

Washington gets wise

Any possible Indo-Pak dialogue can only follow the smooth conduct of the J&K polls

US Secretary of State Colin Powell's visit to the subcontinent last weekend seems to have indicated some important shifts in US positions. His plain speaking actually endorses the Indian position in the essential areas. The substantive issue was his prompt contradiction of General Musharraf's claim that infiltration across the border 'was not taking place now'. Powell did not accept this position and categorically stated that while he was not in a position to provide precise information, 'it seems clear from the information that I have that infiltration is continuing'. His public reminder to General Musharraf that he 'has pledged that he would end it, and would end it on a permanent basis' was important so that free and fair elections in J&K scheduled in a few weeks could be held. To this has been added a critical demand by the US — that Pakistan ensure 'every effort' is made to avoid 'destabilising' the Kashmir elections. This would also mean that Pakistan does not encourage the Hurriyat to stay away from the election process.

The US has been insisting on an early bilateral dialogue mostly as a concession to General Musharraf. But Colin Powell has conceded the Indian view that the environment is not conducive at this time for a dialogue with Pakistan, and that Pakistan must stop destabilising the democratic process. But, as he acknowledged, elections are not an end

in itself, but the means to open the way to a broader process toward peace and stability. In turn this should also lead to the resumption of a bilateral dialogue between India and Pakistan to cover all outstanding issues. We should not have any problem with that. After all, it was Pakistan that had destroyed the process of dialogue by opting to launch a military aggression in Kargil. Similarly, infiltration is only one of the means and not an end in itself. Everyone knows that elections cannot be free as long as the threat of terrorist violence continues. To that extent, therefore, the focus on infiltration appears to have acquired somewhat excessive importance. We should not be carried away by promises and endorsements of such promises to end infiltration from Pakistan. There will never be an empirical method of assessing infiltration levels, especially that taking place during the hours of darkness or in poor visibility in rain and snow. What is needed clearly is the end to terrorism promoted directly as well as indirectly. And this can obviously be judged more accurately.

The criteria for what could lead to peaceful elections should be the drop in the level of terrorist violence in the state. Only if it comes down in a sustained manner to less than half of that experienced during last year can one claim with any confidence that terrorism has come down.

Talks not now, says India

Powell says breakthrough in Indo-Pak stand-off unlikely

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: Even as US Secretary of State Colin Powell initiated fresh efforts on Saturday to bring India and Pakistan to the negotiating table, New Delhi ruled out the early resumption of a dialogue, saying that the conditions necessary for it did not exist.

Addressing reporters before his meeting with Gen Powell, external affairs minister Yashwant Sinha said, "India has always held that we will talk if the conditions necessary for it are created. But we do not think they exist at present."

Soon after his arrival, amidst speculation that the visit would be a low-yield event, Gen Powell held one-to-one talks with Mr Sinha. It was followed by delegation-level talks attended by assistant secretary of state for South Asia Christina Rocca and Elizabeth Millard of the National Security Council. The Indian delegation included New Delhi's ambassador to



Colin Powell with Yashwant Sinha in New Delhi on Saturday

the US Lalit Mansingh and other senior officials. In fact, Gen Powell himself had articulated similar fears during a refuelling stop in Italy, where he said he was not expecting a breakthrough "of the kind we saw a month or so ago". He was referring to the visit of deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage which had led to a series of de-escalatory steps, albeit small, from New Delhi.

Minimising the expectations

from this visit even further, the US official indicated that his primary aim would be to ensure that there was no return to the days of high tension. "We don't want to be back where we were a few months ago," he said. Even his wish to "see what both sides might be willing to do to keep down the escalatory ladder" was left open-ended, with Gen Powell saying that he would ask both India and Pakistan as to how they would want to get started with the dialogue. He maintained that it would be a question of timing and of expectations and conditions.

Meanwhile, his comments have been interpreted by both sides to indicate support for their respective stands. While India has been emphasising the part about meeting conditions, Pakistan has been harping on initiating a dialogue.

India, according to indications, is likely politely but firmly to rule out any further de-escalatory steps, suggesting that a quid pro quo is expected from Pakistan.

28 JUL 2002

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Army prepares dossier for Powell

Infiltration back to normal level

FROM SUJAN DUTTA

New Delhi, July 26: The army brief for the Centre on the eve of US secretary of state Colin Powell's visit is a pile of evidence that cross-border infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir "is beginning to creep up to the level it was before Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf's promises of May 27.

Intercepts of wireless messages between militant commanders based in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK), recordings of radio broadcasts and attacks in Jammu have gone into the army brief prepared for the security establishment. The brief will provide vital inputs to the responses of national security adviser Brajesh Mishra and deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani. Powell will also meet Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee on Sunday.

Beyond the immediacy of tomorrow's visit by Powell, it also reveals that the security establishment still does not find enough justification to back down from its assessments.

In a nutshell, the army has pointed out:

■ Cross-border infiltration was down for just a month and is reaching usual levels with help from the Pakistan army;

■ Militants are preparing to strike vital targets, with the month of August being crucial. Among these targets are the Amarnath yatra (ending August 22) and the August 15 celebrations. Subsequently, militants are planning to disrupt the elections in Jammu and Kashmir;

TALKING POINTS



● India will wait some more before de-escalation

● Cross-border infiltration up again
● Threat of strikes on vital targets
● Pakistan propaganda offensive

■ US and western concerns over troop levels and civilian casualties in Kashmir are being guided by Pakistani propaganda;

■ Given this background, it will be unrealistic for New Delhi to work on de-escalation. Rather, its responses may have to be re-defined depending on the state of peace in August.

The army is emphasising that western concerns over human rights in Kashmir are misplaced. To buttress this argument, it is pointing out that a group of 20 defence attaches from embassies in New Delhi returned from an annual trip to Kashmir today. Some of the attaches were accompanied by their wives. They visited Leh, Srinagar, Uri, Gulmarg, Nagrota, Poonch and Pellanwala (Akhnoor) as well as some forward areas. The visiting team of defence attaches was from over 20 countries. The visit was conducted by Brigadier T.K. Kaul from army headquarters. Representatives of the three services headquarters also accompanied the team.

The army has also been encouraging the western media — chiefly the CNN and the BBC —

to visit Kashmir and do "fair" stories. "Even if it results in some amount of negative coverage, it will be acceptable," sources said.

The army is pointing to contradictions in Pakistani claims on the number of civilian casualties in the Valley. Between September 2000 and July 3, 2002 (22 months), Pakistani quarters have claimed that 20,000 civilians were killed. "This means about 900 a month or an average of 30 per day. How absurd!" a senior official said.

The actual figure, says the army, is less than 13,000. Troop levels, too, are at about half the 500,000-mark the Pakistani establishment has claimed and that figure includes the Border Security Force and the state armed police.

Army intercepts up to two days ago have led the security establishment to conclude that the curbs on infiltration have been all but lifted by Pakistan. Among these intercepts is a broadcast over radio that is said to claim that the Hizb-ul Mujahideen has threatened to kill important figures intending to participate in the Jammu and Kashmir elections. The broadcast has also allegedly claimed that village headmen in Doda and Bhadarwah were killed as part of this campaign.

Sources said there are also concentrations of al Qaida and Taliban members in the Northern Areas of PoK. "There are structured moves to send militants into PoK," the sources said. An estimate says about 1,500 al Qaida and Taliban militants would be in the Northern Areas.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 2002

CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

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DIPLOMACY AND DELUSIONS do not go together. However, the Vajpayee administration seems unmindful of the dangers of hurting India's image and interest even as it refuses to consider measures that might help advance the process of de-escalating the calamitous tensions with Pakistan. If any proof were needed to confirm New Delhi's intransigence as also Islamabad's disinclination to take any definitive initiative for peace, the two sides made no secret of their positions during the latest visit to South Asia by the British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw. While Mr. Straw's visit itself turned out to be singularly uneventful, the postures that India and Pakistan struck left no room for hopes about a positive breakthrough in their skewed equation anytime soon. The central theme of New Delhi's refrain is that it cannot be expected to either de-alert or withdraw its forward-deployed troops or indeed to re-engage Pakistan in any form of talks unless Islamabad is seen to have completely ended its sponsorship of terrorist incursions into India on a verifiable basis. Pakistan, on its part, is no less firm in asserting that it cannot do anything more at this stage than that implicit in the anti-terror policy which it has recently enunciated and in its follow-up actions. The view from Islamabad is that the Musharraf administration has already gone far enough in making a strategic concession to India under the interventionary auspices of the United States. Pakistan's apparent concession is its pledge to end the endemic terrorist infiltration into India across the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir and to dismantle the relevant infrastructure that might lie within the territories under Islamabad's effective control. Given this, Pakistan clearly wants India to walk the extra mile towards a bilateral entente of real substance.

Two factors seem to underscore New Delhi's insistence on retaining scepticism about Pakistan's intentions and abilities to keep its anti-terror promises. In the first place, New Delhi may

have calculated that any strategic concession of this magnitude from the Pakistani side will obviously require a reasonable period of time to monitor. Second and more important, the Vajpayee administration appears eager to determine whether Pakistan would in fact fall foul of Washington if the latter were to lose patience with the Musharraf administration even as it might inevitably require time to tame the terrorist phenomenon that rattles the West. Where the Vajpayee administration has erred, however inadvertently, is in equating its anti-terror world view with that of the West, particularly that of the U.S., and in expecting the major external powers to pressure Islamabad in a manner that might suit New Delhi's perceptions. It is this aspect that lies at the core of the present crisis of confidence on the Indo-Pakistan front.

Now, tragic as the most recent terrorist outrage in Jammu was, India stands to lose the empathy of the global community by failing to interact with the Musharraf administration in Islamabad which, regardless of its own crisis of political credibility at home, is still the only regime in Pakistan to have ever addressed the issue of international terrorism. Significantly, Pakistan's latest pledge to prevent anti-India terrorist infiltration on a long-term basis and New Delhi's reciprocatory gestures such as the withdrawal of its naval units from the perimeter of the Indo-Pakistan maritime boundary followed the diplomatic pressures that the major powers resorted to. The card that the key external powers played was to threaten to immobilise the economies of India and Pakistan through steps that would choke foreign investment in these two countries over time. India, whose economic stakes outweigh those of Pakistan, must recognise the value of a peace dividend involving Islamabad. For New Delhi, a military de-escalation and a dialogue with Pakistan are more important than the sound bytes of any international symphony of anti-terror sentiments.

THE HINDU

24 JUL 2002

Worried Straw ✓ seeks repeat talks

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, July 19

AS INDIA firmly refused any further de-escalation till Pakistan stopped cross-border terrorism, a worried Jack Straw today decided he would return to Delhi from Islamabad tomorrow night for another discussion with External Affairs Minister Yashwant Sinha.

Faced with India's unyielding stand, the British Foreign Secretary declared Pakistan needs to take "further steps" to stop cross-border terrorism and infiltration. But he balanced the statement with noises about "human rights" in Kashmir.

The ostensible reason for Straw's plan to return to Delhi tomorrow is a "logistical problem" — British Airways has no direct Islamabad-London flight. But asked about this at his news conference, the Minister gave away the real point of the stopover: "We are always concerned and will stay concerned until there is a resolution to this long-standing dispute over Kashmir through dialogue."

Straw had "useful discussions" with Sinha and National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra today. The outcome of his talks with General Musharraf tomorrow will form the basis of his repeat consultation with Sinha.

Though Straw told reporters that he would not be "carrying messages" between Delhi and Is-

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Jack's wish list



Pakistan should do more to end cross-border terrorism

Delhi should tackle human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir

Free Peter Bleach

Islamabad, it was clear that he is trying to prepare the ground for more substantive gains when US Secretary of State Colin Powell visits the region later this month.

In his half-hour talks with Mishra, Straw made another request for the release of Peter Bleach, the British pilot of the An-32 aircraft involved in the Pululia armsdrop and now serving a life sentence in a Kolkata jail.

29 JUL 2002

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Pak talks bait for India

1819 ✓
Nilova Roy Chaudhury in New Delhi

July 17. — Pakistan making “welcome” goodwill gestures ahead of visits to the subcontinent by senior Western leaders is being seen in official circles as a move to pressure India to the talks table.

The Pakistani foreign office today called in Mr Vikram Misri, first secretary in the Indian High Commission in Islamabad, to officially inform India that it would shortly release 236 Indian fishermen held in its custody for months. The men will be repatriated across Wagah.

India had taken a conscious decision not to arrest Pakistani fishermen straying into Indian waters ahead of the Agra Summit last year. At this moment, there are 23 Pakistani fishermen in Indian jails, who have been given “consular access” to enable them to return soon, officials said.

Pakistan’s decision to release these men, in custody for several months, is meant to

be a conciliatory measure designed to pressure India ahead of visits by US Secretary of State Gen. Colin Powell and British Foreign Secretary Mr Jack Straw.

Pressuring India to compel it to begin dialogue has consistently been Pakistan’s strategy, and part of the greater game of engineering terrorist acts in J&K, officials said. The economic cost of maintaining troops on the border is telling on Pakistan’s precariously poised economy. And with opposition to his reform agenda at an all-time high, President Gen. Pervez Musharraf is desperate for signals that he can show up as a “success”. Making India initiate dialogue will qualify as one such success.

Not only are Pakistan’s parties opposed to his plans for “guided democracy”, militants and *jehadis* he has banned are up in arms against his appeasement of what they term the “Western concept” of terrorism. India maintains that while it favours talks, creating an “atmosphere conducive to dialogue rests squarely with Pakistan”.

THE STATESMAN

18 JUL 2002

Delhi mulls diplomatic response

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gupta

Nilova Roy Chaudhury
in New Delhi



A woman and her baby, wounded in Saturday's terrorist attack, at a hospital in Jammu on Sunday. — AFP

July 14. — The massacre of 27 civilians in Jammu has again justified India's stand that Pakistan is not serious in wanting to curb cross-border terrorism and will continue to encourage such attacks.

This message will be conveyed to the USA and Britain, which have condemned the massacre. The US and British envoys are scheduled to visit the country later this week to urge Delhi to continue with its restrained response.

The Cabinet Committee on Security today held an emergency session at the Prime Minister's residence to discuss the possible responses to the massacre in Jammu, which is traditionally not a terrorist-afflicted area. After the meeting, Mr LK Advani left for an on-spot survey of the region.

Officials said the CCS was likely to meet tomorrow to review options. For the moment, the Centre's responses would hinge on improved policing in the region and beefing up the intelligence-gathering mechanism in the area. The Centre fears that terrorists, on the run from the Valley, may now concentrate their attacks in Jammu. Moreover, the violence may also increase in the run-up to the J&K Assembly polls scheduled to be held in October.

Officials, however, said retaliation now was an unlikely response with the monsoons setting in.

The stress would be on preempting such massacres through improved policing and intelligence-gathering, while telling the world that Pakistan was reneging on its commitments to curb cross-border terrorism and infiltration, officials said.

The internal policing network would be improved and expanded to face the escalation of militants on the run from

the Valley expanding their operations into Doda and Jammu, they said.

Before the CCS meeting, the foreign minister, Mr Yashwant Sinha, said it was obvious that terrorist attacks like the one at Qasim Nagar in Jammu last night were taking place at the behest of Pakistan, despite their claims to the contrary.

Diplomatically, the Centre would try to expose Pakistan's claims as hollow, and maintain the pressure on Islamabad to deliver on its commitments, Mr Sinha said.

Naidu blames Pak

Mr M Venkaiah Naidu today charged Pakistan with orchestrating the Jammu massacre and said the international community must now understand its dirty habits of encouraging cross border terrorism, adds SNS from Hyderabad.

"Pakistan's role is obvious. It is clear they have not given up their evil designs of cross border terrorism," he said at a press conference. "This attack has been deliberately carried out in view of the Parliament session, the Amarnath yatra and the J&K polls".

Mr Naidu said: "I hope the international community realises that Pakistan has not given up encouraging cross border terrorism." He admitted that there were problems in Jammu and Ladakh but said the division of the state into three regions was not the solution. India's interests would be better served with a united J&K, he said.

The BJP chief said the government was determined to crush militancy and the Jammu attack would enhance its determination.

The party's national council would meet in Delhi to prepare an action plan for the next six months to revitalise the party and formulate strategies for those states that are going to face polls soon, he said.

Snub for Musharraf

FROM OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, July 12: The world seems to be coming round to the view that President Pervez Musharraf does not want to stop infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir completely.

In a report released in Brussels on Wednesday, the International Crisis Group, a multinational organisation, observed that Musharraf appeared to be telling the West to either accept that he cannot fully stop the export of terror into Kashmir or get ready for a less accommodating regime in Pakistan. The general is believed to be playing on fears that his government would be replaced by a fundamentalist one if it totally cut off support to the Kashmir cause.

"The Musharraf government seems to be implying that it is at the limits of the steps it can take against extremist groups, and that the West should tolerate cross-border insurgency operations in Kashmir or risk facing a new government that could be far less accommodating," the report said.

The ICG operates out of Brussels and New York and is

chaired by Martti Ahtisaari, former president of Finland. Former foreign minister of Australia Gareth Evans is the President and CEO. Former US Congressman Stephen Solarz is the vice-chairman.

The ICG said Islamabad had not abandoned its long-term goal of bleeding India both politically and economically through Kashmir, and ensuring that militants continued to work for either the independence of Kashmir or its annexation to Pakistan.

Refusing to buy the general's line on regime change, it recommended that Pakistan should "follow through rigorously on President Musharraf's commitment to end all support for cross border militants and to close any training camps for such individuals in Pakistan and Pakistan-controlled Kashmir".

The ICG agreed with New Delhi's assessment that Islamabad would do its utmost to ensure that political parties and groups in Kashmir boycott the Assembly elections, scheduled for later this year. "Pakistan's deep-rooted desire to avoid anything that would appear to legitimise India's control of Kashmir could well be pushing it to en-

courage cross-border incursions as a way to discourage participation in the elections — even though provocative steps risk triggering a war," it said.

The ICG also listed a set of recommendations for India. It advised New Delhi to "closely monitor and control the activities of the security forces in Jammu and Kashmir", implying that they should be reined in so that there were no human rights violations in the state.

It also urged New Delhi to "reconsider its long-standing objection to deploying monitors on the Indian side of the Line of Control, who could help observe movements across it". India is unlikely to agree to this, as it would mean giving in to Pakistan's campaign for third-party involvement in Kashmir.

The ICG said restoration of democracy in Pakistan could marginalise extremists and fundamentalist forces and lead to eventual peace with India. But Washington would have to continue its efforts to urge India and Pakistan to exercise restraint. New Delhi would also have to be persuaded to reopen diplomatic and military channels of communication with Pakistan.

PoK is Azad Kashmir for World Bank

Udayan Namboodiri
New Delhi, July 12

THE WORLD Bank has ignored an Indian protest and mentioned Pakistan-occupied Kashmir as Azad Kashmir while releasing huge amounts as development assistance for the disputed region yesterday.

In last December, B P Mishra — Indian Executive Director on the World Bank board — had objected to the usage of the term by the Washington-based multilat-

eral funding institution. The World bank officials were then visiting the region and obviously being guided by the "friendly" Pervez Musharraf regime, committed large sums of funds for its development.

The Bank yesterday committed \$20 million credit for a community infrastructure and services project in "Azad Kashmir". But, in what is seen as an act of rubbing salt over India's wounds, a Press statement clarified that the use of the

term did not imply grant of legal status to it.

"In using Azad Kashmir, the World Bank does not intend to imply any judgment on the legal or other status of any disputed territories," the clarification said — at the end of a two-page note on the disbursement of \$236.5 million for Pakistan.

New Delhi is particularly angered by this, since a World Bank had issued a similar disclaimer following Mishra's note. A task leader of the Bank, Julie Viloria

Williams, had made the first reference to "Azad Kashmir" at a Press conference in PoK capital Muzaffarabad in November last year.

Last month, the Bank had announced its approval of six International Development Agency loans totalling \$1 billion to Pakistan at an unprecedented low interest rate. The IMF has also approved \$1.3 billion and the Asian Development Bank has committed about \$1 billion for the year 2002.

These are undoubtedly

"rewards" for Pakistan for putting its territory and defence forces at the disposal of the US in its war against terrorism. India has not commented on this tendency by Washington.

PoK had not been directly helped by any of the international agencies in the past. The World Bank's release describes the region's 2.9 million population as "unserved". It said over 60 per cent of the people there have no direct access to water and depend on forestry

and agriculture for their livelihood.

Cong shocked

The Congress on Friday expressed shock at the World Bank's description of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir as Azad Kashmir, and sought the Government's reaction. Congress spokesman Anand Sharma said that "Azad Kashmir" has no "legal standing" and that the World Bank package was quite obviously meant for PoK.

1 JUL 2002

The border confrontation

By P.R.Chari

HE 13/11/72
Spiral

A SPIRIT of triumphalism animates New Delhi following its purported success in the gamble pursued by massively deploying its armed forces along the international border and the Line of Control against Pakistan after the terrorist attack on Parliament last December. The ostensible purpose of this deployment was to halt cross-border terrorism and attacks on high symbolic-value targets by Pakistan designed to cast the Kashmir issue in high relief and underline the inability of the Indian Government to prevent these assaults. Creation of the crisis by India was intended to coerce the international community to restrain Pakistan.

That India's strategy worked is claimed by highlighting the steady procession of high officials from the United States and Europe who have come to persuade India to show restraint and gone to Pakistan to pressure it to stop cross-border terrorism. In a way India's problem with cross-border terrorism has been transferred to the U.S., which is now treating Pakistan within the generic framework of its global war against terrorism. U.S. pressure forced Pervez Musharraf to publicly renounce his support to cross-border terrorism and promise to curb jihadi activity in Pakistan by regulating the madrassas. He may or may not be able to fulfil these promises, but his admission that Pakistan was indulging in these activities has done its image irreparable damage. Further satisfaction is being derived by New Delhi from the belief that Pakistan's nuclear bluff has been called. The logic here is somewhat convoluted, but the argument proceeds that Pakistan frequently threatened to use nuclear weapons to defend its territory and prevent India from committing aggression; undeterred by this rhetoric, India continued with its troop deployment and forced Pakistan to declare that it would stop cross-border terrorism and dismantle its jihadi network. In truth, Pakistan was given

no cause for contemplating its nuclear option since India avoided attacking. The question, therefore, of calling Pakistan's nuclear bluff did not arise in the first place.

So, what is the downside of this border confrontation? Its major consequence has been the internationalisation of the Kashmir issue; it is plainly identified by the international community now as the crux of the In-

are well known, but it is now in a logical bind; it does not wish to enter a bilateral dialogue with Pakistan until cross-border terrorism ceases, but is unwilling to accept third-party mediation or "facilitation" to negotiate outstanding bilateral issues. India's logical bind will only increase as time passes, so will the alarm in the international community.

This massive deployment of troops

The test of success in the present coercive diplomacy is not the discomfiture of Pakistan but the resolution of the Kashmir problem.

dia-Pakistan adversarial relationship. Taken in conjunction with Kargil, the conflict potential of the Kashmir issue has become firmly embedded in the perceptions of the international community as a threat to global peace and security. The precise cause for concern with the present border confrontation is that it could trigger a planned or inadvertent clash between the two countries, which could acquire nuclear overtones. Inspired debate in India regarding the feasibility of limited wars has exacerbated international fears. India has indubitably succeeded in persuading the international community to restrain Pakistan. But this has also succeeded in convincing it of the need to intervene to resolve the underlying Kashmir dispute.

In the past, India has doggedly resisted outside intervention and raised 'bilateralism' to a high pedestal in India-Pakistan relations. But the Shimla Agreement commits both countries to "settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them". This clumsy phraseology provides space for external mediation or "facilitation", which is a more agreeable euphemism. India's inhibitions regarding mediation or "facilitation"

reasons for the Kashmir problem must be addressed by India, apart from externalising the issue and indicting Pakistan. The test of success in the present coercive diplomacy is not the discomfiture of Pakistan, but the resolution of the Kashmir problem with some degree of certitude.

Viewed in this perspective India's ability to maintain security during the upcoming elections and conduct them in a credibly free and fair manner is of moment; this includes not intimidating the local population to improve the polling percentage. Clearly this is a difficult task given the degree of insecurity and alienation existing in the Valley. Suggestions are being made that Jammu and Kashmir should be placed under President's rule for conducting the elections in a credible manner. But it is not clear how this can be done. It would be more realistic for the Election Commission to enforce the existing laws strictly and create conditions for free and fair polling. It would also add to the credibility of this process if outside observers — national and international — were encouraged to be present.

In essence, the cessation of cross-border terrorism due to massive troop deployment does not address the fuller dimensions of the problem of terrorism in Kashmir. This problem must be addressed politically, whilst using military means to neutralise the terrorists. The question of enlarging the quantum of autonomy in Kashmir has been under debate for decades, but the State's Autonomy Report, duly passed by its Legislature, was rejected out of hand by New Delhi. Can it still form the basis for a negotiated settlement between New Delhi and Srinagar? New Delhi's willingness to seriously discuss the Autonomy Report could improve the atmospherics for these elections.

(The writer is Director, *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, New Delhi.)

Indo-Pak nuclear matchpointing

S wagato Ganguly in his informative article "Nuclear Extremism" in *The Statesman* dated 21 June has objectively brought out the possibilities of a nuclear conflagration arising out of the Indo-Pak standoff. Let us discuss two contextual scenarios. Ganguly has highlighted that in the erstwhile Nato-Warsaw Pact military imbalance, Nato's operational doctrine was linked to crossing the nuclear threshold as a consequence of the Pact's superior conventional forces.

A calibrated reaction was the normal sequence while upping the weapons ante. However, in a critique-oriented Nato field, exercise named "Blue Carbon" conducted by General Alexander Haig when he was its commander a point mooted was, if the Pact was in a hurry under political compulsions in its mission of capturing (then) West Germany, it would not abide by the expected sequence but would opt to go in for a nuclear battlefield quickly. This dread became Nato's sword of Damocles. The action plan that the Pact would adopt for such an accelerated step is what Pakistan could also employ against India. This action plan is wound around a sleight of hand.

Let us take the first scenario. Ta-

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Of the three operational sectors – the Kashmir mountains, the Jammu/Punjab plains, and the Rajasthan desert – it is only the last that offers ample scope for strategic penetration, writes JK DUTT

king a leaf out of our Southern Command's wargaming sessions, let us assume that war has broken out between India and Pakistan and as is the norm, the battlefield is conventional. A nuclear strike becomes pertinent when it is imperative to arrest a strategic penetration, not a tactical one. An assessment of our western front shows that of the three operational sectors – the Kashmir mountains, the Jammu/Punjab plains, and the Rajasthan desert – it is only the last that offers scope for strategic penetration.

Our defences, and presumably Pakistan's too, in the other two sectors are so well defined that at best only some limited tactical penetration may be feasible by either side. Pakistan is aware of this and would not be imprudent to use nukes in these two sectors because there is no need to up the ante there. Pakistan would ensure that the Rajasthan sector was accounted for

via a nuclear alternative.

Assuming that on D Day, two of our Strike Corps under the Southern Command debouch from the Rajasthan border with one each heading for Bahawalpur and Sukkur inside Pakistan – the former being about 150 km and the latter about 120 km away – how will the battle develop?

With its commitments from the Afghan border to the Indian one, Pakistan knows it would be impossible to contain with its conventional forces our two corps thrusts in Rajasthan. Yet Pakistan would not like to be labelled as a killer-nuke initiator nation in the current world order when it is trying to redeem itself from its pariah status of a terrorist state. Appealing to the UN to do something is all very well but by the time the UN decides to intervene, it would be too late for Islamabad. So the sleight of hand act comes into play! Pakistan lays two low yield nuclear mines, one each on the respective thrustlines of our two Strike Corps and at an appropriate time, detonates the mines.

Unconcerned about the fact that some defending Pakistani troops fall victim to the detonation together with the advancing Indian troops, Islamabad stridently announces that India has used nukes first so Pakistan has every right to respond in kind! Before India can countermand this blatant lie, Pakistan executes a strategic nuclear strike on Southern Command and decimates it beyond operational effectiveness. Islamabad thus achieves two things – first, it is able to successfully blunt our Southern Command's strategic penetration and second, hitting this Command in the field with a high-yield warhead will sufficiently prove that this strike has not been directed at non-military targets.

The resultant collateral damage caused will be minimal unlike one from a strike on say, Jodhpur. It was precisely this type of a politico-military deceit that Nato had to cater for. India's no-first-use policy also warrants a non rhetorical analysis. Such a policy may be in order, provided we have the ability to absorb a First Strike from Pakistan and then retaliate with the annih-

lating Second and subsequent strikes of our own, ideally planning for upto Fourth Strike. We do not have this ability. It would be unwise to stick to the no-first-use gambit in letter and spirit. Such sanguineness equates with our futile *Bhai Bhai*-ism slogan of yesteryear. Thus, it is incumbent on New Delhi not to practice what it preaches in nuclear engagements.

The right approach would be to pick up Pakistan's "Strikewarning" radio message through high-grade monitoring of the electronic spectrum and pre-empt a Pakistani strike with one of our own, incorporating multiple warheads to nullify Pakistan's follow-up strike potential. There are no runners-up in a nuclear war, only the winner on one side and a void on the other!

The second scenario is thought-provoking. Probably a far bigger nuke action than that envisaged on land would occur at sea. India's Navy is much larger than Pakistan's and can effectively cordon off the Pakistani ports of Karachi, Ormara, and Gwadar, besides deploying for an amphibious landing along Pakistan's coastline. This will draw a violent reaction from Islamabad and a vendetta nuclear strike is sure to be brought down on our warships. Whatever our Navy's strong points might be in the realm of nuclear muscle, it is desirable that India's Admiralty develops a sophisticated maritime sensor system for scouring communication channels to detect seaward Strike-warning messages from Pakistan's fleet command.

Pre-emptive First Strikes will apply more to our Navy than to the other two Services. Truth to tell, far greater resource allocation in terms of budget as well as science and technology must be apportioned to the Indian Navy. This Service has to be brought upto quantum par with the Army for another reason. We will soon reach a saturation point in landward eyeballing with Pakistan. It is a matter of time before the Rajasthan sector, too, compares equably with the other two wherein any opportunities of strategic penetration will get precluded.

The accent on strategic nuclear warfare will then shift to the sea. We must not be caught unprepared for this eventuality. India's long-term objective of holding a Blue Water navy demands high nuclearisation of our fleet. Our nuclear Triad should therefore be honed in favour of the Navy.

(The author is retired Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army.)

'Musharraf backtracked'

NEW DELHI, JULY 3. The External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, said today that India needed to be "very, very careful" in its dealings with the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf.

"He tried to backtrack from his assurance not once but three to four times," Mr. Sinha told presspersons after taking over his new assignment. He was apparently referring to Gen. Musharraf's interview to the *Newsweek* and the BBC where the Pakistani leader had claimed that he had not given any commitment to the United States to stop infiltration permanently. — PTI

Sinha remarks resented

B. Muralidhar Reddy reports from Islamabad

In a sharp reaction to the reported remarks made by Mr. Sinha that Pakistan is reneging on its promise to rein in infiltration, Islamabad said it was New Delhi that was "hedging and going back on its commitments." The Press Secretary to the Pakistan President, Rashid Qureshi, told *The Hindu* that he was 'shocked' to learn about the reported remarks made by Mr. Sinha. "Frankly either the new Minister is ignorant or it is a design by India to go back on its promises. We in Pakistan and in fact the whole world thought the ball was in India's court and it was for India to respond by taking concrete steps for de-escalation of tension and begin the process towards resumption of dialogue to discuss all issues, including Kashmir," Maj. Gen. Qureshi said.

THE HINDU

1111 2002

'New Delhi's response not adequate'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JULY 3. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, has once again stressed the "imperative need for meaningful de-escalatory steps by India and the resumption of a sincere and result-oriented dialogue on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute".

Gen. Musharraf took the opportunity of his interaction with the visiting British Defence Secretary, Geoffrey Hoon, to ventilate his grievance that New Delhi's response to Pakistan's initiatives was not "adequate".

The complaint is significant for two reasons. Obviously, the Pakistan President expects Mr. Hoon, on a visit to the region, to convey the sentiments of his regime on the prevailing tensions between India and Pakistan to the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, when he meets him tomorrow in New Delhi.

Second and perhaps more important in the perception of Islamabad unless New Delhi is willing to take more "meaningful de-escalatory" steps and proceed towards the process of resumption of dialogue, there is little scope and hope for reduction of tension in the region.

In another six days, it would be a month after India announced the decision to restore over-flying facilities to Pakistani aircraft through its air space but Islamabad has chosen not to respond to the gesture. In the last few days, several functionaries of the military establishment — from Gen. Musharraf downwards — have made it known that they consider the June 9 initiatives of New Delhi as "cosmetic and self-serving".

THE HINDU

4 JUL 2002

Militants still active along LoC: report

By Hasan Suroor

LONDON, JUNE 29. The scale of cross-border infiltration along the Line of Control in Kashmir may have come down but the flow has not stopped. And despite Islamabad's "crackdown" on extremist groups, they continue to operate "with impunity," a British newspaper said today.

The Daily Telegraph, in a report from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, said that contrary to official denials, it had discovered "ample evidence" of continuing extremist activity in the region and found that the militants of Osama bin Laden's network were "prospering amid unflagging popular support" from the locals. They included members of the Harkat-ul-Mujahdeen, and activists of the Al-Qaeda driven out of Afghanistan by the U.S. forces.

"In the remote highlands, President Musharraf's authority carries little weight," it said. A Harkat activist, Shabir Ahmed Madani, was quoted as saying that the Pakistani Army "won't dare come across this Valley and try to close us down." He claimed that his group had sent "all of our Afghan friends to Kashmir."

According to *The Telegraph's* account, the remote regions of PoK were rife with militant activity, with the "jehadi" groups openly advertising "military lessons." The Musharraf Government, it said, appeared to have little control over such organisations which answered only the "senior mullahs." "Villagers near the spectacular Nanga Parbat mountain said the Al-Qaeda fighters preached to them in their bazaars about the need for self-sacrifice and struggle," the report said.

A road leading to the LoC near Kupwara, frequently used by the infiltrators bound for India, was being "paved" by the Pakistani military engineers with the help of local villagers, the newspaper said, extensively quoting a jeep driver, Nasir Ali, who claimed that he had helped several "jehadis" cross over into India.

"Hundreds have entered

Kashmir in the last several months. In some cases, they left their new, four-wheel drive vehicles with us and rode further into Kashmir with our trucks."

The report follows a warning by the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, earlier this week that the U.S. government had "snippets" of information about the Al-Qaeda operating in Kashmir.

THE HINDU

30 JUN 2002

Kashmir militants sore over Pak. stand

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

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ISLAMABAD, JUNE 25. The militant and not-so militant outfits operating in Kashmir from Pakistan are agitated over the commitment given by the Musharraf regime to stop infiltration across the Line of Control (LoC).

Though it is difficult to say anything about their capabilities to operate independently, they appear to be angry over what they see as a U-turn by the military government over the Kashmir issue and are in a defiant mood.

This was evident from the outburst of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) Chairman, Amanullah Khan, at a news conference here today on what he termed as signs of 'compromise' between India and Pakistan ignoring the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

He went to the extent of questioning the competence and jurisdiction of the Pakistan Government in banning 'genuine freedom fighters' from crossing the LoC and declared that the JKLF is determined to defy the ban. Of course, the JKLF, the first outfit to take to arms in Kashmir under the leadership of Mr. Khan, is considered to be a 'spent-force' but the anger ventilated by him is a reflection of the thinking of the leaders and cadres of other militant outfits.

The mood among the mili-

tant outfits operating from the soil of Pakistan and PoK was also evident at a meeting held here on Monday at the city center. Organised ostensibly to honour the 'martyrs', who have died in the cause of Kashmir, it became an occasion to caution the Musharraf regime against any 'sell-out' on Kashmir.

Local media reports said that representatives of various outfits who had gathered deplored the government policies against religious parties and asserted that they would not accept any unilateral cease-fire on the LoC and the International Border. They vowed to continue with 'jihad in Occupied Kashmir'.

Among those who addressed the meeting included representatives of the Muttahida Jihad Council (conglomerate of militant outfits), the Jamat-al-Daawa, the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, the Jamat-e-Islami, the Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen and PoK chapter of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference.

They argued that mujahideen (holy warriors) neither recognised the Control Line or any other control on them. They criticised the Pakistan Religious Affairs Minister for what they called 'anti-jihad statements' and maintained that 'jihad' would not be fought only under the U.S. or Musharraf's dictation.

At his news conference, Mr. Khan talked about pressures on the jihadi outfits by the Mush-

arraf Government to stop infiltration and asserted that any compromise between India and Pakistan without taking into consideration the wishes of the Kashmiri people would not be acceptable.

"In the name of cross-border terrorism, Pakistan has imposed a ban on genuine freedom-fighters from crossing the LoC. We condemn this arbitrary move. Who is Gen. Musharraf to decide on the fate of Kashmiris? Is he a bigger leader than Mohammad Ali Jinnah?," he asked.

Mr. Khan said the Kargil operations by the Pakistan Army and activities of 'foreign militants' in Kashmir has given a bad name to the 'freedom struggle' in Kashmir and asserted that the people of Kashmir should be left to themselves to decide their fate.

In another development, the Hizb chief, Syed Salahuddin, has written a letter to the leaders of the European Union taking exception to the stand they have taken on the Kashmir issue.

"It seems that the whole truth, which constitutes the basis of the exclusive tensions in South Asia, has been deliberately and injudiciously sidelined. The reality is that the 54-year-old struggle of the people of J&K was against Indian occupation. This movement is indigenous, home-grown and carried on in nook & corner of the State by the Kashmiris," it said.

THE HINDU

25 JUN 2002

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 26, 2002

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TOWARDS DE-ESCALATION
Indo Pak

THE DISCERNABLE SIGNS of new stability along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir underline a political message of hope. India should seize this qualitative opportunity and take more salutary steps than before to de-escalate the abnormal tensions in its relationship with Pakistan. Apparently cognisant of the new possibilities, the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, has remained upbeat in recent days about the perceptible indicators that Pakistan has taken some positive action towards curbing the endemic terrorist incursions into India across the LoC. At another significant level, the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, has in fact reaffirmed that he stands by the commitment which he made to the United States on June 6 about his intention to stop the incessant terrorist infiltration into India and to take the necessary measures as a matter of permanent policy. Gen. Musharraf has clearly sought to set the record straight in the specific context of the latest queries that the U.S. administration has put across to him following his interviews to some American news journals. By reassuring the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, Gen. Musharraf has now dispelled the impressionistic view that he might be disinclined to sustain his anti-terror pledge in regard to India as a long-term policy. It is also evident, on the other hand, that the latest definitive statement by Mr. Fernandes nullifies some remarks to the contrary in India itself.

The substance of the Defence Minister's relevant statement is indicative of a certain degree of professional assessment by New Delhi about Pakistan's anti-terror commitment. Mr. Fernandes is reported to have said categorically that "infiltration, at the moment, has stopped, and this is the position on the ground" across the LoC. Two significant aspects of this evaluation underscore its credibility as a professional exercise. First, India's military corps commanders themselves have informed the Minister of their finding which was based on a monitoring of the LoC. Second, Mr.

Fernandes has hinted that the present signs of a stabilising situation along the LoC should be seen separately from the parallel conclusion that India still faces a definitive security threat from the terrorists already inside Jammu and Kashmir. These militants, estimated to number around 3000, had sneaked into Jammu and Kashmir from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir before Gen. Musharraf launched a crackdown against the 'jehadi' terrorists and their training camps within his country.

A logical question in this overall context is why New Delhi should seem hesitant to travel the extra mile on the path of de-escalation. A view from Islamabad is that Gen. Musharraf's challenges are compounded by New Delhi's political calculation that the pressure which the U.S. is able and willing to exert on Pakistan — as regards the transnational 'jehadi' issue — might be India's best bet to make some strategic gains with reference to its neighbour. New Delhi cannot, however, afford to overlook the economic and political costs of a prolonged confrontation with Pakistan in the evolving context of America's incremental activism as the sole superpower and also as the potential "facilitator" of a peace process concerning India and Pakistan. The U.S. and the other major powers have not yet abandoned their own brand of coercive diplomacy as applied to both India and Pakistan in the sub-text of their recent slide along a collision course towards war. What cannot be ignored are the likely economic consequences of the advisories by some influential countries to their own citizens against travel to India and Pakistan. Now, even if India's interests are considered compatible with those of the U.S. in one or more critical areas, New Delhi will be well advised to apply the litmus test of strategic autonomy while dealing with issues concerning Pakistan. Imaginative de-escalatory steps and a renewed dialogue with Pakistan on all issues, including confidence-building measures regarding nuclear security matters, are called for.

THE HINDU

26 JUN 2002

India holds Musharraf to his pledge

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JUNE 24. Holding the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, to his pledge on permanently ending cross-border infiltration across the Line of Control, New Delhi today cautioned Islamabad that walking back from that commitment could endanger peace and security in the subcontinent.

Reacting sharply to Gen. Musharraf's remarks in the latest issue of the *Newsweek* that there was no such pledge, the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs, Nirupama Rao, said "despite some occasional verbal callisthenics by Pakistan, this is the commitment that remains undiluted."

"Pledges are pledges. Nations have to abide by them," Ms. Rao said. "These are commitments on which Pakistan must deliver if we are to see lasting peace and stability in our region and if we are to see reduction in tensions."

Informed sources here say that Gen. Musharraf's remarks have vitiated the positive atmosphere that was being created for a de-escalation of the six-month long mil-

itary confrontation between India and Pakistan. India, they said, was considering additional diplomatic and military steps to ease the standoff with Pakistan. But Gen. Musharraf's comments have complicated the Indian political calculus by raising fresh doubts about his intentions.

"It has been conveyed to us in categorical terms that commitments about permanently ending infiltration of terrorists across the Line of Control have repeatedly been given by Gen. Musharraf," Ms. Rao declared. She was referring to the visits earlier this month by senior U.S. officials who had communicated to New Delhi the pledges from Gen. Musharraf to permanently end cross-border infiltration and begin the dismantling of terrorist camps on the Pakistani soil. Confirming Pakistan's commitments, a spokesman of the U.S. Embassy here told the agencies that the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, "was given assurances by President Musharraf on June 6 that ending of infiltration across the Line of Control would be permanent."

Asked if India would reconsider its readiness to ease tensions if Gen. Musharraf

backtracked on his commitments, Ms. Rao said "if Pakistan is unable to fulfil its pledges and is reneging on its commitments, we will have to take a closer look on what needs to be done and where we go from here." If Gen. Musharraf fails to deliver on a permanent end to infiltration, just as he walked back from his historic speech denouncing terrorism on January 12, the political credibility of the Anglo-American powers, which brokered the peace process, would be severely undermined, sources here say. For now, the Government has chosen not to press the panic button and is willing to exercise restraint. This message appears to have been conveyed to the British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, who talked over the phone to the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, today.

The call, which was arranged sometime ago, gave an opportunity for India and Britain to discuss the latest turn of events in the subcontinent. The British Government is expected to seek clarifications from Gen. Musharraf about his pledges on cross-border infiltration. The U.S. is also likely to take up the issue with Pakistan.

Cosmetic steps won't help: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 24. Pakistan today said there could be no reduction of tension on the western borders unless India was willing to urgently withdraw its forces and agree to sit across the table for a negotiated settlement of differences, including Jammu and Kashmir.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, told a news conference here that a "cosmetic measure here and there" would not help in the normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan.

"We believe the situation continues to be tense and dangerous. At the same time, let me assure that we are prepared to respond to every meaningful step by India for de-escalation."

He was responding to a question on reports in a section of the press about further mea-

sures contemplated by New Delhi to de-escalate the surcharged atmosphere since the mobilisation of troops in December last.

Asked about the statement made by the U.S. Embassy spokesman in New Delhi that the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, did give a categorical assurance to the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, to permanently end infiltration into the Indian borders, the spokesman said that Gen. Musharraf had on several occasions declared the determination of his country not to allow the Pakistan soil to be used against anyone.

There is little doubt that the Musharraf establishment is embarrassed over the statement put out by the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi contradicting the impression given by Gen. Musharraf in his interview to

Newsweek. Some officials believe that Gen. Musharraf was not diplomatic in his answer to the blunt question posed by the magazine staffer. Senior functionaries in the Musharraf Government believe that New Delhi had not done enough after categorical assurances from the highest quarters that Islamabad would do every thing under its command to prevent infiltration of militants across the LoC.

The belligerent statements of Gen. Musharraf in his interviews to the BBC network two days ago and the U.S. weekly are seen as a response to the interview given by the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, to an Indian daily that New Delhi has managed to achieve its objectives vis-a-vis Pakistan without waging a war. The posturing of Indian leaders in the last few days has added to the woes of Gen. Musharraf and only

helped strengthen the campaign of the right-wingers in Pakistan that Islamabad has done a U-turn on Kashmir.

The perception that India has not responded adequately to the commitments made by the military Government and the charges made by the religious parties that the Musharraf Government is buckling under American pressure are the two factors responsible for the lukewarm response of Islamabad to the confidence-building measures announced by New Delhi over a fortnight ago.

Asked about the Pakistani response to the Indian decision to allow over-flight facilities to Pakistani aircraft, Mr. Khan said, "We are examining it". To another question, he said the most urgent step was for India to withdraw its forces and pave the way for a meaningful dialogue for resolution of all differences.

THE HINDU

25 JUN 2002

(UN) LIMITED WAR

India Must Shed Its Pacifist Posture

By JK DUTT

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A cliché doing the rounds in the corridors of power runs, "India must engage Pakistan in a limited war". The pedantic military definition of a limited war is a full-fledged conventional war, as opposed to a nuclear one. We seem to have twisted this definition out of proportion and have also thrown in martial mouthings like "surgical strikes", "hot pursuit", "commando raids" et al. One wonders which military lexicon we have adopted and why!

An incisive study of the Indo-Pak border situation over the past five years or so highlights two uncomfortable truths. First, we have done absolutely nothing to reform our intelligence apparatus, witness our crass failures in this context at Kargil, Chhatisingpora, Srinagar, Red Fort and Parliament Hall in New Delhi, Raghunath Temple, and the latest, Kaluchak.

Old wine

The home ministry has a lot to explain about this. The recent setting up of something called defence intelligence agency amounts to putting old wine in a new bottle. What is required if we are serious, is appointing a cabinet rank minister for intelligence at the Centre and a minister of state with independent charge in the states to assume accountability for this vital discipline.

And second, Pakistan has retained the initiative throughout its cross-border terrorism operations in J&K, striking at will wherever it chooses to. India, on its part, has ever been forced to respond only via fire fighting. Deploying the army on the border after Operation Parakrama has had no effect whatsoever in checking terrorist activities in the area.

India missed a grand opportunity of taking the war into Pakistan when our troops' mobilisation was completed soon after the 13 December outrage. The world's unqualified support, especially from the democratic nations, was with us at this juncture and would have unequivocally stood by us had we taken the plunge. Our pusillanimity about war became manifest when we did two unforgivable things under America's pressure: we reprimanded our army chief for his no-nonsense address at his press conference, compounding the felony by

The author is Lt. Col. (retd.), Indian Army.

issuing a "clarification", and we peremptorily removed a key corps commander under specious reasons. The army was told to sit on its hands and make faces at Pakistan.

If we truly had it in us, we would have launched a blitzkrieg attack on Pakistan, concentrating our main thrust in the Rajasthan sector. We would have caught Pakistan quite off guard because the Pak army was reasonably engaged along the Afghan border trying to contain the Al

that weaponises must be prepared all the way to fight a nuclear war. It appears that we have shied away from this. India fought a purely defensive set of battles at Kargil as the predominant apprehension in New Delhi was, "What if Islamabad nukes us if we go onto the offensive by crossing the LoC?"

It was this scare that was responsible for the loss of 500 of our jawans in a prolonged head-on conflict at Kargil. Had we bitten the bullet and crossed the



Qaeda remnants. We have missed out on this bonus now. We could have captured the entire area between the border and the confluence of the Satluj with the Indus, and held on to this huge chunk of real estate till a permanent solution to the Kashmir problem was determined, unlike our double shuffle at Shimla. Resolving Kashmir would have automatically resolved terrorism in the region. As of date, we have lost the support of the whole Islamic group of nations post Gujarat. Besides, 13 December has receded from memory in most countries.

Nuclear war

Another political miasma is our nuclear configuration. What was the purpose of our weaponisation? Surely it could not have been meant for window display? The definitive term of reference apropos weaponisation as enunciated in the tenets of nuclear warfare is, a nation

booby traps, poisoned barbed wire entanglements, electric fencing, trip flares, and registered artillery, mortar and machine gun tasks. Top rate surveillance systems comprising physical, electronic, and terrestrial methods have to be incorporated.

Our aim should be erect a virtual second Berlin Wall where "not even a fly can get through unchallenged!" India's strategic objective here would be to block all the ingress routes of terrorists being funnelled by Pakistan. Simultaneously, we should settle thousands of volunteer ex-servicemen equipped with modern weapons in designated villages in J&K which will function as tactical nodal centres from where combat patrols by these persons can be deployed.

This will act as a second line of defence, more in the event of any covert terrorist infiltration. Places like Doda, Kishtwar, Ramban, Kathua, Vaishnodevi, and Pulwama are some samples of suitable nodals.

Communication

The second stage will require establishing flexibility inland communication between J&K and the rest of India. The current NH1 which links Pathankot with Leh, together with the railway line connecting Pathankot with Jammu are vulnerable to interception by Pakistan with impunity, as has been happening over the years. We need to construct another set of communication layout at a safer distance from the LoC covering both road as well as rail modes not only from Pathankot, but also from several other junctions like Gurdaspur, Jalandhar, and Hoshiarpur. This network should traverse through Himachal Pradesh, utilising the southern approach to maximum capacity. Our aim is, in no case should we be held to ransom by Pakistan — or the climate for that matter — through disruption of road or rail links. Northern Command apart, the other Commands can gradually withdraw their forces while both stages are being executed.

Pakistan has had the upper hand politically in every Indo-Pak conflict to date. The tables have to be turned once and for all by us. India must shed its pacifist politico-military posture and demonstrate to the world that, in the new millennium, it will put Pakistan firmly in its place as a permanent measure.

LALLY WEYMOUTH of Newsweek interviewed PM A.B. Vajpayee and Pak President Pervez Musharraf. Edited excerpts:

'No promise to stop LoC movement for ever'

■ Did you tell US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage that you would stop cross-border terrorism and shut down training camps which exist in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and in Pakistan?

First of all, I don't call it cross-border terrorism. There is a freedom struggle going on in Kashmir. What I said is that there is no movement across the Line of Control. There was no talk of anything else. I have made clear that a response is required from the Indian side.

■ US and Indian officials say that the number of terrorist infiltrations from Pakistan into Pakistani-controlled Kashmir has decreased.

I've told President Bush nothing is happening across the Line of Control. This is the assurance I've given. I'm not going to give you an assurance that for years nothing will happen. We must address the root cause, the cause of Kashmir. If you want a guarantee of peace, there are three ways: 1) denuclearise South Asia; 2) ensure a conventional deterrence so that war never takes place in the subcontinent; 3) find a solution to the Kashmir problem.

You can't judge actions taken here in the context of the US. You have to be in my shoes. We have four mind-sets to satisfy: What do Pakistanis think of issues? What does the US think? What do Kashmiris think? What do the Indians think?

■ So you are going to build up your conventional defences?

We should. Our army is deterrence enough at the moment. But the Indians are increasing their defence budget, having contracted for billions of dollars of purchases from Russia and the West. If they tilt the conventional balance, we shall have to restore it.

■ I thought India had a conventional edge.

If that were the case, India would have attacked us.

■ How close did you come to a war with India recently?

It was very close. India and Pakistan both had moved their forces to the border. Therefore, the capability of adventurism was there. As far as Pakistan was concerned, we said we will not initiate a war, but if attacked, we will defend offensively.

■ Do you think that some kind of autonomy is a solution for Kashmir or accepting the Line of Control as a border?

That is just not possible. If the Line of Control were the border, what have we fought two wars for?

■ Is this moment a turning point for Pakistani-Indian relations or just a pause between crises?

This is certainly a turning point for the good. I have an assurance: I have been told by President Bush and Deputy Secretary Armitage that, yes, they (Indian officials) need to move forward on the initiation of a dialogue on Kashmir.

■ Can Vajpayee be your partner?

He had become a partner in Agra (at their summit last July in India). He invited me and I gave him credit for it. The recognition of Kashmir as the core issue was very much in the communique that was drafted by me, Vajpayee, Indian Foreign



Minister Jaswant Singh and my foreign minister, Abdul Sattar.

■ It is said that you made a 180-degree turn after Sept 11, when you dropped the Taliban. Now it is said that you may do the same with regard to the jihadis in Kashmir.

Yes, on Afghanistan, we changed our policy. We saw the environment and thought we should join the coalition. If you call it 180 degrees, okay. But Kashmir is our national interest.

■ You have another problem — the fundamentalist groups that have been out of control in your country.

There are three kinds of militancy that we are confronting. One is Afghanistan-related. We don't want a single Al Qaeda member on Pakistani territory...

■ Vajpayee says you know where Osama bin Laden is and that the remnants of Al Qaeda are here.

That is how they keep maligning us. If they are hiding somewhere, we are trying to locate them. Pakistan has arrested over 300 people and handed them over. I cannot say we have freed Pakistan from Al Qaeda. But Abu Zubaida (an Al Qaeda leader now in US custody) was caught by us...The second kind of militancy is Kashmir-related. The third is internal: domestic extremism, religious fanaticism, sectarian extremism. I moved against five political groups...It's not easy to tackle these people, and no government ever dared touch them...There is a lot of fallout. This cannot be accomplished by a few orders.

■ Who's responsible for the attack on the US Consulate in Karachi?

One possibility is the Al Qaeda. The other is that it's RAW-related. RAW does a lot of anti-Pakistan activity within Pakistan. So many bomb blasts have been taking place. Who is brewing this? Obviously they are RAW-inspired. They (the Indians) don't like us getting close to the US.

■ What is your opinion about the upcoming elections in Kashmir? It is said that Pakistani-backed groups have killed moderates like the Kashmiri leader Abdul Ghani Lone.

You believe that? Lone was addressing about 1,000 people. Obviously, there were (Indian) military men all around.

■ In this region, would you like to see the US try to bring about a settlement?

The US is the only country which can

persuade India to initiate a dialogue and move towards a solution of Kashmir. Bilateralism hasn't worked.

■ Do you believe that Pakistan's nuclear option prevented war recently?

No, I think it was (our) conventional deterrence.

■ Do you have any thoughts about returning this country to a more democratic system?

We will have elections in October, though we have the most democratic system now, a functional democracy. But Pakistan has never had democracy with elected governments. I am a dictator all right, because I am not elected. But I think my functioning is most democratic.

■ Even after October, you will still be the most powerful man in the country.

No, not after October. My power is as the Chief Executive of Pakistan, not as the President of Pakistan. After October, I will be left as the President and Chief of

Our army is deterrence enough at the moment. But the Indians are increasing their defence budget...Accepting the Line of Control as a border is no solution. If it were so, what have we fought two wars for?

Army Staff. I will retain the authority to dismiss (the government). Our experience is that the government itself was looting and plundering and misgoverning. That needs to be checked.

■ But you have the advantage of the loyalty of the army.

Everyone thinks being a military man means I'm an abuser of power. We have to have elections and get a prime minister. This prime minister must perform. You can't judge actions taken here in the context of the US. You have to be in my shoes to understand the difficulties. This is a complicated place. We have four mind-sets to satisfy: What do Pakistanis think of various issues? What does the US think? What do the Kashmiris think? What do the Indians think? I have to do this balancing act and it is not an easy job.

—LATWP

'If Pak ends terrorism, we'll start talks'

■ US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage told you that President Musharraf had made certain promises (to stop the flow of militants from Pakistan-controlled Kashmir into India). Has Pakistan made a fundamental change?

There has been no change in Pakistan's policy so far as cross-border infiltration is concerned. Every day we are getting reports that infiltration continues.

■ Did Musharraf promise to get rid of the training camps in Pakistan-controlled Kashmir and also in Pakistan?

Yes, in both areas. That was the promise. There are 50 to 70 terrorist training camps in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and in Pakistan.

■ Do you think Musharraf is trustworthy?

(He laughs) We are prepared to deal with him as he is, but we are cautious this time. Our past experience is not very encouraging.

■ Do you think Pakistan and India have turned the corner?

If Pakistan implements the assurances given to us, a new beginning can be made.

■ If Musharraf fulfils his promises to end terrorism from Pakistani soil, what moves would India make in response?

We will start a dialogue. India will be ready to have talks with Pakistan on all issues, including Jammu and Kashmir.

■ And would you meet with Musharraf?

If his promises are implemented.

■ When will you pull some of your troops back from the Line of Control?

It will take some time. Let us see what happens on the ground.

■ How close were you to war?

Touch-and-go. I did not rule out the possibility of war. Until the last minute, we were hoping that wiser counsels would prevail and there would be no confrontation.

■ Did the Pakistanis promise to do everything you wanted?

Not everything. They did not promise to behave as a friendly neighbour. We sought that promise.

■ How do you view the forthcoming elections in Kashmir? Do you think they will be free and fair? How do you feel about having outside observers?

The elections will be held under the supervision of the central election commission. And we have made a commitment that the elections will be free and fair.

■ Isn't it hard to have free and fair elections when Pakistan-backed terrorists recently killed Abdul Ghani Lone?

Pakistan is not interested in having elections. It is Pakistan's responsibility to stop terrorists from disturbing the elections. We have an elected government in Jammu and Kashmir. Voters should be given a choice.

■ Some say that India has rigged the past elections?

This time elections will be free and fair. International opinion is strongly in favour of such an election. Journalists are allowed to go to Kashmir.

■ It is said that you have a plan for Kashmir. What is it?

I will disclose the plan at the right moment. It's not only political but includes economic development.

■ Is autonomy the long-term solution for Kashmir?

We are for the devolution of power. We have asked our friend Farooq Abdullah what stands in his way of developing the state and ensuring the welfare of the

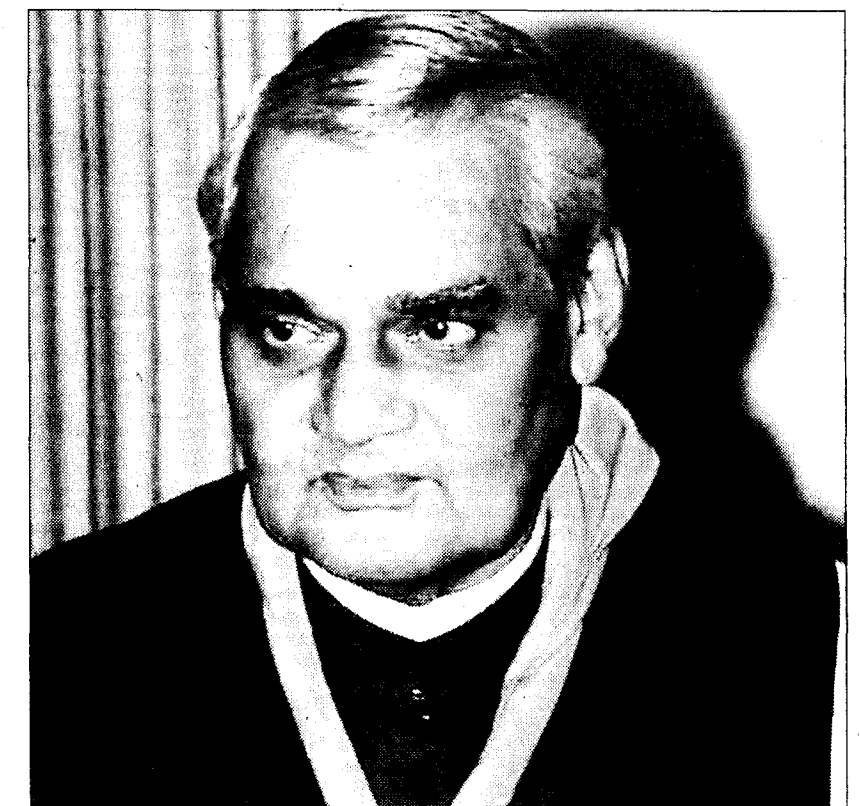
people...So far, he has not come forward with any concrete proposals.

■ Did September 11 change things in this region? Do you think there is more understanding of India's problems and a stronger India-US relationship?

After the 11th, there was international recognition that the problem of terrorism was not confined to Afghanistan. India has been fighting terrorism for two decades. There was a recognition that terrorism is a worldwide menace and must be tackled.

■ Did the Chinese play a more balanced role in the recent crisis? After all, they have always been a friend of Pakistan.

US did right by making Pak a partner in the terror war. Pak should be pressured to fight terror not only in Afghanistan but inside the country itself. Terrorism is terrorism whether in the East or in the West.



role in the recent crisis? After all, they have always been a friend of Pakistan.

The Chinese did not play an important role but advised both countries to settle all issues in a peaceful manner. There has been no basic change in China's policy. China continues to help Pakistan acquire weapons and equipment.

■ Did the US make a mistake in making Pakistan a partner in the terror war?

No, it was the right policy. Pakistan should be pressured to fight terror not only in Afghanistan but inside Pakistan itself. Terrorism is terrorism whether in the East or in the West.

■ But the US has not succeeded in capturing the leadership of Al Qaeda. Where are they?

They may be in Pakistan.

■ Do you think bin Laden is alive?

Yes.

■ Do the Pakistanis know where he is?

Of course. Broadly speaking, they know where the Al Qaeda and Taliban are.

■ Are elements of the Al Qaeda operating in Pakistani-controlled Kashmir?

The terrorist organisations operating

in Kashmir are closely linked to Al Qaeda and other jihadi organisations directly supported by Pakistan.

■ Would it help to meet with President Musharraf?

There has to be a basis for talks. I went to Lahore and after that, there was aggression in Kargil. I invited Musharraf to a summit in Agra. It was a failure because Musharraf refused to recognise that there was terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

■ If Musharraf gives up cross-border terrorism, then could relations between the two countries gradually improve?

Yes.

■ Would you like that to happen while you are prime minister?

I would like to do it tomorrow.

■ Is Musharraf strong enough to tackle the extremists?

He is strong enough. Infiltration cannot take place without the cooperation of the (Pakistani) army...And there cannot be any training camps without the permission of the government of Pakistan.

We are for the devolution of power in J-K. We have asked our friend Farooq Abdullah what stands in his way of developing the state. So far, he has not come forward with any concrete proposals.

■ So is Musharraf like Arafat, who says, "I would like to do this but I am not strong enough"?

Musharraf doesn't say that (and) we don't buy that argument. There have been military dictators in Pakistan before. Every time, the West defends them by saying that the alternative will be even worse.

■ What should the US role be?

That of a facilitator.

■ India used to say it didn't want a third party to the Kashmir dispute. Hasn't the US emerged as a third party?

No. That's why I said a facilitator, not a mediator.

—LATWP

K-talk is key to reopening air space: Pak

Islamabad: Pakistan has said that it will respond to India's decision to allow Pakistan overflight facilities only if there is a resumption of talks on all issues, including Kashmir.

Maj Gen Rashid Qureshi, press secretary to Gen Pervez Musharraf, described New Delhi's June 9 decision to reopen the air corridor as "cosmetic" and said that "all issues could be discussed if India resumes talks to discuss the process of de-escalation as well as other thorny issues, including Kashmir".

"Whatever Indians have done so far is totally cosmetic and to ease their own problems," Major Gen Qureshi said on Thursday and added that a response would be considered after India formally communicated its decision on the air spaces.

Indian officials here, however, maintained that New Delhi's recent decisions, including the one on opening its air corridor, were communicated to Pakistan through diplomatic channels.

Major Gen Qureshi said that the Kashmir issue

should be settled amicably once and for all. "Once we sit to talk on the core issue, the de-escalation will automatically be there."

While Pakistan pulled back its naval ships immediately in response to the Indian announcement, it did not make any move to open its skies to Indian flights. Pakistani civil aviation officials have also been maintaining that they have not received any communication from their government or from their Indian counterparts.

Meanwhile, India on Friday accused Pakistan of showing no genuine desire for a dialogue and reconciliation of outstanding issues, saying it was only resorting to same "tired and worn-out" rhetoric against this country.

"Pakistan refuses to formulate and articulate a serious vision for peace and reconciliation in our region. What we see is the same worn-out rhetoric from various quarters of the Pakistani establishment," external affairs ministry spokesperson Nirupama Rao told media persons in New Delhi. PTI

THE TIMES OF INDIA

2 10 1997

Pressure on Musharraf to review 'old Kashmir policy'

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 22. Escalation of tensions between India and Pakistan following the May 14 terrorist attack on an Army camp near Jammu has clearly put the Musharraf Government on the defensive and the regime is confronted with a serious dilemma in working out a strategy for an honourable way out of the impasse.

The military regime is caught between pressures from the international community led by the United States to put a "permanent end" to cross-border infiltration and the religious parties in the country that threaten to take to streets on what they call a "sell out" on Kashmir.

However, perhaps for the first time in recent years, a section of the civil society and some of the ardent supporters of Islamabad on its Kashmir policy have begun to question its validity in the changed world realities. The impact of international and Indian pressure particularly in the last four weeks has been such that there has been spate of commentaries in the Pakistani press asking the Government to reconsider its old policy vis-a-vis Kashmir.

A section of the press has been unsparing on the religious lobby that has launched a campaign accusing the Musharraf regime of giving into the U.S. pressure on Kashmir "struggle". Some of the writers have been candid in counselling the right wing parties to learn a lesson or two from the Afghan experience.

A conference on Kashmir organised by the six-party religious grouping, Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal, in Lahore on Sunday has failed to galvanise the public opinion against the supposed retreat of the Musharraf Government from its known stand on the Kashmir issue. The grouping led by the Jamaat-e-Islami, the largest religious party in Pakistan, had warned the military government not to "betray"

the Kashmir cause and said the "nation" would turn against it.

It is not just the "liberal elements" which campaigned in vain before September 11 urging Islamabad to review its ties with the Taliban, that have been asking the Musharraf regime and the religious parties to see the writing on the wall and redefine its Kashmir policy. The case of Nasim Zehra, well-known commentator and member of the National Kashmir Committee, best illustrates the point. In a write-up in *The News*, she was candid in stating that vis-a-vis Kashmir issue Pakistan "can only be blamed for substituting diplomatic dialogue with gunpowder tactics".

"The gunpowder tactics climaxed in the mid-90s. Inspired by the outcome of the joint U.S.-Pakistan agencies victory against the Soviets in Afghanistan, it has been India's general refusal to come to the dialogue table that provided justification to the Pakistani establishment and to a section of the Kashmiris on both sides of the LoC to opt for gunpowder tactics", she wrote.

The religious parties and groups in the country, which vociferously backed the Kashmir policy of successive regimes, however do not appear to be ready for change in strategy contemplated by the military government. This is evident from a series of statements by several leaders of religious parties and militant groups like the Hizb-ul Mujahideen.

On Thursday, the Jamat-e-Islami chief, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, chose the forum of students wing of his organisation to air his views on the subject. He told them that Gen. Musharraf's assurance to India and the U.S. that nobody would be allowed to "travel" across the Control Line in Kashmir was unjust and oppressive. He asserted that nobody would be allowed to suppress or ban the Kashmiri "freedom struggle".

"The Pakistan Army should

clearly tell the Government that neither would it backtrack from nation's stand on Kashmir nor participate in any 'discourage-Kashmiris' exercise along with Indian Army," he told them.

He compared it to the U.S. tactics in West Asia and maintained that the U.S. was putting same demand as it had done in the case of Yasser Arafat. Qazi Hussain Ahmed alleged that Gen. Musharraf was being asked to join the bandwagon to kill Kashmiris. Later, the U.S. would ask him to close down Pakistan's nuclear programme, he said.

All religious and political parties would have to block the path of the Government and the U.S., he said adding "otherwise, the situation will head towards complete defeat". He claimed that a deal on Kashmir was in the making and the present regime was giving up Pakistan's "principled stand on Kashmir due to its cowardice, weakness and wrong policies".

While there is growing consensus on the need to review the "old Kashmir policy", there is a strong view that India should not be allowed to edge out Pakistan as a party to the Kashmir issue.

As Ms. Zehra wrote in her column "what is then the scorecard for India and Pakistan? Absence of a military attack Vajpayee correctly states is India's victory. Getting a commitment from Pakistan on the LoC is an Indian achievement. But what next? How long will this victory last?... Will all the blocked avenues for dialogue convince Islamabad to refrain from gunpowder tactics? Did people's resistance and the bullet emerge in J&K because of Indian state terrorism or because of Kashmir?"

"These are questions that Delhi must answer as it relishes its diplomatic gains. Meanwhile, Islamabad must re-examine the best options for supporting the Kashmiri struggle for self-determination in the given context".

India's steps cosmetic: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 21. Pakistan is yet to decide on its response to the Indian decision to allow use of its airspace by Pakistani aircraft and has indicated that it would prefer a comprehensive dialogue for resolution of all differences, including the Kashmir issue.

The Press Secretary to the Pakistan President and Director-General of Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR), Rashid Qureshi, reiterated on Thursday that India's recent actions were 'cosmetic' in nature and Islamabad expected more substantial steps for de-escalation of tension.

Implied in Maj. Gen. Qureshi's observations to a group of reporters in Rawalpindi was the suggestion that Islamabad viewed New Delhi's decision to re-open its air corridor as a move with commercial motives.

Ever since India snapped rail, road and air links with Pakistan and banned the use of its airspace, Islamabad's contention has been that the steps, particularly closing the air corridor, hurt Indian economic interests more than that of Pakistan.

"We don't see that minor cosmetic measures could help in reducing tension in the wake of the stand-off at the common borders with India. We strongly believe that dialogue is the only rational way towards de-escalation," Maj. Gen. Qureshi said.

He characterised Kashmir as the 'core issue' and maintained that the resumption of a comprehensive dialogue was the best way to defuse the tension. "We don't care even if India chose to keep its forces for five years at the International Bor-

ders, Line of Control, Working Boundary or the Line of Contact, as our armed forces are fully capable of thwarting any eventuality or aggression while defending every inch of the motherland," he claimed.

On allowing Pakistan to use the airspace, he said, "these measures are being announced due to heavy losses being faced by the Indian airlines as they have diverted their 213 flights after the closure of Pakistani airspace in retaliation to the New Delhi's decision."

Pakistan had only diverted 11 to 12 flights. "It is the Indian leadership that had closed air, rail and road links between the two countries and it is the Indian business community which is suffering from tremendous economic loss. The losses of the Pakistan business community are minor."

He said, "whatever the Indians have done so far is totally cosmetic and to ease their own problems and we don't want to respond to such measures. We are looking for initiation of talks for resolution of all the disputes, especially the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. Once and for all the Kashmir issue should be settled amicably. Once we sit to talk on the core issue, the de-escalation automatically would be there."

On the withdrawal of Indian naval vessels from the Arabian Sea, Maj. Gen. Qureshi said, "there was no Indian presence close to Pakistani waters. The Indian ships on a daylong sailing distance had gone only for refuelling."

"The Indians know very well about the abilities of the Pakistan Navy, that is why they did not venture anywhere close to

Pakistani waters. Since the Indian naval vessels did not affect Pakistan, their withdrawal did not matter to us," he said.

Maleeha Lodhi confirms quitting

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 21. Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States, Maleeha Lodhi, is bowing out of office at the end of her present term on August 1 and Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, who was till recently the High Commissioner in New Delhi, is to be her successor.

It is not clear as to why Ms. Lodhi, credited with good contacts in the State Department and influential persons in the U.S., has decided to call it a day. Ms. Lodhi not only survived three governments but also got a second term. A section of the Pakistani press has speculated that she could either contest the coming elections to the National Assembly or return to journalism which she practised before she was picked up for the diplomatic assignment by the then Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto. Ms. Lodhi has confirmed to the Pakistan daily, *Jung*, that she is leaving Washington on the conclusion of her term effective August 1. She has also confirmed that Mr. Qazi would be the new Pakistan Ambassador in Washington. She has told the daily that sometime back she had expressed her desire to be relieved on the conclusion of her three-year term. The other day, the President, Pervez Musharraf, accepted my request and Ashraf Jehangir Qazi would take over in August."

22 JUN 2002

SPR MINDU

Delhi awaits concrete Pak response: PM

Statesman News Service

51-4 21/6 3rd pm

NEW DELHI, June 20. — The Prime Minister today said New Delhi was waiting for Pakistan to implement pledges to end terrorism and infiltration through concrete, visible and permanent action on the ground.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee emphasised during his 10-minute telephone conversation with his Malaysian counterpart, Mr Mahathir Mohamad, that while India was not in favour of military confrontation with Pakistan, New Delhi was determined to resist cross-border terrorism emanating from Pakistan with determination.

Mr Vajpayee, however, pointed out that problems between India and Pakistan are ones that need to be sorted out bilaterally. During the conversation, he made clear that the J&K issue is not a religious one and that India has a larger Muslim population than Pakistan.

Earlier in the day, New Delhi said it was yet to receive a response from Pakistan on India's "positive and tangible gesture" to permit Pakistani aircraft to fly over Indian airspace.

India has also clarified that there is a world of difference between Gen. Pervez Musharraf and NDA nominee Mr APJ Abdul Kalam's statements on how the fact that both countries were nuclear powers had prevented a conventional war in recent times. Describing Gen. Musharraf's statements as "provocative", the spokesperson said: "Given Pakistan's propensity to indulge in loose talk where it has threatened use of nuclear weapons against India, the only rational conclusion we can draw is that our nuclear deterrent has helped forestall Pakistan's nuclear blackmail."

THE STATESMAN

THE STATESMAN

8 1 JUN 2002

Big powers' stand reduced tension: Advani

NEW DELHI, JUNE 20. Tension between India and Pakistan has lessened "primarily" because of the stand taken by the United States, Russia and Britain, but New Delhi will make its own assessment of the situation based on ground realities, the Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, has said.

"Lessening of (Indo-Pak.) tension is primarily because these great powers have now taken a stand... now the word is not from Pakistan but from the leaders of these countries which are leading the global coalition against terrorism," Mr. Advani said in the "Talk Back" programme on Doordarshan.

"We will not judge Pakistan any longer by its words... we will go entirely by what we perceive on the ground," he said.

Mr. Advani said six months after the attack on Parliament, "we have not done anything. But we are still told (by the world community) to exercise restraint."

Referring to the recent statements by the U.S. President, George W. Bush, the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, and the British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, that Islamabad had not kept its word and was continuing to support cross-border terrorism, he said, "I am happy to note that these leaders echoed almost everything we have been saying so far."

On holding of talks with Pakistan, the Home Minister said India was willing to discuss all issues, including Kashmir, but "only after Pakistan abandoned cross-border terrorism as an instrument of state policy".

Stating that differences could only be resolved through dialogue, he said two issues — terrorism and Indo-Pak. differences over Kashmir — "cannot be mixed up".

He claimed that it had been "a conscious decision" of Pakistan's former President, Zia-ul-Haq, to launch a "proxy war" after having lost three full-scale wars against India.

But the September 11 terrorist strikes were a "turning point" which led to global realisation of the menace of terrorism.

Stressing that there were more Muslims in India than in any other country except Indonesia, he said India had had "traditionally a secular polity" and Jews and Parsis had settled here for long and, like others, never discriminated against.

He reiterated his position on the creation of a confederation between India and Pakistan in future and said this should also include Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Myanmar. — PTI

THE HINDU

21 JUN 2002

Lifting of ban on overflights not notified: Pakistan

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 19. Has India notified Pakistan of the decision it announced on June 9 to allow Pakistani aircraft to use its air space? If reports in a section of the Pakistani press are to be believed, New Delhi has not followed up its announcement with the necessary administrative action as Islamabad has not received anything in writing either from New Delhi or the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO).

However there was no immediate confirmation of the actual status from the Pakistan Foreign Office.

While the press has quoted civil aviation authorities as saying that New Delhi was yet to execute its decision, a Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman maintained that he needed to check up the facts.

Civil Aviation officials also denied the impression that Pakistan's Foreign Ministry had not passed down the 'notem' received from India.

"It is not a secret document," an official was quoted as saying

by the local daily *The News*. The report said that as per the procedure, a copy of the 'notem' had to be sent to the ICAO,

which, in turn, would pass it on to member-organisations to prepare plans to meet the new situation.

No need, says India

By Gargi Parsai

NEW DELHI, JUNE 19. The Ministry of Civil Aviation today said the Government's decision to lift the ban on overflight by Pakistani carriers need not be followed with a 'notem' (Notice to Air Men) as none was issued in the first place.

"No Pakistan carrier has sought permission or submitted any flight plan to overfly India since the ban was lifted unilaterally on June 10. When they do, the Directorate-General of Civil Aviation (DGCA) will process it as is the normal procedure," the Minister for Civil Aviation, Shahnawaz Hussain, told *The Hindu* here today.

Mr. Hussain was reacting to Pakistan's Civil Aviation Authority's claim that it had not received anything in writing from the Indian Government on the subject. He said no notice or notification was issued by the Ministry or the DGCA when the ban was announced. As such, there was no "notem" to be withdrawn.

"We've lifted the ban. If the Pakistan airline wants to use our airspace and apply with the DGCA, we've no problem," Mr. Hussain said. Highly-placed sources said raising the issue of a "notem" was disinformation. It seems that the Pakistan Government was unwilling to use the overflight facility as it may be unwilling to reciprocate, even though India's decision was not conditional on reciprocity. It was a unilateral decision.

THE HINDU

20 JUN 2002

India to use US sensors on border

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New Delhi: India on Wednesday said there was a "considerable decline" in cross-border terrorism and announced it had given the go ahead to instal advanced American ground sensors on the Line of Control to verify Islamabad's claims on ending infiltration.

"There is a considerable drop in cross-border terrorism," defence minister George Fernandes told reporters in an assessment of the situation after the two countries moved towards easing of tension, but added troops would remain deployed on the Indo-Pak border as long as it was essential.

"A decision has been made to instal the ground sensors though no formal talks on the induction process had yet begun with the US," he said.

The deployment of ground sensors had been mooted by visiting US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld during his just-concluded visit here as an effective means for New Delhi to monitor infiltrations along the LoC.

Army Chief Gen S Padmanabhan echoed Fernandes' view saying the level of infiltration across the LoC had "come down".

However, the Indian defence establishment ruled out any military-to-military dialogue or any immediate holding of joint patrolling on the LoC saying "confidence and trust between the two armies was still low".

Fernandes' remarks that India had decided to go ahead with purchase of fifth generation US ground monitoring sensors assume significance as defence secretary Yogendera Narain during his just concluded visit to the US had held preliminary talks on sensor induction with Pentagon's top brass.

Narain had told newsmen that at the Indo-US joint defence policy group meeting, the Americans had made the offer to supply these advanced sensors to India. Narain, who is currently on an official visit to Italy, may go to Washington for further talks on purchase of sensors, sources said. PTI /

THE TIMES OF INDIA

29 JUN 2002

Is Alliance Poll Panel Non-Existant?

Hurriyat seeks 'triangular' talks with India, Pak

Masood Hussain & Agencies
SRINAGAR 19 JUNE

INSISTING that the alliance believes in "collective efforts" involving India, Pakistan and the people of Jammu & Kashmir, APHC chairman Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat on Wednesday said its Public Election Commission is kept in abeyance owing to Delhi's "stubborn" attitude. Avoiding a direct reaction whether they will boycott the polls or sit silently and not participate, Gani said "wait and watch."

According to an agency report, the press conference also saw Mr Bhat effecting a major shift from its demand for tripartite talks to resolve the Kashmir issue, saying that the Hurriyat was willing to consider "triangular" talks with India and Pakistan. "It will be triangular talks instead of tripartite talks. The modalities for such a process can be worked out," Mr Bhat said, according to the agency report. "We can talk to India first and then go to Pakistan for a dialogue," he added.

Observers are at a loss to understand if this "ambiguous decision" is a positive development in wake of the forthcoming elections with all the hawks behind the bars. From Prime Minister Vajpayee to the chief election commissioner, everyone has insisted that the polls be free, fair and transparent.

"When we announced the Public Election Commission India's law minister rejected the

idea on the floor of Parliament. We believe in a collective effort by India, Pakistan and the people of Jammu and Kashmir to conduct the exercise. The government of India has not supported the move which has forced us to keep the commission in abeyance," Prof Gani said.

His colleague and former chairman Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, intervened to say that Public Election Commission is still relevant if Delhi responds positively. Listing the proposals, Prof Bhat said all the forces including the Army should be withdrawn and sent to the barracks, human rights violation should be put to an end, all detainees should be



BHAT: NEW GESTURE

released, Kashmiri pundits should return to the Valley, ban on public meetings should be lifted, restrictions on the movement of leaders should be removed and all laws which run concurrently to the civility should be removed.

"These proposals are very significant in creating a conducive atmosphere. If these proposals are accepted we may go for rapprochement and start this exercise afresh," he said. Public Election Commission, it may be recalled here, was set up by APHC on January 28 last, to hold a three-phase exercise in all the three regions of Jammu & Kashmir and PoK so that the people choose their representatives who will decide the future of the state in consultation with India and Pakistan. The idea did not click.

20 JUN 2002

The Economic Time.

Duplicitous game

A major outcome of the recent summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building measures in Asia (CICA) held at Almaty has been the internationalisation of the Kashmir problem.

If India and Pakistan are truly serious about solving the problem after this exposure, then Almaty has been a good omen; if not, then the meeting will bring about a temporary lull in Pakistan's covert operations in Kashmir to be reactivated at a later date and India will revert to its usual war/peace crossroads positing.

A credible exercise during this interregnum would be to analyse the stand of both countries over Kashmir. Unless the genesis of the problem is first assimilated, the respective stands will not mean much.

A study of the 1947-48 operations in Jammu and Kashmir shows that when India decided to go in for military intervention against Pakistani raiders, Jawaharlal Nehru refused point-blank to bring multipoint military pressures on Pakistan. He overruled opening up other fronts, forbade using the Indian Navy to bombard Karachi port, and allowed the Indian Air Force to be used only in the logistic, not the strike role.

This act of Nehru, by which he facilitated Pakistan's aggression, has remained inexplicable. Despite such purposeful strictures, he underestimated the Indian Army's professionalism. Western Command, which was conducting the operations virtually on its own, not only stabilised the entire front but gradually pushed back the aggressors.

After the historic link-up at Poonch, Western Command regained the initiative and was all set to debouch towards Muzaffarabad. At this crucial juncture, Nehru ordered an unwarranted ceasefire and referred the case to the UN.

Interestingly, India's representative at the UN, Girija Shankar Bajpai, strongly objected to our folly. An angry Nehru summarily removed him and had the case pushed through to the UN, thus making it convenient for Pakistan to regroup and occupy Pakistan occupied Kashmir as we know it today.

This act by Nehru has also remained inexplicable and no rational explanation for this "love thy enemy" stance has been found. Reading between the lines, it appears that Nehru was scared of Mohammed Ali Jinnah spiking his ambition of becoming independent India's first Prime Minister for life.

Hence, Nehru went all out to appease Jinnah by gifting PoK to him as Jinnah had originally demanded the Muslim majority segment of Jammu and Kashmir.

Apparently, Nehru was somewhat able to tide over Jinnah's demand. He also brought in Article 370 to give Kashmir a

India must not delude itself into believing that cross-border terrorism has ended. Before the next terrorist deluge is unleashed by Pakistan, New Delhi has to take a second look at the Line of Control, an issue raised at the CICA summit in Almaty, writes JK DUTT

special status – God's own, as some cynics reflect – thus creating a psychological barrier between the Kashmiris and the rest of the countrymen.

A myth was simultaneously spun that Kashmir was the very epicentre of India's secularism – as if the other states had no contribution to our secular credentials – and if Kashmir was to secede, India would disin-

incumbents are unable to settle a dispute, India's response has ever been a cryptic "Kashmir is a bilateral issue between Pakistan and us, so there is no question of any third-party mediating".

When India is further asked what precise solution does it favour, the reply is an equally cryptic, "Pakistan must vacate PoK." This, therefore, is tantamount to India demanding a

Like a chameleon, the National Conference has been keeping in tandem with whichever party rules in New Delhi by changing its colours and ensuring that the Kashmir problem is kept alive. This is the sordid Kashmir story which needs to be kept in mind while assessing the problem.

Some Indo-Pak matchpointing would be in order after Almaty.



From left: Atal Behari Vajpayee, Presidents of Turkey Ahmet Necdet Sezer, Russia's Vladimir Putin, Kazakhstan's Nursultan Nazarbayev, China's Jiang Zemin and Pakistan's Pervez Musharraf during the CICA summit in Almaty on 4 June. – AFP

tegrate!

This absurdity has been religiously tom-tomed over the past five decades which our naive citizens have swallowed wholesale. India's reluctance to solve the Kashmir problem even while holding the upper hand was plainly evident at Tashkent and Shimla where we meekly returned all captured territory and prisoners of war both of which we held in far greater quantum than Pakistan, dittoing the Nehruvian "love thy enemy" line.

The Shimla agreement in particular was a clear fraud perpetrated on India, especially on our armed forces. Rulers of Pakistan led by Zia-ul-Haq artfully abused this agreement to start a new course of action in Jammu and Kashmir, namely, religion imbued, cross-border terrorism. And thereby hangs a tale!

Another bizarre thing is, whenever India is advised that since the pestilential Kashmir problem has lingered on for over half a century and it has not been possible to settle it mutually with Pakistan, why not request a third party to mediate, this being the normal social order if two

unilateral solution to a bilateral issue. Going from push to shove, when India is queried whether it expects China to similarly vacate Aksai Chin – perhaps in an overdose of *Hindi Chini Bhai bhai* – there is only embarrassed silence!

Obviously, India is playing a duplicitous game because surely New Delhi knows that no Pakistani Chief Executive can survive by handing back PoK, a tract of land that Jinnah had secured from Nehru as a gift. The less said about Aksai Chin the better. Why is India doing this double shuffle? The cause is the National Conference's unwillingness to have Kashmir resolved at any cost, else it will lose out its Aurangzeb's lifestyle which Article 370 bestows upon it, the clincher being this Article prevails so long as the problem prevails!

Compounding the felony, assorted groups like the All Parties Hurriyat Conference, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front and their offshoots keep brandishing their own agendas on Kashmir, not to mention New Delhi's own version of "free and fair" elections in the state.

Pervez Musharraf is currently in an unenviable position: he has to manage three "ends" to wit – Washington, his own army, and the terrorists. He cannot antagonise any of the three. His most likely course of action will be to put terrorist activities in Kashmir on hold for sometime in pursuance of a strategy of indirect approach.

He can tell Washington that he has kept his side of the bargain. He will tell his corps commanders and the ISI hawks that some cushion time is necessary, perhaps the monsoon, to recoup and reorganise and get into the act thereafter as and when international pressure on him gets diluted.

His most serious concern is the Al-Qaida fighters whom he has been methodically funnelling from their hideouts in the Pak-Afghan border into Kashmir.

He is aware that if these brainwashed killers are allowed to stay on long in their transit camps in Pakistan, there is every possibility of this lot dethroning him via the anti-Musharraf coterie that has now become openly manifest.

He will probably approach the

19/6
mullahs to start a dialogue with these unemployed ex-Talibs for keeping them under temporary leash.

India must not delude itself into believing that cross-border terrorism has ended; it certainly has not. What is India to do before the next terrorist deluge is unleashed by Pakistan?

This is where Almaty comes in. The CICA meeting laid significant emphasis on the Line of Control to the extent of dubbing it the Rubicon in the context of transborder terrorism activities.

The general consensus has been that the LoC has become the *de facto* border between India and Pakistan ever since the 1947-48 ceasefire, and possesses a sanctity of its own which must be internationally respected.

It is imperative for India to press for converting the LoC into a formal *de jure* Indo-Pak border before General Musharraf resumes his nefariousness. Red herrings like joint patrolling of the LoC are best left for the birds as such suggestions just expose New Delhi's wiles, little else.

Noted international relations exponent Ashley Tellis in his new book on India's nuclear positing has rightly recommended that the USA (together with the other global power centres as advocated by this writer) must force India and Pakistan to implement a reformed bilateral approach in Kashmir by going flat out for the LoC conversion.

Islamabad is sure to face opposition to this from its hawks, and New Delhi likewise from the National Conference. The international big-leaguers in consort with the student community and the intelligentsia of India and Pakistan have to create a movement for the LoC conversion of such an intensity that both the countries will have no option but to acquiesce.

Ruthless sanctions should be the alternative. New Delhi must realise and accept one unpalatable fact of life – 55 years has been a long enough period for it to slyly second Nehru's betrayal of India to Jinnah, the consequences of which have been disastrous on the hapless people of Nehru's home state.

A readymade solution beckons, an honourable and a sanctified one at that for both adversaries as no loss of face is visualised in the LoC conversion. This solution will also draw unqualified universal recognition. Now is the time for India's apex-level leadership to unshackle itself from the National Conference's selfish motives and concentrate on the country's well-being instead.

A grateful nation, nay subcontinent, will for its lifetime appreciate this bold and statesman like step.

(The author is a retired Lieutenant-General, Indian Army.)

Deterrence theory has worked: Musharraf

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 18. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, has said that heightened international concern and India's "hesitation" to launch a "limited war" demonstrated that strategic balance exists in South Asia and Islamabad's conventional and nuclear capability could deter New Delhi from attacking it.

"International concerns of a nuclear conflict in South Asia, and the hesitation, frustration

and inability of India to attack Pakistan or conduct a so-called 'limited war', bear ample testimony to the fact that strategic balance exists in South Asia and that Pakistan's conventional and nuclear capability together deter aggression," he said last night at a dinner hosted in honour of Pakistan's nuclear scientists and engineers.

Gen. Musharraf claimed that the theory of deterrence has worked, but did not refer to the

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decisions taken by his Government, particularly to stop cross-border infiltration of militants, as demanded by India. — PTI

Irresponsible talk: India

NEW DELHI, JUNE 18. India today denounced the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's comment that New Delhi had hesitated to launch a strike because of his country's nuclear

deterrence, and accused Islamabad of trying to justify its nuclear blackmail.

"The international community should not ignore such continued manifestations of Pakistani irresponsibility, loose talk and undiluted hostility towards India and the continued concoction of doomsday theories to justify its use of nuclear blackmail," the External Affairs Ministry spokesperson, Nirupama Rao, said. — PTI

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'WE CANNOT AFFORD TO RELAX OUR GUARD'

Talks only after Pak. closes terrorist camps: Advani

By Manas Dasgupta

AHMEDABAD, JUNE 16. Despite the western world's claim of Pakistan taking steps to stop cross-border terrorism, India has reasons to doubt its sincerity because of the twist it was trying to give to the Kaluchak massacre in Jammu and Kashmir, the Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, said here today.

Talking to mediapersons during his visit to Gujarat, he said that only on Saturday he had heard reports of the official Pakistan radio having claimed that the Kaluchak incident was "the creation" of the Indian Government. While the Pakistan Government had earlier criticised the killing of innocent women and children in Kaluchak as an act of terrorism, the Pakistan radio now expected the world to believe that "we have killed our own people," he said.

India, Mr. Advani said, would

have to tell the world that despite the announcements and assurances by the Pakistan President, General Pervez Musharraf, about taking steps to stop cross-border terrorism, the country would have to remain "careful and cautious" till Pakistan completely stopped cross-border terrorism. "We cannot afford to relax our guard," he said and ruled out withdrawal of the Army from the border with Pakistan till India was convinced about the implementation of the assurances given by President Musharraf.

He said India had so far not agreed with the Western world's claim of Pakistan having taken steps to stop violence in India. "We have only said we need time to assess the reality on the ground and we are assessing the situation," he added.

Ruling out any dialogue with Pakistan till all the terrorist-

training camps in that country and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir were dismantled, Mr. Advani, however, noted with satisfaction the perceptible change that had come in Pakistan's attitude towards terrorism in the last few weeks. Pakistan, which at the Agra summit had claimed that killing of innocent people was natural in a freedom struggle, had been forced to admit at the Almaty convention that any killing of innocent people was an act of terrorism.

He said the Government's information was that at least 70 terrorist training camps were still in operation in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and there could be no talks with the neighbouring country till these camps were dismantled and terrorism completely stopped.

While the western world had all along privately admitted that Pakistan was encouraging terrorism but did not take such a

stance publicly, in the last few weeks countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Russia had openly told Pakistan that it must stop terrorism. It was a major success of the diplomatic initiatives taken by the Atal Behari Vajpayee Government in the last four years, Mr. Advani said.

He said India always appreciated the irony in Washington taking Pakistan as its main partner in its international coalition against terrorism. "We understand their compulsions, geographical and otherwise for which Pakistan had to be its main partner. Besides, who will know the Taliban better than its own creator, the ISI of Pakistan," he added.

To a question, Mr. Advani said he was aware the Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Jaish-e-Mohammad were among the two most active terrorist groups operating in India and were trying to spread their tentacles in Nepal. India had recently cautioned Nepal in this respect. "We are also aware that the terrorist groups were making use of the internet to spread falsehood." He said India and Pakistan held different views on Kashmir but the latest survey by a London-based organisation about the opinion of the Kashmiri people was very revealing. Despite the survey report that the large majority of the Kashmiris favoured staying with India, the Indian Government was opposed to a plebiscite not because it feared adverse public opinion but because Pakistan had not fulfilled the conditions of the U.N. resolution of vacating occupied Kashmir. "And with the change in the situation in the last 50 years, the U. N. resolution has now become irrelevant," he said.

Describing A.P.J. Abdul Kalam as the NDA candidate for the Presidentship, Mr. Advani said he was happy that the Congress and the Samajwadi Party had also supported him. If the Left parties give up the "symbolic contest," Dr. Kalam could be elected unanimously.

Advani's clean chit to Modi: Page 11

Perceptible change in Pak. attitude: Fernandes

By M. Venkateswara Rao

VIJAYAWADA, JUNE 16. The Defence Minister, George Fernandes, has said that India has taken several steps to improve relations with Pakistan and hoped that Islamabad would reciprocate, paving the way for easing the tension along the border.

He told presspersons here today that India had called back some of its warships, re-opened its air space, named its High Commissioner and hoped that Pakistan would reciprocate. He said there was a perceptible change in Pakistan's attitude in the last few days.

Mr. Fernandes reiterated India's resolve not to allow any other country, including the U.S., to influence its decisions either on Kashmir or any other issue. He, however, added that India had no conflict with the U.S. and expressed satisfaction over the support being given by the U.S to India in its fight against terrorism.

He said that the U.S had agreed to supply to India sensors and weapon-locating radars, which it had been denying for the last several years. The U.S has also agreed to supply engines for the LCA to help enhance technology demonstration and compatibility.

The U.S. had stopped supplies in the wake of

sanctions imposed following nuclear tests. Though India developed its own engines, they were undergoing high altitude tests in Russia. It would take at least two years for the tests to be completed and to start serial production. The U.S decision would help us acquire light combat aircraft immediately, he said.

He said India had been facing the problem of terrorism for the last two decades. But the U.S. realised how deep-rooted the menace had become only after the attack on the World Trade Center.

Asked whether the U.S. was not adopting double standards by carrying out attacks against Afghanistan with all its might and advising India to exercise restraint towards Pakistan, Mr. Fernandes answered in the negative and said the U.S. was giving all support to India in the fight against terrorism.

About the increase proposed in the Pakistan defence budget, Mr. Fernandes said that India's defence budget was more than five times that of Pakistan. He did not agree that deployment of the Army in forward areas for too long would affect their morale. "Our Army is unique", he said and added that the jawans were trained to work in temperatures as low as minus 10 and as high as 40 to 50 degree Celsius for months together.

Musharraf sets terms for handover

Putin push on Pak fugitives

FROM K.P. NAYAR

Washington, June 16: The Russians and the Americans have informally agreed on specific subjects to be taken up by their leaders with India and Pakistan in the pursuit of long-term peace in South Asia following the success of international efforts last week in de-escalating the region's military crisis.

President Vladimir Putin has told reporters in his home town of St. Petersburg that General Pervez Musharraf "is prepared to consider the possibility of extraditing international terrorists who are not citizens of Pakistan and who are committing crimes on the territory of India".

In a remark pregnant with implications as the world waits for New Delhi and Islamabad to travel further on the road to reconciliation, Putin said this was "one important signal which President Musharraf gave" during the meeting of the two leaders in Almaty.

As a political insurance to cover his offer to the Russian President, the Pakistani President has added provisos to his offer. One is that their guilt should be proved.

But Putin said the significance of the offer is that "I think this is a manifestation of goodwill and I hope that these signals will also be heard" in New Delhi.

Putin's revelation fits in with what Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee had said at his press conference in Almaty.

Referring to Musharraf's strident assertion in the Kazakh city that no one would be handed

over to India, Vajpayee had significantly reacted that this was not what he had heard from Putin on the issue.

It is clear from the course of intense and coordinated interaction between Russia and the US, on the one hand, and among the major world powers on South Asia that Russia will pursue issues with political overtones, such as the extradition, with New Delhi and Islamabad in the months ahead.

The US, on the other hand, will concentrate on the military aspects of the India-Pakistan standoff, such as infiltration, monitoring of the LoC.

This was obvious when Putin told reporters in his home town that "we remain in contact (on South Asia) with our partners in Europe and in North America".

Putin revealed that "we are engaged in a continual dialogue with Pakistan and with the leadership of India... I invited President Musharraf to visit Moscow. We are now arranging the date of his visit. This year I have an official visit to New Delhi. In both cases, an issue on the agenda of the talks will certainly be the situation between India and Pakistan."

This is an arrangement that suits Moscow and Washington.

QUOTE

Musharraf is prepared to consider the possibility of extraditing international terrorists who are not citizens of Pakistan

VLADIMIR PUTIN

As much of the information regarding the wanted criminals and terrorists were given to India by US intelligence, and Pakistan knows it, the Americans feel they are politically handicapped in following up the issue any further with Islamabad.

In any case, Washington feels it is better equipped to deal with the military aspects of the India-Pakistan crisis. That was partly the reason why defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld was chosen by President George W. Bush to travel to the sub-continent instead of either secretary of state Colin Powell or national security adviser Condoleezza Rice.

What the Americans have not admitted in public is that this strategy serves the larger US strategic vision for South and Central Asia.

After having been bitten badly by the terrorist fallout from the region, Washington wants to take out a long-term insurance against similar pitfalls in future. This entails building military contacts and a presence in the region, a plan which has so far gone well, sources said here.

Military contacts with Pakistan are now firmly re-established and Washington's defence relationship with New Delhi is on the upswing. The Pentagon is now trying to build a credit of "IOUs" with the two defence establishments.

Kashmir flare-up

Violence in Kashmir hit its highest level in more than a month on Sunday with 21 people being killed. But firing eased along the border.

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THE...

No Pak nod on overflight

YOGESH KUMAR
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 15. — Almost a week after the government announced resumption of overflights rights vis-à-vis Pakistan, the civil aviation ministry has not issued any instruction to the national carriers on using Pakistani airspace.

An absence of reciprocal gestures from Pakistan is the reason for the delay, officials said.

A senior civil aviation ministry official said: "No operational decision about resumption of direct flights between the two countries has been taken."

The directorate general of civil aviation has delayed issuing instructions to the national carriers "as they are waiting for Pakistan to announce reciprocal easing", officials said.

They said they had "no idea" when such reciprocal action would be taken by Islamabad.

"Till that happens, Indian flights will continue using other routes for its foreign operations, by-passing Pakistan," an aviation ministry of-

ficial said.

On 1 January, New Delhi imposed a ban on Pakistani aircraft using Indian air space.

The national carriers — Air India and Indian Airlines — were instructed to avoid Pakistani airspace. Since then, A-I and IA planes have been routed through Ahmedabad, the Arabian Sea and Iran.

All flights bound for western and West Asian countries are flying over this alternate route.

The route, however, is substantially longer than the two usually-followed routes — Golf 466 and Alfa 466 — in which planes fly over Karachi and Lahore.

Senior officials admitted they were "waiting to switch to the routes over Pakistani air space as it would reduce the flight times and more importantly bring down the consumption of aviation fuel".

Senior A-I and IA officials confirmed they had received no instructions to begin flying over Pakistani air space, nor had there been any directive on planning a transit via Pakistan for flights to West Asia and Europe.

THE STATESMAN

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India to go slow on concessions

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, June 14

ISLAMABAD WON'T get any further diplomatic concessions from New Delhi. The next set of conciliatory steps will be announced only after a review of Pervez Musharraf's sincerity in permanently stopping the export of terror.

The Cabinet Committee on Security met for two hours today and arrived at this decision. The meeting - which the Prime Minister chaired - discussed the border standoff with Pakistan and the implications of Donald Rumsfeld's recent visit to the subcontinent. The delegates took note of the US offer to provide New Delhi sensors to keep track of militants sneaking into Jammu and Kashmir.

New Delhi had earlier shot down the US Defence Secretary's proposal to station international monitors along the LoC.

Emerging from the CCS meeting, External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh said India might respond to the sensor proposal, but only after an in-depth study at the level of the Army command. "Its technical details and interlinked components must be analysed before actual deployment."

But signals emerging from the establishment suggested that India wasn't in any hurry

Pak recalls ships

PAKISTAN HAS told India it has recalled its naval ships, which were on high alert, to their bases. Islamabad explained that this was a reciprocal gesture to India recalling its warships from the Arabian Sea. But it stayed silent on opening its skies to Indian flights.

PTI, Islamabad

to announce a fresh diplomatic initiative. For instance, it could take eight to 10 weeks for Harsh Bhasin to take over as the next High Commissioner to Islamabad.

On the Prime Minister's offer of "joint patrolling" along the LoC, Government sources said the issue would come up for discussion only when both parties disagreed over the question of terrorist intrusion from across the border.

"If Islamabad showed its sincerity on putting an end to cross-border intrusions, New Delhi's positive response would be determined by its implementation and impact at the ground level. And, in that kind of a scenario, joint patrolling might not be necessary," a senior Government official said.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 JUN 2002

Scepticism reigns in Pak. media

By K. K. Katyal

NEW DELHI, JUNE 12. Going by a sample of half-a-dozen Pakistani dailies of today, both English and Urdu, the reaction to the current moves to reduce tensions on the subcontinent is mixed — with sharp, bitter comments outbalancing moderate views.

Indian steps such as the removal of the embargo on overflights by Pakistani planes and the plans to move away the warships from near the Pakistani shoreline have been widely noted but sentiments in the comments have varied — from cautious welcome to doubts about New Delhi's intentions. Emphasis is laid on the urgency of de-escalation on the border and the Line of Control and on resumption of a dialogue on Kashmir and other issues. Those who are not impressed refer to "provocations" by India, like the intrusion of a UAV into Pakistani territory and the arrest of the Hurriyat leader, Syed Ali Shah Geelani.

The U.S., in some cases, is the target of critical references. The Pakistani President, Pervez Musharraf's decision not to let the country's territory be used for terrorist actions is repeatedly cited but there is no mention of his assurance to the U.S. to end trans-border terrorism on a permanent basis.

A distinct note of moderation is struck by the *Dawn* in its editorial, "Inching back from the brink", in these words:

"A normally sceptical New Delhi is now accepting that there has been a perceptible drop in what it terms "cross-border terrorism" since Gen. Musharraf's recent assurance. While the latest moves do represent a step forward, what India is offering so far is a gradual return to the position prior to December, when it decided to take a number of punitive steps against Pakistan. However, for a subcontinent that seemed on the verge of a catastrophic war just days ago, even returning to the pre-December status quo is a welcome development. President Musharraf responded positively to the Indian gestures but described them as small steps.

"Pakistan will obviously be seeking more meaningful steps towards de-escalation in the days ahead, particularly an offer to resume dialogue. Throughout the present standoff, Pakistan has been hammering on the need and urgency of talks to

resolve the crisis. India, meanwhile, massed hundreds of thousands of troops on the border, cut off all links with Pakistan, and spurned all offers for a dialogue.

"As tensions soared, the world was reminded of how dangerous a confrontation between the two nuclear powers could be. A deeply alarmed international community then stepped in and employed all its diplomatic skills of prodding and persuasion to bring an end to the standoff. While Pakistan's assurance on infiltration and India's subsequent response may have lowered the level of tension, the threat of war still remains. Unless both sides withdraw their troops from the border, even a small spark could trigger open hostilities. Having come so close to the brink, both sides must realise that war is no solution to the problems straining their relations. Only a dialogue on all outstanding problems between the two countries — especially over the contentious Kashmir issue — could ensure a durable peace in the region."

Writing in *News*, Shireen M. Mazari, Director-General of the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, couples a cautions welcome to the Indian move to open up its air space to Pakistani civilian flights with sharp words on various aspects of bilateral relations. While suggesting that Pakistan respond in kind (to the removal of the overflights ban), she wants Islamabad to "offer a mutual, monitored withdrawal of offensive weapon systems and force deployment on the international border, to begin with" and to emphasise the need for neutral and verifiable monitoring of LoC.

Then follow the harsh words: "Pakistan should also make it clear to the major powers interested in peace in the region that; One, India cannot be allowed to use the issue of LoC infiltrations to increase its military repression in Occupied Kashmir. So far, India has taken Pakistan's flexibility and accommodation as a sign of Pakistani weakness and has used the opportunity to increase the military ante within Occupied Kashmir — reflected in the mysterious attack on the army barracks in Jammu (past record shows that such incidences, when investigated properly, always reveal the hand of Indian security forces and renegade militant groups subsidised by India),

the killing of Ghani Lone and the arrest of the APHC leadership — first Yasin Malik and now Syed Ali Shah Geelani and his family members including two of his sons-in-law, one of whom is a journalist based in New Delhi. If there is to be a durable peace, it will have to begin with a resumption of dialogue between Pakistan and India in order to find a peaceful and just solution to the Kashmir conflict. As for the tactical point scoring "concessions" coming out from India, they can only be reciprocated by similar tactical moves by Pakistan. Reciprocity and the quid pro quo must be specific and balanced so that neither side feels it has the aggressive advantage. Anything else will only sustain the regional instability well into the foreseeable future."

The tone of the Urdu newspapers is shriller. *Daily Jang* has no problem with New Delhi's projection of the decision on overflights but would not like to attach too great a significance to it ("this is a good step, but it is no obligation to Pakistan because the initial step was wrong"... In its editorial comment, it sees the ruling NDA's decision to nominate a Muslim — A.P.J. Abdul Kalam — for the Presidency as a bid to mislead the world community. "In the past, too, India appointed Muslims for Presidency and ambassadorial posts. This is intended to assure the world that India stands for human rights and fundamental equality". As far India's response (the overflights decision) to Pakistan's positive stand (against terrorism) it says: "This does not satisfy the masses in Pakistan and in Kashmir. The basic issue is restoration of the right of self-determination of the Kashmiris. Likewise, it is essential that India withdraws its forces from the border, so as to remove the danger of a clash." Then follow references to India's policy of "manoeuvres and repression".

An editorial page article in *Nawai-Waqt*, striking a cynical note, says that "symbolic and cosmetic steps are neither related to the Kashmir problem nor could lay the foundation for normal relations between India and Pakistan."

According to it, "Big Powers want Pakistan to take permanent steps so as to put an end to Jihad in Jammu and Kashmir for all time to come but expect from India only cosmetic steps".

Main causes not addressed: Pak.

Handwritten: H.O. 17/1/72

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 12. Pakistan today said India has formally conveyed the steps it has taken to reduce tension and hoped New Delhi would soon announce further measures for resumption of dialogue to resolve all outstanding issues, including Kashmir.

India has informed Islamabad of the steps being taken by it to ease tension, including the lifting of ban on overflights, the appointment of Harsha Kumar Bhasin as the new High Commissioner and withdrawal of Indian naval ships from the Arabian Sea, a Foreign Office statement said.

The statement said, "we trust that the Indian Government will soon announce further steps leading to the resumption of a meaningful dialogue on disputes between the two countries, especially the core issue of Kashmir."

In a situation where the Indian forces are massed on Pakistan's borders in a dangerous posture of confrontation, the Indian decisions do not address the main causes of tension," it added. In another statement, a spokesman of the Pakistan navy said the Indian naval ships never came close to threatening Pakistan's maritime interests.

Situation still grim: Musharraf

The situation would remain grim until the forces of the two countries disengaged along their common border, the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, told reporters late on Tuesday following talks with Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah in Jeddah.

"The situation will remain grim till we disengage on the border," Gen. Musharraf

said. "It is easing up, but as a military man, I have to see both (possibilities). ... Intentions (to resort to war) are receding but these can change anytime." After performing "umrah" in the holy city of Mecca, Gen. Musharraf on Wednesday left for Medina to visit the tomb of Prophet Mohammad.

Denuclearise South Asia

Gen. Musharraf suggested a three-point formula that included denuclearising South Asia and resolution of the Kashmir issue to maintain peace in the region. To avoid a war, three things must be achieved — South Asia should be denuclearised, deterrence be strengthened and most importantly a solution to the Kashmir issue must be found. — AP, PTI, UNI

13 JUN 2002

THE HINDU

Delhi to US: thus far and no further

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, June 12: India today politely told US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld that it was difficult to initiate any further steps towards reducing tension in South Asia, unless Pakistan takes "urgent and visible" measures to end terrorism originating from its territory.

India also tried to scotch speculation that it was exploring the possibility of deploying foreign forces to monitor infiltration across the Line of Control. But Delhi indicated that it was not averse to getting sen-

sors and radars from the Americans to keep a watch on the LoC.

Confusion over plans to monitor the LoC threatened to engulf Rumsfeld's tour when he referred to the possibility of the presence of members of al Qaida near Kashmir. "I have seen indications that al Qaida is operating in areas near the LoC," he said. "I don't have any hard evidence of who, how many or where."

A news agency later quoted Rumsfeld as saying — asked whether the two sides discussed deployment of foreign forces: "We discussed a whole range of

subjects and I guess the honest answer is yes, that subject did come up. We reached no conclusions. It is a subject that needs to be discussed and thought about."

A US embassy spokesman later said Rumsfeld's remarks related only to the sensors, not foreign forces. Sources in the Prime Minister's Office also insisted that the issue of forces was not discussed.

Delhi has maintained that the best way to monitor the LoC was through joint patrolling by Indian and Pakistani forces. Politically, it will be suicidal for the Vajpayee government to accept

any proposal which involves foreign forces on its soil.

But accepting a system with American radars and sensors to monitor the LoC is not a difficult proposal as it does not involve the physical presence of any foreign forces.

Rumsfeld, the senior-most and latest US official to land in the subcontinent on a peace mission, suggested that the troops of the two sides be pulled back from the eyeball-to-eyeball position.

The constant shelling between the two sides, in which heavy artillery is often used, has not only added to the tension but

has also affected the lives of people living close to the borders.

But India maintained that both the troop deployment and the heavy shelling are part of its fight against terrorism. The US official was told that unless Pakistan stops infiltration, disbands the terrorist groups and dismantles their infrastructure both within the country and in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, there is little Delhi can do.

The US defence secretary met a host of Indian leaders, including Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and defence minister George Fernandes. Rumsfeld

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also help discussions on the situation along the border and the current state of India-Pakistan relations with foreign minister Jaswant Singh, who hosted a lunch for him.

In the evening, Rumsfeld left for Islamabad where he is scheduled to hold talks with the Pakistani leadership, including President Pervez Musharraf.

Rumsfeld said the situation along the Line of Control "continues to be tense". But he added that "we recognise the fact that India has very recently taken a series of steps that have been useful".

See Page 8



Rumsfeld in New Delhi. (AP)

THE TELEGRAPH

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12, 2002

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ON A POSITIVE TRAIL *good pak*

INDIA HAS STRUCK a note of caution even while responding positively to Pakistan's latest pledge of ending all terrorist incursions into Jammu and Kashmir. However, New Delhi's guardedness does not seem to diminish the emerging potential for an eventual rapprochement between India and Pakistan. A specific measure announced by New Delhi, in the first response to Islamabad's new commitment as relayed by the United States, is the removal of the ban on access to India's airspace by Pakistan for purposes of overflights by its commercial aircraft. The initiative, which marks the reversal of one aspect of India's "coercive diplomacy" aimed at making Pakistan give up anti-India terror as an instrument of foreign policy, bears the hallmark of a half-step in reality. New Delhi had given effect to a high-risk policy of "coercive diplomacy", inclusive of a dramatic mobilisation of India's military forces along the border with Pakistan, in the wake of the terrorist strike against Parliament House on December 13 last year. Now, even while lifting the restrictions on overflights by commercial aircraft, New Delhi has indicated hesitation in allowing the resumption of the suspended air services to India by the Pakistani civil aviation authorities. If this smacks of some niggardliness, an ostensible argument in defence of New Delhi's action is that overflights will constitute a lower degree of direct contacts with Pakistan than that evident in a chart of regular flights to and from New Delhi. This will show that any diplomatic dialectics of such mundane detail does not measure up as the stuff of a high gesture. On balance though, given other signals from New Delhi, it is a welcome sign that India may hit a positive trail towards the de-escalation of the phenomenally high tensions in its relationship with Pakistan.

Of all the different dimensions of New Delhi's "coercive diplomacy" as regards Islamabad, India's military build-up in a strike-threatening posture on the frontier with Pakistan has remained a

matter of utmost concern to the global community, especially the U.S. and other major powers. Seen in this perspective, India may have signalled its willingness to scale down the temperature from a truly boiling point by indicating that a fleet of warships, which had been recently moved towards Pakistan's maritime border, is being de-alerted and withdrawn from the scene. A move of this modest but meaningful magnitude is important to the international community in the present circumstances. Pakistan's new anti-terror assurances in regard to India seem to have already deflected the attention of the major powers away from the earlier international discourse on how far New Delhi was justified in choosing "coercive diplomacy" to deal with Islamabad in the present global climate of opinion against political terrorism. It is this aspect of the India-Pakistan standoff that New Delhi should keep in focus as it seeks to verify Islamabad's new pledges of responsible neighbourliness.

India's diplomatic challenges of this order are certainly complicated by Pakistan's refusal to see India's latest gestures in a spirit that befits the process of an emotionally surcharged de-escalation of tensions on the bilateral front. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, is reported to have been less than enthusiastic in his response to New Delhi's conciliatory gesture about civil aviation. Unhelpful to the process of bilateral reconciliation will be the tendency by Pakistan to see any of New Delhi's moves towards the de-escalation of tensions as a make-believe Indian rope-trick. While Gen. Musharraf may say that he wishes to see a quick forward-movement towards a state of total de-alert on both sides of the border and a dialogue, there is no room for a quick-fix either. New Delhi, for its part, should recognise that it is no flight of fancy to try and restore the people-to-people contacts between the two countries as quickly as possible.

12 JUN 2002

/// Pak threat over Indus water treaty

Press Trust of India

ISLAMABAD, June 11. — Pakistan has once again threatened to invoke a clause in the Indus Water Treaty, which calls for examination by neutral experts to verify its objections over the construction of the hydro electric project over the Chenab river in Jammu and Kashmir, and has given India three months to comply.

"Pakistani side offers India to resolve the difference about Baglihar Hydroelectric Project (BHP) within three months. Otherwise, Pakistan will be justified in referring the matter to the Neutral Expert for resolution under Article IX (2)(a) of the 1960 Indus Water Treaty", an official statement released here late last night said. Pakistan's stand was conveyed to India during the Annual Meeting of Permanent Indus Commission held between both the countries from May 28 to June 1, at New Delhi, it said.

For a while Pakistan has been raising objections over the construction of the 450- MW Baglihar power project on the Chenab and Kishanganga Hydroelectric project on Jhelum by India.

Kishanganga Project will be further discussed in the next PIC meeting in Islamabad next year, it said. The timing of yesterday's statement was intriguing. Though the Indus Commission meeting concluded on June 1, the statement issued last night coincided with the announcement by India to begin the process of de-escalation by removing the ban on Pakistan flights using Indian airspace.

Meanwhile, the chief of the Pakistan Air Force has alleged that the Indian Unmanned Air Vehicle (UAV), shot down by Pakistan fighter jets two days ago inside Pakistan territory, was an Israeli 'spy' plane launched and operated by Israelis from India. The 'spy' plane was being operated by Israelis and had manufacturing signatures of Israel Aircraft Industries, he alleged.

THE STATESMAN

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HARSH BHASIN NEW HIGH COMMISSIONER?

India to lift ban on overflights to Pak.

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JUNE 10. Responding positively to the visible decline in terrorist infiltration from across the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir over the last two weeks, India today took the first steps towards easing the six-month-long standoff with Pakistan.

The calibrated reaction by the Government today involved decisions to reopen its skies to the overflight of Pakistani aircraft, identify a new envoy to Islamabad and order some naval ships in the Arabian Sea to their home bases.

The key decision on the naval front is designed to reflect India's readiness to reduce the military tensions with Pakistan "in tandem with Islamabad's progress on ending cross-border terrorism", well-placed sources here say.

The Government does not expect to announce more actions towards de-escalation in the immediate future.

"India will consider additional steps only when Pakistan moves further down the road towards dismantling the infrastructure of cross-border terrorism," the sources add.

During his visit to the region last week, the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, had conveyed the pledge from Gen. Musharraf to end cross-border infiltration on a permanent basis. In return, India had agreed to respond "appropriately" when the Pakistani pledges were implemented.

The formal announcement by the Government today related only to the lifting of the overflight ban that was imposed in January following the December 13 attack on Parliament.

The spokesperson of the Foreign Office clarified that the decision did not involve the restoration of air links between

the two countries. Direct flights between Indian cities and those in Pakistan would have to wait for a little longer.

India has also identified a senior foreign service officer, Harsh Bhasin, as its new High Commissioner to Pakistan. Mr. Bhasin is already in the capital and preparing for his assignment.

It may be recalled that the envoy to Pakistan, Vijay Nambiar, was recalled on December 21. Sources in the Government say the decision for the moment is only about "selecting" the envoy and the process of sending him to Islamabad has not yet been initiated.

India is carefully choosing its move so as to ensure that the diplomatic and military de-escalation is incremental and in proportion to the progress in Pakistan on controlling cross-border terrorism.

The decisions on lifting the overflight ban and the selection of the envoy were officially communicated to the Acting High Commissioner of Pakistan, Jaleel Abbas Jilani, who was called to the Foreign Office this afternoon.

The decisions come a day before

the U.S. Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, arrives in India. Diplomatic sources say the actions were expected and in "the right direction". They particularly welcome the decision to pull back some of the naval ships massed in the Arabian Sea after December 13 and reinforced since May 14.

The decision on the naval front was not formally announced by the Government today but informed sources say orders have already been issued to the Navy.

Mr. Rumsfeld might want to explore the Government's readiness to further ease the offensive posture of the Indian armed forces by reducing their alert status and pulling back the tank forces away from the border.

Pakistan too will be keen on seeing more Indian steps on the border, but New Delhi appears reluctant to go further down the road until there is evidence of additional steps from Pakistan, sources here say.

India is concerned that new acts of terrorism in Kashmir could undermine the domestic political support to a process of military de-escalation with Pa-

kistan.

Mr. Rumsfeld will have a full round of consultations with Indian leaders on Wednesday morning before leaving for Pakistan in the afternoon.

The British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, today called the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, over phone. Mr. Singh informed his counterpart of the Indian decision to de-escalate.

The two sides agreed that Islamabad must do more to instil a sense of confidence in New Delhi, and Mr. Straw said Britain would continue to press Pakistan to fulfil its international obligations to eliminate the sources of terrorism on its soil.

Response after notification, says Pak.

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 10. Pakistan has reacted cautiously to India's decision to allow its aircraft to overfly Indian air space, saying the announcement was a step in the desired direction but more was needed to be done to de-escalate the tension.

"Since the ban was imposed by India unilaterally and Pakistan had only responded, we will consider similar action once the decision is notified to Pakistan officially," a Foreign Ministry official said.

A senior Government spokesman accompanying the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, on a trip to the United Arab Emirates also said a full response would come after the official notification.

"These steps were taken by India unilaterally and Pakistan did not ask them to stop the overflights."

They did it on their own and if they are restoring it now, it is their own decision. We have to look at things in totality," he told AFP by telephone.

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Rumsfeld to propose airborne monitors

LONDON, JUNE 10. The United States is likely to propose deployment of a helicopter-borne international monitoring force to monitor any infiltration of militants into Kashmir, a report today said here.



The proposed plan will be put forth by the U.S. Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, during his visit to Islamabad and New Delhi this week, *The Times* reported.

The idea has been welcomed by Pakistan, but India remains opposed to any "internationalisation" of an internal matter. — PTI

India allows Pak flights in first peace step

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, June 10

IN THE first public move to defuse the India-Pakistan crisis, New Delhi on Monday lifted the ban on Pakistani commercial flights through Indian airspace. Foreign Ministry spokesperson Nirupama Rao, announcing the move, said it was "not a small step".

More discreetly, New Delhi also ordered some naval units patrolling off the coast of Pakistan to return to their stations in the Bay of Bengal. It also formalised a decision to appoint Harsh Bhasin the next high commissioner to Pakistan.

A Pakistani Foreign Ministry spokesman welcomed the end of the overflight ban as a step in the right direction, but said "a lot more needs to be done".

These measures were adjudged the minimum India could do in response to last week's pledge by Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf to bring a permanent end to infiltration. Infiltration seems to have dropped off since May 27, but New Delhi feels it needs a three-week period to make a definite assessment. "There are some indications of a fall in infiltration although no final conclusion can be made," Rao said.

The Government is unsure whether Musharraf will keep his word. To ensure he does, New Delhi needs to preserve both the credibility of its military threats and Western diplomatic pressure on Pakistan. As the West wants to reduce military tensions, the two objectives are partly contradictory.

India also wished to make sure its response to Musharraf's

Crisis not over yet

- The two armies will remain eyeball-to-eyeball for five months
- Western pressure on Pak could slacken and lead Musharraf to renege
- Major terrorist strike could wreck diplomatic de-escalation moves. An estimated 30 per cent jihadis are outside Musharraf's control

pledge was not too closely linked to US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's South Asia visit. With Rumsfeld arriving in New Delhi on Tuesday night, it was felt necessary to make the peace gesture the day before.

Lifting the overflight ban signals a willingness to roll back the diplomatic sanctions imposed last December. This is necessary if India wants to keep the West on its side.

India would have indicated a readiness to exchange high commissioners as well. South Block ruled this out after Pakistan's brutal assault on an Indian diplomat. India will merely confirm that Bhasin will be given the post.

Deciding on a signal on military de-escalation was particularly sensitive. India wants to sustain its mobilisation until the Kashmir polls in October. Sending off the ships was the best way to indicate to Pakistan that India was prepared to pull back without materially reducing the firepower amassed against Pakistan.

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SEIZE THE NEW MOMENT 106

THE ASSURANCE BY the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, to stop permanently the endemic terrorist incursions into India has undeniably created an opening for serious bilateral efforts towards sustainable peace. By losing no time in welcoming this initiative from Pakistan as relayed by the United States, India has certainly signalled its willingness to seize the new moment of delicate hope. Significant, too, is the assurance to the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, from the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, that New Delhi intends to "respond appropriately and positively" to Gen. Musharraf's "forward" step "in the right direction". Encouraging are the growing signs that India and Pakistan may now be able to de-escalate their tensions and avert a horrific war. Yet, a lasting breakthrough towards peace and stability on the India-Pakistan front is possible only through a spirit of conciliation and a high degree of sensitivity towards each other's emotive feelings. Viewed in this perspective, the dramatic emergence of the U.S. as the influential backstage interlocutor on matters of purely bilateral interest to India and Pakistan is indicative of an evolving reality with deep implications for the strategic autonomy of both these South Asian states. Even now, while New Delhi might wish to claim success for its own "coercive diplomacy", it appears that New Delhi and Islamabad are responding to the coercive diplomacy of the U.S.-led group of major powers which have asked their diplomats and citizens to leave India and Pakistan.

On balance, though, it will be disastrous if India and Pakistan fritter away the space that Gen. Musharraf's latest gesture seems to have made possible for an upturn in their ties. Given the parlous state of the India-Pakistan relationship at this stage, the unfolding diplomatic intervention by the U.S. has only gained momentum, almost inexorably. India's foreign policy establishment cannot, however, ignore

the depth of the Pakistan President's strategic partnership with Washington in the current U.S.-led global campaign against terrorism. The goodwill that exists between the U.S. and Gen. Musharraf is the defining factor that underpins the credibility of his full-fledged commitment to eliminate cross-border terrorism of the kind that has played havoc in India in recent years. In a larger perspective, the outcome of the visit to Islamabad and New Delhi at this time by the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, has helped sustain the incipient signs of a thaw beneath the surface of what has so far been a glacially slow movement towards an India-Pakistan rapprochement. Not fully explained are the circumstances shrouding India's loss of an unmanned 'spy plane' in Pakistan's airspace at this time. New Delhi will do well to refrain from actions that may be seen as provocative and may dismay the international community.

With Mr. Armitage having demonstrated the efficacy of America's diplomatic leverage with Pakistan at this juncture, India will inevitably face the daunting task of retaining its emphasis on dealing with Pakistan on a purely bilateral basis. Mr. Armitage has discussed with the Indian leaders various "possibilities and modalities" to monitor the Line of Control (LoC) in Jammu and Kashmir in the wake of Gen. Musharraf's plenary pledge to end terrorist infiltration into India on a verifiable basis. There are no signs of Pakistan being convinced that a joint-patrolling of the LoC by the forces belonging to the two countries can be a problem-solving mechanism and also a confidence-building measure. To make joint patrolling attractive to Pakistan, India may also have to recognise the urgency of an agreed military de-escalation along either side of their border. India's objectives in this regard should be twofold: a credible and fair election in Jammu and Kashmir and the settlement of the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan solely in a bilateral framework.

10 JUN 2002

THE HINDU

Chances of war minimal, says Musharraf

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ISLAMABAD, JUNE 9. Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf, has said that the Kashmir "dispute" remained an obstacle to peace and India's tough stand was aimed at "creating the effects of war on us".

India wants "to prevent us from our stand on Kashmir and to suppress the Kashmiri people's struggle", he said here in an interview with Malaysia's *New Sunday Times*, published today. "The Kashmiri people don't want the election (in September) because Kashmir is not a part of India," Gen. Musharraf said.

However, toeing the line put forth before the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, he said, "I think the chance of war is minimal. The

threat (of war) in the last four or five days has diminished." The solution lay in "recognising Kashmir as the central core issue between India and Pakistan which has bedevilled relations between the two countries". "It is ridiculous that they say there are other issues. What other issues are they talking about? This is the dispute."

Policy change on Kashmir?

Gen. Musharraf was planning to announce a "dramatic policy change" on Kashmir on behalf of the Army and the United Jihad Council in his address to the nation on May 27 but retracted from doing so at the last minute due to the apprehen-

sions of the 'jehadis', according to reports from Dubai.

Until hours before the speech, he was poised to announce a ceasefire in Kashmir and had met leaders of the Pakistan chapter of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) and militants to inform them about his intentions, *Gulf News* has reported.

Syed Salahuddin of the Hizb-ul Mujahideen led the militants at the meeting, where representatives of the Badr-ul Mujahideen, the Hizb-ul Momineen and the Jamiat-ul Mujahideen were also present. Angry scenes took place during the meeting as the militant leaders accused Pakistan of "trying to dump us like the Taliban", the report said. — UNI

New strategies for old problems

Every action that India takes in the coming days and weeks should be addressed to its effect on the entire political spectrum both at home and abroad. We disapprove of any misuse of the prescriptology for expression of aggressive attitudes and urges. We are clear and unambiguous in refusing to divert the political and moral resources of our society towards making India another "rogue state", or to undermine the foundations of "democratic peace". We do not glorify war, and we regard it as axiomatic that the designers of Indian foreign and defence policies have to work for establishing peace and a just world order. The thesis developed in this article is that Pakistan can be turned around by an optimum combination of force and diplomacy.

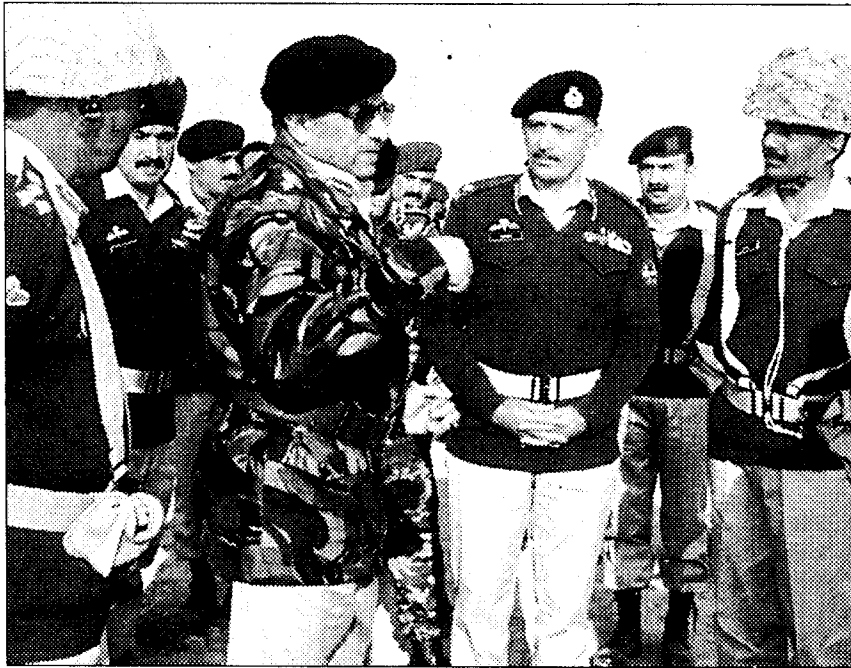
India's relationship with the Pakistan army and the Inter-Services Intelligence is at a turning point. India has specific aims in dealing with Pakistan's continued support of insurgency after Pervez Musharraf's January 12 speech, where he promised to rein in Pakistan-sponsored insurgency *vis-à-vis* India, and it will take skilled use of military pressure as well as diplomacy to turn Musharraf and company around in their thinking and behaviour. India's aim is not to destroy Pakistan or to acquire its territory, nor to conquer it and to bring 100 million unhappy Pakistanis under Indian domination. The aim is specific — to hold Musharraf to his promise to clamp down on terrorists in Kashmir and in other parts of India.

If Musharraf is unwilling or unable to manage his militants, *mullahs* and the ISI handlers of the militants, then India may have to complete the job for him, and with the United States of America's help clean out the neighbourhood of al Qaida network as well. The purpose is morally and strategically justified although the military challenge is a big one. The situation is both high risk and high impact in the sense that the costs to India of inaction now are greater than the costs of a strategy of controlled escalation against Pakistan. Musharraf is now displaying the characteristics of Yasser Arafat. Like Arafat, Musharraf has not kept his promise to clamp down on terrorism. In both cases, the Bush administration has publicly expressed its disappointment with the two leaders. Like the Palestinian Authority, Musharraf's Pakistan too needs serious internal reforms, accountability, and transparency regarding the work of the secret services. So the choice is stark. Will Musharraf stop grandstanding and check terrorism or will outside forces have to act to clean Pakistan of the terrorist elements? It is unclear if Musharraf is reading the international signals clearly or if the issue will need to be taken to the battlefield.

What is the nature of the problem and the nature and the interests of the players in the current Indo-Pakistan situation? These must be clearly understood so that India's military and diplomatic strategy has a precise focus and there is both

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Ashok Kapur is chairman, department of political science, University of Waterloo, Canada

Pakistan could be made to turn around, think
M.L. Sondhi and Ashok Kapur, by the correct combination of force and diplomacy



Some of the key players

skilled use as well as skilled non-use of coercive diplomacy to turn Pakistan around to the path of peaceful change. In all there are five players who are involved. The thinking and policy of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and the Indian government is the easiest to understand. The emerging Indian view at the level of both state and society is that Pakistanis do not have to like Indians or even have friendly relations, but cross-border terrorism must end so that elections in Kashmir can be conducted peacefully and the killing of innocent civilians is stopped. Although Vajpayee and his government have been under intense internal pressure to fight Pakistan militarily, they have resisted the pressure so far. But there is a sea change in Indian public opinion which now says "enough is enough". Now there is a consensus in Indian party politics as well as in the thinking of the armed forces about the need to put a stop to terrorism. This is why Vajpayee has not declared war on Pakistan but will not withdraw Indian forces from Pakistan's borders; and has increased the pressure by the deployment of naval forces off Karachi.

Musharraf and his military colleagues form the second group of key players. Musharraf can manage the top generals of the army and the ISI machinery, but he lacks links with the ISI rank and file and with the local ISI commanders who have the ability to sneak in militants into Kashmir and other parts of India. Note that the ISI handlers of the militants have links with the terror networks which extend from al Qaida in the Pakistan-Afghanistan sector to Kashmir but Musharraf and his colleagues do not. For instance, Musharraf did not authorize the December 13 attack on Parliament. The ISI-managed terror network neither wants an Indo-Pakistan deal, nor does it want the US-Pakistan militaries to neutralize the al Qaida network in the North West Frontier Province. This network has repeatedly escalated militancy in Kashmir and in India when there is a senior US official

visiting the region, when Kashmir elections are announced, and when India-Pakistan diplomatic deals are under consideration. The militants do not want elections in Kashmir because they are not willing to take the test at the ballot box. (The Islamic parties are also not successful in winning elections in Pakistan). The rhetoric about free elections in Kashmir coming from the Pakistan army and the militants is ironic because Pakistan's military regime has made nonsense of democracy in Pakistan and the militants have a vested interest in continuing with militancy.

China is the third major player. It has injected itself into Pakistani military thinking and diplomacy because its links with Pakistan give it a leverage with India, or so Beijing thinks. Recently, China inserted itself in the Indo-Pak confrontation by offering support to Pakistan. This could mean a vague promise as in the case of the 1965 and the 1971 wars, or it could be a promise of more arms supplies, or an offer of military action in the Himalayas, or there could be a Chinese nuclear guarantee to Pakistan. A Chinese nuclear guarantee would be an interesting gesture because it could imply that Pakistan cannot be expected to fight with its nuclear arsenal despite its publicized missile tests. It could also be an empty gesture because India's no-first-strike policy would rule out Indian initiation of a nuclear exchange. China has a spoiler's role. It is not in its interest to have a bilateral Indo-Pakistan deal (which would minimize its leverage *vis-à-vis* India through Pakistan). Continued militancy in Kashmir also suits China because it keeps India off balance.

The fourth player, the US, is now seriously engaged in the region because the issue of nuclear war attracts its attention, and because there is a convergence in American and Indian thinking that Musharraf is not serious either about weeding out al Qaida or about checking Kashmiri terrorism. Now that al Qaida operatives are active in the Afghanistan

Pakistan border and in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, there is a stronger convergence of interest between the US and India to deal with the problem collectively rather than to treat them as two separate military theatres. America is now helping manage the Indo-Pak confrontation by staying engaged, by urging both sides to avoid war, by publicly recognizing the Indian case against Pakistan-sponsored terrorism, by strengthening Indian military capacity through a supply of modern equipment.

The US wants a negotiated Indo-Pak settlement which neither the ISI, nor the militants nor China, want. The role of the United Kingdom is somewhat ambivalent on the Kashmir issue. British sympathies are with their Pakistani and Kashmiri constituents, who contribute handsomely to the Labour Party, and historically, UK has shown dedication to the two-nation theory. But to maintain its special position with the US, it is also opposed to international terrorism. British foreign secretary, Jack Straw, was assertive in his opposition to terrorism in Kashmir and recognizes that Pakistan must do much more to end it.

Finally, Kofi Annan is the fifth player. He recites the old mantra about restraint but he is as irrelevant to the present situation as the United Nations military observers are to the line of control. The situation in the subcontinent has three centres of gravity. The first one is the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, which harbours the al Qaida network. This is a point of friction between American and al Qaida forces, and between America and Musharraf, whose cooperation is less than complete.

The second centre of gravity is Kashmir, where the friction is between Indian and Pakistani forces as well as between American and Pakistani diplomacy. Here, the US has tilted towards India and there is a clear understanding of Indian compulsions and aims. These two centres have now come together because of the penetration of al Qaida agents into Kashmir and because the Pakistan government harbours them in PoK.

The third centre of gravity is within the Pakistani power structure and the decision-making loop. This concerns the faultline between Musharraf and his colleagues on the one hand (who claim to oppose terrorism) and the ISI handlers of the militants and the Islamic groups and their supporters in the junior ranks of the Pakistan army (who promote terrorism and Kashmiri liberation).

India and the US now need to manage all three centres of gravity through concerted military and diplomatic communications. India also has other options. A naval blockade of Karachi could injure Pakistan's economy and it is doubtful if China can supply Pakistan with the goods it needs. (China could not do this with Nepal when India banned trade with Nepal). But unless the Pakistani military and intelligence machinery recognizes that the costs of supporting terrorism outweigh the costs of ending it, a change in the three centres of gravity is not possible. The central aim of Indian military and diplomatic strategy or Indian coercive diplomacy now is to significantly alter the matrix of Pakistani calculations so that they favour internal development and internal reforms within Pakistan which is in the country's best long term interest.

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Farooq for economic sanctions against Pak

9/6

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

JAMMU, June 8. — Economic sanctions should be imposed on Pakistan if international pressure fails to deter it from continuing with cross border terrorism, Dr Farooq Abdullah said. In an interview to Al-Jazeera television in Srinagar, he said: "War is not a solution to the problem (infiltration), but the patience of Indians should not be tested."

Pakistan, he said, has added a new dimension to terrorism by targeting minorities in the mountains to flare up communal violence in rest of the country.

He said India always stood for peace and hoped that Pakistan will help in creating a situation to avert war. "But, if Islamabad goes ahead in its machinations, what option is left with Delhi," he said, asserting that India

Kazak ultra attempts suicide

JAMMU, June 8. — A Kazak mercenary lodged in Udhampur district jail attempted to commit suicide yesterday. Abdul Qadir broke an electricity bulb in his cell and stabbed himself with it on his abdomen and chest. He was rushed to a hospital where his condition is stated to be critical. — SNS

would then be forced to destroy terrorist camps in PoK.

On the USA's efforts to ease the current Indo-Pak tension, Dr Abdullah said the USA is concerned since its troops are stationed in Pakistan and they would suffer in the event of an Indo-Pak conflict. The USA's focus would be naturally on finishing Al-Qaida and Taliban cadre.

He supported the defence minister's assertions that if Islamabad uses nuclear weapons, Pakistan will perish in retaliatory attacks.

He rejected the suggestion to ban the Hurriyat and said

"democracy in India guarantees freedom of expression".

Omar: The National Conference's general secretary, Shiekh Nazir, today said Mr Omar Abdullah would be elected as the party president on 23 June.

VDCs killed: Four members of a village defence committee were killed when terrorists attacked Dhilloo in Udhampur district last night. Two civilians were killed in Poonch district in Pakistani shelling. Pak troops also targetted Sawjian, Gajrian and Poonch town with mortar shells and machine gun fire. Exchange of fire was reported from Hiranagar.

09 JUN 2002

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Drone was on spying mission, claims Pakistan

Indian UAV shot down near Lahore

9/6

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 8. — The Pakistani Air Force shot down an Indian unmanned aerial vehicle south-south-west of Lahore, about 20 km inside Pakistani territory, late last night.

The defence ministry said the UAV belonged to the IAF and "control and contact with it had been lost." It said in a statement: "One UAV lost contact around 2300 hours on 7 June and is believed to have fallen down within 20 km south-south west of Lahore".

The ministry maintained that use of such drones in the current state of deployment of armed forces was a "routine feature".

In Islamabad, a defence ministry statement said: "The Indian aerial vehicle was on a reconnaissance and spying mission when it violated Pakistani air space" and claimed Pakistani Air Force had shot down the drone.

Government spokesperson Maj-Gen Rashid Qureshi said the incident highlighted India's "disregard for international norms."

He said the UAV landed on the Raiwand-Kasur road, at Raja Jang near Dogran Kalan village in Punjab. Alleging that India had violated Pakistani air space, he said, "the proof of it is the in-

SR) trusion ... by the unmanned Indian spy plane."

Pakistani Army reached the spot soon after the incident and cordoned off the area around the charred plane. There were no re-



Pakistani securitymen inspect the UAV's wreckage at Raja Jang. — AFP

ports of casualties. Defence officials said the plane was equipped with an Israeli-made camera.

Pakistan has summoned the Indian High Commission's first secretary following the incident.

Pakistan foreign minister Mr

Abdul Sattar said that responsible states must be careful not to provoke an escalation of tension.

"Pakistan continues to exercise restraint and responsibility in order to prevent any aggravation of the situation," he said, adding "penetration of the Indian plane into our airspace can only enhance the dangers existing in the presence of forces on both sides of the Line of Control."

The plane was shot down a few hours after the US deputy secretary of state, Mr Richard Armitage, said tensions between India and Pakistan were a bit down.

UAVs — small planes with cameras in them which transmit photographs — are used by both India and Pakistan for surveillance. This allows one to know what the preparations are on the other side without much damage. The UAVs are harder to shoot down and are comparatively more "expendable" as no pilots are involved.

In the past, several Pakistani UAVs have intruded into Indian airspace, some-

times flying at surprisingly high altitudes in Jammu and Kashmir. India has shot down a couple of such UAVs in the recent past.

India has two kinds of UAVs, the Israeli Heron and the American Searcher.

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THE STATESMAN

New Delhi may use diplomatic ice-breaker

TIMES NEWS NETWORK & AGENCIES

Tallinn\New Delhi: India is considering returning some of its diplomats to Pakistan and making some "military gestures" to lessen nuclear tensions between the two countries, deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage said on Saturday. "It's quite clear that there will be some actions on the part of India responding to the messages I brought" from Pakistan, said the U.S. State Department's no. 2 official upon his arrival in the Baltic capital of Estonia on Saturday after talks in India.

The Indian government told Mr Armitage that it reserved the right to decide on the nature and timing of the reciprocatory steps to be taken and that diplomatic normalisation was likely to precede military de-escalation.

Defence secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, attending a meeting with Baltic and Nordic defence ministers, planned to consult with Mr Armitage before deciding when to travel to India and Pakistan to continue efforts at averting war. "It's quite clear, at least temporarily, the tensions are down," he told reporters.

Pak shoots down Indian spy plane

TIMES NEWS NETWORK AND AGENCIES

New Delhi: An Indian unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) was shot down by Pakistani fighter jets near Lahore late on Friday night. Both countries have been deploying UAVs or 'spy drones' against each other to monitor troop deployment and defences since the military stand-off began six months ago.

Defence ministry officials said on Saturday that the UAV was on a "routine flight" near the Indo-Pak border when ground control lost contact with the drone at about 11 p.m. on Friday.

- Gen Musharraf pledges end to cross-border infiltration
- Govt plans to assess fallout of Pak actions next week
- Delhi will not give Pakistan 'too little too late, nor too much too soon'

Mr Rumsfeld's assessment was bolstered by an official Indian statement welcoming Pakistan's pledge to the US to "stop cross-border infiltration permanently". The pledge was conveyed to New Delhi by Mr Armitage on Friday.

The statement issued here on Saturday said this was "a step forward and in the right direction". It went on to add that "an irreversible end to infiltration requires that the infrastructure of support to cross-border terrorism within Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir be also dismantled". These moves, taken along with Gen Pervez Musharraf's offer for unconditional talks and the request of hard-line foreign minister Abdus Sattar for retirement, appear to indicate that New Delhi's politico-military strategy to counter Pakistan-aided terrorism is working.

The government is expected early next week to make an assessment as to whether the Pakistani pledge is being implemented on the ground in J&K. There will be a high-level meeting to make a preliminary evaluation and formulate an initial response.

Officials say that a better determination of Islamabad's pledges will be available only by next month-end. However, they say they will not shy away from an appropriate response. In the words of one official, "We will not give too little too late, nor too much too soon".

The government now sees itself locked in a phase of 'subtle testing endgame'. Its major challenge is to ensure that the situation does not degenerate into an open conflict even while relentlessly locking Pakistan into a position of ending terrorist infiltration and then dismantling the infrastructure that supports it.

Delhi lines up series of gestures

De-escalation flag flutters

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FROM BHARAT BHUSHAN

New Delhi, June 8: By next week, India will announce some non-military and military steps towards de-escalating the tension with Pakistan.

This would be in recognition of the "pledge" given by President Pervez Musharraf to end infiltration permanently and underwritten by the US, according to highly-placed government sources.

This was also confirmed by US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia. He, however, claimed that India was considering returning some of its diplomats to Islamabad and making some military gestures to lessen tensions. "That would be going too far," said an official source.

Although Delhi is unlikely to announce its first move immediately, some of the immediate responses being considered by India include the de-alerting of its troops from a six-hour readiness to 48 hours and restoring overflights. Later, Delhi might send

the nomination of the next Indian high commissioner to Islamabad as Vijay Nambiar, the last Indian envoy, has now been appointed to the UN in New York.

Musharraf's move to end infiltration "permanently" was welcomed by India when US secretary of state Colin Powell called external affairs minister Jaswant Singh today. Singh described it as "a step forward in the right direction" and reiterated the Prime Minister's statement that India would respond "appropriately and positively". Powell spoke to Musharraf, too.

Singh also made it clear that "an irreversible end to infiltration" required the dismantling of the infrastructure of support for it in Pakistan as well as Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK).

Delhi believes that US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld, expected to arrive next week, should be able to convey India's positive response to Islamabad, where he is scheduled to go from here. This would allow Rumsfeld to put further pressure on Pakistan to take the next series of steps to dismantle the infrastruc-

ture supporting infiltration.

The Indian response would be commensurate with the developments on the ground. Between May 27, when Musharraf announced his intention to end terrorism from Pakistani soil, and June 7, there have been no infiltration attempts across the LoC, according to official sources. However, India is monitoring the situation closely.

There is a recognition in the government that it would be difficult to satisfy international opinion with its positive response and, whatever it might do, there may still be demands for further concessions. The dilemma of sequencing the responses was summed up by an official: "You must not give too little too late and you can't give too much too soon."

What is clear though is that restoring diplomatic links at the level of high commissioners may take up to three months and that military de-escalation would follow a diplomatic thaw. "The military cannot be deployed and re-deployed like a yo-yo," a government source said. (See Page 6)

09 JUN 2002

Dilemma at the LoC

PAKISTAN'S RELUCTANCE to accept India's suggestion on the joint patrolling of the Line of Control must have been due to the realisation that it could seriously hamper the *jehadi* infiltration into Kashmir. Such a turn of events would mean a gradual petering out of Islamabad's 13-year-old proxy war in the state. It was only through the *jehadi* incursions and the violence perpetrated by these mercenaries that Pakistan could keep international attention focused on Kashmir. Once the violence stops, it will not be long before Kashmir becomes normal again. Such a possibility is all the greater considering that disgruntled elements within Kashmir are already divided over the question of participating in the assembly elections.

India's long experience in dealing with insurgents in the North-east and in Punjab should prove handy in dealing with the Kashmir problem. It has been seen (mainly in the North-east) that once foreign aid dries up, the rebels sue for peace. Perhaps realising that its game is up, Pakistan is now proposing the involvement of the

US and Britain to monitor the LoC. The idea obviously is that if it cannot internationalise the Kashmir problem through terrorist violence, it should try to do so by inviting the US and British troops to the region. India's rejection of the proposal was only to be expected, for New Delhi has always insisted on a bilateral approach to the problem. Its suggestion for joint patrolling was well-timed in this respect for it provided a reasonable alternative. Little wonder that Pakistan has now withdrawn its earlier summary rejection.

Patrolling of this nature would entail a gradual de-escalation on the border, for the two countries will have to shed their present confrontationalist stance to facilitate the joint venture. If this happens, the world will undoubtedly heave a sigh of relief because the massing of troops by the two nuclear neighbours had caused widespread concern. But Pervez Musharraf may not be too pleased, for his dream of snatching Kashmir will be frustrated. Besides, the out-of-work *jehadis* inside Pakistan will make life difficult for him.

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THE HINDUSTAN

STRATEGIC CROSSROADS

India Must Review Its Proxy War Options

By GURMEET KANWAL

For over a decade now Pakistan has been waging a "proxy war" in Jammu and Kashmir and other parts of India through mercenary terrorists that it calls *mujahideen*. It has followed this course under the shadow of its nuclear umbrella, in keeping with its strategy of bleeding India through a thousand cuts. Pakistan has been recruiting, training, arming, equipping and indoctrinating young Islamist fanatics of various nationalities through several fundamentalist organisations that willingly act as a front to wage a so-called *jihad* in India, Afghanistan and elsewhere in the world. It is now universally recognised that the operations are masterminded by Pakistan's notorious Directorate of Inter-Services Intelligence at the behest of Pakistan's rogue army. These nefarious activities have earned for Pakistan the dubious distinction of being dubbed the mother nation of state-sponsored international Islamist fundamentalist terrorism.

Bleeding India

Pakistan's army has been actively aiding and abetting infiltration along the LoC. Its ISI-controlled *jihad* factories have been working overtime to produce *fedayeen* suicide squads. The ruthless *fedayeen* mercenaries of the Al Qaeda, the Taliban, the Lashkar-e-Taiba and umpteen other such organisations are a disgrace to Islam. They have now taken to launching dastardly raids on soft targets such as the family quarters in the camps of security forces and killing hapless women and innocent children in cold blood. Officially, the Pakistan government tries to pass off its reprehensible interference in India's internal affairs as "moral, diplomatic and political support" for Kashmiri "freedom fighters".

For Pakistan, its proxy war is a low-cost, high-payoff option to destabilise India and keep the Indian army and other security forces embroiled in counter-insurgency and internal security duties.

In dealing with Pakistan's proxy war — the primary threat to its national security and territorial integrity — India has shown remarkable restraint. By limiting its anti-terrorism military operations to its own territory, India has acted with immense responsibility and maturity. However, Pakistan's military junta has always viewed India's patience as weakness. Even after the events of 11 September, it unabashedly continued its sponsorship of terrorism across its eastern border with India even as it wilted under Uncle Sam's withering gaze and hastily scrambled to pull its chestnuts out of the fire across its western border with Afghanistan.

Quite obviously, India's patience is not

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infinite. During the last few months, Pakistan's mercenary terrorists have gone simply too far. Despite General Musharraf's 12 January speech, the ISI continued to sponsor infiltration across the LoC throughout the winter, particularly in the Poonch, Rajauri and Naoshera areas. The recent massacre in Jammu has shocked the nation and steeled its resolve.

Pakistan's proxy war in J&K and elsewhere has cost India dear. Almost 30,000

terrorist killed in combat by the security forces, three to four others are waiting across the border to be inducted into J&K by the ISI.

The peace process in Kashmir is also not making much headway despite several laudable initiatives launched by the present central government. Prime Minister Vajpayee took a bold political risk in reaching out to Pakistan through the bus ride from Amritsar to Lahore. As the cli-



Indian citizens have lost their lives, including over 3,000 security forces personnel. The festering sore has hampered India's consolidation as a nation-state. It has undermined India's standing in the comity of nations. The development of J&K has been set back by several decades. A whole generation of innocent Kashmiris has been denied its place in the sun. Kashmir's Sufi culture has been irreparably disrupted. The monetary costs too have been colossal. Counter-terrorism operations in J&K take away a sizable part of the central government expenditure; funds that can be better spent on development.

Pakistan is the problem

India's reactive strategy, limited to conducting counter-terrorism operations within India's borders, has not yielded the desired results. While the army and the other security forces have succeeded in achieving a semblance of military control over the volatile internal security situation, the impact is transitory — as soon as a battalion is pulled out from an area, the terrorists shift their operating bases into it. This is because the roots of the malady are now clearly in Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. Since the sustenance is being provided by Pakistan, counter-terrorism operations within India's boundaries can never succeed in eliminating the scourge. For every ter-

called for war. Even the most moderate analysts are recommending hard-line options, including those who have always made a show of lighting candles at Wagah. While addressing troops at Kupwara in northern Kashmir, the Prime Minister called upon the army to be prepared to make sacrifices in a decisive battle.

Foreboding war clouds are now hovering over the horizon. There is increasing international pressure on India to hold its horses but not enough pressure on Pakistan to rein in its dogs of war. No one knows whether Musharraf is in full control or if he is just a puppet on a string being manipulated by the corps commanders. Speculation is rife that rogue ISI operatives are conducting their own campaign of unbridled terror — in India as well as within Pakistan. The mullahs are up in arms and major political parties have refused to negotiate with Musharraf. Pakistan's political parties are united in their opposition to his regime. The rigged referendum has only given Musharraf a false sense of euphoria.

Long-term strategy needed

Clearly, India has to wage its own battle against terrorism. While the government is not ruling out war as an option, it remains an option of the last resort. The Pakistan High Commissioner has been expelled. There are several other arrows still in the government's quiver. Among them, it can withdraw Pakistan's MFN status. Trade with Pakistan can and should be suspended. It can impose unilateral economic sanctions. The Indus Waters Treaty can be put on hold. Another step on the escalatory ladder would be the naval blockade of Karachi.

In dealing with Pakistan's proxy war, India stands at a strategic crossroads. The decade-old reactive strategy has quite obviously failed and major proactive measures are now called for. Since Pakistan is the real problem, the time has definitely come to take the fight into the heartland of Pakistan. A short, sharp war limited to J&K is unlikely to achieve strategic gains — or succeed in halting Pakistan's state-sponsored cross-border terrorism. An all-out war across the international border might inevitably lead to nuclear exchanges.

A long-term counter-proxy war strategy needs to be formulated — comprising both covert and overt measures across the entire political, diplomatic, economic and military spectrum. Perhaps the time has come to begin providing "moral, diplomatic and political" support to the "freedom fighters" in Pakhtoonistan, Baluchistan, Balawaristan and Sind, just like Pakistan claims it is doing in J&K. A banana republic ruled by a rogue army must be spoken to in the language that it understands best.

Armitage brings message for Delhi

Pervez promises permanent stop

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, June 7: US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage today said President Pervez Musharraf had made a firm commitment to him to stop infiltration across the Line of Control "permanently".

The American leader's decision to announce this commitment publicly now makes it very difficult for Islamabad to wriggle out without taking firm action against cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

Indicating that the pressure on Musharraf had not eased, Russia said the Pakistani President could visit Moscow once he had stopped infiltration.

India sees the US deputy secretary's comments and Russia's message to Pakistan as a significant development. South Block officials pointed out that this was perhaps the first time Washington had publicly shared a commitment made by Musharraf in private. "This clearly shows that they are not only trying to convince Delhi, but also making it clear to Pakistan that its commitment was being closely watched," a senior official said.

Armitage, who held discussions with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, was assured by Delhi that it was willing to take "reciprocal steps" once it was satisfied that infiltration had stopped and there was an improvement in the ground situation. What these steps would be was not specified by India, but could include reviving diplomatic contact with Pakistan at the level of high commissioners



Armitage in Delhi. (Reuters)

and, perhaps, some military measures.

Late tonight, a state department spokesman said in Washington the US had detected a significant reduction in the number of infiltrations.

"But I would also say at this point we can't say that this change has been done on a permanent basis, and that's what President Musharraf has promised," the spokesman said.

After a 35-minute meeting with Vajpayee, Armitage said he

had briefed the Indian leadership on the "tone, tenor and full content" of his discussions with the Pakistani President. This, he said, included Musharraf's "commitment to stop cross-border infiltration permanently".

Armitage said Musharraf told him he wanted to avoid a war. The US official said this was repeated by the Indian leadership today but they "do want terrorism to stop". He added: "And in this regard, we share the view."

The US deputy secretary felt tension was "a bit down on both sides". Armitage said he also discussed in Islamabad and here the possibilities and modalities of monitoring the LoC. "But no decision has been taken as yet."

In meetings with Armitage, the Indians said they are not averse to sharing information and technology with the US and the UK on monitoring infiltration. Such sharing not only brings transparency to Indian findings, but also lends credence to its claims.

Foreign minister Jaswant Singh said after his meeting with Armitage: "We are very committed to moving on the path of peace, because to peace there is really no alternative."

Referring to the Prime Minister's remarks before he left for Almaty, Singh said: "If what President Musharraf has said is converted on the ground into action, then certainly India will reciprocate."

Later, foreign ministry spokesperson Nirupama Rao said: "There is no established trend to suggest that there has been a drop in infiltration."

■ Advani talks tough, Page 8

QUOTE

There is no established trend to suggest that there has been a drop in infiltration

FOREIGN MINISTRY
SPOKESPERSON

08 JUN 2002

THE TELEGRAPH

STAGE BEING SET FOR REDUCTION OF TENSION

Musharraf vows to stop infiltration, says Armitage

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JUNE 7. Exploring the road map for a reduction of tensions in the subcontinent, India and the United States today discussed ways to assess the emerging evidence on the decline in cross-border infiltration across the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir.

Once the assessment of India and the Anglo-American powers confirms the assertions from the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, that infiltration across the LoC has ceased, New Delhi is likely to take steps to ease the current standoff with Islamabad.

The visiting U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, today told the Indian leadership that the American pressure on Gen. Musharraf to end cross-border terrorism had begun yielding results.

Speaking to reporters after his 35-minute meeting with the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, this evening, Mr. Armitage said that in his talks with the Pakistani leaders on Thursday, Gen. Musharraf had pledged to "stop cross-border infiltration permanently."

This new commitment from Gen. Musharraf will go a long way in addressing the crucial Indian demand that the end to infiltration should not be a tactical ploy but a fundamental change in Pakistan's approach to cross-border terrorism.

While communicating the movement on the Pakistani side to the Indian leaders, Mr. Armitage apparently underlined the American expectations for early reciprocal actions from India, which could lead to a step-by-step process of de-escalating the current Indo-Pak. confrontation.

The Bush administration is not insisting that India respond



The US Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, with the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, in New Delhi on Friday. —Photo: V. Sudershan

either immediately or expansively to Pakistan's move on infiltration. But the U.S. does believe that reciprocal actions are essential to avert a war in the subcontinent.

While conceding that India is the aggrieved party in the current military confrontation with Pakistan, Mr. Armitage also stressed the importance of New Delhi giving Gen. Musharraf some space by responding "positively" to his first step on cross-border infiltration.

India is aware of the personal prestige and political weight that the U.S. President, George W. Bush, has put behind the American effort to defuse Indo-Pak. tensions.

After the talks with Mr. Armitage this afternoon, the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, placed on record India's "deep sense of appreciation of the spirit that has persuaded President Bush" to send his top officials to the region in pursuit of peace.

Reaffirming India's own

commitment to peace, Mr. Singh added that if Gen. Musharraf's pledges were "converted on the ground into action... India will reciprocate in a manner that is befitting."

The Foreign Office was unwilling to go into any details on the nature of the Indian response to the cessation of cross-border infiltration.

But the expectation is that India could elevate diplomatic ties to the level of High Commissioners and reopen transportation links.

But before moving towards de-escalation, India wants to satisfy itself that the evidence on declining cross-border infiltration is indeed credible. In arriving at that assessment, which could take a few days, India appears ready to accept intelligence inputs from the United States and Great Britain.

The U.S. hopes that by the time Mr. Rumsfeld arrives in New Delhi early next week, India would absorb the message from the U.S. and Pakistan and

decide on the nature of its reciprocal actions.

Mr. Armitage said he had discussed with the Indian side the "possibilities and modalities" of a monitoring mechanism on the LoC to prevent infiltration but no decision had been taken.

The Foreign Office spokesman dismissed the idea of an Anglo-American force to monitor the LoC and said it did not even figure in the talks today. India remains committed to its proposal for a joint Indo-Pak. patrolling of the LoC. That issue, however, would acquire salience only after the process of de-escalation begins.

Besides substantive discussions with Mr. Singh in the morning, Mr. Armitage held talks with the National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra. He called on the Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, and the Leader of the Opposition, Sonia Gandhi. The Defence Minister, George Fernandes, hosted a dinner for Mr. Armitage.

The India-Pakistan standoff

By P. R. Chari

40-10
8/6

A MILLION and more Indian and Pakistani troops are facing one another across the Line of Control (LoC), the working boundary and the international border for the last five months. The possibility of a conflict erupting not by design, but by inadvertence or misperception or accident or leadership irrationality remains imminent. We had led ourselves to believe that war by design, which could acquire a nuclear dimension, was unlikely, appreciating the maturity imbuing the India-Pakistan leadership no less certainly than the leaders in the nuclear weapon states. Still, the Kaluchak massacre was obviously intended to provoke the Army and pressure India into taking precipitate action. This was followed by Abdul Gani Lone's assassination leading to further escalation of tensions and strains between the two countries. An advertent and planned India-Pakistan war is no longer an improbability now.

How seriously the leaderships in India and Pakistan take this sabre-rattling is another matter, since rhetoric has been the hallmark of all bilateral interactions in the past; they are expressly designed anyway to assuage or mould domestic opinion. It would take a very careful ear to discern nuances in the timbre and quality of this public belligerence. Abdul Sattar, as Pakistan Foreign Minister, has conveyed to the U.N. Secretary-General that "the Indian leadership routinely blames Pakistan for every violent incident inside India and in Occupied Kashmir". Mr. Sattar further believes that, "the BJP Government also wishes to deflect international attention from the ongoing massacre of the minority Muslim community in Gujarat as well as other domestic failings".

This might be partly true, but does not explain the rationale underlying the deployment of troops along the border following the attack on Parliament last year, which occurred much before Gujarat exploded. Was this troop deployment necessary in view of their total inaction for the last five months? Their inability to stop the growing cross-border terrorism is evi-

dent. In retrospect, the audacious attack on Parliament required a police investigation, not military action. But it was not possible for the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, to ignore inflamed public sentiments and the high feelings in the Sangh Parivar, and weigh his options dispassionately before dispatching troops to the border. Domestic compulsions compelled spectacular action.

Domestic imperatives are also working in Pakistan. Pervez Musharraf had

unabated and the wanted persons remain free. So, India finds itself between a rock and a hard place, unable to withdraw its troops from the border and resume the bilateral dialogue process with Pakistan, which must include the vexed problem of Kashmir for reasons of face-saving. Nor can it keep its troops indefinitely on the border for no adequate reason, costs apart. Whenever the dialogue resumes, India could dust off its proposal to grapple with cross-border terrorism

countries". This verisimilitude might have been faintly amusing had the missile tests not been timed with Pakistan's Railway Minister, Javed Ashraf Qazi, a former ISI chief, mentioning that, "if it ever comes to the annihilation of Pakistan, then what is this damned nuclear option for, we will use it against the enemy". He added that, "if Indians destroy most of us, we too will annihilate parts of the adversary". Disconcertingly enough, this irrational logic also afflicts large constituencies in New Delhi's political class, armed forces and the strategic chatterati. The clear and present danger is the unconcern in the ruling classes of India and Pakistan towards their nuclear capabilities that could overwhelm each other's population and economy, and their disbelief that the present confrontation could lead to a conventional war and escalate into a nuclear conflict.

Some part of this insouciance is explicable because the hope lies at the back of their minds that the U.S. would, as before, achieve some kind of a compromise solution. It is worth speculating whether the present crisis would have reached its current proportions if the comforting presence of the U.S. in its Good Samaritan/Peacemaker role had not been omnipresent in the background. The contours of a compromise solution to the present crisis, incidentally, are staring us in the face. It requires Pakistan to initiate more determined action to arrest the Taliban and Al-Qaeda elements holed up in PoK, proceed more credibly against the jihadi organisations in Pakistan and deliver some, if not all, of the 20 criminals wanted by India. For its part, India would need to assure the world that the coming elections in Kashmir would be conducted in a free and fair manner. Inviting foreign observers to monitor the elections could ensure this. A process of dialogue could also be initiated with the Jammu and Kashmir Government on the autonomy package suggested by it that had been summarily dismissed by the Central Government.

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

The clear and present danger is the unconcern in the ruling classes of India and Pakistan towards their nuclear capabilities.

pledged in his January 11 national broadcast that "no organisation will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir... Anyone found involved in any terrorist act would be dealt with sternly". Appropriate instructions had been issued to the Pakistani intelligence to cease assisting non-Kashmiri terrorist groups on the logic that this was in the interests of Pakistan's internal security. But Gen. Musharraf has not been able to follow through on his promises, as he has little room for manoeuvre between taking on the terrorists entrenched in Pakistan and keeping himself in power. Clearly, the jihadis are too deeply entrenched in the ruling elite, including the armed forces, and the politics of Pakistan for them to be suppressed. In consequence, the extremists arrested were released; action to freeze their bank accounts was almost farcical. More disconcertingly for India, some 2,500 to 3,000 battle-hardened Taliban and Al-Qaeda elements have found refuge in PoK and could be infiltrated into Kashmir.

Cognisant of this situation, India has laid out benchmarks for compliance by Pakistan. So far, however, its demands that Pakistan must end cross-border terrorism and deliver some 20 criminals wanted by it and resident in Pakistan have not been met. Cross-border terrorism continues

made obliquely during the negotiations on the Shimla Agreement to nominate a joint body "to establish ground rules and to supervise the effective observance of the Line of Peace (Control) and the rest of the border between the two countries". Unfortunately, this clause was deleted on Z. A. Bhutto's urgings. Undertaking joint patrolling of the border to check unauthorised movements has been pressed by India for several decades, but this has been resisted by Pakistan for obvious reasons.

Mr. Vajpayee has threatened Pakistan with "a decisive battle"; its Foreign Ministry has warned that "any misadventure by India will be met with full force. This would be a major miscalculation leading to grave consequences". The unsubtle reference to nuclear weapons is too obvious to be missed. Pakistan's missile tests have injected new strains into the India-Pakistan standoff at this critical juncture. Predictably, the test series has been explained away as being part of Pakistan's research and development related to its indigenous missile programme to maintain a minimum deterrent posture and ensure its security. For good measure, its official spokesman clarified that India was informed of these prospective tests and that they were "in no way related to the current situation existing between the two

Managing the crisis

By Chinmaya R. Gharekhan

We should persevere with the diplomatic option, give time to major players to persuade Gen. Musharraf to stop cross-border activity.

HO-10
7/6

THE COMBINATION of melting snow and monsoon clouds will produce an explosive mixture over the next few weeks. The several thousand Al-Qaeda terrorists who have positioned themselves in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) since Operation Enduring Freedom are getting ready to move into Kashmir, with the full support of Pervez Musharraf. The onset of the rainy season will reduce the possibilities of ground action by the Army. While the concern of the international community is perfectly understandable, its leaders cannot escape at least part of the responsibility for giving undue credence to Gen. Musharraf's promises of halting the trans-border infiltration.

The possibility of war is now being taken very seriously, as evidenced by the decision by several Governments to advise their nationals to leave India and Pakistan. Things have come to such a pass that some experts are openly arguing that in case of a nuclear war between India and Pakistan, India would suffer grievous consequences but survive whereas Pakistan would simply disappear, vanish, evaporate. In other words, India can afford a nuclear war, Pakistan cannot. Consequently, it is alright for India to start a conventional war with Pakistan without worrying too much about the danger of escalation to a nuclear war. Hopefully, such a suicidal approach is not shared by more than a lunatic fringe. In any case, the Government has scrupulously avoided indulging in such irresponsible rhetoric, unlike Pakistan which seems obsessed by the need to remind India and the rest of the world that it would be ready to use its nuclear arsenal any time it chooses to.

One must sympathise with the predicament in which the Government finds itself — damned if it does, damned if it does not. Of course, the Government should take comfort in the fact that the Opposition is even more cautious and restrained than

the leaders in the ruling coalition. The Opposition, of course, has the luxury of not having to take any decisions in this extremely complex and emotional situation. On the whole, the foreign policy-security team of the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, has acquitted itself admirably so far. It has had remarkable success in mobilising international opinion against the failure of Gen. Musharraf to check and stop cross-border infiltration. The *de facto* leader of the international community and U.S. President, George W. Bush, did not mince words on May 30: "He (Gen. Musharraf) must stop the incursions across the Line of Control. He must do so. He said he would do so. We and others are making it clear to him that he must live up to his word." The fact that the U.S. President used these words of admonition to Gen. Musharraf after the latter had claimed in his May 27 speech that there was no cross-border terrorism must have come as a shock to the people of Pakistan who just a few days before had ostensibly confirmed him in his assumption of power.

The Indian Government has maintained from the time the international coalition was formed after September 11 that we will fight our own war against terrorism and that we do not want others to fight it for us. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that both the Government, and even more so the people, have expected the Americans not actually to go to war on our behalf to liquidate the cross-border terrorism but at least to put heavy pressure on Pakistan to stop it. To that extent, Mr. Bush's words are to be warmly welcomed. However, we must not forget that the U.S. needs and will continue to need Pakistan for a long time to come in

the prosecution of its war against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban many of whose leaders have taken shelter in western Pakistan's tribal areas. American priority remains its own war against terror; anything and any country that comes in the way of the prosecution of that war will not be tolerated. This means the U.S. will be willing to lean on Pakistan so long as India does not go to war, limited or otherwise.

Some analysts argue that India does not have to worry too much about American sensitivity or reaction and that America might in fact respect us more if we went ahead and did what America did to Afghanistan or what the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, did to the Palestinians. Alas! We are not a superpower and Pakistan is not an insignificant military power. The situations are not comparable at all.

There is plenty of loose talk of a salami slice or PoK chop military action, of capturing 300 km of territory across the Line of Control (LoC) or of a 100-km deep attack inside PoK and of capturing Skardu. There is an implicit and dangerous assumption that Pakistan will be taken unawares and will not retaliate at a place and in a manner of its choosing. There is another important aspect. A significant gain, achieved after considerable sacrifice by the Indian armed forces, of the Kargil episode was the recognition by the international community of the LoC's sanctity. We in India were particularly happy about this strengthening of the semi-permanent character of the LoC. Should we be the ones to violate the Line? Would an action across the LoC achieve the objective of increasing the cost to Pakistan of its support to terrorists in Kashmir?

The May 14 Kaluchak massacre seems to have acted as the proverbial last straw for India's patience. We have succeeded in convincing the world about Pakistan's involvement in this as well the ongoing cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir for the past dozen years. Even the United Nations Secretary-General, normally keen on avoiding taking sides, came out with an unambiguous call to Gen. Musharraf to implement what he had promised to do in his January 12 speech. We must not fritter away this important diplomatic high ground. There is a new international coalition, this one working actively to prevent a war between the two South Asian nuclear powers. In view of the rhetoric of some of our leaders, the rest of the world would quickly come to hold India responsible in case of armed hostilities breaking out in the Subcontinent. Given our experience in the past, it would not be advisable to take the matter to the Security Council. But Pakistan and others certainly will, in case active hostilities commence. It would be a good idea to keep the Secretary-General briefed about developments on a timely basis. By doing so we would not be inviting his mediation; war and peace are the legitimate concerns of the U.N.

In sum, we should persevere with the diplomatic option, give time to major players to persuade Gen. Musharraf to stop cross-border activity. He might be amenable to doing so, not necessarily in response to our show of armed might but to oblige his benefactors, hoping they in turn will help him agitate the Kashmir issue. It should not matter to us why he would decide to rein in the terrorists, we are concerned with the infiltration ending, so that the people of Kashmir are able to go to the polls in a peaceful atmosphere.

In case, however, Pakistan, rather than India, were to be tempted to initiate the hostilities, it could be a different story altogether.

Indian HC staffer's condition critical

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, June 6. — Mr Kulwant Singh, an employee of the Indian High Commission in Pakistan who was abducted reportedly by ISI men for about seven hours in Islamabad on 1 June, arrived here in a critical condition. He was expelled by Pakistan on charges of spying.

Mr Singh, who was to have been released from Pakistan on Monday, was sent back after being stranded in an ambulance for three hours on a highway, 50 km from Lahore. Mr Singh was ordered back to Islamabad that morning.

With leaders of both India and Pakistan attending the CICA summit in Almaty that day, it wouldn't have looked good — insofar

as Pakistan is concerned — if TV cameras showed Mr Singh crossing the Wagah border on a stretcher, officials said.

Mr Singh was flown aboard an Indian Airlines aircraft to the capital from Amritsar this morning after an arduous journey by road to the Wagah border from Islamabad. Mr Singh, accompanied by his wife, Mrs Kamla Singh and two sons, Rahul (10) and Raghav (3), was brought from the airport in an ambulance and shifted to All India Institute of Medical Sciences. Writhing in pain, all he could say to reporters was "*Bahut parashani ho rahi hai* (I'm in great distress)".

"We've lodged a strong protest with the Pakistani authorities about this completely abominable and reprehensible act," the foreign ministry spokesperson said today. "No code of civilised conduct allows such behav-

our," which is "in violation of civilised and diplomatic norms and the bilateral code of conduct for treatment of diplomatic personnel."

Rahul was with his father when he was kidnapped. "My father and I were sitting at Pepsi Hut in Islamabad when about eight men arrived there. They dragged my father into a vehicle without saying anything. One of them took me home on my father's motorcycle and handed over the key to me before leaving," said Rahul.

Mrs Singh said her husband was kidnapped around noon and released at 7.30 p.m. "When my husband returned he had injuries on his back and neck. Besides, signs of torture were visible all through the body."

Photograph on page 6

87 JUN 2002

THE STATESMAN

BORDER COUNTRY

The new Indian willingness to consider joint patrolling of the line of control by India and Pakistan must be welcomed. This new approach, signalled during the press conference of the Indian prime minister, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, at Almaty, reflects a refreshing new flexibility in India's policy. Given Islamabad's lukewarm response to the proposal, New Delhi could even consider revising its plan to include the possibility of inviting a multinational observer force to monitor the LoC. India could extend this invitation to observers from countries that it feels will act in good faith and who could work with an Indian team to detect violations on the LoC and monitor infiltration from across the border. Not only would such a move ensure that Pakistan would not easily be able to make false claims about an end to infiltration, but add sanctity to the present LoC. If indeed the only practical and just settlement of the Kashmir conflict is a permanent division along the LoC, the presence of a force like this could be a precursor to such a final solution. More critically, such a force would not be dependent on Pakistani cooperation and could be stationed on the Indian side of the LoC. In other words, New Delhi could fashion such a monitoring regime unilaterally.

Traditional Indian hostility to the idea of a foreign presence on the LoC has been guided by several considerations. India's experience of the United Nations's involvement in the Kashmir issue was far from happy. New Delhi became convinced that vested interests and power politics, rather than principles, were determining the UN's approach towards Kashmir. India was particularly suspicious of Anglo-American interests in Kashmir and their bias in favour of Pakistan. India sought to emphasise bilateralism, believing that negotiating directly with Pakistan would be easier. The world has changed considerably since India first adopted that approach. The Western world, especially the United States of America, is no longer hostile to Indian interests. Few countries seriously believe that the Kashmir problem can be solved on the basis of an exchange of territories, and most accept that conversion of the LoC into an international border is probably the only way out. Most countries recognize that the real problem today in south Asia is of terrorism and extremism being produced in Pakistan and would be willing to cooperate with New Delhi in any practical effort to prevent cross-border terrorism. India needs to accept that the Kashmir issue has, willy-nilly, been internationalized. The real choice is to either shy away from this new reality behind an ossified and fossilized approach, or to carve out a new imaginative policy that will not compromise on the country's real interests. Surely, India should have realized by now that dealing with Pakistan directly is probably more difficult than though a more imaginative multilateral approach.

✓ Charter of 5 demands ✓

FROM K.P. NAYAR

Washington, June 6: While public attention in India remains focused on US emissary Richard Armitage's talks with General Pervez Musharraf today and his impending arrival in New Delhi, the stage is being prepared in Brussels for what international peacemakers want to be the final push to start the process of defusing South Asia's military crisis.

At the end of a day of hectic talks between national security adviser Brajesh Mishra and Russian ministers in Moscow yesterday, Sergei Ivanov, the Kremlin's defence minister, arrived in the Belgian capital today.

Ivanov will brief US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld on the progress made by Russian President Vladimir Putin in Almaty in dealing with the India-Pakistan crisis and the follow-up to Putin's efforts yesterday during talks between Mishra and the Russian ministers.

Rumsfeld will also be briefed by Armitage either in person or through a secure telephone line about his discussions in Islamabad and Delhi before the de-

fence secretary travels to South Asia, according to officials in his delegation.

Sensing that Delhi's pressure on Islamabad was working and that the international community was backing India, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee made up his mind in Almaty to up the ante in any globally-brokered compromise with Pakistan.

Armitage, and later Rumsfeld, will, therefore, be given a charter of five demands. Topping this charter will be India's post-December 13 demand for the handing over of at least 14 of the 20 criminals and terrorists on the list of those whose extradition is being sought from Pakistan. This demand was discussed in Almaty in far greater detail by Putin with Vajpayee on the one hand and Musharraf on the other than what either New Delhi or Islamabad is willing to acknowledge.

It is understood that the contours of a proposal emerging on this vexing issue envisages the creation of a bilateral extradition commission, possibly headed by the home ministers of India and Pakistan.

The proposal now being

tossed around by various peacemakers suggests that the extradition commission should meet and discuss the list as part of a revived dialogue process between Islamabad and New Delhi.

India, however, wants the 14 men as a pre-condition to downscaling the military build-up along the border. It has told Putin and will tell Armitage and Rumsfeld that the handing over of the 14 would be proof of Musharraf's sincerity in implementing his January 12 speech ideas.

Only such a complete break with his past — which includes Kargil and sponsorship of terror — will convince the Indian public that Musharraf is sincere in his promise to end infiltration, Vajpayee and others will tell the Americans.

The other demands in the Indian charter are stopping all direct and indirect financing by Pakistan of terrorist outfits operating across the border, an end to training and provision of arms to these outfits, verifiable closure of militant training camps, including those in occupied Kashmir and, of course, a permanent cessation of infiltration into Indian territory.

A credible response to the general across the border

This is our litmus test



J. N. DIXIT

It has been, politically and militarily, a hot summer. The expectation that the political and military stand-off between India and Pakistan, in the wake of the attack on the Indian Parliament, could be defused because of India's high military deployment and international pressure is not fulfilled. On the contrary, tensions have only increased. The Kaluchak attack and the murder of moderate Hurriyat leader, Abdul Ghani Lone, have only exacerbated things.

In this context, it is of primary importance to comprehend General Pervez Musharraf's mindset, as distinct from his public persona and pronouncements since January 12 to May 27 this year. His professional and psychological background is not just that of an army officer but a commando. His mindset is essentially aggressive, operation-oriented and uninhibited about taking risks. Add to this his deep commitment to jihad and drive to make Pakistan the most influential Islamic nation in South and West Asia.

India should therefore have no illusions about Musharraf's willingness to arrive at a reasonable compromise on contentious issues. It would be relevant to mention that, after the Agra summit, the general gave a private assessment to his inner circle on the Indian political leadership, which he perceived as indecisive and lacking in unity. The Indian armed forces, he felt, although adequately equipped are not backed by an assertive political will and therefore its morale is not very high. Evidently, he also came to the conclusion that if a war

occurs, Pakistan could certainly match, if not defeat, India. Pakistan's subsequent policy-making clearly reflects these assessments, especially those that have emerged since his January 12 speech, which has been hailed precipitately by the world as a turning point. The substance of Pakistan's policies since January belie this perception. Despite announcing opposition to all forms of terrorism, Musharraf continues to maintain the distinction between the general phenomenon of terrorism and terrorist violence in J&K. He continues to assert that the violent movement by the jihadis here is an indigenous freedom struggle.

Although he banned organisations like the Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed and arrested a

who have escaped from Afghanistan, to some enterprises away from Pakistan as otherwise they will create major domestic problems for him, apart from undermining his ties with the US, which are based on commitments to neutralise these jihadi cadres. So he has targeted J&K instead.

The alienation of J&K from India by parallel violent and political means remains the macro-level political objective of Musharraf's India policies. The inescapable conclusion is that while Musharraf cooperates with the US in its campaign against terrorism, he will continue to sustain terrorist strikes against India. The objective is to generate such pressure through such means, that India is compelled to come to the negotiating

We have to be seen as capable of decisive action against Pakistan's mischief, while ensuring that the poll process in J&K is carried out

large number of their cadres, he has released them all. This decision was justified on the grounds that there was no evidence against them. The leaders of these groups are under comfortable house arrest. In fact, Pakistan has encouraged these terrorist organisations to continue their operations against India under new nomenclatures. Infiltration across the border from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir continues with the assistance of the high command of the Pakistan armed forces and the ISI. With the onset of summer this infiltration has increased markedly — as evidenced by the Kaluchak incident and the Lone killing. Pakistan's immediate objective is to subvert the preparations for the J&K assembly elections. Musharraf has also had to divert Pakistani and Pushtun cadres of the Al-Qaeda,

table on his terms.

To ensure international support to this undeclared objective, he utilises two leverages. First, he highlights the Indian military build up and diplomatic pressure and argues that the West must save him from this threat to Pakistan. Second, he harps on the likelihood of his being compelled to use nuclear weapons against India which will lead to India retaliating in kind, a situation that alarms all the major powers of the world. His strategy appears to be working, as shown by the high level diplomatic pressure being generated on India by the US and the UK. The UK foreign secretary, Jack Straw, came a-visiting some days ago, and today US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage arrives in New Delhi. Both the Russia's Vladimir Putin and the

Chinese leadership have officially advised India to remain restrained, while assuring it that they would exert more pressure on Pakistan.

Prime Minister Vajpayee's statement at Kupwara to the army jawans that India would take decisive action against Pakistan has evoked an assertive and smug response from Musharraf. Apart from affirming Pakistan's capacity to retaliate effectively he has re-affirmed the nuclear threat. It is clear that the West has a limited objective in preventing an Indo-Pakistan war. It does not assign the necessary high priority which India has of countering jihadi terrorism against Indian security. Nor do they seem inclined to acknowledge the link between Pakistan-sponsored terrorism and the resulting politico-military pressure on Pakistan which India is trying to generate.

This attitude of the major powers reduces India's options. First, it is clear that India would have to carry on its campaign against terrorism in J&K on its own, barring general political sympathy from the major powers. Second, India should structure its Pakistan policies clearly on the predication that any decisive military option chosen by India would attract opposition from the world.

India faces a complex challenge of sustaining its credibility as a country capable of decisive action against Pakistan's mischief, while at the same time ensuring that domestic processes of election and reconciliation are successfully carried out. While we are mounting diplomatic, political and limited military pressure on Pakistan, the litmus test would be our being able to effectively neutralise Pakistan's long-term intentions. Given these circumstances, there does not seem to be any alternative to acting decisively in operational terms against Pakistan's activities in J&K.

Revive dialogue: Russia

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JUNE 5. Russia will do everything in its power to facilitate resumption of dialogue between India and Pakistan, a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"It is extremely important that India and Pakistan begin political dialogue and Russia together with other countries will do its best to create favourable conditions for such a dialogue," the spokesman, Alexander Yakovenko, told a press briefing here today.

The Russian President, Vladimir Putin, sent a "strong signal" to the leaders of India and Pakistan when he met them in Almaty on Tuesday that "Russia and the international community are seriously concerned over the conflict between the two countries," the spokesman said. "Our impression is that both India and Pakistan have heeded the signal."

"The leaders of both countries clearly stated their reluctance to resort to a military solution,"

the Russian spokesman said. However, he made it clear that Mr. Putin did not invite the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistani President, General Pervez Musharraf, to meet in Moscow.

"Putin has invited Musharraf to Moscow to continue discussions of the India-Pakistan stand-off, and we will use all our numerous channels of communication with India to pursue this subject with Delhi as well."

The spokesman said the situation in South Asia would be discussed during the Russian President's meeting with his Chinese counterpart, Jiang Zemin, in St. Petersburg this week on the sidelines of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation summit. Moscow and Beijing "shared common interests on the principal issues of security in South Asia."

"Russia and China both have a stake in promoting stability in the region and have both declared the need for defusing tension between India and Pakistan," the spokesman said.

06 JUN 2002

THE HINDU

THURSDAY, JUNE 6, 2002

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THE DISMAL CLOUDS that hung over Almaty about a collapsing relationship between India and Pakistan seem to be gradually dispersing. Just when it appeared that the leaders of the two countries could not even follow the ordinary protocol of extending basic civil courtesies towards each other during the course of a major multilateral conference in the Kazakh city of Almaty, the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, has revived hopes of some forward movement towards a constructive re-engagement between the two parties. "Joint patrolling" of the Line of Control by Indian and Pakistani forces, the idea now floated by Mr. Vajpayee, suggests that New Delhi and Islamabad could explore the possibility of agreeing to work together and "verify" Pakistan's recent pledge to end the endemic "infiltration" of terrorists into India across the LoC in Jammu and Kashmir. India's initiative, which implies a new willingness to trust Pakistan but verify its intentions in a cooperative exercise, deserves to be welcomed by Islamabad and the larger international community. In fact, Mr. Vajpayee's conciliatory comments in this regard in Almaty on Wednesday confirm the recent indications that India and Pakistan are quietly seeking ways to reduce their unacceptably abnormal tensions.

Now, the idea of "joint patrolling" would successfully pre-empt far less wholesome proposals such as posting external monitors. Any suggestion for international monitors of this kind at any time will entail a certain intrusive presence of external players along the India-Pakistan frontier and along the Line of Control. Mr. Vajpayee's latest formula will have the merit of inducing India and Pakistan to collaborate and instil confidence in each other over time. Islamabad's anxieties are of a qualitatively different kind. Speaking before Mr. Vajpayee indicated his mind, the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, was reported to have observed that New Delhi was "an accuser and judge at the same time" in

regard to infiltrations into India from the Pakistani side. In a critical sense, Mr. Vajpayee now seems to have gone some distance towards accepting Pakistan as a co-judge over matters concerning infiltration. While Pakistan will not certainly view this as a gilt-edged gift, Mr. Vajpayee has needlessly cited the logistical difficulties of a harsh mountainous terrain in Jammu and Kashmir to argue against the induction of monitors from outside India and Pakistan. This argument is open to scepticism on the wider international stage. Not only that. The Prime Minister could have placed his formula beyond the pale of criticism on such counts by simply being emphatic about the need for bilateralism in the India-Pakistan context. The nuclear dimension of the war-and-peace issues concerning India and Pakistan is a strong factor that underlines the importance of bilateral confidence-building exercises. A cooperative "joint patrolling" can indeed serve as a good beginning towards confidence-building across the entire spectrum of India-Pakistan engagement over time.

It seemed to have been a matter of studied protocol that Mr. Vajpayee cold-shouldered the Pakistan President in Almaty during the first Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia. New Delhi's apparent intention was to send out a signal that social pleasantries of the cosmetic kind should not be allowed to raise false hopes of a new diplomatic breakthrough in respect of the India-Pakistan relationship. Obviously, New Delhi was also keen to prevent Gen. Musharraf, a consummate practitioner of public diplomacy, from stealing the show by playing the peacemaker. India perhaps need not have struck such a defensive note when in fact it seems to have been able to impress the international community as regards the infiltration issue. New Delhi should, therefore, play its cards with a greater degree of finesse and self-assurance than that it showed at Almaty at this time.

06 JUN 2002

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KASHMIR IS THE ROOT CAUSE: MUSHARRAF

Cross-border terrorism has to end for talks: PM

By Atul Aneja

ALMATY, JUNE 4. India and Pakistan were unable to make any further headway in easing their military tensions today, despite the reiteration by the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, that New Delhi would take "appropriate consequent steps" if the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, implemented his earlier promise of curbing cross-border infiltration.

Mr. Vajpayee said this in response to Gen. Musharraf's assertion during his address to the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building in Asia that India's refusal to address the Kashmir issue and its resistance to an immediate resumption of dialogue were the root causes for the military tensions in the subcontinent. Gen. Musharraf also blamed India for the "inconclusive summit" at Agra where the two sides were unable to set in motion "a dialogue process on

Kashmir." And he accused India of disregarding the "rele-

vant United Nations Resolutions" related to Kashmir, as well as the "wishes of the Kashmiri people."

His tough rhetoric notwithstanding, Gen. Musharraf did not backtrack from his earlier commitment of disallowing the use of Pakistani soil for terrorism. Deviating from his prepared text, Gen. Musharraf reiterated that "Pakistan will not allow its territory to be used for terrorism within or outside its borders" and that "terrorism in all its forms and manifestations" must be rejected.

While rebutting Gen. Musharraf's observations, Mr. Vajpayee also opened the door for a de-escalation process if the Pakistan President fulfilled his promises on curbing infiltration. Explaining the context in which India had set the condition that state-sponsored terrorism must be terminated by Pakistan for the bilateral talks to resume, Mr. Vajpayee pointed to the fact that Gen. Musharraf had not fulfilled the promises he made in his January 12 tele-

vised speech.

"The President of Pakistan had publicly made two promises. One, that Pakistan will not allow its territory to be used to promote terrorism anywhere in the world. Two, that no organisation will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir." However, in the following months, cross-border infiltration had increased, violence in Jammu and Kashmir continued unabated and "terrorist camps operate unhindered across our borders," he said.

Gen. Musharraf, on May 27, had again committed himself to stopping cross-border infiltration. But, "you will agree that past record makes us very cautious about accepting such promises unquestioningly," the Prime Minister said. Nevertheless "if we see that action on the ground corresponds to the promises made by President Musharraf, we will naturally take consequent steps."

Refuting Gen. Musharraf's charge that India was avoiding a dialogue, Mr. Vajpayee said "as

far as dialogue is concerned, it is India which has always taken the initiative. I have been to Lahore and invited President Musharraf to Agra. We have repeatedly said that we are willing to discuss all issues with Pakistan, including Jammu and Kashmir. But for that, cross-border terrorism has to end."

Rejecting the justification or understanding of terrorism on any ground, he said "the killing of innocent men, women and children cannot be defended by invoking any of the alleged grievances, underlying causes or attendant circumstances." This observation assumes importance in the light of Gen. Musharraf's emphasis on "terrorism by state" as a key reason for spiralling "violence and terrorism."

With the recent missile tests by Pakistan and its threat of nuclear weapon use at the U.N. in the backdrop, Mr. Vajpayee said the CICA should call upon all nuclear weapon states "not to indulge in nuclear blackmail."

No handshake, eye contact

ALMATY, JUNE 4. There was no repeat of the dramatic Kathmandu handshake by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, with the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, at the 16-nation Asian security summit, where the two leaders studiously avoided each other.

Wearing a dark blue "bandh gala" suit, Mr. Vajpayee shook hands with several leaders attending the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) here but avoided Gen. Musharraf.

The Pakistan President, dressed in a black "sherwani", also did not make any move to reach out to Mr. Vajpayee as he did at the Kathmandu SAARC summit in January.

The Kazakh state TV, Khabar, telecast live images of Mr. Vajpayee walking with some other leaders, a few steps behind Gen. Musharraf.

At the group photograph venue, the two leaders walked to their respective positions, avoiding any eye or body contact.

Gen. Musharraf smiled and turned his head towards Mr.



The Pakistani President, Pervez Musharraf, leaves the 16-nation Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia in Almaty on Tuesday, after posing for a group picture. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, is at the background. — AP

Vajpayee, who kept looking straight ahead.

In the waiting lounge outside the hall, the TV showed Mr. Vajpayee chatting with the Kazakhstan President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, while Gen. Musharraf stood next to the Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, Islamabad's long-time ally.

The two leaders seemed to have worked out to minute details on avoiding any interaction as they left the lounge for a lunch hosted by Mr. Nazarbayev.

Earlier, renewing his offer for resumption of dialogue in his speech, Gen. Musharraf did look at Mr. Vajpayee. — PTI

Declaration vows to eliminate terrorism

ALMATY, JUNE 4. Pledging to eliminate terrorism from the face of Asia, leaders of 16 countries, including the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, today signed a declaration which was strongly advocated by New Delhi.

The nations, attending the first summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building measures in Asia, also adopted the Almaty Act, which recognised that terrorism was a transnational threat and had to be eradicated from the continent through united efforts. The Declaration on Eliminating Terrorism and Promoting Dialogue among Civilisations said "we pledge to be particularly vigilant, in order to ensure that the global fight against terrorism does not become a war targeting particular cultures, religions or nations." The signatories to the declaration and the Almaty Act were Russia, China, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Egypt, Iran, Israel, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Palestine, Tajikistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan. — UNI

Pervez lays third-party ambush

Bait in monitor and mediator

FROM BHARATBHUSHAN

Almaty, June 4: President Pervez Musharraf today indicated that he would be willing to accept US judgement whether infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir had indeed stopped rather than be accused by India of not curbing it.

This suggests that Pakistan is willing to do what the Americans tell it and be monitored by them.

At the end of an eventful day, Musharraf also claimed that the world was "disappointed by the denial of (a) meeting" between Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and him.

Musharraf announced that he had been invited by President Vladimir Putin of Russia to Moscow to discuss not only bilateral issues but also the India-Pakistan tension. He claimed that such an invitation had also been extended to Vajpayee.

National security adviser Brajesh Mishra immediately denied any such invitation. He said the next meeting between Putin and Vajpayee was today reconfirmed to take place at the end of the year in New Delhi.

Putin also rejected Musharraf's suggestion for Moscow's mediation and made it clear that he had not invited Vajpayee to Russia in connection with any such effort, a PTI report said.

It quoted Russian sources as saying that Putin had agreed to invite Musharraf to Moscow only on the Pakistan President's request.

Mishra said that India did not want war and its policy was not to shy away from a dialogue with Pakistan. However, ruling out any trilateral talks in Moscow or elsewhere, he said: "Once cross-border terrorism ends, we can meet him (Musharraf) in Delhi or in Islamabad. There is no need to go around the world for such a meeting."

Musharraf, who faced some hard questioning at his news conference, was asked if his claim that nothing was happening on the Line of Control (LoC) was correct, why had US secretary of state Colin Powell said infiltration had not fully stopped.

He described the two-day-old statement of Powell as "a statement of the past" and said he would wait and see what the US had to say after independently ascertaining the ground situation.

The Pakistan President said he would not trust Delhi to judge whether infiltration had really stopped or not as "we will not accept India both as the accuser and the judge". He then suggested the use of UN monitors on the LoC.

Mishra rejected Musharraf's claims on infiltration as well as any third-party monitoring of the LoC. He said only Indian and Pakistani forces knew the terrain well. India also had adequate technology to monitor infiltration, he said.

Musharraf accused India of hypocrisy in not recognising that international mediation or facilitation between the two neighbours was already taking place.



President Pervez Musharraf leaves the Almaty conference on Tuesday after posing for a family picture. Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee stands in the background. (AP/PTI)

Mishra reacted by saying that while he was not in favour of using harsh language against Pakistan or Musharraf, there was a need to analytically separate the Kashmir issue and the attempt of the international community to defuse the present tension to prevent it from developing into a wider conflict.

"Our position is that on this issue a bilateral dialogue would be more productive. If General Musharraf calls it hypocrisy, that is up to him," Mishra responded.

Asked about the conflicting signals from Pakistan on using

nuclear weapons, Musharraf said the possession of such weapons meant that they would be used under some circumstances. However, he described such a prospect as "insane".

He dismissed as "baseless and absurd" the claims of a former US national security council staffer that Pakistan had deployed missiles and nuclear weapons during the Kargil conflict.

The Pakistan President said

he was not opposed to free and fair elections, but insisted that the Kashmiris themselves did not want any exercise under the Indian Constitution. Pakistan, he said, favoured a free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir.

India should "recognise that Kashmir is a dispute which cannot be ignored. Let us recognise that and then start talking," he said.

■ Sparring on the line of self-control, Page 6

TUESDAY, JUNE 4, 2002

Suraj Park **TOWARDS A THAW?** *XO-1 2/6*

THERE ARE NOW discernible indications that India and Pakistan are inclined to pause at the brink of what will be an unmitigated disaster. The mind-boggling tensions remain unacceptably high. Therefore, if the two sides are now attempting to check the slide towards a horrific war and in some irreversible ways, they should first try to build upon the emerging hints of a positive thinking. Two significant comments, one each by the leaders of the two countries, indicate their willingness at this stage to look before taking the proverbial leap. Both the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, and the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, have indeed sought to soften the intensity of bilateral confrontation in the definitive context of mounting international pressure on them to pull back from the brink. Conspicuous surely is the qualitative difference between the external pressure on India at this time and the heat on Pakistan from the U.S.-led West as also from Russia among others. Cognisant that the major powers are not equating India with Pakistan in this situation, Mr. Vajpayee has pledged to accept Gen. Musharraf's latest gesture of good neighbourliness if the Pakistan President's recent statements could translate into "results" or ground realities as desired by India. This certainly marks a new level of conciliation in New Delhi's word-for-word diplomacy as regards Pakistan in the specific context of demands by the U.S. President, George W. Bush, and others that Gen. Musharraf should stop terrorist incursions into India. New Delhi seems inclined to go by Washington's perception that the Pakistan President has initiated steps that could wind down cross-border terrorism. Gen. Musharraf seems eager, instead, to dispel the international concerns that Pakistan's present standoff with India might even raise the doomsday spectre of a nuclear Armageddon.

The scenario of a nuclear war between Pakistan and India has come to impinge on the conscience of the global community in the context

of a stark contrast between the nuclear security doctrines of these two estranged neighbours. While India has consistently stated that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons against any country, Pakistan does not subscribe to a similar principle. It is this notion of ambiguity about Pakistan's intentions which serves as grist to the doomsday mills on the international stage. Now, although Pakistan is not alone among the states possessing nuclear weapons in refusing to propound a 'no-first-use' policy, what seems to have set Islamabad apart is its tendency to justify such an attitude by citing its strategic vulnerability to a big neighbour like India. The Pakistan President has, therefore, sought to send a new confidence-building signal to both India and the larger international community by asserting that neither New Delhi nor Islamabad is irresponsible enough to wage a nuclear war. Appearing to underline the inherent absurdity in the thinking of the scare-mongers, he affirmed that "any sane individual cannot even think of going into this unconventional war, whatever the pressures".

Closely linked to the international community's alarmist view of the largely uncontrolled tensions between Islamabad and New Delhi are the decisions by several major powers, led by the U.S., to prune their diplomatic presence in India and Pakistan. Their citizens have also been advised to leave India and Pakistan. Surely, it is not a question whether Gen. Musharraf's confidence-building exercise to address the nuclear question is not enough. While the recent terrorist strikes against foreigners in Pakistan were first cited by the key global players, India has attracted adverse attention at present in view of New Delhi's unresolved crisis concerning Islamabad. If the logic of these moves by the West and Japan is to induce India and Pakistan to recognise the costs of losing the confidence of foreign investors and tourists, New Delhi and Islamabad cannot also ignore the humanitarian and economic horrors of war.

THE HINDU

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India's parameters for de-escalation ✓

By Sandeep Dikshit

NEW DELHI, JUNE 3. Top security planners here maintained that deescalation of armed forces from the border would be "risky" unless Pakistan demonstrated in a concrete fashion that it was ending support to terrorism.

Having been "deceived" twice by Islamabad's assurances — once after the December 13 attack on Parliament and then by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's address on January 12 — New Delhi would be keen on evaluating certain parameters over a period of time before it was convinced of Pakistan's intentions. "On our part, we can't take the risk of withdrawing from the border unless there is some sign of a permanent change of policy by Pakistan," reiterated senior Defence Ministry officials.

The parameters which will

form the initial basis for any analysis include the level of violence, magnitude of communication traffic between terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir and their mentors across the Line of Control, trend of supplies in terms of food and ammunition, pace of hawala transactions and the intensity of firing from the Pakistani side which usually picks up during infiltration bids. These have to be analysed over at least four weeks before firm indicators become available.

The sources said communications intercepts have indicated that at a recent ISI-convened meeting, the various 'tanzeems' were asked to stop infiltration for the "time being". The Pakistani 10 corps commander was also instructed to stop abetting cross-border incursions. "But as yet there is no evidence of these instructions having been complied with," said Government sources.

It was pointed out that India would have to be extremely cautious while surmising the trends post-December 13 and especially after January 12 because a slight lull was reported in the following months as compared to the same period last year. However, the data available with security forces shows that Pakistan had again reactivated its support for terrorists in May. In fact according to most indicators, May 2002 proved much hotter for the security forces compared to the same month last year. Terrorist incursions, stand-off firing, IED blasts and grenade explosions increased significantly.

Although some 'over-run' could be expected even after Pakistan totally stopped supporting the terrorists, Ministry officials felt the next logical step after India was convinced of its action should be the posting of observers along the LoC to as-

certain the ground situation first-hand. "The U.S. and Britain could monitor Pakistan's actions," they suggested, while making it clear that any decision of this type would have to come from the political executive.

'No use of nuclear arms'

Meanwhile, in an attempt to address international concerns, India today emphatically ruled out use of nuclear weapons against Pakistan. "The Government makes it clear that India does not believe in the use of nuclear weapons. Neither does it visualise that it will be used by any other country," said a Defence Ministry statement.

Reacting to media reports about the possible use of nuclear weapons in the context of the current India-Pakistan stand off, the Government said India is a responsible nation and "it feels it will be imprudent to use such weapons".

THE HINDU

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India lobs

TIMES NEWS NETWORK AND AGENCIES

Almaty: India on Monday made it clear to the world that it abhors any conflict with Pakistan and that all it wants is proof of Pakistan implementing its oft-repeated promises on ending cross-border terrorism.

National security advisor Brajesh Mishra told a press conference here that India would take appropriate steps if Gen Pervez Musharraf's promises were implemented, but that there would be no talks until that happened. With the statement, "The world wants to avoid a conflict between India and Pakistan, so do we," the Indian side appeared to be conveying a message of maturity and reason.

With the armed forces of India and Pakistan in an eyeball-to-eyeball situation, Mr Mishra has subtly laid down the condition for de-escalation of tension.

SQUABBLES IN THE JANG PARIVAR

"Gen Musharraf has made some promises and they were conveyed to us by the U.S. and the UK. If these promises are implemented and we can verify them, then we will take appropriate steps." Mr Mishra also categorically ruled out any mediation by Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Earlier in the day, Gen Musharraf said that he was prepared to hold talks "unconditionally" on the Kashmir crisis with Mr Vajpayee during the Almaty summit.

"I don't have any conditions (for a meeting). You need to ask this question to Mr Vajpayee," Gen Musharraf told a news conference after a meeting with Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev. Questioned on the prospects of avoiding war between the two nations, he replied, "I will do my utmost. I hope I will be successful. They say you can't clap with one hand, you clap with two hands, but the second has to be equally supportive in avoiding war. That is

peace ball into Pak court

how we will succeed in avoiding war." Gen Musharraf said Mr Nazarbayev had told him he had been unable to obtain an assurance from Mr Vajpayee during a meeting with him that the Indian premier would agree to speak to him.

On the prospects of Russian mediation, Gen Musharraf said that Mr Putin, who was due to arrive in Almaty later on Monday, was "in a very important position to play a definitive role in mediation between India and Pakistan".

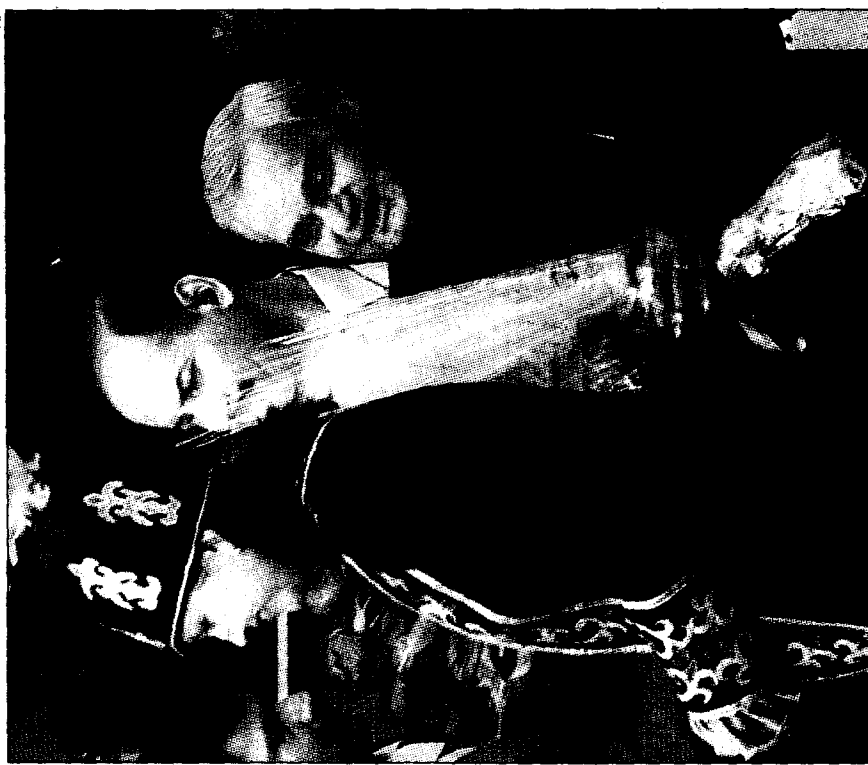
Meanwhile, Pakistani information minister Nisar Memon has reportedly told the Pakistani media that there is a possibility of talks between both countries after Mr Vajpayee and Mr Musharraf hold talks with Mr Putin.

Mr Memon apparently talked about three possibilities—Russian mediation, bilateral talks between India and Pakistan or proximity talks. When asked about Mr Mishra's response to this proposition, he said, "I don't want to indulge in wishful thinking."

Mr Mishra, in response to queries on Russian intervention and a possible tripartite meeting between India, Pakistan and Russia, said, "Russia is conscious of our position, President Putin downwards. He was not talking about a tripartite meeting. He was talking about his bilateral meetings with India and Pakistan."

Mr Mishra elaborated on why India was not ready to take Gen Musharraf at face-value and why the government was not ready to hold talks with him now. "On January 12, Gen Musharraf made certain promises. One of them was that no terrorist organisation in Pakistan or Pakistan-controlled territory would be allowed to engage in terrorism in the name of Kashmir. In February, there was a downturn of terrorist activities. But 300 people each were killed in March, April and May. Obviously, something that was controlled in the month of January was allowed to go up in these three months. So, we want to look at his promises carefully, wanting them to be implemented."

Eyes wide open—Interaction begins in Almaty



Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee admires a Kazakh woman in traditional dress after receiving flowers on his arrival at Almaty airport on Sunday.

04 JUN 2002

Pak. whipping up tension, says Ivanov

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JUNE 3. Russia's Defence Minister, Sergei Ivanov, has accused Pakistan of whipping up tension with India by allowing terrorists to cross over into India and by conducting missile tests. "Armed terrorists and extremists from Pakistan keep infiltrating into the Indian territory," the Interfax news agency quoted Mr. Ivanov as saying on Monday.

"This is a fact you can't turn a blind eye to. Moreover, the terrorists who are crossing into India are the same as those who have been squeezed out of Afghanistan." Speaking hours before the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, headed for Kazakhstan to discuss the Indo-Pakistan standoff with the leaders of the both countries on the sidelines of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia on Tuesday, Mr. Ivanov described as "provocative" the missile tests by Pakistan. "It is wrong and provocative to carry out any testing of nuclear-capable weapons in conditions of extreme tension and suspicion and the placing of armed forces on heightened alert... This testing will inevitably push Delhi to take proportionate retaliatory action." Mr. Ivanov endorsed Western estimates that about 12 million could die instant deaths and 7 million slow deaths in the event of nuclear strikes. "Even if nuclear weapons are not used, the conflict would have grave consequences since too many people live in the region (Jammu and Kashmir)."

Goh calls for restraint

By Amit Baruah

SINGAPORE, JUNE 3. The Singapore Prime Minister, Goh Chok Tong, has urged both India and Pakistan to "exercise maximum restraint". He made the remarks when the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, called on him today.

A spokesman for the Prime Minister said Mr. Goh and Mr. Fernandes discussed the Indo-Pak. situation and Islamic militancy in the region. "On India-Singapore relations, they affirmed their support for stronger defence ties and greater intelligence co-operation. Prime Minister Goh also called on India to increase its relations with South-East Asia."

Mr. Fernandes, who left for New Delhi this evening, also visited the Singapore Armoured Centre and the Changi Naval Base.

Paul
POM

'India fast running out of diplomatic options'

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By Sridhar Krishnaswami 10.11

WASHINGTON, JUNE 2. For the last six months, India has been exercising diplomatic options but the country is in a stage that it is fast running out of those options.

"War can be avoided if Pakistan can be persuaded to switch off terrorism," India's Ambassador to the United States, Lalit Mansingh, said on Fox News on Sunday.

"War is not an option of our choice. We have been facing a series of terrorist acts. We have lost more than 1,000 people after September 11, and the last attack on May 14 was particularly gruesome when the terrorists went to an Army camp and killed basically women and children," he said.

"We have diplomatic options and the last choice is military action. For the last six months we have been exercising the diplomatic option. Now we are coming to a stage when we're running out of diplomatic options," he said in the talk show.

On the situation in the sub-continent, Mr. Mansingh said: "Let's get to the bottom of this. Why did the situation arise? For the last 15 to 20 years, we have been facing terrorism from across the borders from Pakistan. And today, we are facing a violation of our borders; terrorist groups coming in and killing women and children and threats of use of nuclear weapons against us. We are in a situation where we have to defend ourselves."

A few minutes earlier, on the same show, the Pakistani Ambassador to the U.S., Maleeha Lodhi, insisted that there was no cross-border "infiltration" and called for a neutral monitoring force. She stressed that the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf's orders of January were being implemented, and asked how there could be infiltration with "some 2,00,000 Indian troops" on the Line of Control.

Asked if the terrorist camps in Pakistan-controlled territory had been dismantled or put out of business, Ms. Lodhi said that her country's soil and territory would not be allowed to be used for carrying out terrorist activities against other countries.

"When we give our word, we deliver...We stand by our word," she said adding that the international community should have "patience" and that India must also respond.

Ms. Lodhi was asked if Pakistan would resort to nuclear weapons if India launched a limited "raid" against terrorist camps: "To talk about nuclear weapons in such a cavalier way would be hugely irresponsible," she said. "My President has already said that even contemplating a nuclear conflict is irresponsible and insane."

"However, let there be no mistake. These fancy notions of limited war, hot pre-emptions are dangerous illusions in the minds of Indian strategic and military planners. If there is any aggression that is committed against my country, my country will respond appropriately in self-defence," she said.

03 JUN 2002

THE HINDU

VAJPAYEE TO APPRISE PUTIN, JIANG OF BORDER SITUATION

Jaswant Singh
+10-1
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Pak. must match words with action, says PM

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JUNE 2. For the first time since the May 14 Kaluchak terrorist attack in Jammu, the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, has given a clear indication that a war in the sub-continent could be averted if "results on the ground" matched the words of Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, on stopping infiltration and export of terrorism.

While leaving for Kazakhstan to attend the Almaty Summit Conference for Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) this morning, Mr. Vajpayee made a brief statement. "In recent days, we have seen some statements by Gen. Musharraf. I have also spoken with President Bush and Prime Minister Blair ...If we see the result on the ground of Gen. Musharraf's statements, we shall certainly give it our serious consideration."

For nearly three weeks a war hysteria has been steadily built up. The Prime Minister himself spoke of a "decisive battle" and asked the jawans on the forward lines to be prepared to sacrifice their lives. Pakistan's High Commissioner here was asked to leave and certain operational orders were given indicating that military conflict was imminent.

The official stance even after Gen. Musharraf's May 27 televised address was that he had said nothing new, he had failed to act on promises made in January and that Pakistan continued to be the "epicentre of terrorism" and signals from Pakistan were "dangerous". It was also repeatedly emphasised by



The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, with the Union Home Minister, L.K. Advani, and the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, at the Indira Gandhi International Airport in New Delhi before his departure for Kazakhstan on Sunday. — AP

individual Ministers, the Government and the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party that "the General was not to be trusted" and this time India must give a "fitting response" to Pakistan-sponsored terrorism.

But today there was a decided change in stance. It did not go unnoticed that Mr. Vajpayee talked about looking out for "results on the ground" after referring to his recent telephonic talks with President Bush and Prime Minister Blair.

Mr. Vajpayee mentioned that during his Almaty stay he would

be meeting President Putin of Russia and President Jiang Zemin of China to discuss with them India's views on cross-border terrorism, which had led to tensions in the region.

It is expected that both the leaders will try to defuse the tensions and impress upon both India and Pakistan not to precipitate the already dangerous situation which could push the sub-continent into a nuclear holocaust.

A large number of Cabinet Ministers, including the Home Minister, L.K. Advani, the Exter-

nal Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, and the Finance Minister, Yashwant Sinha, were present to see Mr. Vajpayee off.

The Prime Minister said that the Almaty summit would be adopting a declaration condemning terrorism and that the host country "shared our perspective on the threat to peace from international terrorism."

The visit would also provide an opportunity for strengthening a bilateral political dialogue between India and Kazakhstan, he added.

Diplomat departures take off

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, June 1: A batch of 50 non-essential staff and diplomats of the US embassy today left for home along with their families, setting in motion a trend that could catch on if tension escalates in the subcontinent. Many more, including family members of staff in the Calcutta consulate, are expected to leave in the next few days.

The British high commission also began evacuating its members and indicated that about 250 people, most of them dependants of diplomats and "non-essential" officials, would leave the country soon.

The departure of foreigners gathered momentum with the United Nations, France, Japan and some other smaller countries following America's example in advising non-essential mission staff to pack their bags. So have Australia, New Zealand and Canada, Netherlands and Belgium, too, joined the list.

"More non-emergency staff members of the US embassy and their dependants are expected to leave in the next few days," a US embassy spokesman said.

A UN official pointed out that though there was no deadline, several hundred staffers and family members would leave India in the next few days. However, the situation has not reached a stage where embassies have to fly in their own aircraft to evacuate their staff.

Neither the UN nor the French government or the other smaller western nations were willing to admit that their decision was a reflection of the deteriorating situation. They argued that the "precautionary measures" have become vital in the face of the military build-up along the border.

Though Japan has not asked its diplomatic staff to leave, Tokyo has made it clear to family members of embassy officials and other Japanese nationals

visiting or working in India that it may be advisable to leave.

India refused to react officially to the exodus, saying it was the "sovereign" decision of individual nations. Some feel that this could be an attempt by Washington to pressure Delhi into de-escalating.

But South Block officials differed, pointing out that if America was planning to do so, it was a weak strategy as Delhi was firm in its stand that the Pervez Musharraf regime would first have to stop cross-border terrorism.

On the other hand, they said, if America and other western nations were seriously concerned about a war breaking out, it would mean more pressure on Pakistan to deliver.

Washington, however, continued to be hopeful of a diplomatic breakthrough. Deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage will reach Pakistan on June 5 and will be in India the next day for talks with the leadership of the two countries. He will be followed by defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld.

Musharraf also tried to allay growing fears of a nuclear war. "I don't think either side is that irresponsible to go to that limit," he told CNN. "I would even go to the extent of saying one shouldn't even be discussing these things, because any sane individual cannot even think of going into this unconventional war, whatever the pressures."

However, the potential for regular tit-for-tat events to add to the tension was on display today when an Indian high commission employee in Islamabad was abducted by suspected ISI operatives. Yesterday, a Pakistan high commission official was detained here on spying charges.

A release from the Lok Sabha secretariat today said the Japanese ambassador told Speaker Manohar Joshi that his country has asked Pakistan to allow international observers to "independently verify" if militant camps have been disbanded.

Parting gift in garage sale

FROM JAYANTA ROY
CHOWDHURY IN NEW DELHI

Diplomat leaving, must sell Olympus camera/lenses, Sony video camera, coffee tables, beds, wardrobes, deep freezer, electronic toys, crockery.

The season of strife has carried with it a baggage of spoils for the capital. Delhi woke up on Saturday morning to dailies packed with advertisements of garage sales by diplomats who are keeping their bags packed.

Some newspapers had whole columns of classifieds, advertising garage sales of household goods by departing families of diplomats.

Contact numbers of most of the advertisements were from Chanakyapuri, Delhi's diplomatic enclave. Such sales, a favourite with Delhi's bargain-hunters, usually gather momentum during spring-cleaning by the diplomats' families.

But the number of advertisements has suddenly shot up after several western countries issued advisories that give families and non-essential staff the option of leaving India.

Diplomats are not taking any chances but several expatriate business executives working here said "it is work as usual". "For an outsider who has not lived in India, the 'tensions' reported out of here have more effect than for those of us who live and work here. For me, it is work as usual," said Sue Evans of the consulting firm, AT Kearney.

CII president Ashok Soota



A British family prepares to board a flight in Delhi. (PTI)

said: "It (the advisory) is an overreaction at this stage. Business is normal and has not been impacted."

An official at automobile giant Suzuki, whose home country Japan on Saturday joined the advisory list, said: "Nobody is leaving. In fact, we may be getting more Japanese officials coming in."

The foreign tourist, too, has yet to hit the panic button. Global airline offices in Delhi said there was no panic sale of tickets out of India and hotels ruled out any cancellations.

Debasish Chatterjee, head of CTI Travels, said he thought the travel advisories would mean a "nightmare for us. But really, it

is business as usual". He said most west-bound flights are flying quarter to half empty.

"I agree. There is no panic to get out," said Air-India's Rohita Jaidka. Incoming flights are, however, also not doing brisk business mainly "because of the hot weather".

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THE TELEGRAPH

'I HAVE NO PROBLEM IN MEETING VAJPAYEE'

Musharraf rules out possibility of nuclear war

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 1. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, today ruled out the possibility of a nuclear conflict between India and Pakistan, dismissed as "absolutely baseless" allegations of Islamabad moving nuclear missiles near the border and expressed willingness to meet the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, in Almaty next week.

"I don't think either side is that irresponsible to go to that limit," he told CNN in an interview.

"I would even go to the extent of saying one shouldn't even be discussing these things, because any sane individual cannot even think of going into this unconventional war, whatever the pressures."

Gen. Musharraf said he was willing to

meet Mr. Vajpayee in Almaty, Kazakhstan, where both leaders will attend an Asian summit from June 4.

"It depends more on Prime Minister Vajpayee," he said.

"I have no problem in the meeting. I have been saying that all along. This question needs to be put to him".

Reacting to the charges that Islamabad had moved its nuclear missiles near the border, Gen. Musharraf said "that Pakistan ever moved any nuclear asset or deployed its missiles is baseless, absolutely baseless."

"If India has moved their missiles this is extremely dangerous and a very serious escalation, an extremely serious escalation. The international community must take

note of this because you can't distinguish what is conventional and what is unconventional," he said.

"Let us hope good sense prevails (and) this does not lead to escalation. It has not, because we are restraining ourselves, and let Indians not test our patience and restraint because it will be very dangerous."

When reminded that India had a stated policy that it would not be the first to strike with nuclear weapons, Gen. Musharraf said Pakistan backed something "much bigger than that".

"We've called for a no-war pact (with India), that there shouldn't be any war. We've called for de-nuclearisation of South Asia, so we've called for reduction of forces," he said. — PTI

Indian mission staffer abducted in Pak.

ISLAMABAD, JUNE 1. A staff member of the Indian High Commission in Islamabad was abducted today by plainclothesmen, an embassy spokesman said. India's acting ambassador, Sudhir Vyas, said that complaints had been made to the Pakistan Foreign Ministry and police about the kidnapping of Kulwant Singh, who works in the embassy administration section.

The incident comes a day after the Delhi Police detained Aamir Shabir, a Pakistan High Commission staff officer.

Mr. Vyas said that Mr. Singh was abducted from near his residence around 11.30 a.m. while returning home from his office along with his 10-year-old son on a two-wheeler. A group of

persons intercepted Mr. Singh near the apartment at the Royal Enclave, a complex where most of the Indian High Commission staffers live. Mr. Vyas quoted Mr. Singh's son, who was left behind by the abductors, as saying that the men pulled his father from the motorcycle, pushed him into a taxi cab and drove him to an unknown place. —PTI, Reuters

Delhi lodges protest

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JUNE 1. India today lodged a strong protest with Pakistan over the abduction of its staffer in its High Commission in Islamabad and said the in-

cident was "unfortunate and regrettable". "Our acting High Commissioner in Islamabad has protested against the abduction very strongly during a meeting with the Director-General, South Asia, in the Pakistan Foreign Office and we have conveyed our strong protest to the Pakistan Government," the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs, Nirupama Rao, said. India wanted the immediate release of Kulwant Singh, she said. "We expect Pakistan to respond to this demand without any delay and to ensure no harm whatsoever comes to him."

Asked who could be the culprit, she said that Pakistan's intelligence agencies had played a

"major role" on all such previous occasions. The incident showed Pakistan's "pathological hostility" towards India and its intelligence agencies "play a major part in such abductions and their behavioural patterns are well-known to us." She, however, acknowledged that today's abduction was a retaliation to Friday's incident involving an assistant from the Pakistani High Commission here.

The Pakistani staffer, Aamir Shabir, was caught red-handed accepting classified documents from an Indian Air Force sergeant. The Pakistan Foreign Office has lodged a strong protest with India over the alleged "abduction and torture"

More foreigners leaving India

By Our Staff Reporter

NEW DELHI, JUNE 1. The list of countries and international organisations advising their diplomatic staff and citizens to leave India is gradually swelling.

Australia today joined the United States and the United Kingdom in advising its "non-essential" staff and dependents to leave the country due to the

rising tensions between India and Pakistan. The decision, Australian embassy officials said, was prompted more by the uncertainty of the situation than the fear of a conflict.

While there is no demarcation on who would comprise the "non-essential" category, embassy officials hope to finalise the list by Monday.

The United Nations office

here too convened a meeting to inform its officials that all family members and dependents would have to leave India during next week.

It, however, categorically said that its entire staff would continue to work. In all, the U.N. has 184 non-Indian staff members and 260 registered non-Indian dependents here.

"This is not exactly mandato-

ry for all dependents and family members of our staff to observe," said the Director of the U.N. Information Centre, Feodor Starceovich.

"But if they do not wish to leave the country, they would also no longer remain a responsibility of the U.N. We have, however, set no deadline."

Insisting that the decision was not a result of any security assessment, Mr. Starceovich preferred to term it as "good house-keeping measures" — the logic being that thinning down of numbers would make it easier for an emergency evacuation, if the need arises.

Similar reasoning was given by many embassies.

Meanwhile, alarmed by their Government's advisory, about 50 "non-emergency" staff members and dependents of the U.S. embassy officials left the country within hours of its being issued on Friday night. Nearly two-thirds of the U.S. embassy staff come under the "non-emergency" category. Similarly, about 60 members of the 110 British nationals with the U.K. High Commission and its allied offices have lined up to leave the country soon.

Germany and France have also issued advisories to their nationals.

However, both these countries have restricted them to family members and dependents. Their staff will continue to stay on for the time being.

Army keeps tabs on incursions

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, May 31. — It is still “too early” to assess if President Musharraf is living up to his most recent promises — made, among others, to the British foreign secretary — to deny the use of his territory by militants operating in Jammu and Kashmir, Army sources said here today.

The situation is being monitored and the government being informed of all developments.

While infiltration across the LoC is being closely watched, the Army would assess the levels of violence in Jammu and Kashmir, communications across the frontier and supplies and finances extended to militants. Firing of heavy weapons, often to cover infiltration, would be another factor in the calculus.

Stressing that any decision requiring the Indian forces to launch operations would be taken at the political level, the Army said it was more than

ready to do all that was needed. The military objective would be to degrade the adversary to the extent that it would realise that support to cross-border terrorism was a folly, a price too high to sustain. If it wants to avoid such degradation, Pakistan will have to abandon its terrorism-backing policies.

The Army, however, indicated that Pakistan's track record gave no room to optimism. It is convinced that the pattern of violence in J&K would change drastically if the Pakistani army severs its links with militant outfits and ceases to support their activities. It was “up to the Pakistan army” to take the action re-

quired to ease the current stand-off on the borders.

Declaring that it was in no way alarmed by senior Pakistani officials talking about a nuclear conflict, Army sources emphasised that the nuclear capability of both nations placed “no constraints” on conventional warfare and military operations as conceived by India.

Credible inputs had been received of the presence of a substantial number of Al-Qaida elements in PoK and across the LoC in the Kargil sector. Thus far they had not been involved in militant activities — the question that arose was if they were being “held back” for something bigger.

Intelligence reports also pointed to some of the militants being given up-graded training — particularly in sabotage activities — in the recent weeks. The obvious game plan was to use them as “fifth columnists” in the event of war.

The Army indicated it was not particularly concerned about reports that Pakistan army units, an estimated three or four divisions, that had been deployed along the Afghan border, were moving east. That the movement was on, in fact, had been noticed before it was announced yesterday.

Confirming that artillery and mortar firing had intensified post-Kaluchak, the Army said it was ensuring swift and telling retribution. A major difference in the fire-assaults being the Pakistani guns hitting villages on Indian soil while the counter-fire was consistently directed against legitimate military targets.

Between the beginning of this year and 27 May, 737 militants had been killed.

Powell: Proof on infiltration

WASHINGTON, May 31. — Contrary to Gen. Pervez Musharraf's claim, Gen. Colin Powell said the USA has evidence on continued cross-border infiltration into J&K. But US state department spokesman Mr Richard Boucher said there were indications that Pakistan was cracking down on incursions. — PTI & AFP

THE STATESMAN

JUN 2002

PRESSURE ON USA FIGHTING AL-QAIDA

Pak plans troop diversion to LoC

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Statesman News Service
and Agencies

ISLAMABAD/NEW DELHI, May 30. — In an effort to put pressure on the USA and Western countries involved in operations against the Taliban and Al-Qaida, Gen. Pervez Musharraf today claimed he was thinking of moving troops from its border with Afghanistan to the Indo-Pak border and the Line of Control.

General Musharraf's statements came after Pakistan officially announced it had made "some readjustment of troops along the western border... in view of the adverse posture of the Indian armed forces."

"We are contemplating moving some elements onto the east if at all the tension remains as high as they are now. The movement has not started," he told a news conference today.

The movement of troops from Baluchistan and NWFP, where Pakistan has a corps each, is seen to have two major repercussions. First, fewer troops on the Afghan-Pak border will make it more 'porous,' probably allowing Al-Qaida and Taliban militants to slip into Pakistan. This is exactly what the Western allies like the USA still looking for Bin Laden, Mullah Omar and thousands of other fugitives do not want. Once in NWFP, they are expected to "merge"

with the locals, as thousands have, Indian officials believe.

Moving troops to the Indian side is also a message to the world that tensions are rising along the Indo-Pak border and the LoC. If several thousand more troops are necessary when

Stop incursions, Bush to Pervez

WASHINGTON, May 30. — President Bush announced today he is sending Defence Secretary Mr Donald Rumsfeld to India and Pakistan next week, and said President Musharraf must stop incursions across the LoC.

Mr Colin Powell is considering scaling down US presence in the region. Mr Bush said: "Musharraf must stop incursions. He said he would. We are making it clear that he must live up to his word." — PTI

several lakhs are already dug in since December, it is more to tell the world that Pakistan fears war. As the General today said, the first priority is security and at the moment, the country is subjected to aggression. Therefore, the country needs all "resources" to confront India.

The troop-movement timing is important. Though there was a reference to it two days ago by US defence secretary Mr Donald

Rumsfeld, Pakistan mentioned it today, a day after Mr Jack Straw, British foreign secretary, made tough statements about Pakistan having to stop infiltration into J&K. Mr Richard Armitage, US deputy secretary of state, will be in Islamabad and New Delhi on 4 and 6 June respectively.

This is the second instance of pressure on the US and other Western powers. Last week, Pakistan said it was planning to ask the UN to release 4,000 of its troops serving in Sierra Leone as part of a peace-keeping force. India is still assessing whether there is actually any troop movement or not, though some may have been pulled out earlier.

The Prime Minister today met Mr LK Advani, Mr George Fernandes and Mr Jaswant Singh for a review of the border situation. The meeting is being considered significant as Mr Fernandes left for Singapore to take part in the Asian Security Conference where he is likely to meet the British defence secretary and top officials of the Philippines and New Zealand. The PM will be away in Kazakhstan, where a meeting between him and Gen. Musharraf is being talked of though the Indian government has denied such a possibility.

■ Editorial: Violence in the valley, page 4
More reports on page 6

THE STATESMAN

PM takes Pak case to President

FROM PRANAY SHARMA AND
DREES BAKHTIAR

May 30: Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee today briefed President K.R. Narayanan on the standoff with Pakistan, explaining to him the steps taken by Delhi both at the diplomatic and military levels.

The 45-minute meeting gathered importance in the face of the Indian stand that though it is willing to wait for a few more weeks to see whether there has been an improvement in the ground situation, it has not foreclosed its military option against Pakistan.

The global diplomatic initiative gained momentum today with Japan's senior vice-minis-

ter for foreign affairs Seiken Sugiyama reaching Delhi. Sugiyama held talks with national security adviser Brajesh Mishra.

Japan, one of the biggest aid donors to Pakistan, has threatened to withhold Islamabad's economic package if it fails to take immediate steps to end cross-border terrorism. Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi had hinted at such a step when he spoke to Vajpayee last night.

The Japanese move to tighten the purse-strings to pressure the Musharraf regime is being seen in Delhi as growing consensus among the global powers, particularly the US, that it could be an effective tool to de-escalate the tension.

The Indian foreign ministry

concentrated its firepower today on a statement by Pakistan's ambassador to the UN last night. The ambassador, Munir Akram, had defended Pakistan's refusal to rule out a nuclear strike against India.

"We have to rely on our own means to deter Indian aggression. We have that means and we will not neutralise it by any doctrine of no first-use," he said at the UN.

But India brushed aside the comment as a ruse to deflect attention from cross-border terrorism. Foreign secretary Chokila Iyer briefed the ambassadors of China, Nepal, and Bangladesh today and said the world community should focus on the central issue of terrorism.

In Islamabad, Musharraf tried to tone down the rhetoric today, saying that it would be his "utmost endeavour to avoid conflict".

"It will be my utmost endeavour to avoid conflict. It will take place only if it is initiated by India. We will not be the initiators, this is my guarantee," he said.

Troop pullout

Musharraf said he was considering withdrawing some troops from the Afghan border to reinforce the tense boundary with India, but they had not yet been moved. "We are very seriously contemplating on moving some elements... on to the east if at all the tension remain as high as

they are now. But the movement has not yet started," he said.

Musharraf's comments were a partial retraction of a state television broadcast and a military spokesman's remarks that said the pullback had begun from the Afghan border, where Pakistan had deployed thousands of troops to help the US-led coalition.

Musharraf said Pakistan had "actually stalled" the induction of Pakistani troops into the interior of the western borders but said the movement to the east had not yet begun.

A British military official visiting Afghanistan said today that Indo-Pakistan tensions had affected the campaign against Islamic militants in the country.

MUSHARRAF MUST LIVE UP TO HIS WORD: BUSH

Rumsfeld coming to defuse tension

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MAY 30. The United States President, George Bush, today said the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf "must stop incursions across the Line of Control" and announced that he was sending his Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, to the Indian sub continent early next week.

Next week, the Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, will be travelling to India and Pakistan. The White House has said there will be no change in this part of the plan; and that the objective of both the Armitage and Rumsfeld missions is to reduce tensions in South Asia.

"...we're part of an international coalition applying pressure to both parties, particularly to President Musharraf.

He must stop the incursions across the Line of Control; he must do so. He said he would do so. We and others are making it clear to him that he must live up to his word," Mr. Bush said during a photo opportunity at a Cabinet Meeting at the White House.

He made it clear that it was impressed upon both India and Pakistan that war was not in their interests.

Asked if there were plans to evacuate American civilians and troops from India and Pakistan, he said, "...both Secretaries are analysing what it would take to protect American lives, if need be. Secondly, we are making it very clear to both Pakistan and India that war will not serve their interests."

Mr. Bush said the Al-Qaeda should not have derive any benefit from a conflict between India and Pakistan. "...they (Al-Qaeda) shouldn't think they're going to gain any advantage as a result of any conflict that may be — or talk of conflict between India and Pakistan — because we're still going to hunt them down. This is a long war."

The Pentagon is convinced that the impact of the rising India-Pakistan tensions is already being felt as far as the hunt for the Al-Qaeda and top lieutenants of Osama bin Laden. The Defence Department is worried that Pakistan has shifted much of its troop concentration from its border with Afghanistan to

the Kashmir areas. At the same time, there is the compelling argument here that much of the Al-Qaeda remnants, including perhaps Osama bin Laden, are in Pakistan.

The USA Today is reporting that a U.S. government team is in India to plan for the possible evacuation of troops and citizens from both India and Pakistan. There are an estimated 1000 U.S. forces in three bases in Pakistan and another 100 Commandos currently in a Joint Training Exercise with Indian forces in Agra. The report quotes a Pentagon official "close to war planners" as saying that the presence of American troops in Pakistan and India might be deterring the rivals from launching a war.

Officials of the State Department and the U.S. Pacific Command have started drawing up evacuation plans for between 50,000 to 60,000 American citizens — virtually all of them from India. An airlift of this magnitude "would dwarf the evacuation of Americans from Vietnam," the paper quotes a military official familiar with airlift capabilities as saying.

We should avoid war: Musharraf

ISLAMABAD, MAY 30. After threatening to unleash a storm if Indian forces set foot on Pakistan's soil, the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, today scaled down his rhetoric by offering the guarantee that his country will not initiate a war.

"All that I can do is give my own assurance that we will try to avoid conflict. It will be the utmost endeavour to avoid conflict.

"I have been saying all along that conflict will only take place here if it is initiated by India. We will not be the initiators. This is my guarantee," he told reporters here.

Gen. Musharraf has in the past two days increased the tempo of the military tensions by issuing a series of warnings to take the war into Indian territory.

Asked what message he had for the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee,

Gen. Musharraf said: "I am a soldier and know what destruction it (war) causes. I know what happens when your colleagues suffer, and maybe even die. I understand the miseries of war.

"There is need for both sides to avoid war. This is my message to Mr. Vajpayee," he said after signing the trilateral gas pipeline project involving Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkmenistan.

To a question on mediation, he said: "Any mediation helps. It does serve a good purpose. We encourage mediation.

"(The British Foreign Secretary) Jack Straw came here and we had a frank discussion with him. I am sure such third-party interaction do help defuse the situation."

Asked whether Pakistani troops were being moved from the Afghan borders and re-deployed along the border with India, Gen. Musharraf said: "We are very

seriously contemplating moving some elements out of these onto the east, if at all tensions remain as high as they are now." He, however, said the movement of troops had not yet started.

A military statement had earlier said that "a contingent of Pakistan troops commenced its movement from the western border to reinforce Pakistan troops deployed along the eastern border" in a "readjustment in view of the adverse posture of the Indian armed forces."

Gen. Musharraf said that Pakistan's first priority was its own security and none should grudge it.

"If Pakistan is subjected to aggression, all our resources will be posted where they are needed most," he said adding that it all depended on the situation at the border with India and some them might be moved from there. — PTI

Pak. threatens to use n-weapons

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MAY 30. Pakistan says it will resort to nuclear weapons even in a conventional war and that India should not have the "licence to kill", the country's new Ambassador to the United Nations, Munir Akram, told a news conference in New York today.

"India should not have the licence to kill with conventional weapons while Pakistan's hands are tied regarding other means to defend itself," he said.

Mr. Akram's comments — seen in some quarters as provocative — did not elicit any immediate response from diplomats or officials at the U.N.

His utterances come at a time when there is the definite feeling here and elsewhere that one way of lowering the temperature in the subcontinent is for both sides to stay away from inflammatory rhetoric.

Islamabad is using the U.N. to put its case across and, in the process, urging the Security Council to take up not just the issue of tension along the border with India but also the question of Kashmir.

"Whenever there is threat of use of force against a member-state and threat to international peace and security, there is an obligation for the Council to address that situation," Mr. Akram

said and stressed that the Security Council had the responsibility of addressing the Kashmir issue.

The U.N. Secretary-General and other member-states had obligations to implement the Security Council Resolutions.

He said Britain had suggested that a 300-strong helicopter monitoring force be deployed along the Kashmir border.

Loose talk, says India

NEW DELHI, MAY 30. Sharply reacting to Pakistan's threat to use nuclear weapons in the event of a war, India today said this was yet another "manifestation of loose talk" and stepped up its diplomatic offensive against Islamabad stating its position on the current situation on the border.

Responding to the remarks of the Pakistan Ambassador to United Nations, Munir Akram, that Islamabad had never subscribed to the no-first use of nuclear weapons, the External Affairs Ministry spokesperson, Nirupama Rao, said "this is yet another manifestation of loose talk and irresponsible statements emanating from Pakistan." — PTI

According to Mr. Akram, the proposal was made during the recent visit of the British Foreign Minister, Jack Straw, to Islamabad.

Pakistan would consider the proposal if India too accepted it. Mr. Akram was quoted as saying.

Britain apparently told Pakistan that it had carried out a study and concluded such a force would be sufficient to monitor the LoC.

Mr. Akram defined what constituted "aggression" by India that would be responded to by Pakistan.

"Any action by India to attack across the Line of Control, across the International Border, any aerial attack on our territory, any attack on our assets like shipping, any action to economically strangulate Pakistan — all of these will be acts of aggression by India and will be responded to by Pakistan," he said.

Indus Commission has no plans to visit J&K

HIP-11 345

J&K Pak

BY Gargi Parsai

NEW DELHI, MAY 29. The Indo-Pakistani Permanent Indus Commission (PIC) has no plans to visit Jammu and Kashmir where India proposes to construct a 450 MW Bagliar hydro-power project in Doda district.

Normally both sides undertake a joint inspection of project sites, but this time no such visit has been planned at a time when tensions are running high between both the countries.

The next joint visit would be the 100th the Commission would undertake.

The Bagliar project has been under discussion for three years now.

Amid attempts at secrecy

about the venue of the meeting, the Commission began its 87th annual three-day discussions here today which are being officially described as "routine". The meeting is held between the Water Commissioners of both countries.

India is being led by Indus Waters Commissioner, A.C. Gupta, from the Union Water Resources Ministry.

The meeting assumes significance in the backdrop of the demands raised informally at the BJP headquarters here and also by the Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah, for abrogating the treaty.

The Minister of State for Water Resources, Bijoya Chakravorty, however, denied any such move saying that India was

committed to its international treaties and the present meeting of the Joint Commission was being held to honour that commitment.

On day one, the six-member Pakistan delegation and the nine-member Indian side exchanged technical data on the waters of the six rivers that are being shared between India and Pakistan under the Indus Water Treaty of 1960.

The treaty, which came into effect retrospectively from

April 1, 1960, envisages that the waters of the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi would be utilised by the upper riparian State, India, while those of the Indus, the Chenab and the Jhelum by Pakistan.

THE HINDU

30 MAY 2002

The Straw that broke the General's back

Saurabh Shukla
New Delhi, May 29

BRITISH FOREIGN Secretary Jack Straw today assured India that General Pervez Musharraf had agreed to two major Indian demands. One, terrorist infiltration into India will be curbed. And, two, camps of militants in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir will be closed.

In a 40-minute meeting with Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Defence Minister Jaswant Singh and National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra, Straw said Musharraf meant business. He said the UK would provide "verifiable proof" of Islamabad's crack-down on terrorist camps.

Straw, who had said before his visit to the subcontinent he would not bring a "pre-cooked peace plan", said Musharraf was serious about ending support to terrorism.

Contrary to his public posture, the General conceded at his meeting with Straw that infiltration had been taking place in certain sectors.

Musharraf said he would close down the terror camps by the time of US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage's visit, roughly 10 days from now.

However, on the list of 20, Straw drew a blank. Musharraf gave no assurances on India's most wanted.

Straw's meeting with Vajpayee came after talks with External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh, Home Minister LK Advani and Defence Minister George Fernandes.

The Indian leaders told Straw that India did not want war but if Musharraf failed to keep his word this time, India

would be forced to act.

In response, Straw said a "cornered" Musharraf was in no position to make any public commitment.

Earlier, at a joint news conference with Jaswant Singh, Straw said Pakistan must honour UN Security Council Resolution 1373. The resolution calls upon all countries to refrain from providing any form of support to those involved in terrorist acts and deny safe haven to those who finance, plan, support and commit them. This directly called into question Musharraf's repeated promises of "moral" support to the "freedom movement" in J&K.

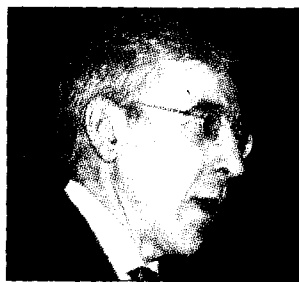
Straw discussed the Gujarat issue with Advani and Jaswant Singh. Referring to the deaths of two British citizens of Indian origin in the communal riots in the State, he said: "I talked of the importance of a thorough investigation by the police in Gujarat to bring the perpetrators to justice, and the issue of compensation."

While Straw restated the UK's position that the tension prevailing in J&K was a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan, he said the present state of high tension had international implications. It must be resolved, he added, by avoiding an escalation of military action.

At the press briefing, Singh was asked whether India was willing to give Musharraf more time to implement his promised crackdown on terrorism. He replied: "Musharraf has had all the time that he wants — it is vital that he recognises the urgency of the situation."

Related reports on Page 9

No decision to hold back Hawks



BRITISH FOREIGN Secretary Jack Straw has denied reports about Britain's unwillingness to sell the Hawk

advanced jet trainers to India in view of the heightened tension between India and Pakistan. He is reported to have attributed the reports to "some kind of misunderstanding in the British establishment". The question of denial, he indicated, does not arise since the AJT is a trainer aircraft and not primarily an offensive weapon system. But India is yet to take a final decision on buying the planes, he said.

HTC, New Delhi

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

30 MAY 2002

We'll unleash a storm: Musharraf

Ind. Pak

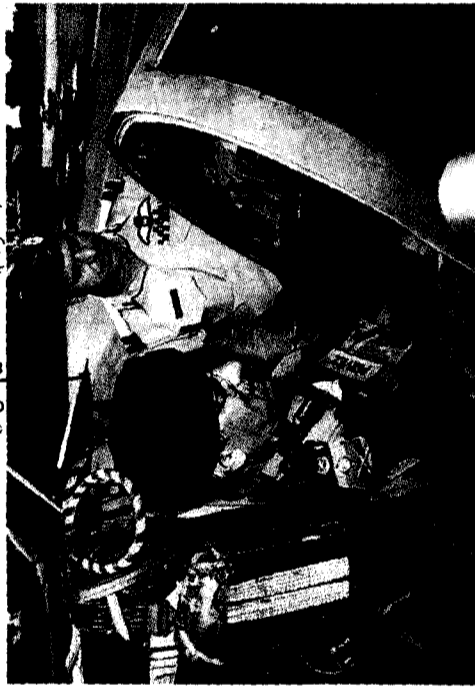
ISLAMABAD, MAY 29. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, today warned that Pakistan would "unleash a storm" if Indian forces set foot across the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir.

"Any incursion by the Indian forces across the LoC, even by an inch, will unleash a storm that will sweep the enemy," he told cheering troops during a visit to the de facto border dividing Kashmir and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

Gen. Musharraf said that Pakistan would counter-attack if India started a conflict. "Victory comes through offensive strategy and our forces are ready for it if war is thrust on Pakistan by India."

Disregarding calls by the international community to end cross-border terrorism and reduce tensions with India, he once again "warned" New Delhi of carrying the war into the "enemy" territory.

"A befitting response to any adventurism by India will be given... The defence forces of



The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, inspecting a PAF aircraft at the Kamara base on Wednesday. — Reuters

the country are fully prepared and ready to respond in a befitting manner in case of any aggression from across the borders," he said addressing officers and airmen at the Minhas base of the Pakistan Air Force (PAF) later. "The PAF is a small but a potent and hard-hitting

Special envoy to U.S.

Gen. Musharraf is sending five special envoys to the United States, Europe and several Mus-

lim countries to explain Pakistan's standoff with India, officials said today. The envoys, who met the President for a briefing late on Tuesday, will carry his message that Pakistan does not want a war with India and is ready to resolve all outstanding issues through dialogue.

The diplomatic offensive follows the General's nationwide broadcast on Monday, in which he blamed India for the military standoff and vowed Pakistan would not initiate a war.

The former President, Farooq Ahmed Leghari, has been asked to visit Russia and Germany to explain Pakistan's position, sources in Mr. Leghari's Millat Party said.

The officials said the other special emissaries were the former Senate chairman, Wasim Sajjad, the former Foreign Secretary, Najmuddin Sheikh, the ex-Ambassador to India, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, and the former Army chief, Jehangir Karamat. — AFP, UNI

Britain for 'visible' Pak. action

By Hasan Suroor

LONDON, MAY 28. Britain today called cross-border militancy and terrorism as the "main cause" for the India-Pakistan crisis and asked the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, to take "visible action" to end it.

But the Foreign Office welcomed Gen. Musharraf's "stated commitment" in his television address on Monday night, that Islamabad would not allow its territory to be used for terrorist activity. "We also welcome Gen. Musharraf's assurance that no infiltration is taking place across the Line of Control," a spokesman told *The Hindu* even as independent commentators found the Pakistani leader's remarks "defiant" and "bullish".

There was no immediate reaction to the Foreign Minister, Jaswant Singh's response to Gen. Musharraf's speech, though the British Government again emphasised the need for both sides to exercise restraint and said the Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, currently visiting the region, would call for de-escalation. In a subtle shift, Britain has begun to place the onus for the present crisis on Pakistan reflecting India's position that de-escalation is possible only when Islamabad stops support-

ing cross-border terrorism. In an interview to *The Financial Times* today, Gen. Musharraf repeated that there was "no activity" on the Line of Control, but said he was considering unilaterally stepping up presence of United Nations observers on the Pakistani side of the

LoC to "verify infiltration activities". Rejecting India's charge of continuing cross-border terrorist attacks, he said New Delhi wanted to be "both accusers and judges". He dismissed the list of 20 men whom India wants to be handed over to it for various alleged crimes. He said

it was "ridiculous" as it contained names of people who allegedly committed crimes in 1980s. "We can give India a list of names who committed crimes in 1947," he said. Meanwhile, the British Government was resisting pressure from its own MPs and peace ac-

tion to believe that President Musharraf will live up to his promises."

The official said that the administration will continue to keep urging Gen. Musharraf to freeze all activities across the LoC. The US took a positive view of the General's statement that Pakistan would not initiate a war.

Generally, the administration officials are reluctant to comment in depth on the speech of Gen. Musharraf and the response of the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh. The Bush administration has been leaning quite hard on Gen. Musharraf making the point that he ought to crack down on militant activities across the LoC.

The U.S. President, George W. Bush, travelling in Europe, had pointedly said that Gen. Musharraf lives up to his word and that "he performs".

Mr. Bush, in the course of responding to the a missile test by Pakistan, said, "I am more concerned about making sure that...President Musharraf shows results in terms of stopping people from crossing the Line of Control, stopping terrorism. That is what is more important than the missile testing."

Very few here are impressed with Gen. Musharraf's statement in an interview to *The Washington Post* and his speech to the nation that "nothing" was happening across the LoC in terms of militant activities.

Live up to promises, U.S. tells Pak.

There was widespread criticism of Britain's claim to pursue an "ethical" foreign policy while continuing to supply arms to countries threatening to go to war. But Indian diplomatic sources expressed concern over the implications of a possible suspension of arms supplies at this crucial juncture and said India's concerns had been conveyed to Britain. The issue, they indicated, had been taken up at the highest level and it was under discussion.

The Government has said that it would be guided by the European Union's "consolidated" criteria which prohibit arms supplies in situations where there is a "clearly identifiable risk" of a war. But as of now there is no arms embargo on the two countries.

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BE HINDU

29 MAY 2002

General thrust

An address to the nation that addresses nothing

9/5/02
P.M.
9/5/02

PAKISTAN President General Pervez Musharraf has missed an opportunity to deescalate tension on the border when, instead of addressing the core issue of cross-border terrorism, he chose to speak to his own jihadi constituency. Having failed to take any tangible steps to contain terrorism since his much-hyped January 12 speech, he should have known that India was not inclined to take any of his promises at its face value. To make sense to New Delhi, he should have come up with a ground-level plan of action to match his words. It is this dichotomy between his promises and his actions which has led the Indian government to dismiss Musharraf's speech as "disappointing and dangerous". What was also disappointing was his inability to elaborate upon any single measure he undertook to break the backbone of terrorist organisations operating from Pakistan and to prevent them from perpetrating such heinous acts as the one at Kaluchak on May 14. By asserting that there was no infiltration across the border now, which is a tacit admission that there was such infiltration earlier, the General has resorted to Goebbelsian tactics. This claim is tantamount to terming as liars, all those world leaders — including the US president — who have asked him to stop infiltration.

The speech is dangerous because Musharraf has used the occa-

sion to tell the jihadis in his country that despite all his protestations of being on the side of the US in the global war against terrorism, he has not compromised on his stand on Kashmir. Building up peace was surely not his intention when he referred to such totally irrelevant subjects as Gujarat and the treatment meted out to Dalits in India and questioned its criminal justice system. Coming as the speech did, soon after Pakistan demonstrated its newly acquired missile technology, the impression he sought to convey was that of a belligerent Pakistan, which was ready to take on India.

Musharraf's speech poses a greater challenge to world leaders than to India. The last time round they were able to convince India that the General needed some time to crack down on the terrorist lobby in his country. But the overt bellicosity in his speech this time makes it all the more difficult for them to convince India about the need to show restraint. Instead of wasting their efforts in convincing India, they would do better to impress upon the Pakistani leader that nothing less than the immediate closing down of all militant training camps and the withdrawal of moral, diplomatic and political support to cross-border terrorism would satisfy public opinion in an India that is fed up with the decade-old proxy war.

INDIAN EXPRESS

29 MAY 2002

General Defiance

General Musharraf has done it again: Used offence as his best defence. Dismissing cross-border terrorism as a figment of the Indian imagination, he has instead pointed a finger at this country, accusing it of war-mongering and ill-treating its minorities. Indeed, he has gone as far as to challenge India to go to war. No doubt, his aim, as before, is to seize the moral high ground. And yet, the general will do well to ask himself why a worried international community is increasingly voicing the same apprehensions as India. Evidently, the general believes that a further dose of bluster is enough to counter the growing global clamour against Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. After all, he is a pastmaster at this doublespeak: If in his January 12 speech he promised a wholesale crackdown on the jihadis, only to renege on it, he has since allowed the Al-Qaida and the Taliban to find safe havens within Pakistan in a mockery of his status as a key member of the global alliance against terrorism. Clearly, the general is pushing his luck with an American administration more and more frustrated by his easy ability to flout its diktat.

Pakistan's defiance cannot be dealt with as a bilateral Indo-Pak problem. Even less as a problem that can be solved through a conventional war, for which the general says he is prepared. Any Indian response to General Musharraf has to fit into the overall strategy of the global coalition, which is fighting a battle against terrorism in and around Pakistan. In the circumstances, the only guaranteed strategy can be a policy of economic, political and military containment of Pakistan by all coalition partners. With the British and US envoys scheduled soon to arrive in the subcontinent and continuous consultations among New Delhi, Washington, Moscow and the European and Japanese capitals, a coherent international framework to deal with Pakistan needs to be finalised. In all this, it is vital to understand certain realities, including that while the application of military pressure to ensure damage-limitation and raise the cost of terrorism is appropriate, any talk of war is counter-productive. The resources available to either country more or less rule out meaningful results in a war between India and Pakistan, not to mention the nuclear threat held out by the latter. The extremely dangerous and delicate situation created by General Musharraf's intransigence has to be met through astute strategic diplomacy and not by angry rhetoric.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

29 MAY 2002

Pak pledges to curb Kashmir rebels

Raja Asghar

ISLAMABAD 29 MAY

A Japanese envoy seeking to avert war in the sub-continent said on Wednesday Pakistan had assured him it would step up efforts to curb militants infiltrating into the Indian-ruled part of disputed Kashmir.

Senior vice foreign minister Seiken Sugiura told a news conference the assurance was given to him by Pakistani foreign minister Abdul Sattar in talks on Wednesday on the first leg of a peace trip to the region.

Mr Sugiura said he conveyed Tokyo's view that Islamabad take "concrete and visible measures against terrorism", including stopping infiltration across a military Line of Control (LOC) in Kashmir that has brought nuclear-armed Pakistan and India to the brink of war.

But he said Mr Sattar described India's large deployment of troops on the border as "not a rational response" to the situation and New Delhi's refusal to accept neutral monitors on the LOC had put Islamabad in a difficult position. However, he quoted Mr Sattar as telling him that "in order to fulfil our responsibility we will step up our efforts to curb move-



SEIKEN SUGIURA

ment across the LOC". But he declined to go into any specific steps that Pakistan would take.

Islamabad denies New Delhi's charges that it is sponsoring a 13-year-old separatist insurgency in Kashmir by Islamic militants seeking independence or union with Pakistan, and says it only gives moral and political support to Kashmiri "freedom fighters."

Mr Sugiura, who is due to go to New Delhi on Thursday, said he will urge the Indian government to "exhaust diplomatic efforts toward a de-escalation" of the situation. He said he had not made any specific proposals to Pakistan

but Japan wanted both countries to exercise restraint and resume deadlocked talks. Diplomats in Tokyo said on Tuesday Japan, the biggest aid donor to India and Pakistan, could play its aid card to try to bring the rivals back from the brink of war.

Japanese diplomatic sources in Tokyo said Japan could revive economic sanctions against Pakistan and India or threaten to stop providing aid if the South Asian countries defied calls from the international community to prevent a war.

But it was not clear how much weight such threats would carry. India and Pakistan have close to a million men massed on the border backed by fighter jets and heavy artillery in a build-up triggered by a raid on India's parliament in December.

India said Pakistan-based Kashmiri separatists carried out this and another attack on an Indian army camp in Kashmir earlier this month that killed more than 30 people, most of them women and children.

Japan lifted sanctions on Pakistan and India last October after the two countries offered support for the United States-led operations in Afghanistan following the September 11 attacks on the United States. — Reuters

George warns against fresh wave of terror

New Delhi

29 MAY

INDIA has warned that any further Kaluchak-like terrorist attack will provoke immediate action as the situation has "already reached more or less the end of the road."

"The situation has reached a threshold level," defence minister George Fernandes said in a TV programme. If international efforts to make Pakistan end cross-border terrorism fail, the Indian "Army is there" to tackle the issue, he added.

"We don't have inexhaustible patience... If another Kaluchak takes place, there won't be any time (for India to act). We have already reached more or less the end of the road," Mr Fernandes said on *Court Martial* to be telecast on Sab TV on Thursday.

He refused to specify the timing of further action against Pakistan saying: "Situations change from hour to hour and India has to be ready to face any situation." — PTI

The Economic Times

29 MAY 2002

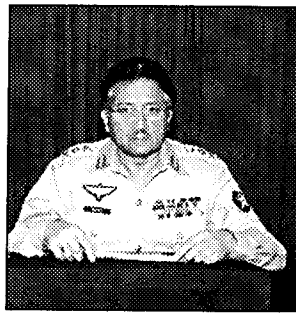
Pak Prez denies infiltration across LoC

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 27 MAY

GENERAL Pervez Musharraf, while addressing the nation on Monday, rejected the Indian and global demands to stop infiltration and cross-border terrorism by insisting that there was "no infiltration taking place across the Line of Control (LoC)" into India. Although India has reserved its official reaction for Tuesday, top level sources in the government dismissed Mr Musharraf's speech as having little to offer for India. There's nothing to accept or reject, they said. But Monday night's speech would do little to ease tensions between the two countries either. India is not likely to be impressed by this speech because it doesn't address any of India's core concerns laid out after the December 13 attack. The promises President Musharraf made were on the lines of the January 12 speech, which were reversed in a matter of weeks.

Using harsh war rhetoric which Mr Musharraf said would "have grave internal and external consequences for Pakistan," Mr Musharraf said it was India behaving irresponsibly, describing her as nothing short of a Hindu authoritarian state, committing atrocities on its Muslim and Sikh minorities and scheduled castes.

Pakistan, he said, had acted with restraint even after India's "hasty" reaction after December 13 and May 14. Claiming that



MUSHARRAF: WAR RHETORIC

Pakistan was not doing anything across the LoC, Mr Musharraf said Islamabad will never allow export of terrorism anywhere in the world from Pakistani soil. He essentially repeated the promise made in his January 12 speech. Condemning the two terrorist attacks on India, he said such acts were committed by organisations that Pakistan condemned but at the same time the incidents did not merit such a massive force mobilisation.

Instead Mr Musharraf rolled out a list for India to follow. He asked India to "move towards normalisation of relations," which would entail de-escalation, reduction of tension, initiating a process of dialogue, cessation of atrocities on people of Kashmir and allowing international media and human rights organisations to monitor Indian activities in Kashmir.

Apart from a promise that he "would not initiate a war," Mr Musharraf asserted that if "war

was thrust upon us, we will give a befitting reply." If there was any expectation among anxious leaders in Washington or London that Mr Musharraf would announce any action against terrorists, it was to be belied.

No hopes were forthcoming for the immediate purpose of easing tensions on the LoC since India cannot scale down its preparations on the border on the strength of Mr Musharraf's speech. This, analysts feel, will increase the world pressure on Pakistan. The MEA spokesperson said: "We have heard the speech delivered by the Pakistani President. The content is to be analysed. We have to assess Musharraf's statement in totality. What has been stated has to be in the context of his January 12 statement and his recent interviews."

Whether Mr Musharraf's statement was a game of semantics that was a strident denial to his countrymen, but could be interpreted by the international community as a veiled promise to end infiltration was not clear, but western diplomatic sources said the world will be watching to see whether Mr Musharraf's statement about "no infiltration" was evident on the ground. The international community will be satisfied by one aspect of the Pakistani general's speech. He announced elections between October 7-11, 2002, promising that they will be conducted under the watch of international observers and will be "fair and transparent."

The BJP position, which till Sunday appeared jingoistic, on Monday seemed to be mainstream with the Samajwadi Party chief, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, taunting the BJP for its pusillanimity in not launching strikes on PoK. Mr Yadav, who is otherwise with the Left, differed with the comrades and said India has been missing opportunities to teach Pakistan a lesson.

"The first opportunity came to India during the Kargil episode when the central government had announced that strikes would be carried out on terrorist training camps. The attack on the Amarnath Yatra pilgrims was the second," Mr Yadav said. This is in sharp contrast with the position of the Left, which lays a lot of premium on the Pakistani General's "ability to deliver."

Undeterred by the fact that the General was yet to act on the promises made in his October 12, 1999 or the January 12, 2002 speeches, the Left has been insisting that New Delhi should re-

think on the current tough posture towards Pakistan.

Cong, BJP show united colours, Left unmoved

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 27 MAY

GENERAL Pervez Musharraf's attempt to suggest a civilisational conflict in India on Monday unified political opinion within the country with the Congress terming his utterances as "unwarranted and untruthful representation of the internal situation" and the Bharatiya Janata Party demanding stern action against Pakistan.

Reacting to the General's speech, which painted India as a Hindu majoritarian state unfair to its minorities, the Congress spokesman said his utterances will not defuse the tension between the two countries.

"His speech will not satisfy the people of India. The government should launch an all out counter-offensive to apprise world leaders about the real intentions of the General," Congress spokesman Jaipal Reddy said. There was also clamour for action with the BJP asking its government to take some hard measures including smashing of terrorist camps in Pak-occupied Kashmir.

think on the current tough posture towards Pakistan.

The CPI(M) even came up with its prescription for ending jihadi violence on Sunday at the meeting of its central committee in Bangalore — more autonomy to the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The Left's stand is not surprising as it is a mere repetition of the position that they took in the wake of the January 12 address of General Musharraf.

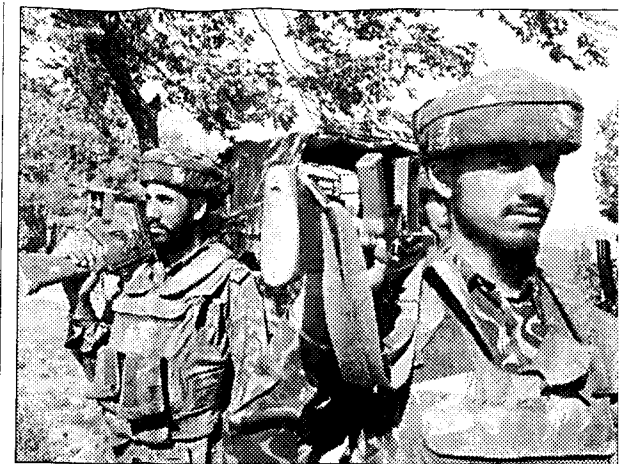
It may be recalled that the Left parties had asked the government to roll back the troops from the border. Predictably, the government and other responsible quarters had rejected the stand taken by the Left. The agenda was put across by the Prime Minister on Sunday when he said that India's patience was wearing thin and the government reserved its right to escalate matters if Pakistan failed to end cross-border terrorism. What is significant is the tough position taken by the Congress. This indicates that the Congress has decided to involve itself fully with the government's plan to lobby international support for its muscular diplomacy.

230 Pak soldiers killed in a fortnight

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 27 MAY

AS a result of the increase in hostilities along the Indo-Pak border, the army on Monday said 230 Pakistani soldiers had been killed in the last two weeks alone in retaliatory fire on Pakistani posts.

While the engagements with Pakistani forces were mainly along the international border in the Jammu, RS Pura, Samba and Hiranagar sectors and across the LoC in Poonch, Rajouri, Naushera and Akhnoor sectors, the army said Dras, for the first time since the Kargil conflict, witnessed heavy shelling.



VALIANT SENTINEL

India needs different tactics to tackle Pak

New Delhi
27 MAY

FOR the second time in a week, home minister L.K. Advani has said India needs to adopt "another way" than conventional combat to fight Pakistan for its backing of terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir.

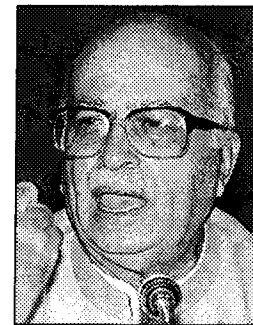
Without divulging what was on his mind, Mr Advani told here on Monday that the time had come for India to change its "way of fighting." "When I went to the United States in January, I was repeatedly asked whether there would be a war between India and Pakistan," Mr Advani said at a function where he later flagged off a car rally to Ladakh.

"My reply is that Pakistan and terrorists have already declared a war on India. The question is whether we should continue with the way we are fighting it or adopt another way. The time has come to adopt another way." Mr Advani's comments are bound to fuel speculation about the "another way" he has in mind of tackling Pakistan's support to the dragging, bloody separatist campaign in the northern border state that has claimed about 30,000 lives since 1989.

India accuses Pakistan of arming and training thousands of guerrillas, including foreign mercenaries, to take on its troops in Kashmir. Pakistan denies the allegation and says it only provides "moral support" to the "freedom fighters." A week ago, Mr Advani had spoken of the need for a "new strategy" to defeat Pakistan's "proxy war" — New Delhi's euphemism for Islamabad's support to terrorism in J&K.

On Monday, Mr Advani said fighting a war with Pakistan or engaging the terrorists it backed in an armed conflict were strategies that had not worked and needed to be replaced. Calling the situation "challenging" and "not normal," Mr Advani added: "An ordinary war goes on for two or three weeks. But this war has gone on for two decades.

Our sacrifices in it have been more than those in direct wars." India and Pakistan fought wars in 1948, 1965 and 1971, all of which India won. In 1999, the Indian Army pushed back intruders from Pakistan in the Kargil sector of Jammu and Kashmir over 50 days, losing 520 soldiers in the high-altitude operation. Mr Advani had last week said India would win the proxy war, but



ADVANI: NEW GAMEPLAN

Trust Pervez: No infiltration

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FROM IDREES BAKHTIAR IN ISLAMABAD AND OUR DELHI BUREAU

CHAIN OF TERROR FACTORIES

May 27: Generous in his January speech, General Pervez Musharraf this time chose to be austere with assurances, declaring only that there was no infiltration of militants into India.

If the arrogant assertion — infiltration, what infiltration? — was the signal India and the international community were expecting from the general, they were not disappointed.

India held back its "considered response" till tomorrow because "what you see (of Musharraf) is not what you get". But the general did enough during his nationally televised speech to twist the knife into Delhi, including spotting "Hindu terrorists" on rampage in Kashmir and — the worst cut of all for Atal Bihari Vajpayee — in Gujarat.

By way of promises to the world, there was only a repeat of something he had said in the January 12 speech: that he would not allow terrorist activity from Pakistani soil. To the Pakistani people, he promised election between October 7 and 11.

"Pakistan will never allow the export of terrorism anywhere in the world from within Pakistan," he said.

Missing was the line which had been added after a meeting of the national security council and the Cabinet last week that terrorist activity would not be permitted even from territory under Pakistani control, meaning that part of Kashmir it holds.

Does today's speech then mean backtracking from that position? Musharraf, in his army fatigues but speaking with a politician's forked tongue, hid himself behind a veil of ambiguity.

"I also want to tell the world and give the assurance that no infiltration is taking place across the Line of Control," he said. Musharraf laid on the table a

long charter of what he wants India to do, presumably in exchange for his commitment to stop infiltration. He demanded that the international community persuade India to de-escalate tension by cutting forces on the border, start talking again, stop "atrocities" on the people of Kashmir, and allow human rights organisations to enter Kashmir.

He said he had taken bold steps to crack down on terrorism, but "we have not seen positive steps from India".

"I urge the international community to ask India to move towards normalisation of rela-

tions... and reduction of tensions on the border," he said.

"I would now like to convey a message to the world community. Pakistan does not want war. Pakistan will not be the one to initiate war... But if war is thrust upon us, we would respond with full might."

He distanced the Pakistani government from the terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament and on the army camp in Jammu. "We want to make it

clear that Pakistan is not involved in any attack. There may be groups who want to destabilise Pakistan." The comment is a signal to Delhi that some of the militant groups might not be under his control and were trying to provoke a war by hitting targets in India.

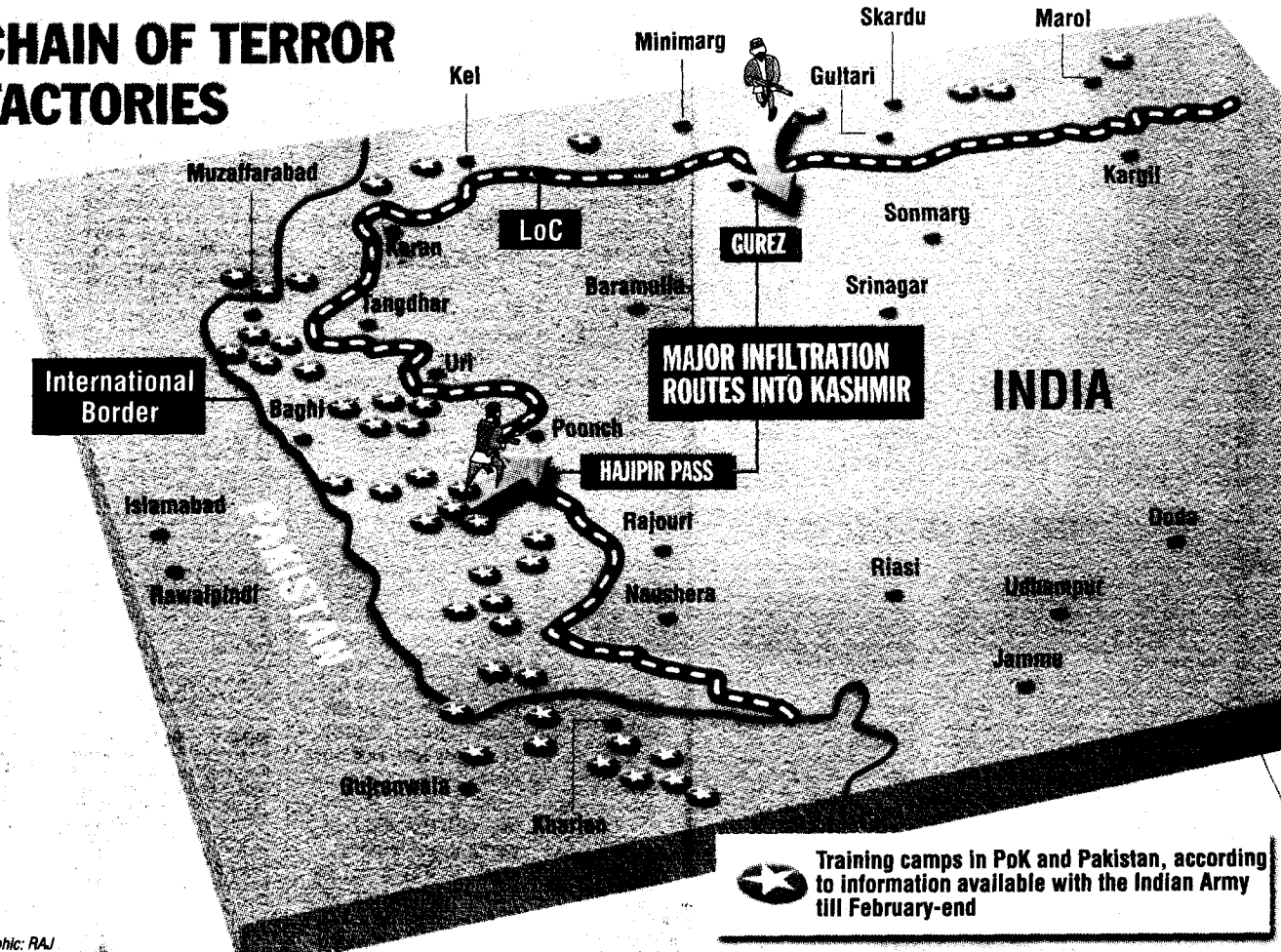
Lest his statement that infiltration is not taking place is read as a betrayal of the Kashmir cause, Musharraf addressed his "Kashmiri brethren and

sisters". "We will always stand with you and you will always have our moral, political and diplomatic support."

Delhi will see this as playing to the gallery and, though much of Musharraf's speech was rhetoric, the easy flow was interrupted by sudden hints that Musharraf meant more than he said.

He said: "We stand at historic crossroads. The decisions taken today will have their bearings on the future."

Vajpayee will hope so, too. January 12 was all promise and little action. May 27 will be the opposite. (See Pages 5,8)



Graphic: RAJ

Trust your eyes, says army

FROM SUJAN DUTTA

New Delhi, May 27: In the backdrop of reports coming out of Pakistan — and President Pervez Musharraf's own claim — that infiltration into India has stopped, army sources said today that the ground situation did not allow them to accept such a conclusion.

"There is no evidence yet that suggests that the 10 Corps is trying to stop exfiltration from Pakistan," they said.

The Pakistan army's 10 Corps, which is deployed in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, continues to man the Line of Control at crucial points. Reports from Pakistan suggested that Musharraf had asked the 10 Corps not to permit infiltration into Kashmir after the government said terrorist activity would not be allowed from Pakistani soil or from territory controlled by it. Again, in his speech today, Musharraf said there is no infiltration.

The Indian Army sources said even as late as Saturday, three militants were killed at Chawa near Rajouri. "It is difficult to expect the Pakistani army to suddenly turn the gun away from India and on the jihadis," an official said.

The army is taking "limited punitive action" on Pakistani posts across the LoC based on the logic that these provide covering fire for militants infiltrating into Kashmir. The army sources claim that in the past two weeks 240 Pakistani soldiers have died in the firing.

QUOTE

I will not allow its (Pakistan's) soil to be used by terrorists

PERVEZ MUSHARRAF

'NO INFILTRATION ACROSS LoC, DELHI CREATING WAR HYSTERIA'

Pervez sings an old song anew

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, May 27. — There was little disappointment in the government tonight because it expected nothing from the Pakistani President's address to his nation. And General Pervez Musharraf obliged by offering absolutely nothing new.

In fact, on certain issues, he carried belligerence directly into the Indian court, accusing it of creating war hysteria and committing "atrocities" in Kashmir and elsewhere.

Outlining the reasons of the current stand-off, a tense-looking Gen Musharraf said attacks such as the one at Kaluchak were "also meant to destabilise Pakistan". In an ironic twist to the events, he said: "We ourselves are victims of terrorism. There was the recent attack on a church in Islamabad, and soon after the suicide attack in Karachi which killed a number of French nationals. We didn't blame India for these."

Abdul Ghani Lone's "killers have not been caught, but again the blame is being put on Pakistan and the ISI... All this results in increasing the war hysteria that's being created. We on the other hand have shown accommodation and restraint. But this should not be viewed as weakness. We've prepared our defences," the General said.

This almost directly echoes what India had recently said. Analysts said the speech indicated the General was trapped in his rhetoric. The speech lent itself to comparison with the one he delivered on 12 January, which showed a significant change of direction for Pakistani politics, for the paucity of substance it had on offer.

"I had said in my speech in January that Pakistani soil will not be used for terrorist activity. I'll repeat

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this and assure people outside Pakistan that there is no infiltration across the LoC," the General said.

The minister of state for external affairs, Mr Omar Abdullah, dismissed the claim, saying even if India were lying about infiltration from across the border, countries like Russia, Germany and the USA

Sartorial & speech differences

NEW DELHI, May 27. — General Pervez Musharraf was today dressed in battle fatigues, unlike the black sherwani he wore to deliver the 12 January address.

Then he had certain concessions to offer. Today he had nothing but added belligerence.

Further carrying the battle to India, he used the kind of language that Delhi normally uses — the language of reasonable restraint — even as he appeared tense during his 25-minute address in Urdu, with simultaneous English translation.

Pakistan is a responsible state, Gen Musharraf said. He said he did not want war, but was being provoked by a persistently hostile India, that was committing atrocities in Kashmir and elsewhere against minorities. — SNS

must have some basis for asking Islamabad to stop sponsoring cross-border terrorism immediately.

He said Gen Musharraf had nothing more to add to what he had said on 12 January. If anything, he said, he was more "angry" with today's speech.

"We can't be blamed for every incident that occurs in Occupied Kashmir," the General said, but "I would like to assure the international community that we aren't allow-

ing any infiltration across the LoC. We've taken very bold initiatives in this regard since 12 January."

Defence ministry officials here wondered how infiltration could have stopped when three infiltrators were killed and one captured on Saturday.

"We would like to see withdrawal of troops from the border," is what appeared the crux of Gen Musharraf's concerns. "And we would like to urge the world to take note of the atrocities being committed by Hindu extremists and terrorists against Muslims in Kashmir and Gujarat, and against Christians and Sikhs and members of Hindu scheduled castes elsewhere in India."

As always, he had "a message to our Kashmiri brothers and sisters: We'll always stand with you and you'll always have our support."

The Centre said it would "give its considered response" and react "in totality" tomorrow. The foreign ministry spokesperson said: "We've to assess Gen Musharraf's statement in totality. What has been stated today has to be seen in the context of his 12 January statement..."

The Prime Minister has rescheduled his vacation and would return to the Capital tomorrow to discuss the speech with his Cabinet colleagues. A CCS meeting is likely to follow.

Support for PM: Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee has received a "positive response" this evening from the British Prime Minister, French President and Canadian Prime Minister, a report from Manali says. Mr Tony Blair condemned the Kaluchak massacre and the Pak-backed terrorism.

Mr LK Advani today reiterated that Pakistan had declared a war a long time ago and now the time demanded "another way" to fight it. He called the current situation "challenging".

THE STATESMAN

13 MAY 2002

War no solution to Kashmir issue: Bhat

By Our Correspondent

SRINAGAR, MAY 26. The All-Party Hurriyat Conference chairman, Abdul Ghani Bhat, today said that an Indo-Pak. war was no solution to the Kashmir problem and would only complicate it. According to him, "hardliners" were in the way of starting any dialogue for a peaceful solution of the Kashmir problem. Speaking to *The Hindu* here, Prof. Bhat said the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, had taken a good initiative for a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue when he announced a unilateral ceasefire in the Valley in 2000.

"Even we had appreciated the Central Government for taking this bold step and it was a big leap. We offered our help for bringing an end to the violence in the State, so that peace could be restored and a resolution

could be found out."

In this connection, according to Prof. Bhat, the Hurriyat had offered to go to Pakistan to convince the concerned groups there to reciprocate New Delhi's offer. "But we were bluntly refused by New Delhi to go to Pakistan. I ask: what damage could have happened if had gone there," Prof. Bhat said and added that "our conditions remains the same if any one wants our help in ending violence in the State".

He doubted whether the Centre would show any flexibility in its stand because of the presence of "hardliners" in the establishment who were too "rigid" in their approach.

Asking the Prime Minister to show flexibility on Kashmir, Prof. Bhat said talks had to be on the agenda and the parties participating in it must be prepared for "give and take".

On the lack of support for the Hurriyat in Jammu and Ladakh, he said: "I admit that people of these two regions are not with us in what we are demanding and that their aspirations are not the same as ours. Even the people of Azad Kashmir's aspirations are not the same as that of the people of Kashmir. The culture of Azad Kashmir is closer to that of Jammu. To accept the ground realities in our State, I do not have any objection nor any body should have any objection that Kashmiris, which includes our Pandit brothers, are a unique entity in the whole of Central Asian region and we are proud of this unique regional identity."

On the reported hue and cry raised within the Hurriyat ranks over the Dubai meet, Mr. Bhat said: "I go on record that we had not objected to the meet in which Lone, the Mirwaiz and

Sardar Abdul Qayoom participated. I will also add that the points announced by Lone at his press conference in Dubai that the Kashmir issue should be resolved peacefully, that there should be coordination on both sides of Kashmir and that the Assembly elections are no solution to the problem, are acceptable to us. We had merely said that on the return of Lone to Kashmir, he would give us the details of what transpired in Dubai."

On how the Hurriyat leader, Lone's death would affect the organisation, he said: "we have lost our most dependable and articulate colleague who understood the complexities of the State and was a Kashmiri nationalist to the core, which is quite rare in these times. But his death has had a positive impact of cementing the bonds between us."

THE HINDU

27 MAY 2000

"WE DON'T TAKE PAK. MISSILE TEST SERIOUSLY"

Our patience is running out, says Vajpayee

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MANALI (H.P.), MAY 25. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, said today that India's patience was running out and that it was now for the world leaders to mount pressure on Pakistan to immediately stop cross-border terrorism.

"Bahut prateeksha kar lee hai, hamari sanyam ki bhi seema hai, (we have waited for too long and there is a limit to our restraint)" he told reporters here after attending a cultural programme presented by tribal people.

Reacting to Pakistan's missile tests, the Prime Minister said "we don't take test firing of missiles by Pakistan seriously".

New Delhi has already said that the test conducted by Pakistan was only a routine aimed at impressing the people of that country.

To a question on the AICC resolution on Kashmir, Mr. Vajpayee said there had been no change in the Congress stand on fighting terrorism. The Congress could differ on Kashmir policy but all political parties were behind the Government in the fight against terrorism. "We are firm on our commitment to end terrorism and we will also continue our diplomatic efforts," he said.

The National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, who had gone to Kalpakkam, near Chennai, to attend the Atomic Energy Commission meeting will arrive here tomorrow to brief the Prime Minister. Mr Vajpayee is in constant touch with the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, and the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, on the



latest situation in the Indo-Pak. border. Mr. Fernandes is expected here to brief the Prime Minister. — PTI, UNI

Focus on diplomacy

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, MAY 25. India today took the Pakistani missile test in its stride even as it prepared for the high-level diplomatic interaction next week that is intended to defuse the military tensions with Pakistan.

In an interview to CNN, the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, indicated that India was not particularly perturbed, as the Ghauri missile was not new and had been acquired by Pakistan from abroad. In fact, the Ministry of External Affairs spokesperson, Nirupama Rao, said that the missile launch need not be called a "test", but a "firing" of a pre-tested system that had been developed outside Pakistan. "There is nothing

indigenous about it." Highly-placed sources here said that India's reaction to the test had been deliberately restrained as there was an anticipation here that the missile firing was a "ground-breaking" exercise by Pakistan that could usher in a crackdown on Kashmir-bound terrorists in the coming days. By creating an atmosphere of "defiance" through the test of India-centric missiles, Pakistan may now find it easier to convey to a domestic audience that its strike on extremists, that might follow, was not under pressure from India.

Keen on keeping its pro-Kashmir image intact internally, the Pakistani side may also raise the rhetoric about providing "moral, political and diplomatic support" to the Kashmiris, in tandem with a crackdown, the sources said. India, on its part, may not find a new shrillness in Pakistani tone on Kashmir too difficult to absorb, provided there is genuine effort by Islamabad to address its prime concern of ending cross-border terrorism permanently.

According to sources, India was getting ready for a major round of diplomacy in the coming week, to ensure that Pakistan tackled cross-border terrorism, not with "half-measures", but in its entirety.

The British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, is expected to arrive here on Monday. This will be followed by a visit of the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage, on June 6.

Sources here anticipate that while the United Nations Security Council and most of the in-

dustrialised countries may succeed in "persuading" Pakistan to "initiate" steps to counter cross-border infiltrations, the international debate on the stand-off may soon shift on the possible "concessions" that India might give in return.

Anticipating this move, In-

PM briefs President

MANALI, MAY 25. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today briefed the President, K.R.Narayanan, over the telephone about the overall security scenario in the wake of the heightened Indo-Pak. tension.

Mr. Vajpayee informed the President about his three-day visit to Jammu and Kashmir earlier this week and deliberations he had at a meeting of the Unified Command in Srinagar, official sources said.

The Prime Minister enquired about the health of Mr. Narayanan, who was away in the Nilgiris, in Tamil Nadu, and Kerala for taking rest and recuperation earlier this month. — PTI

dia's is likely to respond by citing the necessity of evolving verifiable mechanisms that will guarantee that Pakistan will dismantle the infrastructure of terrorism on its soil "irreversibly". Prior to the Agra summit, India had proposed sending its Director-General of Military Operations (DGMO) to Pakistan, so that joint mechanism to counter infiltrations could be established.

THE HINDU

26 MAY 2007

Pak move cuts no ice

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 25. — Reports from Islamabad and Washington that the 10 Corps of the Pakistan army has been ordered to block infiltration routes of militants do not cut much ice with the Indian defence establishment. "If indeed such orders were issued on 23 May, they have either not trickled down to field commanders, or they are being ignored," said a senior officer here this evening.

The 10 Corps, which was mentioned in the reports, is indeed deployed in PoK, Indian Army officers here confirmed. But what made them remain as sceptical as ever was the infiltration bid at Chhawa in the Rajouri sec-

tor earlier in the day. The sector falls within the operational purview of 10 Corps.

While three militants were killed in an encounter with the Indian forces (significantly it was from locals that the Army got a tip-off of their presence), the fourth "sang" after being captured. When interrogated, Anjuman So-hail, Army sources here said, admitted that the infiltration bid had been undertaken on the ISI's instructions.

"We'll have to closely monitor events in the next few days," a senior officer said, pointing to President Pervez Musharraf's track record of announcing anti-terrorism measures but never actually taking them. "There is no question of us 'standing

down' on the basis of what he tells anybody."

Most analysts felt there could be an element of veracity to the reports of the new instructions to 10 Corps, but added that "truth" would only be established when the inflow of militants wound down.

It was possible that Pakistan was re-thinking its standard policy of getting irregulars, or people posing as irregulars to do its dirty work (as witnessed in 1947, 1965 and Kargil) as a result of the twin pressures of India's military posture and international community's virtually directing Gen. Musharraf to desist from pushing militants across the Line of Control.

The series of missile tests Pakistan had announced — the Ghauri was test-fired today — might have been aimed at diverting domestic attention away from President Musharraf having no alternative to "show" something to world leaders, analysts said.

Concurring with the military emphasis on "wait and watch", analysts said India might also show the patience that several countries had asked it to display. And should the reported order to 10 Corps prove as devoid of substance as General Musharraf's previous promises, there would be no cause for international complaint if India did opt to wage a "decisive war".

THE STATESMAN

25 MAY 2002

Security Council not to take action on Pak letter

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA ^{9/22 PM} 3 million may die in limited N-war: study ^{5/12 26/5}

UNHQ, May 25. — The Security Council will not take any action on the letter sent to it by Pakistan seeking its intervention to resolve the tension between New Delhi and Islamabad, diplomats said.

"There was no formal request to the Council to take up the issue," they said, adding it only presented Islamabad's viewpoint and was perhaps for record.

The letter sent by the Pakistani foreign minister, Mr Abdul Sattar, urged the Secretary-General, Mr Kofi Annan, and the president of the Security Council to help defuse the "explosive situation".

It also blamed India for the tension on the border and described New Delhi as "an arrogant power." Diplomats and officials were closely monitoring the situation but making no comments.

For the Council to take up an issue, a formal request needs to be made by one of its members and no one has so far indicated any intention of raising the issue, they said.

The letter was circulated among the fifteen members of the Security Council but it was not brought up for debate by any one at its meetings.

LONDON, May 25. — At least three million people will be killed if a limited nuclear war broke out between India and Pakistan, according to a study.

"Millions would die in the immediate blast and fire and from radiation. Others would suffer destroyed homes, lack of water and facilities and disease years later", The Times daily reported quoting the American magazine, New Scientist.

The magazine quoted Mr MV Ramana, a nuclear researcher at Princeton University in New Jersey, saying: "It is imperative that the two countries do not go to war, however, limited in scale." He said even the "most local conflicts have the potential to escalate into a full-scale war, possibly nuclear".

"At least 2.6 million people would die or be injured in India and 1.8 million in Pakistan even if only a tenth of the nuclear weapons of the two countries were exploded above ten of their largest cities", Mr Ramana and other nuclear researchers at the US university concluded. The figures are based on the impact of 10 Hiroshima-force bombs detonated at a height of 600 metres over the five largest cities each in India and Pakistan.

The targeted cities used in the scenario are Bangalore, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai and Delhi in India and Faisalabad, Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi in Pakistan.

According to the report, casualties on the Indian side would be 1.7 million dead and 900,000 injured while the toll in Pakistan would be 1.2 million dead and 600,000 injured.

These would be, however, only the immediate casualties from blast, fire and radiation. An unknown number of deaths would occur from cancer in future years. — PTI

US travel warning to citizens

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

WASHINGTON, May 25. — The USA has warned its citizens to defer travel to India and Pakistan, saying the risk that current tensions could spark a war could not be ruled out.

"Conditions along India's border with Pakistan and in the state of Jammu and Kashmir have deteriorated," the State Department said in twin travel warnings covering the two countries.

"Tensions have risen to serious levels, and the risk of intensified military hostilities between India and Pakistan cannot be ruled out." The department also advised any

Americans remaining in India and Pakistan to consider leaving.

Americans were especially advised to avoid the Indian states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Punjab, as well as Jammu and Kashmir, the site of escalating clashes with Pakistan across the Line of Control.

Germany withdraws diplomatic staff: Germany will recall non-essential diplomatic staff working in Pakistan because of an increased terrorist threat, the foreign ministry said today, a report from Berlin says.

"Only diplomatic personnel whose presence is essential will remain," said a spokesman, without saying how many people were being repatriated.

Begum Zia calls for amity

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

DHAKA, May 25. — Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia has said Bangladesh would support any initiative by the Nepalese Prime Minister to defuse rising tensions between India and Pakistan.

Begum Zia, who is convalescing in New York after knee surgery, in a letter sent to Mr Sher Bahadur Deuba, said countries of the region must make every effort to ensure that the crisis does not result in disaster.

The Bangladesh Prime Minister pointed out that while it is understood that SAARC does not address bilateral issues "the circumstances we find ourselves in at this time

cannot be described as normal. Indeed, the unfolding events have the potential for undermining an attempt to achieve our development goals in the subcontinent".

"Bangladesh believes that every endeavour in the quest for peace is a noble one," Begum Zia wrote.

Qatar urges India and Pakistan to cool it: Qatar, as chairman of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, today urged India and Pakistan to show restraint to reduce tension between them.

A foreign ministry spokesman in Doha, speaking on behalf of the 57-member Islamic body, voiced "deep concern at the serious escalation" between Islamabad and New Delhi.

THE STATESMAN

26 MAY 2002

INDIA NOT EASING MILITARY PRESSURE ✓

Pak. may crack down on terrorists to avert war ^{gives pak}

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, MAY 24. While military tensions between India and Pakistan continue unabated, a visible and immediate crackdown by Islamabad on the Kashmir-bound terrorists can help ease the present standoff between the two nations. Highly placed sources in the security establishment here say that India is not easing military pressure on Pakistan, as it is felt that it is necessary to ensure that Islamabad targets Kashmiri terrorism operating from its soil "urgently."

While indicating that military pressure has not been halted, the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs, Nirupama Rao, today denied reports in a section of the media that India has decided to foreclose the possibility of military action for the next two months. "This report is speculative and without any credence," she said.

India, while maintaining its military stance will, nevertheless, expect Pakistan, after its President, Pervez Musharraf's recent statements, to stick to key benchmarks that can demonstrate its seriousness to dismantle terrorism from its territory permanently. With New Delhi looking for visible steps, Islamabad, can, for in-

stance, first shut down the large number of terrorist training camps in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK). The closure of these camps, which have about 3000 inmates, can be easily monitored, with the surveillance means available with India, the United States, Russia and Britain. Second, Pakistani authorities can arrest the key leaders who are running extremist organisations that target Kashmir, and third, Pakistan has the option of taking action against some of the 20 fugitives whose names figure in the list sent to Islamabad.

With international pressure mounting, there is anticipation here that Pakistan may "do

something" to curb terrorism on its territory. But wary of "half-measures" India, will be satisfied, only if Pakistan eliminates the infrastructure of terrorism that targets Kashmir in its entirety and abandons the "use and promotion of terrorism as an instrument of State policy."

Missile tests by Pak.

Sources pointed out that while Pakistan may begin taking action against terrorists, it may do so only after undertaking "face-saving" missile tests that seemingly symbolise Islamabad's assertion, vis-a-vis India. Not surprisingly, Pakistan has notified India that it would

test its "short and medium range" missiles between May 25 and 28. India, in response, said in a statement that "it is not particularly impressed by these missile antics, clearly targeted at the domestic audience in Pakistan."

Reflecting the grim mood in Western quarters towards Pakistan on the question of terrorism, the visiting European Commissioner for External Affairs, Chris Patten, has acknowledged that the "patience of the Indian leadership is almost beyond the breaking point and that we need practical examples of genuine and lasting Pakistani action to implement the commitments to eradicate terrorism operating against India." He agreed that Pakistan would make a "most profound miscalculation" if it were to "rely on turning on and off the terror trap." Pressure on Pakistan has also been mounted from other quarters. The U.S. Secretary of state, Colin Powell spoke twice to Gen. Musharraf on Thursday.

Keeping up its diplomatic offensive on Pakistan, the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, has written to the U.S. President, George Bush, the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, and the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, detailing India's stance on its stand-off with Pakistan.

No pulling back: Musharraf

ISLAMABAD, MAY 24. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, today rejected the suggestions that he pull back troops facing off against Indian forces this week in Kashmir. In an interview with the BBC television, he said, "if we withdraw, and suppose there is some adventurism on the other side, we won't be there on the borders at all; we'll lose the territory."

He called the situation in Kashmir dangerous "because India has massed its troops on the border — Army, Navy as well as Air Force", adding, "if we are attacked, we'll certainly defend all the way, with all our might. We certainly would defend every inch of Pakistan." Gen. Musharraf said the U.S. interest in the region was a "restraining factor". "The U.S. is playing a role. We, Pakistan, would like to cooperate certainly, because we don't want a war." — DPA

THE HINDU

25 MAY 2002

India mulls Treaty pullout

Nilova Roy Chaudhury
and Kavita Suri

NEW DELHI/SRINAGAR, May 24 — India is actively exploring, even though as a last resort and an extreme measure, the possibility of walking out of the Indus Waters Treaty. The treaty was signed in 1960 and has been held up for decades as a model of cooperation between this country and Pakistan.

Indian officials, sources said, have been in touch with World Bank officials in the USA on this issue. The World Bank is the guarantor. Any action by India will need to be run past the Bank.

Revocation of the treaty has been a longterm demand of J&K government.

Sources said a rethink on the treaty came immediately after the 13 December Parliament attack. Legal experts within the armed forces were asked to explore the possibilities of revoking it or walking out. However, the routine annual meeting of commissioners from both countries, scheduled for 29 May, has not been called off.

Officials admit that it would be a last resort, and an extreme measure, but say Pakistan has not played by the book and this measure, not used even during open hostilities in 1965 and 1971, would certainly have an impact. Union minister of state for home Mr ID Swami has said India was weighing options about modifying the Treaty as a measure to "exert political and eco-

conomic pressure on Pakistan."

The Prime Minister, during his three-day tour of the state, was apprised about the preparations by the J&K government to bolster the case for scrapping the Treaty. Dr Farooq Abdullah is an advocate for the treaty's abrogation.

"We want to use the Jhelum for navigational purposes but we are denied permission to use our own waters. Had we been allowed, we would be able to navigate on the river", Dr Abdullah said.

India has for a while been seeking Pakistan's nod to open the sluice-gates and desilt the dam.

ISI aides held

GHAZIABAD, May 24. — Two persons were arrested last night from Bulandshahr district in Uttar Pradesh for allegedly providing defence-related information to the ISI and militant outfits in J&K. The two were picked up after a raid conducted by the military Intelligence, police and the Intelligence Bureau. — PTI

The Indus basin covers the largest irrigated area, nearly 26 million hectares, of any one river system in the world. It comprises the eastern rivers — the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi — and the western rivers — the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab.

Under the treaty, waters of the eastern rivers were allocated to India, and those of the western rivers to Pakistan. With the treaty limiting the use of the western rivers for power generation and lift irrigation, J&K has suffered over the four decades since Nehru and Ayub Khan signed the treaty, with rising water needs unmet.

The state government has estimated that in terms of power generation alone it has incurred losses worth Rs 6,000 crore a year. There are several projects in Jammu and Kashmir that are affected, say state's politicians, owing to Pakistan raising various objections to various provisions.

THE HINDU

5 MAY 2007

Pak. gambit opens diplomatic space

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By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, MAY 23. The signals from the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, that he is prepared to control cross-border infiltration appears to have opened up a wee bit of space for the unfolding international diplomatic effort to defuse the Indo-Pak. military tension.

India, however, is unlikely to reconsider its military posture unless it is convinced that the signals from Pakistan are about a comprehensive effort to dismantle, irreversibly, the infrastructure of terrorism on its soil. India has heard Gen. Musharraf's words before and wants to see real action, officials here say.

Nevertheless Gen. Musharraf's gambit last night has given room for the top Western officials visiting here to sketch out a road map towards military de-escalation in the next few days. They include Chris Patten, Commissioner on External Relations of the European Union, Jack Straw, British Foreign Secretary and Richard Armitage, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State.

Gen. Musharraf's signal was contained in an official statement issued in Islamabad yesterday that his government will not allow Pakistan's territory to be used "for any terrorist activity anywhere in the world and no organisation in Pakistan will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir". Indian officials are not impressed with what is essentially a reiteration of the unkept promise of Gen. Musharraf last January.

Sources say that the reference in last night's statement that Pakistan occupied Kashmir is not exempt from this promise is not really new. While Gen. Musharraf's speech was vague on the question of PoK, Islamabad had conveyed through reliable channels that the "disputed territory" was not excluded from his commitment to ending cross-border terrorism. The real significance of the statement from Pakistan last night, informed sources here say, lies in the public confirmation of a renewed private commitment from Gen. Musharraf that he will stop cross-border infiltration. This commitment has apparently been made recently under pressure from the international community.

The Indian response to the latest signals from Pakistan is expected to depend on three factors. The first relates to timeframe. The sceptical Indian establishment wants a quick evidence on ending cross-border infiltration. New Delhi does not want its military options delayed and degraded by dissimulation from Gen. Musharraf.

Second, India will also have to assess if the signals from Pakistan represent a strategic change. New Delhi will have to conclude that Gen. Musharraf's intentions are purely tactical, if his actions are limited to curbing infiltration, while continuing to train and finance terrorists.

The world cannot expect India to revisit the issue of cross-border terrorism every six months. It needs final and permanent answers about whether Pakistan is prepared to end, once and for all, its pursuit of terrorism as conscious policy against India.

Third, India does not want to find itself in a situation where Pakistan ends cross-border infiltration but indulges in intimidation of moderate political voices in Kashmir through the politics of assassination in the run-up to the elections. In short, India wants Pakistan to address all aspects of cross-border terrorism and not just one of them.

The Indian decisions on both evidence and intent of the renewed Pakistani commitments on cross-border terrorism are a few days away. And its concerns have already been communicated to Western interlocutors. The stage now has been set for a diplomatic choreography in the next few days that might involve a series of steps by both India and Pakistan to move back from the nuclear brink.

Diplomatic sources here say that there is absolute clarity on the proposed sequence of steps by the international community. Pakistan will have to act first to curb cross-border terrorism and India would respond with de-escalation. The reduction of Indo-Pak. tension would eventually followed by a renewed political dialogue.

India and Pakistan are a long way from getting there and the threat of war has not receded. But Gen. Musharraf has made the first move. If he delivers on all aspects of cross-border terrorism, a different future might await the subcontinent.

Pak. seeks U.N. intervention

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 23. A day after reiterating its pledge not to allow its territory to be used by anyone for terrorist activities in the name of Kashmir, Pakistan today petitioned the United Nations seeking its help to persuade India to come to the negotiating table to resolve all differences.

The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Abdul Sattar, chose to write identical letters to the Secretary-General of the U.N. and the President of the Security Council drawing their attention "to the explosive situation resulting from the massive Indian deployment".

He alleged that India had embarked on coercive diplomacy aimed at pressuring Pakistan to abandon its principled position on Kashmir and maintained that the BJP Government also wishes to deflect international attention from the massacre of the minority Muslims in Gujarat as well as other domestic failings.

Mr. Sattar said "we are ready to cooperate with any effort or good offices by the U.N. or the international community for reducing tension, preserving peace and promoting dialogue between the two countries".

The Minister drew attention to Article 33 of the U.N. Charter that provides for resort to peaceful means for the resolution of differences and the maintenance of international peace and security through negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, enquiry, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies, or other peaceful means.

He said that for the past five months, dangerous tensions had been whipped up in South Asia. "India has moved forward and deployed nearly one million troops in battle position along the International Border with Pakistan, the working boundary and the Line of Control in Kashmir."

Mr. Sattar said that despite the hundreds of thousands of troops it had stationed and the

sophisticated devices it had deployed along the LoC, India accuses Pakistan of infiltration across the LoC.

Mr. Sattar said the Indian leadership 'routinely' blamed Pakistan for every violent incident inside India and in Kashmir.

He said some BJP leaders had been blaming Pakistan even for the carnage in Gujarat, though the Indian political Opposition as well as local and international human rights groups placed the responsibility on Hindu fanatics belonging to organisations such as the RSS.

He said the same attitude had been adopted by the Indian Government on incidents of violence in Kashmir. "Whether it was the Chitisingpura incident in March 2000 or the Amarnath Yatra killings later in the year, the Indian authorities alleged Pakistani involvement. Such false accusations malign the Kashmiri freedom struggle and are part of a propaganda strategy to perpetuate Indian occupation of the State."

THE HINDU

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FRIDAY, MAY 24, 2002

GESTURE TOWARDS DE-ESCALATION?

THE PAKISTAN PRESIDENT, Pervez Musharraf, seems inclined to make a new gesture towards India in an effort to de-escalate the skyrocketing tensions in bilateral relations at this moment. This explains the Musharraf administration's latest reassurance to India that "no organisation in Pakistan will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir". India should assess Pakistan's renewed pledge in a spirit of constructive diplomacy. It will indeed be statesmanship of the highest order if New Delhi could assess Pakistan's latest statement carefully. There certainly exists a pervasive wave of moral indignation across India over Pakistan's suspected complicity in last week's terrorist atrocity near Jammu as also in the earlier strikes of a similar kind. However, New Delhi cannot afford to oblige the Pakistan-based "jehadi terrorists" by taking a dim and hostile view of Islamabad's inevitable difficulty in taming them as quickly as India would like to see. To recognise the challenges that Gen. Musharraf faces in this regard is not to overlook Pakistan's obligations of goodwill towards the international community and good neighbourliness towards India itself. But equally so, nor can New Delhi scoff at international opinion that seeks to give some more time to Gen. Musharraf to deliver on his pledges, especially now when he renews his anti-terror promises to the global community. The reality simply is that Gen. Musharraf despite his undemocratic credentials is a modernist and relatively pragmatic interlocutor whom India cannot wish away as long as he stays the anti-terror course.

Pakistan's latest official statement against Kashmir-related terrorism is important for another specific pledge too. It states that "the (Musharraf) Government will not allow the territory of Pakistan or any territory whose defence is the responsibility of Pakistan to be used for any terrorist activity anywhere in the world". Now, India's concerns regarding cross-border terrorism, including the activities that might be trace-

able to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, have been implicitly addressed by Islamabad so as to suit its agenda. Yet, extensive indeed is the indicated scope of Pakistan's sensitivity to New Delhi's acute concerns, especially about the sources of anti-India terror. A follow-on question is whether Gen. Musharraf will fine-tune the overall message that he first sought to convey through his internationally televised speech on January 12 this year in the wake of a terrorist outrage against India's Parliament a month earlier. Shortly after the January 12 speech, the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, underlined that Gen. Musharraf had stated his opposition to terrorism wherever it might occur including in Kashmir. If that message was a categorical declaration of Islamabad's new intent, the Pakistani pledge now is a reaffirmation of that positive vow. One has of course to be mindful of the Western scepticism that America may have already misread Gen. Musharraf and the continuing encouragement of terrorism in Kashmir.

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The Pakistan-related choices before New Delhi are highly emotive at this critical time of terror-inflicted tragedies that impinge on the Indian psyche. India, therefore, needs a truly forward-looking policy towards Pakistan to dispel the fog of competitive war psychosis that exists on either side. India's enlightened interest will not be served by a retributive war against Pakistan and the reasoning goes beyond the unforeseen apocalyptic images that could yet be conjured. With Gen. Musharraf saying he wants to pull Pakistan from the brink of a Talibanised future, his Herculean challenges qualify to be seen in a proper perspective. Those who wish to convert Pakistan into an Al-Qaeda-centric citadel of international "jihad" seem determined to make a mockery of his anti-terror pronouncements. If Gen. Musharraf can keep India's concerns in focus by seeking conscientiously to rid Pakistan of a virtual theology of terrorism, he will be taking a step towards an eventual peace dividend on the bilateral front.

THE HINDU

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Surrounded by a sea of humanity, the body of Abdul Gani Lone is being taken on its last journey to the Idgah ground in Srinagar on Wednesday. The Hurriyat has demanded a judicial probe into the killing, even as Lone's son, Sajjad, alleged that the State Government had withdrawn security to his father. — AFP (Report on Page 11)

HD 23/5

We will not allow terrorism in the name of Kashmir: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 22. As the war clouds thickened over the sub-continent, Pakistan today sought to send out conciliatory signals to India by declaring that it favoured settlement of differences through negotiations and would never allow its soil to be used for terrorist activities. At the same time, Islamabad said that it was ready to fight "if attacked".

A statement issued by the Pakistan Government at the end of a joint meeting of the Federal Cabinet and the National Council presided over by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, sought to re-assure New Delhi in the context of the present stand-off that it would never al-

low its soil to be used for acts of terrorism.

More specifically the statement maintained that "no organisation in Pakistan will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir". However, it reiterated that Pakistan would continue to extend "moral, political and diplomatic support to the legitimate struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir for the realisation of their right to self-determination".

The statement can be characterised as reiteration of the January 12 address of Gen. Musharraf wherein he had promised to come down heavily on extremism in the Pakistani society and declared that no one would be allowed to in-

dulge in acts of terrorism in the name of Kashmir cause.

There is little doubt that the statement is aimed at convincing the international community in general and India in particular that the military establishment has not gone back on its commitments made in the January 12 speech.

The sub-text of the statement is that Pakistan is in no way connected with the recent terrorist acts in India, including the May 14 massacre and the murder of the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC) leader, Abdul Gani Lone. The statement came shortly after the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, told jawans in the Kupwara sector in Kashmir that it was time for a "decisive fight".

Explore diplomatic option: Sonia

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MAY 22. The Congress president, Sonia Gandhi, today stressed the need to focus on the diplomatic option, before lumping for drastic action against Pakistan. "Much more needs to be done on the diplomatic front. We would like greater efforts to get the international community to understand the problems that we are facing," Ms. Gandhi told newsmen at her party office.

She said the assassination of the Hurriyat leader, Abdul Gani Lone, and the situation on the border were indicators of the

kind of situation the country faced. "The situation is indeed very fragile. All the signals are there but we must never shut the door on the diplomatic option," she said.

Having extended broad support to the NDA Government on the issue, Ms. Gandhi, however, did not specify what definite measures she wanted the Government to take. "We in the Congress and other Opposition parties do not have the full details or information about the situation. Therefore it is for them to decide" she said.

The Congress president said Lone's assassination showed that certain forces were con-

stantly trying to disrupt peace. She was, however, mildly critical of the Government's handling of the internal situation in Jammu & Kashmir. "Not enough has been done by the Government. There is need to talk to different groups and take them into confidence," she said.

The mild tone of her criticism reflects the fine balancing act that the Congress is being asked to perform just days ahead of the all-important AICC session on Friday. Reports indicate that similar care was taken by the CWC at its meeting today to modulate the resolutions on the political, economic and international situation.

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20/5
THE ENEMY'S DESIGNS WILL BE DEFEATED'

Be ready for decisive battle, PM tells jawans

gand park

By Luv Puri

SRINAGAR, MAY 22. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today said the Army should be ready for sacrifices but "our aim should be victory".

In a forceful address to the jawans at the Kupwara brigade headquarters here this afternoon, Mr. Vajpayee said the country was facing a proxy war waged by a neighbouring country and urged the armed forces to be ready for a "decisive battle".

"The time has come for a decisive battle and we will have a sure victory in this battle," the Prime Minister said, adding that his visit to Jammu and Kashmir had a deep meaning and "whether Pakistan or the world take note of it or not, a new chapter of victory and triumph will be written in the history books soon."

The Prime Minister said the country believed in peace, but it should not be construed as "our weakness". "The enemy has thrown us a challenge by waging a proxy war. We accept it and pledge to give it a crushing defeat," he said.

Mr. Vajpayee said many questions were being put to him about possible action against terrorists and the sponsors of terrorism. "My visit to the State holds an answer to it. Whether our neighbouring country or the world notices it, I am sure that by this visit an important chapter of victory and triumph



The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, peering through a pair of binoculars while being shown captured weapons from militants at a military base in Kupwara in Jammu on Wednesday. — AP

will be added in our history. We will emerge victorious," he said amid applause from the jawans.

The Prime Minister said the country was prepared for any eventuality and its armed forces and 100 crore Indians had

pledged to defeat the designs of the enemy. "We will teach the perpetrators of the proxy war a lesson. Our forces are standing like rock on the borders."

Referring to the Kargil war, Mr. Vajpayee said Pakistan had

betrayed the country — New Delhi had expected friendship. "But they sent in mercenaries and captured our land. We defeated them and liberated every inch of land from them. They were given a crushing blow. But they still did not derive any lesson from it," he said adding that despite the defeats they have not learnt lessons. "They have now waged a new type of war against us. But we have vowed to defeat it and our forces are in full preparedness to defeat the nefarious designs of the enemy," he added.

Mr. Vajpayee said he wanted to make the country prosperous and progressive.

"But our enemy is hell-bent on creating internal disturbances in our country. It is trying to grab our land and to disrupt the democratic process. It needs to be given a response."

Referring to the Kaluchak carnage in Jammu in which 32 persons were killed by terrorists, Mr. Vajpayee said the gruesome killing of children and women showed the real face of terrorists.

The Defence Minister, George Fernandes, said a new type of situation had arisen after Kaluchak and the country would not sit idle but would defeat the designs of the militants. He assured the Prime Minister that the armed forces were fully ready and capable of inflicting a crushing defeat on the aggressors.

A blunt message to Islamabad

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, MAY 22. India today virtually served an ultimatum to Pakistan to terminate cross-border terrorism or face the consequences of a possible war.

In a blunt message conveyed to Pakistan's outgoing High Commissioner, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, the Foreign Secretary, Chokila Iyer, said that, "our patience with terrorism has exhausted. We are no longer willing to allow things to continue as they are. Pakistan will have to end terrorism." Ms. Iyer, on whom Mr. Qazi had paid a "courtesy call", said that "no one in India takes the possibility of war lightly".

Explaining the rationale for India's disenchantment with Pakistan, she said New Delhi was committed to a dialogue, but Islamabad's sponsorship of terrorism demonstrated that it was "neither prepared for a substantive dialogue nor ready for establishing normal state-to-state relations".

The Foreign Secretary's conversation with Mr. Qazi is being interpreted here as

an amplification of the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee's observation made while addressing the troops deployed at Kupwara in north Kashmir that the time for "a decisive battle" had arrived.

Putting the onus on Pakistan for any eventuality that might follow, the Foreign Secretary asserted that Islamabad had ignored the political and popular mood in India after the December 13 "watershed" attack on Parliament.

The terrorist assault on Parliament, she said, had brought home to India's political leadership as well as people at large that terrorism had to be crushed decisively as tolerance of this menace only encouraged it.

According to Ms. Iyer, Pakistan, despite its President, Pervez Musharraf's pledges in his January 12 televised address, had not targeted the infrastructure of terrorism that existed on Pakistani soil.

Leaders of terrorist organisations were arrested but subsequently released and terrorist training camps were relocated, she said.

Pakistan's response to India's list of 20

fugitives was also unsatisfactory. Despite Interpol red corner notices on a large number of these terrorists — that made it mandatory for Pakistan to detain them — Islamabad had decided not to take any action against them.

Pakistan's "compulsive hostility" towards India was the root cause of its support for cross-border terrorism. That explained the lack of meaningful response from Pakistan to India's initiative for talks both at Lahore and subsequently at Agra, she added.

In response, a press statement by the Pakistan High Commission said that Mr. Qazi brought to Ms. Iyer's attention that India's "unfounded allegations" against Pakistan had already been "effectively rebutted." He said "the present dangerous situation was created by India's attempts at a policy of coercion and intimidation instead of a policy of de-escalation and dialogue".

While India today went ahead with finalising its options towards Pakistan, the international community continued to call for restraint by both sides.

Civil defence alert sounded

By Neena Vyas

NEW DELHI, MAY 22. Even as the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today talked about a decisive battle to end the proxy war thrust on the country by Pakistan, two critical meetings of the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) have been scheduled.

The first one is to be held tomorrow evening immediately after Mr. Vajpayee and the Union Home Minister, L.K.Ad-

vani, return from Srinagar, and the second one the next day.

Though the Government seems to be moving step-by-step in the direction that indicates war, it is careful enough to send two conflicting signals. Yesterday in Jammu Mr Vajpayee did not see any sign of war clouds, but today he talked of a "decisive battle" and asked the jawans in the forward areas to be "ready for sacrifice."

A meeting at the Home Ministry today reviewed steps for

"rear area security" and decided that all civil defence measures be activated in the border areas, especially the areas on the western border with Pakistan.

Lines of communication are to be opened, police have to make checks on the Pakistani nationals visiting here and overstaying their visas and the anti-sabotage protection of important installations is to be strengthened.

Mr. Advani, who chaired the

meeting, emphasised the need for people's participation in civil defence.

The meeting was attended by the Home Secretary, Kamal Pandey, three special secretaries in the Ministry and the Director-General of Civil Defence, besides several other officials. Mr. Advani desired that besides all the States on the western border the enhanced security measures should also be activated in Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Western Uttar Pradesh.

Pak. decries Vajpayee's speech

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 22. Reacting to the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee's speech to the troops near the Line of Control (LoC), Pakistan urged New Delhi to desist from "blatant war-mongering" and instead focus on peaceful resolution of problems within the country and its neighbours.

A spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Ministry, in a statement, said the Musharraf Government has taken note of the statement made by Mr. Vajpayee threatening Pakistan with "a decisive battle".

"The Indian leadership should desist from such blatant war-mongering and instead focus on addressing their internal problems as well as resolving peacefully their many disputes with their neighbours."

It said that the Indian leaders must not misunderstand the "restraint" so far shown by Pakistan in the face of their "provocative statements and moves". The statement said Pakistan has the ability to defend itself against any war imposed by India.

"Any misadventure by India will be met

with full force. India must not harbour any illusions of waging and winning a war against Pakistan. This would be a major miscalculation leading to grave consequences."

Earlier, the joint meeting of Cabinet and NSC expressed "deep concern" over India's massing of troops on the border and "the threatening and aggressive statements by the Indian leadership."

The statement said the meeting agreed that all differences between Pakistan and India, including Kashmir, should be resolved "through bilateral negotiations or other peaceful means as provided in the UN charter." It called on the international community to "impress upon India the dangers inherent in the explosive situation created as a result of Indian belligerence and obduracy".

"The meeting particularly emphasised that the Government will not allow the territory of Pakistan or any territory whose defence is the responsibility of Pakistan to be used for any terrorist activity anywhere in the world."

In his interaction with newspaper editors

and senior journalists, Gen. Musharraf appears to have given the impression that Islamabad does not anticipate any aggression from New Delhi. It seems to be based on the assumption that with the U.S.-led coalition forces making use of its soil for operations in Afghanistan, it would not be easy for India to target Pakistan. In his remarks, Gen. Musharraf told the editors that Pakistan was prepared for war but would continue to work for peace. War, he said, was not the answer to any dispute but "if war was forced on Pakistan, the enemy will find us fully prepared".

Gen. Musharraf emphasised that Pakistan's strategy was basically one of deterrence. That, he said, was the main feature of all three defence services. He, however, declared that the greatest deterrence was the "will and determination of the Pakistani nation to fight to the last drop of its blood".

Earlier, the Military Operations Directorate gave the editors a detailed briefing on the state of military preparedness. It was followed by presentations by the Foreign Minister, Abdul Sattar and the Foreign Secretary, Inam ul Haq.

THE HINDU

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9/2/02 PMK

Iran calls for restraint

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, MAY 21. Iran today called for an early dialogue between India and Pakistan to defuse the present military tension in the subcontinent and find a political solution to their bilateral problems.

The visiting Iranian Foreign Minister, Kamal Kharrazi, hoped that the leaders of India and Pakistan were "prudent enough to show their wisdom to engage in a dialogue instead of showing military muscle."

In a conversation with *The Hindu*, Mr. Kharrazi expressed Iran's deep concern over the rising tensions between India and Pakistan, but hoped that "they would be defused as soon as possible".

Asked about the Indian position that talks with Pakistan can only begin after an end to cross-



Kamal Kharrazi

border terrorism, he said the "vicious circle" in the subcontinent "has to broken."

It is only through dialogue "both sides can decide on how to move forward and take steps

that can defuse the tension."

Mr. Kharrazi later called on the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the talks covered both bilateral relations and the deteriorating ties between India and Pakistan. Mr. Kharrazi left for Islamabad in the evening.

Sounding upbeat on the bilateral relations with India, he said the visit to Teheran last year by Mr. Vajpayee was a "milestone". Since then, trade between the two countries had tripled and politically the two countries had drawn closer than ever before. Mr. Kharrazi was here principally to attend the meeting of the Joint Economic Commission.

India and Iran had, in recent years, developed intensive cooperation in countering the Taliban in Afghanistan. Mr. Kharrazi said the cooperation

between the two sides on Afghanistan would continue in shaping the post-Taliban Afghanistan.

On the prospect of expanded energy cooperation between the two nations, he was hopeful that New Delhi and Teheran would soon decide on the pipeline project that would transport the abundant natural gas resources of Iran to India through Pakistan. The results of the joint feasibility studies are expected shortly.

Calling it the "peace pipeline," Mr. Kharrazi said the "strategic" project "will help promote peace and security in the region by itself." But India continues to have concerns on letting the energy supplies run through a hostile Pakistan.

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 22, 2002

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WAR IS NO OPTION *quint pmk*
10-10

AS MILITARY PREPARATIONS continue apace and tension spirals along the India-Pakistan border, a question of enormous significance begs to be answered: is war an option? It is a question with a hard practical edge which raises issues of life-threatening immediacy and, therefore, demands to be addressed with a cool and clear-headed pragmatism. The answers cannot be clouded by the legitimate indignation about the outrage at Kaluchak or be determined by a growing lack of patience about being subject to repeated terrorist attacks by Pakistan-based jihadi groups. While the calls for effective intervention to end this unceasing onslaught are understandable, there is — in the existing circumstances — an enormous difference between the rhetoric of war and the actual practice of it. Despite the sabre-rattling, it appears that a number of people, both within the Indian Government and outside it, have realised that a full-scale war with Pakistan would be a catastrophe. (Even an inveterate fanatic such as the Shiv Sena's Bal Thackeray has admitted this is not 'affordable' in view of the nuclearised environment in the subcontinent.) However, what is extremely worrying is the pervasive and reckless chatter about the possibility of launching limited strikes which, at the very least, could take the shape of surgical raids against militant camps in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK). Apart from the fact that such limited strikes are unlikely to achieve their stated objective, something which is acknowledged by a number of defence experts, there is an enormous risk that such an operation could spin dangerously out of control.

The unspeakable, a nuclear conflagration, is the worst but by no means the only hazard of escalation. A full-fledged conventional battle — in these days of long-range missiles tipped with

devastating payloads — would cause extensive damage to both countries. The Kargil example is sometimes used to establish that a limited war with Pakistan is a wholly feasible proposition. But the dynamics of the Kargil conflict, which was essentially a battle to recover a piece of Indian territory, were entirely different from what is being envisaged in some quarters now. It is more than likely that an Indian attack on PoK, or on specific militant camps within Pakistan, will result in a dangerous widening of the conflict.

Sections of the Indian establishment are resentful about what they perceive as the United States' 'double standards' — reflected in that country's continued calls for restraint even as it zealously proclaims its right to launch both retaliatory and pre-emptive strikes pretty much where it pleases. Be that as it may, the Vajpayee Government cannot but factor the U.S. in when it takes whatever decision it eventually does. The American presence on Pakistan soil and its transparent interest in mopping up the residual Al-Qaeda operatives with the assistance of Pervez Musharraf are at least two of the factors that New Delhi can hardly afford to overlook. Among the things that India needs to do is to press the U.S. to get much tougher with Islamabad about its attitude to jihadi groups and the issue of cross-border infiltration. The point must be forcefully made that any talk of a global war on terror can be meaningful only if it covers all terrorists and not merely those who threaten the U.S. In the meanwhile, Mr. Vajpayee must resist the temptation to play to a gallery which understands nothing more than revenge and retaliation and which is clamouring for some drastic action against Pakistan. War rhetoric has already attained a shrill and fervent pitch even though it is clear that war is no option.

THE HINDU

22 MAY 2002

World must tell India to see reason: Pakistan

AFP & PTI

ISLAMABAD, May 20. — Pakistan today called for increased international efforts to make India "see reason" and begin negotiations as war clouds gathered over the two countries.

"We hope the international community will increase its efforts considering the hostile position adopted by India and convince India to see reason and come to the negotiating table for talks," said foreign ministry spokesman Mr Aziz Ahmed Khan.

Asked at a news conference if he thought war was imminent between the neighbours, he said he was not in the business of "fortune telling".

Parties denounce Pervez: In a major setback to Gen Pervez Musharraf's plans to build a national consensus in dealing with heightened border tensions, mainstream political parties denounced him as an "isolated" ruler and asked him to resign immediately and hand over power to a caretaker government.

Gen Musharraf should resign

both as President and chief of the Army to form a caretaker government which is better suited to handle the crisis, 30 political and religious parties said in a unanimous resolution adopted at a quickly convened meeting at Lahore yesterday.

The meeting was held amid moves by Gen Musharraf to call an all-party conference to discuss steps being taken to deal with rising tensions with India.

"The President must resign immediately... the demand for Gen Musharraf's resignation even at a time when India has taken an aggressive posture against Pakistan is important because the General doesn't enjoy the moral or constitutional authority to take decisions at this juncture," chairman of the Alliance for Restoration of Democracy, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, said.

"No individual isolated from the masses can be a best leader while the nation is in a state of war," he told reporters after the meeting. Mr Khan, however, did not give a categorical answer when asked if ARD constituents would attend the all-party con-

ference to be convened by the government.

The resolution also demanded the appointment of "a full time chief of army staff who can devote his whole-hearted attention to the defence of Pakistan and to meeting the threat to national security and territorial integrity".

The meeting also asked India to "desist from any aggression" and resolve all outstanding issues with Pakistan through negotiations.

The parties' demand came as the information minister, Mr Nisar Memon, appealed for national unity. "This is a national situation and everybody should come forward and support the government to respond to the situation", he said.

The meeting was attended by parties, including the Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League and Jamat-e-Islami.

Gen Musharraf stood "discredited" after committing rigging in the referendum, Mr Khan said adding he lacked the stature and moral authority to deal with the current threat to national security and territorial integrity.

THE STATESMAN

12 MAY 2002

India, Pakistan get battle array ready

Islamabad\New Delhi: The war clouds over the sub-continent appeared to have gathered momentum on Monday with Union home minister L.K. Advani announcing that the army has been asked to consult the 'war book' and Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf convening a joint meeting of his cabinet and the National Security Council, Pakistan's top policy making body, on Wednesday.

The 'war book' is a highly confidential document containing the day-to-day records of past wars, including battle plans, strategies and actions of both sides, and is maintained at the headquarters of all regiments. It is usually consulted only when the army gets ready for war.

"For long we have been fighting the war. So, either we fight the way we have been fighting all along or there will be a difference," he said, adding that even the merchant navy had been brought under the navy's command. "This is an indication that we are moving in a certain direction," he said.

The home minister said he would be reaching Srinagar on May 23 to attend the unified command meeting and would be joined by defence minister George Fernandes. Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee is reaching the state on Tuesday on a three-day visit.

This comes amidst reports that Islamabad has deployed Shaheen missiles to deal with a possible Indian attack and moved a major part of its strategic Reserve Corp based in the frontier town of Peshawar to bolster its defences on the Ferozpur-Ganganagar sector.

Army sources in New Delhi said Islamabad had moved the Reserved Corp over the last three days. The move is part of a major troop re-deployment by Pakistan all along the border as also along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir, where two to three new mountain divisions had been inducted.

The sources said that the bulk of the Pakistani troop concentration, including its armoured and mechanised formations, was still on the Jehlum-Chenab corridor facing India's Chamb and Shakargarh bulge sector and along the Chenab-Ravi corridor facing

Shares tumble in Karachi, Mumbai

Mumbai\Karachi: Pakistan stocks suffered their second-largest fall on Monday and the Indian rupee fell close to a record low as tensions escalated between the two countries.

Shares tumbled by more than seven per cent on the Karachi Stock Exchange to end at a 14-week low, while on the Bombay Stock Exchange, shares ended near a five-month low. The benchmark 30-share Sensex was down 1.53 per cent at 3,282.81 points, its lowest close since January 2 this year. At its close, the index had lost 4.6 per cent since Tuesday's attack in Jammu. Global rating agency Standard & Poor warned that the sovereign ratings of both countries could be affected if the tensions persisted and hurt public finances. Reuters

the Lahore-Gurdaspur sector.

A report from Jammu said Pakistan's army build-up had assumed a threatening posture with the induction of three divisions in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir facing the Dras-Siachen axis, Kupwara-Uria axis and the Naushera-Poonch sector.

The report said Pakistanis had massed troops along the strategic Hajipir Pass, one of most widely used infiltration routes in Jammu and Kashmir.

But in spite of a war looming large, there was no respite in cross-border firing and shelling. Six Pakistani soldiers were killed and eight to ten bunkers destroyed in retaliatory fire by Indian troops on Monday morning in the Poonch and Rajouri sectors.

Expanding the front, Pakistani troops on Monday also shelled border areas of Gurdaspur district of Punjab, drawing retaliatory action from the Indian army, defence sources said. Agencies

Islamabad planning to approach U.N.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 19. Pakistan is planning to 'approach' the U.N. Security Council seeking its intervention to defuse the current tension in the region. The Pakistan daily, *Dawn*, in its report quoted informed sources, as saying that Islamabad did not rule out the possibility of asking the U.N. to invoke the Security Council Resolution 1172 passed in 1998. The resolution pertained to the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan and the need for resolution of the Kashmir issue.

The daily said Pakistan was keeping the U.N. secretary-general, Kofi Annan, informed on a daily basis on India's 'warlike actions' and on the heavy shelling across the Line of Control. It said Islamabad had asked the international community to use

its influence with India and dissuade it from escalating tensions.

It said Pakistan had not ruled out the possibility of India declaring 'an all-out war' against it and had taken the required steps to defend its borders and

Bid to enter PoK may lead to war: Pak.; 'Situation on border dangerous': Page 11

the LoC. The moves New Delhi could make may include heavy artillery attacks across the LoC, air attacks on the 'so-called militant infrastructure', incursion by special forces into certain specified areas to wipe out what the Indians believed to be the camps of militants and attempts to redraw a 'defensible line of control', it said.

The international community had so far not bought the Indian

campaign on involvement of Pakistan in the Jammu incident. "But by refusing to make any distinction between militancy by freedom fighters waging a war against occupation forces and that which is perpetrated by international terrorism the world community seems to be providing India the room to create a negative perception of Pakistan's attitude towards the Kashmiri freedom fight."

The paper said Pakistan was trying to dispel the impression in the foreign capitals that Islamabad was soft-peddling on eliminating religious extremism. This impression had been created by the release of most of the suspected militants rounded up in January, as under the law of the land they could not be kept in custody without proof of their alleged crimes beyond 90 days.

Also Pakistan had told its friends that it was next to impossible to stop the infiltration of Kashmiris across the LoC as most of them were members of divided families living on both sides of the LoC. If India with such massive deployment of troops on the LoC could not stop this infiltration how could Pakistan, in a defensive position, do that?

Quoting sources, the paper said the timing of the Jammu incident was just right for the Indian Government to divert the attention of the world community from the embarrassment of Gujarat.

The paper said Pakistan had told its 'friends' that it had little to gain by encouraging militant activities inside Jammu and Kashmir and such incidents only served India's purpose of gaining international sympathy.

THE HINDU

20 MAY 2002

U.K. for 'productive' Indo-Pak. dialogue

By Hasan Suroor

LONDON, MAY 19. Britain is deeply concerned at the latest turn in India-Pakistan relations and has called upon both countries to return to "productive dialogue".

The British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, who has spoken to his Indian counterpart, Jaswant Singh, twice since the May 14 terrorist attack near Jammu, has said that Britain would continue to work with the U.S. and other "international partners" to help reduce tension in the region.

There has been strong British condemnation of the latest terrorist attack but it has been ac-

companied by calls for restraint amid fears of a "hawkish" Indian retaliation. The news that for now India has opted for a diplomatic offensive has been received with a sigh of relief and Pakistan is being urged to make use of the breather to take tangible steps to lower the temperature in the region.

Commentators acknowledged that India had a "legitimate" case over cross-border terrorism and Pakistan should do more to stop it, but they also advised India to recognise that the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, was not fully in control of the situation. "India is unlikely to find itself with a more pragmatic leadership in

Pakistan than the one it has at the moment," *The Times* said in an editorial pointing out that Gen. Musharraf had indeed "attempted to crack down on militants" but his ability to restrain the ISI was "exceptionally fragile".

Reports from British correspondents in India have highlighted the pressure on Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, from his "hardline" colleagues. "The voices of men such as L.K. Advani, Home Minister, seem nowadays to be raised in favour of escalating the tension," a seasoned India watcher, John Simpson, wrote today warning as much against "the wild extremism of the Islamic militants

operating inside Jammu and Kashmir" as the "over-excitability on the part of the politicians, particularly in India, which is undergoing a strong and disturbing shift to the right."

Meanwhile, British Muslims have denounced as "un-Islamic" the May 14 attack on "unarmed civilians" in Jammu and Kashmir.

"Such crimes, whoever may be behind them, do no good to anyone and defame Muslims and Islam.

To us there is no difference between these brutal killings and the killings being carried out in Gujarat," the Council of Indian Muslims (U.K.) said in a statement.

THE HINDU

20 MAY 2002

Decision amounts to expulsion, says Islamabad ■ Delhi may cancel MFN status

Pak envoy asked to leave

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 18. — Kicking off a calibrated response to the Kaluchak killings on the diplomatic plane, the government today asked the Pakistan high commissioner in India, Mr Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, to leave the country within seven days. At the same time, India appeared to be limiting its military counter-fire for the present, while ensuring punitive armed assaults will follow any Pakistani provocation on the frontier.

The next move on the non-military, and economic, agenda could be withdrawing the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status granted to Pakistan. This was one of the main issues on the agenda discussed at the highest levels today. Scrapping the Indus River Waters Treaty was also considered, but placed on the backburner for the moment on account of its far-reaching international ramifications.

India believes that initial measures picked to deal with the new situation being diplomatic and economic in hue would send out a signal to the international community that Delhi is still trying to pressure Pakistan to translate into ac-



WAR BY OTHER MEANS: India pursued the diplomatic option by asking Mr Ashraf J Qazi (left) to leave the country, while guns continued to boom along the LoC, leaving bullet marks on the walls of village houses. — AFP

tion Gen. Musharraf's tall promises. Simultaneously, orders to troops to pull no punches without actually going on to extract a price for the slaughter of wives and children of Indian soldiers.

CALL TO ARMS?

ISLAMABAD, May 18. — Gen. Musharraf today directed all military personnel, including top generals, working in civilian departments to immediately report to the Rawalpindi Army HQ for further orders, NNI newsagency reported. Over 600 serving or retired Army officers now hold various top administrative posts. Army Vice-Chief Gen. Md Yousuf Khan also visited forward locations in Bahawalpur sector of Punjab province. — PTI

In Islamabad, in a restrained reaction, Foreign Office spokesman Mr Aziz Ahmed Khan told the state television that Pakistan was disappointed with the Indian decision but had no plans to reciprocate, adding that it was recalling Mr Qazi. Mr Khan added that despite the decision, Pakistan will continue to work for de-escalation of diplomatic ties, adds PTI. Earlier, a defence spokesman said the decision amounted to Mr Qazi's "expulsion".

■ See ENVOY: page 10
 ■ Editorial: Countering Pakistan, page 8

CAVEAT C R IRANI

IS it possible that Government at last perceive, if ever so dimly, that the calculated encouragement of the VHP, *pracharak* Modi and others in the Sangh Parivar, who change their garb as easily as Lashkar-e-Taiyaba, is now proving counter-productive? The demarche from the European Union, the concern expressed by other countries and which our External Affairs Ministry tries in vain to deflect on the specious ground of defending our sovereignty, which no one is threatening anyhow, may finally be getting across. Governance is not the same thing as conducting a pogrom against a whole community and segregating Muslims into ghettos, taking advantage of Gujarat's Disturbed Areas Act. To say the least, this is not to fulfil the Constitutional

mandate of treating all citizens equally before the law. Government must also feel that making an issue of the worst ever *fidayeen* attack in Jammu on 14th May, in which 30 people were murdered in cold blood, mostly families of army personnel, might well be answered by the charge of conniving at hundreds if not thousands of women being dishonoured and burnt alive with children thrown into the same fire, all in defence of Hindutva.

The threat from Pakistan is serious. In as many as 16 Caveats since 11th September I have dwelt on how Musharraf fooled the Americans — all too ready to be fooled — into allowing safe air-corridors to remove his officers and men fighting alongside the Taliban in Afghanistan, to save them from the Northern Alliance forces and using the facility also to bring out Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar with a thousand of their best fighters to Peshawar and place them under ISI protection. These are being infiltrated into Rajasthan or flown into Bangladesh taking advantage of the new dispensa-

In the minds of men!

tion in Dhaka from where they come into India in large numbers, marry local women and change the demography of border areas like Karimgunge and Dubri in Lower Assam, Cooch Behar, Ismailpur, Raigunge and

Murshidabad in West Bengal. Their distinguishing mark is the green *lungi*. Detailed reports have been sent to the state government, to chief ministers, Home Ministry, Prime Minister and his office and the External Affairs Ministry. Everyone concerned has been kept fully and officially informed. I want to know what action has been taken and if not, why not?

And whatever happened to Buddhadeb's laudable decision to probe the setting up of a large number of madrasas in border areas recently, said to be financed by petro-dollars. Article 30 does not protect financing of educational institutions from abroad in flagrant violation of the law on the subject.

The US Assistant Secretary of State, Christina Rocca, on a visit to India offered tea and sympathy over the ghastly outrage of 14th May; the word used was *barbaric* coupled with sympathy for families of victims; this is hopelessly inadequate, even hypocritical. There is not a word about the perpetrators. Has Bush arrived at an understanding with Musharraf to let him keep his Al Qaida and Taliban friends provided he sees to it that they do not turn on America

again! Otherwise there is no explanation for such blinkered vision. Truly has it been said that there are none so blind as those that will not see and it is quite clear that Bush and his administration will not see. The US President has joined the plea to India for *restraint*. Presumably he cannot object if we show the same restraint he showed after 11th September!

Pakistan is focussed on Kashmir and has given every indication that they will stop at nothing. Rocca's conviction that the USA can help defuse tension is true to the extent that Pakistan is hostage to the US and can deny Bush nothing. America has not yet understood that Kashmir is central to Indian nationhood, not a strip of disputed territory; it is not available to repay the debt to Musharraf for help with the Afghanistan war. In any event the Pakistani President has been bought with dollars and has no option but to stay bought. At the same time it is not enough to say that Gujarat is a blot on the BJP; it is a stain on the whole

nation. The level of hatred, intolerance and the willingness to remove altogether all vestiges of Muslim culture is abhorrent to the nation's most deeply held convictions. Advani's response to the debate in Parliament was both correct and telling. The country must be prepared to stand up to Pakistan and go to any length necessary to safeguard its territorial integrity. But to do that it must be strong and united.

This is impossible while carrying the burden of Gujarat. The poison began in the minds of men and it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace, tolerance and unity must be constructed. And there is no time to be lost.

Has Bush arrived at an understanding with Musharraf to let him keep his Al Qaida and Taliban friends provided he sees to it that they do not turn on America again!

America has not yet understood that Kashmir is central to Indian nationhood, not a strip of disputed territory; it is not available to repay the debt to Musharraf for help with the Afghanistan war

Parliament authorises action

House speaks in one voice

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, May 17: Armed with a unanimous resolution of Parliament, the government tonight declared that words would not suffice and it would respond to the Kaluchak massacre with "action" against Pakistan.

In a rare show of unity, members cutting across party lines in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha authorised the Vajpayee regime to take "appropriate action" against Pakistan. Parliament passed a resolution that reiterated the nation's commitment to fighting Pakistan-sponsored terrorism.

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee will address the nation and consult the Opposition soon, home minister L.K. Advani said. Responding to the Kashmir debate in both Houses of Parliament, Advani said: "Our armed forces have to be consulted. All options and pros and cons have to be weighed and the reply has to be in such a way that we reach a decisive phase," he said.

The home minister, however, did not spell out how the government intends to respond. "In what way we respond and in what way we tell the people, you will soon know. It can be through television... The Prime Minister may broadcast to the nation."

Vajpayee was present in the House, but did not speak.

When Margaret Alva of the Congress asked Advani about the army chief's statement that



VIEW FROM THE FIELD

Members of both Houses of Parliament authorise the Prime Minister to take 'appropriate action'

As Parliament discusses national security, bomb goes off near the secretariat in Srinagar

Heavy firing erupts along the Line of Control and the international border in the Jammu-Poonch sector. Border exodus begins

The National Security Council meets in Delhi. The chiefs of the army and the air force and former army chief V.P. Malik attend the meeting, presided over by national security adviser Brajesh Mishra

US secretary of state Colin Powell calls Jaswant Singh, urges restraint

Cabinet Committee on Security to meet on Saturday

A soldier near the international border in the Samba sector which witnessed heavy shelling on Friday (AFP)

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it was time for action, the home minister pointed out that General S. Padmanabhan had also said a decision would be taken by the nation. "This means the nation will take a decision through Parliament advising the government," he said.

Advani expressed his disappointment with the US. He said he had conveyed to a US representative that while the people

of India were angry with Pakistan, they were distraught with America, too. Ambassador Robert Blackwill had met Advani yesterday.

Hinting at possible targets, Advani said the government had definite information about 70 to 75 terrorist training camps in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. It also knew that some 3,000-4,000 Taliban and al Qaida activists,

mostly Arabs, had shifted base to Pakistan from Afghanistan.

Later, Parliament adopted the resolution that said: "The House resolves to fight against such senseless acts of terrorism which are against humanity as a whole in a united and determined manner and declares this nation's commitment to see an end to this menace."

The resolution said it was es-

essential that leaders of the world community take note of the "continuing acts of terrorism encouraged by Pakistan so that united and effective action can be taken against it".

Minister of state for external affairs Omar Abdullah made a forceful speech, saying Pakistan would be stupid in considering use of nuclear weapons.

■ See Page 6

FROM SUJAN DUTTA IN NEW DELHI AND MUKHTAR AHMAD IN SRINAGAR

May 17: Parliament's blank cheque to the Centre today to take action against Pakistan has put the onus on the defence and security establishment to come up with viable options for a military strike.

The National Security Council met for the first time after being reconstituted. The Prime Minister's security adviser, Brajesh Mishra, chaired the meeting attended by the army chief, General S. Padmanabhan, and Air Chief Marshal S. Krishnaswamy.

The service chiefs have not been called to a joint meeting with the Prime Minister since February despite the border deployment but Atal Bihari Vajpayee has met them individually. They are likely to be invited to a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security tomorrow.

The series of meetings is part of the process of consensus-building that might presage action. Within the security establishment, the pros and cons of a unilateral offensive strike continue to be debated.

The firing across the border in Jammu today is subtle indication that the army is prepared to escalate. Indian and Pakistani troops traded fire in the Samba, R.S. Pura and Hiranagar sectors in Jammu in what a defence spokesman described as the heaviest exchange since troop mobilisation in December.

A youth was killed and 11 persons, including four armymen, were injured in the firing that triggered an exodus of villagers from the area. Nearly 300 people fled from Samba and Hiranagar.

Militants struck in Srinagar with an explosion outside the fire service headquarters, near the civil secretariat and the office of the director-general of police. Two persons were killed in

the attack and four sustained serious injuries.

Defence ministry sources said the border firing was limited to use of infantry weapons such as machine guns and mortars. They denied that artillery guns were fired. But the response from the Indian army, particularly in the R.S. Pura sector, was heavy. An army source described the action as "retaliatory" after Pakistani gunners opened fire.

The exchange was particularly heavy on the stretch of the international boundary that Pakistan disputes and calls a "working boundary". This is a short stretch just below the point near Chhamb from where the Line of Control begins. Firing here is not unusual but this time it has taken place at this level after several weeks.

In Delhi, chief among the considerations that will govern any decision for an armed move across the LoC will be the presence of the US forces in Pakistan for Operation Enduring Freedom. Some of the elements of that operation also cover parts of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir where al Qaida militants are alleged to have taken refuge. The security establishment cannot dwell on taking action across the international boundary as a first step.

Second, the armed forces will be particularly measuring the response of action. The mobilisation on the borders by both sides has allowed each other to closely monitor movement of army units and formations. In February, General Padmanabhan had said the challenge of good generalship is in being able to keep the enemy guessing despite prolonged forward deployment.

It is also a given that the military option, if exercised unilaterally, will have two objectives: first, to block routes of infiltration and second, to neutralise militant camps that might still exist across the LoC.

PM BRIEFED AT ARMY OPERATIONS ROOM

Pak. asked to recall envoy within a week

F10-1
18/5

Indo Pak

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, MAY 18. While enhancing its combat readiness, India today asked Pakistan to recall its High Commissioner to India, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi.

The decision was taken during the two-hour meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security. The meeting, headed by the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, was held in the backdrop of Tuesday's terrorist attack near Jammu. Prior to it, the Army briefed in its "operations room" the Prime Minister and other CCS members of the situation for about 45 minutes.

According to the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs, Nirupama Rao, India has "indicated that Mr. Qazi's recall should be completed within a week." India's decision seeking Mr. Qazi's return to Pakistan was formally conveyed to Pakistan's Deputy High Commissioner, Jalil Abbas Jilani, by Arun Kumar Singh, Joint Secretary on the Pakistan desk in the MEA.

The spokesperson clarified that the decision to seek Mr. Qazi's recall was meant to con-



The External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, talking to presspersons after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security in New Delhi on Saturday. — AFP

vey India's "disappointment" over Pakistan's "continued lack of action" to counter cross-border terrorism as illustrated by the Jammu attack.

In fact, India saw the Jammu incident as a reflection of Pakistan's sustained support to cross-border infiltrations. Such intrusions by extremists had recently increased and training camps on Pakistani soil and in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir

(PoK) had resurfaced, she pointed out.

Analysts here say that by taking the incremental step of seeking Mr. Qazi's recall and keeping its forces on alert India has sent two clear signals.

First, it has sought to convey to the United States that it is prepared to wait for some more time to enable Washington to prevail upon Pakistan so that infiltrations into Jammu and

Kashmir decrease.

Government sources here point out that India may be ready to keep the "window" of the month of June open for the U.S. to achieve this objective.

In case infiltrations decline substantially by then, India and the U.S. may discuss the possibility of gradually thinning down the forces from the Indo-Pak. border. India, till then, is likely to keep its troops on the alert status.

Incidentally, prior to the Jammu attack, a large portion of the deployed armed forces had been brought to the more relaxed "training" status. But, with the "alert status" now in place, some armed forces personnel who had gone on leave are likely to be recalled.

Simultaneously, the Army, as

Editorial on Page 18

part of the second-phase of "operation Parakram", is recalibrating its forces all along the border.

Second, by keeping the "war option" on hold, India has conveyed its sensitivity to the ongoing U.S. campaign against terrorism in Afghanistan. If hostilities break out between India and Pakistan, the war against terrorism could be derailed as it would mean the shifting of the Pakistan forces to the Indian border from the Afghan frontier. That could undermine the Afghan operations as the Pakistani forces are required there to nab the remnants of Al-Qaeda cadre who are fleeing into Pakistan.

Apart from the Prime Minister, the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, the National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, the Finance Minister, Yashwant Sinha, the Government's interlocutor on Kashmir, K.C. Pant, and the three service chiefs participated in the CCS.



Villagers of Hiranagar, near Jammu, migrate to safer places with their belongings on Saturday in the wake of heavy shelling by Pakistan troops. — AP (Report on Page 8)

We are for restraint: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 18. Pakistan today struck a non-combatant and conciliatory response to the decision of the Indian Government asking its High Commissioner in New Delhi, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, to leave his post "for the sake of parity".

While registering its disappointment over the announcement made by the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, a spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Office, in a statement, said Islamabad would continue to "work for the de-escalation of tensions" with India. He said the country would continue to strive for "complete normalisation of diplomatic relations". The spokesman said that in response to the action announced by New Delhi, the Pakistan Government had decided to 'recall' the High Commissioner.

Talking to correspondents the Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, claimed that 'restraint and conciliation' characterised the approach of Islamabad since the December 13 Parliament attack.

He maintained that after New Delhi decided to recall the then High Commissioner to Pakistan, Vijay K. Nambiar, Pakistan chose not to reciprocate. "Pakistan believes in the process of dialogue and political process for resolution of all differ-

ences. We did not recall Ashraf Jahangir Qazi as Pakistan thought diplomatic representation at the highest level was needed for reconciliation of differences". Mr. Khan regretted "the anti-Pakistan tone of the resolution" adopted by the Indian Parliament on the incident near Jammu. He said the statements by Indian leaders during the debate and the contents of the resolution "betrayed the hostility, which India nurses for Pakistan".

He said Pakistan was opposed to terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Pakistan neither encouraged terrorism nor had anything to do with the Jammu incident, he claimed. As a member of the international coalition against global terrorism, Pakistan was faithfully fulfilling its obligations under the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions and would continue to do so, he said. He called upon India to avoid levelling 'baseless allegations' against Pakistan.

The former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Tanvir Ahmed Khan, told *The Hindu* that "I feel greatly saddened by the latest development. The action of the Indian Government is unprecedented. Such a thing did not happen even during the 1971 conflict". The Pakistan reaction is clearly aimed at impressing the international community on its 'reasonable approach' compared to the 'rigid attitude' of the Vajpayee establishment.

Goyt silent, Army for stern steps

HT Correspondents
New Delhi/Kathmandu, May 16

ON A day when the Chief of Army Staff, Gen S Padmanabhan, said in Kathmandu that time has run out for talks with Pakistan on cross-border terrorism, Home Minister LK Advani reviewed the "situation arising out of the violence perpetrated by terrorists" at a meeting in New Delhi.

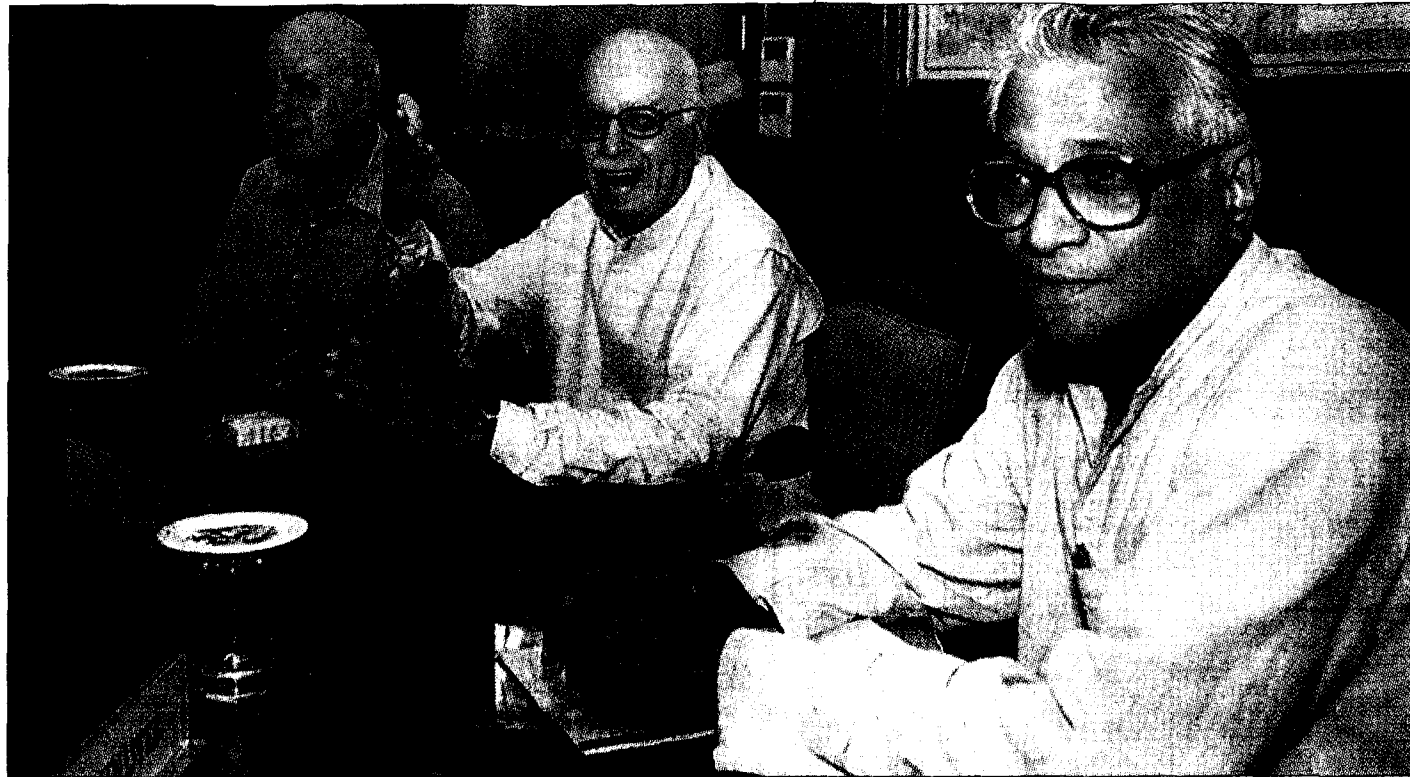
The meeting was attended by Defence Minister George Fernandes, J&K Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, the Director-General of Military Operations, the Director-General of Military Intelligence, and the heads of the paramilitary forces and Intelligence agencies.

Referring to Tuesday's terror attacks in Jammu, the Army chief, now touring Nepal, said, "It's time for action now. We cannot express our reaction in words only... The more we talk (on cross-border terrorism) the less we will act. We should not play to the gallery any more."

Asked what sort of action he proposed against Pakistan, Padmanabhan said, "The Army alone cannot decide this. The country has to sit and decide. As far as I am concerned, I'm ready for any kind of action."

In New Delhi, a Home Ministry release said the meeting chaired by Advani had reviewed all "available Intelligence inputs regarding the intentions of terrorist groups and the likely trends in the security situation".

Refusing to disclose what had transpired at the meeting, a senior official said there would be "redeployment of security forces" in J&K where security had weakened owing to the massive deployment of the Army



TAKING STOCK: (From left) Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, Home Minister LK Advani and Defence Minister George Fernandes during a meeting of Army commanders and Intelligence top brass convened by the Home Ministry on Thursday.

along the international border and the Line of Control.

Officials said they were preparing for "spectacular strikes" during three major events in July, August and September — the Amarnath Yatra, Independence Day and the J&K Assembly polls. "Security forces have been selected for these events. The latest terrorist attack only means that redeployment will now take place well in advance," an official said.

The Lok Sabha is likely to adopt a unanimous resolution

tomorrow, formulating India's response to Tuesday's terror strikes. The Speaker will move the resolution. Until then, the official Indian position remains unstated.

The silence maintained by the Home and External Affairs Ministries is being interpreted as let the country's political leadership, cutting across party lines, participate in defining India's position.

Tomorrow's discussion on a unanimously-agreed resolution will be held under Rule 193. The

motion for the debate will be introduced by Congress chief whip Priya Ranjan Das Munshi. Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Leader of the Opposition Sonia Gandhi will speak during the debate.

Though India's official position has not been formulated yet, the US has expressed its sympathy in the wake of Tuesday's massacre. Yesterday, US Ambassador Robert Blackwill called on Advani and held 40 minutes of talks with him.

Related report on Page 10

Rift over course of action

Saurabh Shukla
New Delhi, May 16

NEW DELHI'S attempt to calibrate its diplomatic response to the Kaluchak attack is getting increasingly bogged down. The PMO and the Ministry of External Affairs are differing sharply on the appropriate response. The PMO and a section of the Ministry of External Affairs are reportedly considering snapping the already downgraded diplomatic relations with Islamabad.

Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh, however, isn't in favour of such a drastic step. He would like further reduction in the Pakistan mission staff and a quit notice to High Commissioner Ashraf Jehangir Qazi.

"We had considered cutting all diplomatic ties after December 13 but finally it was decided to only recall our High Commissioner. Our restraint cannot be infinite," an MEA source said.

However, a decision will be taken at the next meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security. The PM may make an announcement on this in Parliament on Friday.

Pak link in attack

THE three suicide attackers who stormed the Army camp in Jammu have been identified as Pakistanis. They are Abu Suhail, son of Abdullah and a resident of Faisalabad; Abu Mureshed of Gali (Street) No. 1, Salamatpura, Rahwali Cantonment and Abu Javed of Gujranwala.

HTC, New Delhi

'Full-scale war' not an option

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, MAY 16. In responding to the terrorist attack near Jammu on Tuesday, India may not have the option of engaging Pakistan in a full-scale war.

Analysts here point to four key reasons that are likely to discourage a full-scale military retaliation against Pakistan. First, the United States, as of now, is likely to strongly discourage India from taking military action against Pakistan. This is because an Indo-Pak war is likely to undermine some of the core U.S. objectives.

For instance, the beginning of unbridled hostilities between India and Pakistan at the present juncture is likely to derail the U.S. campaign against terrorism in Afghanistan whose "centre of gravity" is shifting to the Afghan-Pakistan border areas. Any conflict with India will naturally mean diversion of Pakistani troops from the Afghan-Pakistan border where they are required to nab the remnants of the Al-Qaeda or for launching joint operations with the U.S. in Pakistan's tribal areas.

Second, an all-out war with Pakistan will mean jeopardising

the safety of the American troops and members of its security establishment who are present there in large numbers. Some of the Pakistani air bases such as Karachi, Pasni, Jacobabad and Dalbadin, where U.S. forces may be present in considerable numbers, will be legitimate targets for the IAF in case of a war.

The U.S. will obviously find the targeting of these areas unacceptable, observers say.

Third, the Indian security establishment has to factor in Pakistani nuclear weapons and their delivery systems such as missiles in case of a conflict. Hostilities with Pakistan may prove unaffordable unless India acquires some means, direct or

indirect, of exercising control or immobilising the Pakistani nuclear forces.

Fourth, the Indian military machine may still require additional preparation to acquire a decisive edge over Pakistan to fight a short-duration war. For instance, the Army is still in the process of inducting the T-90 tanks from Russia that will give its armoured fleet a clear advantage.

India also may need a few more months to acquire and induct additional state-of-the-art SU-30 fighter jets into the IAF in order to launch a swift military campaign.

In the near-absence of a full-scale war option now, the armed forces may consider some action without crossing the Line of Control. In the past, India's long-range artillery has been used against Pakistani border posts.

Limited air strikes, especially on some of the training camps may be an option. But without the assurance of an effective diplomatic intervention, such a step can risk the escalation of hostilities that New Delhi, at this moment, may wish to avoid.

Time for action: Army chief

KATHMANDU, MAY 16. Outraged by the terrorist attack on an Army camp near Jammu, the Chief of Army Staff, General S. Padmanabhan, today said that time had come for action but a decision in this regard had to be taken by the entire nation.



"Time for action has come. But the Army is not the body to make a decision in this regard. The decision will be taken by the entire nation," he told reporters here replying to a question on the cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

Gen. Padmanabhan, who concluded his four-day visit to the Himalayan Kingdom, did not elaborate the type of action the Army was considering, saying "I cannot say everything here". He said he would visit the border areas to review the situation. — PTI

THE HINDU

17 MAY 2002

Trial and terror

All our options are hideously difficult

The callous brutality of Tuesday's Jammu terrorist strike — 11 children were killed, bus passengers were shot as they disembarked — will make an impression on even the most jaded of Indian Kashmir-watchers. For those outside India, specifically Americans and Pakistanis, the outrage seemed to have evoked nothing but the usual. Islamabad has spun its India-did-it line, which even Pakistani newspapers find difficult to swallow. More important, Americans, represented in New Delhi on Tuesday by the assistant secretary of state, Ms Christian Rocca, have restricted themselves to condemning the act but refusing to acknowledge the inspiration. Ms Rocca's bland diplomatese was not merely for public consumption. MEA officials have indicated that behind closed doors, Americans have not been any more willing to guarantee that they will tell their Pakistani "friends" that cross-border terrorism is untenable with the Bush doctrine. At the level of logic, America's post-9/11 foreign policy articulation gives India as much of a free hand as Israel seems to be allowed while responding to Palestinian suicide bombers. At the level of realpolitik, it seems clear now that the US is reverting back to its old position on the subcontinent — India and Pakistan must talk because you cannot quite blame Pakistan for the regrettable incidents of violence. This is grossly unjust and unacceptable. It also flies in the face of evidence that is clear enough for even George Bush to understand at first sight. But, as they say, that's how it is, and India will have to frame its response accordingly.

George Fernandes saying that the military option is open is, in context, good tactics. Americans have been worried since the Indian armed force's mobilisation on the Indo-Pakistani border that the hunt for Taliban and Al Qaeda stragglers will lose focus if Pervez Musharraf has to contend with an "aggressive" New Delhi. Ms Rocca's visit, and the Colin Powell phone call preceding it were, in fact, a result of US assessment that India is getting impatient. India should continue to act and talk impatient, not only because it has every right given Pakistan's complete inaction and even backsliding but also because this gets America's attention. Therefore, the mobilisation — notwithstanding its costs and the toll it is taking of Indian soldiers, who have to keep themselves battle-ready indefinitely — must continue for the near future. Defence ministry officials have indicated that a review of the deployment will take place in June, and demobilisation, if any, may not start before September. Phased withdrawals may continue till early 2003.

That still leaves the question — an enormously important one — of what to do if Pakistan, encouraged by America's proverbial blind eye, continues its intransigence and terrorist outrages like Tuesday's continue to happen. A limited strike at PoK-based camps, whether via artillery, the air force or special forces, is an option that must contend with Pakistan's response. If Musharraf decides to strike back, will New Delhi accept that quietly, or will we respond, which may lead to a full scale war. You don't need to be a double-talking US diplomat to know that a war is avoidable, that it may not even solve the problem of terrorism and that it may give Islamabad more brownie points than New Delhi. This raises the possibility that India may have to demobilise without a tangible gain. The government (read senior BJP ministers) should consider all these difficult options and explain to the country why they are taking whatever course they choose. Trying to milk this for short term political objectives will be disastrous.

And let it be noted that pussy footing over Gujarat is not helping.

Charges baseless, says Pakistan

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

40-11
1975

ISLAMABAD, MAY 15. Pakistan today rejected the assertion of the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, that it was involved in the terrorist incident in Jammu in which over 34 persons were killed, as "totally baseless and unfounded".

The Pakistan Information Minister, Nisar A. Memon, told presspersons at a news conference after the Cabinet meeting that Pakistan itself had been a victim of international terrorism and the incident in Karachi last week was a proof if any was needed.

When a correspondent sought his reaction to the reported statements by Indian Ministers warning of "retaliatory action", Mr. Memon expressed the hope that New Delhi would not resort to "adventurism". Asked about the peace mission of the United States Assistant Secretary of State, Christina Rocca, he said the visit would be helpful in defusing the tension between India and Pakistan. Islamabad had already extended the hand of friendship to New Delhi and it was for the other side to respond. At the same time, Pakistan was prepared to face any eventuality and its troops were ready to defend every inch of its territory. "Let there be no doubt in anyone's mind".

Earlier, talking to foreign media networks, Mr. Memon said the world was fully aware that Pakistan stood with the international community in the fight against terrorism with full force. Asking India to resolve its own internal problems, the Minister said that "the policy of the Government is that it will not allow anybody to use its soil for acts of terrorism against another country".

"If India says that people from Pakistan's side of the border are crossing over, then I ask what hundreds of thousands of Indian troops are doing in the India-held Kashmir."

To a question, he said that when the forces of the two countries are deployed in front of each other, then it would certainly result in tension. He said the U.S. was also watching this tension. It was possible that the U.S. may have got some reports that there was thinking in India to carry out an attack of some kind. And because of this a high-level U.S. official was visiting the region.

THE HINDU

Rocca's visit a chance to remove Indo-Pak hiccups

Indrani Bagchi
NEW DELHI 13 MAY

US ASSISTANT secretary of state for South Asian affairs, Ms Christina Rocca, will begin her visit to India on Tuesday. Foreign policy experts feel her visit will be an opportunity for the both the countries to remove the "hiccups" in the relationship, particularly those over Pakistan and the war on terror. High level sources said while in the medium and the long term Indo-US relations are on an even keel, in the short term, several differences in opinion and outlook have cropped up.

The ministry of external affairs (MEA) spokesperson on Monday said India will convey its "realistic and detailed" assessment of the situation pertaining to its relationship

with Pakistan and the Line of Control (LoC) to Ms Rocca. "There is no shift in Pakistan's approach, which continues to be motivated and propelled by hostility against India." "Realistic" is diplomatese for a no-holds-barred discussion that India is gearing up for. Ms Rocca will meet the foreign and defence ministers and the national security adviser, apart from having meetings with her counterpart, Mr Jayant Prasad, in the MEA.

In pure policy terms, the obstacles have their basis in two pillars of policy that had been articulated by the Bush administration to India months ago. These, to a great degree, set the tone for a bilateral takeoff. The first was a de-coupling of US' relations with India and Pakistan and the second was a common goal in the region for both

countries — encapsulated in the term "managing Pakistan." This included freeing Pakistan from terrorism and jihad and managing Pakistan's strategic assets. Indian policymakers have been disappointed that on both these counts there has been significant backtracking by the US.

The present obstacles have cropped up from a US perception that India should stand down in the standoff with Pakistan to enable the US to carry on with its own war on terrorism on Pakistan's western borders. The US says India should be "cautious" and "patient" because General Pervez Musharraf is too weak to be able to control infiltration. Herein lies the real difference: India doesn't believe Musharraf is "unable" to take action, but is rather "unwilling" to do so.

THE STATESMAN

14 MAY 2002

Rocca coming to defuse India, Pak. tensions

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MAY 11. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, Christina Rocca, will be visiting India and Pakistan as a part of U.S. efforts to reduce tensions between the two South Asian nations and in the context of the "overall relationship", the State Department has said. The exact dates for Ms. Rocca's visit have not been announced but it will be next week. She will recommend for a dialogue between India and Pakistan and, at the same time, looking for "real steps" to help defuse tensions in the area. Asked if the Rocca visit was specifically related to Kashmir, the State Department spokesman, Richard Boucher,

said: "It is on the overall relationship, as we know. We have regular meetings with officials of both countries, either here or out there. The Assistant Secretary, Rocca, has been there a number of times. The Secretary has been on the phone previously, as well as recently, to continue to work on the issue, to try to reduce tensions."

Would tensions ease only if Pakistan stopped its cross-border terrorism? Mr. Boucher said the U.S. looked for a number of things, "practical steps", by the parties to defuse tension.

"We've looked for a dialogue between them, if possible, to resolve the issues. So these are all things that we continue to work with them, continue to discuss

with them. But certainly in the end, we're not just looking for people to talk to us about it; we're looking for real steps that can help defuse the tensions in the area", he said.

In preparation for the visit, the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, has spoken to Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf, and the External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh. Mr. Boucher said that Gen. Powell's call to Gen. Musharraf and Mr. Singh was "to talk about India-Pakistan issues and tensions along the Line of Control and what we might continue to do, what they might do, what we might help them do to defuse those tensions".

See also Page 8

A sense of urgency in U.S.

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, MAY 11. The visit of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, Christina Rocca, to India next week signals a new sense of urgency in Washington to defuse tensions between India and Pakistan.

Highly-placed Government sources here attribute three main reasons for Ms. Rocca's sudden visit to the subcontinent.

First, India's decision to alter its force profile along the Indo-Pakistan border. The Indian forces recently embarked on the second phase of Operation Parakram, which is likely to result in recalibration and a possible realignment of the deployed forces. India is committed to holding peaceful Assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir. And that requires sufficient forces in the State to prevent disruption by cross-border infiltrators.

Besides, India has begun the "Brahma-Shiva" military exercises in the western sector. Though this is a training manoeuvre, the movement of forces at the corps level might have attracted some international attention.

Second, Pakistan might have urged the U.S. to show greater activism, citing the possibility of a clash with India. Reflecting the thinking within the Pakistan Army's top brass, the chief of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence, Ehsanul Haq, reportedly told the Pakistani formation commanders who met recently in Rawalpindi that the risk of a conflict with India was now at an "all-time high." Discussions on the Indian deployment also apparently took place earlier this week between the Director of the U.S. Defence Security Cooperation Agency and the Pakistan Defence Secretary, Hamid Nawaz Khan.

Incidentally, the visit of the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, to India in January was also influenced by intelligence inputs from Pakistan suggesting an "imminent Indian attack," based on its information that a strike corps of the Indian Army had been re-positioned, sources say. U.S. satellites subsequently also picked up an alteration in the deployment profile of this corps.

Any regrouping of forces by India causes considerable difficulty in Pakistan as it has no option but to alter its own deployment at considerable cost.

Vajpayee-Musharraf talks unlikely in Kazakhstan

By Atul Aneja

9/5/02
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NEW DELHI, MAY 9. With tensions between India and Pakistan showing no signs of abating, talks between the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, on the sidelines of a multilateral peace conference in Kazakhstan early next month are unlikely.

Both the leaders are expected to attend the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) in Almaty in the Central Asian Republic.

According to sources in the security establishment, neither India nor Pakistan appears to be in a mood to restart negotiations, notwithstanding the statements from Islamabad advocating the revival of talks.

The assessment here is that Gen. Musharraf is focussed on the October general elections in Pakistan and that maintaining an anti-India stance, especially over Kashmir, can help him acquire greater legitimacy. Not surprisingly, despite the Indian insistence, Pakistan is not inclined to restrict cross-border infiltration in Jammu and Kashmir.

On the contrary, infiltration in March has risen, the officials say.

Incidentally, the United States, it appears, is willing to acknowledge in private that infiltrations in Jammu and Kashmir may go up this summer. In fact, the U.S. reportedly conveyed that cross-border intrusion from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir would increase in the coming months to the Russians when the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, met his Russian counterpart, Igor Ivanov, in Madrid recently. It is estimated that Pakistan may be pushing in 3000 people into Jammu and Kashmir in the next few months.

Anticipating a possible hardening of Pakistan's disposition towards India, sources said that Gen. Musharraf might effect major changes in the military establishment and bureaucracy, now that his much-publicised "referendum" has been concluded. While no definite trend has emerged so far, it is possible that hardliners, with a pronounced negative stand against India, may be drawn into prominent decision-making positions.

Pakistan's unwillingness to act against the 20 listed terrorists wanted by India has also dampened the spirits for talks. With the present chill in the Indo-Pakistan relations discernible, India, on its part, has also decided to take unilateral steps in Jammu and Kashmir.

It is committed to conducting the Assembly elections successfully.

It is also likely to continue deploying its forces along the border to prevent infiltrators from disrupting the elections.

India's persistence with its troop build-up, at least till autumn, is likely to deepen the polarisation with Pakistan, which has been demanding an Indian "deescalation."

Notwithstanding public statements, there is little diplomatic pressure on India to revive talks or deescalate from the borders.

The U.S., however, during the visit of Gen. Powell earlier this year, had suggested that the Indian forces need not always be kept on hair-trigger alert along the borders. Advocating a relatively "relaxed" military posture, the U.S., for instance, wanted that combat aircraft be positioned without being armed with bombs and missiles all the time.

Frontline troops also could be located in some depth, so that eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with the Pakistani forces was discouraged.

THE HINDU

10 MAY 2002

France, U.S. dismiss Pakistan claim of Indian hand in blast

By Chidanand Rajghatta
Times News Network

WASHINGTON: Reverberations from the suicide bombing in Karachi that killed a dozen French nationals, among others, are being felt across the world, including Washington, where Pakistan's interior minister Moinuddin Haider held talks on Wednesday with U.S. officials on terrorism issues.

It was an inauspicious start to the first meeting of the U.S-Pakistan Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism and Law Enforcement with the Karachi incident overshadowing a broad agenda that included a range of bilateral law enforcement issues such as counternarcotics, extradition, money laundering, police and legal system reform, and the repatriation of Pakistani nationals detained at Guantanamo Bay.

Efforts by Pakistan to direct the blame for the terrorist attack against India found few takers here with U.S. officials, like their French counterparts, dismissing the charge.

U.S. officials noted that suicide attacks are not something known to emanate from India. Instead, they too considered it more than likely that the perpetrators of the attack were linked to the Al Qaida.

In a convoluted attempt to implicate India in the bombing, Pakistan's information minister Nisar Memon had said that the authorities did not rule out the possibility of a for-

ign hand from across the eastern border and from a country perpetually inimical to Pakistan.

Although no American lives were lost in Karachi, two U.S. nationals were injured by splinters, officials said Washington has taken a grim view of the latest attack that comes on the heels of the murder of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl and the church bombing in Islamabad that killed an American diplomat's wife and daughter.

The U.S. law enforcement has made no progress in the church bombing case, although it is believed that the perpetrator of the attack who died in the bombing may have been a Somali. U.S. officials say the incident might not have been a suicide attack and the bomber might have died due to a miscalculation after throwing the grenade.

In any case, Pakistan is now feeling the heat from western nations to step up its crackdown on militants. Despite Islamabad's effort to portray itself as a victim of terrorism because of its joining the war on terrorism, western reports have unfailingly noted that Pakistan's principled stand against terrorism emerged only after September 11, and even that is under doubt. Till then, they point out, successive Pakistani governments, including the Musharraf regime, was encouraging and consorting with a variety of terrorists.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

10 MAY

10 MAY 2002

Pak. dismisses Advani's charge

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, MAY 8. The Pakistan Foreign Office has dismissed as "ludicrous" the reported remarks by the Union Home Minister, Lal Krishna Advani, that elements in Pakistan are fanning the flames of communal unrest in Gujarat.

A Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman said in a statement that the "patently false claim" was another proof of the BJP leadership's predisposition to blame Pakistan for its own policies.

"The latest pronouncement of Mr. Advani was no more than a blatant and brazen attempt to cover up the criminal complicity of the BJP Government and the BJP's sister organisations in the systematic massacres of Muslims in Gujarat," the statement said.

The tone and tenor of the statement does not come as a surprise. Since the Agra summit in July last year, the military establishment here has not missed any opportunity to hit out at Mr. Advani.

The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, in his interview to *The Hindu* had named Mr. Advani as someone who had derailed the summit.

The spokesman alleged that the "shameful role" played by the Hindu extremist outfits such as the RSS, the VHP and the Bajrang Dal in the planning and the execution of anti-Muslim violence was not hidden from anyone.

Mr. Advani should be asked whether these "Hindu fascist and extremist" organisations were acting at the behest of Pakistan?

The recent remarks of the VHP leader, Ashok Singhal, that the killings in Gujarat had shown the Hindus the way and that their journey of victory would begin and end on the same path, gave a chilling indication of the crazed mindset governing these fanatical organisations.

The spokesman called upon the Indian Government to refrain from what was termed cynical and self-serving allegations.

Instead it should take effective measures to rehabilitate the uprooted Muslim minority community in Gujarat, besides bringing the culprits of the "Gujarat pogrom" to justice.

"It could begin by proscribing the extremist and terrorist outfits such as the RSS, the VHP, the Bajrang Dal and the Shiv Sena", it said.

THE HINDU

19 MAY 2002

Disappointed Pakistan pins hope on PM

FROM BHARAT BHUSHAN

Islamabad, May 5: Pakistan's foreign minister Abdul Sattar, usually known for his hard-line position towards India, claimed that he was "deeply disappointed" that the relationship between the two countries remained tense.

He once again offered "to enter into a dialogue as soon as India thinks that the time has come for it to do so".

Sattar said that Islamabad wanted normal relations with Delhi and that Pakistan "envied" those countries which were improving their relations with India. "We envy these countries because we would like to do what they are doing to

improve relations with India. But evidently we are pre-empted in achieving that objective," he claimed.

Commenting on the continuing eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between the armies of the two countries on the border, Sattar said that "because of the intercession of the friends of the two countries a certain de-escalation had taken place both psychologically and politically but this has not been matched by a disengagement on the ground".

Sattar said that he held Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in the highest esteem and hoped that "the Prime Minister will use his tremendous influence in order to bring Pakistan-India relations to an even keel. I

hope he agrees also that the July 16 summit in Agra could have ended better than it did".

He said that Pakistan was not opposed to India improving its relations with China, Iran or with the US. "Pakistan itself wants to have warmer relations with India, so how can we oppose the growing warmth in its relationship with others? So we are perfectly at ease with India improving its relations with China as well as with other countries," he argued.

About the growth of Pakistan-US relations since September 11 and the impact of the forthcoming general election on them, Sattar hoped that "the new government in power would decide in favour of continuity of

recognise that peace, unity and reconstruction of Afghanistan is in the best interest of not only the Afghans but also of all the countries of the region".

The foreign minister was candid enough to admit that during the Taliban period, Pakistan's relationships with its neighbours took a dip. "We are very gratified that over the last few months, since the interim administration has taken over, our relationship with Iran and the Central Asian Republics has significantly improved. Our friends in the West also tell us that they are fully satisfied with Pakistan's approach to Afghanistan," he said.

About the Central Asian republics, Sattar said: "These are

landlocked countries and they quite naturally seek access to the outside world. If Afghanistan returns to normality then these countries can hope for the opening of communications and routes for them to enter into trade and other exchanges via Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan."

This process, he said, would also benefit India greatly as it could import gas from Turkmenistan.

"In addition to the gas pipeline route from Iran, there could be gas pipelines from Central Asia through Afghanistan and Pakistan, extending up to India. I am not dismissive of the security concerns of India with regard to the pipelines passing

through Pakistan. But whatever India and Iran decide will be acceptable to us in terms of ensuring the security of the pipelines and the continuity of gas supply in the event of tensions between India and Pakistan. I think the problems can be worked out," Sattar said with confidence.

The foreign minister added that such risks should not be exaggerated. Pakistan, he said, would itself like to import from Iran and Central Asia.

"If we block these pipelines it will be like cutting off our nose to spite the face. We should find out how other countries are tackling these issues and follow their example. I think this can be done," he argued.

■ See Page 8



Why is Pakistan envious of India's friends? Foreign minister Abdul Sattar explains

istan's foreign minister said that his country would "scrupulously refrain from any act of interference in Afghanistan".

Without naming anyone, Sattar said, "I think the other neighbouring countries should also

Only US pressure and space from India can change the general's policy

Trapped Musharraf awaits Delhi rope

FROM BHARAT BHUSHAN

Lahore, May 2: It will be more of the same in India-Pakistan relations. General Pervez Musharraf's policy towards India is stuck and he has little room to manoeuvre, political observers here believe. And this situation, they feel, is unlikely to change unless India gives him some space or there is external pressure from the US to settle differences.

"Pervez Musharraf does not have an India policy now. The policy that Pakistan has been following is not sustainable as it is based on supporting militancy. Other than that there is no policy. Musharraf is keen on changing the Kashmir policy but the diplomatic breakthrough needed is not there. That has to come from India. So Musharraf is stuck," Aamir Ahmed Khan, the editor of the *Herald*, argued.

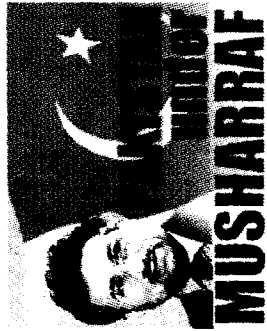
Arif Hasan, an eminent architect, argued that Pakistan's India policy would be governed to a large extent by its negotiations with the US. "Pervez Musharraf will have to depend heavily on the US for his survival. If Musharraf is badly needed by the US, he will push and negotiate for the policies he has always followed. If he is not needed, then he will listen to the US. I think there is very little room for him to manoeuvre," Hasan claimed.

Hamid Mir, the editor of the daily *Ausaf*, thought that in the run up to the

October elections, General Musharraf might rail against India. "By constantly criticising Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, he will project himself as someone who did not compromise on Kashmir. After October, however, he will be under pressure from the West to start a dialogue with Atal Bihari Vajpayee. But Vajpayee is no fool and may refuse to talk. No military government in Pakistan has been able to achieve a breakthrough in relations with a civilian government in India," Mir said, suggesting that nothing was likely to change even now.

I.A. Rehman, the director of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, however, argued that the internal problems of the country would push the general to change his attitude towards India to some extent. "He will not have donor support for continuing his present policy. They will ask him to make up with India. But I don't think he has the will or the capacity for radical change. And the Indian state will also continue to give him excuses for confrontation," he said.

Prof. A.H. Nayyar of the Quaid-e-Azam University analysed General Musharraf's attitude to India saying, "At one level, he is rabidly anti-India. At another, he is a pragmatist — if he finds that a particular policy is not working, he will quickly change track."



CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Musharraf in Kashmir trap

FROM PAGE 1

Because of this, his policy towards India will be short-sighted and, therefore, fail. After Kargil, India has had the moral upper hand in this relationship. Musharraf was responsible for Kargil. A corollary of this is that as long as Musharraf is around, India will continue to have an upper hand morally."

However, he felt that "the only thing that has tarnished India's moral position, and continues to do so, is Gujarat".

Zohra Yusuf of the Human Rights Commission thought that General Musharraf would not take any negative steps towards India as Pakistan cannot afford to annoy the West.

"But the infiltration (into Kashmir) will continue. The Pakistan establishment will continue to pull the wool over everyone's eyes — pulling back when it is under scrutiny and starting again when the attention is not focused on it," Yusuf said.

Was that why the General had released all the jihadis he had arrested in mid-January?

"Strictly from a legal point of view, he could not have brought them before a court. There was no prosecutable evidence against them. But as long as the Kashmir policy remains what it is, how can he act against the jihadis? Under court orders the government is paying Rs 10,000 per month to Maulana Masood Azhar (of Jaish-e-Mohammad) because he is under house arrest and his sources of livelihood have apparently disappeared. This is unprecedented in the legal history of Pakistan. No other prisoner gets such a facility," Yusuf pointed out.

Fakir Syed Aijazuddin, a banker and an art historian, summed up the situation saying, "The only way we can survive is by coming to a working arrangement with India which is stronger than us — militarily, economically as well as politically. The US today sees India as the senior-most power in the region and wants to operate through it. India is numerically strong and the US wants to lock it into its scheme of things before China starts flexing its muscles."

However, he said that if India has to fulfil its role as a regional power, "it has to show the requisite maturity. It can do so but for a severe body-flaw, which has been shown up in Gujarat. The Indian attitude to its Muslims is no longer an overhang of the partition. It is a part of its body politic".

This, Aijazuddin suggested, would come in the way of India becoming an effective regional power that is also accepted as such by its neighbours, including Pakistan.

Indo-Pak. de-escalation: a tall order

HPD-12
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By K. K. Katyal

NEW DELHI, APRIL 30. Going by the stated position of the Government as also the thinking in the non-official strategic community, any de-escalation along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir and the international border with Pakistan in the near future does not seem to be on the cards. At the most there may be a reduction in the alert status — which, perhaps, is already the case, though there is no formal announcement. This is certain to disappoint those who had hoped for an early return to normality — not only the winding down of military measures but also withdrawal of the embargo on Pakistani overflights and resumption of the air and train travel between the two countries. Given this pessimistic scenario, any plea for resumption of the dialogue, especially at the top political level, is too tall an order. The point to be examined is whether the build-up could stay at the present stage or whether it would lead to further escalation in a serious form.

The advocates of the hardline adduce several arguments, both military and political, some of which are as follows: One, there is no fundamental change in Pakistan's policy. The anti-terrorism package announced by its President, Pervez Musharraf, was confined to the domestic situation and did not cover even the Pakistan-occupied area of Jammu and Kashmir, what to say of cross-border operations. Even the momentum of the drive against domestic terrorism has tapered off, while the jihadi outfits continue to be active in their operations across the LoC.

There has been no let-up in terrorist violence. It is, however, conceded that the number of terrorists killed in the first three months this year is higher than that in the

corresponding periods of the two preceding years — 167 now as against 81 in 2001 and 94 in 2000. At the same time, the casualties of the armed forces were comparatively less. This is mentioned as a success of the strategy based on the build-up on the border. And from this, a case is made for continuing the pressure, not for relaxation.

Two, a de-escalation now will serve to erode the credibility of future options. "If we withdraw now, and there is an emergency after a while, will our build-up then generate the desired pressure?"

Three, Pakistan will be interested in disrupting the elections in Jammu and Kashmir, scheduled around September, because any advance in the political action in the

NEWS ANALYSIS

State does not suit its objective. A de-escalation now will enhance Islamabad's capacity to derail that process.

Four, any decision by India to send the troops back to peace-time locations will be regarded as a personal triumph by Gen. Musharraf.

The implications of these arguments are disturbing. It amounts to a case for virtually an indefinite continuation of the build-up. If Pakistan did not respond positively when the Indian pressure, caused by the sudden build-up, caused it deep worry, there is no reason to believe it would do so now. The presence of American troops on its territory gives it a psychological boost to resist Indian exhortations. The advantage on which New Delhi counted in the beginning — that the military measures would help reinforce diplomatic moves — is no longer available now. The sympathy and support for India's case by the world community will be subjected to the law of diminishing returns.

The hardliners tend to rely on over-simplifications — that the financial cost of the escalation is bearable, that the political and diplomatic cost is not worrisome, that the morale of the Indian troops will not be affected. This last issue needs to be examined closely and objectively and the reports that the morale may not be as high as it was in, say, January and February, are not to be dismissed as disinformation.

There is contradiction in some of their contentions. On the one hand, they say that terrorist violence has not diminished. On the other hand, they cite figures, suggesting a decrease in the casualties of Indian security forces.

If the European nations could live with eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between the NATO and Warsaw Pact forces for decades, why should a grim view be taken of the build-up by India — and the reciprocal steps by Pakistan?

This, certainly, is not the model India needs to follow — of subjecting the country indefinitely to the tensions, uncertainties and worries of the type experienced by some of the European nations during the cold war. There is another problem here. Despite their adversarial stances, the two blocs had established contacts at various levels — and, in some cases, agreed to a set of dos and don'ts to keep the situation manageable. There are no such contacts between India and Pakistan.

The Indian build-up has led to a peculiar frenzy and hysteria — at various levels, right upto the top. "We can keep up the build-up for five years, for 10 years" is the refrain. India is in a predicament, is on the look-out for a face-saver, to de-escalate — this is another recurring remark.

Not long ago, these very people used to accuse India of planning for a war. None of these two observations is a voice of sanity.

THE HINDU

11 MAY 2002

Jaswant returns Pervez salvo

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, May 28

A DAY after President Pervez Musharraf proclaimed to the world his commitment to peace, his artillery rained hellfire over Siachen and Kargil. Indian batteries matched them shell for shell. Away from the gun duel along the border, Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh gave it back to the General, dubbing yesterday's address "disappointing" and "dangerous".

Not only was the General tediously repetitive, Singh said, but had added to the tension with his "belligerent posturing".

Stung by the Foreign Minister's tongue-lashing, Islamabad hit back, saying: "If New Delhi refuses to give credence to what we say on infiltration, let them agree to strengthen UN presence along the Line of Control."

At his briefing, Singh was unrelenting: "The General is engaged in an offensive and tasteless revilement of India, which contradicts his expressed desire for peace and mocks at the expectations of the international community."

Mincing no words, he said: "What steps has he taken to stop the lethal export of terror? Mere verbal denials aren't tenable against the facts on the ground."

Elsewhere, Defence Minister George Fernandes echoed Singh. The Indian establishment takes the General's pronouncements with a pinch of salt, he said. "Some 2,000 to 3,000 al-Qaida, Taliban and other militants are massed on the border and are waiting to cross over. That could explain the heavy shelling today. These militants

need covering fire to sneak in."

Fernandes' claim was in sync with a *New York Times* report, which said that al-Qaida leaders were regrouping in Pakistan.

Earlier in the day, Fernandes chaired a meeting, which the three Services chiefs and Defence Secretary Yogendra Narain attended. They discussed President Musharraf's address and reviewed the security situation.

At the news conference,

Singh — despite his plainspeak — kept the road to peace open. If Musharraf takes substantive measures and "permanently" closes down the terror camps inside his territory, India will reciprocate. Till such time, New Delhi will continue to take steps as it deems necessary. "He (Musharraf) says he wants peace. It's in his hands to attain it. Let him fulfil the assurances he has given all these months. But there's no way we can be pe-

nalised for showing patience."

The minister refused to specify what steps New Delhi is contemplating. "All I can say is if one medicine doesn't work, we'll try another. The presence of American troops inside Pakistan has been factored into our response. But this won't inhibit our policy determination."

Asked about international pressure on Pakistan, he responded saying such diplomacy

Hitting back

On Musharraf: His belligerent posture has raised the tension instead of reducing it. His address was disappointing and dangerous

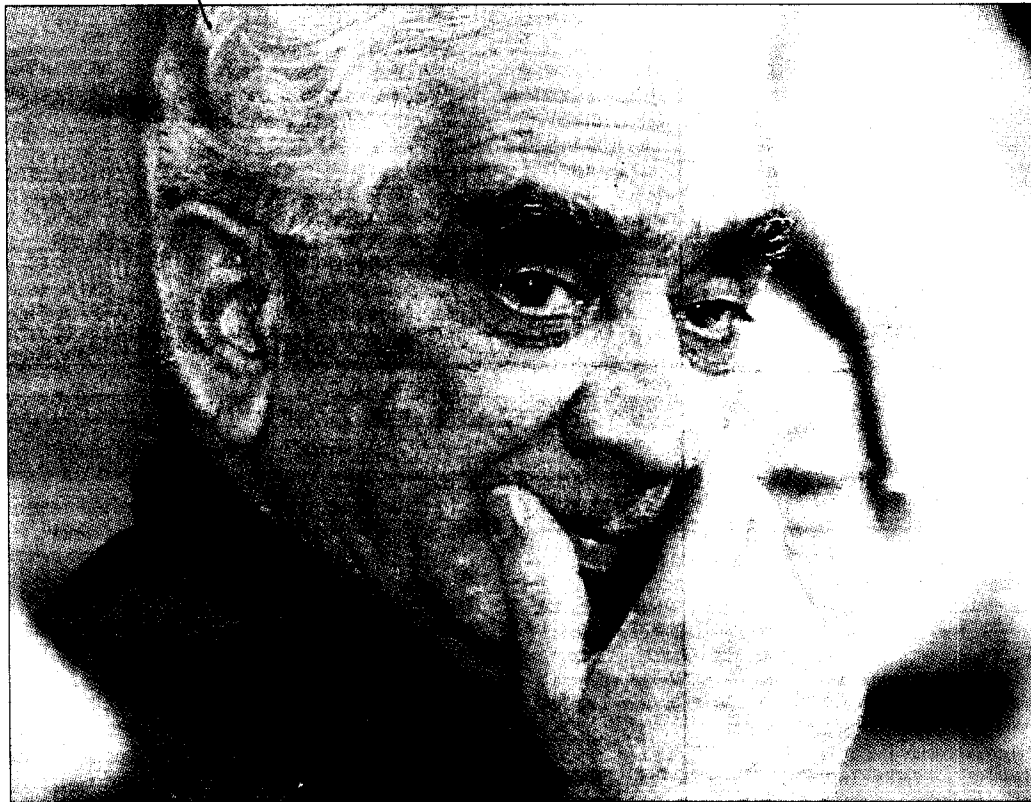
On war threat: No question of India risking a war as it is already subject to a war

On cross-border terror: Epicentre of terrorism is in Pakistan. Verbal denials are untenable as the situation on the ground is quite different

On talks: I don't see the possibility of talks between Musharraf and Vajpayee

On missile testing: We are not greatly impressed with missile antics. They are either imported technology or imported hardware

On nuclear threat: India has an unambiguous stand and its stated policy is no-first-use



Terrorists are not freedom fighters: Straw

Mubashir Zaidi and Agencies
Islamabad/New Delhi, May 28

BEFORE LEAVING Islamabad for New Delhi on a 24-hour trip, British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw demolished Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf's claims that militants fighting in Kashmir were "freedom fighters". "They are terrorists," he said.

Sent by British Prime Minister Tony Blair on a mission to keep the nuclear neighbours from starting a war, Straw, however, left Pakistan with little concrete to show for his efforts. He warned that the situation is so complex a war may begin without either side wishing it. Japan has also sent its envoy to India and Pakistan to cool tempers.

Pakistan, however, disregarded world pressure with blithe off its third ballistic missile, the short-range Abdali.

Straw conceded that no foreign minister could single-handedly prevent war between the two nuclear powers. US sources have suggested that more than 12 million people could die on the first day of a nuclear conflagration between the two neighbours.

Straw told the BBC: "My talks with President Musharraf were constructive and forthright. We have to live in hope in this situation. I don't believe that either side actually wants a war, but this is one of these desperately complex disputes in which a war could nonetheless take place."

Straw reached New Delhi this evening. He will meet Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Home Minister L K Advani and Congress leader Sonia Gandhi.

doesn't seem to be working. "It's really what we see on the ground — today a third missile was tested. It's up to the US and UK to determine if their pressure is working."

He took a swipe at the Pakistan President — "A man who claims the support of more than 98 per cent of his people ought to rein in terrorists with considerable ease."

Related reports on Page 9

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THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

'Dangerous & disappointing'

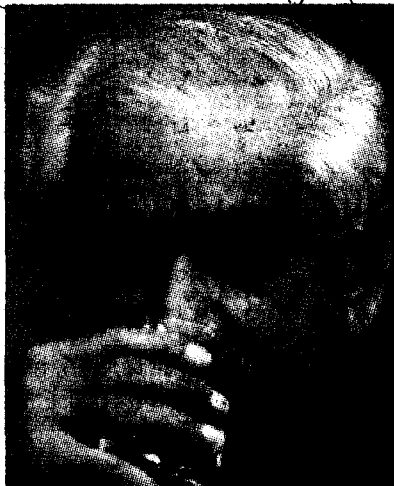
Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, May 28. — The tenor of India's response to General Pervez Musharraf's television address yesterday was muted, giving no real indication of its future course of action. The country termed the speech as "disappointing and dangerous".

Giving nothing away, a relaxed external affairs minister today chose to cut the rhetoric and reiterate that "the epicentre of international terrorism is located in Pakistan." In a measured response aimed at the international community and meant as a contrast to Gen Musharraf's belligerence, Mr Jaswant Singh said India "will continue to take such measures as are necessary," because it "can't continue to be penalised for its patience."

India needed Gen Musharraf to implement the assurances he had made to the international community and the country wouldn't be found wanting in responses it made towards easing tensions thereafter, the minister said at a press conference.

But first, India wants Islamabad to



A pause too long? Mr Singh on Tuesday. — AFP stop infiltration across the LoC because "infiltration is not happening for tourism," but obviously "to promote terrorism", said Mr Singh. The terrorist training camps need to be permanently closed and Pakistan must stop aiding terrorists and eschew terrorism as a state

policy.

Finally, India wants Pakistan to act upon its demand to extradite 20 criminals on the list which had been handed over to that country. "Let (Gen. Musharraf) fulfil the assurances that he has himself given all these months. India will reciprocate."

Regarding Gen. Musharraf's threat of a nuclear war, Mr Singh said he had spoken very casually about the nuclear aspect. That was tantamount to nuclearisation of terrorism, he added. India had never spoken casually about it. India had in place a "no first use" policy and wouldn't resort to first use of nuclear weapons. "Our stand is unambiguous and that is our policy," Mr Singh said. Mr Singh said Gen. Musharraf evaded the central issue of Pakistan's promotion of terrorism and "unfortunately engaged instead in an offensive and tasteless revilement of India."

Islamabad termed Mr Singh's comments as "baseless", adds PTI. The Bush Administration said Gen Musharraf's promise to end cross-border terrorism must match positive action.

29 APR 2002

THE STATESMAN

Generally speaking

Ignore Musharraf, do what you have to do!

Even if Pervez Musharraf had promised substantive action in his 27 May speech, Atal Behari Vajpayee would have had no choice but to disbelieve him, given the general's flagrant breach of faith following the 12 January speech. In the event, Musharraf promised virtually nothing, mouthed a brazen untruth — there is no infiltration across the LoC — and dared India to take military action. India's response should be to ignore him and his silly grandstanding about taking the battle to Indian territory. Musharraf, who is beginning to realise that a rigged referendum is not the same thing as a credible public mandate, has a sceptical domestic audience to woo. Political parties are continuing to keep their distance — they boycotted a recent all party meeting — and the public, too, hasn't quite rallied round the crescent, despite "threats" from India. Hence the war noises and missile tests. All this bluster is, therefore, near-irrelevant as far as the crucial question for India goes — will Pakistan climb down or will India have to take decisive action. Americans are trying very hard to impress Indian leaders that given time, some space and quiet manoeuvres, they can get Musharraf to deliver. The multiplicity of the qualifier "some" should alert Indian authorities from falling for US counsel — they did once in December, after the Parliament attack, as the Prime Minister all but admitted in his Manali musings. That one of the US offers was Pakistan handing over some — that word again! — of the List of 20 terrorists and criminals to a third country is indicative of how easily the US still thinks it can guarantee India's inaction. The home minister, LK Advani, has turned down the offer flat — any other response would have opened the floodgates of incremental and ornamental gestures from Musharraf, with Robert Blackwill acting the courier.

In the context of possible Indian responses, it is now established that media reports (not this newspaper) about Pakistan being given two months were incorrect. Monsoon will set in two months and after that we will be in the final run up to the October Jammu and Kashmir elections. And if elections can be held, in whatever fashion, official spin doctors can point to "democracy" as a fitting answer to "terrorism". If that is the plan — it is always good to be pessimistic about politicians — India will be making a grave error, for which it will pay in terms of encouraging Pakistan to think it can up the ante at will. Pakistan, must, on the contrary, be made to understand that the cost of misadventures will be high, and proof is needed now! This country is ready for any eventuality, even war. It has had enough of gestures. The Prime Minister is right when he says India has run out of patience. The time for action has arrived.

29 APR 2002

THE STATESMAN

3,000 ULTRAS WAITING TO CROSS OVER: GEORGE

Infiltration flies in Pervez face

**Nilova Roy Chaudhury
and Sanjay Singh**

NEW DELHI, May 28. — The sun had barely set on General Pervez Musharraf's assertion that "no infiltration is taking place" when the light of reality exposed the hollowness of his claim. Security agencies have evidence that six terrorists crossed the border last night, lay in wait, and ambushed a CRPF convoy near Chambal Pass in Kashmir this afternoon. Five members of the para-military and two civilians were injured.

Infiltration, indeed, has never stopped, not after his 12 January speech. At least 55 militants had sneaked across after the Kaluchak incident of 14 May — which the Pakistani President made a point of condemnation.

Security agencies estimate that this month alone there have been 110 infiltrations, the figures are based on radio intercepts and interrogation of the militants captured or injured when tackled by the Indian forces — 17 of them were killed in the encounters.

Mixed signals are flashing

across the LoC. There are some indications that instructions have gone out of Pakistan to curb infiltration.

But the depth of the problem is apparent from Intelligence intercepts that indicate close to 5,000 Al-Qaida and Taliban elements, who were given safe passage out of Afghanistan, have been relocated in Pak-occupied Kashmir — awaiting orders to cross over.

According to government sources, reports indicate that Pakistan has asked the *Tanzeems* or theological schools, which train the *jihadi* elements, to hold them back, while army commanders have been told to check infiltration points into J&K.

The government's strategy for the moment is to closely monitor these reports and, after the Kaluchak massacre, also launch massive retaliatory "fire assaults" against possible attacks.

India will also point out to the international community and the UN, an official said, that under the Security Council resolution 1373 (mandatory for all members under Chapter VII), General Musharraf's declaration of 'moral and diplomatic' "or indeed any

support" for the 'freedom struggle' in J&K, was not tenable.

The defence minister, Mr George Fernandes, spoke of 3,000 Al-Qaida and Taliban operatives waiting to cross into J&K. Far from Gen Musharraf's claim, infiltration appears to be continuing.

He, however, dismissed worries about a nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan as exaggerated, after he held meetings with the three services chiefs — General S Padmanabhan, Admiral Madhvendra Singh and Air Chief Marshal S Krishnaswamy.

He pointed out that if India was so keen to attack Pakistan, a strike could have been made right after 13 December. But India had clearly shown restraint, despite which, he admitted, the situation remained tense along the LoC.

Heavy retaliatory firing was continuing, he said, taking note of the new shelling in the Dras-Kargil area today. This could be a probing operation to check Indian preparedness. Launching heavy artillery fire is a Pakistani method of preparing to send *jihadis* into J&K.

Editorial: Generally speaking, page 4

29 APR 2002

THE STATESMAN

Musharraf accepts invite

FROM MUKHTAR AHMAD

Srinagar April 27: Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf has accepted the invitation to hold an Indo-Pak summit in Srinagar, according to four local lawyers who visited Islamabad for a conference.

G.N. Shaheen, G.N. Hagroo, Mohammad Amin Bhat and Mohammad Ashraf — members of Kashmir Bar Association — attended a lawyer's conference on Peace through Law in Islamabad on the invitation of Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan.

"General Musharraf accepted our invitation to visit Kashmir in respect and honour of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and described this peace initiative as a step forward in search of peace," the lawyers told a news conference today.

"General Musharraf iterated his urge for a comprehensive and meaningful dialogue with India at any level, anywhere and anytime for resolution of the Kashmir issue, de-escalation on borders and normalisation of bilateral relations," the lawyers said.

"The Pakistan President appreciated our idea of holding an Indo-Pak summit conference at Srinagar to be hosted by the people of Jammu and Kashmir," said Shaheen. He said Musharraf, while appreciating the idea, said: "I wish it happened."

The lawyers denied reports that their visit to Pakistan was "to convince the various militant leaders to join the Assembly polls being held later this year. This is a malicious propaganda. Election was not on our agenda".

The lawyers hoped that Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee "would appreciate our peace initiative and accept the proposal for resumption of Indo-Pak dialogue".

Indo-Pak. tensions may rise after referendum

HP-11 289A

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, APRIL 22. Tensions between India and Pakistan are expected to rise after the Pakistani President, Pervez Musharraf, formalises his elevation as his country's head through a national referendum later this month.

According to an assessment here, Gen. Musharraf is expected to appoint "hardliners" both in his Foreign Ministry and the security establishment after "winning" the April 30 referendum. The likely appointment of Pakistan's current ambassador to the United States, Maleeha Lodhi, as Foreign Minister is only one part of a larger bureaucratic shake-up in Islamabad. Gen. Musharraf may bring in officers who are "hawkish" towards India and have been closely associated with Pakistan's dealings with the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) to key decision-making positions, sources in the security establishment here said.

While Pakistan is likely to acquire a more assertive profile towards India, New Delhi's disposition towards Gen. Musharraf is also hardening. Sources here say point out that in India's perception Gen. Musharraf has

not lived up to any of the Kashmir-centric pledges that he made during his televised address of January 12. Sources find "little attitudinal change" in Pakistan towards cross-border terrorism. On the contrary, infiltration in Jammu and Kashmir has, after a winter lull, reached a record high in March. The possibility of a spurt in cross-border movements, unless contained, is expected to rise in the coming months as the snow-clogged mountain passes open up. Satellite imagery and related surveillance reports available with India point to a concentration of possible infiltrators in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

Going beyond Gen. Musharraf's January 12 address, the Government has decided to concentrate on unilateral steps that could ease tensions internally in Kashmir. The focus is on ensuring peaceful Assembly elections in the border State by curbing Pakistani attempts to push in infiltrators. Towards this end, troops that have been deployed all along the border are unlikely to be pulled back before this autumn. After the recent developments, armed forces could be expected to show greater activism in the coming months.

Sources say that both the United States

and Russia are fully aware of the deteriorating border situation between India and Pakistan. After making an independent assessment of his own, the U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, is understood to have conveyed to his Russian counterpart, Igor Ivanov, during their recent meeting in Madrid that a higher level of infiltrations into Jammu and Kashmir could be expected this summer. The Russians have also been fully briefed and the Defence Minister, George Fernandes, during his recent visit to Moscow met Igor Ivanov as well as his counterpart, Sergei Ivanov. Earlier, India had shared its perceptions during the talks with the number two man in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), John McLaughlin. Taking note of the recent developments, the U.S., nevertheless, continues to support fully Gen. Musharraf as its spearhead in Pakistan in the campaign against the Al-Qaeda, sources said.

Keen on keeping infiltrations into Kashmir down in the coming months, the Government, not surprisingly, has reacted strongly to the recent attempts by the Pakistani Rangers to hamper India's effort to build a border fence along the international border for this purpose.

THE HINDU

Indus basin water treaty will continue: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

92nd PAK
HD-11

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 22. Pakistan today denied reports in a section of the local press that the four decade old Indus Basin Water Treaty with India faced the danger of suspension and expressed the hope that the Commissioners on both the sides would soon get an opportunity for a face-to-face to sort out any differences.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, told a news conference here today that in view of the tensions between India and Pakistan there has been delay in the periodical meeting of the Commissioners of the treaty.

"Failure of the Commissioners on both sides to meet so far does not mean that they would not meet at all. Pakistan has certain apprehensions about irrigation projects contemplated by India that could affect the treaty and would raise them as and when the meeting is held," he said.

Mr. Khan said the treaty had worked well in the last 40 years and Pakistan hoped that it would continue without any hindrance in future. There were specific provisions in the treaty for periodic consultations between the two sides on any dispute.

The spokesman said that under the treaty if a

dispute could not be resolved at the level of Commissioners, it could be referred to diplomatic channels or a Tribunal.

Mr. Khan was responding to questions on a number of reports in the Pakistan media about the status of the treaty. *The Dawn* today reported that the treaty will be "automatically suspended" if India failed to invite Pakistan for the mandatory May meeting of the treaty.

Quoting sources in the office of Pakistan's Permanent Commissioner for Indus Basin Treaty, it said that both the sides normally started preparations for the meeting by the end of March. But so far, India had neither contacted nor invited Pakistan to the meeting which "must be held before May 31" to keep the treaty alive. The meeting is held alternately in India and Pakistan and is scheduled for New Delhi this year.

The paper said that India had already held the treaty in abeyance by ending all contacts with Pakistan since December when the border tension ran high. "Since then, a pick-and-choose attitude has characterised the Indian policy; it has been transferring routine water data, but has refused to oblige on crucially important flood warnings and status of regulators on Chenab and Jehlum Rivers," it said.

THE HINDU

2 9 1977

India warns Pak over border fencing

Statesman News Service

JAMMU, April 22. — The Indian Army today threatened the Pakistani Army of dire consequences if it continued firing from across the border to sabotage the border fencing work which is in progress despite the heavy build-up.

A defence release issued by the Media Centre, of 15 Corps of Indian Army, based at Nagrota, said the Pakistani Army had tried to disrupt border fencing for the eighth time in the past one year. "If Pakistan doesn't show restraint, the Indian side will be left with no option but to retaliate not only to the firing

but also to the Pakistani Army's bids to disrupt border fencing as no interference...would be tolerated," said the release.

It further said tension was building up on the Jammu border for the past few days because of unprovoked firing from across the border on various Indian forward posts. In most cases, the BSF has been maintaining restraint. But Pakistan has taken recourse to damaging poles meant for border fencing.

It may be noted here that about 45 explosions had recently rocked Zero Line of the International Border in Pittal Post area of Arnia in RS Pura sector causing extensive damage to about half-a-dozen pillars.

Pak expels staffer

gmd/pak 4/21
AGENCIES 2/1

ISLAMABAD, April 20. — Pakistan today expelled Indian High Commission staffer Mr AK Khanna and asked him to leave the country within a week. The Pakistani foreign ministry has declared Mr Khanna, an assistant in the Indian embassy, as persona-non-grata for activities not commensurate with his official status (read espionage) and has advised New Delhi to withdraw Mr Khanna by 27 April.

The move came a day after the Pakistani foreign ministry alleged it had apprehended Mr Khanna in the act of receiving sensitive documents from a Pakistani national in Islamabad, then later released him.

The Indian staffer, after his release yesterday, said he was tortured and beaten by his captors and made to sign a paper saying he was a RAW agent.

India and Pakistan regularly accuse each other's diplomats of spying and expulsions are not unusual. On Wednesday, Pakistan alleged that Indian Intelligence officials had abducted and tortured one of its diplomats, Ali Abbas, in Delhi. Indian authorities, however, confirmed that Abbas was in custody on a spying charge but denied he had been mistreated.

The strained relations between the two countries worsened after the 13 December attack on Parliament in New Delhi.

■ Another report on page 7

21 APR 2002

RETALIATORY ACTION?

Indian mission staffer assaulted in Pak.

9/20/2011
11/11/11

By B. Muralidhar Reddy 20/11/11

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 19. In what is seen as a retaliatory action, Pakistan today held an official in the Indian High Commission on charges of "espionage" in collusion with a Pakistani national in the Federal Secretariat and released him after eight hours of "interrogation."

The Charge D' Affairs of the Indian High Commission, Sudhir Vyas, dismissed the charges as "bizarre" and said the official, A. K. Khanna, was abducted in broad daylight right outside his residence as he was about to board the mission coach to work.

"Mr. Khanna was abducted by a dozen personnel of the Pakistani Intelligence agencies around 8.45 a.m. and whisked away to an unknown destination. There was no response from any of the official quarters to umpteen demarches here and in New Delhi on the whereabouts of the official. The mission could locate him only when we got a telephone call from the police station in the diplomatic enclave at 5 p.m.," Mr. Vyas said.

Mr. Khanna's arrest came exactly 48 hours after India had allegedly caught a member of the Pakistan High Commission receiving "sensitive documents" from an employee of the Indian Air Force. New Delhi has since declared the staffer *persona non grata* and asked for his withdrawal within a week. It is only a matter of routine before Pakistan follows suit.

Mr. Khanna's ordeal began the moment he stepped out of his apartment in the Royal Enclave, where a majority of the Indian mission staffers reside. The enclave is near the church in which five persons, including two Americans, were killed in a grenade attack on March 17.

According to the other Indian staffers in the enclave, at least 12 persons, dressed in Pathan suits, were waiting in the garage when the coaster came to pick up Mr. Khanna around 8.45 a.m. To the horror of the three Indian mission staffers in the coach, the Pakistani agency operatives leapt out and tried to grab Mr. Khan as he came

down from his second floor apartment.

After a mild scuffle, Mr. Khanna was driven away in a Toyota to an undisclosed destination. "My face was masked and I was taken to a room somewhere in the vicinity. I was beaten repeatedly on my face, back, elbows and feet and made to sign a declaration that I worked for RAW (Research and Analysis Wing — Indian Intelligence agency). They interrogated me about the functioning of the mission and told me that it was in retaliation to what happened in Delhi earlier in the week. Only around 3 p.m., I was taken to a police station."

The Indian mission doctor, Quereshi, who examined Mr. Khanna at the police station, said he had suffered bruises and abrasions on the face, back, elbows and feet. "His ankle joint has suffered a major injury and there are cuts in and around the mouth."

When the Indian mission wanted to know from the police station in-charge why it had not been informed of Mr. Khanna's presence, he reportedly said the telephone numbers of the mission "could not be traced." A senior diplomat complained that no one from the Foreign Office was present when Mr. Khanna was handed over.

The Pakistan Foreign Office statement said "an official of the Indian High Commission, A.K. Khanna, was today caught red handed receiving sensitive documents from a Pakistan national working at the Federal Secretariat.

"The Secretariat Police arrested the Indian High Commission official and his Pakistani accomplice at nine o' clock this morning near the diplomatic enclave. Mr. Khanna was handed over to the Indian High Commission after questioning. Mr. Khanna's Pakistani accomplice will be tried under the relevant laws."

Asked for his reaction, Mr. Vyas said "we would be interested in knowing (about) the action against the alleged Pakistani accomplice... it is unfortunate that a joke is made out of a serious violation related to a diplomatic official accredited to the country."

India lodges strong protest: Page 11

India protests assault on mission staffer

40-11 By Atul Aneja 2011

NEW DELHI, APRIL 19. Alleging the involvement of the Pakistani Intelligence, India today lodged a strong protest over the abduction of one of its staffers in its High Commission in Islamabad and described it as an "abominable" act. "We have strongly protested against this abominable incident," the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs, Nirupama Rao, said.

Seeking to establish the "hand of the Pakistani Intelligence" agencies, she said the abduction of Mr. A. K. Khanna — assistant in the High Commission — had taken place in the high security diplomatic area where security had been tightened after the March 17 attack on a church located there; his apprehension could not have been a "simple act of criminality." Secondly, police there had refused to lodge a criminal case despite the insistence of the Indian High Commission staff. This would have been impossible unless the police authorities had received "suitable instructions" from higher quarters, she observed.

The Joint Secretary in-charge of Pakistan, Arun K. Singh, had taken up the matter with Pakistan's Deputy High Commissioner, Jaleel Abbas Jilani. Mr. Jilani had been told in "unambiguous terms" that Pakistan would be held responsible for any consequences if Mr. Khanna was harmed. And that his abduction was all the more unacceptable as he had neither violated any Pakistani law nor breached the existing diplomatic code of conduct between the two countries.

According to sources, incidents of tit-for-tat abductions and harassment of personnel —

usually staffers in the two missions — are common. In the early 1990s, a diplomat, Rajesh Mittal, was tortured after being abducted in Islamabad. This led to the signing of an agreement on the code of conduct for the treatment of diplomatic and consular personnel. India, in the last two-and-a-half years, has sent back 10 Pakistani High Commission staff members after declaring them *persona non grata*.

34 Indians killed in Sept. 11 attack on WTC

NEW YORK, APRIL 19. At least 34 Indians were killed in the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center on September 11 last, a report today said.

India suffered second largest number of casualties among foreign countries after Britain which lost 53 persons.

Pakistan lost seven persons, Japan 20 and China 18, according to an analysis of the death certificates on the basis of place of birth of the 90 per cent of an estimated 2825 victims.

Among the dead were 75.3 per cent whites, 9.4 Hispanics, 7.9 per cent blacks, 6.3 per cent Asians and Pacific islanders and 0.4 per cent others.

The analysis was today published by the *New York Times*.

— PTI

Pakistani staffer not tortured: India

By Our Special Correspondent
NEW DELHI, APRIL 17. India today denied that a Pakistani High Commission staffer who was briefly apprehended here on Thursday for allegedly indulging in spying, was tortured in police custody.

Rejecting the Pakistani Foreign Office charge that the staffer, Ali Abbas, was maltreated, the spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs said that such assertions were "absolutely untrue and inconsistent with facts." The Pakistani staffer was treated in full conformity with the law. "There was no transgression of rules and conventions."

In a related development, the spokesperson denied a media report that the

authorities in Kuwait had shut down a gurdwara in the backdrop of the Gujarat incidents. The gurdwara continues to function normally. An earlier dispute between a Kuwaiti landlord and the organisers who were running the Sikh shrine in a rented accommodation had been resolved in January and a one-year lease had been signed.

Pak. protest

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 17. Pakistan today summoned the Charge d'Affaires of the Indian High Commission, Sudhir Vyas, and lodged a "strong protest" against the alleged detention and torture of one of its

staffers in the Delhi mission on Tuesday. The staffer was accused of "spying".

Mr. Vyas reportedly told the Pakistan Director-General (South Asia), Rasheed Saleem Khan, that incidents of complexity of Pakistan High Commission staffers in activities not compatible with their status were becoming "increasingly frequent".

Mr. Vyas said that "while there is need for restraint, such activities need to be brought to an end". He contested the Pakistani charge that its mission staffer in Delhi was "framed".

Mr. Vyas said that in the latest and other recent cases of similar nature India had publicised the details of the incidents. Indians involved in the incidents

had been identified, taken into custody and brought to justice.

On the other hand, in several incidents of "intimidation, violence, beating and even abduction" of staffers of Indian mission in Islamabad no such evidence was forthcoming. "The allegations have not been backed up by details".

Dr. Khan conveyed to Mr. Vyas that "there is a limit to the restraint so far shown by the Government of Pakistan in the face of repeated acts of violence against officials of Pakistan's High Commission in New Delhi". New Delhi was putting its personnel in the Islamabad mission "at risk" by repeated acts of violence against officials of Pak. mission in Delhi.

489-11 Pak. renews dialogue offer 1674

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 15. Pakistan has reiterated that it favours a comprehensive dialogue with India covering all issues, including Kashmir.

The Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, told a news conference here today that Islamabad had been seeking such a dialogue. "We are ready any time, day and place." He was responding to a question on the recent visit of the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, K.C. Pant, in connection with the Conference of SAARC Finance and Planning Ministers and the desire of India for widening trade relations.

To another question on the visit of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, Christina Rocca, and her meeting with the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, he said she had delivered a message from the U.S. President, George Bush, to Gen. Musharraf.

The message related to the relations between India and Pakistan, the situation in Afghanistan, U.S.-Pak. cooperation on terrorism and other bilateral issues.

Ms. Rocca was on a visit to New Delhi but had cut it short, following the grenade attack on a church in the Diplomatic Enclave in Islamabad.

To a question if India and Pakistan had reached any "agreement" on the resumption of freight traffic, Mr. Khan said he would have to verify the factual position from the Railways.

Recently, the Pakistan Railway Minister, Javed Ashraf Qazi, had said that while New Delhi had approached Islamabad for the resumption of freight traffic, Pakistan had declined, saying that it favoured resumption of

the rail links for passengers first.

India had taken the position that though the Samjautha Express had been terminated following the attack on Parliament, freight traffic was never suspended. In the wake of the statement made by Mr. Qazi, New Delhi had sought a clarification from Islamabad on the actual position about freight traffic. It is not known whether Pakistan responded to the query.

To another question, Mr. Khan said the U.S. had not approached Pakistan for conducting raids in the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan in search of Osama bin Laden. "On more than one occasion at the highest level, the U.S. has expressed its satisfaction about the nature of cooperation extended by Pakistan in the fight against terrorism".

Rejection of Pak. couple's claim for citizenship upheld

By T. Padmanabha Rao

NEW DELHI, APRIL 4. The Supreme Court has upheld an order of the Government of India under Section 9 (2) of the Citizenship Act, 1955 rejecting the "claim" of a husband and his wife (appellants) — who "acquired Pakistani citizenship voluntarily" (in the early 1950s) — to be Indian citizens. The Centre's order was passed on July 2, 1995.

The Bench said that under rule 3 of the 1955 Act — "the conclusive presumption could be raised of the fact that a citizen of India — who has obtained on any date a passport from the Government of another country — of having voluntarily acquired the citizenship of that country before that date."

Dismissing a writ petition and a connected appeal from the appellants (against the verdict of the Rajasthan High Court), the Bench observed that "long stay in the country and enrolment in the voters' list would not confer any right to an alien to continue to stay in the country."

Delivering the judgment, Justice Ashok Bhan made it clear that it (the Bench) expressed — "no opinion on the merits or demerits of the application filed by the appellants under Section 5 of the Citizenship Act (dealing with "citizenship by

10-15 519
registration" by one who is not an Indian citizen) and that it would be open to the authorities to proceed and decide the same (if not already decided) in accordance with law."

The appellants failed to prove by any evidence whatsoever that "they had not voluntarily migrated to Pakistan (in the early 1950s) and had obtained the Pakistani passports under compelling circumstances," the Bench, which included Justice Doraiswamy Raju, noted adding that "rather their conduct after coming to India also shows that they had voluntarily migrated to Pakistan and obtained the passports from the Government of Pakistan after declaring themselves to be citizens of Pakistan" and "soon after coming to India (in February 1955) as per rules they got themselves registered with the concerned registration authority."

On the expiry of the visa period on May 7, 1955, they went to the police station in Ratangarh (Rajasthan) and declared that they would be going back to Pakistan by the evening train the Bench said noting that instead of returning to Pakistan they illegally stayed in India.

"Had the intention of the appellant been that they had not acquired the citizenship of

Pakistan and the passport from that country voluntarily as has been projected before us (the Bench) then they would not have declared their intention of returning to Pakistan on the expiry of the visa period in May 1955," the Bench observed noting that "they would not have gone underground" and "efforts would have been made by them way back in the year 1955, to acquire the citizenship of India afresh."

Golden 'sacred thread' offered to Tirumala temple

By Our Staff Reporter

TIRUMALA, APRIL 4. The Sankaracharya of Kanchi, Jayendra Saraswati, accompanied by Vijayendra Saraswati, today donated a diamond-studded "Yagnopaveetham" (sacred thread) to Lord Venkateswara, presiding deity of Tirumala.

More than 3.5 kg of gold, along with 29 high quality diamonds have gone into the making of the ornament estimated to cost around Rs.35 lakhs.

It will adorn the Lord tomorrow.

The Acharya also donated a Rs.3 lakh worth diamond-studded golden 'Addigga' (necklace) to Goddess Padmavathi at Tiruchanoor.

THE HINDU

We've received list but not evidence: Pak.

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

or otherwise.

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 8. Pakistan today contested the claim made by India that it had provided evidence in support of the list of 20 fugitives wanted by it. Responding to the observations made by the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, K.C. Pant, that India from time-to-time had given enough evidence against persons named in the list, the Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, Aziz Ahmed Khan, said that New Delhi had not given any evidence.

"We have received the list but not the required evidence", he told a media briefing here today while answering a question about Mr. Pant's comments. Mr. Pant had told Indian correspondents here on Sunday that the observations made by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, in the course of his interview to *The Hindu* that the list of 20 was 'rubbish' was not correct. He had said that New Delhi saw no point in the resumption of a dialogue unless Islamabad created conditions conducive for its success. He cited the lack of action on the list of 20 as an example to substantiate his point.

Maintaining that India has not provided any evidence, Mr. Khan reiterated Pakistan's desire for the resumption of a dialogue to de-escalate the situation at the borders.

On the reported statement by Pakistan Finance Minister, Shaukat Aziz, that he would hold bilateral talks with the Indian delegation during the SAARC Ministers conference on Poverty Alleviation, Mr. Khan said it was customary for the host Minister of any SAARC meeting to also hold bilateral talks with the visiting Ministers from member-States to discuss the matters relating to the event

In this context, Mr. Aziz's assertion wanting to invite Mr. Pant for a meeting was genuine, Mr. Khan said that "but if the Indian Minister was reading something else, I cannot comment on that".

Mr. Pant and Mr. Aziz met during a dinner hosted by the Pakistan Finance Minister on Sunday night for the SAARC delegations. At the dinner, there was no occasion for an exchange of views on a one-on-one basis.

In response to a question on the "usefulness of the SAARC meets" without resolution of conflicts between the member-countries, Mr. Khan said that a climate of peace, security and tranquillity was the first prerequisite for any regional cooperation to prosper and wanted India to withdraw its troops from the borders to restore peace in the region.

Accusing India of creating tensions, he said that "a climate of tension and uncertainty has increased in the area that obviously affects all fields. We would like these tensions to go down. We would like the troops to withdraw to peace-time locations so that not only a dangerous situation that is present at the borders gets de-escalated and removed but also regional peace and security are strengthened".

Mr. Khan denied media reports that Osama Bin Laden escaped from an Al-Qaeda hideout in Pakistan town of Faisalabad, which was subsequently raided by a joint team of FBI and Pakistan commandos. He denied reports that the FBI opened an office in Pakistan. "There is no independent office of the FBI in Pakistan", he said and maintained that Pakistan only cooperated with the FBI in the investigations.

Right climate a must for talks: Pant

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, APRIL 7. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Prime Minister's 'pointman' on Kashmir, K.C. Pant, has categorically ruled out the resumption of a dialogue between India and Pakistan unless Islamabad was willing to address New Delhi's concerns.

Mr. Pant arrived here early this morning to take part in the three-day SAARC Finance and Planning Ministers meet on 'poverty eradication'.

Talking to Indian correspondents after an interactive session with a group of Pakistani writers here, Mr. Pant said, "we feel that going through the motion of dialogue would not be productive unless conditions for its success are created."

Substantiating the point, he said India had handed over to Pakistan a list of 20 fugitives and demanded their extradition, but there had been no response. He said Interpol had issued red corner notices to 16 of the 20 persons on the list.

Asked about the recent statement by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, in an interview to *The Hindu* that the list was "rubbish" and that New Delhi had not provided any evidence in support of the list, Mr. Pant said a number of statements on the subject had been made on both sides in the last

few weeks. "Apart from evidence given by the Government of India from time to time (on those mentioned in the list), some of the evidence against them has been provided by the Pakistani media itself," he said.

Mr. Pant said India was always committed to peace as well as dialogue within the framework of the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration. "There is no change in the position even today but conditions have to be created for a meaningful and result-oriented

dialogue." He said Pakistan today was a partner of the international alliance against terrorism and it was committed to the elimination of terrorism wherever it existed.

"It is committed to destroying the support structure of terrorists, their finances, supply of arms and training. It has taken the position that there is no justification for terrorism anywhere. Gen. Musharraf has endorsed these ideas in his January 12 address to the people of Pakistan.

Gen. Musharraf and Mr. Pant would have a face-to-face on Monday when the two would formally meet at the inaugural session of SAARC's Ministers conference. Gen. Musharraf is scheduled to deliver the inaugural address.

An invitation from the Pakistan Finance Minister, Shaukat Aziz, for an exchange of views on 'poverty alleviation' is not being ruled out.

In his press conference here on Saturday, Mr. Aziz had hinted at such a possibility.

Musharraf drops a bombshell over Kashmir

G11
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POM

Says Pak will use N-option if pressured

By Rashmee Z. Ahmed
Times News Network

LONDON: Gen Pervez Musharraf has threatened India with the atom bomb in the event of a war over Kashmir, in an interview published in Sunday's edition of the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*. He said



Gen Musharraf

Kashmiris' blood ran in their hearts as well.

The magazine, which quoted the general as condemning 'India's great power illusion', said he had warned India to count on the fact that if the pressure on Pakistan became too great, nuclear weapons use could be possible as a last means of defence. Commentators said the English translation of the *Der Spiegel* story, which appears in the original German under the unapologetically sensational headline 'Kaschmir konflikt: Pakistan's Musharraf droht Indien mit der Atombombe', could not hide the general's defiant raising of the war rhetoric.

Gen Musharraf's remarks come just a fortnight after Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee emphatically ruled out any possibility or threat of nuclear war. "India has already declared that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons and Pakistan has also expressed similar views,"

the Prime Minister told mediapersons during a two-day visit to Shimla late last month. Gen Musharraf's aggressive comments are unlikely to go down well within the European Union, Britain and the Commonwealth. Early on Saturday, Commonwealth secretary-general Don McKinnon became the first prominent world leader to issue a bald rebuke to Gen Musharraf for his proposed referendum.

While most other countries, including Britain, maintained a studied silence, Mr McKinnon described the referendum as "a device used in the past by a former military leader in Pakistan to extend his term in office".

In a stark reminder of the diplomatic isolation that descended on Pakistan after the 1999 coup right up to September 11, Mr McKinnon insisted that "(Musharraf's) road map for democracy did not include provision for such a referendum". Pakistan remains suspended from the councils of the Commonwealth.

Leading Pakistani opposition activists here are actively seeking to build up Western opinion against the referendum, which they denounce as an unconstitutional and illegitimate one-man race to confirm Gen Musharraf's presidency for the next five years.

But Pakistan analysts said that 9-11 made it harder to sully the image of the West's chief ally as a power-hungry military dictator with his finger on the nuclear button.

De-escalation unlikely in near future

By Atul Aneja
NEW DELHI, APRIL 4. Contrary to earlier indications, India's troop deployment along the Indo-Pakistan border is likely to be a prolonged affair at least till autumn this year.

Highly placed Government sources said the Government earlier considered pulling back elements of some of its strike corps from the border by May end or early June. There was an anticipation that by that time, trends in cross-border infiltration would become clear. By summer, the snow would have melted and the passes used by the infiltrators would have opened up. The Government felt that in case of a decline in cross-border movement, the thinning down of forces along

the border could begin. Simultaneously, the easing of tension, in all probabilities, would have opened the door for revival of a stalled dialogue between the two countries.

But the mood in the decision-making circles about de-escalation appears less upbeat now. In fact, internal debate within the Government is said to be veering round to the view that India may have to lay greater emphasis on unilateral steps, especially in Jammu and Kashmir, and wait for a more opportune time for reviving a high profile bilateral dialogue with Pakistan. It is also being assumed that reduction of infiltration at Pakistan's behest this summer onwards is unlikely.

In the Government's view, a delay in the withdrawal of

troops offers three major advantages. First, it encourages the possibility of free and fair elections for the Jammu and Kashmir assembly this autumn. A heavier deployment, it is felt, will keep infiltration in check and reduce chances of internal violence in Kashmir. A less violent environment in which the fear of disruption by Pakistan is discounted, will, in turn, increase the chances of wider participation in the elections.

Second, the assessment here is that the United States will strongly favour the conduct of "free and fair" elections in Jammu and Kashmir. In fact, the sources feel that Washington has already indicated that it would like all sections of Jammu and Kashmir's political spectrum — including the Hurriyat

conference — to participate in these elections. Some senior U.S. officials in their meetings with sections of the Hurriyat Conference recently conveyed this, according to the sources.

Third, the security establishment here feels that a delay in de-escalation is likely to the keep the U.S. focus on Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf's performance on the counter-terrorism front. By then the U.S. would be in a better position to judge whether Gen. Musharraf has lived up to the hopes he had raised in his January 12 televised address. A new situation can arise later this year where political equations among India, Pakistan, the international community and particularly the U.S. are reappraised.

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THE HINDU

Break the Impasse

Three and a half months after India recalled its high commissioner from Islamabad and deployed its troops along the border with Pakistan, there is no sign of the current stand-off between the two countries ending soon. New Delhi insists Pakistan hand over the 20 men wanted by India for a variety of terrorist offences, and bring an end to all incidents of cross-border terrorism, before the Vajpayee government might even consider redeploying its troops to non-forward locations. Once the 20 are handed over, India will presumably monitor the situation in Kashmir before relenting on the other punitive measures such as the suspension of air, rail and road links. In any event, there is no point looking so far into the future when the very first step in this sequence of events is unlikely to be taken, namely the handing over of 20 terrorists. Pakistan has repeatedly said it will not comply with this demand in the absence of evidence and a dialogue on the modalities of any prospective extradition. General Musharraf has accused India of "treating Pakistan like dirt" in constantly pressing the issue of the list. Even if our foreign office sincerely believed that military and diplomatic squeeze from New Delhi would force Islamabad's hand, the fact that General Musharraf has used such emotional language means that no one is going to be extradited. New Delhi has to plan its next moves accordingly.

While it is legitimate for the government to come up with a demand the general can never accept so that relations with Pakistan are suspended indefinitely, it is unlikely that external affairs minister Jaswant Singh made any such evaluation before handing over that fateful list of 20. In any event, what should concern India is not so much physical possession of a handful of terrorists, but a verifiable reduction in the number of cross-border incidents. In an ideal world, it would be excellent if mafia dons like Dawood Ibrahim and extremists like Masood Azhar could be prosecuted. In reality, the Indian state's record of successful prosecutions is not very good. The Indian police and courts could not prosecute and sentence Azhar despite having him in custody for five years. None of the well known extremists who attacked Muslim citizens in and around Ahmedabad such as Baba Bajrangji of Bajrang Dal, have yet been arrested. In other words, life will not be very different for the average Indian if the government does not immediately get hold of terrorists thought to be in Pakistan. What will make a difference, however, is the situation on the ground in Kashmir. Already, there is evidence that some of the measures General Musharraf has taken have had a positive effect. Mr Vajpayee himself acknowledged this in Parliament during his reply to the debate on the president's speech. The government should satisfy itself that a tangible reduction in terrorism has taken place and then move to scale down its border deployments. It is not the presence of Indian troops, or New Delhi's list of 20, but the political realities confronting General Musharraf which have led to some pressure being exerted on militant elements in Pakistan. The Indian pressure has produced what is, under the circumstances, an optimal result. Anything beyond this might well lead to diminishing returns.

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THE TIMES OF INDIA

TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 2002

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POTENTIAL FOR A NEW BEGINNING

THE DISARMING CANDOUR of the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, in asking India to de-escalate the present "explosive" tensions in bilateral ties reflects some positive diplomacy. He fielded urgent topical questions during the course of an exclusive interview to this newspaper in a forthright manner and addresses Pakistan's highly emotive estrangement with India with a mixture of peace overtures and the assertion of Pakistan's national positions on the issues in contention. New Delhi will do well to respond meaningfully by losing no further time to begin a process of withdrawing the military formations that were forward-deployed within striking distance of Pakistan in the context of the terrorist outrage against India's Parliament last December. Drawing a line in the sand, Gen. Musharraf has said that Pakistan is capable of maintaining its own counter-deployment of military forces for as long as India might wish to stay its present course. Far more evocative than the blunt signal of his willingness to try and hold off India is his call that the two countries should "stop damaging each other". Now, even while suggesting that India should not equate itself with the U.S. and must not seek to treat Pakistan as if it were another prototype of the Talibanised Afghanistan, he does not make light of his country's internal predicament in the current international milieu. What comes out is Gen. Musharraf's optimistic assertion that there is still a "meeting point" between the two states. His prescription that "we have to start talking and without preconditions" seems particularly relevant in this tense situation.

New Delhi would do well to go for an immediate military de-escalation as a possible prelude to the resumption of bilateral parleys with Islamabad on the entire gamut of issues at

stake. Underscoring the relative failure of New Delhi's coercive diplomacy, which is anchored in a strike-threatening configuration of its military forces, Gen. Musharraf cites his refusal to deliver to it the 20 terrorists and criminals believed to be harboured in Pakistan. In a narrow perspective, it is no music to the Vajpayee administration's ears that Gen. Musharraf should portray the list of 20 as a scrap-heap of "rubbish" and insist that New Delhi has given "zero evidence" to establish the relevant terrorist charges. However, also significant is his contention that Pakistan has done enough to roll back its internal terrorism in a way that would "very fortunately... coincide in certain forms with whatever (the) Indian desires are" about the dos and don'ts for Islamabad.

The point he makes is that the measures he has taken to "crush extremism" in Pakistan's own national interest have produced a beneficial fallout for India too. Yet, his continued assertion that Pakistan is not fomenting cross-border terrorism in India and that Kashmir is the "focus" of bilateral rancour shows that the gap on substantive issues is wide. As he sketched out during the interview, the unfulfilled story of the Agra summit last July still holds out the promise of a future beginning. The Agra process need not be pronounced dead. In a critical sense, the revival of mutual confidence may also depend on how New Delhi addresses Islamabad's suspicion that the Vajpayee administration has exploited the global impact of the traumatic terror strikes of September 11 in a way designed to transform the dynamics of the skewed India-Pakistan equation itself. The road to the resolution of the issues is no doubt long and hard but Gen. Musharraf's remarks hold the potential for a new and fruitful engagement.

APR 2002

THE HINDU

HT EXCLUSIVE: PAK TERROR TRAIL - I

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Training in Afghanistan for true jehad in J&K



AJAY AGGARWAL/HT

WAITING FOR JEHAD: Pak militants in Sheberghan jail.

Yashwant Raj
SHEBERGHAN, April 1

IF IT wasn't for Osama bin Laden and the Taliban, Mohammed Sayed would have been in Kashmir, fighting Indian forces. He landed up in Afghanistan instead. To battle the Americans.

This 21-year-old from Muzafarabad in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir is today an inmate of a high-security prison here, about 110 km from Mazar-i-Sharif that holds 800 Pakistanis who came to defend the Taliban. Sayed says

Kashmir is the true jehad, Afghanistan was only a training ground. Another prisoner says, "I will go home, rest a while, eat food cooked in ghee, recover physically and then head for Kashmir." Pakistan's terror factory may not get back all of them - four torturous months in jail have scared some. But most of the 30 prisoners interviewed said Kashmir is where they want to go, and will give it another shot.

"We have heard of such horror stories of *zulum* (torture) in Kashmir," says Ghulam Shabeer, a 20-year-old member

of the Jaish-e-Muhammad, "that most of us want to go there and fight for the freedom of Kashmir".

The jihad in Afghanistan and the subsequent incarceration hasn't weakened his resolve. This time around, before leaving home, Shabeer says, he "will just ask my parents". If they say yes, he will be on his way.

In Pakistan, becoming a terrorist is just a wish away. "Daftars" (offices of terror outfits) of JeM, Harkat ul Jihadi-Islami (HuJI), Harkat ul Mujahideen (HuM) are all over - quite like

street-corner tea stalls.

Till President Pervez Musharraf was forced to crack down on these *daftars*, the outfits could operate as many offices in as many cities, towns as they pleased. They were also allowed to collect money and recruit freely. That's how easy Abid Ali, a 22-year-old resident of Sialkot, found enrolling with HuJI. One morning, shortly before the start of US bombing, he walked into a HuJI *daftar* down the street and left for Afghanistan with seven others.

Continued on Page 11

Training in Afghanistan for true jehad

Continued from Page 1
But leaving for the bigger jehad, in Kashmir, is slightly more difficult. Because the fight there is considered tougher: due to, first, hostile terrain and, second, the Indian Army, which is a formidable enemy.
Only the best products of the terror factory, therefore, are "launched" (euphemism for infiltrated). Sayed clearly wasn't among the best. But his outfit, the JeM, didn't decide that. The Agency did.
That all important decision to launch is taken by the ISI, which is known as the Agency in terror trade.

Muhammad Sarwar, also of the JeM, was among those who made it to the last stage, but was not launched.
"The launching was cancelled, Sarwar said, "because of bad weather." That was in 1997. He and another activist were turned back, but 10 others were kept at the border and launched, when the weather improved.

Sarwar remembers the launching was in Poonch. But he can't say where. "I was taken there blindfolded," he said. Whenever the Agency gets directly involved with travelling the recruits are blindfolded.
"This was the second time

gndr pak

Foreign recruits were trained at the Rishkhor camp, 15 kilometres southwest of Kabul, run by Harakat-ul-Mujahideen and bin Laden's Arabs.

"In Pakistan no one can start a training camp or a centre without the help, or permission of the agency," he says. The Balakot camp where Sayed was trained is run, Magsood adds, by the agency.

"All the classes are taken by agency instructors," he says, adding, "do you think these *tanzeems* (terror outfits) have the expertise to run these places and teach such courses on their own?"

gndr pak

together. G-3s and G-2s rifles and .30 and .12 bore rifles. After he finished, he was sent for the "big training", also at Masker, but in another camp. This was about handling explosives and learning Hindi. This course lasted three and a half months.

Magsood Khan, a jihadi who claims to have come to Afghanistan with some Pakistani journalists, says "All the Pakistan camps are run by the ISI." He says he has been to several in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

Magsood has been to Afghanistan several times. He even trained at Rishkhor.