist groups which have been operating in Kashmir and killing innocent people. Pakistan's ambassador to the United Nations, Shamshad Ahmed Khan, had sought the UN Security Council's intervention to ease Indo-Pak tension during a meeting with security council president for the month, Ambassador Jugdish Koonjal Dharmachand of Mauritius.

Dharmachand briefly mentioned about his meeting with Khan after the council had finished the day's business late on Tuesday. Council diplomats said there was no discussion as none of the United Nations members showed any interest.

Lashkar cadres in disarray: The Lashkar-e-Tayyeba has received a jolt after the crack-down on its leadership by the Pakistani regime. "We have lost contact with our leaders and there is no one to guide us," an arrested militant said at Khannabal in Kashmir on Thursday.

The militant, Murtaza Aqib of Pakistan, was arrested along with a Lashkar commander, Mohammad Shafi Bhat, in Anantnag on Wednesday. Murtaza said the Kashmir movement had suffered a setback due to Islamabad's action on jehadi leaders.

PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

'India's patience not infinite'

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 11. India today asserted that its patience was not "infinite" and urged Pakistan to act quickly against terrorists operating from its soil. "We are waiting for a response. Our patience is not infinite," the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs said.

In response to a question, the spokesperson said India could exercise "various options" to reinforce its view that cross-border terrorism was unacceptable.

Official sources here, on Thursday, had said that India could consider denying the most-favoured nation status to Pakistan, expulsion of the Pakistan High Commissioner, snapping diplomatic ties and, as an extreme step, abrogation of the Indus Waters Treaty, in case Pakistan refused to take action against terrorism.

The spokesperson said the Indian build-up was a reaction to the troop mobilisation by Pakistan earlier.

"Our steps have been precautionary and defensive in nature...the situation at hand has been engendered by certain activities by Pakistan and the lack of response to the demands we have made."

The spokesperson's response assumes importance in the light of Pakistan's attempt to project itself as a 'victim' of an overbearing India before an international audience, the sources said. By pointing out that the Indian build-up was a "reaction" to Pakistani mobilisation, the Government was making an effort to give a perspective to its decision to move forces.

THE HINDU

12 JAN 2002

'THE BORDER SITUATION IS SERIOUS'

We are prepared: Army chief

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 11. The Chief of Army Staff, S. Padmanabhan, today delivered an unequivocally tough message to Pakistan for its continued encouragement of cross-border terrorism and declared that the Army was primed to respond to any task assigned by the Government to combat it.

The Army, he stressed, was fully prepared for a conventional war, if there was sufficient provocation. "I am a man of peace, but if there is a war they will find out that this man can bite. We shall surely prevail."

Gen. Padmanabhan clarified that the biggest-ever troop mobilisation was not part of any exercise but an expression of readiness for conflict with a recalcitrant nation if required. The massive deployment on the border was for the better defence of the country. "This is not an exercise. We don't play soldiers with frontline troops."

"When two countries mobilise their strength on the borders, it is not normal. The situation can comfortably be described as serious," he said at his first formal interaction with the media in a year.

In Gen. Padmanabhan's assessment, a nuclear war seemed improbable given the international situation and the larger geopolitical aims of the industrialised countries. Declaring that India possessed the capability of a retaliatory strike, he warned that if any country was "mad enough" to initiate a nuclear strike against India, then "the perpetrator of that particular outrage shall be punished severely."

He, however, prefaced his remarks by pointing out that the



The Chief of the Army Staff, S. Padmanabhan, addressing a press conference at South Block in New Delhi on Friday. — PTI

possibility of a nuclear exchange was in the "realm of the unknown" and that India had already declared that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons. International opinion was completely ranged against nuclear exchanges, he said.

A nuclear strike on India, its forces, assets at sea, economic resources and human beings was entirely unacceptable, Gen. Padmanabhan said.

Significantly, the Army chief's views assume importance as they could influence the widely expected address by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, tomorrow. They also reinforce the plain-speaking on terrorism by the Home Minister, L.K. Advani,

who is now in Washington.

Expressing dissatisfaction over Islamabad's steps to curb exfiltration by terrorists into Indian territory, he said a lot more would have to be done by restraining them in their home country because there had been no significant diminishing of 'jehadi' activity. Though many of the larger camps being run by the Inter-Service Intelligence were at some distance from the border, he was confident that the Army would be able to reach them. But any final decision would have to be taken by the Government.

'Border with China safe'

He did not anticipate any problem on the borders with China by

describing the bilateral relationship as being on a "fairly even keel" since the Nineties. The signing of the Peace and Tranquillity Treaty followed by military confidence-building measures had defused possibilities of a military face-off. Gen. Padmanabhan said the coming visit of the Chinese Prime Minister would help reinforce peace on the eastern borders "whatever else may happen".

The Army chief downplayed reports of China selling military hardware to Pakistan by pointing

Pak. warns against 'misadventure'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 11. Pakistan today reiterated that if India resorted to any "misadventure" on the borders, it would give a fitting reply. Asked for his reaction to the statement of the Indian Army chief, S. Padmanabhan, the Press Secretary to the President and Director-General of the Inter-Services Public Relations, Rashid Quereshi, said, "We know for several weeks now about India massing troops on the borders. If it resorts to any misadventure, we would be forced to reply."

A PTI report said the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, would make his much-anticipated national speech on his plans to contain terrorists and extremist organisations tomorrow night. Some Ministers and local media reports hinted that he was likely to announce a ban on the Jaish-e-Mohammad and the Lashkar-e-Taiba, which have been held responsible by India for the attack on its Parliament.

out that the two countries had always maintained close cooperation in this sector. It was also impossible for the recent supplies of ship-loads of aircraft to redress Pakistan's air imbalance because India's military edge was "unsailable".

Asked whether the snapping of STD and ISD links of private PCOs in Jammu and Kashmir had not inconvenienced people, he said "everything would be done to make it inconvenient to terrorists to pass on their messages". The well-being of the 1,500 or so PCO operators would be ensured by the Government.

Uncalled for concerns: Fernandes

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 11. India today reiterated that it was committed to the doctrine of "no-first use" of nuclear weapons and said that the observations of the Chief of Army Staff, S. Padmanabhan, at a press conference this afternoon had caused "uncalled for concerns."

"India's nuclear doctrine is very categorical that India shall not be the first to use the nuclear weapon, and looks to it as a deterrent. In the event of being attacked with a nuclear weapon, India will retaliate in kind, as any nuclear weapon country would," the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, said in a late evening statement.

He said that India, in the prevailing situation in the subcontinent, was pursuing diplomatic efforts in the belief that they would yield results.

The Government had not been talking of nuclear weapons. "I wish everyone gives up this talk of nuclear weapons being brought into play. The use of nuclear weapons is far too serious a matter that it should be bandied about in a cavalier manner."

The Army chief himself, the Minister noted, had emphasised that "the nuclear exchange between two countries of the South Asian continent will be disastrous for the whole region" and hoped that no sensible person would ever want to invite that disaster.

In a related development, the Army Chief's observations led to a fall in the Sensex by 19 points. The BSE benchmark 30-share index, that has been under pressure right from the commencement of trading, fell below the 3300-level around 2.45 p.m. following the news conference by Gen. Padmanabhan.

THE HINDU

12 JAN 2002

India keeps war option open

FROM PRANAV SHARMA

New Delhi, Jan. 11: India today kept up the heat on Pakistan, making it clear that the nuclear neighbours could even go to war if Pervez Musharraf does not address Delhi's concerns on terrorism in his speech to the nation tomorrow.

"We are waiting for a response from Pakistan. Our patience is not infinite," external affairs ministry spokesperson Nirupama Rao said even as army chief S. Padmanabhan asserted that troop deployment was complete and India was ready for war.

Though South Block pointed out there were other diplomatic options that Delhi could pursue — like total snapping of ties and abrogation of the Indus Water Treaty — signals emanating from the Indian establishment today indicated a toughening of stand.

The sabre-rattling is a deliberate ploy, aimed at both the do-

mestic audience as well as the international community.

Delhi feels if it keeps up the tough posture on the eve of Musharraf's address, it stands a better chance of making world leaders force the military ruler to concede to its demands.

The remarks by the leader, as well as the fact that the army chief was given the go-ahead to address the media this afternoon are part of this strategy.

Foreign minister Jaswant Singh said Pakistan has to clearly state that is abandoning the path of cross-border terrorism as an instrument of state policy and initiate corresponding "recognisable action".

"What is expected under the present circumstances is a clear enunciation by Pakistan of abandoning the path of violence, abjuring violence and abandoning the path of cross-border terrorism as an instrument of state policy, including in Jammu and Kashmir," Singh

told a television channel in an interview.

"You cannot make subtle and insidious kind of divisions or differentiation."

His references were aimed at Musharraf's remarks at the recently concluded Saarc summit in Kathmandu. In his speech at the summit, the Pakistan President had tried to draw a distinction between terrorists and "freedom fighters".

Singh said the way out of the current impasse was in Musharraf clearly and categorically addressing India's concerns. "The way out is from where the way began. I don't want it to be a one-way street," he said.

"If the Pakistani leadership were to recognise the gravity of the situation and the enormity of the wrong that has been perpetrated on India, how a significant threshold has been crossed and the sense of outrage felt in the length and breadth of India, I am sure they will address the issue more correctly,"

the foreign minister said.

However, there is a growing perception in India that the establishment in Islamabad may try to change the status of "jihadis" active in Kashmir to "political agitators" if international pressure forces Musharraf to address Delhi's concerns.

Pakistan-watchers here feel the only way Islamabad could meaningfully engage with Delhi on Kashmir — if it has to give up cross-border-terrorism as a foreign policy tool — is by making outfits like the United Jihad Council more legitimate. And the surest way of doing this would be by changing their status from armed activists to "political agitators".

But this is not something that is on top of Delhi's list of concerns. "If that happens we will face the situation," a senior official said.

"First let us see whether Musharraf crumbles under the growing pressure and announces terrorism," he added.



Pervez Musharraf at a meeting in Islamabad. (Reuters)

Sanctuary for LTTE?

Sri Lanka India should tread cautiously *Sri Lanka*

Any agreement between the Sri Lanka government and the LTTE to resolve the ethnic crisis in the island republic is to be welcomed. But, if the government of India concedes the request of the LTTE to provide sanctuary to its political adviser and chief negotiator, Anton Balasingham, and spouse, Adele Anne, in Chennai or any other South Indian city, to facilitate negotiations initiated by Norway, it would be violating its own POTO. Even before Sri Lanka, India had declared the LTTE a terrorist organisation and banned it. Countries like the USA, the UK, Canada and Australia have followed suit. Velupillai Pirabhakaran, the LTTE supremo, and Pottu Amman, its intelligence chief, are accused number one and two in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case and are declared proclaimed offenders. The LTTE has been and continues to be aided by Pakistan's ISI and receives weapons from Al Qaeda in return for drug running. It is not as though Hindu terrorism is less dangerous than Islamic terrorism!

One meeting a Norwegian delegation led by Deputy Foreign Minister Vidar Helgesen had with Balasingham in London on 4 January had created such a diplomatic row that the LTTE was forced to relocate its chief negotiator, a British national, outside Britain. A resident of Chennai in the eighties, Balasingham's wanting to return to the city is understandable. But the LTTE's track record is not credible. Apart from killing Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu, it virtually decimated the entire leadership of the EPRLF, another Sri Lankan Tamil liberation group, in the heart of Chennai in 1990. About 1,300 Indian soldiers were killed and more than 3,000 incapacitated in the North-eastern Province of Sri Lanka by the LTTE while on peace keeping duty there. In its two decades old armed struggle to carve out a separate Eelam, the LTTE have killed more unarmed Tamil politicians than the Sri Lankan police and armed forces. Taking into account the present international climate against the politics of terrorism, the LTTE has declared a truce and sued for peace. New Delhi should realise that neither tigers nor leopards change their markings!

1 2 JAN 2002

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Advani hopes India's steps will convince Pak.

12/1

WASHINGTON, JAN. 11. The Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, says he is still optimistic that the measures India is taking at the diplomatic level will persuade Pakistan to abandon terrorism as an instrument of state policy.

Mr. Advani told Fox-TV network that the measures included his talks in Washington and international opinion, particularly the opinion of America.

Asked whether he still thinks that the U.S. ought to declare Pakistan a terrorist state, Mr. Advani said that was for the U.S. to decide. India had demanded it earlier also. What India was aiming at, he said, was to see that Pakistan abandoned the use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy.

"They may have their own views on the Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba and we have his own. We can discuss them. We can try to narrow the differences. But use of terrorism to inflict on India their viewpoint in respect of Jammu and Kashmir is unacceptable," he said.

Mr. Advani said Washington could play a role (in persuading Pakistan to abandon the policy of trying to achieve its goals through terrorism).

Mr. Advani told a public TV network that because there were different perceptions the two countries

that the leaders of the two countries signed the Simla agreement which provided that disputes can be settled only by dialogue and not through war. But Pakistan, he said, had been engaged in a proxy war against India for 20 years.

Desire for diplomacy

The State Department spokesman, Richard Boucher, said there was a desire and some efforts were underway by the parties to move in a political and diplomatic direction. But the situation continued to be dangerous.

"It appeared from the Secretary of State, Colin Powell's meeting with Mr. Advani that India did seem willing to move forward and to look for a political and diplomatic solution," Mr. Boucher said.

Asked if the U.S. was with India in demanding that Pakistan dismantle all terrorist organisations, he said the U.S. believed that the steps Gen. Musharraf had taken against terrorist groups were important.

"We will look forward to hearing from him on what more he intends to do... And we are confident that he will back up his statements with action. And that, as we all know, remains the most important thing," Mr. Boucher said. — PTI, UNI

THE HINDU

1 2 JAN 2002

INTERVIEW

LET'S SEE ACTION FROM PAKISTAN, SAYS INDIA'S AMBASSADOR ON RECALL VIJAY NAMBIAR

In mid-December, the Nambiar were planning their year-end party at the Indian High Commission in Islamabad and then preparing to pack for their next posting. Vijay Nambiar has been named as India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, but the December 13 attack on Parliament forced him to head back to Delhi instead of New York. The High Commissioner on recall will probably spend the next few months in hostel accommodation provided by his Ministry before taking off for the Big Apple. Nambiar spent an hour with RITU SARIN reflecting on his truncated tenure and what could be expected from Pakistan:

Was Islamabad a difficult posting?

■ IT is one of our most sensitive postings. Anything you did there was highly visible and had an immediate impact. You feel you are in a glass jar. That is also because of the nature of our engagement — or the lack of it — over the years. There's a jagged edge even to official relationships.

You were in Islamabad during the Kargil war and after the Agra summit. Did things get tense for the Indian High Commissioner?

■ KARGIL and Agra did create a vacuum in the engagement. I found if I wanted to go around Pakistan, it was not possible at times. I wasn't allowed to go to Peshawar. I wanted to accompany fellow diplomats to Abbottabad for a social occasion but that too was not permitted. Some of our friends in the commission could not take their relatives to certain places near Islamabad.

What about surveillance and the roughing up of diplomats?

■ THERE is surveillance. They complain about it too, but I haven't seen evidence of it in New Delhi. If we are doing it, we are obviously doing it in a more sophisticated manner. Their's is a very direct and sometimes brusque surveillance. Some of our diplomats are, in fact, boxed whenever they travel. There are people in front, people on the side, people behind in motorcycles or vehicles.

'Pak's slowly moving against terrorists but it must realise the pressure is building up'



'Modalities have been set up in the past whereby fugitives can be brought back without adhering to time-consuming procedures. If there is a will there are enough modalities'

When we invite Pakistani guests or public personages, there is an attempt to slip in more people. Yes, we have the occasional roughing up of our people which is very, very

ing is not cosmetic. For example, they freeze accounts of groups which only have hundreds of rupees.

What about independent information com-

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What evidence have you got from Pakistan on criminals and militants taking refuge there?

■ WE get very little evidence. When you talk to officials, they dismiss even the mention of leaders from organisations like the Jaish and say, who is Masood Azhar? We have also raised the question of Indian fugitives time and again but they say, we have received your reminder and will find out.

After the statements by British Prime Minister Tony Blair and the American senators led by Joseph Lieberman, how worried is Islamabad?

■ IT is time for Islamabad to understand the seriousness of the situation and our expectations. Nobody is going to be impressed with a show of words. It has to be seen as something which translates into action. Unless that happens, I don't see the situation defusing.

Do you believe there has been a crackdown on operations of terrorist groups?

■ WE need to get more information to ensure that what's happen-

ing from our intelligence agencies and sources in Pakistan?

■ THE impression we get is there is a slow movement. More organisations, more individuals are being taken into custody. But we have to see if these individuals amount to anything significant.

What is lacking in the evidence we have shown Pakistan and now other countries in the coalition?

■ EVIDENCE is never enough if you don't have a commitment to resolving a problem. You can't wake up a person who is pretending to sleep. When you are working to eradicate something, both must move in the same direction. That much of evidence is certainly available with us. We have given details of individuals and names and aliases, addresses, their activities. And remember, this is information we have collected in a hostile environment.

Have our agencies been able to capitalise enough on the international climate against terrorism?

■ I THINK they have done a good job. They obviously have to do a lot more. There is now a clear recognition around the world about the specifics of the terrorism practised against India. Some countries may talk about lack of evidence. But even with my interaction, say, with the Americans in Islamabad I found a fair meeting of minds on this subject.

How far do you expect President Musharraf to go facing the kind of pressure he is?

■ I DON'T know. It is difficult for me to sug-

If General Musharraf is able to give an impression that no piece of territory in Pakistan will be used as a launching pad for violence against India and in J&K, then it is something. After all, we presume he is the de facto ruler of Pakistan'

gest at this stage but I think it is necessary for Pakistan to realise the seriousness of the situation and perhaps the General himself is aware of what our own expectations are. If anything, I see the pressure is steadily building. I can't see any easing of tensions.

Given the present situation, is Musharraf India's best bet?

■ I CANNOT say. It is essentially a question of trust and so far I don't know if that has been established. The question is: can he provide a modicum of assurance that when he makes public statements about joining the coalition, it is not something that is on the West of Pakistan and does not impinge on the situation in the East of Pakistan. If he is able to give an impression to the world and us that it is something across the board that

no piece of territory in Pakistan will be used as a launching pad for violence against India and in Jammu and Kashmir, then it is something. This is because we presume he is the de facto ruler of Pakistan.

There is speculation that a few of the men on the list of 20 may be extradited to India.

■ WHAT we expect from Pakistan is deeds rather than empty statements. We are looking for action against terrorism and terrorists. If the expectation is fulfilled, at least the pressure in bilateral relations will ease a little. And on the question of our wanted men, modalities have been established in the past whereby fugitives can be brought back without adhering to time-consuming procedures. If there is a will there are enough modalities.

Do you expect to return to Islamabad?

■ I AM watching things day to day. But it looks bleak. One can hope for some developments which will help me to go back, which may be too optimistic. For now, I have packed up for good.

How long will the mission in Islamabad function at half its strength?

■ IT is a drastic step, a signal that the process of the disengagement of the mission has begun. It is meant to convey the signal that something has to be done to stem the rapid deterioration of relations. As far as the cutting down of staff is concerned, the functioning will also reduce.

When do you expect a resumption of train and bus services?

■ WE will have to wait and see. It is a step we have taken seriously and we don't make these statements and then decide to change them quickly. An attack of the nature of December 13 is unprecedented. What we are saying is, there are organisations who have done it, which in the past have (and continue to) received the support and shelter of Pakistan's official establishment. Action has to be taken against them, what we are saying is, do it.

Pakistan wants UN troops along border

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Indo Pak

Islamabad/New Delhi, Jan 10

PAKISTAN TODAY sought the deployment of multi-national or UN troops at the Indo-Pak border to "verify" New Delhi's allegations of cross border terrorism, while continuing its rhetoric that the violence in Kashmir was a "genuine freedom movement", not militancy.

"What is happening in 'occupied Kashmir' is a genuine freedom struggle for the right of self-determination, which is promised by UN resolutions. It is struggle for self-determination and has nothing to do with terrorism," foreign office spokesman Aziz Ahmad Khan told reporters.

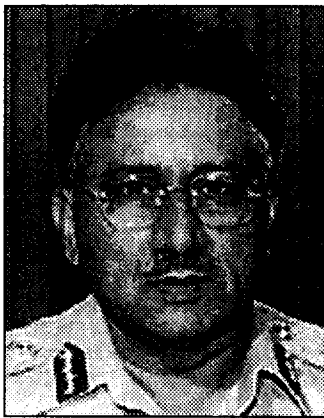
Khan said Pakistan would "welcome" deployment of international troops on both sides of the border to dispel accusations by India.

He also called for withdrawal of troops from both sides to defuse tension. "The tension would continue as long as such large numbers of troops remain deployed so close to the border. That is why Pakistan is calling for withdrawal of troops and settle all outstanding issues through talks."

In New Delhi, external affairs ministry spokesperson Nirupama Rao also described the situation on the Indo-Pak border as "tense", but said the responsibility of reducing tension "basically rests with Pakistan".

While declining to speculate on Pak President Pervez Musharraf's nation address-to-be, she said, "If Islamabad is ready to openly denounce cross-border terrorism, it would be a step in the correct direction... Pakistan has to say clearly that it will not promote cross-border terrorism from its soil or any part of the territory controlled by it."

Khan declined to speculate the time and contents of the much-awaited address. Musharraf is expected to make major announcements in the next two days which could help



PERVEZ MUSHARRAF

ease Indo-Pak tensions, according to a team of US Senators who met him earlier this week.

New Delhi, however, still has its guard up. "Our past experience with Pakistan gives us cause to be pessimistic. Let us see if Pakistan is prepared to go beyond what it has said so far, not only in terms of words but also in terms of concrete actions," Rao told reporters.

On Pakistan's insistence on the implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions on J&K, she said New Delhi is very clear that the path for resolution of outstanding issues between India and Pakistan is through bilateral dialogue.

But Khan sidestepped a question on whether the permanent members of the UN Security Council had declined to intervene in the Indo-Pak standoff. The Pakistan representative at UN, Shamshad Ahmed Khan, "regularly met" permanent members of the Security Council to "apprise them about the regional situation", was all he said.

Khan said coalition partners have expressed satisfaction with Pakistan's cooperation to bring down tension in the region. "My impression is that things are under control and the international community has appreciated Pakistan's principled stand of resolution of problems through dialogue."

PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

11 JAN 2002

Lal and storm in the US

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Pervez must do more, Bush agrees with Advani

S Rajagopalan
Washington, January 10

THE US today assured a tough-talking LK Advani that it would step up pressure on Pakistan to go all out against anti-India terror outfits and send out a clear message that it would not brook terrorism of any kind.

President Bush told Advani in no uncertain terms that the US was determined to see the end of terrorism everywhere and that he expected Pakistan to take all steps to put down terrorism that is affecting India.

Later, a visibly happy Advani told reporters that he was "immensely satisfied" with Bush's determination to see that Pakistan abandoned terrorism as an instrument of state policy. The US President was "very forthcoming and very firm," he said.

Bush, who dropped by when Advani was meeting National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice at the White House, said he expected President Musharraf to deal with terrorism affecting India in the same manner as he

had dealt with the Taliban-propped terrorism.

Advani told Bush that India would judge Pakistan not merely by its statements, but by accompanying actions. But he said he had felt encouraged as Bush was determined to ensure implementation of his policy of stamping out terrorism everywhere.

Washington also conveyed to Advani that it would expect Musharraf to take "appropriate action" on the question of turning over the 20 top terrorists wanted by India.

During his meetings with Secretary of State Colin Powell and Attorney-General John Ashcroft, Advani made it clear that Delhi's patience was running thin because of Islamabad's failure to act on its key demands after the attack on India's Parliament.

Powell, who has decided to visit India and Pakistan next week on another trouble-shooting mission, said the US would be looking to see what additional action Musharraf takes. The Pakistan President had taken a number of steps, but he would

need to do more, Powell said.

At a Press meet, Advani made it clear that India would not wait indefinitely for Pakistan to dismantle the structure of its cross-border terrorism.

Nearly a month had passed since the Parliament attack, but the Musharraf regime was still to address Indian concerns, he pointed out.

Warning Pakistan that India would not tolerate "another betrayal", Advani said the touchstone of Pakistan's sincerity would be decisive action without any further delay on the four Indian demands:

- Hand over to India the 20 "most wanted terrorists"
- Close down terrorist training camps and end the supply of funds and arms.
- Stop infiltration of arms and men into Jammu & Kashmir and other places.
- Renounce terrorism in all its manifestations.

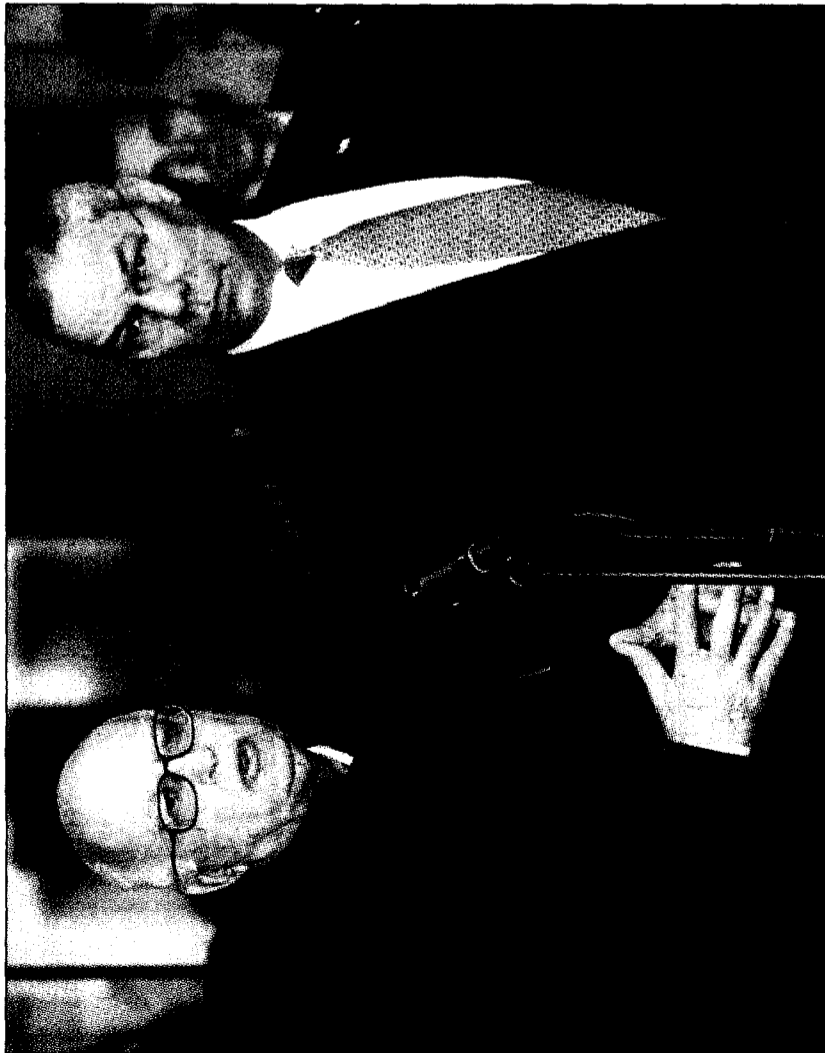
Advani presented to both Powell and Ashcroft copies of the list of 20 terrorists submitted to Pakistan "with copious evidence of

their acts of crime against India". He said he was fully satisfied with the discussions he had had with both leaders.

In brief remarks after the meeting with Advani, Powell disclosed that the US had discussed with Musharraf the issue of action on the "list of 20". "I know he is examining it, and I hope he will take appropriate action on the list. But it is in his hands."

He confirmed that the US was indeed looking forward to Musharraf's promised new initiative against terrorism. "But it's not just the speech. We will be looking to see what additional (steps) he has taken," he said even while renewing his call to both India and Pakistan to find a political and diplomatic solution to their standoff.

Advani launched a full-scale attack on Pakistan for betraying every Indian initiative to normalise relations by responding with terror. But December 13 had "stealed India's resolve to take our battle against Pak-sponsored cross-border terrorism to the finish," he said.



L K Advani and US Secretary of State Colin Powell address a Press conference in Washington on Thursday.

Defusing the crisis

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General Musharraf's gesture in going up to shake hands with Mr Vajpayee in Kathmandu was a true *coup de theatre*. Coming as it did against the background of a grim and steadily worsening situation, it introduced a new mood, and perhaps even a more hopeful expectation.

The General will garner much applause for what he initiated, even as observers across the region and beyond try to assess where it can lead. There will no doubt be an inclination among some to dismiss it as a move calculated only to impress the international gallery. But such damaging thoughts are best kept in abeyance. The General should be given credit for doing something that could help defuse the crisis.

There is a perception both within and outside the country that both parties may not want matters to get any worse and edge over into war, but neither may know how to get out of the jam.

Climbing down from the peak is no less perilous than ascending it in the first instance. Even in the midst of the dramatic events in Kathmandu, India made it clear that it was not satisfied with what Pakistan has done to meet its demands.

Diplomatic contact is virtually non-existent and whether any channel of communication between the two countries was established when the leaders were together at the Saarc conference is not known, especially in distant New York where this article is being written.

The question remains of what more must Pakistan do to meet India's expectation. Some private discussion between the two seems unavoidable if they are to reach a conclusion that both can

accept, hence the need for an effective channel of communication.

As the Kathmandu handshake - which is bound to work itself into the Indo-Pak

wide angle SALMAN HAIDAR

terrorism from Pakistani soil must be taken and one assumes that Western diplomatic effort will try to bring that about.

Meanwhile, Gen. Mushar-

India has good reason to demand the extradition of some known criminals who strut about in Pakistan in apparent security. However, extradition is ultimately a matter for the courts, and India has a very mixed record in preparing extradition cases in a manner that convinces law courts abroad.

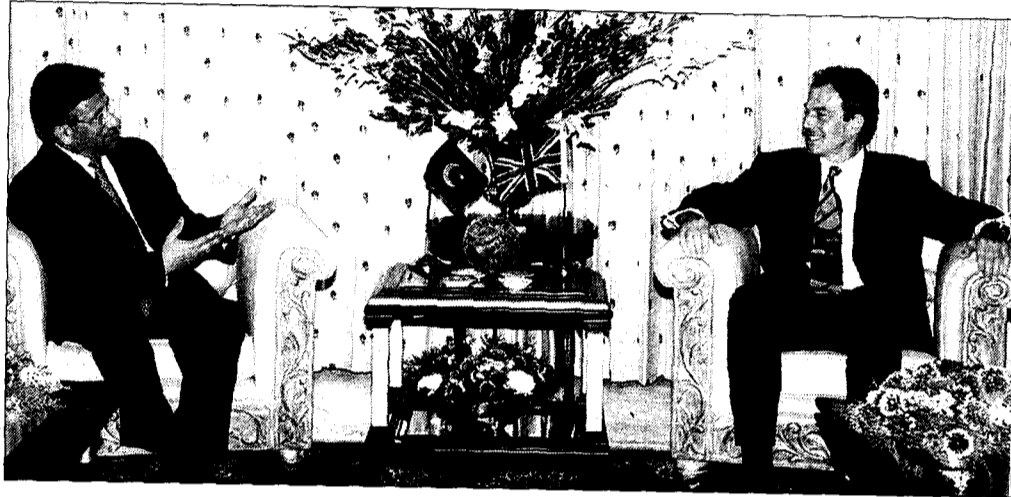
There can be little expectation that Pakistani courts will be inclined towards Indian demands, so the extradition of the 20-odd individuals we have asked for is highly unlikely to take place. However, governments have other means at their disposal and Pakistan can act against these people in other ways.

This is one area where some private talk between the two parties is required if there is to be progress towards handling this matter.

While the issues are serious and dangerous, there is a curiously unreal quality to the Indo-Pak crisis. The armies are massed on the frontiers, the rhetoric is pitched high, and in the middle of it the two leaders are shown to be grasping hands in Kathmandu. It is indeed a strange relationship. Seen from America, the crisis in the sub-continent remains in the shadow of Afghanistan, where the stakes are markedly smaller.

The main fear now must be that the leaders on both sides may not know how to get out of it, and that they find themselves blundering into a war that neither wants. One can only hope that the leaders prove capable of controlling the juggernaut they have set in motion.

(The author is a former Foreign Secretary.)



British Prime Minister Tony Blair, right, and Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf at a meeting in Islamabad on Monday. Gen. Musharraf said he had assured Mr Blair that Pakistan was ready to enter talks to de-escalate the situation in the region. — AP/PTI

diplomatic lexicon - does not seem to have served to congenial relations, pressure has mounted for third parties to step in.

Mr Blair has taken a hand. Although his visit was planned some time ago, it has provided a timely opportunity for him to pour oil on troubled sub-continental waters. Backing him fairly shortly is likely to be a special envoy of Mr Bush. Ordinarily, India would take alarm at such moves, for they have tended to work against Indian interest. But that may no longer be true.

We may not be comfortable with outside attention to our affairs, yet on this occasion the general perception is that America has come down on India's side.

The Pakistani fiction that its backing for militants in Kashmir is confined to political and moral support has worn very thin and convinces nobody. Under American pressure, Pakistan has been pushed into acting against the Lashkar-e-Taiyaba and the Jaish-e-Mohammed, but in its present tough mood, induced in part by India's uncompromising stand, America seems to agree that more is needed.

The ISI is deeply suspect in some American eyes and Gen. Musharraf's hold on it is open to question. To shift "political and moral support" from Pakistani to Kashmiri militants will not do.

This is the sort of subterfuge that may have passed at one stage, but no more. Clearer and more decisive action to curb

raf must be gratified with the approval he obtains in Washington. It is not the government alone that warms to him. A group of Senators has set off on a trip to convey thanks to those who have helped the American cause in the Afghan war. Pakistan is prominently on the list of countries to be visited.

The General is applauded for that and for his courage in taking on the fundamentalists at home. There is sympathy for his dilemma: lowering support for the Kashmiri militants can feed the frenzy of the extremist groups that he is simultaneously trying to control.

The choices before him are much more difficult than those he faced when obliged to reverse course in Afghanistan.

India wants unambiguous rejection of 'jehad'

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By C. Raja Mohan 110-1

NEW DELHI, JAN. 10. As the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, prepares for what has been billed as a historic speech to be delivered this weekend, India expects an unambiguous rejection of "jehad" and terrorism as instruments of Islamabad's policy towards Jammu and Kashmir.

A comprehensive declaration by Pakistan against terrorism is one of the political benchmarks set by India for de-escalation of the current build-up by both the two nations.

The other benchmarks include "action" by Pakistan on the list of terrorists and criminals sent to it and cooperation on the ground to prevent infiltration by terrorists from the Pakistani side.

If Gen. Musharraf effectively addresses these benchmarks in the coming days, India and Pakistan could begin de-escalating the tensions and revive a full-fledged peace process in the near future.

But if he is tempted to retain the ambiguity in his current position on terrorism, India might have no option but to conclude that Pakistan is not serious about finding a way out of the present crisis.

The international community is pressing Gen. Musharraf to remove all ambiguities that remain in his position on the relationship between terrorism and the Kashmir question.

At the summit of the South Asian leaders last week in Kathmandu, Gen. Musharraf did indeed condemn terrorism in the abstract. But in the same breath he referred to "freedom struggles" that must be excluded from the ambit of terrorism.

But the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, who was in Pakistan earlier this week is believed to have conveyed to Gen. Musharraf that there can be no exceptions to the rejection of terrorism.

While pressure is mounting on Gen. Musharraf to

come clean on terrorism, India is being urged not to reject potentially positive formulations in Gen. Musharraf's speech out of hand.

Since his address is principally aimed at the domestic audiences, it is being suggested that India's own response should not inevitably focus on the many elements that might be offensive to India.

India believes that there can be no splitting the difference on the core question of Pakistan rejecting terrorism as a policy option. Having tried twice before to finesse the issue, India now has drawn the line. Both at Lahore and Agra, India had hoped that the initiation of the peace process will lead to an eventual reduction in cross-border terrorism. India is no longer prepared to take those chances in the wake of the December 13 attack on Parliament.

India would not want to quibble over either Pakistan's characterisation of the violent insurgency in Kashmir or making a strong reassertion of Islamabad's political position on the disputed state.

But New Delhi will definitely dismiss Gen. Musharraf's statement if he remains unclear about the rejection of terrorism — an instrument Islamabad has used over the last decade to pursue its political aims in Kashmir.

In seeking a statement on terrorism from Gen. Musharraf, India is looking for a credible signal from Pakistan that it is embarked on a different path to resolve its dispute with India over Kashmir.

If Gen. Musharraf meets this test of intentions and follows up with a series of actions against cross-border terrorism, the present crisis could be transformed into an opportunity for peace in the sub-continent.

If Gen. Musharraf fudges the issue again, there is the danger that the current tensions between the two nations would only deepen.

Cong. pulls out of delegations

By Javed M. Ansari

NEW DELHI JAN. 10. Upset over the unilateral announcement of the composition of diplomatic delegations being sent abroad to explain India's case, vis-a-vis, crossborder terrorism, the Congress has decided to pull out.

The party is unhappy that the Government chose to ignore it while deciding on both the composition, as well as destination of the delegations. What it finds "absolutely unacceptable" is the fact that it learnt about its members' inclusion in the delegations through the BJP spokesperson, Vijay Kumar Malhotra. "How can the BJP decide on who the Congress nominees will be and where they will go," asked Natwar Singh, head of the AICC's Foreign Affairs department. Congress leaders said it was agreed upon only in principle at the all party meeting on December 30 that delegations comprising members of all parties be sent abroad. Significantly, the Government did not formally approach the Congress lead-

ership despite being advised to do so. Manmohan Singh had made it clear to the Ministers, Jaswant Singh and Pramod Mahajan, that they must get the names of the Congress members cleared by the party leadership.

According to Dr. Singh, he had made these things clear to both the Ministers, when he was formally sounded out by Jaswant Singh about leading one of the delegations.

Having learnt from the media about his appointment, an angry Dr. Singh today issued a statement taking the Government to task for ignoring his party leadership. "The least that was expected was consultations and dialogue with the Congress leadership, about the composition of the delegations and the places to be visited," he said. This showed that the BJP was not "serious about sustaining the national consensus on crucial issues."

The door, however, does not to be firmly shut and there were indications that should the Government make amends, there could be a rethink on the issue. Senior

party leaders point out that the problem is not so much over the leaders who have been chosen, but over the "improper manner in which it was done."

Senior leaders point out that it was clear that Sonia Gandhi would not be able to lead any of the delegations because of her preoccupation with the Assembly elections. What the party expected was that the Government would follow the proper procedure in going about it, by formally consulting the leadership. "Its now up to the Government, on important issues like this it must consult the Congress and all other Opposition parties" said Mr. Natwar Singh.

Malhotra denies

Meanwhile, the BJP spokesperson, V.K. Malhotra, today denied having the leaders who would be travelling as a part of the delegation. "In response to queries from the media on the subject I made it clear that the list is with the Prime Minister and he alongwith the External affairs Minister would decide on the composition."

6 Pak soldiers killed in bid on LoC post

HTC & Agencies
Jammu, January 10

SIX PAKISTANI soldiers were killed and scores wounded when Indian troops foiled a major attempt by an armoured regiment of the 30 Corps of Pakistan Army to capture the Chhatri post along the LoC in Chhamb sector early this morning.

Security sources said Pakistani troops, backed by heavy artillery fire, launched a fierce ground assault around 3.55 am,

targeting forward bunkers and isolated communication towers. They rained 82mm mortar shells for about 45 minutes on frontier positions and followed it up with fire from 105mm artillery guns, the sources said.

Regular Army personnel were seen jumping out of their bunkers and crawling towards the LoC.

Sensing trouble, troops manning the forward positions opened heavy artillery fire and in the first 30 minutes of the

shootout, destroyed three Pakistani armoured personnel carriers.

Some frontline Pakistani bunkers were razed when troops scored direct hits, killing six regulars. A Pakistani fuel oil and lubricants depot caught fire as a 81mm mortar shell hit it, damaging the barracks of regular Army personnel nearby. Sources said mujahideens also fought along with Pakistani Army regulars in the attack.

One child died and two chil-

dren were critically injured when Pakistani troops opened heavy unprovoked shelling at the Kasba sector in Poonch late last night. In retaliatory fire, Indian troops destroyed two Pakistani bunkers and an ammunition dump.

The exact number of casualties was not immediately known. There were reports of heavy firing at Dagwar, also in Poonch, where the two sides were locked in a fierce encounter since this morning.

More sanctions?

INDIA ON Thursday sent out a tough message to Pakistan, saying more diplomatic sanctions could follow if Islamabad failed to give a clear commitment to stamping out terrorism, which should be reflected by measures on the ground. The fresh measures could include further reduction in staff in the two missions. **PTI, New Delhi**

Pak. will welcome deployment of observers

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 10. The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, has said that Pakistan would welcome the deployment of U.N. or multi-national forces or observers at the Indo-Pak. borders to verify the Indian allegations of cross-border terrorism. He reiterated Pakistan's stand for de-escalation and withdrawal of troops from both sides of the Indo-Pak. borders to peacetime locations and begin negotiations to resolve all outstanding disputes including Kashmir. Mr. Khan described the recent meetings of Pakistan's permanent representative at the U.N. with the U.N. Security Council President and other permanent members as routine.

Asked whether the permanent members of the Security Council had declined to intervene in the present Indo-Pak. standoff, he said the Pakistan representative at the U.N., Shamshad Ahmed Khan, regularly met the permanent members of the Security Council and the President to apprise them about the regional situation.

On the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell's statement that Pa-

kistan should step up the crack-down on terrorist groups in Pakistan, he said Powell actually appreciated Pakistan's efforts to bring down the tensions between India and Pakistan.

"The coalition partners have expressed satisfaction for Pakistan's cooperation to bring down the tensions. The entire international community is calling for resolution of the situation through peaceful means. Pakistan has taken certain action. It continued to take actions. Its cooperation is appreciated", he said.

"My impression is that things are under control and the international community appreciated Pakistan's principled stand of resolution of problem though dialogue", he said.

Close on the heels of the Indian Government's decision to send delegations of political leaders to different world capitals to explain its standoff with Pakistan, the Musharraf Government too has taken a similar initiative.

The Pakistan Federal Minister for Communication and Railways and former head of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Javed Ashraf Qazi, and the former Federal Minister and factional leader of the

Pakistan Muslim League, Ejazul Haq, would embark on a visit to the Middle East and Saudi Arabia as special emissaries of Gen. Musharraf.

India wants me extradited: Amanullah Khan

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 10. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) chairman, Amanullah Khan, has claimed that India had sought his extradition from Pakistan, and challenged New Delhi to move the International Court of Justice to prove he was a "terrorist".

At a news conference here, Mr. Khan declared that he was prepared to appear in the world court. He could prove all the allegations of terrorism against him to be false; if the court said he was a terrorist or that his demand for independence was not justified, he would hand himself over to India. He quoted media reports that India had got a 'Red Notice' (international warrant of arrest) issued against him by Interpol and said this was not the first such instance. He accused New Delhi of

entering into a deal with the Thatcher Government and getting him arrested in the United Kingdom in 1985. He was jailed for over 15 months.

He claimed that when the courts acquitted him, India got him deported from the U.K. In 1990, India got his U.S. visa cancelled and a Red Notice issued again.

In October 1993, he was arrested by the Interpol in Brussels when he was participating in a round table conference on Kashmir on the invitation of the European Parliament. India demanded his extradition, but the Belgian court rejected it and sent him back to Pakistan.

Mr. Khan said he had applied for an Indian visa in March last to attend an intra-Kashmir conference convened by G.M. Shah, president, Awami National Conference and former Chief Minister, in Jammu but it was rejected.

He said the best solution to the Kashmir problem was to reunite the divided State and make it independent. It should have a democratic, federal and secular system of government and friendly relations with India and Pakistan.

THE HINDU

11 JAN 2002

Escaping the mirage trap

The Kathmandu handshake made nice viewing. But thankfully, Prime Minister Vajpayee did not forget the blood of our people staining General Musharraf's hand. Some believe the General is now sincere about peace. But we can't risk being deceived again. India has brandished its last trump card. The next time our Army merely sabre-rattles on the western front, we would have called "wolf" once too often. We could get laughed at. Or be at war.

Desperate peace calls ought to always sound sweet music. Not this time. Not with the usual American hypocrisy on the one hand and the Pakistani denial syndrome on the other.

Not once in the past tense weeks have we heard a word of regret from Pakistan. We won't either. Which simply means we have not smashed the cycle of Pakistani-backed terrorism, counterfeiting, sabotage and assassination threats coming in between the Pakistani ruling gang posturing as Nobel Prize-deserving peace lovers.

Recent history screams against giving Pakistani rulers the benefit of the doubt. The more logical reading is General Musharraf is only squeezing the noises forced out by the boot of his Washington masters grinding his head.

Still, the Kargil mastermind continues calling his sponsored violence in India a "freedom fight". It is a deadlock that can be broken only by forcing Pakistan to understand it cannot afford the deadlock.

If our endless peace debates focus more on the long-suffering people in Kashmir, we get a more accurate perspective.

We need to do whatever it takes to ensure the Kashmiri children live free from terror and sudden death like your children do. A generation of Kashmiris have had their lives shattered. Do we let another generation be terrorised by Pakistan's low-intensity war it's waging against India?

Do we believe Pakistani rulers can or will give up their claims on Kashmir by mere "peace talks"? Do we agree to give up Kashmir? Or do we exercise our sovereign right to defend ourselves and our legitimate land?

Gen. Musharraf's enforced cosmetic exercise against terrorist groups - Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Taiyaba - is hoodwinking many,

including some ever-gullible sections of our media. President George Bush and his advisers are not so much gullible as being accomplices in Gen. Musharraf's public relations genius.

America now needs Gen. Musharraf the anti-terrorist hero. Keeping with their exceptional talent at self-delusion, the democracy-loving, universal freedom-fighting super power can easily do business with a democracy-murdering military dictator who was until 11 September the biggest friend and mentor of the Taliban. The word "hypocrisy" does not exist in political vocabulary. The operative euphemism is "pragmatism".

It is improbable that the USA has not been aware of Pakistani mischief in India the past 20 years. It is probable that American policymakers have not yet gauged the depth of the anti-India mindset that created Pakistan and still dominates it.

Kashmir is just a vehicle expressing that negative outlook, a bias burning that poor country like an ulcer of a chronically disturbed man. For, deep inside the Pakistani psyche lurks the fundamental contradiction that every section of that failed nation will never want to confront: if things are very well and happy in India, why the Partition?

Therefore, in their colloquial rationale for existence, India must always be a land of cowardly Hindus tormenting fellow Muslims.

Such a mindset cannot be just washed away with inconclusive, dead-end, meaningless "peace talks" that one side initiates to camouflage its covert war. A quarter century of sporadic "peace talks" have only proved them to be a propaganda mechanism that Pakistan uses to out manoeuvre India.

Pakistan does its regular villain act, glibly offers the olive branch to which India's negative response makes us appear the hardline state.

For how long do we tolerate this farce, all the while keeping in focus a bleeding Kashmir, a highly

India must ensure its current diplomatic defensive against terrorism does not get snuffed out prematurely by delusions, writes RAJA M

diplomatic measures to keep Pakistan at arms length, as in the 1970's after the 1971 war? Or do we keep trying to embrace it and be stabbed in the back again and again?

We do not need to go to war now and risk a nuclear holocaust. We are still a long way from exhausting all diplomatic options. It is here that India's sickeningly inadequate responses have robbed us of any credibility that we are victims of Pakistani deceit.

Political confusion is betraying the Kashmiri people and our soldiers. During Kargil, the Indian Army was forced to fight with its hands tied behind its back. After Kargil, India invited the mastermind behind it to Agra and gave him international credibility. It is about time New Delhi paid more attention to national interests and sentiment rather than to international pats on the back for us turning the other cheek.

Maximum diplomatic measures won't instantly end Pakistani mischief. But it will definitely end the terrible contradiction of the victim crying murder and then doing business as usual with the victimiser.

Banning Pakistani flights over our airspace and then exempting the man causing it is just the kind of confused contradictions haunting our foreign policy. We cry about Pakistani proxy war and then moan about ending a bus service with the villain behind the separation pangs from relations across the border.

But a far greater number of families are being now orphaned by our soldiers and civilians killed by sneak attacks from Pakistani sponsored terrorists and Pakistani soldiers disguised as locals. People-to-people contact will make a significant difference only when Pakistanis enjoy a genuine democracy, not when being brainwashed to believe the Indian Army routinely rapes, tortures and kills Kashmiris. Until then, let us identify ourselves more with our own soldiers dying for us, rather



Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf (centre) and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee at the Saarc summit in Kathmandu on Sunday. — AP/PTI

stressed army and our exploding defence bill? India's Parliament was attacked and it halved the High Commission staff in Pakistan. Do we wait for Pakistani terrorists to assassinate our Prime Minister or President before we break all diplomatic relations with that country?

Future history will prove that only time can be the best healer of the ghastly wound of Partition that Britain inflicted. In the interim, we have to decide clearly as a nation: do we take sharp

than with the Pakistani people.

Even after the attack on our Parliament, it is almost unbelievable that the government is still holding its diplomatic guns. We still continue giving the Most Favoured Nation trading status to Pakistan (Pakistan is yet to reciprocate).

Withdrawing it is being incredibly considered "hawkish" to some quarters still blind to a terrorised Kashmir caught in the crossfire of trained terrorists and an edgy, stressed, psychologically mauled half a million-strong Army.

Until Pakistan is forced pay, at the least, the economic and diplomatic costs of its cowardly sneak war in Kashmir, it won't stop. Banning the PIA overflights is a small step in the right direction. Next, we have no choice but to break all diplomatic relations with Pakistan until it agrees to keep away from Kashmir. If that seems a tall order to expect Pakistan to agree, it is even greater a mirage that "peace talks" will end the stalemate.

It is futile talking about pushing Gen. Musharraf into a tight corner that would let the hardliners take over that country. Gen. Musharraf is worse than the lunatic fringe running loose in Pakistan. It is easier to deal with the world than to deal with a wolf in sheep's clothing. Gen. Musharraf's problems are his own creation, his bitter fruits from laws of cause and effect. He is now squirming in the hole he dug for India and the monster he fed in Afghanistan. It is not our business to help him continue creating more blood traps for us. We need to save our people than save Gen. Musharraf.

Time is running out for us to bring peace in Kashmir and safety elsewhere in the country.

If we believe Kashmir is part of our homeland, then we obviously must exercise every right to defend our home. In spite of our crowing about international approval of India's "principled stand", the reality is different. Not a single foreign government has categorically told Pakistan to clean its act.

India is still being infuriatingly hyphenated with Pakistan. It is time we start solving our problems instead of wanting the world's permission to do so. We owe that to our tormented people of Kashmir. Or their blood is in our hands too.

(The author is a Mumbai-based freelancer.)

9-20
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We expect concrete Pak. action: India

HQ-11

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 8. India has urged Pakistan to take concrete steps to end cross-border terrorism and has ruled out any third party mediation.

"We expect from Pakistan concrete, serious and substantial steps to deal with the issue of cross-border terrorism and action against terrorist groups based on

its soil", Nirupama Rao, the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) spokesperson, said today.

Asked to comment on reports in the Pakistani media that Islamabad was seeking U.S. guarantees to forestall a war with India, the spokesperson said that "there is no room for any country" to seek solutions on Indo-Pak. issues.

Asked to comment on the statement by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, that the list of the 20 terrorists forwarded by India was being analysed, the spokesperson said that "let us see what action he (Gen. Musharraf) takes."

She added that Pakistan should openly renounce cross-border terrorism and "shed ambiva-

lence" on this subject. India today asked Pakistan to take back the bodies of the five terrorists who were killed while attacking Parliament House on December 13.

This was conveyed to the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner, Jalil Abbas Jilani, by Arun Singh, Joint Secretary, in the Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan division of the Ministry of External Affairs.

THE TIMES

1991

Musharraf appoints moderate to head new Kashmir panel

ISLAMABAD: In an attempt to alter the extremist image of Kashmiri militancy, the Pakistan government on Wednesday constituted a national Kashmir committee to be headed by former president of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir Muhammad Abdul Qayyum Khan.

Qayyum is opposed to the involvement of hardline Islamic militant groups in the Kashmir dispute.

An official announcement here said President Pervez Musharraf constituted the Kashmir committee under the chairmanship of Qayyum.

Names of the committee members to be drawn from Pakistan's four provinces, besides northern areas, PoK and overseas Pakistanis and Kashmiris are likely to be announced shortly.

The first meeting of the committee, scheduled to be held on January 15, will be addressed by Gen Musharraf himself, the announcement said.

It said the mandate for the committee would be to project the Kashmir cause at the international level and mobilise world opinion to settle it according to the UN resolutions, besides highlighting alleged human rights violations by Indians in Kashmir.

Meanwhile, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell has said that there is no certainty that war between India and Pakistan can be avoided unless Gen Musharraf stands down and ends support for terrorism in Kashmir.

Speaking to *The Washington Times*, Mr Powell said

even China, which had supplied Pakistan nuclear and missile technology, was of the opinion that Islamabad should end support for terrorism.

"It is a very tense and dangerous situation", he said soon after making yet another phone call to Gen Musharraf on Tuesday.

Asked whether he discussed with Gen Musharraf the major address the Pakistani President is scheduled to make this week and whether he knew what Gen Musharraf was going to say, Mr Powell said Gen Musharraf would give a speech and it would be an important one.

"Gen Musharraf understands the seriousness of the situation, and I will wait and see what he says", he added.

Mr Powell said the "vexing problems" the U.S. had to deal with and which took up an enormous amount of his time were the middle east, the situation between Israel and the Palestinians and most recently between India and Pakistan.

Avoiding controversy in India about U.S. plans to send an "envoy" or "special envoy" to defuse tension between India and Pakistan, state department spokesman Richard Boucher said Mr Powell might himself travel to the two countries next week. He also said he would dispute the use of the

word "emissary" or "envoy."

Mr Powell had said last week that Washington would take a "hard look" on the question of despatching a special envoy to the region, which was opposed by India. (PTI)

CPI, CPM invite comrades across the border

By Bhaskar Roy
Times News Network

NEW DELHI: In the backdrop of mounting tension and sudden freeze in bilateral ties over recent terrorist attacks, a segment of Pakistan's Left has been invited to two political events across the border.

Both the CPI and CPM have formally approached political outfits of Pakistan's Left for representation at their party congresses slated for March-end. While both parties have requested Pakistan's Mazdoor Kisan Communist Party for a delegation at its party congress at Hyderabad, the CPI has also invited the National Workers' Party of that country to its Trivandrum session.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

10 JAN 2002

10 JAN 2002

PIA ban due to 11 Sept fears

Sarney Singh in New Delhi

Jan. 9. — It wasn't the diplomatic offensive alone that the government had considered prior to its declaration of the ban on Pakistan International Airlines flights' overflying Indian airspace. An official note says that the government had "genuine apprehensions" that PIA aircraft could be used as missiles to target vital Indian installations, *a la* the 11 September attacks in the USA.

The government has stated this in response to a letter sent by the president of the Montreal-based International Civil Aviation Organisation, Mr Assad Kotaite. Mr Kotaite had written a letter on 28 December expressing "extreme concern" over India's cancelling PIA overflights and Pakistan's retaliatory measures.

Citing the Preamble and Article 44 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation and International Air Service Transit Agreement, Mr Kotaite said: "Both countries are signatories and thus should open air space to all... to promote understanding and cooperation between the

two countries".

Sources said that concerns over security weighed topmost behind the decision on the ban rather than diplomatic considerations or intentions to hurt Pakistan economically. India too has lost Rs 51 crore because of the ban, the sources pointed out.

"The real reason was national security. There were genuine apprehensions that PIA operated aircraft could be used as missiles to target vital buildings like the ones on 11 September in the USA" said senior officials.

They added that the government's defence of its decision was strongly put forward.

The Centre's response to the ICAO said: "The attack on Parliament was the culmination of Pakistan's support for cross-border terrorism".

The decision was taken to ensure the nation's security in view of the covert and overt activities of Pakistan. Flights by PIA, which come under Pakistan's

ministry of defence, had to be suspended till the Centre was "satisfied that the situation has improved".

Power transfer to Benazir?

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 9. — Spurning the ISI, President Pervez Musharraf is reported to have struck a deal with the Pakistan People's Party to transfer power to it in the National Assembly elections scheduled for October. The Friday Times said negotiations were held with Ms Benazir Bhutto and PPP was ready to accept Gen Musharraf as the President. Maj Gen Akram was asked to clinch the deal. — UNI

which required the present action". It added that provisions of Section 1 of the International Air Service Transit Agreement, 1944, empower that "in times of active hostility, routes could be restricted".

The response dealt with the ramifications of Pak-backed cross-border terrorism and the hijacking of the Indian Airlines IC 814 which had been taken to Kandahar. Incidentally, the ICAO had also made requests to the Taliban to cooperate at that time, but it didn't yield any positive result.

The sources said that the termination of rail and bus services between the two nations was also undertaken by Delhi after the attack on Parliament due to similar reasons and to meet the same purposes.

Police in Pakistan have arrested three people, accusing them of being Indian spies, in a border town of Punjab, officials said today, AFP adds. The persons detained from Khairpur Tamewali, 150 km southeast of Multan, include an Indian hawaldar and two girls.

"The hawaldar was posing as a *malang* (an insane person) and the girls as beggars," said an official, adding that they acknowledged their identities. "The Indians have been turned over to the army Intelligence for further interrogation," he added.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10 JAN 2002

HD-11
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Pak. build-up in Kutch region being monitored

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PAN

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 8. Pakistan has moved forces towards the international border in the Kutch region in Gujarat causing India to step up its surveillance of the area, Government sources here said.

The defence planners are watching this with special interest because it will help chisel their final strategy. The deployment of tanks from three armoured brigades of its Three Division opposite Kutch could free Army Reserve South (ARS), one of its two key strike formations, to focus on entering Rajasthan or Punjab. At present, ARS is deployed along the west bank of the Indus away from the border from where it does not threaten India.

The planners are closely monitoring the movement of both the

armoured brigades as well as the ARS. If the ARS has to attack India, it will have to cross the Indus at some point. The location from where it crosses the river will be crucial as it will give away Pakistan's intent of attacking either the Rann of Kutch area, Rajasthan or Punjab.

With the fresh deployment in Kutch, Pakistan's military strategists could be planning to get ARS to cross the Indus more to the north for an attack on Rajasthan or Punjab.

Pakistan also has the Army Reserve North (ARN) which is larger than the ARS. Both the strike corps had moved from their bases in Mangla-Kharian and Multan areas shortly after the September 11 strikes and have not returned to their peace time locations.

Sources maintained the country is fully geared to counter the

fresh movement by Pakistani troops since it has already completed its deployment.

No move to hike rentals: BSNL

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 8. The country's dominant phone company, Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL), today maintained that there was no move to either hike rentals or reduce the pulse rate to compensate for the sharp cut in STD rates which would come into effect from Pongal. Company officials claimed that the BSNL had neither a proposal nor had it conceived any increase in monthly rentals for corporate users. It was also not planning to reduce the duration of local call from three minutes to two minutes.

THE HINDU

India wants action to match words

9/2002
Pak
SFI

9/1

Stateaman News Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 8. — A day after President Musharraf declared that Pakistan had rejected terrorism and was examining India's list of 20 terrorists, officials here noted that there were no "substantive exchanges" in Kathmandu. Nor has there been any lessening of the levels of military preparedness on either side.

India wants to see substantive action on the ground, that it can independently verify, to match Pakistan's words that it is acting against groups that organise and perpetrate what the Prime Minister called "mindless acts of violence" against targets in India.

"Pakistan has not done anything to prove its sincerity. There has been no action to match their words," official sources said. "What kind of dialogue would be possible in these circumstances?" seemed to be the common refrain at all levels of government.

And on India's part, it is not merely to do with provincial elections; there is a definite sense pervading the Centre that the attack on Parliament was the proverbial "last straw", leading to a hardening of attitudes like never before. According to a senior official, "how long will the credibility of the government last if it keeps crying about our patience not lasting forever?" The pressure would be maintained for as long as it takes till this "menace" (of living with wanton acts of terror on innocents) ends, the official added.

According to sources, the government has conveyed to the British Prime Minister, Mr Tony Blair, in the most unambiguous terms

that India was willing to hold talks on all substantive issues between the two countries, including that of Kashmir, "but not at the point of a bullet." "Terror," Mr Jaswant Singh said, "cannot be used as a pre-dialogue tool."

That was the message Mr Blair had conveyed to the leadership in Pakistan, while reiterating his support for India in its

intensify its activities. "Our targets now will be the Indian Air Force and Navy, besides the Indian Army and paramilitary forces," the Jaish chief, Abu Hijrat, told a Srinagar-based news agency, Nafa, in a telephonic interview, adds PTI.

"The crackdown by the Pakistani government on JeM and Lashkar-e-Taiyaba will not make any difference as far as jihadi organisations are concerned," he said. "We are silently watching the developments and cannot comment on the happenings at the moment," Hirjat added.

Denying involvement in the attack on Parliament and the J&K Assembly, Hirjat disowned Ghazi Baba, a Pakistani who has been named as the mastermind behind the attacks. "Baba is not a member of the JeM" he said. He also claimed that Jaish had around 5,000 potential suicide bombers and more than 12,000 militants.

Several suspects were arrested in J&K today, as ultras were planning more attacks on sensitive targets, said security officials. Security agencies have received reports suggesting the crackdown on jihadi groups by Pakistani authorities have demoralised militants here. They said precautions have been taken to prevent violent incidents. "We are trying to prevent traffic congestion. Militants take advantage of it to lob grenades in which mostly civilians become targets." The sources said "Pakistan's crackdown on jihadis has had no impact on the ground so far. We are witnessing no change in the situation."

Pak strike corps moves close to border:
page 2

Jaswant Singh talks denied

NEW DELHI, Jan. 8. — The foreign office today dismissed reports of a meeting between the Indian and Pakistani foreign ministers in Kathmandu for over an hour.

"There is no change in our position that no substantive bilateral talks were held at any level" the ministry's spokesperson said. "The external affairs minister has denied it and so have I, repeatedly," the spokesperson added. The ministers and officials met, several times, "in the context of Saarc, which is a multilateral forum."

The Prime Minister's principal secretary said "Civilities were exchanged, nothing more". — SNS

struggle against terrorism.

Significantly, the visiting Israeli deputy Prime Minister and foreign minister, Mr Shimon Peres, has echoed the thinking of New Delhi when he said that the fight against terror "is not a luxury, it is not an option, it is a must" for democracy and freedom to survive.

Jaish-e-Mohammed today threatened to

THE STATESMAN

9 JAN 2002

SFI
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Pakistan examining list of 20

gms pax

PTI & Reuters

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 7. — General Pervez Musharraf today said he would soon unveil a plan to deal with extremism and terrorism in the country and was analysing the list of 20 criminals and terrorists wanted by India.

He also said Pakistan had rejected terrorism in all its forms. "Pakistan rejects terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and has fully cooperated with the international coalition in that spirit."

At a press conference with Mr Tony Blair, the Pakistani President said: "We've a wholesome plan to check militancy from our society, checking extremism and bringing balance and tolerance within our society." He claimed he was implementing the plan from 14 August when two sectarian groups were banned. Two more militant groups under observation.

"We are taking steps... bring some degree of normalcy and balance by introducing a tolerant society, checking militancy within our society... All that is being addressed and a final decision will be given when I address the nation in a few days time."

Did he discuss with Mr Blair the list of 20 criminals? Gen Musharraf said: "Yes, we did talk about the list of names. Let me say that we haven't fully analysed or gone into the details..."

He said Pakistan wanted dialogue with India "in pursuit of peace and harmony".

'ATTITUDE OF ISLAMABAD HAS NOT CHANGED'

Jaswant rules out early dialogue with Pakistan

By Atul Aneja

HD-1
8/1

NEW DELHI, JAN. 7. A day after an informal interaction between the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistani President, Pervez Musharraf, at Kathmandu, India today ruled out an early dialogue with Pakistan.

India's reluctance to go in for talks was formalised after a two-hour meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS). India cited the dissatisfaction at the steps taken by Pakistan to counter terrorism as the basis of its decision. "Where is the question of dialogue when there is no change in the attitude (of Pakistan)," the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, said after the meeting chaired by the Prime Minister.

By rejecting talks, India is signalling to the international community that it should continue to impose pressure on Pakistan on terrorism, analysts here said.

Blair contacts Bush

Significantly, India has adopted this position when the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, is touring the subcontinent, apparently to help defuse military tension between New Delhi and Islamabad. Mr. Blair, who was in the capital on Sunday, had unambiguously advocated the resumption of an Indo-Pak dialogue after the threat of terrorism ended.

According to an agency report, Mr. Blair last night also spoke to the U.S. President, George Bush, after holding talks with Mr. Vajpayee.

Mr. Singh today praised Mr. Blair for his forthrightness, but signalled that prospects of early negotiations with Pakistan were dim, despite interaction, on several occasions, with his counterpart, Abdul Sattar, in Kathmandu.

The view in official circles on the Pakistani crackdown is that Islamabad has not done enough to put pressure on terrorists involved in Kashmir. After the detention of the chiefs of the parent organisation of the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad, most of those arrested in Pakistan belonged to the Sipah-e-Sahab. This group spearheads a violent anti-Shia campaign in Pakistan, Government sources said.

Not surprisingly, Mr. Singh accused Pakistan of double standards in its approach to terrorism. "They do continue to maintain a very different approach when it was a matter of Western interest or Afghanistan and a different approach when it comes to the question of India or Jammu and Kashmir." This, Mr. Singh, was "not acceptable." "You cannot have one attitude towards terrorism to west of Pakistan and altogether a different attitude to east of Pakistan." Pakistan's attitude towards terrorism, Mr. Singh said, was "regrettable".

He rejected the Pakistani assertion that In-

dia had not shared any evidence with it about 20 terrorists against whom it had sought action. Apart from proof provided by India, the Interpol had sounded a red alert against several individuals in this list, he added.

According to sources, once the red alert notice is issued, it is mandatory for any country, including Pakistan, to detain the accused who may be present on its soil. Besides, Pakistan can hand over terrorists to India on the basis of an agreement on "fugitives of terror" that was signed between the Central Bureau of Investigation and Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency in May 1989.

Interpol, the sources added, had issued red corner notices against all the five accused for hijacking the Indian Airlines plane in December 1999. Such a notice had also been issued for Ranjit Singh, alias 'Neeta' accused of being involved in terrorist activities in Jammu.

'Border tense'

The Indo-Pak border continues to remain tense, Mr. Singh said. He confirmed that a Pakistani Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) had been shot down. Its wreckage, however, fell on the Pakistani side of the Line of Control. He also clarified that an Indian UAV had also crashed due to a technical snag. Both India and Pakistan use UAVs, mainly for detecting troop build-ups on either side of the border.

THE HINDU

JAN 7 1999

Blair talks tough in Islamabad

HT Correspondent
Islamabad, January 7

BRITAIN TONIGHT told Pakistan there could be no justification for the terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament and asked Islamabad to create circumstances for the resumption of dialogue with New Delhi to find political solutions to all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir.

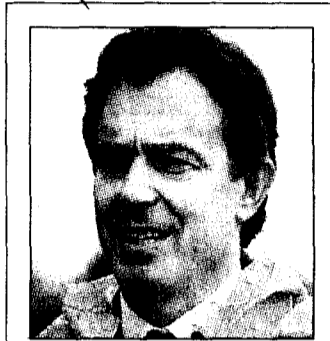
"I don't believe that there can be any justification for the October 1 and December 13 terrorist attacks" on the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly and Parliament," the British Prime Minister said addressing a joint press conference with President Pervez Musharraf. "The General has assured me that he won't no group will be allowed to sponsor terrorism from Pakistani soil," Blair said.

The UK Prime Minister, who flew in from New Delhi today, said Pakistan should take action against the five groups involved in acts of terrorism, however strong their cause may be.

He said Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee was willing to have dialogue on all issues with Islamabad, but only if there was peace and tranquility.

Musharraf, though, kept up his anti-India tirade accusing New Delhi of making belligerent statements which were fuelling tension.

Recalling his chat with Vajpay-



BLAIR GOES TO PAK ON RAF PLANE

Tony Blair and his wife Cherie chose to travel to Islamabad by a Royal Air Force aircraft for "security reasons". They were accompanied by commandos. Blair left by the RAF battle-green C-130 Hercules Bomber. An RAF official said Blair would "travel like a paracommando and there was no comfort" in this aircraft. Blair returns to Delhi on Tuesday and departs by a British Airways plane.

HTC, New Delhi

ee in Kathmandu, Musharraf said it was "useful" and added if this hadn't worsened the tension between the two countries, it hadn't escalated it either. He said Vajpayee had raised India's list of 20 offenders with him yesterday.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

8 JAN 2002

Musharraf's offer of hand to PM is no great shakes

By Chidanand Rajghatta
Times News Network

WASHINGTON: It was The Handshake of modern sub-continental history. But it fell well short of being The Historic Handshake.

In the long and "shaky" history of famous handshakes, General Pervez Musharraf's clasping of Prime Minister Vajpayee's palm looks destined to be a mere footnote in the chronicle of tensions between the countries they lead. Missing from the televised spectacle was the most crucial element that makes the handshake a gesture of peace and friendship. Trust.

The recipient of the handshake did not believe the initiator was genuine in his offering of peace. Peace as he, the recipient, desired it.

Handshaking itself is an ancient ritual, and may not be a western practice as is commonly believed.

Historian Charles Panati says handshakes have been reported as long ago as 2800 BC in Egypt. Other scholars says the first shake on record occurred after the Battle of Hastings in 1066. What is commonly agreed though is that the handshake was primarily meant as a gesture by warriors to show that they were unarmed and were not carrying weapons (hence the use of the right hand, since it is the natural or preferred hand).

Given Musharraf's soldierly past, the handshake — rather than the sub-continental *salaam* or *namaste* —

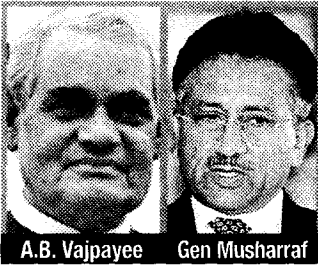
was the ideal greeting. But then, he is also a former commando, with the hand itself capable of being used as a weapon. In any event, Vajpayee took the proffered hand but wanted proof of a change of heart to go with the gesture.

American mandarins place great emphasis on historic handshakes and diligently record them. Among the most famous modern handshakes are those between Nixon and Chou en-Lai, Sadat and Begin, Rabin and Arafat. Indians, too, made quite a song and dance about the extended handshake between Rajiv Gandhi and Deng Tsio-Ping in 1988. Many such handshakes have led to detente but not definitive peace.

Body language experts count five basic types of handshakes.

First, there is the Knuckle Cruncher. This type of person is earnest but nervous. While meaning to convey warmth through a tight grip of your hand, he or she only succeeds in causing pain. Then there is his opposite number — the Dead Fish Handshaker who places a limp, lifeless hand in yours. While the Knuckle Cruncher hurts you, at least you feel there is some desire to express a real feeling. But the Dead Fish Handshaker gives the impression of being unenthusiastic and having a lackluster personality.

There is also the Pumper — the overeager beaver, who is insecure, anxious to please, and doesn't know when to stop.



A.B. Vajpayee

Gen Musharraf

— Sailendra Mal (Report on Kolkata Plus, page 1)

Jaswant: No thaw in Indo-Pak ties

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 7. — Despite the handshake between Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and General Pervez Musharraf in Kathmandu and some reports of a thaw in the Indo-Pak relations, there was no indication of any improvement in the ties. The foreign minister has made it clear that "Pakistan's attitude has not changed."

"Where is the question of a dialogue when there is no change in attitude? What's it in the air and soil of Pakistan that allows

terrorists shelter and the Pakistan government can't do anything about it?" Mr Jaswant Singh said after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee of Security.

He said he had met his Pakistani counterpart, Mr Abdul Sattar, at least six times during in Kathmandu, but there were "no substantive discussions".

The foreign ministry spokesperson, too, denied there was any movement towards normalisation of relations. "I won't put it that way. The Prime Minister has explained where we stand."

She said New Delhi now

awaits action by Islamabad against cross-border terrorism, and an open denunciation of terrorism and freezing of assets of terrorist organisations by Pakistan.

If there is any evidence of softening of New Delhi's stand, it's the willingness for patience. For, India senses Pakistan needs time to take necessary actions. Officials speak of another round of diplomatic actions if Pakistan fails to act.

Mr Singh spoke of Pakistan's double stand on terrorism. "There's one attitude towards terrorism on its western border and

one towards its eastern border."

Mr Singh satisfied with the statements made by the UK Prime Minister on the Indo-Pak issue. Mr Tony Blair's statements on terrorism, he said, were direct. For the first time, he said, Britain would support India's candidature for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

India today rejected Pakistan's call to ease military build-up on the border, PTI adds from Bangalore. "We are not", Mr George Fernandes said when asked whether India would pull back troops from the border.

THE STATESMAN

8 JAN 2002

BJP for 'progressive disengagement' to isolate Pak.

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 7. The Bharatiya Janata Party favours "progressive disengagement" with Pakistan through a fresh diplomatic offensive designed to further isolate Pakistan internationally and expose the ISI-hand in terrorist attacks in India.

There was also more than a broad hint that perhaps it would be difficult for India to do business with Gen. Pervez Musharraf at the helm of affairs in Pakistan. The kind of change in attitude that India was looking for may become possible only when a "truly democratic regime" is set up in Pakistan and is able to "dismantle the ISI-terrorist network," the party spokesperson, Sunil Shastri, said today.

The party seems inclined to support all steps short of declaration of war, and if there are no signs of change in the attitude of Pakistan, the mood suggests that it would not hesitate to support a call for war. The Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, clearly hinted at this when he stated today that the battle against terrorism had entered a "decisive stage." At the party office, several party leaders were in favour of the matter being "clinched" to India's satisfaction.

Mr. Shastri made it clear that, at the moment, the atmosphere was not at all conducive for talks with the Pakistan President.

Spelling out the kind of fresh diplomatic offensive India could take, the convener of the party's foreign affairs cell, Surendra Arora, pointed out that recently India had forced the halving of the strength of the

embassy and consulate staff in both the countries. "This could be further reduced." He favoured curbs on visits by Pakistani nationals, perhaps even stopping these altogether in the light of the fact that on more than one occasion Pakistani nationals had engaged in terrorist activities.

What happened at the SAARC meeting in Kathmandu was further proof for the BJP that Pakistan unashamedly continued to see violent incidents in Jammu and Kashmir as episodes which were part of a "freedom struggle." Mr. Shastri said Gen. Musharraf had "brazenly" mentioned this in his speech and had totally failed to take note of the menace of terrorism. Terrorism was condemned by the SAARC declaration signed by all seven countries, including Pakistan, but Gen. Musharraf sang a different tune in his speech.

It seems that the BJP has left behind all the hype of the great peace initiatives of the Vajpayee Government — the bus ride to Lahore and the invitation for the Agra summit. Party leaders now freely admit that those initiatives had been a mistake (except that they helped to establish India's desire for peace and friendship with Pakistan). The new insight is that meaningful talks with Gen. Musharraf are not possible.

A thaw in the relationship would have to wait for the return of democracy to Pakistan. Some would see in this the Benazir Bhutto effect — it was not for nothing that she recently paid a high profile visit to India and met all who mattered, including the Prime Minister.

THE HINDU

8 JAN 2002

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8, 2002

AN ANTI-TERROR DIALOGUE

THE PRIME MINISTER of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair, may have hoped to exert a "calming influence" on India and Pakistan so as to encourage them to pull back from the brink in their latest confrontation. Yet, as Mr. Blair completed his talks with India's leaders in New Delhi, it became clear that he settled for the role of a diplomatic interlocutor on anti-terror issues. In the event, it was not entirely India's understandable sensitivity to Mr. Blair's offer of a "calming influence" that limited his role-play. His comments at the conclusion of talks with the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, in New Delhi on Sunday showed that Britain appreciated the massive magnitude of India's revulsion to a pattern of terrorist attacks on its people and institutions from groups with links to Pakistan in one form or the other. Given the enormous complexity of such "cross-border terrorism", Mr. Blair indicated that he would call upon Pakistan to end support to any form of anti-India terrorism. The message that he conveyed to the international media was that he might engage Pakistan in the context of India's concerns. According to him, India could move towards "a meaningful dialogue" with Pakistan "provided the threat of terrorism was lifted". This certainly translates into a robust statement of support from Mr. Blair for the Vajpayee administration's present stance on the question of resuming formal talks with Pakistan. This does not, however, seem to mark a definitive departure from the coordinated appeals by the United States and the United Kingdom to both New Delhi and Islamabad to exercise restraint and resume talks in the present context of India's anger over the terrorist outrage against its parliamentary democracy.

Now, the Vajpayee administration will certainly be well advised to resume the formal dialogue with Pakistan in the latest context of a cordial interaction between the two sides to-

wards the conclusion of the South Asian summit in Kathmandu on Sunday. Of relevance to this new situation is Mr. Blair's espousal of international goodwill for India as evident in his categorical diplomacy of making common cause with New Delhi in denouncing terrorism in all its forms. Not surprisingly, the latest "New Delhi Declaration" that Mr. Blair and Mr. Vajpayee have issued is replete with references to the common commitment of the two countries to counter terrorism. Besides the pledge to uphold the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 1373, which outlines the latest international law on meeting the globalised terrorist challenge, India and Britain have now agreed upon a mechanism for joint training in this sensitive field. Given London's record of some proactive action against terrorist groups such as the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad, both of immense concern to New Delhi, the new Indo-British Declaration does not ring hollow. India and the U.K. can boast of a certain track record, too, about cooperation in formulating extradition laws.

The political centrepiece of the Indo-British Declaration extends beyond the anti-terror spectrum. By acknowledging that India is a natural contender for the position of a permanent member in the United Nations Security Council, the U.K. seems to have given a gentle thrust to New Delhi's legitimate aspirations for a role in shaping the global political order. The "New Delhi Declaration", which reads in part like a routine joint communique, is notable for the emphasis on how India and the U.K. can engage each other within the framework of the World Trade Organisation so as to address the concerns of the developing bloc. Some specific aspects of Indo-British bilateral economic collaboration, spelt out in the Declaration, complete a picture of two seriously engaged democracies.

THE HINDU

8 JAN 2002

India gives a new set of proposals to Pakistan

referring to "exploratory" and "informal interactions" — he must have used this phrase at least 20 times — saying again and again that there had not been any formal bilateral meetings and he could only hope that they would be converted into formal negotiations very soon. He made it clear that his "informal interaction" with Vajpayee on several occasions during the past three days when they were together at meetings was not a "one on one" affair, something the Indian side had tried to avoid studiously during the first two days of the conference.

Vajpayee confirmed that Musharraf had called on him. He, however, described the meeting as a mere "courtesy call" at which "no significant discussion" was held. It was a "guftagu," he said at a lunch reception given in his honour by the Indian ambassador here before he left for New Delhi.

It was left to Musharraf to explain at his press conference after the summit that though these exchanges did not necessarily mean any improvement

in the situation, they showed the situation had not worsened either. After taking a tough stance that they would not meet the Pakistani leaders bilaterally or even privately or give photo-ops in case it was misunderstood as negotiations, the Indian leaders finally, it is learnt, relented a little bit to give Musharraf a face-saver.

The Pakistan President, who has taken certain steps in the past few days at home, including arrest of Lashkar and Jaish leaders, is facing a lot of pressure back home. India, say sources, has been told by the US that its "wishlist" will be granted. This may possibly include the deportation of some of those who are Indian citizens on the list of 20, or commencement of their trial in Pakistan, or even the extradition of Jaish chief Maulana Masood Azhar to a third country, say Pakistani sources.

However, publicly Musharraf today ruled out deportation of Azhar, saying that if there was evidence against anyone for complicity in terrorist ac-

tivity, Pakistan would "move against them according to the law of our land. We are not into handing over people."

However, in a gesture to India, he described the attack on Parliament as "a terrorist act" which, he said, he condemned in the strongest possible manner. Jaswant Singh had said yesterday in response to a question that it would be a "good beginning" by Pakistan if it were to publicly announce its opposition to supporting violence in any part of India.

Musharraf confirmed that informal meetings had taken place between him and Vajpayee and Jaswant Singh and Sattar in the past three days though they could not be described as "bilateral" meetings. Sattar also clarified that these informal exchanges were not "negotiations."

Musharraf admitted that the US had urged both India and Pakistan to open talks and get on with easing the situation. When asked if the US was exerting pressure on both countries, the General said:

"If you mean whether they have been telling us to interact with each other, defuse the tension and normalise our relationship, yes they have been telling us that."

Unlike India, which had opposed sending of any US envoy to the region to help both countries sort out their differences, Musharraf said he would be "very happy" if one did come. "If two parties cannot resolve their conflicts, a third party is required for facilitation and mediation."

He said no time-frame had been fixed for formal talks between India and Pakistan but he hoped they would be held very soon as "both sides realize the urgency of the situation and I hope a dialogue will occur in the near future." Stressing on his well-known stance on centrality of the Kashmir dispute, he said: "It would not help if there was talk of effect without looking at the cause... We understand India's concerns and are conscious of it" and they must understand ours, he said.

INDIAN EXPRESS

7 JAN 2002

Pak. UAV shot down

By Shujaat Bukhari

JAMMU, JAN. 6. A Pakistani Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) was shot down by the Army in Poonch sector when it entered Indian territory on Sunday evening. The troops fired anti-aircraft guns and shot it down.

Soon after, there was intense firing from the Pakistani side and the exchange continued for a long time. Defence sources claimed that heavy casualties were inflicted on the Pakistani side and according to an estimate, at least 15 Pakistan soldiers were killed.

This is the first time Pakistan has sent a UAV since tension between the two countries heightened after the December 13 attack on Parliament.

Meanwhile, in the Uri sector, Pakistani troops resorted to heavy shelling and firing

throughout the day. Defence sources said India retaliated.

UNI, PTI report:

The wreckage of the UAV has not been found and it is believed that the debris could have fallen in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK).

While defence sources in New Delhi confirmed the shooting down of the UAV, a Northern Command spokesperson said he was not aware of the incident. Other authorities in Jammu were also unable to confirm the incident immediately.

The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah, said actually two unmanned planes had intruded. The first transgressed eight km. inside the Indian territory at around 2 p.m. and the other at 3.15 p.m. While one plane was

shot down, the other went back unharmed.

Meanwhile, a Pilotless Remote-controlled Vehicle (PRV) of India crashed in Chatta, 10 km from Jammu, following a technical snag shortly after take-off this evening, official sources said.

B. Muralidhar Reddy reports from Islamabad:

Pakistan tonight denied that the Indian security forces shot down one of its UAVs in Poonch sector along the Line of Control (LoC). The state-run news agency, Associated Press of Pakistan, quoted a defence spokesperson as saying that "no such incident has occurred along the LoC." It said that only an Indian UAV had crashed in the Jammu sector. "The military officials of India are indulging in baseless propaganda to hide the loss."

Reject terror before talks, Blair tells Pak

HT Correspondent
Hyderabad, January 6

BACKING INDIA'S stand on terrorism, British Premier Tony Blair today said complete rejection of terrorism is a pre-condition for any dialogue to begin between India and Pakistan.

"Everybody wants to see the situation brought under control and a proper dialogue (between India and Pakistan) can begin. But, I will like to say that the starting point for any dialogue has to be complete and total rejection of terrorist attack," Blair said.

Talking to media persons after inaugurating the British Government-funded Centre for Good Governance (CGG) here, the British premier condemned the terrorist attacks on the Parliament and the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly. "I would like to make it clear that there have to be very clear rules in this situation and most important is that there cannot be any support for terrorist acts which have occurred over past few months."

On what he hoped to achieve in his talks with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Blair said, "obviously, it is very important to have talks with the Prime Minister. I will be able to tell you something more after the meeting."

"We once again clearly state our total and absolute rejection of terrorism. There is no doubt or dispute about that."

TONY BLAIR was speechless for a moment when he was welcomed as "Stony Blair" by a teacher at the Girls' Primary School at Vattem village in Mahboobnagar district on Sunday. The school with 219 students, most of who belong to the weaker sections of the society, is funded by the British Government's Department for International Development. The teacher, who was selected to greet Blair, also fumbled after saying "Pradhanmantri" — she apparently did not know which country's prime minister he was.

Many students who interacted with Blair either got his name wrong or did not know where he was from. Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu, who translated the students' Telugu remarks for the visiting dignitary,

ROCKED

often had to make up for them.

Meanwhile, the Opposition parties here are unhappy with Blair. The Naidu Government spent crores of rupees on re-laying the roads and other development works under the pretext of the VIP visit. The Opposition feels all this will help the TDP-BJP combine in the polls for the Hyderabad municipal polls later this month.

Some Opposition leaders even called on the municipal commissioner P K Mohanty to complain about the violation of poll code. But he pleaded helplessness saying he could do little as the roads came under National Highways and not the State Roads and Buildings Department.

HTC, Hyderabad

Blair also clarified his earlier remark that Pakistan had a "strong" position on Kashmir, saying: "I was simply pointing out that people can have their views but whatever views they have should be pursued legitimately and democratically." Yesterday, the BJP and the Congress had both criticised Blair for the remark. Earlier, Blair, accompanied by his wife Cherie and a high-level delegation, arrived here from Bangalore on a four-hour visit.

Naidu, who always tries to upstage his Karnataka counterpart, was successful once again.

Though not too happy that Blair spent 38 hours in Bangalore while curtailing his Hyderabad visit from eight hours to four, Naidu managed to squeeze in a 20-minute one-to-one meeting with Blair, which Krishna could not do. Emerging from the meeting, Blair spoke warmly about "enormous progress" being made in Andhra Pradesh in poverty eradication and education.

Describing his Government's partnership with the State as "genuine and long-lasting," he said, "we are also partners in programmes for health and education".

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

27 JAN 2001

MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 2002

RESUME THE DIALOGUE

THE 'INFORMAL MEETING' that the leaders of India and Pakistan have engaged in with a flourish of statesmanship during the latest South Asian summit in Kathmandu assumes a salience beyond the compulsions of their proximity politics within a multilateral forum. The two assessed each other's mood, however briefly. Yet, this extraordinary sense of coexistence in today's climate of a frosty chill on the bilateral front underlines the need for a quick resumption of dialogue with a definitive focus on the prime issues of mutual concern. At the inaugural session of the summit, Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf, extended his hand to the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, in a gesture of "genuine and sincere friendship". While Mr. Vajpayee was not found wanting in reciprocating the symbolic move with a wry but ready smile, the two leaders later signalled a sense of bilateral fellowship too by outlining a pledge of evocative sentiments against "terrorism in all its forms and manifestations". In a sense, the issue of terrorism is the most intractable aspect of the latest surge of highly emotive tensions between India and Pakistan at this point of time. It is immensely significant, therefore, that the leaders of India and Pakistan have now found it possible to agree to an anti-terror formulation, albeit only in conjunction with the other South Asian Heads of State or Government. While the leaders of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) can certainly heave a sigh of relief that they have collectively weathered the initial India-Pakistan showdown over the terror issue, the association's primary agenda of economic cooperation still remains caught in its own web of political fault lines.

By any standard of diplomacy, the SAARC's finest hour at this summit was the release of the collective declaration that enshrined the expressed political will of all the member states to "redouble efforts" to "prevent and suppress terrorism". For this, the U.N. Security Council's

Resolution 1373, a comprehensive compendium of do's and don'ts designed to eradicate all forms of terrorism, is cited as the touchstone. With this deed done at the conclusion of the summit on Sunday, the SAARC should now begin to move beyond such symbolism, however salient this itself might be. On a different yet related plane, it appears that India and Pakistan have also begun to move away from the consequences of the Vajpayee-Musharraf staredown over the question of terrorism that was raised during the initial stages of the Kathmandu conference. To set the stage for a truly new beginning on the India-Pakistan front, the two sides must make the most of the new expectations that they seem to have raised about each other.

Outwardly, contentious indeed was Gen. Musharraf's initial call for a fine distinction between "legitimate resistance and freedom struggles" on one side and "terrorism" on the other. However, he has subsequently pledged adherence to the U.N. Resolution 1373, which obviously prohibits the violent and terroristic pursuits of even some arguably political aspirations such as those relating to resistance or freedom struggles. Viewed in this perspective, the untenability of Gen. Musharraf's original plea, especially so under the new norms of international law, should not slow down any movement towards an India-Pakistan rapprochement. There should be no sliding back in the specific context of the short yet promising meeting that Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf held in the presence of the other SAARC leaders as the conference drew to a close. In any case, Mr. Vajpayee has left the global community in no doubt whatsoever that India expects Pakistan to match its gestures of friendship with genuine action. It is, therefore, time for India and Pakistan to move on towards a purposive resumption of their dialogue. First, the two Foreign Ministers can perhaps meet as early as possible for formal talks.

THE HINDU

PERVEZ PAID A COURTESY VISIT, SAYS INDIA

Musharraf call breaks no ice

Pak plane enters Indian sky, shot down

Agencies

JAMMU/ISLAMABAD, Jan. 6. — Indian troops today shot down one of the two unmanned Pakistani spy aircraft that intruded into the country's airspace in Poonch sector, Jammu and Kashmir, while one of India's Unmanned Aerial Vehicle crashed near here.

The J&K chief minister, Dr Farooq Abdullah, said the first Pakistani Unmanned Aerial Vehicle intruded eight kilometre into the Indian sky around 2 p.m. and the other at 3.15 p.m.

While one of the planes went back to Pakistan, the other was "engaged by the ground forces" and hit by the anti-aircraft guns. The debris fell on the Pakistan side of the Line of Control, he said. The spy drone hovered for about 15 minutes before it was fired upon by anti-aircraft batteries, defence sources said.

India's Pilotless Remote-controlled vehicle crashed near here because of a technical snag shortly after it took off this evening, officials said.

A Pakistani Army spokesman said: "They (Indian security forces) themselves have lost one remotely-piloted vehicle. We haven't lost any aircraft, neither have we violated Indian airspace. They lost one and just to cover it up they said we did it."

SNS and Agencies

KATHMANDU, Jan. 6. — The Indo-Pak standoff did manage to upstage Saarc, after all.

The Pakistani President, appearing reasonable and even conciliatory, managed to steal the spotlight from what should have been the Saarc's moment in the sun — the adoption of the Kathmandu Declaration.

Perhaps, for the first time since the standoff between the two countries intensified to near-snapping point, General Pervez Musharraf made the connection between what his efforts to curb terrorism and the effects it'll have not just on militancy in Pakistan, but also outside the country.

Highlighting the fact that his government had begun moving "towards control and eradication of militancy and extremism in Pakistani society since 14 August" (implying that his action was not taken on US or any other external pressure post-September 11), Gen Musharraf said the "world should take note" of it. "We've done a lot, and we'll be doing more in our own national interest," he said.

In a summit that has already sprung a few surprises, there was

Paper handover keeps all guessing

KATHMANDU, Jan. 6. — The Pakistan foreign minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, today handed over a set papers to Mr Brajesh Mishra, Prime Minister's principal secretary, at the Saarc summit concluding ceremony.

As Mr Sattar walked up to the podium to pose for photographs with Saarc leaders, he gave the papers to Mr Mishra in full media glare and moved ahead. TV pictures showed the two discussing some aspects of the contents of the paper.

General Pervez Musharraf pleaded ignorance about it, saying: "The two might have exchanged notes on *sher-o-shairi* (poetry)." A PMO official in Delhi, too, said nothing much should be read into it. — UNI

very little happening to buck that trend. The surprise package this morning was a "courtesy call" — as the Indian side chose to term it — by Gen Musharraf at Mr Vajpayee's Annapurna suite in Soaltee Hotel. While India chose to down play the presidential visit, Pakistan was quite upbeat about it.

Mr Vajpayee ruled out any immediate talks and made it clear that there had been no discussion on steps to de-escalate the growing tension between the two countries. "It was a courtesy call ... some discussions took place, but nothing much," Mr Vajpayee said. He told reporters that there was no "immediate plan" for bilateral talks with Pakistan.

"India and Pakistan are neighbours. They've held talks in the past and they will hold talks in the future also."

While the Indian Prime Minister refused to attach any significance to the brief meeting, Gen Musharraf said they had talked on steps to defuse tension between the two countries. He hoped that it would lead to formal talks in future. "We've had an informal interaction and look forward to formalising it in the future to defuse the tension between the two countries," he told a press conference later.

Asked if he considered this meeting a "breakthrough", Gen Musharraf said: "Well, one

Turn to page 3

Paes, Bhupathi win Tata Open title

CHENNAI, Jan. 6. — Leander Paes and Mahesh Bhupathi beat the Czech pair of Tomas Cibulec and Ota Fukarek 5-7, 6-2, 7-5 to lift the doubles title in the Tata Open Tennis Championship. — PTI.

Details on page 8

Murali sets record

KANDY, Jan. 6. — Sri Lankan off-spinner Muttiah Muralitharan today set a world record by achieving 10-wicket hauls in Test matches after capturing the scalp of Zimbabwe's Trevor Gripper. He broke Hadlee's effort of nine 10-wicket match hauls. — Reuters

Details on page 8

Media entry banned

FEROZEPUR, Jan. 6. — Print and electronic media persons have been banned from entering Army units and places of troops deployment in the district from today. The order will be in force till 5 March. — PTI

Pak arrests 42 ultras

ISLAMABAD, Jan. 6. — Pakistani forces arrested 42 militants in Punjab province last night. — AP

General snubs India on ultras' extradition

Press Trust of India

KATHMANDU, Jan. 6. — General Pervez Musharraf today rejected India's demand for handing over criminals and terrorists, such as the Jaish-e-Mohammed chief Masood Azhar, and said linking the Kashmir issue with the attack on Parliament caused "problems".

"We are not into handing over anybody, anywhere," he told a press conference here in reply to a question as to why Pakistan was not handing over terrorists wanted for crimes in India, and taking shelter in that country.

While conceding that terrorists acts, sectarian and religious violence and intolerance were there in Pakistan, he said he had initiated action against such elements and wanted the world to support it. "But a problem arises when Kashmir is linked to the Parliament attack."

Maintaining that the attack on Parliament was a terrorist act and that Pakistan strongly condemned it, the Pakistani President said India had not provided any evidence against those involved in terrorist violence in India.

"If any Pakistani organisation or group is involved in the attack on Parliament then I guarantee that Pakistan will take action against them," Gen Musharraf said.

He said Kashmir should be "left as an issue as there are lots of nuances. We are ready to discuss it. It has to be taken in a wholesome context".

He said the problem arises when Indian leaders call it terrorism while referring to what is

happening in Jammu and Kashmir.

On the question of tackling terrorism in Pakistan, Gen Musharraf said his country had moved towards control of reduction in militancy and extremism from Pakistani society.

When a questioner wanted to know what he had discussed with his "friend" Mr Vajpayee, he thanked him for the remarks and said "I certainly consider Mr Vajpayee as my friend and I look forward to very sincerely, humbly and genuinely calling my friend now and in the future."

On a formal dialogue, he said no dates have been fixed "but I hope it will occur in the near future". Asked what was discussed in the informal discussions between the two sides, he said "Well we sat together".

Gen Musharraf welcomed the US move to send a special envoy to India and Pakistan, saying a mediator was required as the two countries could not resolve their problems bilaterally.

Meanwhile, Gen Musharraf had an hour-long stopover in Beijing on his way back home from Kathmandu, his second in the past three days and third in the last fortnight.

Asked about the Pakistani hand in the Kandahar hijacking episode, he said he didn't want to react to "such rhetoric" as it would only increase tensions between the two countries.

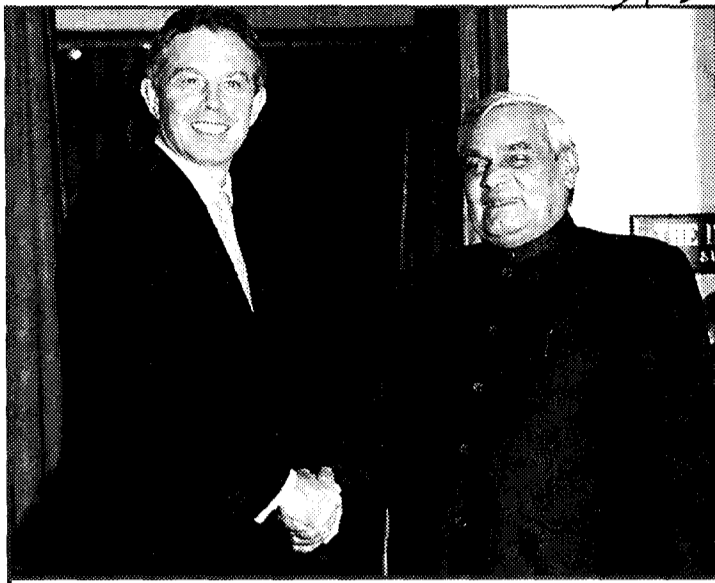
On pressure from the West, he said "Yes, there is great pressure. They're telling both sides to talk and defuse tension." On the arrest of a Pakistani embassy official on the eve of the Saarc summit here on charges of dealing in fake Indian currency, he said it was a "sabotage" against the summit.

PM, Blair see eye-to-eye on terrorism

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 6 JANUARY

TONY BLAIR spoke Delhi's language against terrorism as India and the UK, on Sunday, stood on the same side of the fence against the global scourge. The visiting British Prime Minister, Mr Tony Blair, comparing the December 13 attack to an attack on Westminster, sent out a categorical message to Pakistan. "Support for terrorism must stop for political dialogue to start," he said while walking out of a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, in New Delhi on Sunday.

"We reject arguments of those who attempt to justify terrorism, which, in all its forms, must be condemned unambiguously and eradicated wherever it exists," Mr Blair said, gladdening many Indian hearts. The Delhi Declaration, which Mr Blair described as demonstrating the "strength and vitality of the relationship between modern India and modern Britain," also focused on terrorism and a joint resolve to fight "all those who support terrorism and finance terrorist activities."



SOLIDARITY: British Prime Minister Tony Blair shakes hands with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee during his visit to New Delhi on Sunday. — AP

"We condemn all those who support terrorism. Those that finance, train or provide support for terrorists also share their guilt," the declaration said. Mr Blair will be leaving on Monday for Islam-

abad, but his statements in New Delhi on Sunday will make it impossible for him to endorse Musharraf's argument to look into the "causes of terrorism" and distinguishing between freedom fight-

ers in Kashmir and terrorists elsewhere in the world. "We reject the arguments of those who attempt to justify terrorism, which in all its forms must be condemned unambiguously and eradicated wherever it exists," the leaders said.

Mr Blair will be treated to Pakistan's refusal to extradite terrorists to India or even to take credible steps to tackle terrorism. But what he will be able to convey to Islamabad credibly enough is India's determination to see this campaign through. Firmness is India's defining policy and no matter of handshakes and informal meetings between Mr Vajpayee and Gen Musharraf will prompt India to climb down from its demands from Pakistan. It is this resolve that Mr Blair will be taking with him to Islamabad on Monday.

However, though Mr Blair disavowed a peace plan, he stressed the importance of dialogue over the military option, punctuating it with the statement that the international community sympathised with the "anger in India." "The international community wants that in the given circumstances, political process should take the place of violence,

terrorism and extremism," he said.

Taking a page out of George Bush's statement which likened the December 13 attack with an attack on the US Capitol, Mr Blair said the attacks against India were deliberate attempts to shatter the peace of our people and to undermine democratic values. Endorsing India's stand that it was ready to talk on all outstanding issues with Pakistan, Mr Blair, however, refused to go into the delicate issues of evidence and extradition.

Earlier, in an interview to a private TV channel, Mr Blair rejected any notion that he had come to India and Pakistan with any peace plan. However, he made it clear that while the international community will give Pakistan the necessary breathing space by not labelling it a terrorist state just yet, Islamabad had to take substantive steps to tackle terrorist groups within Pakistan. "If there are terrorist organisations operating in any country, then action has to be taken against them.... because terrorism is not just an act of violence.... it sets a course of a trail of events that make it impossible to actually hold a dialogue or push people apart."

Lashkar's new chief is a Pakistani

Jammu
6 JANUARY

THE NEW chief of the Lashkar-e-Toiba terrorist group is a Pakistani of Kashmiri origin and operates from the town of Bahawalpur, intelligence officials here said. After Abdul Wahid Kashmiri was designated the chief of Lashkar following the arrest of leader Hafeez Syed by Islamabad, intelligence agencies could find little on him in their records. Wahid was apparently appointed the new head to give a Kashmiri image to the group and help Pakistan avoid drawing further flak from the US for harbouring terrorists.

Pakistani police arrested Syed under pressure from the US, which has banned Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad — the two groups India blames for the December attack on Parliament. Intelligence sources said Wahid was operating from Bahawalpur in tandem with other top leaders, including Abul Ubaid, Abu Usman and Abul Thalla. Usman is the overall in-charge of the military operations of the group. He looks after operations in the Jammu region and Abu Thalla in Kashmir, they said. "We don't think there is any change," a senior officer said when asked how the leadership change in Lashkar would impact its functioning. He said Lashkar was the creation of Syed and he would not give up control so easily. "The leadership change is a ploy," he said. — IANS

Pak refuses to take action on India's wanted list

Islamabad
6 JANUARY

NO ACTION can be taken against the 20 terrorists and criminals India says live in Pakistan because 19 of them are non-Pakistanis and Islamabad does not know their whereabouts, a senior Pakistani official said on Sunday. "We have given our reply in response to the list handed over by India to the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi last week," a senior government official said.

According to the official, the list provided by India contained the name of only one Pakistani, while the "rest are either Indians or have some nationality other than Pakistani." The list, made available to IANS here, does not contain the name of former Lashkar-e-Toiba chief Hafeez Muhammad Syed. India has accused him of being involved in the December 13 attack on the Indian Parliament.

Islamabad claims the only Pak-



IN THE SHADOW OF THE GUN

istani on the list was Jaish-e-Mohammad chief Masood Azhar. The 19 others demanded by India are Dawood Ibrahim, Ather Ibrahim, Shakil Ibrahim alias Chhota Shakil, Manoon Ibrahim, Zahur Ibrahim, Paranjit Singh Panjwar, Gajinder Singh, Ranjeet Singh,

Lakhbir Singh, Wadhwa Singh, Ayub Memon, Aizaz Pathan, Syed Abdul Karim, Shakir Muhammad, Azhar Yusuf, Syed Shahid Akhtar, Muhammad Yusuf Shah, Ishaq Atta Hussain and Saghir Sabir Ali.

Dawood Ibrahim, an alleged underworld don, is wanted for the serial terrorist bombings in Mumbai in 1993 that killed about 300 people. Many others on the list are Sikh separatists. While Pakistan has said that the whereabouts of the 19 accused were not known, it has also declined to hand over Masood Azhar, saying it cannot take such action without evidence.

Azhar has been detained for violating Pakistani laws and not because his name was on the Indian list, the official said. "There is no substantiated evidence on the basis of which the Indian government can demand his extradition," the official said. Besides, the official said it was more of a legal issue because Pakistan and India had no extradition treaty. — IANS

Pak militant arrests fail to move India

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 6 JANUARY

NOTWITHSTANDING THE wave of arrests and raids on militant groups in Pakistan, the open display of action by the Musharraf regime has only added to the Indian distrust following reports that key figures have eluded the crackdown and two top terrorists, Maulana Masood Azhar and Hafiz Mohammed Saeed, who were supposed to have been arrested, were being housed in five-star guesthouses.

According to a Sunday Telegraph report, Saeed, who is the Lashkar-e-Taiba chief and Azhar, who heads the Jaish-e-Mohammed, are being held in "relatively comfortable government run premises," which are neither police stations nor a prison. The two leaders figure in the list of 20 wanted terrorists forwarded by India to Pakistan. The Jaish chief is also the key conspirator in the December 13 attack on the Parliament. The report also revealed that leading militant factions as well as their senior leadership were tipped off about impending raids by authorities in advance, enabling them to make good their escape.

The report said, before the raids took place, the jihadi supporters of the militant outfits were able to empty office premises in Karachi and other places. They also replaced signboards soliciting recruitment of young jihadis and removed all documents from the premises before the raids. The outfits had also been allowed to withdraw most of their money from Pakistani banks, before it was decided to freeze their accounts.

Analysts said this showed that the Musharraf establishment had made an attempt to stage a crackdown as part of its diplomatic moves, because of international pressure, to give the impression that it was taking steps in accordance with its new status as a member of the coalition against terrorism.

US unlikely to send envoy to solve Indo-Pak conflict

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 6 JANUARY

MUCH AS General Musharraf would like to see a US special envoy visit South Asia to solve its problems, he is unlikely to have the pleasure. India being resolutely opposed to having any envoy from a third country in the region, the US is more likely than not to go along with New Delhi's wishes.

This is a game played out between India and Pakistan periodically, and like every Pakistani head of government before him, Mr Musharraf would like nothing better than to breach the iron curtain of "no third party" in his dealings with India.

Therefore, predictably welcoming reports of a US special envoy to the region, Mr Mushar-

raf said on Sunday that a mediator was required for the two countries because they could not be trusted to solve their own problems. "You call it third party or mediator or facilitation. There is a requirement of the involvement of some other party which can facilitate the resolving of what I call the conflict between India and Pakistan."

Foreign minister Jaswant Singh,

HANDS-OFF POLICY

on Saturday, encapsulated the traditional Indian position by dismissing the need for a special envoy. India has refused envoys on peace missions in the past and as in 1998, such envoys invariably find it impossible to get into this country. This was the fate of Kofi Annan's special envoy to India and Pakistan after the nuclear tests and

it is unlikely that the US will want to undertake a mission without the express endorsement of New Delhi. Mere reports of Tony Blair coming here on a "peace mission" with a "peace plan" had to be denied by no less than foreign secretary Jack Straw because of India's known opposition to such moves.

The speculation gained ground after US secretary of state Colin Powell said they would take a "hard look" at sending an envoy here, depending on the outcome of the Saarc summit. The names of Richard Armitage and Richard Haass have been doing the rounds as possible candidates. India would rather the US continued with its policy of pressuring Mr Musharraf and Saturday's statement by Mr Powell that Mr Musharraf "would have to do more" has gone down well with the Indian government.

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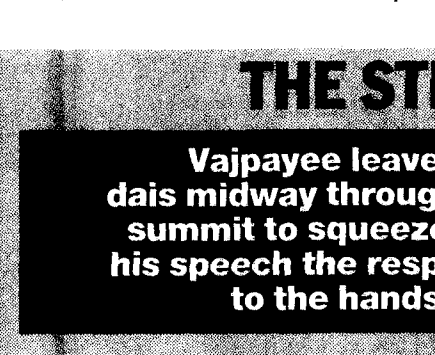
THE CHILL

Musharraf marches past a grim Vajpayee to the podium



THE ICE-BREAKER

Speech over, Musharraf walks up to Vajpayee with his hand extended. Taken aback for a moment, Vajpayee smiles and clasps Musharraf's hand



THE STING

Vajpayee leaves the dais midway through the summit to squeeze into his speech the response to the handshake



Handshake with clenched fist

Drama unfolds on and off stage

FROM ASHIS CHAKRABARTI

Kathmandu, Jan. 5: Lights, camera, action. The actors were ready on the stage. The audience waited with bated breath for the play to start.

The audience watched, but not only at the international convention centre here where the Saarc summit began at 11 am. The world over, leaders, policy-makers and people waited to watch every move, listen to every word and read their own meanings into what Pervez Musharraf and Atal Bihari Vajpayee would say and do.

While speeches by the other Saarc leaders went on as choric preludes, unrelated to the central drama, the play within

The lights and cameras focused on the Pakistani President as he began playing out his role from the unannounced script. And these shifted focus to Vajpayee for capturing the effect. The little stageplay of big effects began as Musharraf raised the curtain on it "before I step down", as he put it.

He then extended his handshake with Vajpayee to end his speech. Movement followed speech, as he walked up to the Indian Prime Minister before going back to his chair and shook the latter's hand. The audience clapped in approval.

If it was the handshake the world thought would shake India and Pakistan back from the brink of war, Musharraf's dramatics was only the beginning. Long and anxious moments would follow before the next act would show how the play progressed.

More interludes followed before Vajpayee took up from where Musharraf left the cue. The drama heightened as Vajpayee went briefly offstage in the course of Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia's speech.

The camera and the lights now zoomed on the players in the wings — India's foreign minister Jaswant Singh and national security adviser Brajesh Mishra — who quickly scripted the next act.

The Indian Prime Minister kept his act for a climax, as it were. Only before he came to the end of his prepared speech, he sprang into his role from the script written offstage.

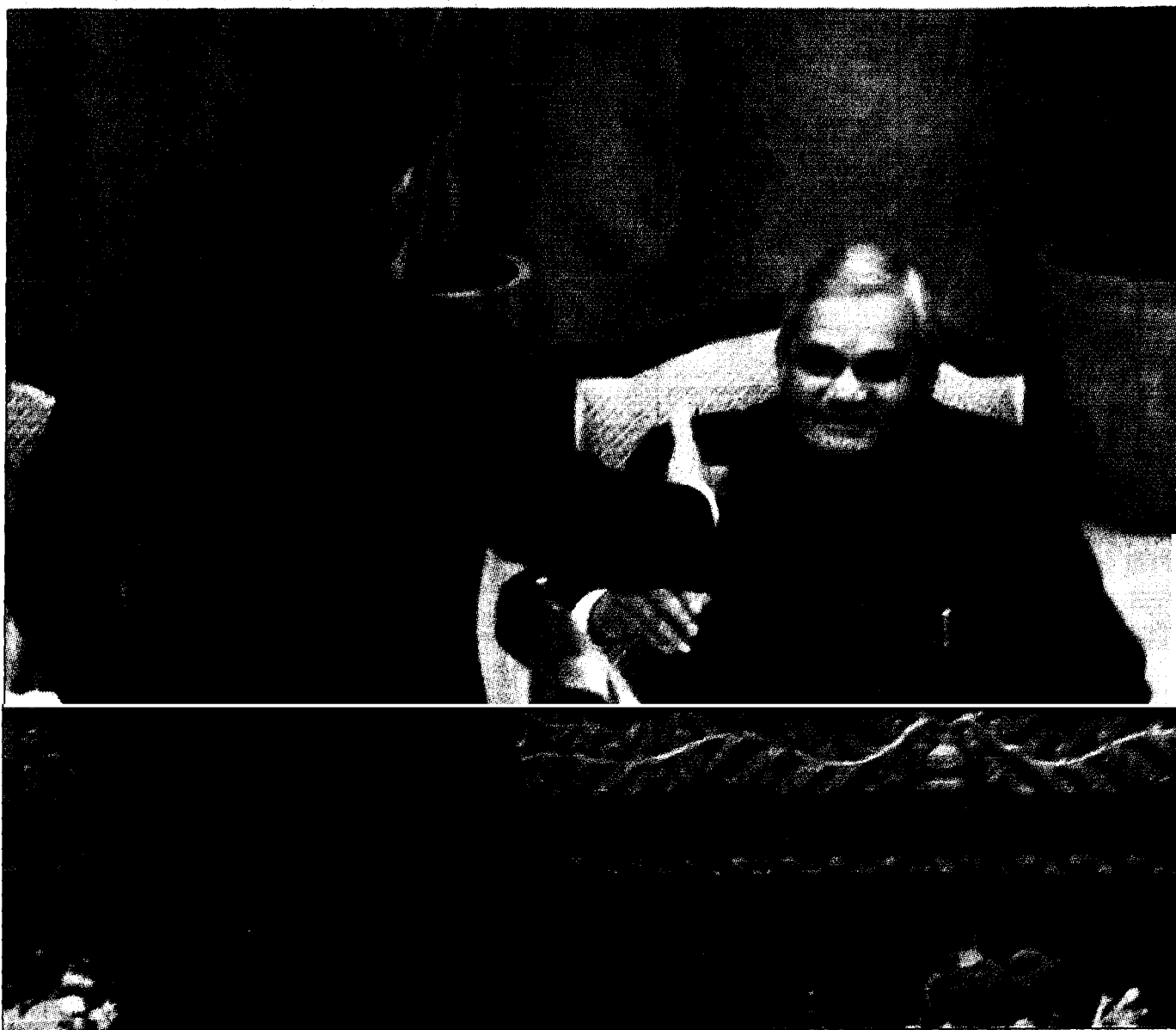
In a manner reminiscent of Antony's famous "Brutus is an honourable man..." he recalled the handshake on the stage and other handshakes — at Lahore and Agra — and then went on to hand his antagonist dumbing blows with references to the Kargil war, the Kandahar hijack and the December 13 attack on the Indian Parliament.

The audience clapped again as he ended his speech and returned to his chair, without reciprocating the Pakistani President's handshake dramatics. The sounds of India-Pakistan tension rang out loud over the clapping of the audience.

And those tension-filled sounds rung the curtain down on any residual hopes for this afternoon's "informal discussions" that replaced the cancelled retreat. Symbolically, the retreat, too, happened in today's stageplay — with India and Pakistan retreating into their hostile rhetoric.

See Page 6

SAARC SURPRISE IGNITES BETRAYAL BLAST



Atal Bihari Vajpayee accepting Pervez Musharraf's outstretched hand at the Saarc summit in Kathmandu. (PTI)

Powell dials amid dialogue buzz

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Kathmandu, Jan. 5: Having etched the parameters within which a dialogue with Pakistan could resume, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee decided to stay away from this afternoon's informal consultations and sent foreign minister Jaswant Singh to represent the Indian team.

But if Vajpayee was trying to send out a signal by not being there, it did little to help scotch speculation that Singh and his Pakistani counterpart, Abdus Sattar, used the opportunity to talk for around 45 minutes.

Fuelling the speculation, US secretary of state Colin Powell phoned Singh and President Pervez Musharraf at their hotels in Kathmandu. Powell was said to have made enquiries about the inaugural session of the Saarc summit. Indications suggest that Washington was trying to find ways and means of nudging the nuclear neighbours towards the talks table. Vajpayee tonight shared a round table with Musharraf at a dinner hosted by Nepal's Prime Minister.

Powell's call came at a time when the US is planning to send a peace envoy to both India and Pakistan — a proposal that has been frowned upon by Singh. If the US eventually sends an envoy, Delhi would find it difficult to dismiss interpretations that it tantamounts to third-party mediation. (See Page 6)

Seeking to play down reports of a meeting between Singh and Sattar on the sidelines of the informal consultations, Indian officials pointed out that it was not mandatory for the Prime Minister to be there and, therefore, it was decided that Singh, along with foreign secretary Chokila Iyer, should be sent.

The six other heads of government, along with their aides, were, however, present at the parleys. That Sattar missed out on a news conference later in the evening led many to believe that he did get a chance to have a tete-a-tete with Singh. Officially, India maintained through a carefully worded statement that no "separate or substantive meeting" between the two sides was held.

The foreign office's clarification was a little more categorical



Jaswant Singh shakes hands with Abdus Sattar in Kathmandu. (AFP)

than that on Friday when The Telegraph said in an exclusive report that Singh and Sattar had conversed with each other for around 20 minutes on the previous day. The Indian foreign ministry was then non-committal, first saying "It was not aware of such a meeting" and then modifying it to "we don't know" about the exchange.

The Pakistani side today gave indications that there was a meeting between the two foreign ministers in the afternoon. But on record, Pakistani officials maintained their ambiguity by saying that they were not aware of any such meeting.

Though there was no confirmation about the latest Singh-Sattar meeting, the body language between the two seemed more positive. They were seen sharing a joke while leaving the meeting room along with other leaders.

Pervez offers friendship, Atal accepts with rider

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

Kathmandu, Jan. 5: When a ramrod-straight Pervez Musharraf strode up and stretched out his "genuine and sincere hand of friendship" today in a dramatic replay of the Agra breakfast chutzpah, Atal Bihari Vajpayee had little option but to accept it with a wry smile.

But in Kathmandu, Vajpayee got the chance he never did in Agra to lay bare the bitterness of the twice-betrayed.

In an uncharacteristic burst, Vajpayee reminded Musharraf, soaking up every word just a few seats away, and the world, spellbound by the television spectacle of Pakistan's "rewards" to India — Kargil, Kandahar, the Kashmir Assembly attack and now the assault on Parliament.

The blunt blast over, Vajpayee's hope of a dialogue between India and Pakistan.

The stunning events unfolded with what an Indian official later described as the Pakistani President's "grandstanding".

"I extend a genuine and sincere hand of friendship to the Prime Minister of India," Musharraf said, digressing from his prepared speech at the inaugural session of the 11th Saarc summit this morning. "Let us jointly embark on a journey for peace and progress in South Asia."

He then pulled off the handshake coup in the full glare of the international media and leaders from the region.

When his turn came after

three speakers, Vajpayee said India was always for friendship and dialogue with Pakistan, but pointed out that experience had made it suspicious of Islamabad's sincerity.

"I am glad that President Musharraf extended a hand of friendship to me. I have shaken his hand in your presence," he said. "Now President Musharraf must follow this gesture by not permitting any activity in Pakistan or any territory it controls today which enables terrorists to perpetrate mindless violence in India."

Then came the candid cut. "I went to Lahore with a hand of friendship. We were rewarded by aggression in Kargil and hijacking of an Indian Airlines aircraft from Kathmandu. I invited President Musharraf to Agra. We were rewarded with a terrorist attack on the Jammu and Kashmir."

The Prime Minister's decision to bring in the issue before Saarc was in itself unusual as Delhi has been maintaining that the forum should not be used to discuss bilateral and contentious issues.

Though his prepared speech mentioned terrorism, there was no reference to either Pakistan

"Pakistan itself has been a victim of terrorism. We abhor violence. We are determined to eliminate terrorism," Musharraf said. But to reassure hardliners back home, he sought to draw a distinction between "terrorists" and "freedom fighters."

Besides India's insistence on more "concrete steps", there was another message for Musharraf in Kathmandu — the collective voice of other Saarc leaders. Almost all of them pointed out that terrorism was a clear and present danger in South Asia.

QUOTE

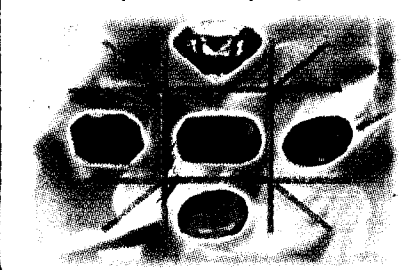
I invited President Musharraf to Agra. We were rewarded with terrorist attacks...

AB VAJPAYEE

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Where 150 years tradition is a treasure

Learn from Afghanistan, PM tells Pervez

Kathmandu, January 5

WAR ON TERROR

We've to join our hands, at least now, more honestly and with more dedication, to fight the wave of terroristic politics. Double standards cannot work anymore.



Chandrika Kumaratunga

To root out the growing menace of terrorism, we should collectively fight this crime and block drug trafficking and organised crimes that finance it.

Sher Bahadur Deuba

Terrorism must be condemned and eliminated wherever it appears. It endangers civilisation, subverts democratic ideals and disrupts economic activity.

Abdul Gayoom

The reality of terrorism as an organised evil that will continue to haunt us and ravage our societies must be recognised. The perpetrators of the attack on the Indian Parliament must be brought to justice.

Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk

One thing is clear. Only politics, not terror, can solve issues like (Kashmir) and the starting point of any dialogue must be the total and absolute rejection of actions such as those of Oct. 1 and Dec. 13.



Pakistan has done a great deal since this crisis started on Dec. 13... I expect him (Musharraf) to do more.

Colin Powell

Following is the text of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's speech at the Saarc Summit on Saturday:

I JOIN my colleagues in thanking the Government and the people of Nepal for the warmth of their welcome and hospitality. We appreciate the excellent arrangements for this Summit.

It is an uplifting experience for me to be here in this charming city of Kathmandu, the earthly abode of the Lord Pashupatinath, and in a country with which India is linked by geography, kinship, tradition and culture.

Your country has recently been through gruesome tragedy and domestic turmoil; but you have emerged from them with a more resilient society and stronger roots of your democracy.

I felicitate you on your assumption of the chair of Saarc and wish you a rewarding tenure in its stewardship. We extend our fullest cooperation to you in guiding the association forward. As Sri Lanka passes the baton, we salute the tireless efforts of its President, who led the organisation through a difficult and turbulent period of its history with a combination of firmness and tact.

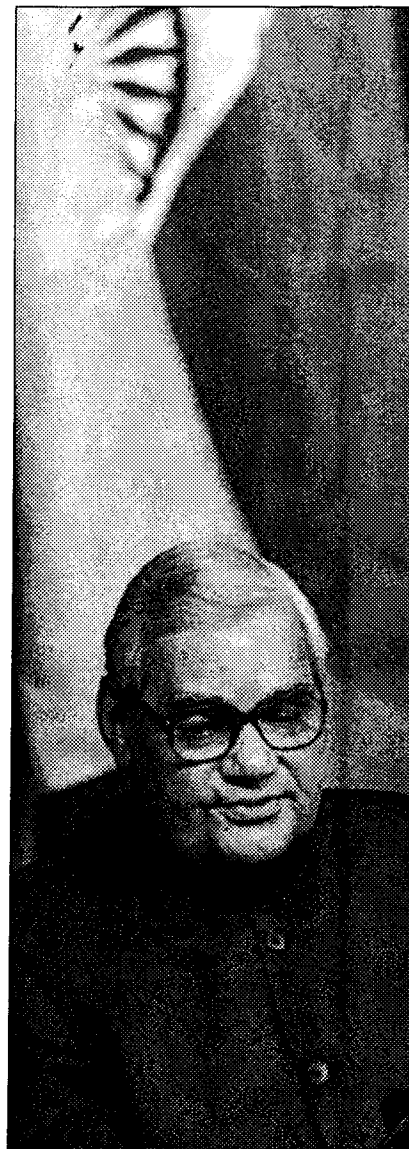
Our official and ministerial delegations have been meeting over the last few days, working on our collective decision which will give Saarc its orientation in the 21st century.

Mr Chairman,

Saarc turned 16 last month, in its formative years, it has developed the base for a strong network of economic, social, cultural, scientific and technical collaboration in the region. Our integrated programme of action defines a broad-based agenda. The group of eminent persons has identified the elements of a social agenda which could form the nucleus of a Saarc social charter. Sri Lanka's initiative for a Saarc cultural centre underlines the common cultural heritage of our unique South Asian identity. More and more of our professionals like doctors and accountants, writers and painters, business leaders and journalists are establishing associations with their counterparts across borders.

What we need today is the dose of maturity which would lead Saarc from adolescence to adulthood. It would enable us to put aside our mutual rivalries, so that our scarce resources can be concentrated on the pressing agenda of eradication of poverty, hunger, disease, and illiteracy. It would not let political obsessions cloud our collective vision of a vibrant and prosperous South Asian community.

Some month ago, I wrote to a South



Prime Minister AB Vajpayee (left) and President Pervez Musharraf (right) address the Saarc Summit in Kathmandu on Saturday.



Mr Chairman,

Four countries in our region are in the least developed category, the other three are developing countries. As the technological revolution advances, and globalisation shrinks the world, the challenges which confront us require innovative responses. We do not want our socio-economic disparities of today to be transformed into the digital divide of tomorrow.

We have to take difficult decisions to reconcile the pace of our liberalisation with the needs of our nascent industries and equitable development. It is important that we recognise the primacy of the economic agenda in Saarc. Our region is home to one fifth of humanity. With a market of this size, our natural wealth, our human resources, our technical skills and our intellectual strengths, an integrated South Asia can be an economic power house, by using its synergies creatively and building on the mutual complementarities of its constituent economies.

We have to increase our intra-regional trade, which is limited by a variety of national barriers, in an intensely competitive world, regional economic groupings create obvious economies of scale. At times of wider recession, regional trade can cushion their adverse impact. The progression from Sapta to a free trade area and then to South Asian economic union has a self evident economic logic. Government industry partnerships also promote regional trade and I congratulate the Saarc Chamber of Commerce on this initiative.

We have extraordinary cases of trade between two adjoining countries of our region through distant third countries. Developing countries with severe balance of payments problems cannot afford the luxury of this extra burden on their national exchequer or the consumers' pockets.

While promoting intra-regional trade, we also need to address the special needs and circumstances of the least developed countries. India can consider further concessional duty regime for products from these countries. We have already accorded this benefit to Nepal and Bhutan. I recommend consultations among our ministers to identify specific proposals to invigorate the South Asian growth quadrangle. I am also proposing that the Commerce Secretaries meet at the very earliest to address such trade facilitation issues.

Mr Chairman,

India has been a victim of international terrorism for two decades now. Other countries in our region have also been similarly affected. Terrorism uses different religious, territorial, economic and ethnic justifications in different

Asian colleague, reminding him that the common enemy of our two countries is poverty and inviting him to take with us the high road of cooperation and reconciliation to satisfy the shared aspirations of our people. From this forum today, I make the same appeal to all the leaders of South Asia: Let us jointly declare war on the poverty which afflicts about half a billion people in our region alone. Let us develop regional poverty alleviation programmes, which would complement our national schemes and strengthen our commitment to implement them.

Ten years ago, we set up an independent South Asian Commission on Pover-

ty Alleviation with a membership of eminent South Asians. The Dhaka Summit endorsed its report and committed South Asia to work for total eradication of poverty, preferably by 2002. Unfortunately, this joint endeavour never took off. I believe that we owe it to our people to make another sincere attempt. The Poverty Commission still exists, let it be revived and reconvened to update and flesh out its 1992 report. Let us this time show great commitment to making our cooperative mechanisms work.

India is willing to host the meetings of the reconvened Poverty Commission and extend all assistance to enable it to complete its work expeditiously.

KATHMANDU DIARY

Hand it to Atal

SO MUCH for the Saarc ban on raising bilateral disputes — both Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and President Pervez Musharraf on Saturday digressed from the text of their speeches to address each other.

Claiming that Agra had made the Kathmandu Summit possible, Musharraf took the Indian side by surprise when he extended a hand of friendship to Vajpayee.

But Vajpayee too had his say when he took the podium. "I am glad that President Musharraf extended a hand of friendship to me... He must now follow this gesture by not permitting any activity in Pakistan or any territory (read PoK) it controls today, which enables terrorists to perpetrate mindless violence in India." The Prime Minister's blunt response left the gathering stunned. He completed the snub by leaving the venue without bidding adieu to the Pakistani leader.

Hand-some hero

BEGUM SEHBA Musharraf was all smiles when the General, debonair in a black *sherwani*, offered a hand to Prime Minister Vajpayee. Seated along with the spouses of other Saarc

leaders, she looked the most radiant of them all. Curiously, there was nobody from Vajpayee's family at the inaugural ceremony though his foster daughter, son-in-law and granddaughter have accompanied him to Nepal.

Suave Singh

TRUE TO the Saarc spirit, a lunch hosted by Indian MEA spokesperson Nirupama Rao at the media centre in Kathmandu on Saturday was open to journalists from all countries covering the Summit. What came as a bonus for the news-hungry is the

crum exuded by Jaswant Singh, generally known for a stiff upper lip. "I don't want to leave before I have addressed the last question," he said.

Words of wisdom

AMONG THE Pakistani media commentators attending the Summit is Hussain Haqqani, media advisor to both Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto. In his assessment, Bhutto would sweep to power if elections were to be held in his country now. He blamed the failure of the Agra summit on Musharraf's keenness to clinch a deal at his very first interaction with the Indian leadership.

Sneezy sisters

LIKE HER her domestic bete noire Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister Khaleda Zia too seems to sneeze whenever India and Pakistan catch a cold. She reportedly offered to speak to Musharraf and Vajpayee in a bid to ensure peace in the subcontinent. Her predecessor too had sought the role of a mediator in the post-Pokhran phase, forgetting India's aversion to third-party mediation in Indo-Pak affairs.

Vinod Sharma

US wants Musharraf to do more

S Rajagopalan
Washington, January 5

THE UNITED STATES has let it be known that it expects Pakistan to do more vis-a-vis the anti-India terror outfits operating from its territory. President Musharraf has done "a great deal" on this count since the attack on Indian Parliament, but he needs to do more, Secretary of State Colin Powell said on Friday.

"I expect him (Musharraf) to make other statements when he gets back from the Saarc meeting in Kathmandu, and in due course we will see whether or not we have found a political and diplomatic solution to this crisis," Powell told BBC.

He did not elaborate on the additional steps expected of Pakistan, but the one action on which it has been dragging its feet is the strong Indian demand for turning over the terrorist

leaders and activists to stand trial in India.

Powell otherwise took care not to offend Pakistan in any way. He sidestepped a question on Pakistan's support to terrorism until recently by virtually equating Pakistan with India and claiming that "both of these nations have suffered from terrorist attacks against them."

He also dodged a question on the US "hypocrisy" of going into Afghanistan to deal with the terrorist that attacked it, but opposing a similar action by India against terrorist camps in Pakistan. "What we are saying to the Indians, and to the Pakistanis, is that there are other ways to solve this problem (instead of going to war)," he said.

Powell, however, conceded that the Indian mobilisation of troops was purely in response to "this horrible attack against their democracy" and said he was

encouraged by the fact that Prime Minister Vajpayee was anxious to find a political and diplomatic solution.

Powell indicated that the Indo-Pak situation was still "dangerous", though there were "some positive signs". Against this background, he said he would be taking a hard look next week on the question of sending a "special envoy" to the region to help defuse tensions. But he avoided the expression special envoy, saying the American envoys in New Delhi and Islamabad had been doing "a superb job".

To a question on tackling the cause (Kashmir) rather than the symptoms, Powell said the focus right now has to be on the dangerous situation brought about by mobilisation of forces on both sides. However, in "due course", there has to be a dialogue between the two nations on the Kashmir issue. He stuck to the

US position that it was for India and Pakistan to deal with the Kashmir question. The US will not be "pushing them" into the dialogue mode, but will try to be helpful and "encourage them to talk to one another".

Pak crackdown on jihadis

Pakistan today pledged to continue its crackdown on militant groups on its soil saying that over 100 Islamist extremists, belonging to outfits blamed for the attack on Parliament, have been arrested, PTI adds.

"The Government is determined to enforce the law of the land. Any group of people who infringe the law will be proceeded against. So far over 100 persons have been arrested for making incendiary statements and related activities," foreign office spokesman Aziz Ahmad Khan said.



Indian Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh shakes hands with his Pakistani counterpart, Abdul Sattar, at the inaugural session of the Saarc Summit on Saturday.



Saarc leaders leave the Summit venue at the end of the inaugural session on Saturday.

New Delhi holds out fresh trade sops for neighbours

Kathmandu, January 5

INDIA TODAY offered to consider further duty concession to boost intra-regional trade among Saarc nations while pressing on the need to progress towards a free trade area to overcome impact of global recession.

"India can consider further concessional duty regimes for products from these (least developed) countries. We have already accorded this benefit to Nepal and Bhutan," Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee said at the 11th Saarc Summit.

Vajpayee proposed consultations at both ministerial and secretary levels to identify specific proposals to "invigorate the South Asian growth quadrangle".

Blaming national barriers for low level of intra-regional trade, Vajpayee said "We have extraordinary cases of trade between two adjoining countries of our region through distant third countries. There cannot be a better example of cutting of the nose to spite the face."

Saying that developing countries with severe balance of payments problem could not afford the luxury of this extra burden, Vajpayee observed "progression from Sapta to a free trade area and then to a South Asian economic union has a self evident economic logic."

"In an intensely competitive world, regional economic grouping create obvious economies of scale. At times of wider recession regional trade can cushion their adverse impact," the Prime Minister said.

Vajpayee said it was important to recognise the primacy of the economic agenda in Saarc in view of the region being home to one-fifth of humanity.

"With the market of this size, our natural wealth, our human resources, our technical skills and our intellectual strengths, an integrated South-Asia can be an economic power house by using its synergies creatively and building on mutual complementarities of its economies," he said.

Vajpayee said there was a need

to take difficult decisions to reconcile pace of liberalisation with the needs of nascent industries and equitable development.

"We do not want socio-economic disparities of today to be transformed into the digital divide of tomorrow," he said, adding "as technological revolution advances and globalisation shrinks the world the challenges confronting us require innovative responses".

Identifying eradication of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy as common pressing agenda for focusing scarce resources, Vajpayee said "What we need is a dose of maturity, enabling us to put aside mutual rivalries so that our scarce resources can be concentrated on the agenda."

Appealing to the leaders of South Asia to jointly declare war on poverty, Vajpayee said "Let us develop regional poverty alleviation programmes which would complement our national schemes and strengthen our commitment to implement them."

Atal, Khaleda discuss Bangla minorities

Imran Rahman
Dhaka, January 5

THE SECURITY of the minority community in Bangladesh and the Ganga water of treaty of 1996 were the focus of a 45-minute meeting between Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and his Bangladeshi counterpart, Khaleda Zia.

This was the first meeting of the two Prime Ministers since Khaleda came to power.

Khaleda proposed a review of the Ganga water treaty with India signed in 1996 when she called on Vajpayee, Foreign Ministry officials in Dhaka said.

Vajpayee reportedly told Khaleda that the process of reviewing the treaty could be initiated as per provision laid down in it for review.

Khaleda also took up the issue of trade imbalance between the two countries, and the unfinished demarcation of the Indo-Bangladesh border. The Indian side said the trade imbalance



KHALEDA ZIA

could be taken up at the secretary-level meeting between the two countries. Regional issues also featured at the talks.

The Bangladesh Prime Minister stressed the need for a dialogue to resolve the issues, especially between India and Pakistan. She said India should take the initiative in the matter.

The Prime Minister made inquiries into the security of the minority community in Bangladesh. Vajpayee was told there were some law and order problems and those were taken care of to ensure the safety and security of the minority community.

Vajpayee invited Khaleda to visit India at an appropriate time. Khaleda too invited the Indian Prime Minister to visit Bangladesh.

PTI

HD-1
671

Mission staff return from Pak.

By Our Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, JAN. 5. Buoyed by a sense of relief, but choked by the travails of sudden displacement, a 120-member contingent of the Indian diplomatic staff and their families arrived here today from Islamabad by a special Indian Airlines flight.

Gripped by uncertainty after the December 13 terrorist attack on the Parliament House, these families have been hearing about their return for some time now, and after a few change in dates, were glad to have finally made the journey. As the First Secretary at the Indian Mission in Islamabad, Indramani Pandey, put it: "Of course, it is relieving to be back. The situation has been a bit more tense than usual there

after December 13." Yet another staffer, R.C. Sharma, insisted that the public attitude in Pakistan could not be termed hostile. "It was actually all right. The Pakistani public in general is quite nice and understanding with us."

And a few, including Mr. Pandey's wife, Sushma, echoed similar sentiments. "A lot of my husband's friends in Pakistan did call us up to wish good bye. I don't think we had any problems dealing with people as such." However, diplomatic persuasions apart, the sudden decision by the Government to downsize the mission in Pakistan by half has upset the routine lives of these families. "Some of us have our children in crucial stages of their education. Now they have to discontinue their education," said one staffer.

THE HINDU

- 6 JAN 2002

(Continued from page 1)

SAARC:

The US secretary of state, General Colin Powell, told the BBC that Washington would take a "hard look" early next week on the issue of sending a special envoy to the region.

Mr Singh, however, said there had been no communication from Washington on the matter. If the USA wished to appoint an envoy for Pakistan, "it was a bilateral matter". Pakistan is an ally of the USA, an ally in the frontline, he said, adding "God help the United States of America."

The leader of Nepal's ministerial delegation and finance minister, Mr Ram Sharan Mahat, said: "If there were no tensions (between India and Pakistan), there would be no media and world attention on Saarc."

In her opening speech, the Sri Lankan President said: "The continuing tensions between member states has hindered seriously our ability to implement the decisions." Mr Mahat said: "That the summit has

taken place in a not-so-favourable atmosphere is, in itself, an achievement."

Meanwhile, the economic agenda of Saarc did move forward, thanks to Nepal's insistence. All seven countries agreed "in principle" to create Safta by the year-end. Even Pakistan, which had some reservations on the issue, agreed to the proposal. The members will also try to adopt a common stand on international issues such as the response to World Trade Organisation prescriptions.

The Commission on Poverty has been asked to provide concrete suggestions on poverty alleviation within a specified time.

"We don't have the patience for endless suggestions and formulations," Mr Mahat said. The summit adopted two social charters, on curbing child labour and women trafficking.

The Kathmandu declaration is

unanimous on the need for a holistic approach to terrorism.

"Violence in any form, for any reason, cannot be condoned. There can be no alibi for terrorism, religious, humanitarian, political or philosophical," Mr Mahat said.

The strongest critique on terrorism came from Mrs Chandrika Kumaratunga. She defined terrorism as "the most terrifying political development," and described how all Saarc nations "have experienced its horror and pain — whether emanating from within, or from a neighbouring state".

She said: "Double standards can't work anymore, and won't resolve the long-standing problem of terrorism. We can't encourage and finance friendly terrorist organisations in one place and attempt to defeat the others."

The statement that sent Indian officials in a flurry: "Terrorists didn't separate India and Pakistan and create the tragedy of Kashmir as a buffer zone."

THE STATESMAN

6 JAN 2002

Atal shakes off Pervez coup attempt

HT Correspondent
Kathmandu, January 5

PR SAVVY President Pervez Musharraf almost pulled off a television coup today with the dramatic gesture of declaring at the first day of the Saarc Summit that he was extending "a hand of genuine and sincere friendship" to India, then walking up to Atal Bihari Vajpayee and proffering his hand. Slightly taken aback, Vajpayee shook hands and rose from his chair. In his speech later, the Prime Minister got his own back with a riposte laden with sting.

Vajpayee's hard-hitting speech attacking terrorism was vindicated as India's South Asian neighbours expressed support to its principled stand that terror, in whatever name and espousing whatever cause, should be combated together. They also demanded immediate steps for elimination of support, encouragement and financing of terrorist groups.

At one stage, it appeared that the Pakistani leader had again stolen India's thunder. So seductive was his flamboyance that even Vajpayee couldn't but help shed his studied, grim demeanour — rising amid applause from the select gathering to smilingly accept the General's presence of peace.

But when his turn came, the Premier reminded Musharraf of his less than credible track record. His message: symbolic gestures aren't enough, translate them into genuine action. "I'm glad that President Musharraf extended a hand of friendship. Now he must follow up this gesture by controlling terrorism emanating from his country."

Whatever brownie points the General had set out to score by playing the peacenik were more than negated by the PM's sharp reminder that it was Musharraf who sabotaged Lahore in his earlier incarnation as Nawaz Sharif's Army Chief. After a quick recount of Kargil and Kandahar, Vajpayee, for the first time at his level, directly charged Islamabad

with masterminding attacks on the hallowed seats of Indian democracy: Parliament and the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly. "I invited President Musharraf to Agra. We were rewarded with terrorist attacks on the J&K Assembly and on Parliament. But we would be betraying the expectations of our people if we did not chart out a course towards satisfying them and fulfilling promises of our common South Asian destiny," he said as Musharraf listened intently.

Unlike the General, the Prime Minister's prepared speech was

devoid of any direct reference to Pakistan. But that conciliatory approach was before Musharraf's address that began on a high-strung note — taking exception to the two-year delay in holding the Saarc Summit after India's refusal to share the stage with him in the wake of his October 1999 coup.

The General's address was so drafted as to reinforce the Big Brother image India is struggling to live down in South Asia. His proposals for expending form in the interest of substantive consultations within the region-

al grouping sounded nice. But in effective terms, they amounted to a rejection of the Saarc charter, which does not permit discussions on bilateral disputes.

Musharraf stuck to the old Pakistani position that campaign against global terrorism must distinguish between "legitimate resistances and freedom struggles on the one hand and acts of terrorism on the other". But the distinction was lost on the leaders of other nations except Bangladesh, which just made a passing reference to terrorism. Sri Lankan President Chandrika Ku-

maratunga set the anti-terror tone, saying terrorism cannot be combated with double standards. "Use of terror by encouraging the use of violence against an enemy state intensifies violence."

While Bhutan King Jigme Wangchuk said the culprits of the Parliament attack should be brought to book, Nepal Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba — who took over the chairmanship of Saarc — said there was need to collectively and resolutely fight the growing menace.

In the midst of the handshake hype, Vajpayee quietly skipped

the informal consultations at Soaltee, planned to make up for the retreat that was cancelled because of Musharraf's late arrival. The retreat and the Soaltee gathering were the only fixtures that could occasion an informal Vajpayee-Musharraf one-on-one.

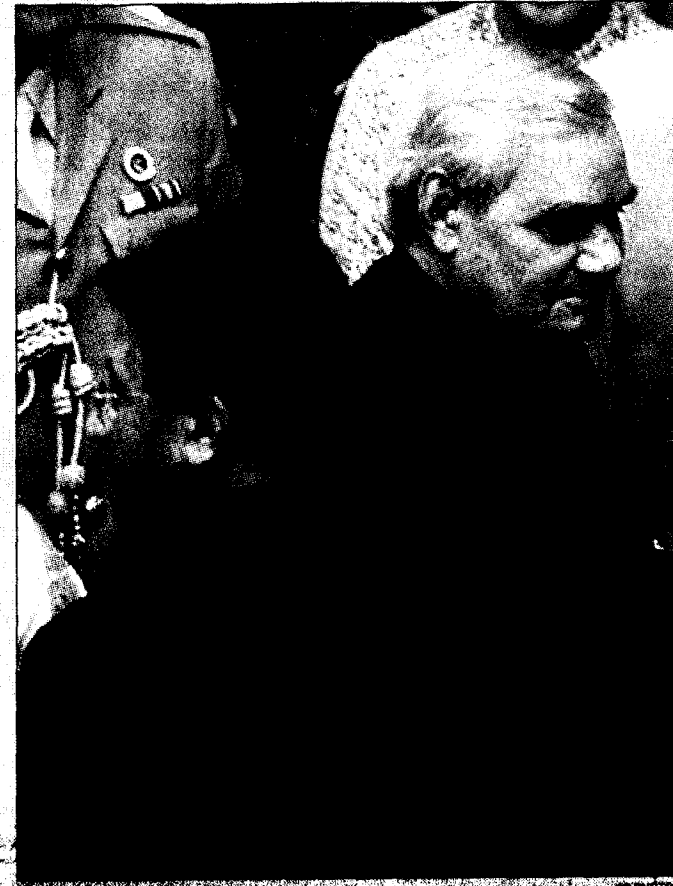
The Soaltee meet was attended by Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh. The Indian delegation denied that he and his Pakistani counterpart Abdul Sattar had held talks.

Full text of PM's speech on Page 9

SHAKEN, NOT STIRRED: THE HANDSHAKE, THEN THE REBUFF



Musharraf went across the podium and extended his hand to Vajpayee at the Saarc meet on Saturday. But after the inauguration, the PM conspicuously avoided doing an encore.



Jaswant ticks off US for special envoy plan

HT Correspondent
Kathmandu, January 5

INDIA TODAY dismissed reports that the US was planning to appoint a special envoy to ease tension between India and Pakistan. External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh denied knowledge of any such appointment. "The US has missions in both New Delhi and Islamabad. Unless the missions are not up to the mark, I don't think there is an occasion for such an appointment," he said.

US Secretary of State Colin Powell had said yesterday that Washington was planning to appoint a special envoy to India and Pakistan and a decision in this regard would be taken after the Saarc Summit.

"We will have a hard look at this at the beginning of next week," he said. "They are all in Kathmandu now, so there would not be much point sending an envoy right now or for an additional presence. We are being well represented by Ambassadors (Wendy Chamberlin and (Robert) Blackwill," he said.

Today, Powell called up Singh. But official sources said the call was aimed basically at continuing discussions on the current subcontinental situation.

Singh briefed Powell on what Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee had said at the Saarc Summit inaugural in response to General Musharraf's statement.

Powell's call came today in the context of repeated statements from Washington urging India and Pakistan to hold a dialogue and scale down tension.

Asked if Powell had made any renewed appeal for a dialogue with Pakistan, the sources said New Delhi had taken note of what Washington had to say on the issue.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

6 JAN 2002

Hijackers figure in list sent to Pak.

By Vinay Kumar HD-1

NEW DELHI, JAN. 4. The much-talked about list of 20 fugitives submitted by New Delhi to Islamabad consists of hijackers, terrorists, narcotics traffickers and criminals who have taken shelter in Pakistan. The list, submitted to the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner here on December 31, includes the names of five hijackers of the IC-814 flight of the Indian Airlines which was commandeered to Kandahar on December 24, 1999 and five prime accused in the Bombay serial bomb blasts on March 12, 1993.

According to highly-placed Government sources, terrorists and underworld elements who have been named by India are those against whom Interpol alerts have also been issued. Both the Bombay serial blasts and IC-814 hijacking cases have been probed by the CBI which has also filed chargesheets.

The five prime accused in the Bombay serial blasts case are: Dawood Ibrahim Kaskar, Memon Ayub, Memon Ibrahim, Pathan Izaz and Chhota Shakeel. The five hijackers of IC-814 flight, also wanted for murder and kidnaping are: Athar Ibrahim alias Chief, Azhar Yusuf alias Mohammad Salim, Mistri Zahur Ibrahim alias Bhola, Sayed Shahid Akhtar alias Doctor and Shakir Mohammed alias Shankar.

Sources said that two members of the Dawood Ibrahim gang wanted for conspiracy to target the Union Home Minister also figure in the list. They are: Ishaq Atta Hussain alias Ali Moosa and Sagir Sabir Ali Shaikh.

The chief of the Jaish-e-Mohammad, Maulana Masood Azhar, who was released by India in exchange for the safe return of the

IC-814 hostages, and Salauddin alias Mohammad Yusuf Shah, supreme commander of the Hizbul-Mujahideen, have been named in the list. While Masood Azhar has been named as the prime accused in the December 13 attack on Parliament House, Salauddin is wanted for terrorist acts perpetrated in India. Syed Abdul Karim alias Hakimji, an activist of the Lashkar-e-Taiba, responsible for

'Just a list, no evidence'

By C. Raja Mohan

KATHAMANDU, JAN. 4. Pakistan today confirmed that it had received a list of 20 wanted men from India, but insisted that New Delhi had provided no evidence so far. The spokesman for the Pakistan President, Rashid Qureshi, said that without proper proof his Government would not be able to act.

"It is a list, that's all," Maj. Gen. Qureshi said. "I am not aware of any proof having been provided to Pakistan till today," he said and added that if there is "any shred of evidence that anyone, or an organisation is responsible for an act of terrorism anywhere in the world, and if that person happens to be in Pakistan, then the Government of Pakistan will take action."

the bombings in Northern India during 1996-97 has also been named.

Others wanted for various terrorist acts are Punjab militants belonging to the Dal Khalsa, Babbar Khalsa International and some other outfits. Gajinder Singh, leader of Dal Khalsa, is wanted for hijacking an Indian Airlines plane in 1981.

THE HINDU

- 5 JAN 2002

Rumsfeld confident India, Pak. will avoid war

AD-11
3/1

WASHINGTON, JAN. 4. The United States Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, said he was confident that India and Pakistan, which had engaged in a belligerent military build-up, would resolve their differences peacefully. "I don't think they are going to go to war. I think they are going to sort these things out," he told newsmen at the Pentagon on Thursday.

Mr. Rumsfeld said the Indian Defence Minister, George Fernandes, was scheduled to visit Washington, but gave no details of the date. "I look forward to receiving him," he said.

He said efforts were being made by the U.S. President, George Bush, and other senior members of the U.S. administration, in visits and phone calls to both sides, to ease tensions.

"I am hopeful they will move through this period, that is unquestionably a tense period, in a way that is respectful of the risks

that each side and the power of the weapons that each side has."

Meanwhile, the State Department spokesman, Richard Boucher, has urged India and Pakistan "to move forward towards resolving their differences".

At his press briefing on Thursday, Mr. Boucher said, "The Foreign Ministers and other officials are in Kathmandu now. President Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee will be there on Friday, and we hope that they will use the opportunity to move towards resolving their differences."

To a question on Mr. Vajpayee ruling out a face-to-face meeting with Gen. Musharraf, Mr. Boucher said, "I am not going to talk about the specifics of who has to see whom on what day. That is up to them to decide. We think it is an opportunity for them, having officials, leaders, Foreign Ministers, other people, all in the same place, to look for ways to resolve their differences. I will leave it at

that. They can decide exactly what they might do."

The Congressman, Benjamin Gilman, has said that the U.S. should not differentiate between India's fight against terrorism and U.S. efforts to bring Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda network to justice.

"Our nation must fully recognise that the recent attack against India's Parliament should not be differentiated from our ongoing war against terrorism," Mr. Gilman, who is also the Chairman of the House International Relations Subcommittee on West Asia and South Asia said in a statement.

"The two Pakistani Islamic terrorist groups that have murdered thousands of innocent Indians in Kashmir for many years are the same organisations that have recruited, housed, trained and dispatched fighters to Afghanistan to support the Taliban and Osama," the statement said. — Reuters, PTI

Indo-Pak stand-off: Islamic states walk diplomatic tightrope

SONIA TRIKHA

NEW DELHI, JANUARY 4

AS THE war of words between India and Pakistan continues, there are strong concerns among Islamic states on the tense situation and some of them have even offered to mediate between the two countries.

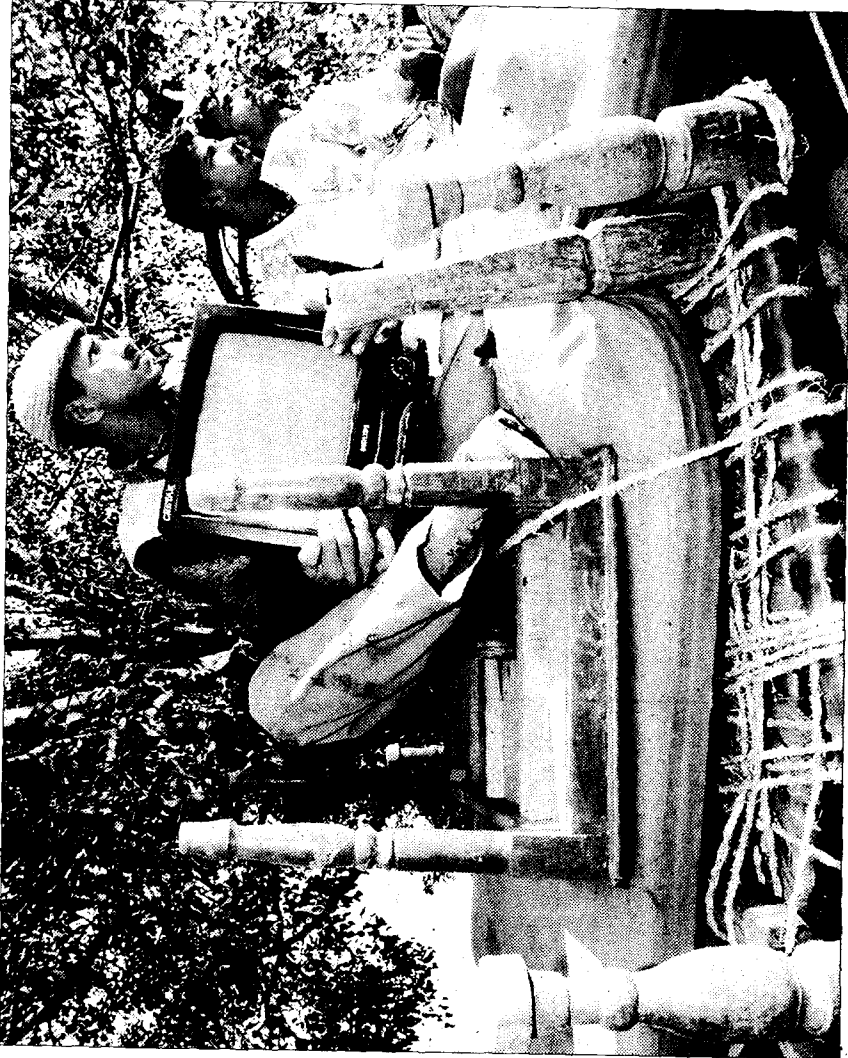
Libyan President Col Muammar Gaddafi's special envoy Salem Ibrahim Salem met Minister of External Affairs Omar Abdullah today to discuss the situation. The meeting followed a call from Gaddafi to Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee last week with an offer to mediate.

Libya is not alone among Islamic states to offer mediation. Sources said that Iranian President Mohammed Khatami too called Vajpayee with a similar offer. The foreign ministers of Qatar and Oman also called Minister for External Affairs Jaswant Singh.

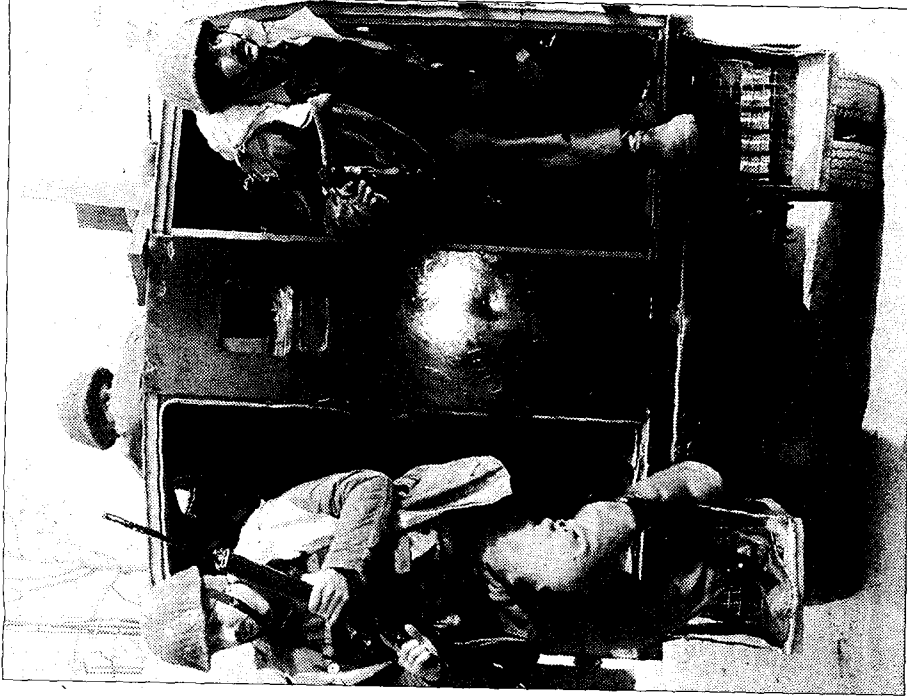
Musharraf has had similar calls from leaders of Islamic states, including the Saudi Prince and Jordan's King Abdullah, urging him to resume dialogue with India.

India's response has been that any calls for restraint must be addressed to Pakistan. But what has been a source of discomfort for India are the calls for mediation. Sources say that India has rejected these offers and said any dialogue with Pakistan will be bilateral.

This was conveyed to Khatami and Gaddafi. But despite this the Libyan leader sent



(Above) Residents evacuate with their belongings after border clashes near their village in Pargwal, 35 km west of Jammu; BSF troopers patrol Srinagar streets on Friday. Reuters photos



in India and its policy towards the Arab world. Experts attribute it to three reasons. One Islamic state would like to be seen as credible mediators in reducing tensions between the two states.

Second, though the Gulf nations have strong religious bonds with Islamabad and a lot of the funding for terrorist organisations in Pakistan comes from that region, it has a huge stake in India in the form of economic ties.

Third, because after September 11 there is a new introspection among Arab states about the role of Islam in terrorism.

According to diplomats here the language of both statements from the Islamic world appears carefully worded in an apparent bid to maintain neutrality. GCC leaders, for instance, condemned the "terror" attack on Parliament, but added that terrorism must be fought under the UN auspices.

Clearly, the states do not want to jeopardise the huge foreign workforce in the Gulf dominated by Indians and Pakistanis. In the event of any conflict there would be huge economic repercussions on the region.

Pakistan, however, remains undisturbed by India's diplomatic triumph in the Islamic world.

Sources said that the nuanced statements are "only meant to engage India in a dialogue" but if the situation were to get out of hand militarily, there is no doubt where the Islamic world's sympathies will lie.

Pakistan for condemning the December 13 attack but did not absolve Pakistan of blame and urged it to act on the UN resolutions. A similar statement was issued by the Gulf Cooperation Council saying it was "in favour of an international conference on terrorism

under the umbrella of the UN" to solve the issue between India and Pakistan. The nuanced statements from the Islamic world that for the first time do not tilt towards Islamabad in an Indo-Pak standoff are being seen as a diplomatic success

ful manner and a fresh approach which addresses the root cause of the problem on way to "a lasting solution that would be in line and conformity with the principles of international law and relevant UN resolutions".

The OIC also commended

his envoy to New Delhi. The envoy met Home Minister L.K. Advani and Omar Abdullah both of whom told him that India is not in favour of mediation and that Arab states must use their good offices to convince Pakistan of the seriousness of the situation

and the need for Islamabad to take action against terrorist outfits. Last week, Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, Abdelouahed Belkeziz, called for a dialogue saying the time is now ripe for differences to be dealt with in a peace-

ful manner and a fresh approach which addresses the root cause of the problem on way to "a lasting solution that would be in line and conformity with the principles of international law and relevant UN resolutions".

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 2002

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HIGHLIGHTING INDIA'S CASE

INDIA'S COMPELLING CASE about a systematic terrorist threat to its national interest is being unnecessarily undermined by the unseemly and wholly avoidable controversy involving Pakistan over the question of supportive evidence. Pakistan has conspicuously taken some punitive action against the Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) and the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), two groups that India blames for last month's terrorist assault on Parliament House in New Delhi. Yet, in a combative style, Islamabad has also been demanding that New Delhi produce credible evidence to prove its charges that terrorist offences have been committed on India's soil by the impugned groups and individuals that operate within Pakistan's territorial jurisdiction. Islamabad's diplomatic refrain is that it cannot be expected to go beyond what it has already done in the absence of any clinching evidence from India. The subtext is that Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf, has so far taken some proactive steps against the leaders and assets of the JeM and the LeT because such action is called for under Islamabad's domestic laws themselves. For any further crackdown, it is said, New Delhi must satisfy Pakistan about the existence of fine judicial-grade evidence against the groups and individuals accused of harming India's interests. It is in this context that the Vajpayee administration has only itself to blame for its halting responses to an ingenious diplomatic challenge that Pakistan has mounted.

India's best bet is to go on a prudent counter-offensive of the diplomatic kind. It will be a pity if the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, and his associates were to botch a persuasive case through some negative diplomacy. Not in doubt on the wider international stage is the reality that India is a victim of the barbaric tactics of some high-profile external terrorist groups. It is significant that it is in this context that the U.S. has come down heavily against the JeM and the LeT specifically on the basis of the evidence which,

according to Washington, has been released by India itself to link these groups to last month's terrorist attack on its Parliament complex. Yet, if New Delhi still finds itself on the defensive as regards the "evidence" issue, the reason is that the Vajpayee administration is inexplicably resiling from a more productive course of action. New Delhi can and must place the facts before the United Nations Security Council in the context of its Resolution 1373 which mandates the member-states of the global organisation to combat all forms of terrorism, whatever be the motivations at work, and to cooperate with each other in meeting terrorist challenges.

For India, a truly creative diplomacy is to adopt a two-pronged approach to highlight its case as a victim of terror and seek remedies. In addition to internationalising the evidence about the involvement of Pakistan-based terrorist groups in the attack on India's Parliament House, New Delhi should engage Islamabad bilaterally to try and secure the extradition of the 20 identified fugitives. Any such bilateral engagement will obviously centre on such questions as the admissibility of extradition demands in the skewed India-Pakistan context besides the relevance of standard practices of international law in such cases. The list of 20 names that India has recently given Pakistan, apparently by citing the related evidence as provided over a period of time, is a compendium of terrorist offences and criminal activities spanning a decade. However, the terrorist outrage in New Delhi on December 13 is the first major cognisable crime in terms of the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 1373, which was passed to help the U.S. ride the shockwaves of last September's heinous acts of terror on its homeland. So, any attempt by New Delhi to invoke Resolution 1373 can conceivably enable it to overcome the pressure from Pakistan on the "evidence" issue and, more importantly, to capture an indisputable moral resonance.

THE HINDU

- 5 JAN 2002

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and the King of Nepal (sixth from left

eral meetings with five heads of government of Saarc in the past 24 hours, has so far nothing planned, at least officially, for a meeting with Musharraf. Asked whether this was a snub to Pakistan, the Indian foreign ministry spokesperson said: "We would like no such value judgment to be passed."

Rao pointed out that the bilateral meetings Vajpayee has had so far were the "sovereign decisions of the countries involved". She argued that such meetings on the sidelines were also usual and a regular practice at every other regional and multilateral forum.

"The door is not shut on dialogue with Pakistan. We have always sought a dialogue to re-

Your search f

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Way to talks lies in PM-Pervez vibes

Lashkar, Jaish men in huge round-up

FROM ZEESHAN HAIDER

Islamabad, Jan. 4 (Reuters): Pakistani authorities rounded up scores of Islamic activists overnight, including some from Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Toiba, groups blamed for the December 13 attack on the Indian Parliament.

Police in Pakistan's Punjab province said about 120 members of militant groups were picked up in overnight sweeps in several cities in the province.

"Most of these people belong to Sipah-e-Sahaba and Tehrik-e-Jaffria," a police official in Multan said. The rival hardline groups have often been accused of involvement in sectarian violence.

The former is in a loose alliance that includes Kashmiri militant groups Lashkar and Jaish. Several members of the two outfits were among those detained for questioning, the police said.

Spokesmen for the groups said the sweep by Pakistani authorities would not end their fight, and it would lead to greater cooperation between militant factions.

"We will continue our struggle despite the government crackdown," said Yahya Mujahid, a spokesman for Lashkar. "All the jihadi organisations will now operate more closely and will have a closer operational relationship in Kashmir," he said.

"Those people who were picked up by the government are simply supporters of the groups," he said.

A spokesman for Jaish said the crackdown would have bad consequences for the military government. "It is being done at the behest of the US," spokesman Hasan Burki said. He said about 80 Jaish activists had been rounded up last night across Punjab. "These detentions cannot stop our jihad (holy war) in Kashmir," he added.

The US has put both Lashkar and Jaish, which denied involvement in the Parliament attack, on its list of terrorist organisations.

Pakistan denies that the crackdown was launched because of pressure from India, or because of the US war on terrorism, which the country backs. Officials say the militants have been detained and many of their offices shut down for internal security reasons.

India has welcomed the action against the Kashmiri militants but says Pakistan must do much more to stamp out "cross-border terrorism".



GAP OF FIVE BETWEEN THE BIG TWO: Vajpayee and Musharraf with the other Saarc heads of government and the King of Nepal (sixth from left) at the royal palace in Kathmandu. (Reuters)

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

Kathmandu, Jan. 4: Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and President Pervez Musharraf finally met tonight. It was not an exclusive meeting, they had to share the banquet hall at the Royal Palace with five other heads of government, and King Gyanendra.

Hopes for separate talks were kept alive by the Pakistan President's remark: "For a dialogue you don't need a request, you need the will."

India responded through its foreign ministry spokesperson Nirupama Rao. "We have never abjured a dialogue with Pakistan." Although she was quick

to add the well-known South Block line: "But the atmosphere is not conducive for a dialogue", signals emanating from the two camps do not preclude a bilateral meeting.

Musharraf, the last among the seven heads of government of the South Asian nations to arrive in Kathmandu, was the focus of the media and the majority of the diplomats here, if only he kept everyone waiting. His inability to fly out of China on time — apparently because of bad weather — forced the postponement of the Saarc summit by a day.

The retreat to a nearby hill station has been cancelled but there were indications of informal talks still being held among

the leaders. "The concept of a retreat has not changed," a Pakistani spokesman said.

By afternoon tomorrow the inaugural session of the summit will be over, leaving plenty of time for the Indian and Pakistani heads of government to meet. But so far nothing is on schedule and no formal request from either side asking for such a meeting.

"Baat ke liye request ki nahi, marzi ki zaroorat hoti hai," were the Pakistani President's opening remarks soon after he landed at the airport this afternoon.

Musharraf made it clear that though he was willing to hold a dialogue with the Indian Prime Minister, he would not make a request for it.

A senior Indian diplomat said the chances of a meeting were "fifty-fifty," indicating that a lot will depend on the vibes between the two. The Indian side will get two opportunities to make their assessment: one, at tonight's banquet, and another at the inaugural session. The Indians will also keep their ears cocked to catch signals coming out of Musharraf's speech.

Vajpayee, who has had bilat-

QUOTE

If there is willingness on both sides, there can be talks

PERVEZ MUSHARRAF

eral meetings with five heads of government of Saarc in the past 24 hours, has so far nothing planned, at least officially, for a meeting with Musharraf. Asked whether this was a snub to Pakistan, the Indian foreign ministry spokesperson said: "We would like no such value judgment to be passed."

Rao pointed out that the bilateral meetings Vajpayee has had so far were the "sovereign decisions of the countries involved". She argued that such meetings on the sidelines were also usual and a regular practice at every other regional and multilateral forum.

"The door is not shut on dialogue with Pakistan. We have always sought a dialogue to re-

solve our differences and outstanding issues with Islamabad," she said. But she pointed out that the present atmosphere was not conducive to such a dialogue.

She argued that the climate after the December 13 terrorist attack on Parliament was not right for India to return to the talks-table with Pakistan.

The spokesperson's remarks, though an iteration of India's well-known stand, were highly nuanced. They indicated that though officially Delhi would like to maintain its tough position on talks with Pakistan, enough openings were left to seize upon if specific assurances are made by Islamabad to address India's concerns.

Powell push

Washington, Jan. 4 (Reuters): The US said today it saw encouraging signs that India and Pakistan want to avoid war and it might send an envoy to promote a diplomatic solution between the two nuclear powers.

In an interview with the BBC, secretary of state Colin Powell also said President Pervez Musharraf must do more to crack down on the extremists who started the crisis by attacking the Indian Parliament.

"There are some encouraging signs out there but I don't want to overplay this — this is still a very dangerous situation," Powell said.

Pak embassy arrest casts shadow

FROM ASHIS CHAKRABARTI

Kathmandu, Jan. 4: The arrest of a Pakistan embassy official has become one more weapon in the Pakistani arsenal of anti-India rhetoric. So much so that it was one of the first things President Pervez Musharraf had to address as he arrived here this afternoon.

When he called on King Gyanendra and Nepal Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, Musharraf not only complained that the embassy official had been "wrongfully confined" but hinted that it was a calculated ploy to discredit his country on the eve of the Saarc summit.

Musharraf's spokesman, Major General Rashid Quereshi, went a step further. He saw in it an attempt to "sabotage" Saarc

to add the well-known South Block line: "But the atmosphere is not conducive for a dialogue", signals emanating from the two camps do not preclude a bilateral meeting.

Siraj Ahmad Siddique of the Pakistan embassy here was arrested by police yesterday afternoon for carrying fake US and Indian currency. The police seized fake notes worth \$9,200 and Indian currency notes valued at Rs 47,000. Nepal indicated that it might extradite the official.

Before Quereshi aired his complaint, the spokesperson for India's external affairs ministry, Nirupama Rao, dismissed the Pakistani attempt to involve India in the incident. "It's a mat-

ter between Pakistan and Nepal," she said.

But Pakistan seemed hell-bent on implicating India in the incident. The Pakistani propaganda machinery, which has been on an overdrive here for the past three days, painted dark images of the "torture and humiliation" heaped not just on the junior official arrested in the incident, but also on another member of the embassy.

Ashaq Ahmad Gondal, principal information officer of the Pakistan government, complained that Siddique had been beaten up badly. A senior official of the embassy, who had intervened with the police, was also heckled.

While India has often accused the ISI of being involved in running a racket in fake Indian

currency notes in Nepal, the incident took another dimension because of the seizure of dollars. That probably explains why Musharraf plunged into firefighting immediately on his arrival.

The information about the arrest of Siddique was publicised in Delhi through the security establishment. Sources said Siddique, an embassy employee of the upper division clerical grade, was released on a personal request from the deputy chief of mission of the Pakistan embassy in Kathmandu, adds our Delhi bureau.

The sources said this is the third case of involvement of Pakistan embassy officials in "anti-India" activity in Nepal in the last two years.

See Page 6

Your search for the **IDEAL** home ends here.



'Pakistani national' arrested with...

Evidence list answers Pakistan cry

THE INDIAN CASE

Evidence/material provided to Pakistan by India

- connection with the Bombay blast case (12.3.93)
- 23.3.93: Secretary (W) handed over a list of six persons, including their passport details, who were suspected of involvement in the bomb blasts and had subsequently flown from Dubai to Karachi on 17.3.93.
- 27.3.93: Photographs of Memon family received from Cabinet Secretary made available to the Pakistan HC by JS (IPA). On 29.3.93 Pakistan High Commission confirmed that the photographs of the Memon family have been forwarded to Pakistani authorities.
- 28.3.93: HCI Islamabad gave a list of 10 persons whose passports had been revoked by GOI.
- 30.3.93: NV No. J/103/20/93 — 18 sheets containing information pertaining to physical appearance/distinguishing marks of six wanted Indian persons and information about their involvement in the Bombay blast conspiracy were handed over.
- 15.9.93: NV No. J/103/20/93 in which we handed over additional information about the involvement of the accused in the Bombay bomb blast case. This included:
 - (i) Copy of the manifesto of PLA flight No. PK-214 from Dubai to Karachi on 20.3.93 in which three members of the Memon family also travelled.
 - (ii) Details of the flights by which 20 persons recruited by Ibrahim Abdul Razak Memon for training in camps in Pakistan travelled to Pakistan.
 - (iii) Photograph relating to grenades as well as the empty cartons of explosives
 - 16.6.94: HCI Islamabad handed over an Aide Memoire to the Pakistan Foreign Office seeking extradition/deportation of 24 Indian nationals accused of being involved in the Bombay
- bomb blast case.
 - 11.08.94: HCI Islamabad handed over a second Aide Memoire to the Pakistan Foreign Office giving details of 20 absconders wanted in the case, along with their Interpol control numbers.
- Hijacking of Indian Airlines Flight IC-814 (24-30 Dec, 1999)
 - January 15, 2000: Note Verbal to the High Commission of Pakistan forwarding a brief report on hijacking of Indian Airlines Flight IC-814 and requesting them to apprehend the hijackers and their accomplices who were in Pakistan. (Pakistan responded to this demarche in their reply dated 24.1.2000 denying the presence of these hijackers in Pakistan and dismissing our demarche as baseless and provocative. We refuted this by reiterating our demarche through a note dated 4.2.2000)
 - April 24, 2001: Note Verbal, J/103/43/99-IV, to the High Commission of Pakistan we formally requested Pakistan to apprehend and extradite the hijackers of Indian Airlines Flight IC-814, whose addresses in Pakistan were also mentioned in the Note Verbal. Pakistan was also reminded of its obligations under the Montreal, Hague and Saarc conventions as also the Simla and Lahore agreements. List of documents enclosed with the note verbatim:
 - (i) Red corner notices issued by the Interpol requesting the hijackers and their accomplices be arrested;
 - (ii) Copies of affidavits by the captain of the aircraft and two passengers identifying the hijackers; and
 - (iii) Attested photographs of the hijackers.
 - June 8, 2001: Pakistan was reminded to take expeditious action on our earlier demarche.



Chinese ambassador to Pakistan Lu Shulin with Pervez Musharraf at Islamabad airport. (AP/PTI)

FROM PRANAY SHARMA AND ASHIS CHAKRABARTI

Kathmandu, Jan. 3: Delhi today came out with details of the information it has provided to Islamabad for the past decade on terrorists carrying out their activities in India and almost always finding safe haven in Pakistan.

The latest offensive against Islamabad raised doubts about Pakistan's sincerity in fighting terrorism, asking the Pervez Musharraf regime to prove that its crackdown on the Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Toiba was a serious move.

"Proven terrorists, criminals and narcotics peddlers — why should they find shelter in Pakistan? I am unable to understand what is in the soil of that country that allows these people to find safe haven there?" said foreign minister Jaswant Singh, his voice dripping with sarcasm.

The two-page document read out by the minister referred to the number of times India has informed Pakistan about terrorists who had either fled to Pakistan after committing offence or orchestrated crimes from Pakistan. The communications also contained details of their involvement in terrorist acts, but these were not released.

The details of the evidence were later shared with many of the South Asian leaders. Singh had meetings with five of them. The one he could not meet was his Bangladesh counterpart — Morshed Khan who left for Dhaka to receive British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Pakistan foreign minister Abdus Sattar, who arrived here two days ago, has been making a case for India providing evidence for Pakistan to take further action, having — as he claimed — already proved its sincerity in fighting terrorism with its recent crackdown.

"It is an untenable and unacceptable position," Singh said.

"We have provided evidence about the terrorists over the past decade to Pakistan. Even thereafter, we hear this same refrain. It is saddening and misleading. It is going away from the central point."

Singh said the Pakistani leadership had not officially communicated anything to the Indian side about the measures it has taken against terrorists. He said no request for a meeting has been made by Islamabad either.

The Saarc summit here has for all practical purposes been hijacked by the India-Pakistan crisis. "Saarc is not a bilateral forum. I am not here to conduct India-Pakistan relations," Singh said, but proceeded to do exactly that by taking Islamabad on its repeated demands for evidence.

"This current subterfuge of seeking evidence is not acceptable, like this thesis of providing moral and diplomatic support to terrorists," he said. Singh added, "I'm unable to understand how moral support can be given to terrorism, which is immoral." He spent the next 15 minutes saying India has been providing evidence to Pakistan for a decade.

The list of communications starts from March 1993 when Delhi provided Islamabad details about Dawood Ibrahim and the Memon brothers — held responsible for the bomb blasts in Mumbai — goes through the hijacking of the Indian Airlines flight in 1999 and ends with a reference to the demarche handed over by Indian foreign secretary Chokila Iyer to the Pakistani high commissioner in Delhi.

"It's our hope that Pakistan will do what it says it will do," Singh said. But he was quick to add: "It must be in deeds and not simply in words."

The summit begins tomorrow and A.B. Vajpayee, before taking off for Kathmandu, said: "Whatever weapon is available, we will use it to defend ourselves" amid reports of more border clashes.

Delhi pressure for handover of Jaish chief

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

Kathmandu, Jan. 3: India is pressuring Pakistan into handing over some of the terrorists named on the list of most-wanted criminals given recently to Islamabad, particularly the three it had to release on New Year's eve two years ago to resolve the Kandahar hijack crisis. Jaish-e-Mohammad chief Masood Azhar is one of the terrorists India wants returned.

Though there is no official word on the move yet and it is not India's only condition for progress towards reduction of tension and normalisation of bilateral ties, it certainly is high on India's wishlist.

To keep up the pressure,

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, hours before leaving for Kathmandu, categorically ruled out the possibility of holding a meeting on the Saarc sidelines with Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf. Vajpayee arrived here this afternoon, while Musharraf is due tomorrow. "Pakistan will have to specify who they have arrested and under what charges they have been arrested," Vajpayee told journalists in Lucknow this morning.

For the ruling BJP, swapping the three hardcore terrorists, including Azhar, was perhaps one of the most humiliating experiences. It continues to haunt the BJP, which has always prided itself as a tough party. The fast-paced developments in the re-

gion after the December 13 attack on Parliament has given the Indian leadership an opportunity of "reversing" that process by using its diplomatic skill and getting back the terrorists it was forced to let go.

Officially, India has not sought the extradition of any terrorists from Pakistan. Perhaps India is trying not to force its hand since an outright rejection by Islamabad will leave Delhi with no option, but to adopt a tougher stance that may lead to yet another armed conflict between the hostile South Asian neighbours.

The better option before Delhi is to achieve its objective diplomatically. Keeping up the pressure and ruling out engaging

with Pakistan in a dialogue till it "addresses India's concerns" is part of that effort. Vajpayee's schedule for the next two days includes bilateral meetings with heads of government of other Saarc nations, but not Pakistan.

Foreign minister Jaswant Singh, too, has followed the same pattern. The opinion in the Indian camp is so far divided on whether to have any contact — bilateral or otherwise — with Pakistan.

The Prime Minister's musings on New Year's eve, expressing a willingness to walk more than half way if Pakistan gives up its compulsive hostility towards India, and Singh's dubbing of Islamabad's steps against terrorists, including

Jaish and the Lashkar-e-Toiba, as a "a step in the right direction", appear to have been misread by Pakistan. The Indian leadership believes that instead of keeping up the good work, Islamabad seems to have read the signals coming out of Delhi as a willingness to resume the dialogue. India is not amused with the interpretation and wants to drive home the point harder this time.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who is set to arrive in South Asia soon and will visit both India and Pakistan, can convey Delhi's message to Islamabad. Blair, who recently met President George W. Bush, has said he will try to convince the two countries to lower the tem-

perature in the volatile region. But India will keep up the pressure, including amassing troops along the border, to ensure that the key world players and Pakistan take it seriously.

A dialogue in the present context, therefore, runs contrary to the tough message India wants to convey. But having said this, Indian officials are finding it difficult to explain what Vajpayee and Musharraf will do when they meet informally during the break in the Saarc Summit. Spin doctors in the Indian camp are trying to convince everyone that the interaction between the two may go beyond exchange of mere pleasantries, but it should not be seen as a bilateral meeting.

THE TELEGRAM

4 JAN 2002

'ISLAMABAD MUST ACT ON OUR LIST'

India hints at giving more time to Pakistan

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By C. Raja Mohan

KATHMANDU, JAN. 3. As the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, arrived here to attend the summit of the South Asian leaders beginning tomorrow, India appeared to open a wee bit of diplomatic space for the de-escalation of the current tensions with Pakistan.

Amidst worldwide hopes for an Indo-Pak engagement in Kathmandu, the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, signalled India's willingness to give more time to the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, to dismantle the infrastructure for terrorism, while demanding immediate action to prove his sincerity.

Addressing a crowded press conference on the eve of the summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, Mr. Singh said, "India understands it will take a little time for Pakistan to address itself to its internal difficulties and dismantle all the edifices of terrorism that they have permitted or constructed over the last two decades."

While giving Gen. Musharraf some breathing room to comply with the demand for eliminating terrorism from its soil, Mr. Singh laid down two specific actions that Pakistan could take immediately as it continues to work on demolishing the structures of terrorism.

Mr. Singh said "it is our expectation that a more purposeful and forthright declaration against terrorism" would come from Pakistan. "We certainly expect action by Pakistan on the list we have given of proven terrorists, criminals and narcotics traffickers," he added.

If Gen. Musharraf can address these two demands at once, it is not inconceivable that a political dialogue between the two nations could begin here at Kathmandu.

The prospect for talks, India appears to be

saying, depends on the response of Gen. Musharraf.

On the likelihood of a dialogue either at a ministerial level or between the Prime Minister, A. B. Vajpayee, and Gen. Musharraf here in Kathmandu, Mr. Singh said "no such request or indication has been received so far by India".

This does not necessarily mean that if such a request were to come from the Pakistan side in the next couple of days, India would be ready for talks. The suggestion appears to be that if Gen. Musharraf meets the benchmarks for immediate action, there might be political

India releases evidence

KATHMANDU, JAN. 3. India today released a comprehensive document listing evidence provided to Islamabad during the past one decade about the involvement of 20 criminals in terrorist acts whose extradition has been demanded by New Delhi.

The External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, released the two-page document. Among the terrorists wanted include those accused in the Mumbai bomb blasts and the hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane to Kandahar.

The list of 20 fugitives was submitted to Pakistan on December 31 through its Deputy High Commissioner in New Delhi, Jaleel Abbas Gilani, with a request to apprehend and hand over these criminals to India. "This (evidence) has been shared with Pakistan. If thereafter they continue to say the same thing, it is misleading," Mr. Singh said. — UNI

possibilities. Mr. Singh reiterated today that Gen. Musharraf's moves against the Jaish-e-Mohammad and the Lashkar-e-Taiba "are welcome steps in the right direction", but he added that "they need to be pursued and additional steps taken". "We hope Pakistan will implement what it has announced," he insisted.

India's decision to define the conditions under which the crisis with Pakistan could be defused comes amidst growing international concerns about the danger of a nuclear war between the subcontinental rivals.

India will now wait to see if Gen. Musharraf would use his address to the SAARC conference tomorrow to make that "purposeful declaration against terrorism". If Gen. Musharraf could also act decisively on the list of terrorists, the door could indeed open for an early dialogue between the two.

Mr. Singh today trashed the Pakistani demand for evidence before handing over these criminals wanted by India, by calling it "a lame excuse" and a "subterfuge".

He dwelt at great length on how India has shared evidence with Pakistan over the last decade on a number of terrorists wanted by the Government and the lack of response from Islamabad.

Meanwhile, Mr. Vajpayee spent the evening with the leaders of Nepal. He met the Prime Minister, Sher Bahadur Deuba, and announced a package of social sector assistance of Indian Rs. 500 million to be disbursed in Nepal over the next two years.

Mr. Vajpayee also called on King Gyanendra, who is hosting a quiet private dinner for him.

PM seeks pressure on Pak.: Page 12

No proposal to meet Musharraf: PM

By J.P. Shukla

LUCKNOW, JAN. 3. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, said today that he had no proposal to meet the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, and that he did not feel that a war was inevitable with Pakistan in its fight against terrorism. If diplomatic efforts proved adequate to deter Pakistan from inciting cross-border terrorism, there would be no need for any alternatives, he told presspersons shortly before his departure for Kathmandu to attend the SAARC meeting.

However, he said, Pakistan's response was quite inadequate and India was not satisfied with its steps to contain terrorism in its territory.

India would like to know how many persons involved in terrorist activities had been arrested, who they were and what the charges against them were. How many persons linked to the terrorist attack on Parliament had been arrested?



The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, being received at the Kathmandu airport on Thursday. At right is the Nepalese Prime Minister, Sher Bahadur Deuba. — Reuters

Pakistan was bound by the U.N. Security Council resolutions which forbade

countries from abetting terrorism. Pakistan had, however, not taken any step

against terrorist organisations functioning from its soil, Mr. Vajpayee said. There were adequate indications that Pakistan was not prepared to shun terrorism, he said.

Replying to a specific question, the Prime Minister said there was no proposal before the country to dishonour the water treaty with Pakistan.

He, however, clarified that he had never mentioned a nuclear war with Pakistan in his speech at the Arya Pratinidhi Sammelan here on Wednesday. India's stand on the use of nuclear weapons had been made amply clear.

The country stood by its policy of no first use of nuclear arms in the event of a war. Nuclear weapons could never be used against countries having no such weapons. India was not in the arms race and its weapons were meant only for self-defence.

He said he looked forward to meeting the Presidents of the Maldives and Sri Lanka and the Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and Bhutan, to pick up the threads of cordial bilateral relationship.

Mr. Vajpayee said he would also take up the issue of attacks on Hindus with the Bangladesh Prime Minister, Begum Khaleda Zia. Bangladesh's attention had already been drawn to the issue and some steps had been taken. There would be further talks with Begum Zia in this regard, he said.

'Put aside rivalries': Page 12

'Put temple issue on hold'

By Our Special Correspondent

LUCKNOW, JAN. 3. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today asked various Hindu organisations to place on the backburner all contentious issues, including the Ram temple.

Terrorism had emerged as the most important issue before the country and all other problems should be kept aside for the present, he said.

Talking to newsmen here, he clarified his reported statement that he was having negotiations to find a settlement to the Ayodhya dispute before March 12, the date when the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) has threatened to

start the construction of the Ram temple. He had only hoped that a negotiated settlement of the dispute could be found by that date and never claimed that he would find a solution before March 12, the Prime Minister said.

Asked to comment on the VHP leaders' statement that they would campaign in the polls against political parties opposed to the temple construction, he said in a democracy everyone had a right to have his or her own opinion.

The VHP also had the freedom to express itself. He, however, hoped that the organisation would keep in view the political realities of the day.

'Indo-Pak can do a Bonn on Kashmir'

Javed Ahmed Mir, vice-chairman of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, needs no introduction in the trouble-torn state. He is a first-generation member of the JKLF which gave the call in the late 1980s to hundreds of thousands of Kashmiri youths to take part in the "armed freedom struggle". Mir was among those who had crossed the Line of Control for arms training.

Mir (40) is now a very vocal separatist leader advocating peace. The media-friendly former chief commander of the JKLF — who recently shunned his "freedom" to marry a Srinagar-based advocate — spoke to KAVITA SURI in an interview that focussed on the importance of resolving the Kashmir imbroglio after the war in Afghanistan. Excerpts:

In view of the 11 September terrorist strikes in the USA and the subsequent action in Afghanistan, what do you think about the Kashmir issue?

I strongly believe that India and Pakistan should immediately start talks to end the bloodshed in the state. Otherwise, there is danger of the subcontinent witnessing a worse scenario than

Afghanistan. India and Pakistan should not play hide and seek. The Kashmir issue is complex and a dangerous problem in south Asia.

We do not want cruise missiles to be fired at us as in Afghanistan. We do not want the Prithvis, Ghaznis or Shaheens to trade fire. India and Pakistan must resolve their dispute over Kashmir with talks on the lines of the Bonn conference on Afghanistan. When warring Afghan factions can meet in Bonn, why can't a similar conference be held in Delhi, Islamabad or on any other neutral venue on Kashmir.

India and Pakistan should see reason and concentrate on resolving the perplexed issue (of Kashmir) now that peace is restored in Afghanistan. This is the best time to end hostilities and start a meaningful dialogue. The problem should be solved.

How do you suggest the problem be solved?

We demand that a trilateral dialogue between India, Pakistan and the people of Jammu and Kashmir be initiated to end the crisis. The two

countries should work towards ending the violence before trying to find a solution on the negotiation table. This solution should have the consent of the



JKLF leader Javed Mir: Bloodbath should stop now.

people of the state.

They must learn from the war in Afghanistan and resolve the Kashmir issue. Let us prepare an agenda. The fact that talks could be held in Agra was promising. If a solution is not found, the Kashmiris will continue to suffer.

But the JKLF boycotted the tea party hosted by the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi last July on the grounds that no bilateral dialogue could be held without taking the people of Jammu and Kashmir into consideration?

Let the bilateral dialogue begin. We can join later. Without the Kashmir leadership's participation, no solution can be reached. But our prime concern is that the bloodshed should end and there is no change in the JKLF stand.

We, as always, want an independent Jammu and Kashmir. We also believe that these two countries alone can solve the problem. Neither the USA nor any other country can help because the problem relates to the two nuclear powers. If talks do not start today, tomorrow may be too late. This is the time to bury the hatchet.

Your organisation was the first one in Kashmir to introduce "armed freedom struggle" in Kashmir. Your cadres asked the youth to fight India. What do you feel is the role of the gun now when foreigners have also joined

in? Twelve years ago, Kashmir was not a global issue. An armed freedom struggle was necessary to infuse life into it. We had to resort to the gun because no one was paying heed to our plight. Kashmir came into the limelight because we had taken up the gun. The Kashmir issue is out of cold storage. World leaders talk about the state.

At least 80,000 people have been killed, hundreds of women raped, youths in their thousands killed in custody and many forced to disappear. We believe enough is enough. The gun has played its role, our job is done and the bloodbath in Kashmir should stop now.

The JKLF was also the first outfit in Kashmir to declare a ceasefire in 1994 amidst much criticism. Do you still support the ceasefire and want to go with the few militant groups appealing for it?

No, we don't. We have learnt from experience. We announced a ceasefire in 1994 but then see what happened. More than 600 JKLF cadres were killed in fake encounters and taken into security forces' custody. Scores of our men are still languishing in jails. New laws are being framed to suppress the Kashmiris. But despite all odds, the JKLF's diplomatic and political battle is on and we will soon see the dawn of freedom.

But the Government of India is rigid on its Kashmir stand. In such a situation, how do you foresee "a dawn of freedom"?

Kashmir is a vexed, 53-year-old issue. Even India admits to its complexity. It has the potential of triggering a nuclear war between India and Pakistan that will engulf south Asia. A resolution to the conflict cannot be put off for long. They have to come to the table with the Kashmiris who are a principal party to the problem and hammer out a lasting solution. And it is the duty of the other world powers and the USA to prevail upon India and Pakistan to resolve the issue.

Everybody has been saying that once the Afghanistan war is over, the world community's focus will shift to Kashmir. What do you feel?

Kashmir, I believe, is even more dangerous than Afghanis-

an. Two nuclear powers are involved. Can you imagine the catastrophe if a solution to the problem is delayed? One day, the USA and other powers have to come forward to prevent south Asia from turning into a graveyard.

But there has been an apparent shift in Pakistan's policy vis-à-vis Afghanistan and, especially, the Taliban. Do you foresee any change in Pakistan's stance on Kashmir?

Pakistan is an important party to the Kashmir problem. Unlike Afghanistan, the Kashmir issue has been hanging fire since the Partition in 1947. In no way can Pakistan distance itself from Kashmir.

What is your opinion about Osama Bin Laden?

We have nothing to do with Osama bin Laden or the Taliban.

What about reports of strong differences between the JKLF and the All Party Hurriyat Conference?

The JKLF is a constituent of the Hurriyat. We have played an important role in the formation of the conglomerate. So, the question of serious differences does not arise. One has to remember that 80,000 Kashmiris sacrificed their lives for the cause. However, some differences are bound to be there.

But the Kashmiris have openly supported the Taliban and Bin Laden. This was evident from the public demonstrations at several places in the Kashmir Valley. Comment.

That was an emotional outburst. The Kashmiris have been facing such a situation for 12 years. We are involved in it. They could relate themselves with it. That was it.

Do you feel that your movement for the freedom of Kashmir has been hijacked by many other outfits operating in Jammu and Kashmir?

Well, it is an indigenous movement. If people from other countries are involved in the freedom struggle of Kashmir, what can we do about it? That is why we say India and Pakistan have to take measures to end the deadlock.

We appeal to General Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee to resolve the issue in the interest of the people.

(The author is The Statesman's Jammu-based correspondent.)

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PAR SCORE 115-125
by JUDD

FOUR RACK TOTAL
TIME LIMIT: 20 MIN

DIRECTIONS: Make a 2 to 7 letter word from the letters in each row. Add points of each word, using scoring directions at right. 7-letter words get 50-point bonus. "Blanks" used as any letter have no point value. All Judd's words are in The Official Scrabble Players Dictionary (Merriam-Webster) and OSW Official Scrabble Words (Chambers). JUDD'S SOLUTION TOMORROW 8-11-01 © 2001, United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

SCRABBLE® BRAND YESTERDAY'S SOLUTION BY JUDD

I ₁	N ₁	S ₁	U ₁	R ₁	E ₁	S ₁	□	RACK 1 = 57
L ₁	E ₁	W ₄	D ₂	E ₁	R ₁	□	□	RACK 2 = 30
C ₃	E ₁	R ₁	T ₁	I ₁	F ₄	Y ₄	□	RACK 3 = 80
C ₃	O ₁	W ₄	E ₁	R ₁	S ₁	□	□	RACK 4 = 19

PAR SCORE 115-125
JUDD'S TOTAL 186

8-10-01

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Dec 13 & After

Angry India Disengages from Pakistan

By MANOJ JOSHI *9nd 10K*

11-8 4/1

THE Indian response to the December 13 attack appears to mark an end to the two-decade old policy of trying to engage Pakistan in friendly relations, even while fending off its covert assault on the country. While forces are massed on the borders, the sum total of the Indian response is the beginning of a process of turning the country's back on Pakistan, rather than launching any offensive action. Reacting to enormous public anger, the government has taken recourse to the inter-state version of Gandhi's non-cooperation movement and begun distancing itself from Pakistan. At the heart of its strategy is the question: Should India have 'normal' relations with a state that appears determined to do it all manner of harm?

After years of unilaterally trying to sustain a policy of turning the other cheek, New Delhi has now determined on a new course of action. Aware that the military balance is such that New Delhi cannot cut Islamabad's nose without ending up spiting its own face, India has decided to change the existing rules of the game. There will be no normal relations between the two countries, unless there is a cessation of military, financial and political support to Pakistani terrorist groups operating in Kashmir.

Countries appealing for restraint can say little about action that is primarily defensive. Withdrawing your high commissioner and half his staff hurts India as much as Pakistan. Terminating transportation links, too, hurts India as much as Pakistan. But what this unprecedented action signals is the inauguration of a policy that is more in keeping with the real nature of the ties between the two countries.

Throughout the '90s India's policy was one of trying to engage Pakistan, despite mounting evidence of Islamabad's complicity in terrorist actions against India. As part of this, India agreed to join Pakistan in working on agreements not to attack each other's nuclear facilities, providing prior information for military exercises and offered serious negotiations on Kashmir and other outstanding disputes. New Delhi extended the hand of cooperation wherever it could in multilateral fora like the WTO, SAARC and the UN.

This unsustainable policy came close to be derailed twice. Once, following the Bombay blasts and then in Kargil in 1999. Uncommon restraint on New Delhi's part prevented a retaliatory war.

Islamabad's strategy of hiding its

military and financial support to its proxies — Kashmiri and Sikh militants and Pakistani jihadis — has been summed up by the term "plausible deniability". Yet there is enough evidence of the Pakistani official hand in the work of terrorists in India. In April 1990, following the murder of Kashmir University vice-chancellor Mushir-ul-Haq, the JKLF issued a press-note accepting its role in it as well as admitting that orders for the murder had been given by an ISI officer in the name of JKLF leader Amanullah Khan.

In October 1992, Punjab police gunned down Talwinder Singh Parmar, a Canadian national along with a Pakistani, Intekab Ahmad Zia and a Kashmiri militant, Habibullah aka Ghulam Nabi Baba. Pakistan issued an official protest note claiming that Zia was a missing hospital administrator who had nothing to do with the other

March 1, but this was not against any valid visa. Mohammed confessed that between those dates he had been taken to Pakistan to get rudimentary training on the use of explosives and AK-47s. He had no valid visa and had been spirited past the immigration by some Pakistani officials.

Indian policy so far has been hinged on the hope that the US will realise that dismantling the Pakistan's jihad machine is vital to its own interests. But, post-December 13, realpolitik appears to have come into play. The US says that Gen Musharraf and the Pakistani military have seen the error of their ways and are committed fighters against terrorism. Yet, the US is aware that each step that Musharraf took against the Taliban and now the Lashkar and the Jaish has been done following US pressure. There is little or no contrition in the cocky dictator for what his country has wrought on India. For aggrieved Indians, therefore, there can only be black humour in American appeals for India to fight terrorism jointly with Pakistan. Reports suggest that Pakistan is restructuring the jihad machine. Some parts of it are being relabelled to placate the fussy Americans, others are being re-assembled in PoK. The aim is to enhance the 'plausibility of denial' needed for the next terrorist strike.

Following December 13, India has massed its forces in a show of strength but is unlikely to cross the border. This studied caution is a necessary consequence of the military balance. In a three-week war framework, Pakistan and India have a rough parity. In such circumstances, a cross-border military strike is fraught with all manner of consequences, including the possibility of a nuclear exchange. While this alone need not deter India, the global conjuncture suggests that the new policy of relentless non-offensive actions could pay better dividends. Chief among these ought to be the issue of withdrawing from the Indus Waters Treaty whose sole purpose was to guarantee the waters of the three northern rivers to Pakistan. India should also examine the possibility of withdrawing from a slew of confidence building measures arrived at in the '90s. These are bound to be seen as the diplomatic equivalent of a "scorched earth" policy, but the world should know that this is the cheapest response that India can offer to a policy of unbridled hostility from Islamabad.

IN BRIEF

- After years of trying to engage Pakistan, India appears to have decided to turn its back on its hostile neighbour
- Pakistan gives the appearance of cracking down on terrorism, but in reality has not done so
- It is ironic, therefore, that the US expects the two countries jointly to fight terrorism
- The world should understand that India's diplomatic war is the cheapest response it can offer to Pakistan

two persons. Indian authorities then produced the three visa applications written in the same hand — by Zia — where, contrary to Pakistani claims, he had said he was in the construction business.

The third and most damning episode was in 1993 following the arrests made after the Bombay blasts, arguably the worst act of urban terrorism, till the WTC tragedy. Yakub Memon, one of the principal accused and who surrendered to the police, had with him a Pakistani national identity card and a Pakistani passport. Gul Mohammed, one of those arrested had a number of curious passport entries, which showed him leaving Mumbai on February 17, 1993 and returning from Dubai on March 3. In addition to the entry/exit stamps at both these destinations, the passport showed that Mohammed had left Dubai on the 20th and returned on

WAR OR PEACE: India should be ready to wage war if Pakistan does not stop cross-border terrorism

Apply relentless pressure

BY PREM SHANKAR JHA

IN THE run-up to the SAARC summit, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Jaswant Singh have been deluged with exhortations to meet Pervez Musharraf and/or Abdul Sattar. Should they decide to do so, they would do well to limit themselves to underlining India's determination to take the war to Pakistan if it does not put a complete stop to cross-border terrorism. To do otherwise now, after having mobilised its troops in a calculated exercise in coercive diplomacy, would increase — not reduce — the risk of war in the not too distant future.

India cannot afford to relent now. The United States is continuing its ambivalence on terrorist violence against civilians and security forces in Kashmir. The evidence that it is gradually slipping into drawing such a distinction between terrorist attacks in India and attacks in Kashmir is too great to ignore.

While announcing the blockage of the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba's funds on December 20, George W. Bush described it as "a stateless rogue organisation based in Kashmir" that had been indulging in terrorist activities in both India and Pakistan. This description is incorrect on both counts, but its implications are too serious to ignore.

If the Lashkar is a Kashmiri organisation, then its attacks on the Indian security forces in Kashmir are acts of insurgency and not terrorism. If it is attacking both India and Pakistan, then it is by definition not under Pakistan's control. India cannot, therefore, expect the American understanding — much less support — if goaded by continuing attacks in Kashmir it takes retaliatory action that involves crossing into Pakistan territory.

There are indications that Bush soon realised his mistake. In a statement the next day, he clarified that the Lashkar was "a stateless sponsor of terrorism that has conducted operations against Indian troops and civilian targets". He also explicitly mentioned not only the attack on Parliament, but also the October 1 car bombing of the Jammu and Kashmir legislative assembly in Srinagar.

Despite this, the tendency to draw a distinction between Kashmir and the rest of India remains visible in virtually every statement from the White House and the state department. At an off-the-cuff press conference in Crawford, Texas, on December 31, President Bush said, "I urged President Musharraf to do everything he could to crack down on the terrorist network that had... raided the Indian Parliament."

That distinction also remains palpable in what the US administration is *not* saying. Chief among its omissions is any mention of the continued killing of civilians in Kashmir. Between December 20, when terrorists killed five Hindu and



LOAD 'EM UP: An Indian soldier in Kashmir near the India-Pakistan border

Sikh women in Anantnag, and January 1, when they gunned down six members of a Hindu family, including two children, in Poonch, there have been three attacks on Hindus and Sikhs. There is not a mention of these murders in any statement emanating from Washington.

Instead, Washington has doled out lavish praise to Musharraf for his condemnation of the attack on Parliament and his decision to freeze the bank accounts of the Lashkar and Jaish-e-Muhammed. How cosmetic these moves were was demonstrated by the fact that the Lashkar's account contained only Rs 900.

Washington has sound reasons for not bearing down too hard on Musharraf. The general has turned out to be a valuable, if initially reluctant, ally in the anti-Taliban war. It does not want to see him replaced by a radical general or *mullah*.

Where the US could be going wrong is in its eagerness to believe that Pakistan is not a reluctant ally but a willing partner in the war on terror. To justify this belief, the US state department has created an image of Musharraf that is radically at variance with the one that India has. According to it, Pakistan is basically a moderate Islamic nation whose government went astray when it began to support the bigoted Taliban in its bid to capture power in Afghanistan.

The success of the Taliban created a backlash that strengthened Islamic fundamentalists within Pakistan and made them a contender for State power. Since the Taliban were creations, in part, of the ISI, the latter also got embroiled in Afghanistan and became progressively more 'Talibanised'. This increased the danger to the Pakistani State.

Musharraf, who is a moderate, was

aware of the fundamentalist danger to Pakistan, and has been trying to bring its many private religious militias under control. He first set a deadline of April 30, 2000, for them to surrender their arms. When that proved abortive, he set a fresh one of April 30, 2001. When that too was ignored, he cracked down on them in Sindh and arrested a large number of their cadres, including many Lashkar activists. But for reasons that remain unclear, he was forced once more to back down and let them off.

September 11 gave Musharraf the opportunity to cut his links with the Taliban and crush the *jihadis* in Pakistan that he had secretly been longing for. He is busy consolidating his success.

Having started down the road to making Pakistan a modern, economically viable country, he cannot — and does not — want to turn about once more. He can be relied upon to bring the *jihadis* who are targeting Kashmir and the rest of India under control. All he needs is time to do so at a pace that does not give the appearance of a surrender to Indian pressure.

India views Pakistan and Musharraf through a much darker glass. First, Pakistan did not stray into supporting the Taliban. It moved in deliberately to gain complete control over Afghanistan. It tried to do this first through Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and then, after October 1994, through the Taliban. Its motives were never entirely clear or logical, but the predominant one was to acquire strategic depth for its defence.

But defence against whom? Of course, India. This motive gained a new importance after 1988, when Pakistan began fomenting an insurgency in Kashmir.

Indian analysts believe that Musharraf neither can nor wants to curb the ISI. He

wants to confine it to Kashmir. They think that the US overestimates Musharraf's capacity to control the ISI. Throughout the Afghan war, the ISI trained the *jihadis*, kept the CIA away from the camps and insisted that all money for the *mujahideen* be funnelled through it.

In 1987-88, despite the fact that the Afghan war was winding up, it imported and trained as many as 16,000 more *jihadis*. In 1990, a large proportion — perhaps as many as 6,000 to 7,000 (including 2,800 Egyptians) — were left in Pakistan. When the Taliban captured eastern, and then the whole of Afghanistan, the ISI moved not only the *jihad* training camps to Afghanistan but also the several thousand remaining Arab *mujahideen*.

It only remained for Osama bin Laden to arrive and knit them together into Al-Qaeda. The ISI is thus the parent not just of the Taliban, but of Al-Qaeda itself.

There is overwhelming evidence that between 1992 and 1996, Peshawar was the centre of international Islamic terrorism. All the terrorist attacks on the West and its allies — the first bombing of the World Trade Center, the succession of assassination attempts on Egyptian leaders in 1992 and 1993, and the abortive attempt to blow up 10 United Airlines planes in Southeast Asia — were coordinated from Peshawar.

From Ramzi Youssef to the bombers of Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam, all had return air tickets to Karachi. Following the interception of a telegram to the Islamic Jihad from Peshawar in 1993, Egypt broke its relations with Islamabad for a year till the latter made amends. To assume that the ISI, which still met the living expenses of these highly motivated former *jihadis* knew nothing about their activities is absurd.

Musharraf himself may be a moderate Muslim, but he is no moderate on Kashmir. He has, time and again, repudiated the Simla agreement as an unequal treaty forced upon a defeated nation. He has refused to endorse it as a starting point for future negotiations on Kashmir.

Nothing suggests that he will change his objectives after one serious reverse. Before December 13, Musharraf had made no secret of his intention to divert the returning Pakistani and Arab Taliban and Al-Qaeda to Kashmir. He had been urging the Lashkar and Jaish to move their headquarters to Pakistani-administered Kashmir even before September 11. Both organisations had announced that they were doing so, and appointed Kashmiris to head them.

If Musharraf is changing his tune now, it is only because of India's mobilisation for war and the intense international pressure. For India to relent now, when the US is falling prey to its own wishful thinking, would be sheer folly.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

4 JAN 2001

'Military option if diplomacy fails'

NEW YORK, JAN. 3. India would like to wait for the outcome of various diplomatic efforts to make Pakistan take action against the terrorist groups which were behind the attack on Parliament, but would not rule out the military option if this failed, the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, has said.

India would wait to see whether various diplomatic initiatives succeeded in getting Pakistan to take effective action against the groups which mounted a suicidal assault on Parliament, the *New York Times* quoted him as saying on Wednesday.

"If they should fail, then we are left with only the option that the United States exercised to deal with terrorism," he said. Asked if he meant the military option, Mr. Fernandes said, "That's right". "If we are pushed, we'll have to take on the war against terrorism all by ourselves."

Replying to questions, he said Pakistan's possession of a nuclear arsenal would not deter India from taking military action.

"I can't believe they would ever use it for the simple reason that they would be inviting a second strike," he said. "That could be devastating given Pakistan's size." India, the paper quoted him as saying, did have contingency plans for various military actions against Pakistan. If diplomacy failed, "there will be options, but once you speak about them then they don't remain options."

Mr. Fernandes said the steps Pakistan had taken so far to crack down on Islamic militant groups indulging in terrorism in Kashmir were "illusory and have done nothing to reduce the level of terrorist violence." — PTI

INDIA

JAN 2002

Ready for talks: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 3. Pakistan today said that it was prepared for talks with India on all issues including the circumstances leading to the present tension between the two countries.

The Pakistan Foreign Ministry spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, told a news conference here today maintained that Pakistan had condemned the December 13 attack on Indian Parliament and sought proof about the involvement of any individual or organisation based in Pakistan in the incident.

It is for the first time that Islamabad has talked about its willingness to sit across the table with New Delhi to discuss the issues arising out of the terror attack on Parliament.

Mr. Khan also took exception to the reported observations made by the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, in Lucknow and maintained that such statements would not help to de-escalate the tension.

In response to a question on the *New York Times* report stating that the President, Pervez Musharraf, has ordered the ISI to cut off all its support to non-Kashmir militant groups, the spokesman described it as speculative and denied that it has contemplated a change in its Kashmir policy as result of the present crisis.

Mr. Khan also denied that the Government contemplated to effect a U-turn to its Kashmir policy

similar to that of the reversal of its policy towards the Taliban after the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States. "It remains what it has been."

Asked whether Gen. Musharraf's last night's statement ruling out handing over of the wanted militants to India marked a change in Pakistan's policy, he said there was no change or difference. He said Gen. Musharraf spoke of action under domestic laws. The domestic laws come into play even if Pakistan initiated action under the SAARC convention on terrorism. So it was essential that India furnished evidence.

About the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair's proposed visit to India and Pakistan next week to iron out differences between the two countries, he said Pakistan welcomed bilateral or multilateral talks with India to resolve all differences including the Kashmir issue.

About the reported statement by the Indian Defence Minister, George Fernandes, that India would use any weapon to defend itself, he said Pakistan was a responsible member of the international community and exercised maximum restraint.

He said Pakistan also has made diplomatic efforts to defuse the situation. "The international community is supporting Pakistan's stand that the situation should be resolved through negotiations. We are using all diplomatic means to de-escalate the situation."

THE HINDU

- 4 JAN 2002

ISI 'ordered' to keep off jehadi outfits in J&K

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 2. Pakistan today declined to comment on reports that its President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, had ordered the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) to end backing the militant groups in Kashmir, while Western diplomats maintained that there was a big shift in the government's policy of supporting the "jehadis."

In response to a question on a report in the *New York Times* about the ISI being asked to stop supporting the "jehadi" outfits in Kashmir, the Pakistan Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Aziz Ahmed Khan, said he was not aware of the report and development.

Quoting senior officials in the Musharraf government, the newspaper said the future support of the regime would go only to the Kashmiri groups with local roots that are not part of the "jehad" (holy war). The decision would end the armed activities of the Jaish-e-Mohammad and the Lashkar-e-Taiba.

A senior Western diplomat, while declining to comment on the veracity of the report, maintained that there was a discernable shift in the policy of the Musharraf government towards the "jehadi" outfits in the last few weeks.

There is little doubt that the Pakistan government has launched a crackdown on the "jehadi" outfits and extremist religious organisations in the last few weeks. Today virtually all the top leaders of the militant outfits and religious parties are either under house arrest or detention.

"All I would like to say is to repeat the recent statement of the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, urging for more time to Gen. Musharraf. There is a lot of meaning in the statement of Mr. Bush", the diplomat said.

The report in the *New York Times* was partly corroborated by a functionary of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen. "Yes it is a fact. We see a distinct change in the attitude of the Pakistan government towards the Pakistan based "jehadi" outfits. There is every possibility that we could be the beneficiary of the changed policy", the functionary told *The Hindu*.

The *New York Times* said groups such as the Hizb would get "moral and political" support from the Pakistan government, but not military training and weapons. They would also be required to purge all non-Kashmiri Muslims, including the Arabs and Chechens who have fought in the groups behind the attack on Parliament.

THE HINDU

JAN 2002

The General cries halt

Musharraf orders ISI to stop backing militants

John F. Burns ^{HTA}
Islamabad, January 2 ⁽³¹⁾

SENIOR PAKISTANI officials said on Tuesday that President Pervez Musharraf had ordered the ISI to cut off backing for Islamic militant groups fighting in Kashmir. They said future support would go only to groups with roots in Kashmir that are not part of the Islamic holy war movement that has its most notorious expression in Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida.

Pakistani officials said General Musharraf's orders would end the armed activities of the Jaish-e-Mohammad and the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba, accused in the attack on Parliament in December, as well as of other militant groups that have used bases in Pakistan to mount attacks in Kashmir.

Although Pakistani officials have questioned the evidence India has provided against the two groups, they acknowledged that the outfits were responsible for about 70 per cent of all attacks in Kashmir in the last three years.

The officials, who outlined General Musharraf's plans, said the Pakistani leader had ordered the shutdown of the wing in ISI that deals exclusively with the armed groups that Pakistan backs in Kashmir. The officials said that in the future, Pakistan would

limit its backing to groups with roots in Kashmir and rely on Kashmiris to conduct military operations.

As an example of groups that would continue to get Government backing, officials cited the Hizbul Mujahideen, which dominated the Kashmir insurgency from its beginning in 1989 until the mid-1990s.

The Hizbul, the officials said, would also be required to purge all non-Kashmiri Muslims, including Arabs and Chechens. In the last two years, India has claimed to have captured or killed growing numbers of foreign mercenaries, mostly Arabs. Western intelligence reports have confirmed that many of those fighters were trained by the al-Qaida in Afghanistan.

^{INDIA PAK}
"The decision has been made to cut off support to all non-indigenous groups in Kashmir," the officials said. They added that General Musharraf believed that the change in policy would "cause a scaling down of the freedom struggle, but will not be its end," and that he felt that "lowering the level of insurgency is not too high a price to pay for protecting the country" against an Indian attack, whose conventional forces far outnumber Pakistan's.

Western diplomats who have been in contact with General Musharraf during the crisis described the decision as his boldest step yet to defuse the tensions that have gripped the subcontinent in the aftermath of the Parliament attack.

But the diplomats noted that a succession of Pakistani leaders have found that ordering the ISI

to change course, especially when it involves Islamic militant groups, has not always succeeded. The diplomats said that the ISI, operating in the shadows, with few controls on its spending, has long been a rogue agency, capable of continuing support for groups that it has formally disavowed, as it did for at least a few weeks after General Musharraf ordered an end to support for the Taliban in September.

Since then, General Musharraf has appointed a new ISI chief, but even he has acknowledged privately that getting complete control of the agency will take time.

Aides to General Musharraf said the curbs on militant groups fighting in Kashmir would come with political risks. Among those, they said, was the enhanced danger of militants' trying to assassinate General Musharraf.

But General Musharraf has offered his own answer. In a speech on December 25, he said the country had followed a path in recent years that had "undermined Islam to a level that people of the world associate it with illiteracy, backwardness, intolerance, obscurantism and militancy," and that the choice for Pakistan now was to make radical changes or to court disaster.

The New York Times

LASHKAR THREATENS TO BLOW UP TAJ

A LETTER received on the official e-mail address of UP Chief Minister Rajnath Singh from *Lasker@Pakistani.com* has threatened suicide attacks on the Taj Mahal, the Chief Minister, Samajwadi Party chief Mulayam Singh Yadav, BSP vice-president Mayawati and Housing Minister Lalji Tandon. It also speaks of intended attacks on the UP Assembly and vital installations, including railway stations. The letter was received on December 24 but downloaded only on Tuesday.

HTC, Lucknow

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 3 JAN 2002

'BILATERALS WON'T FIND A PLACE AT SAARC'

Pak must act, insists India

Nilova Roy Chaudhury in Kathmandu

Jan. 2. — India is in no mood to budge from its stand on Pakistan despite international pressure for a meeting between the two countries. Indian officials said: "We are here for Saarc...bilaterals do not have a place here."

They remained indifferent to the Pakistani officials' efforts to question the list of 20 terrorists India had handed over to its neighbour. "They (Pakistan) are very well aware of what is required of them and it is for them to show that they intend to wipe out terrorism," an official spokesperson said.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee will arrive here tomorrow. The Prime Minister has nothing but the summit in general on his agenda, officials said. He'll stay at Soaltee hotel on the outskirts of the city.

The summit, beginning on Friday, will be held at King Birendra Convention Centre.

The heads of various governments will "retreat" to Nagarkot on Saturday, but officials ruled out any possibility of a one-on-one exchange between the Indian and Pakistani heads.

In an interview to the

Nepalese media today, Mr Vajpayee said (without naming Pakistan directly): "Some states follow a policy of sponsoring and sheltering terrorist organisations. The coordinated efforts of the international community should be aimed at pressurising them to abandon it."

General Pervez Musharraf is

Tea with the General?

KATHMANDU, Jan. 2. — The Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr Sher Bahadur Deuba, is trying to arrange for a meeting between Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee and Gen Pervez Musharraf over a cup of tea, sources said today. Indian officials said nothing has been planned in this regard. — PTI

also expected to arrive at the capital tomorrow. Officials said he would overfly China on his way to Kathmandu, avoiding Indian airspace. He'll stay at the same hotel as Mr Vajpayee, but the Pakistani President will be in a separate wing. The area surrounding the hotel has been cordoned off.

Emergency regulations are in

force and there's a heavy security presence here.

Mr Jaswant Singh arrived at the city this afternoon and headed straight for the 22nd session of the Saarc ministerial council, held at Soaltee Hotel.

During an informal meeting of the foreign ministers, lasting for about 20 minutes, there was almost no interaction between Mr Singh and Mr Abdul Sattar. "Mere exchange of civilities does not mean that a meeting has taken place," a senior official said.

However, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan and Nepalese representatives urged the Indian and Pakistani foreign ministers to sort out their problems as Indo-Pak tensions had completely overshadowed the Saarc agenda, sources said.

Mr Morshed Khan, Mr Tyrone Fernando and Mr Ram Sharan Mahat told Mr Singh and Mr Sattar that for the past three years, Saarc had not been able to operate meaningfully because of the problems between the two countries, the sources said. The Indian spokesperson refused to comment on this.

The ministers went in for delegation-level talks almost immediately after the informal session. During the talks,

See SAARC: page 2



Standing shoulder to shoulder but can't see eye to eye: Mr Jaswant Singh (second from left) and Mr Abdul Sattar at the Saarc summit in Kathmandu on Wednesday. — AP/PTI

US can't dictate terms, says PM

Sanjay Singh and Srinjoy Chowdhury in New Delhi

Jan. 2. — The government has decided to sustain its diplomatic offensive with Pakistan even as the US continued exerting pressure to stop movement of troops at the Indo-Pak border. Instead of yielding to US pressure, the government has indicated that military build-up along the border might even be strengthened.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee told five former Prime Ministers and the former President, Mr R Venkatraman, that the US was putting pressure on India to stop movement of troops at the border, but he had declined to yield. The former Prime Ministers supported Mr Vajpayee's stance and suggested that India should keep up the pressure. Its seriousness about an offensive against Pakistan and the

terrorist outfits operating from there should never be diluted, they said. Pakistan has moved two army units, based in Quetta and Peshawar, to the Indo-Pakistan border. The troops, originally deployed to seal the Pak-Afghan border, are now facing their Indian counterparts in Punjab and Rajasthan. Meanwhile, Mr Vajpayee today outrightly rejected Pakistan's demand for more proof about the involvement of the two terrorist outfits, Lashkar-e-Taiyaba and Jaish-e-Mohammed, in the attack on Parliament, adds PTI from Lucknow.

"It is meaningless to argue about proof. The documents and the bullets recovered from the bodies of the five terrorists who had attacked Parliament prove beyond doubt that they were Pakistani nationals and there is no need at all to give any further proof," he said, adding "What more proof do you need other than the

five bodies that were lying outside Parliament House and the bullet marks on the building."

According to sources, Mr AB Vajpayee remained firm that the movement of troops along the border and the LoC, which started after 13 December, should continue. Defence forces may undertake certain other measures soon to bolster security in the region, they said. Intelligence reports suggest that the Pakistani President, General Musharraf's action against LeT and Jaish-e-Mohammad, is temporary. Pakistani authorities have been trying to convince leaders of these outfits that they should maintain restraint for the time being. It is being felt that Pakistan has no intention of putting an end to cross-border terrorism. India thereby needed a sustained campaign on all fronts to keep them in check.

Editorial: Not enough! page 4

'Pak to close ISI wing dealing with J&K groups'

Press Trust of India

NEW YORK, Jan. 2. — General Pervez Musharraf has ordered closure of the ISI wing which deals exclusively with the armed groups that Pakistan backs in Kashmir, a newspaper reported here today.

In future, Pakistan would limit its backing for the "Kashmir freedom struggle" to groups with roots in the state and rely on Kashmiris to conduct military operations. The *New York Times* said quoting officials in Islamabad.

Pakistan would continue to back groups with "roots in Kashmir" like the Hizbul Mujahideen which, it says, are dominated by Kashmiris, the report said. As an example of groups that would continue to get government backing, officials cited Hizbul Mujahideen, which, the paper said, "dominated the Kashmir insurgency from its beginnings in 1989 until the mid-1990s, but which rapidly lost its primacy as the Lashkar and Jaish took over." Groups like the Hizbul Mujahideen, the officials said, would get "political" support from Islamabad, but not military training and weapons.

Gen Musharraf said that Pakistan wants peace with India but not at the cost of its honour, report agencies. Meanwhile, the United Jihad Council has opposed extradition of 20 criminals and terrorists wanted in India. "If it happens, everything would be finished," the UJC chief said.

Can killed in I&K Assembly attack

Not guilty, pleads 11 Sent accused

Now, Gaddafi sends a peace messenger!

Pentagon watching Indo-Pak. tensions

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 2. The Pentagon has said that it is watching "very closely" the tensions between India and Pakistan, but at this moment there are no concerns about what the forces of those two countries are doing.

"We are watching very closely the tensions that exist between those two countries and we are very hopeful they will exercise judgment and prudence in getting engaged with each other. At this moment, there are no concerns here about what their forces are doing" the spokesman, Rear Admiral John Stufflebeem, said during the course of a regular briefing.

THE HINDU

India, Pakistan exchange list of nuclear installations

9220
PZ

HTC and Agencies
New Delhi, January 1

DESPITE THE tension and troop build-up along the borders, India and Pakistan on Tuesday exchanged lists of nuclear installations and facilities covered under a bilateral agreement.

The lists were exchanged through the diplomatic channel simultaneously at New Delhi and Islamabad, an External Affairs Ministry statement here said. This is the eleventh consecutive year that lists have been exchanged.

Under the agreement on the prohibition of attack against nuclear installations and facilities, the two countries are required to inform each other on January 1 of every calendar year of each other's nuclear installations and facilities.

The agreement was signed on December 31, 1988, and came into force on January 27, 1991. The first such exchange of lists took place on January 1, 1992.

In Islamabad, Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman Aziz Ahmed Khan said that the list was exchanged on Tuesday.

"The information of nuclear facilities and installations of both sides was exchanged through diplomatic channels," he said. Asked whether the agreement committed both the countries to strictly adhere to not attacking each other's nuclear installations, he said "this is an agreement between the two countries and the agreements meant to be adhered to." He said he was not aware whether there was any addition to India's list as he had not seen it.

Recently, Pakistan Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar said that Pakistan has not made any changes to previous list as it has not built any additional nuclear installations. In an interview to *Frontline*, Sattar has acknowledged that some organisations that are terrorist in nature are in the country, but said it would take some time to contain and eliminate them.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

1992

Double celebration: A display of fireworks over the Parthenon in Athens on Tuesday

International pressure for talks

Nilova Roy Chaudhury
in New Delhi

Jan. 1. — Diplomatic channels between India and Pakistan have been working overtime since the 13 December attack on Parliament, with the threat of hostilities between the neighbours still persisting.

But the foreign secretary, Mrs Chokila Iyer, today ruled out any possibility of a Vajpayee-Musharraf meeting in Kathmandu.

With Pakistan now acting against some terrorists, speculations are rife whether the foreign ministers of both countries would meet on the sidelines of the Saarc summit. Senior officials said: "Anything is possible." Reports spoke of an 'accidental' meeting being possible.

Any meeting of representatives from the two countries would be at the foreign minister level, if at all, although India feels

that its tough stand is paying dividends and it would rather wait for Pakistan to take more tangible steps, including handing over of criminals wanted in India. The only reason to talk, officials said, would be to ease international pressure, but ruled out the prospect of a substantial bilateral dialogue.

Mr Tony Blair will visit India on 4 January for a meeting, organised by the Confederation of Indian Industry on 5 January. He is also scheduled to visit Hyderabad on 6 January before meeting Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee in New Delhi. Mr Blair will lend his weight to international efforts to defuse Indo-Pak tension. Mr Blair will leave for Islamabad on 7 January.

Officials said Western countries fear that in its efforts to deploy troops along the border, Osama can be given a miss by Pakistan. There are signs that the tension between the two countries is somewhat easing. The neighbours today exchanged lists

of nuclear installations and facilities. According to the bilateral agreement on the Prohibition of Attack Against Nuclear Installations and Facilities, signed on 31 December 1988, India and Pakistan have to provide each other, on the first of each calendar year, lists of nuclear facilities.

The lists have been regularly exchanged every year on 1 January since 1992, after the agreement was ratified on 27 January 1991, an official statement said.

This is part of the mechanism that exists between the two countries to keep each other informed through diplomatic channels, that seek to ensure that hostilities never cross the rubicon. Another mechanism to ease bilateral tension is the weekly meeting of the DGMOs. Pakistan's foreign minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, said today there was no sign of a bilateral dialogue at the summit, despite Islamabad's desire for talks at any level, adds AFP from Kathmandu.

THE STATESMAN

— 2 JAN 2001

Not a shred of evidence, says Islamabad

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 1. Pakistan today said it could not be expected to act on the list of wanted persons given by India on Monday without proof (of their involvement in acts of terrorism in India) even as it said that it looked forward for opportunities in Kathmandu to sit across the table with the Indian Government to sort out differences.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Mr. Aziz Ahmed Khan, and the Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, Maj. Gen. Rashid Quereshi, were categorical in their tone that India had not a 'shred of evidence' in support of its demand for extradition of the 20 alleged criminals.

"India has not given us any evidence. It is difficult for us to even consider any action against these individuals if there is no evidence," Maj. Gen. Quereshi said in response to a pointed question.

When a reporter pointed out that the Jaish-e-Mohammad chief, Maulana Masood Azar, was involved in organising the hijack of the Indian Airlines flight in December 1999, Maj. Gen. Quereshi said his release by the Indian Government in exchange for the passengers on board the hijacked flight did not amount to proof.

Asked for the latest assessment of Islamabad on the Indo-Pakistan tension, Mr. Khan said the diplomatic channels were open and Pakistan was willing and ready to hold dialogue with India on all issues if New Delhi was prepared. He said Pakistan was in touch with a number of friendly countries and the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, had called up the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, on Monday.

"We hope the situation would be contained. We have made reasonable offer to sit across the table to negotiate all differences and look forward to opportunities at Kathmandu," Mr. Khan said.

Responding to a question on the new year message of the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, the spokesman said that Pakistan welcomed the path of dialogue and was in favour of re-starting the

process that broke down at Agra. "If Pakistan was practicing anti-India policy Gen. Musharraf would not have travelled to Agra," he said when asked about the reference by Mr. Vajpayee that Islamabad should give up its anti-India stance.

In response to a question, Maj. Gen. Quereshi said the Indian military build-up on the border continued and it was a source of threat to Pakistan. "As long as there is a massive Indian troop presence and India retains the capacity to strike, we have reason to be concerned and alert."

Maj. Gen. Quereshi said the Pakistan's moral and political support to the people of Kashmir in their struggle for their right to self-determination would continue. He maintained that support of Pakistan was not to individuals or groups but to the people of Kashmir and accused India of trying to eliminate the difference between 'freedom struggle and terrorism'.

Talks with China

It now appears certain that Gen. Musharraf is to leave for Beijing on Thursday for talks with Chinese leaders on border tensions with India. Pakistan had said on Monday that Gen. Musharraf would not use the Indian airspace to travel to Kathmandu.

He is expected to go via China and halt at Beijing to hold talks with the Chinese Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, on Thursday that will focus on bilateral relations as well as on tension between Pakistan and India. He will also attend a banquet being hosted by the Chinese premier for him at the Great Hall. After an overnight stay in China he will fly to Kathmandu on Friday morning to attend the SAARC summit. The significance of the visit to Beijing at this juncture can be gauged from the fact that he was in China just a week ago.

The Pakistan Government announced that the British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair, will arrive Islamabad on a two-day visit on January 7 on the last leg of his tour to Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. "Regional issues will be discussed during his visit," the Foreign Office spokesman said.

Arrest of former Lashkar chief condemned

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 1. The arrest of the former chief of the Lashkar-e-Taiba, Prof. Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, in Pakistan has been condemned by the Jamaat-ud-Dawa, parent organisation of the LeT. It has accused the Musharraf Government of taking such a step due to "false Indian propaganda".

In a statement here Mr. Yahya Mujahid, the spokesman for Jamaat-ud-Dawa, said, Pakistan is an independent country in which everyone has freedom of speech and it was not appropriate to arrest or ban any person.

He reiterated that "attacking civilians and innocent people is un-Islamic" for his organisation and that it was not involved in the attack on the Indian Parliament complex on December 13.

Before he was picked up by the police, Prof. Saeed had alleged that the concentration of the Indian Army on the Pakistan border was a 'U.S.-India conspiracy'. He alleged that the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, and the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, did not want war for "fear of being toppled".

He also said "in the prevailing situation, jihad has become obligatory for every Pakistani youth".

Probe ordered into Harshad's death

PAK NOT TOUGH ENOUGH ON TERROR

India demands more, won't blink first

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 1. — Seeking a ban on the Laskhar-e-Taiyaba and Jaish-e-Mohammed and asking for the handover of 20 of the 'most wanted' ultras, are only the beginning of a series of tougher demands India wants to place before Pakistan.

Senior officials said the first round of India's diplomatic offensive has yielded some positive results with Pakistan changing its stance vis-a-vis the two terrorist organisations named by the country for its involvement in the attack on Parliament. "But these are not going to be enough. Banning two organisations and taking some cosmetic measures against them (like giving contradictory signals regarding Masood Azhar's arrest over the past few days) would not satisfy us."

Mr Jaswant Singh said Pakistan is yet to officially react to the list of criminals sent by India.

Despite yesterday's statement indicating India's softening of its stand, there is no climbdown from the government's insistence that Pakistan must stop sponsoring cross-border terrorism. Government sources indicated that the bottomline, as far as proof of Islamabad's sincerity goes, will be the Pak Army's discouraging infiltration across the LoC. No immediate scaling down of military mobilisation is envisaged. Sources said the fact that the CCS was meeting so often was indicative of the government's seriousness about "non-diplomatic" response.

In Islamabad, the Pakistan foreign office spokesman, Mr

Aziz Ahmed Khan, and the defence spokesman, Major-General Rashid Qureshi, said while handing over the list yesterday, India had provided no evidence, adds PTI. He added that the situation at the border was still "explosive" due to Indian military deployments, according to TV reports. Meanwhile, Mr George Fernandes reiterated that the armed

Army chief tours 'strategic' areas

NEW DELHI, Jan. 1. — The Army chief, General S Padmanabhan, today left for a quiet tour of "strategic" areas. Army officials did not say where he had gone. But his visit reportedly relates to the build-up along the border. Though not a tour of "forward" posts, the visit is significant. He missed tonight's CCS meeting for this. — SNS

forces were always ready for war "A list has been received. We will certainly take action if evidence is provided," Mr Khan said, adding that proof was required to try them under Pakistan's Evidence Act. "Evidence needs to be provided," he said.

Maj-Gen Qureshi said: "The list has been received. I don't know the names. However, there is no evidence or proof provided." Reminded that Masood Azhar, came back to Pakistan after he was released during the hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane to Kandahar, he dismissed it as no evidence. "His release after the hijacking does not amount to evidence. If there is

evidence and that is provided to Pakistan, Pakistan will take action. I don't think there is any extradition treaty."

Asked about Maj-Gen Qureshi's statement that there was no evidence against the criminals wanted in India, Mr Singh said he would refuse to react to such statements by the spokesman. Later, he said: "What lack of evidence?"

Referring to the arrests of Hafiz Mohammad Syed and Masood Azhar, as per the demands made in the demarche issued by New Delhi to Pakistan, officials said such steps indeed offered some solace. But they are not enough.

They said: "Temporary cosmetic steps won't do. The touchstone of Indian policy regarding Pakistan is that it must stop sponsoring terror. A more vigorous crackdown on Pak-based outfits should be initiated."

They said the government's statement acknowledging Pakistan's action was somewhat framed to respond to President Bush's call to India that it should take note of General Pervez Musharraf's actions. By making the statement public, India could tell Americans that it had paid attention to what President Bush had said and it's time to move forward, the sources said.

Officials feel much of Indian policy, diplomatic or otherwise, depends on how much Gen Musharraf can deliver.

In this connection, Mr LK Advani's visit to Washington and New York from 8 to 14 January would be significant. The PM was briefed about the Indo-Pak situation during a CCS meeting.

More reports on page 3

THE STATESMAN

- 2 JAN 2002

Violence mars Pak peace rally

Islamabad/Amman, January 1

SEVERAL PAKISTANI anti-war demonstrators, including human rights activist Asma Jehangir, were injured when Pakistani border ranger police baton charged and broke up a peace demonstration. The demonstration was held against terrorism and war at the Wagah post on the Indo-Pak border on Monday.

The rally which began from Lahore in buses, trucks and cars was stopped by police at Bab-i-Azadi as it reached the Wagah checkpoint. Moreover, the white peace flags, banners, posters, placards which contained the slogans against war and terrorism were snatched from the participants and torn up by police. Several women were among the injured, according to *Dawn*.

The rally was stopped from proceeding beyond the Bab-i-Azadi to the area where the usual daily flag-lowering ceremony was being held jointly by the guards of both Pakistan and India before sunset. As the activists crossed the main gate, raising slogans against war and for peace, the commanding officer at Wagah, Faisal Ghauri of the Pakistan rangers, ordered the guards to stop them from proceeding to the parade area.

The guards then drove back

Afroz back in judicial custody till Jan 15

A MUMBAI court on Tuesday extended till January 15 the judicial remand of Mohammed Afroz Abdul Razak.

Afroz was produced amidst tight security before additional chief metropolitan magistrate V P Taware who extended his remand. Within five minutes, the remand was obtained and he was whisked away by in a police van. Surprisingly, the accused did not plead for bail and preferred not to engage any lawyer. Hence, no bail petition was moved on his behalf.

PTI, Mumbai

the demonstrators beyond the main gate, hurling invectives and baton-charging them. Some of the women were caught by neck and thrown on the ground while lawyers and journalists were also hit, the report said.

The rangers commanding officer was also heard threatening journalist and peace activist Mubashir Hasan that he would order firing if the rally continued its march forward.

The bruised participants of the rally held a meeting at the main gate which was addressed



AFP PHOTO

Pakistani human rights activist Asma Jehangir protests near Wagah.

by Mubashir Hasan, Asma Jehangir, Hina Jilani, Farooq Tariq and other human rights activists.

Jehangir said the incident at Wagah was unfortunate and it would not have happened had the rangers commanding officer at the checkpoint not made it a point of ego. She said she went ahead with the rally after seeking per-

mission from the Home Secretary and the SSP as she talked to them in the morning, informing them about the rally's programme. She said the guards, had used filthy language against women and other participants of the rally when they were using force to push them from the parade area across the main gate.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

JAN 15

SELECTIVE PAK. CRACKDOWN ON FINANCIAL ASSETS?

Jaswant non-committal on meeting Sattar

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 1. A day before his departure to Kathmandu, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, was non-committal on the possibility of meeting his Pakistan counterpart, Mr. Abdul Sattar, at the SAARC summit.

With a summit meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Mr. Pervez Musharraf, virtually ruled out, hopes are being pinned on a meeting between the Foreign Ministers of both countries. Emerging from a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS), Mr. Singh said, "I have no confirmation of a meeting (with Mr. Sattar)".

He indicated that New Delhi expected Islamabad to formally inform it about the measures taken to curb cross-border terrorism. "We cannot be expected to reply to every report," he said when asked to confirm reports that Pakistan was not satisfied with the evidence on the December 13 attack on Parliament House.

While India has responded positively to the arrest of the head of the parent organisation of the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the 90-day remand of the Jaish chief, it has serious reservations on some of the economic measures adopted by Pakistan against the terrorist organisations.

According to a media report in Pakistan, Islamabad has apprised the U.S. of details about the bank accounts frozen. However, only Rs. 900 has been found in the Muslim Commercial Bank account of the Jaish-e-Mohammad.

There is apprehension here that the staggered freezing of 50 bank accounts by Pakistan has given enough time for account holders to withdraw their money. Besides, the crackdown on their financial assets may have been selective.

The hour-long CCS meeting was officially billed as a stock-session before the Prime Minister and the External Affairs Minister left for the Kathmandu meeting tomorrow. It is understood that the security scenario and diplomatic options before India were discussed.

Earlier, the new chiefs of the Indian Air Force and the Navy called on the Prime Minister. They also acquainted him with the security scenario and the preparedness of the armed forces to deal with the current situation.

Arrests continue

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JAN. 1. Continuing its crackdown against militant outfits and extremist religious organisations, the Pakistan Government is said to have detained more than 150 activists of the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad. However, senior functionaries of the Musharraf regime are at pains to emphasise

that the crackdown has nothing to do with either pressure from the international community or India's demands.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Mr. Aziz Ahmed Khan, and the Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, Maj. Gen. Rashid Qureshi, today went out of their way to emphasise that the arrests had no connection with either the U.S. action or the Indian demand.

The authorities have picked a number of activists of the two militant outfits, particularly in the Sindh province. In Karachi alone, according to the city police chief, Mr. Tariq Jameel, 24 activists of the "Jehadi" outfits have been arrested and their offices sealed. When police raided these offices, they were locked and no activist was present there. Local media reports said that senior officials were interrogating the Lashkar Chief, Hafiz Saeed.

Reports from Ghotki town said that police raided the local Jaish office and arrested four persons for playing the cassette of Masood Azhar's speeches. Police continued raiding offices of these two outfits overnight in different parts of the country.

On Sunday, police raided the offices of the Jaish, the Lashkar and the Sipah-e-Sahaba in Hyderabad and arrested more than 10 activists. Telephone connections have been cut.

'Not a shred of evidence': Page 11

Give Musharraf a chance, says Bush

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JAN. 1. The United States President, Mr. George W. Bush, has once again praised his Pakistan counterpart, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, for cracking down hard on terrorist outfits. "Terror is terror and the fact that the Pakistan President is after terrorists is a good sign," Mr. Bush told reporters in Crawford, Texas, on Monday.

The President was asked if he believed that tensions between India and Pakistan were easing now that Islamabad had arrested the leader of a militant group and whether he would urge the Indian and Pakistan leadership to meet next week.

Mr. Bush said tensions between India and Pakistan were easing and he had a "good talk" with both the Indian Prime Minister,

Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, and Gen. Musharraf a couple of days ago. "I urged President Musharraf to do everything he could to crack down on the terrorist network that had bombed the Indian Parliament, or raided the Indian Parliament," he said.

"In my conversation with the Prime Minister (of India), I said I can understand how he feels — if someone attacked the U.S. Capitol, I'd feel angry too... I explained to the Indian Prime Minister that while I understood his anger, I was hoping that they were not headed for war. I said, give us all a chance to work with President Musharraf to bring the terrorists to justice. And today... he apprehended the head of what they call the LeT. That's after he had apprehended the head of the JeM. So he's cracking down hard and I appreciate his efforts," Mr. Bush

remarked. The Bush administration has been keeping a watchful eye on the goings on in the Indian sub-continent, urging India and Pakistan not to allow rhetorics and rising tensions to get out of hand. And Mr. Bush, in pressuring the Pakistani leader to come down hard on terrorist groups harming India, has pointedly told New Delhi that it would have to take note of the efforts of Gen. Musharraf.

Senior officials like the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, have been on the telephone with leaders of India and Pakistan as also with other world leaders discussing the situation in South Asia. According to a State Department spokesman, Gen. Powell had spoken with Gen. Musharraf four times since last Friday and twice with the Indian External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

Last week the Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, had a conversation with his Indian counterpart, Mr. George Fernandes, the Pentagon said.

The U.S. is worried about the situation in the sub-continent for at least two reasons. First, a genuine concern that things will get out of hand leading to frightening consequences for both India and Pakistan. Second, a well-founded apprehension that rising tensions would result in Pakistan stepping away from its commitments on the Pakistan-Afghan border.

In spite of what is said by officials in Islamabad, reports have it that Pakistani regulars patrolling the border with Afghanistan are being withdrawn and replaced with paramilitary troops, a development that is not looked on favourably here.

Let us start a dialogue: Sattar

By Our Special Correspondent

CHENNAI, JAN. 1. Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, has said that "We need to stop the build-up and start the process of dialogue (between India and Pakistan) so that whatever problems are seen by one side or the other can be addressed with a cool mind. War benefits neither side".

In an exclusive interview, in Islamabad on December 28, to A.G. Noorani for the forthcoming issue of *Frontline*, Mr. Sattar said "We are doing our utmost to prevent escalation of the tension." He also expressed Pakistan's willingness to "cooperate fully" with India in efforts for "the prevention and eradication of terrorism" and, specifically, "in eradicating such outfits that indulge in terrorism".

Acknowledging that "we have some organisations which are extremist and even terrorist in nature," he specifically included the Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen in this category. The Musharraf Government had taken various concrete steps, in the domestic context, to "deal with this kind of extremism and terrorism". The steps include bans on some groups, putting some others on a warning or watch-list, freezing accounts, a campaign of de-weaponisation,

and legal proceedings against those holding unlicensed weapons. However, "pursuing a policy of containing and eliminating these tendencies in the country is bound to take some time."

Mr. Sattar said that in dealing with Osama bin Laden, the United States "compiled large dossiers and brought these to the notice of the United Nations Security Council" which adopted three resolutions on that basis. "They showed it to us. It was quite a thick file. But we cannot pronounce a judgment on it. That is not the task of a Government, but I recall that when the information was shown to us I publicly said it was an impressive body of information and evidence. But weighing it is not a political but a judicial task. Were Osama to surrender, he surely would have been presented in an appropriate court of law, which would have pronounced its verdict."

Asked about the prospect of an extradition treaty between Pakistan and India, he said: "Surely, that would be desirable. But let us also remember the pitfalls, and that is with regard to the definition of the territories of the two countries."

On the October 1 terrorist attack in Srinagar and the "reprehensible act that took place on December 13 in New Delhi", Mr. Sattar said: "No civilised state can possibly

tolerate such acts, and I can assure you that the Government of Pakistan is absolutely clear in its mind that such acts have not only to be denounced but the people who engage in them, their sponsors and so on, should be identified and brought to justice."

He wanted India to be "both considerate and conscious rather than make demands". With specific reference to the post-December 13 situation, Mr. Sattar said that after receiving the Indian demarche the next day, the Pakistan Government's response was "please provide us with some evidence". "We cannot act arbitrarily at the request of a foreign government."

On the Agra Summit, Mr. Sattar said "There was a sense of optimism before we went to Agra." He also recalled with warmth the close working relationship he had with Mr. Jaswant Singh: "I am glad to say that we worked quite fast in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and were able to remove all the square brackets on which there were differences."

According to Mr. Sattar, the talks broke down after the Government of India refused to accept, even after revision, a paragraph in the mutually agreed Declaration.

Chance encounters at Kathmandu not ruled out

By C. Raja Mohan

KATHMANDU, JAN. 1. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, will not avoid running into his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Abdul Sattar, on the margins of a South Asian summit here over the next few days. But India insists that there can be no formal dialogue with Pakistan until Islamabad takes concrete steps to curb cross-border terrorism.

Responding to the continuing speculation on the likelihood of a meeting between the two Foreign Ministers at the summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), senior Indian officials say "no concrete decision" has been taken so far.

Pakistani officials here have begun to raise expectations of a meeting not only between the Foreign Ministers but also an engagement between the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the President of Pakistan, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, during the SAARC summit.

The Indian side is not ruling out chance encounters between the Indian and Pakistani leaders who would spend considerable time together during the meetings of the SAARC. "There will be no absence of civility," the Foreign Office spokeswoman, Ms. Nirumpa Rao, told a press conference here.

But a serious conversation between the two sides, according to India, would depend upon the creation of a conducive climate. Pakistan's effective action against

sources of terrorism on its soil, Ms. Rao said, "is the template and context in which the prospects for an Indo-Pak dialogue must be located".

The Foreign Ministers of the seven SAARC nations will meet during January 2-3 and the Heads of Government during January 4-6. A meeting between Mr. Singh and Mr. Sattar is not being ruled out if there is more visible action against terrorism in the next few days. But

and Gen. Musharraf remains rather remote at the moment.

The signs of easing tensions between India and Pakistan have already begun to lighten the political mood in the Nepali capital. The apparent drift towards an Indo-Pakistani military confrontation in recent days had cast a shadow over the long-delayed SAARC summit. Meanwhile, the Standing Committee of the SAARC Foreign Secretaries concluded their deliberations today by suggesting that the region must vigorously implement the international norms against terrorism that have emerged since September 11.

Briefing the press here, the Foreign Secretary of Nepal, Mr. Madhuran Acharya, said senior officials "endorsed the validity" of the recent U.N. Security Council Resolution 1373 that demanded strong counter-terrorism measures by all States.

The official focus on terrorism came as part of the discussion on the implementation of the 1987 SAARC convention on combating terrorism. While some members

have enacted national legislation to implement the convention, Pakistan and Bangladesh are yet to do so. There was recognition that the latest U.N. resolutions are far more demanding than the 1987 SAARC convention. To look at the implications of the changed international context of terrorism and ways to tighten the 1987 convention, legal advisors to SAARC Governments would soon meet in Colombo.

The discussion on terrorism to-
morrow and underscored the "need to comprehensively address issues relating to terrorism, drug trafficking, organised crime and allied offences". There was special emphasis on promoting "closer interaction amongst the police agencies" of the subcontinent.

The recommendations of the Standing Committee would now be considered at the ministerial level in the next couple of days. Most Foreign Ministers have already arrived in the Nepalese capital and Mr. Jaswant Singh will be here tomorrow. As part of the effort to accelerate the stalled process of regional integration, the senior officials recommended a new date for the realisation of the South Asian Free Trade Area by the end of next year.

Trade ties within the SAARC are at an abysmally low level and progress towards economic integration has been too slow. Nevertheless, the Foreign Secretaries today considered that the "vision of creating a South Asian Economic Union by 2020" was "a desirable goal".

PM extends a 'hand of alliance' to Pak.

By Harish Khare *11/11/02*

NEW DELHI, DEC. 31. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, has extended a "hand of alliance" to the Pakistan leadership if it has sincerely joined the international community in its war against terrorism. If Pakistan has made a sincere U-turn, then the Prime Minister wants to tell the rulers in Islamabad: "Shed your anti-India mentality and take effective steps to stop cross-border terrorism, and you will find India willing to walk more than half the distance to work closely with Pakistan to resolve, through dialogue, any issue, including the contentious issue of Jammu and Kashmir."

These sentiments are expressed in a lengthy "article" written by the Prime Minister, on the lines of his much talked about "Musings from Kumarakom" this time around last year. This year, Mr. Vajpayee's advisers have released the "article" for the widest possible dissemination. The "article" is, once again, the preferred format to address and greet the people of In-

dia on the eve of the New Year. *9:20 pm*

Referring specifically to the intractability of the Kashmir problem, Mr. Vajpayee has chosen to reproduce the commitment he made last year: "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 Asia region."

Much of the "article" is devoted to the challenge of terrorism, at home and abroad. Inevitably, the December 13 attack on the Parliament House is mentioned, and is characterised as "an attack on our sovereignty, on our national self-respect, and it was a challenge to our democratic system."

The Prime Minister makes it clear that the only way to stop terrorist attacks is "by forcing Pakistan to stop cross-border terrorism." Even while declaring that "India does not want war," Mr. Vajpayee asserts India's right to "defend ourselves against cross-border ter-

rorism" and warns that "Pakistan will be solely responsible for the consequences of encouraging terrorism against India and, when expedient, turning a blind eye to terrorist groups with trans-national linkages operating from its soil."

Addressing himself to the people of Pakistan as well as "all the right-thinking persons in its ruling establishment," Mr. Vajpayee suggests to them to ponder over the consequences of pursuit of a strategy of hostility towards India and implemented through a policy of "appeasement of terrorism fuelled by religious extremism." Mr. Vajpayee offers peace to Pakistan and suggests "together, let us leave the past of futile hostilities behind us and embrace a future free of tension and full of mutually beneficial possibilities."

Mr. Vajpayee ends with exhorting the countrymen to believe that "we shall triumph against terrorism" and "let this be every Indian's New Year resolve."

PM's reflections: Page 13

THE HINDU

NEW DELHI

Musharraf to skip Indian airspace

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, DEC. 31. The Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, has decided not to avail himself of India's offer to let his aircraft use the Indian airspace to reach Kathmandu for the SAARC summit scheduled for January 4 to 6 and is expected to fly over China.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Mr. Aziz Ahmed Khan, who confirmed the Pakistan Government's decision not to use the Indian airspace said the route to be taken by Gen. Musharraf to reach Kathmandu was yet to be determined. New Delhi had said last week that it would positively respond to any Pakistan request to let Gen. Musharraf's plane use the Indian airspace.

The Musharraf Government's decision to skip the Indian skies has come as a surprise to political and diplomatic observers here. It is particularly so after the media reports suggested that the Pakistan High Commission had made a specific request to India to allow Gen. Musharraf's aircraft to fly over the Indian airspace.

One interpretation is that it is an indication of hardening of the stance of Pakistan which does not want to be seen as asking for a "favour" from New Delhi at a juncture when the anti-Pakistan rhetoric is at its peak.

The other interpretation in the diplomatic circles is that Gen. Musharraf would like to use the opportunity to stop over in Beijing for consultations with the Chinese leadership on the rising

tensions between India and Pakistan. The Pakistan Urdu daily, *Jang*, reported that Gen. Musharraf would visit Beijing on January 3 on a "special invitation" from the Chinese leadership for a highly important discussion.

The visit, if it takes place, would have something to do with the standoff between India and Pakistan as only a week ago Gen. Musharraf was in China on a five-day official visit. It would indeed be an extraordinary visit.

The paper said a special Chinese plane would take Gen. Musharraf to Kathmandu under the security cover of the Chinese air force.

It said that after Gen. Musharraf rejected the Indian offer to fly over its airspace, the Chinese leadership extended a special invitation to him to visit Beijing.

A special PIA aircraft, which would take Gen. Musharraf to Beijing, would be stationed there to bring Gen. Musharraf back to Islamabad. Quoting diplomatic observers, the paper said the Chinese "goodwill gesture" should be considered an important signal for India.

Sattar flies to Nepal via India

PTI reports from Kathmandu:

Meeting the deadline for the imposition of ban on Pakistani aircraft flying through the Indian airspace, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdul Sattar, arrived here today, at least two days ahead of the SAARC ministerial meeting.

Mr. Sattar reached here by the last Pakistan International Airlines flight, which for the last time availed of the facility to overfly the Indian territory.

India has imposed a ban on all Pakistani aircraft to use its territory as a diplomatic measure against the neighbouring country for its refusal to rein in the Jaish-e-Mohammed and the Lashkar-e-Taiba, the two terrorist outfits being blamed for the December 13 attack on Parliament House.

The Bhutanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Lyonpo Jigme Thinley, arrived in Kathmandu on Sunday while the Foreign Ministers of India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and the Maldives were expected to reach here on Tuesday, an official spokesman said.

Mr. Sattar said Islamabad was opposed to war and would never initiate any military action across the border or the Line of Control. "Let us hope that the efforts which are made in favour of restraint, responsibility and peace will succeed and we come out of the present and difficult situation".

He Pakistan has brought a sense of commitment, a sense of responsibility and a sense of restraint "in deeds as well as in words" to defuse the present tension.

THE HINDU
wishes its readers
A HAPPY AND
PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR

THE HINDU

1 JAN 2002

PoK PM warns India against 'misadventure'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, DEC. 31. The Prime Minister of Pak.-occupied Kashmir (PoK), Sardar Sikandar Hayyat Khan, has warned India against any "misadventure" either in PoK or Pakistan and asserted that it would be met with firmly.

After consultations with his cabinet colleagues on the Indian military build up, he urged the United Nations and world powers to check the "evil and expansionistic designs of the BJP-led extremist" Indian Government.

An official statement said that he asked New Delhi to refrain from its "mischievous and aggressive designs" against PoK. He said the people of PoK, along with the Pakistani army, were fully prepared to give the Indian troops a "matching and befitting response".

Sardar Khan said the people of

11/02 HD-14
Pakistan and Kashmir were peace-loving and said only a peaceful and durable solution of the Kashmir issue could guarantee peace in the region.

In a related development, the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) has warned India and Pakistan that a war between them would prove far more destructive and devastating than the previous ones.

In a resolution, it said another war would further complicate resolution of Kashmir issue and expressed its resolve to defend PoK. The JKLF claimed that Kashmiris' "freedom struggle" was not terrorism and that it was India that was engaged in 'State terrorism' in Kashmir.

It said that non-Kashmiri militant organisations were harming Kashmiris cause'. The JKLF has also declared that Kashmiri people were the real party to Kashmir issue and any solution of the issue

Jndv-PMK
not based on their national aspirations would neither be a just one nor would be accepted by Kashmiris.

The JKLF said that the best solution of Kashmir issue was that the divided Jammu Kashmir State be re-united under international supervision and made a fully independent country with a democratic, federal and secular system of Government and having friendly relations with both India and Pakistan.

Fifteen years later there could be a U.N.-supervised referendum to determine whether Kashmir should retain its independence forever or become part of India or Pakistan, the JKLF said. It has appealed to the international community and the governments, political parties and the media of India and Pakistan to accept and facilitate implementation of the proposed solution of Kashmir issue.

Delhi dangles carrot, wields stick

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Dec. 31. — Mr Jaswant Singh today said there are signs that Pakistan is taking action against terrorists based in that country.

But that has not prevented the government from keeping the pressure on General Pervez Musharraf. India has handed over to the Pakistani deputy high commissioner a list of 20 people wanted in India in connection with terrorist activities. India wants Pakistan to arrest these persons and hand them over.

The list includes Dawood Ibrahim, Tiger Memon and a few others, wanted for the 1993 Mumbai blasts, Masood Azhar and Khalistani militant Wasan Singh Zaffarwal.

After an emergency meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security, Mr Jaswant Singh said India has received reports about the steps being taken by the Pakistan authorities against terrorist organisations like the Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Taiyaba. Raids were conducted in some places. "If correct, these (the arrests and raids) are steps in the right direction," he said.

The Indian position is being regarded as a tactical victory. By acknowledging that Pakistan has taken steps against terrorists,

the country has shown to the world that it is not intransigent. And by asking for the criminals wanted in India, India has kept up the pressure on Pakistan. The international community knows Dawood Ibrahim and others are "wanted criminals" and the onus will be on Pakistan to hand them over.

Saarc on terror clause

Press Trust of India

KATHMANDU, Dec. 31. — The Saarc countries today agreed to make changes in their Convention on Suppression of Terrorism. Meeting ahead of the seven-nation summit, beginning on 4 January, Saarc foreign secretaries were finalising a draft declaration that favoured immediate enactment of legislations by member countries for implementation of the 1987 convention within a time-frame.

Though no international treaty exists, the government believes that Pakistan is obligated under existing international law to return these criminals to the country.

The list has names of "criminals, terrorists and fugitives from the law" who have cases registered against them in Indian courts.

India wants Pakistan to charge them with terrorist activities. Though India has not given fresh evidence to Pakistan, charges against the Mumbai blast accused have been made available, the external affairs ministry spokesperson said.

India has received some "credible" signals that Pakistan is taking action against the Jaish chief. But Mr Singh questioned Pakistan's demand for evidence. "It is strange that a nation that is a victim of terrorists has been asked to give evidence," he said adding that all necessary evidence has been provided. He also said the USA has appreciated India's position.

President George Bush today reiterated that Gen Pervez Musharraf was "cracking down hard" on militants who seek to harm India, calling this "a good sign." "I appreciate his efforts," Bush said in Crawford, Texas, where he is on vacation, adds Reuters.

Mr Singh didn't comment on the possibility of Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee meeting Gen Musharraf at the Saarc summit. Asked if he was going to meet Mr Abdul Sattar during the summit, he said he will see how things progress. Mr Sattar said in Kathmandu that Islamabad wouldn't initiate any military action across the border.

More reports on pages 2 & 3

THE STATESMAN

— 1 JAN 2002

Sub Pak
HD-11

BJP backs PM's decision not to meet Musharraf

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, DEC. 31. The BJP today said that India would decide the agenda for combating Pakistan-sponsored cross-border terrorism and fully backed the decision of the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, not to meet the Pakistan President, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, during the SAARC summit in Kathmandu.

"Gen. Musharraf knows about India's stand on wiping out terrorism. Pakistan has to take concrete action against terrorists and their organisations. What is the use of our Prime Minister meeting Pakistani President time and again? Such a meeting will serve no purpose," the BJP president, Mr. Jana Krishnamurthy, told presspersons at the party's year-end press conference here.

Referring to the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes' statement, he said that India had taken only preventive steps in moving the troops along the border with Pakistan.

"The troop movement on our side is only a minimum required preventive step in response to the massive deployment of Pakistani war machinery."

Maintaining that India was not pitching for a war with Pakistan, the BJP president said it was Pakistan which had thrust a war on the country in the past. "In the last 50 years we have not gone for a war but Pakistan has thrust a war on us.

We have no territorial ambitions but not even a square inch of our territory can be taken by a foreign country. We do not want a war with Pakistan but we will not give up our responsibility of defending our freedom and territorial integrity. If Pakistan tries to foist a war, we must be prepared for all contingencies," he said.

Mr. Krishnamurthy said Pakistan had so far taken only "cosmetic steps" against terrorists and wanted Islamabad to ban terrorist outfits since it had joined

the international coalition against terrorism.

"Pakistan is on test today. After the September 11 terrorist strikes in the U.S. which was also a crime against the entire humanity, Pakistan joined hands to root out terrorism from the world. Islamabad should ban all terrorist outfits operating from its soil."

On the arrest of the Lashkar-e-Taiba chief in Pakistan, Mr. Krishnamurthy said that one arrest meant nothing. "Pakistan has to arrest terrorism."

On the Vajpayee Government's diplomatic efforts aimed at pressuring Pakistan to end cross-border terrorism, he said: "We leave it to the Government to take all appropriate steps. But one thing is clear, there will be no compromise on driving out terrorism from the country and putting an end to cross-border terrorism being sponsored by Pakistan."

When his attention was drawn to the statement of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, that India should exercise caution in view of the presence of American men and material in Pakistan, Mr. Krishnamurthy said: "This Government does not work under anyone's pressure. The agenda on tackling terrorism will be decided by India, its people and the Government."

Four Pak. soldiers killed in firing

By Our Correspondent

JAMMU, DEC. 31. Four Pakistani soldiers were killed in a heavy exchange of fire across Pallanwala in the Akhnoor sector in Jammu, defence sources told *The Hindu* here today. One jawan, Charanjeet Singh, was killed in firing near the LoC.

There was unprovoked firing from the Pakistani side. After many months this area witnessed an exchange of fire. Exchange of fire was reported also from areas such as Chalarian, Ragal, Marian and Chachwal in Kathua district.

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The Indo-Pakistan crisis

By Rajindar Sachar

*Children have a right to live and grow peacefully.
Rulers who refuse to ensure this deserve to be thrown
in the dustbin of history.*

THE DASTARDLY Pakistan-linked terrorist attack on Parliament has naturally pushed the Indo-Pakistan relationship to the brink. Horror and a desire for revenge were the inevitable reactions throughout the country. The Opposition which was all set to embarrass the Union Government over POTO and the coffin scam was overwhelmed by the overflow of public indignation against Pakistan. So the Government, instead of finishing at the receiving end, secured a unanimous chorus of approval and unfettered freedom to take any action. So the Government shot its first Uttar Pradesh election salvo — recall of the Indian High Commissioner and worse, suspension of the Samjhauta Express and the Delhi-Lahore bus service. Symbols, however slight, of the people of India and Pakistan moving closer to each other were felled.

A warlike atmosphere is openly becoming an accepted response. TV talk shows are guilty of even putting children in the unacceptable situation of having to endorse the option of a cross-border attack, as if it was a game of chess being played in the warmth of the living room.

That the Government is consciously generating war hysteria is becoming clear by an obviously planted story that the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) had seriously considered various options including Prithvi missile strikes. Such detailed analysis speaks poorly of the secrecy of deliberations of a sensitive body such as the CCS. Such a lapse can only be seen as an attempt to present a macho facade of the Central Government even if ultimately nothing happens — a cheap way of short term gain but lamentably at the cost of almost permanent damage to the Indo-Pakistan relationship.

That the attack on Parliament certainly had ISI planning can scarcely be doubted. In the heart of Delhi, five terrorists do not suddenly appear from nowhere and go for the heart of democracy. This followed by the attack on women in the Kashmir Valley naturally makes anyone still counselling restraint in danger of being charged, though unfairly, with disloyalty to the nation. And yet it is at a time like this that

calmer thinking is required. People from the border areas in Punjab have started evacuating their villages. Not only will this heighten the buildup of war hysteria, but also seriously damage the rural economy with the harvesting season drawing near. The same is, of course, the position in Pakistan's Punjab Province. Trade between the countries, already low, would suffer irreparably what with the cancellation of the Pakistan businessmen's visit to India scheduled in December.

The glib talk of abrogation of the Indus Water Treaty ignores the survival compulsions of Indian and Pakistani Punjab where most of the murders in rural areas take place because of disputes over water sharing — even within India the militancy in Punjab had some link with the Ravi-Beas water dispute, with Haryana. Any tinkering with an international treaty could create a warlike situation. The maximum India could plead would be that Pakistan initiated the attack — hardly a palliative considering the destruction and misery that would follow on both sides. This treaty is a reminder of mutual accommodation shown by both countries in the early period of their birth — such happy memories must not be allowed to be obliterated, they need to be preserved.

I am not denying that the long-term conduct of Pakistan-linked terrorism has tested India's patience to the limit. But I still believe a small pause is necessary. In that context, I am reminded of the calm of Lord Krishna who quietly went on reminding his detractor, Shishupal, that the latter was only permitted to abuse him 100 times and once he reached that target, his head would roll. And once the 99th abuse was hurled, the Lord gave a final warning to Shishupal, who contemptuously ignored it — the result, the severance of Shishupal's head. In my view, Pakistan has committed the 99th sin with the attack on Parliament. No Government

in India could have ignored the dangerous implication of this attack. But even now if Pakistan realises the gravity and takes genuine demonstrable steps, further tragedy can be averted.

It is here that General Musharraf has to do a deep introspection and seriously make up his mind as to what kind of relationship he wants with India. However, if the General's spokesperson calls the attack on Parliament stage-managed and the General calls India's pain and anger a knee-jerk reaction, then all is lost. Gen. Musharraf showed commendable adjustment in giving up his old, trusted Taliban friends when faced with a warning from the U.S. war machine and denial of dollar aid. I hope he realises that any attempt to use the Taliban along with the Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad, is to adopt a hostile relationship with India. Surely he must now accept the logic of terrorism posing a similar danger to Pakistan after the murder of the elder brother of Pakistan's Interior Minister, General Moinuddin Haider. Gen. Musharraf must realise that without banning terrorist groups such as JeM and LeT and arresting those responsible for these attacks, India and Pakistan may imperceptibly, even though reluctantly, be drawn to the brink of war.

Faced with similar situations, nations and leaders behave maturely. Remember the U.S.-Soviet Union nuclear face-off during the Cuban crises in 1962? Both withdrew from the brink because they understood the murderous implications. Forty years down the line, we have a right to expect Mr. Vajpayee and Gen. Musharraf to show the same maturity.

But without being partial, the next move necessarily has to be made by Gen. Musharraf. In that context, this latest warning to bigoted extremists that he would not allow them to derail the country is a welcome development. The detention of Masood Azhar has to be accepted

as a gesture of his sincerity about building a lasting and trusting relationship between the two countries, which must unite for reciprocation. Groups of school children from both countries after visiting each other have a common response: "Oh, they are like us". This is the reality that politicians in both countries have forgotten. Children have a right to live and grow peacefully. Rulers who refuse to assure this deserve to be thrown in the dustbin of history.

Incidentally, why does Pakistan feel angry that a part of Kashmir is in India? Why does it not get satisfaction from the fact that a part of Kashmir is not with India — but in Pakistan? Kashmir has been allowed to envelop Pakistan's identity and has stifled its growth. Such is its obsession that during Gen. Musharraf's recent China visit, it was announced that Beijing was giving aid to the Ministry of Kashmir (Pakistan). Aid is given to a country, but such is its Kashmir obsession that the hurt to its own sovereignty is accepted by Pakistan just to cock a snook at India by invoking China's support for Kashmir. It is unnecessary because, notwithstanding rhetoric, Indian public opinion is ready to accept the LoC as the international boundary thus affirming permanence to the status of the part of Kashmir under Pakistan's rule. In fact, both sides should redeem themselves with the people of Kashmir by granting fullest autonomy to the respective parts in both countries.

The Central Government in order to avoid the charge of politicising the situation should immediately constitute an all-party group to seek prior consultation. Liberals in Pakistan must put pressure on Gen. Musharraf to act in the manner mentioned above. Similarly, those in India must impress upon the Government that strongarm postures are counter-productive and will only unite jihadis and extremists in Pakistan, making it more difficult for Gen. Musharraf to proceed against them. At this time of crisis, irrespective of personal consequences, we have a duty to speak because to keep silent is a sin.

(The writer is a former Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court.)

THE HINDU

7 JAN 2002

Bush call helped soften stands

CL Manoj in New Delhi

Dec. 31. — A day after Mr George W Bush talked to the Prime Minister and General Pervez Musharraf, tempers across the border have come down significantly.

If the Cabinet Committee on Security has notably scaled down its hard-talking posture, Islamabad, on its part, arrested the Lashkar-e-Taiyaba chief, for whatever symbolic significance it has.

On the eve of the new year, sources were more than

confident to say that the immediate threat of a war has been blown over, at least for the time being. They even seem to be confident of a meeting between the external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, and his Pakistani counterpart, Mr Abdul Sattar, on the sidelines of the Saar summit, understandably under US pressure.

Sources said President Bush's intervention also signifies the success of New Delhi's high-pitched diplomatic offensive and and troops' mobilisation along the border. They said the Centre, conscious of the "watchful eyes"

of Washington, has been reinforcing the troops on the Western border "in broad daylight" as a clear signal of India's determination to face the challenge from across the border head-on.

These all-out preparations of New Delhi have made Washington put further pressure on General Musharraf. However, the US administration has reciprocated the compulsions of Islamabad that it shouldn't be seen bowing under pressure from New Delhi.

Therefore, by President Bush talking to the heads of both India

and Pakistan, they made it convenient to the President Musharraf to send across a message to his domestic audience that the "tough general" at best was "giving space" for a compromise only at the instance of Washington.

According to sources, the main reason that have prompted Washington to act promptly to pull back the threatening twins is the presence of US troops in the region and therefore the high stakes Washington invites for itself in the event of a war between India and Pakistan.

Advani to talk tough in USA

Statesman News Service

Dec. 31. — Senior ministers continued to talk tough despite the foreign minister, Mr Mr Jaswant Singh, giving the impression that India had "softened" its stated position against Pakistan after a Cabinet Committee on Security meeting today.

Mr LK Advani, for one, is expected to impress upon convince the Americans that more pressure was required to be put on Pakistan to force it to abandon its policy of promoting cross-border terrorism when he visits Washington and New York next week. During his six-day visit, apart from meeting Mr Colin Powell and Mr Donald Rumsfeld, he may also meet Mr Bush.

The US envoy to New Delhi today met Mr Advani for about an hour to discuss the latest situation and issues relating to his visit. Mr Advani is expected to emphasise that India had fully supported the US-led campaign against the Taliban as it didn't want the war against terrorism to loose focus but it was high time that the Americans realised that this battle shouldn't be confined to Afghanistan. Sources said the official statement today — Pakistan's action of 'banning' of Lashkar-e-Taiyaba and Jaish-e-Mohammed and arrest of its leaders — was a right move and was somewhat guided in response to Mr Bush's call to India that it should take note of Gen Musharraf's efforts.

A whiff of nukes on the border

Desikan Thirunarayanapuram in Washington

Dec. 31. — US Intelligence has detected movement of nuclear missiles along with conventional weapons and thousands of troops in Pakistan and India as both countries prepare for war, the *Washington Times* said today.

Pakistan has moved a large number of troops, dispersed fighter aircraft and prepared to transport nuclear weapons from storage sites in preparation for war against India, US military officials told the paper.

While both countries have been moving troops, equipment and fighter planes on a massive scale, the most alarming signs, officials said, are what appear to be preparations in both states for the use of nuclear-tipped missiles. Intelligence agencies say there are indications that India is readying its short-range Prithvi ballistic missiles, which are within the range of Islamabad.

Meanwhile, Pakistan is mobilising its Chinese mobile M-11 missiles, also known as

Shaheen, from a base near Sargodha, west of Lahore.

The US Intelligence agencies have obtained reconnaissance photographs from a Pakistani missile base that shows storage-shed doors open in preparation for the movement of missiles. One of the photographs shows a line of 47 rail cars on a track near the base in preparation for the movement of missiles and their warheads.

Intelligence reports say India will have all its forces ready to launch an attack as early as this week, with Thursday or Friday as possible dates. Pakistan could launch its forces before those dates in a pre-emptive strike, the report said.

The USA has been trying to defuse tension between the two countries. The Bush administration fears that a conflict between India and Pakistan would interfere with US efforts to fight against terrorism in Afghanistan where American forces heavily rely on Pakistani government's permission to conduct overflights for bombing and other aircraft operations into Afghanistan.

Other joint Intelligence centres outside the Pentagon, including those supporting the

US military forces responsible for the Asia-Pacific region and for Southwest Asia, assess the danger of an India-Pakistan war as less than critical, but still "serious," the *Times* said.

Intelligence officials are worried about Pakistan's nuclear arsenal because control over the weapons is decentralised. Regional commanders can order the use of the weapons, which are based on missiles or fighter-bombers. The private Natural Resources Defence Council estimates that Islamabad has between 24 and 48 nuclear weapons while India is estimated to have 75 Prithvis in its arsenal and is working on longer-range Agni missiles, US Intelligence officials say. India has around 60 nuclear weapons that can be delivered by missiles or aircraft, they say. Its nuclear-capable aircraft include Russian-made bombers like 10 Tu-142 Bears and four Tu-22M Backfires as well as several hundred MiG-27, MiG-29 and Su-30 fighter-bombers.

Pakistan's missile force consists of some 50 M-11s, which have a range of about 186 miles, enough to hit New Delhi. Its medium-range Ghauri missiles have a range of about 800 miles.

THE STATESMAN

1 JAN 2002

OLD RELATIONS

The new year may herald optimism and the promise of a fresh beginning in many parts of the world. But, in south Asia, the year begins with predictable gloom and uncertainty even as leaders of the subcontinent prepare for the forthcoming summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation at Kathmandu. The last year revealed definitively that not only is the cold war in south Asia far from over, but that India's relations with Pakistan are likely to follow a familiar rollercoaster trajectory in the foreseeable future as well. The last twelve months have generated the same old emotions amongst watchers of the subcontinent: cynicism at the bilateral stalemate, relief at the prospect of renewed engagement, hopes of a genuine breakthrough, and, finally, despair at the failure to move ahead.

India-Pakistan ties remained frozen for the first months of 2001. New Delhi was unwilling to begin a dialogue with the military regime of General Pervez Musharraf for what seemed to be sensible reasons. Mr Musharraf had not just subverted democracy in Pakistan, but had been the architect of the Kargil war of 1999, which had buried the process of *détente* that had been set into motion at Lahore earlier that year. In addition, there had been no let-up in Pakistan's sponsorship of terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, and increasingly most militant groups were led and manned by Pakistanis and Afghans. Instead, the government of India attempted to generate a peace process in Kashmir, by unilaterally announcing a ceasefire by its security forces and agreeing to an unconditional dialogue with Kashmiri separatists. However, by the summer of 2001, it became clear that Pakistani intrusiveness in Kashmir was of such magnitude that it was capable of subverting any peace moves by New Delhi. Moreover, international pressure to resume a dialogue with Islamabad was growing, and there were signals that it would be easier to do business with Mr Musharraf than with any other Pakistani leader.

It was against this background that the summit between the Indian prime minister, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan president took place in Agra in July. No other summit in Indo-Pak history has received as much media attention, and perhaps no other meeting has ended in such a huge fiasco, especially for New Delhi. Not only was no agreement reached at Agra, but Pakistan — through selective leaks — gave the impression that there were dissensions within the Indian delegation and hardliners from the Indian side were responsible for the summit's failure. It quickly became clear that the city of the Taj had only contributed to accentuating the rancour and the bitterness. After the terrorist attacks of September 11 in the United States of America, and especially after the attacks on October 1 and December 13 in India, bilateral relations reached such a nadir that New Delhi recalled its high commissioner and went on a diplomatic offensive. By the end of the year, it seemed that New Delhi's frustration in its relations with Islamabad, and its inability to inject a modicum of civility in bilateral relations, had reached a point where it might, for the first time, be considering the use of force. It was more clear that unless Pakistan was able to move beyond the pathological hostility towards India that defines its identity, there was little that could be done to really improve bilateral relations.

THE TELEGRAPH

1 JAN 2002

Into New Year, with olive branch

One step away from summit

FROM K.P. NAYAR

Washington, Dec. 31: The rooms are ready. The briefs and talking points are under preparation.

All that remains is one wind-fall action, perhaps an unequivocal statement from Pakistan that will clear the way for a second summit in less than one year between Prime Minister Atal Bi-

The Telegraph wishes its readers a happy New Year

hari Vajpayee and President Pervez Musharraf in Kathmandu.

Notwithstanding the hedging and the denials, those at the helm of the ministry of external affairs and the Prime Minister's Office are proceeding on the assumption that at the eleventh hour, a meeting between Vajpayee and Musharraf may take place on the margins of the Saarc summit in Kathmandu.

Therefore, they have asked the Indian mission in Kathmandu to reserve rooms suitable for such a summit and put in place other protocol requirements and media facilities that will make the event hassle-free, should the meeting be held.

Though Indian officials are unwilling to concede the possibility of a Vajpayee-Musharraf summit on record, they believe the turning point in the current stand-off between India and Pakistan came last week, moving such a summit from the realm of the unthinkable to a distinct possibility.

That turning point was a briefing by national security adviser Brajesh Mishra to the ambassadors of G8 (Group of Eight) countries.

The cables sent out by G8 ambassadors after the briefing, said one Western diplomat here, triggered the biggest Christmas-time diplomatic activity since World War II. The cables sized up the situation in the subcontinent with clarity and urgency.

Intense activity in all the G8 capitals and among them ultimately resulted in Musharraf moving reluctantly against some of the terrorists accused by India of complicity in the attack on Parliament. Musharraf was left with very little choice.

After the substance of Mishra's briefing was communicated by the G8 envoys to their respective capitals, President Jacques Chirac of France spoke on the phone to President George W. Bush.

He stressed the need to see Pakistan crack down on those against whom India had evidence of terrorist activity, which was shared with "friendly countries".

Bush then spoke to British Prime Minister Tony Blair, whose envoy in Islamabad had already made a demarche seeking such action.

Also came the message from the Kremlin to the Americans that they must call the spades made in Pakistan what they really are. President Vladimir Putin's aides, in fact, reasoned that if India did not act it would suffer further acts of terror.

An Indian official summed up the situation after Musharraf's actions against the Lashkar and Jaish thus: India is not satisfied with what the Pakistani junta has done, but its actions have made New Delhi hopeful.

From this hope springs the expectations of an eleventh hour summit meeting in Kathmandu.

WHAT DO YOU SEE, MR FERNANDES: TANKS OR TALKS?



George Fernandes looks through field glasses at an undisclosed location on the western front. (AFP)

Pak earns kudos for crackdown

Islamabad, Dec. 31 (Agencies): Hours after putting the founder of Lashkar-e-Toiba behind bars, Pakistan intensified the crackdown on militants by raiding the offices of two groups at the centre of a tense stand-off with India.

The overnight action drew grudging approval from India and fulsome praise from President George W. Bush, who had asked President Pervez Musharraf in the weekend to "eliminate" terrorists. "He's cracking down hard, and I appreciate his efforts. Terror is terror and the fact that the Pakistani President is after the terrorists is a good sign," Bush said.

Bush voiced sympathy for India, saying he told Atal Bihari Vajpayee that he would also be

angry if someone had attacked the US Capitol. But he asked Vajpayee to give Pakistan time.

"I explained to the Indian Prime Minister (that) while I understood his anger, I was hoping they were not headed for war," Bush added. "Give us all a chance to work with President Musharraf to bring the terrorists to justice."

Pakistan confirmed today that Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, joint founder of the Lashkar-e-Toiba, which, with Jaish-e-Mohammad, stands accused by India of conducting the suicide attack on Parliament, was detained last night.

"He (Saeed) has been detained under the maintenance of public order ordinance," interior ministry spokesman Rashid

Ahmed Khan said. "He was disturbing peace, he was making inflammatory statements," foreign ministry spokesman Aziz Ahmed Khan added.

A security source earlier said Saeed was picked up late on Sunday for making anti-government statements after chairing a meeting of his colleagues in the capital. Jaish leader Masood Azhar had been detained earlier.

A spokesman for Saeed said his detention was unjust and was a result of pressure from India. "The government action is based on injustice," spokesman Yahya Mujahid said.

But he said the group had appealed to supporters not to resort to disruptive action in response to the move. Saeed gave up the party leadership last

week amid Indian demands for action against Lashkar and Jaish.

Police in Karachi said they raided offices of Lashkar and Jaish last night and detained over two dozen activists for questioning. "Yes, raids were conducted on the offices of these groups... over two dozen people were nabbed," a senior police official said. He said the offices were sealed after the raids, which India has been demanding.

On whether Islamabad would hand over the arrested militants to India, Aziz said: "He was only detained yesterday. Nobody ever talked about handing over to India. He has been detained for disturbing peace and making inflammatory statements. It is something internal."

Harshad Mehta dies at 47, leaving trail of decade-old scam cold

Premature end to Big Bull run

FROM DEBASHIS BHATTACHARYYA

Mumbai, Dec. 31: Tonight, Mumbai burnt an effigy of an old man at several places in a symbolic gesture ushering out 2001.

Some hours ago, as evening spread out against the sky, a not-so-old man turned to ashes at Chandanwadi crematorium, taking with him dud dreams Mumbai thrives on.

Big Bull Harshad Mehta died early this morning at the young age of 47. A story that began in the small town of Raipur ended at Thane civil hospital 40 minutes after midnight, starting its journey in middle-class rags to travel to richer than mere riches - represented by the Toyota Lexus the Big Bull rode - and winding up somewhere in the middle.

The year is not ending right for Mumbai. The Big Bull is dead, but it's not so much the passing away of the person that carries over into the new year. It's the death of the symbol. Harshad Mehta, the showman he was, had posed for pictures in the zoo feeding bears.

The share market is just about alive - the Bombay Stock Ex-



Mehta. (PTI)

change sensitive index ended the day today at a shade over 3262 points - and, given the coincidence, comparisons were inevitable with the heady times of the early nineties.

Harshad had taken the sense up by nearly 2600 points in four miracle months of 1991-92, firing dreams of millions among people of modest means. Those were the times: Associated Cement Companies represented it. Harshad won it up from Rs 300 to Rs 10,000 in April 1992.

And, these are the times: symbolised again by ACC. It stood at Rs 151.80 today.

The Big Bull is dead, but the gored market is still nursing the wounds left festering for nearly a decade now. He showed how the system could be worked to generate a boom, taking money out of banks - public and private - illegally to ramp up stock prices. He gave India its first major stock market scandal, all of Rs 5,000-crore worth, and brought ready forward, double ready forward and bankers' receipts into newspaper vocabulary. Those were all instruments he manipulated to pump money out of the banking system.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, Dec. 31: The first signs of a thaw in the eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between India and Pakistan have surfaced on the eve of the New Year.

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee today held out an olive branch to Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf by offering to walk that extra mile for permanent peace and Delhi welcomed for the first time Islamabad's measures against militants sheltered there.

Sharing his New Year "musings" with the nation, Vajpayee told Pakistan: "You will find India willing to walk more than half the distance to work closely with Pakistan to resolve, through dialogue, any issue, including the contentious issue of Jammu and Kashmir."

The dramatic announcement, which could defuse the massive military build-up along the borders of the two nuclear neighbours, came a few days before Vajpayee and Musharraf land in Kathmandu for the Saarc summit.

But the Prime Minister also warned Indians to be prepared to make sacrifices of "leisure, comfort, riches and if necessary lives".

The first hint of a possible de-escalation was dropped in the afternoon by foreign minister Jaswant Singh. Referring to the arrest of Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad leaders in Pakistan, Singh said: "If this information is confirmed, it is a step forward in the correct direction."

The twin statements immediately fuelled speculation on whether India would drop its objections and agree to a meeting between Vajpayee and Musharraf in Kathmandu later this week.

The foreign office remained non-committal and officials insisted that Pakistan needed to do

THE TERROR LIST



Saeed, the arrested Lashkar leader

- Masood Azhar
- Dawood Ibrahim
- Chhota Shakeel
- Tiger Memon
- Ibrahim Memon
- Izzat Pathan
- Maulana Said Hafiz
- Azhar Ibrahim, Azhar Yusuf, Iqbal Hussain alias Ali Moosa, Isbir Ali Sheikh, Yusuf Shah, Said Abdul Karim, Lakhbir Singh Rode, Panjwar, Bittu, Misri
- Zahoor Ibrahim, Shahood Akhtar, Shakeel Mohammad, Sunni
- Ahmed Qazi and Ibrahim Akhtar

more. But it was clear that Delhi was willing to renew the dialogue with Islamabad - most likely at the foreign minister's level - to bring down the temperature in South Asia.

Prime Minister's article on Page 11

The foreign minister did not give a clear answer to whether Vajpayee would meet Musharraf at the Saarc summit in Nepal.

"The Prime Minister will be reaching Kathmandu as scheduled. Details of his programme are being worked out," Singh said. Till yesterday, the government had been unequivocally dismissing the possibility of such a meeting.

Singh also did not make any commitment on whether he

QUOTE

You will find India willing to walk more than half the distance to work closely with Pakistan to resolve, through dialogue, any issue...

AB VAJPAYEE

would hold talks with his Pakistani counterpart, Abdus Sattar, in Kathmandu. "I am going to Saarc. I hope to be there on schedule. I will see how developments take place in Kathmandu," Singh said.

Pakistan, which has been pressing for talks, sprang to its feet to say it would welcome "top level" talks between the neighbours. "If there is a move from the Indian side, we will certainly welcome it," the Pakistan foreign office said.

Sattar, who flew over India to reach Kathmandu today, said Pakistan is opposed to war and is prepared to hold talks "anywhere, anytime and at any level".

Singh, talking to reporters after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security, pointed out that Pakistan needed to do more. "We hope that such actions against terrorist groups targeting India, including Jammu and Kashmir, would be pursued vigorously and cross-border terrorism eliminated," he said.

Seeking to keep up the pressure on Pakistan, India has handed a list of terrorists it wants to be handed over by Pakistan (See chart). Delhi has not set a specific deadline but said it would like to bring them over for trial "as soon as possible". Pakistan said it would examine the list and formally react tomorrow.

The deputy high commissioner of the Pakistan high commission, Jalal Abbas Geelani, was called to the foreign ministry by the joint secretary (Iran-Pakistan-Afghanistan) desk, Arun Singh, and handed over the list of the wanted.

Singh said India has furnished sufficient evidence. "So far as the evidence of terrorist activities is concerned, it has been provided in a sufficient manner to the international community," he said.

See Page 6

Presenting the P. C. CHANDRA

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India will triumph against terrorism

Atal Bihari Vajpayee argues that so far India has given clear proof of its sincerity. It is now for Pakistan to make its choice between peace and war

My dear fellow countrymen, joyous New Year greetings to all of you. To our brave jawans, security forces, and policemen guarding our borders and vital installations; to our hard-working kisans, who have ensured our food security; to our workers and managers who, with their sweat and toil, are making India an economic power; to our talented software professionals who have burnished India's image abroad; to our children and youth, who are the future of our nation; indeed, to every Indian who in his or her own way is contributing to nation-building, I wish happiness and prosperity in the new year. I also send my felicitations to all non-resident Indians and persons of Indian origin, who, despite the distance in space and time that separates them from us, have maintained unbreakable social, cultural, spiritual, and emotional ties with India.

We leave an eventful year behind us, a year of many trials and tribulations — amongst them the earthquake in Gujarat at the beginning of the year and the terrorist attack on our Parliament at the end of the year. We faced all of them with courage and self-confidence. As we begin our journey in 2002, it is time for all of us together to resolve that we shall grow further in fortitude; that our belief in ourselves shall be further steered to take on even stiffer challenges that may confront us in the new year. Today, let us pledge that our motherland shall emerge stronger — in national security, which is of supreme importance, and in development that betters the life of those of our brethren who continue to be victims of poverty and neglect. It is said that time's ways are inscrutable. This may be true in the life of individuals, not in a nation's life. True, we cannot predict what may happen to our individual destinies. But, in my mind, there is no uncertainty whatsoever about India's destiny.

India is marching towards a bright future. We have our share of problems. But these cannot hide the brightness on the horizon. It will be a future free of poverty and all other vestiges of underdevelopment. Indeed, the level of poverty is coming down; and the day is not far when every region, every community, and every citizen in our country shall enjoy the fruits of India's prosperity and progress. If we want, and if we act unitedly to get what we want, then this energizing goal can be achieved within the span of a generation. But the future I see is not only one of a prosperous India, free of fear and free of want. In recent years, the world has come to look at India with renewed respect, recognizing a strong and prosperous global power in the making. I have no doubt that India in the foreseeable future will begin to play a decisive role in global affairs, not to advance any partisan agenda at the expense of others but to protect and promote mankind's most cherished universal ideals. It is also a future when the fabled richness of India's culture, arts, intellectual exploration, and spiritual pursuit will begin to show its full radiance, bringing much succour to the troubled spirit of the modern man.

Is this a dream? Yes. Is it an impossible dream? No, it is not. Nations achieve greatness when their people learn to dream lofty dreams and to strive hard — and make sacrifices, when necessary — to realize those dreams, without getting disheartened by the difficulties along the way and without ever letting their faith in their nation's destiny falter. I am reminded here of the inspiring vision of Maharshi Aurbindo, which he set out in his historic

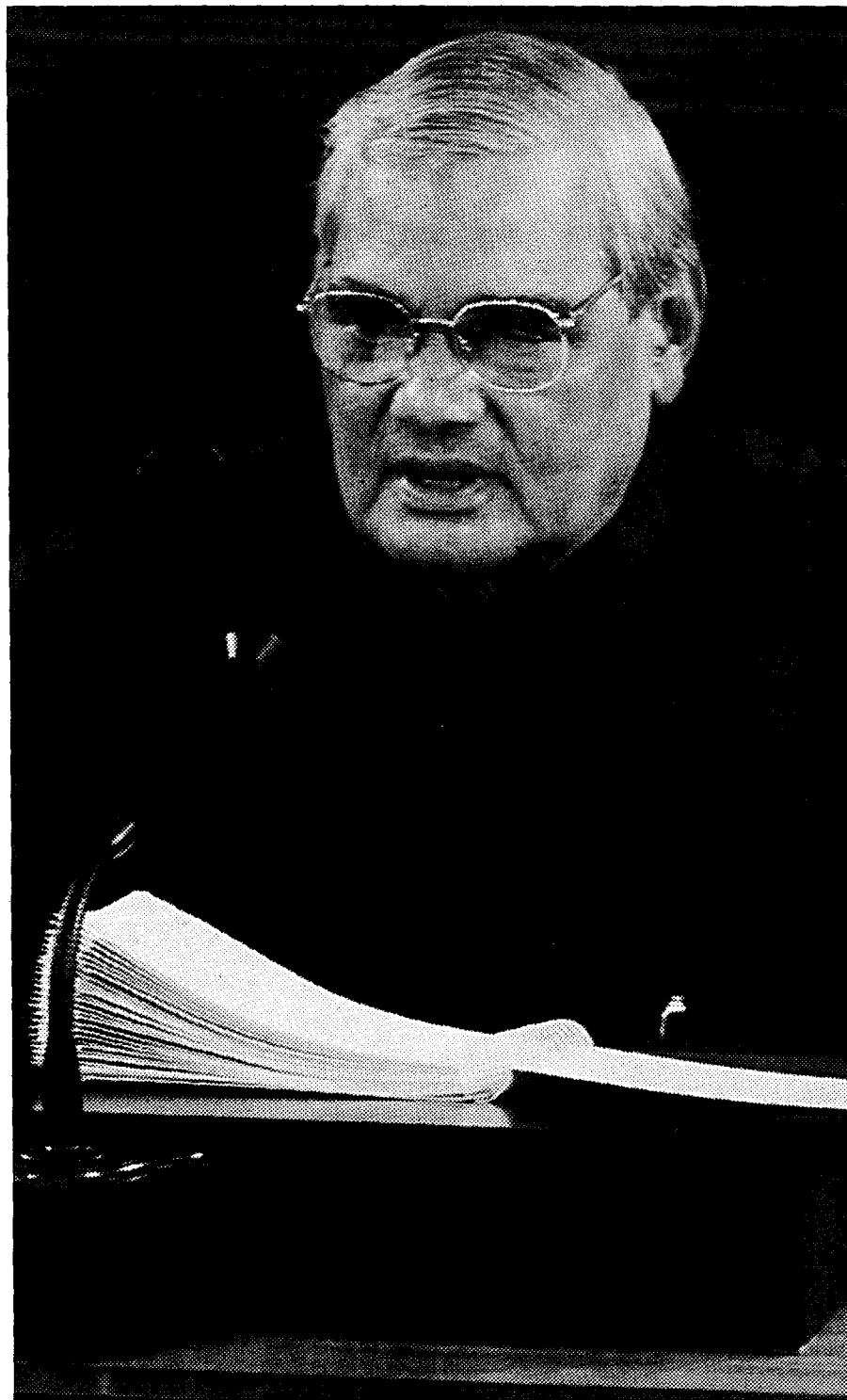
radio broadcast for August 15, 1947. "I have always held and said that India was arising, not to serve her own material interests only, to achieve expansion, greatness, power, and prosperity — though these too she must not neglect, — and certainly not like others to acquire domination of other peoples, but to live also for God and the world as a helper and leader of the whole human race." This, I believe, is the quintessence of India's work, now and in the future. Different leaders of modern India have presented the same vision in different words. In the five and a half decades since independence, we have made definite progress in realizing a part of this vision, although there is a need to introspect on why our achievement has not been greater, faster, and more egalitarian. But let us not get bogged down in the issues and debates of yesterday. Now we must hasten our march forward, correcting the mistakes of the past but always keeping our eyes fixed firmly on where we want India to be in the future.

It often happens that the road to the future is rendered difficult by roadblocks placed by the past. One such roadblock for us, indeed the biggest, is Pakistan's consistent and continuing anti-India policy, beginning with its refusal to accept the constitutionally validated and democratically endorsed accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India. For a long time, the rulers in Islamabad relied on military confrontation, as exemplified by the wars they waged in 1948, 1965, and 1971, to settle this issue in their favour. After failing abjectly in their endeavor, the anti-India forces in Pakistan decided to foment terrorism and religious extremism as the principal means to instigate separatism in our country. I must say that they are nursing a dangerous delusion. What they could not achieve through open military aggression, they never will achieve through cross-border terrorism.

They failed miserably in their evil designs in Punjab. Terrorism bled Punjab; but, in the end, it fled Punjab. It could not dent Hindu-Sikh unity. Similarly, the terrorists and their mentors are doomed to fail in Jammu and Kashmir, too.

However, the very certainty of failure is driving them, in desperation, to embrace a more dangerous agenda. The terrorist attack on our Parliament on December 13 has shown beyond a shadow of doubt that the anti-India forces in Pakistan are prepared to wreak any havoc on our soil. It was an attack on our sovereignty, on our national self-respect, and it was a challenge to our democratic system. Although India has been a victim of cross-border terrorism for the past nearly two decades and has lost tens of thousands of innocent men and women and security forces, the outrage of December 13 has breached the limit of the nation's endurance.

That the terrorists who stormed the precincts of Parliament failed in their core objective, thanks to the exemplary alertness and bravery of our security forces, some of whom laid down their lives in the call of their duty, cannot diminish the diabolical nature of the conspiracy hatched by their mentors across the border. It is useful to presume that more such terrorist strikes can take place. The only way to defend ourselves against such attacks is by forcing Pakistan to stop cross-border terrorism. And this precisely is the objective we have set ourselves in our current multi-pronged strategy. The many political and diplomatic steps we have taken after December 13 are a part of this strategy. As I have said earlier, India does not want war. India has never been an aggressor in her long history. But



Reading the act

we have a sovereign right to defend ourselves against cross-border terrorism, which is a proxy war that is already thrust on us. Pakistan will be solely responsible for the consequences of encouraging terrorism against India and, when expedient,

turning a blind eye to terrorist groups with trans-national linkages operating from its soil.

Today I also wish to share a thought with the people of Pakistan and, indeed, with all the right-thinking persons in its

‘I would also like you to realize that the battle against terrorism will necessarily be a long one. One should neither expect a quick and painless victory nor despair if more terrorist strikes take place...Let us also recognize that, in some ways, every citizen is like a soldier in this war against terrorism’

ruling establishment. It is unfortunate that anti-India forces in Pakistan have been allowed to play with fire, apparently with no thought given to what this fire can do to Pakistan itself. I have heard and read many perceptive Pakistanis express serious concern over their government's appeasement of terrorism fueled by religious extremism. They have voiced alarm over how Pakistan's social fabric and its institutions have been grievously affected by its government's policy of creating and systematically promoting the Taliban, ostensibly to gain "strategic depth" in Afghanistan and a "force multiplier" for its anti-India campaign in Jammu and Kashmir. The fate of the first game plan has already been sealed. The fate of the second will be no different. Taliban and al-Qaida are not merely the names of organizations. They stand for an aberrant mental outlook and a highly regressive socio-political agenda which rejects the ideals of pluralism, secularism, freedom and democracy, and has no respect even for national boundaries. For the pursuit of its goal to establish global hegemony, it considers the use of terrorism domestically as well as its aggressive export to countries near and far entirely legitimate.

Like you, I too often wonder: why do some people choose the path of terrorism? Why do they kill, and are ready to be killed? How are they able to create a religious frenzy in support of terrorism when no religion sanctions terrorism? One can understand if some persons, dissatisfied with the prevailing state of affairs or angered by a sense of injustice or deprivation, want to establish a different social order that they consider is more just and would benefit more people. There is nothing wrong with such striving. Indeed, humanity has progressed through the struggles of such idealists. But where the path of the terrorist diverges sharply from that of the idealist and the revolutionary is in the choice of the means he employs. Because of his murderous ways, his intolerance, and his extremism, he expels himself from the pale of humanity and descends to barbarism. To allow such barbarians to succeed even partially, even in a single corner of the world, is to invite danger for the whole of civilized humanity.

Which is why India stood firmly behind the international coalition's support to the United States' war on terror in Afghanistan following the horrendous terrorist attacks of September 11 in New York and Washington. The leadership of Pakistan took a commendable decision to join the international coalition against terrorism in Afghanistan, although it meant a drastic U-turn in their policy of support to the Taliban regime. But what was their real intention? If it was the same as that of the international community — namely, to root out terrorism and extremism — then I extend my hand of alliance to them. I wish to tell them: "Shed your anti-India mentality and take effective steps to stop cross-border terrorism, and you will find India willing to walk more than half the distance to work closely with Pakistan to resolve, through dialogue, any issue, including the contentious issue of Jammu and Kashmir."

In my musings from Kumarakom last year, I had affirmed: "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." I continue to re-

main wedded to this commitment. My bus journey to Lahore earlier in February 1999, my invitation to President Pervez Musharraf to come to Agra in July for summit talks, and our oft-extended "ceasefire" in Jammu and Kashmir are a testimony to India's sincere, bold, and innovative search for peace. This search continued even after the betrayal in Kargil. Our efforts will be further intensified, if Pakistan demonstrates its matching sincerity to have peace with India.

Together, let us leave the past of futile hostilities behind us and embrace a future free of tension and full of mutually beneficial possibilities. The common enemy that both our countries face is poverty, illiteracy, disease, and unemployment. Terrorism and extremism cannot solve any of these problems. They can only further delay their solution. Therefore, let us join hands to fight this enemy and, along with other countries in south Asia, make our region a land of peace, plenty, and all-round progress. This is the challenge of the new year and of the new century. Let us accept it in a spirit of cooperation. However, if the intention of Pakistan's leadership is to continue to promote, or condone, cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir as a matter of state policy, while maintaining that they are one with the world in rooting out terrorism in Afghanistan, then the international community will judge this position to be opportunistic. It will conclude that Pakistan, far from being a part of the solution, will remain a part of the problem itself.

It is for Pakistan to make the right choice. After what happened on December 13, we have made certain legitimate demands of the government of Pakistan. Its sincerity to fight terrorism will be determined by its positive response to these demands. We also hope that our friends in the international community will bring requisite pressure on Pakistan to give up its double standards on terrorism.

Dear fellow countrymen, the situation we are facing is unprecedented. I would like you to be prepared for any eventuality. I would also like you to realize that the battle against terrorism will necessarily be a long one. One should neither expect a quick and painless victory nor despair if more terrorist strikes take place. Today my heart goes out to our jawans, security forces, and police personnel who are doing their duty in difficult conditions, so that all of us can sleep soundly and go about our normal lives. But let us also recognize that, in some ways, every citizen is a soldier in this war against terrorism. Like them, let us be disciplined and ever-vigilant. Let us, let us also be prepared to make sacrifices — sacrifice of our leisure, sacrifice of our comforts, sacrifice of our riches, and, if necessary, sacrifice of our lives.

I am sure that all of us will work harder than before to keep our economy and our civic services fighting fit. I know that, as during the previous wars, our citizens will gladly bear hardships if the government has to take certain temporary measures to support our effort. Our people have shown the fist of unity at the time of every crisis in the past. I am confident that you will do it again, and not allow any other issue to come between us and our goal. And that goal is India's victory — a decisive victory — in our supremely just struggle. We shall triumph against terrorism — to defend India, to defend humanity. Let this be every Indian's New Year resolve. May the Almighty give us strength to redeem this resolve.