

To be taken seriously, non-aligned countries must act in unison and with purpose

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What's in a NAM?

By K. NATWAR SINGH

TWENTY YEARS ago, the seventh summit of non-aligned countries was held in New Delhi. Speaking on the occasion, Indira Gandhi said, "Non-alignment is not vague, not negative, not neutral. Non-alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and the avoidance of confrontation. It aims at keeping away from military alliances. It means equality among nations. It wants global cooperation for development on the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of the world's diversity... The non-aligned movement (NAM) is history's biggest peace movement."

The seventh summit was to be held in Baghdad, but the Iraq-Iran war ruled this out. President Castro, as chairman of the sixth summit, used amazing diplomatic skills to get member-States to accept New Delhi as the venue for the seventh meet. Indira Gandhi selected me as the secretary general of the seventh summit. For me, it was the opportunity of a lifetime. Normally one goes into such undertakings expecting everything that can go wrong to go wrong. In the case of the New Delhi NAM summit, everything that could go right went right. The credit goes to Indira Gandhi.

There were, inevitably, one or two hiccups. On the very first day, we were faced with a potentially explosive situation. My deputy, S.K. Lambah, came rushing to me: "Sir, we have a hell of a problem on our hands. Mr X has just informed us that he was insulted in the morning when asked to speak after Mr Y. He has already alerted his aircraft crew. He intends to leave this evening."

I immediately informed Indira Gandhi of this unexpected development. I also told her that since President Castro would continue to be chairman till the afternoon session, she should take him into confidence. The prime minister said she would leave for Vigyan Bhavan immediately and also ask Castro to join her there.

She asked me to brief Castro. To watch the Cuban president handle the offended, temperamental head of delegation was by itself an education. He asked the recalcitrant gentleman if he considered himself a friend of Indira Gandhi. The response was somewhat on the



STAND UP TO BE HEARD: Mrs Gandhi, Castro & Natwar Singh at the 1983 NAM meet

lines. "Friend? Friend? She is my elder sister. I will do anything for her." Castro: "Then behave like a younger brother and attend the afternoon session." It was all over in a few minutes.

However, the world of 2003 is profoundly different from the world of 1983. The most striking development has been the disappearance of the Soviet Union. The world has yet to come to terms with this staggering reality. The Cold War has ended. The international agenda has in many ways altered. The hegemony of a single power is assuming menacing proportions. Is non-alignment relevant in these circumstances? Let me put forth a counter question. The Cold War is over. The Warsaw Pact has been dismantled, the Soviet Union has disappeared. Is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) relevant? Who is the enemy? No answer from our Indian, cynical, shallow, superficial and supercilious friends.

Let me quote a West European statesman on non-alignment. In his Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Lecture in November 2000, former president of Germany, Richard Van Weizsacker, said: "Large parts of the so-called third world were induced, in some cases forced, into a policy supporting one of the two blocs. Nehru was among the first and foremost to look for a non-bloc internationalism. His idea of non-alignment became of world importance. He spoke about peace clubs against Cold War clubs and nuclear clubs. He was pondering how to create a sort of no-war zone between

his thoughts became and remained fruitful."

Non-alignment was aiming at more than keeping equidistance from military blocs. It was denial of the gist of bloc thinking, an endeavour to detect inside those blocs the growing trends of openness, of conditions to survive together. Nehru's non-alignment was not a means to prevent cooperation. It was, on the contrary, an invitation never to give up the search for new ways for peaceful coexistence, détente and reconciliation.

Yes, non-alignment remains relevant. The NAM is facing new challenges and new situations. It must respond creatively and in unison to tackle terrorism, HIV, AIDS, drug trafficking, financial inequalities accelerated by globalisation, the adverse consequences of the IT revolution in some cases and population. In addition, it must think of peace, disarmament and development.

The Congress can rightly take credit for making the Vajpayee government aware of the continued relevance of non-alignment. For a time, it appeared as if the former external affairs minister had all but abandoned non-alignment. Yashwant Sinha, it must be said to his credit, has put the non-aligned train back on track, I presume with the approval of Vajpayee, who was eloquent on non-alignment at Kuala Lumpur. He was far less committed to NAM three years ago at Durban.

At the 13th NAM summit at Kuala Lumpur, the prime minister made three points:

■ NAM should have a clear consensus on key issues of common con-

cern. Multilateralism, combating global terrorism and reform of the United Nations should be the political elements on the agenda. Developmental issues, democratisation of international financial institutions, constructive north-south engagement and south-south cooperation to be more economic planks.

■ NAM should concentrate on issues that unite, rather than divide. Bilateral issues should be avoided. The OIC and ASEAN charters emphasise that the NAM outlook and agenda should be global.

■ NAM should be a major pole in a multipolar configuration.

So far so good. But there is a fly in the ointment. Responding to the debate on the president's address in Rajya Sabha the other day, Vajpayee made the most laudatory references to NAM. One could see his former external affairs minister feeling acutely uncomfortable.

The amusing fact was that the president's address on February 17 contained 19 paragraphs on our foreign policy and diplomacy. He said not a word on non-alignment or NAM. I sent the prime minister a chit after he finished, pointing this out. He made a gesture implying that the point was well taken.

I must categorically state that all is not well with NAM. We are a house divided. So many NAM members say one thing in public and the opposite in private. In many member-States, democracy is absent, good governance non-existent and human rights violated. The standards of health and hygiene are deplorable, debt burdens crippling and leadership indifferent. All this, or at least some of it, has to be altered for the better.

We cannot have the cake and eat it too. India has a pivotal role to play, but cannot by itself reinvent, restructure and revitalise NAM. It has to be a collective effort. It needs the dedication and fire of earlier decades. Non-alignment is not a doctrine, not a dogma, not a business. It is a state of mind. Its ideals are noble but implementation poor. It is long on rhetoric, short on ideas.

The NAM members should appoint a small committee to suggest ways to make non-alignment creative and result-oriented. NAM countries, to be taken seriously, have to act unitedly and purposefully. This is not easy, but persevere we must.

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NAM REFUSES TO STAND UP

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AN ORGANISATION THAT brings under its multihued umbrella as many as 116 nations and represents more than half of humanity has lost another opportunity to stand up and be counted. The ambitious theme of the just-concluded summit of the Non-Aligned Movement's leaders in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, was the revitalisation of the moribund organisation. Yet if there was any one message from the deliberations and speeches of the leaders during the two-day summit, it was that NAM has yet to grow out of its Cold War moorings and continues to be in need of revitalisation and revival. As the summitters gathered even as war clouds were hovering menacingly in the Middle East, the global scene presented a rarest of rare opportunity for the movement to unite and secure self-sustaining vitality. The leaders had a ready platform to mount a global campaign for peace and justice and reinforce the anti-war message of the massive rallies that had just been witnessed in various capitals. For this to materialise, the leaders needed to overcome the movement's internal contradictions and demonstrate a readiness to speak in one voice. The summit's declaration on the Iraqi crisis makes clear that the organisation is pathetically tied to its tradition of passing please-all resolutions and sweeping contentious issues under the carpet. This is hardly a prescription for revitalisation.

For the NAM to be heard and respected, it needs primarily to show a willingness to eschew the double standards it accuses the West of adopting. The summit was dominated by Iraq and Palestine, with the leaders displaying understandable anxiety over the worsening situation on both fronts. On Iraq, a message of solidarity with the member-nation would have thrown the moral weight of the NAM behind the global peace movement to stop the American war machine. In the end, the declaration

did oppose American unilateralism and called for the United Nations to be the vehicle for a resolution of the crisis. This show of some independence was balanced with an appeal to Iraq to actively comply with U.N. resolutions. Not surprisingly, Iraq failed to gain support for a clause in the declaration that would have appealed to the nations in the region to block access for the U.S. to their ports and airfields. But Baghdad gained some success with the declaration's support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of nations. Iraq's diplomacy had another consolation: a separate statement issued by the leaders that emphasised that simultaneously with the disarmament effort steps should be taken to lift the sanctions.

The NAM's composition ensured that there was no direct condemnation of the Bush administration for its targeting of Iraq. But in its formulation on the Palestine issue and its rejection of the infamous "axis of evil" pronouncement of George W. Bush, the declaration was unambiguous. As was the definition of what constitutes "terrorism" and the distinction between terrorism and self-determination, which has the specific connotation of a struggle against colonial domination and foreign occupation. On more traditional issues such as a just global trade order, agreement and consensus were easy to locate — and apparently easier still to forget. Much was expected from South Africa when the movement's leadership passed to the Mbeki regime in 1998, with member-nations even promising an effective framework to protect and promote human rights. As the leadership of the NAM passes into the hands of Malaysia, the Non-Aligned Movement needs to reinvent itself and address the concerns of the developing world more effectively. In a world dominated by the theme that "you belong to the enemy camp if you are not aligned with us", this might be a tall order.

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THE HINDU

NAM condemns US missile plan



POWER POINT: Deputy prime minister L.K. Advani and HRD minister M.M. Joshi receive Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee at the Indira Gandhi International Airport in New Delhi on Wednesday. The Prime Minister returned from Kuala Lumpur after attending the NAM summit. — PTI

Sujit Chatterjee

KUALA LUMPUR 27 FEBRUARY

THE non-aligned movement (NAM) attacked the United States for its controversial national missile defence (NMD) system saying it will result in proliferation of nuclear weapons and rejected American President George W. Bush's description of Iraq, Iran and North Korea as "axis of evil" dubbing it as a "form of political terrorism".

A final document adopted by the 13th NAM summit here on Tuesday night said implementation of NMD by the US could trigger an arms race, further development of advanced missile system and an increase in the number of nuclear weapons. It expressed concern over "negative implications" of develop-

ment and deployment of anti-ballistic missile defence system and pursuit of advanced military technologies capable of use in outer space. The 76-paragraph document voiced concerns over US posture to develop new types of nuclear weapons and the Nato doctrine of nuclear deterrence which "opens even more scope for possible use of force."

The NAM rejected Mr Bush's description of Iraq, North Korea and Iran as part of an "axis of evil" condemning it as a "form of psychological and political terrorism." "The NAM totally rejects the term 'axis of evil' voiced by a certain state to target other countries under the pretext of combating terrorism or for their alleged acquiring and building of weapons of mass destruction," the NAM statement said. —PTI

The Economic Times

27 FEB 2003

Atal blasts double standards on Iraq

Udayan Namboodiri and PTI
Kuala Lumpur, February 25

THE NON-ALIGNED Movement (NAM) on Tuesday declared there was an "urgent" need for a peaceful solution of the Iraq crisis under the UN's auspices. It also demanded lifting of sanctions imposed on Iraq since the Gulf War.

Without making a direct reference to a possible unilateral military action by the US, the Kuala Lumpur Declaration adopted on Tuesday seeks respect for independence, sovereignty, security, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of Iraq.

The declaration, titled 'Continuing the Revitalisation of NAM', also resolves to promote a multi-polar world by strengthening the UN to fight interna-

- Strong opposition to military action against Baghdad
- "Urgent" need felt for a peaceful solution of the Iraq crisis under the United Nations
- Demand for lifting of sanctions against Iraq
- Condemnation of the no-fly zone imposed on Iraq without UN authorisation

tional terrorism. To revitalise NAM, the declaration outlines a nine-pronged strategy that will enhance unity among member states, strengthen the multilateral process, promote democratisation, and bolster South-South cooperation in political, social, cultural, eco-

NAM DECLARATION AT KUALA LUMPUR

- Resolution for promoting a multi-polar world
- Call for regular meetings of coordinating bureaux to respond to developments affecting NAM
- Call to promote dialogue and interaction with G-8 nations
- Endorsement of Baghdad's decision to allow unconditional return of UN weapons inspectors

nomic and scientific fields.

Addressing the press, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who was here for the summit, condemned the "double standards" against Iraq. Referring to North Korea, he said Iraq was not the only country that had weapons of mass destruction.

However, he said, Iraq ought to fulfil its responsibilities under the UN Security Council resolutions.

But, despite all the anti-war statements at NAM, none of the leaders seemed to have a clear idea on how war could be averted. Vajpayee said the declaration would, at best, suggest a way to postpone war.

"I came here with the hope that NAM would be able to develop a solution. But now it seems unlikely. No country is willing to take an extreme position," he said.

After failing to elicit a response at NAM on Kashmir, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf told a news conference that he had raised the Kashmir issue merely "as a matter of principle", not to seek support on it.

Jehadis in NAM

IRRESPECTIVE OF the comments General Pervez Musharraf made at the non-aligned summit in Kuala Lumpur about Kashmir's "freedom movement", there is not really so much to discuss with Pakistan on the question of terrorism. World opinion has slowly come to accept Islamabad's association with this menace more or less as an open and shut case. Leading governments don't yet officially describe Pakistan as a sponsor of terrorism though they seldom now miss the opportunity to goad Islamabad to bring the *jehadis* in line. Their hesitation springs from worries that a direct indictment, and the steps that would then naturally follow, might make the Musharraf dictatorship go under, allowing the terrorists to hold total sway.

The fear is this might subvert a sensitive part of the world that includes Afghanistan and Central Asia. India understands this, but at the NAM summit

Atal Bihari Vajpayee had no choice but to tell the Pakistani dictator where he got off. It is now fairly obvious that a copped out entity such as Pakistan has little to offer at multilateral forums by way of concrete positive suggestions, of an economic or political nature. Hence, its tendency to beat the old drum. This is chiefly for domestic consumption, for the world has long tired of those beats, especially after the election in Kashmir.

The NAM itself is in the dumps, of course. No wonder, it was unable to come up with anything worthwhile even on the burning issue of Iraq. If the rifts within and NAM's timidity in addressing larger issues that involve the United States underscore its political brittleness, the pity is that the summit did not offer much on economic questions that come between the North and the South although consensus in these areas has in the past brought results in the WTO forum.

26 FEB 2003

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 2003

UNEDIFYING WRANGLE

D'NAM

INDIA AND PAKISTAN have once again presented an unedifying spectacle by playing out their bilateral squabbles before the multilateral forum of the Non-Aligned Movement and, in the process, have dashed any hope of a reprieve from the acrimony that bedevils their relationship. By indulging in these vituperative exchanges, the leaders of the two countries have squandered the opportunity to re-establish direct links when they were in a mode and setting where neither needed to have felt constrained by the fear of losing face. In a context where the relationship is at a dangerous nadir, the Indian and Pakistani delegations could at least have explored the possibility of low-key contacts, away from the spotlights, so as to offset the sharp decline in the level of diplomatic exchanges between them. Pakistan's President, Pervez Musharraf, set off the ill-tempered debate between the two countries at the 13th NAM summit by quite needlessly thrusting the Kashmir issue in bold relief while adverting to the question of terrorism. There was little to be achieved by raking up this issue at a forum which has neither the mandate nor the interest to delve into it, especially in a context in which NAM is faced with many broad-spectrum and serious matters that require its serious contemplation (including the fundamental question of its own relevance). Gen. Musharraf's intervention could well have had the contrary effect of showcasing his country not as a middle-level power that can contribute significantly to the debate on global issues, but as a one-issue nation. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, representing a founding member and leading light of NAM as he does, should have refrained from responding to a Pakistani provocation that could have been, and indeed was, anticipated. While the Indian delegation has tried to retrieve lost ground by declaring that it did not want to stoop to Pakistan's level, that has in fact been the effect of Mr. Vajpayee's intervention. Another inadvertent effect was that India's long-held position, that bilateral issues should not be raised at such multilateral fora, was given the go-by. The

global community's growing disenchantment with the endless mud-slinging between India and Pakistan, as much as the pointlessness of it all, appears to have been reflected in the cryptic comment by Malaysia, the host of the summit and the new chairman of NAM, that the matter was something that concerned the two South Asian countries alone. ~~NAM HQ-ID~~

India and Pakistan engage with other member-states of NAM at different levels and in varying degrees and they should have taken care to ensure that their mutual animosity did not sour the atmosphere and overshadow the exchanges which each would have with the others attending the summit. By publicly wrangling with each other, India and Pakistan misdirected energies that should have been more fruitfully devoted to the enhancement of the cooperation between developing countries as they face the multifaceted challenges posed by globalisation and the efforts of the great powers to change the rules of international conduct. Bilateral antagonisms needed to be submerged so that NAM, as the forum of countries that were once colonised, could construct a moral and legal defence against a geo-strategic conception which holds that the global community — and that usually means the super-power supported by a few allies — can intervene in the internal affairs of any nation that is labelled as being misgoverned.

Even with regard to the phenomenon of terrorism, the member-states of NAM have a perspective and understanding which is different from that of the advanced countries. The global campaign against terrorism can only be enhanced if there are contributions from countries that have different angles of perception. Instead of focussing on specific issues, and even while admitting that there may be a root cause for terrorism (without identifying such cause in every case), India and Pakistan could have worked with the rest of NAM to design suitable mechanisms that would allow the people of the developing world to deal with their multilayered miseries without resorting to terror.

THE HINDU

26 FEB 2003

Musharraf extends a 'note of friendship'

110-11
By P.S. Suryanarayana NAM

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 25. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, today said that he "would like to extend a note of friendship" towards India, even as he defended his action of portraying New Delhi in a poor light at the Non-Aligned Movement summit here.

Responding to a question from *The Hindu* about his cameo of combative diplomacy and its implications for the India-Pakistan dialogue process in the foreseeable future, Gen. Musharraf said: "I think, when the situation is such that it can't even get worse, anything that one does... really... does not matter... Because, we are not having a (bilateral) dialogue... we are not having SAARC meetings. We don't want to play cricket with each other... I don't think anything that we do can be worse than what is already happening. I had no intention whatsoever on raising tempers here. I did not name anyone as such... I spoke in very broad terms. I spoke of the voice of principle versus the voice of power. I regret that the response (from India) was directed at me. However, I am not here (NAM summit) to raise an issue and, may be, increase the tension. I would like to keep it at this".

Asked if he would still have a new initiative up his sleeve to address this latest crisis of confidence in India-Pakistan ties, Gen. Musharraf said: "Prime Minister Vajpayee replied in a form, but still, I would like to extend a note of friendship that we would like to resolve all disputes. We want to get into a dialogue with India (again) on all issues".

Addressing a press conference, Gen. Musharraf said that he had not come to the summit to try and win new friends or influence the NAM nations as regards Pakistan's views on Kashmir. "Frankly, the summit did

not deal with Kashmir in particular". He said that NAM "must not use U.N. resolutions selectively".

He made this observation in the context of the transparent diplomatic reality here that no other NAM leader made any conspicuous comment on Kashmir, while the entire forum was deeply engrossed in the nuances of the various U.N. resolutions pertaining to the current crisis in

Iraq or the ongoing Palestinian struggle and international terrorism.

Gen. Musharraf said there was no contradiction between the NAM principles and the status of either Pakistan or India, which he described as "the champion of non-alignment", as two states with nuclear

weapons within this movement.

"I am bothered more about the aspersion being cast on Pakistan that it was aiding North Korea's nuclear weapons programme in a quid pro quo deal.

We are not into proliferating nuclear or missile technology at all", he said.

On Iraq, Pakistan would, as a non-permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, decide on the latest U.S.-sponsored resolution only after studying the anticipated Blix report next month.

Assuring that Osama bin Laden was not being harboured in Pakistan, he said the group had now ceased to exist as an "organised" purveyor of terrorism.

'Kashmir not a bilateral issue'

By P. S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 25. The Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, tonight told the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) that "Kashmir is not a bilateral issue" between India and Pakistan. In a 'right of reply', which Pakistan circulated among NAM members in the context of the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee's speech to the summit, Gen. Musharraf said that the Kashmir issue "has been on the agenda of the U.N. Security Council for over 50 years".

Without referring to the finer point of international law that the Kashmir-related U.N. resolutions were not adopted under the mandatory Chapter VII of the global organisation's charter, Gen. Musharraf said that "the official U.N. map belies (the) Indian propaganda" that Jammu and Kashmir "is an integral part of India". The U.N. reso-

lutions on Kashmir, adopted on January 5, 1949, and April 21, 1948, affirmed that the settlement of the dispute "centres around the inalienable right to self-determination of 12 million Kashmiris who continue to be massively abused", he added.

"Self-determination, the Indian Prime Minister needs to be reminded, has historically been a unifying and not a dividing factor in our (non-aligned) movement", Gen. Musharraf said. Outlining Pakistan's known stand on India's alleged activities in Jammu and Kashmir over the years, Gen. Musharraf said: "Mr. Vajpayee's interpretation of a call for eradicating the root causes of terrorism as a ploy to encourage terrorism defies logic. Pakistan condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. Pakistan is in the vanguard of international efforts to eradicate international terrorism".

NAM leaders denounce terrorism

By P. S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 25. The 13th summit of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) ended here late tonight even as it called upon all countries to cooperate in resolving the issues that had so far held up the efforts at the United Nations for "the conclusion of a comprehensive convention for combating international terrorism".

The initiative for such a comprehensive convention has been taken by India in conjunction with its friends and political allies. While the anti-terror pronouncements formed an integral part of the summit's final document, the leaders issued a separate statement on the Iraqi crisis by emphasising that the

ongoing "disarmament efforts in Iraq should not be an end in itself but should also constitute a step towards the lifting of sanctions in accordance with Security Council Resolution 687".

Underlining the criticality of the Security Council Resolution 1441, which covers the weapons inspections in Iraq, it expressed the belief that the overall peaceful resolution of the crisis would also result in "compliance" with Paragraph 14 of Resolution 687. The paragraph calls for the establishment of a weapons-of-mass-destruction-free-zone in West Asia inclusive of Israel, the leaders emphasised.

The summit, in a separate Kuala Lumpur declaration, outlined the steps required for a

sustainable rejuvenation of the movement. The issue of Palestine was also addressed with due attention, with NAM reaffirming its traditional position in the new context of an insistence that Israel should be held accountable for all its actions.

On North Korea, it advocated that all parties concerned should interact with one another with a view to resolving the current crisis over Pyongyang's nuclear programme. There was no specific endorsement of either North Korea's insistence on security guarantees, as compensation for any renunciation of its nuclear weapons programme, or the U.S.' insistence that Pyongyang adhere to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty by abandoning efforts at

weaponisation.

The final document expressed NAM leaders' support for the "legally binding" Security Council Resolution 1373, widely regarded as the anti-terror Magna Carta for mandatory actions by the international community.

The leaders rejected the notion of an "axis of evil" on the global stage, denounced terrorism in all its manifestations and amplified the distinction between terrorism and "self-determination" in the specific sense of a struggle against colonial domination and foreign occupation. This phraseology, arguably, will not cast aspersions on India's policies to combat terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir.

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global community's growing disenchantment with the endless mud-slinging between India and Pakistan, as much as the pointlessness of it all, appears to have been reflected in the cryptic comment by Malaysia, the host of the summit and the new chairman of NAM, that the matter was something that concerned the two South Asian countries alone.

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Even with regard to the phenomenon of terrorism, the member-states of NAM have a perspective and understanding which is different from that of the advanced countries. The global campaign against terrorism can only be enhanced if there are contributions from countries that have different angles of perception. Instead of focussing on specific issues, and even while admitting that there may be a root cause for terrorism (without identifying such cause in every case), India and Pakistan could have worked with the rest of NAM to design suitable mechanisms that would allow the people of the developing world to deal with their multilayered miseries without resorting to terror.

26 FEB 2003

THE HINDU

Keep Kashmir out of NAM: PM

M. Shakeel Ahmed
& Sujit Chatterjee

KUALA LUMPUR 25 FEBRUARY



A day after Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf raised the Kashmir issue at the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, on Tuesday, told the grouping that it "will die" if it involved in bilateral problems.

"The NAM will die before it can revitalise itself if it gets involved in the bilateral issues," he told Indian journalists at the end of his four-day visit to Malaysia to attend the NAM summit.

Mr Vajpayee said international bodies like the Organisation of Is-

lamic Conference and the Association of South East Asian Nations (Asean) never allowed bilateral issues to cloud their agenda. "NAM should adopt the same principles and never discuss such matters," Mr Vajpayee added.

The Prime Minister appreciated the stand taken by the NAM chairman, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, and other countries that Kashmir was a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan and should be resolved between them. He also rubbished Mr Musharraf's attempts to draw a parallel between the Kashmir and Palestine issues.

"There is no comparison between them; the people of Kashmir have given their verdict in the elections to stay with India. They have decided that," Mr Vajpayee pointed out. — PTI

26 FEB 2003

The Economic Times

Atal, Pervez trade blow for blow

Neighbours call names at Nam

PRANAY SHARMA

Kuala Lumpur, Feb. 24: Bad blood between nuclear rivals India and Pakistan today spilled over at the Non-Aligned Movement summit with Pervez Musharraf asking developing countries to back Kashmir's struggle for independence and an outraged Atal Bihari Vajpayee taking him on blow for blow.

The dispute, usually confined to the sidelines of international fora, burst onto centre stage after the Pakistan President — frustrated at the Nam concentrating its focus on Iraq — audaciously clubbed Kashmir with Palestine and sought backing for the "oppressed" peoples of both countries.

"Nam must remain a symbol of hope for the peoples who, even today, struggle to realise their inalienable right to self-determination. Two supreme cases stand out — those of the oppressed people of Kashmir and Palestine," the general declared during a short speech at the Nam's inaugural session.

"The legitimacy of their cause is recognised by the United Nations. The Nam must press for the realisation of these just causes and shun a selective approach to UN resolutions," he continued, sending the blood rushing into his Indian counterpart's head.

A furious Vajpayee, taken aback by the wily general, lashed



Nam must remain a symbol of hope for the peoples who, even today, struggle to realise their inalienable right to self-determination. Two supreme cases stand out — those of the oppressed people of Kashmir and Palestine — MUSHARRAF

He talks of the 'oppressed people of Kashmir'. These same people very recently cast their ballots in an election universally recognised as free and fair. They defied the bullets of terrorists, aided and abetted by Pakistan — VAJPAYEE



back, six speakers and 40 minutes later. "He talks of the 'oppressed people of Kashmir'. These same people very recently cast their ballots in an election universally regarded as free and fair. They defied the bullets of terrorists, aided and abetted by Pakistan."

Terming Musharraf's comments a "mask" for his "territorial designs" on India, he added: "These terrorists continue to perpetrate violence against innocent civilians every day. Yet, General Musharraf talks of an international humanitarian order."

Vajpayee stressed that Musharraf could not use "strange logic" to justify Pakistan's export of terror into India. Earlier, the general had urged developing countries to focus on "root causes" while dealing with terror.

"Does he use the same argument to justify sectarian terrorism in Karachi? Or does he take stern action against the perpetrators of that terrorism?" Vajpayee asked.

Apart from killing chances for any early return to the talks table, the bitter Indo-Pak clash set off a media sideshow a while later. Soon after setting the cat among the pigeons, Musharraf made a dramatic unannounced entry at the Nam media centre where Indian foreign secretary Kanwal Sibal was addressing journalists.

The mediemen immediately scrambled for a word from the general, leaving Sibal stranded. Asked if he would shake hands with Vajpayee again, Musharraf said: "If he wants to shake hands with me, I don't mind at all. But I will not make another attempt any more."

Sibal later accused Musharraf of suffering from "political schizophrenia". "He is short on vision and long on venom," Sibal said.

"Why shake hands with a terrorist?" But he was quick to clarify that he meant the Pakistan government and not Musharraf.

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THE TELEGRAPH

25 FEB 2003

A unique forum

By Amit Baruah

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 24. It is the largest assembly of nations outside the United Nations. It is big and diverse, but all the leaders, assembled in Kuala Lumpur for the 13th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit, have one thing in common — they are from the developing world.

They have started arriving in droves since last night — Kings, Princes, Presidents, Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers — are all in attendance in this 116-strong grouping. One of the two new members is Timor Leste (the new name for East Timor).

In all, 63 Heads of State/Government are attending the summit. Needless to say, North America and Europe are missing. But, in these days where world affairs, including international conferences, are dominated by North America and Europe, the NAM remains a unique forum.

Imagine an international conference without the Americans, the British, the Canadians, the Japanese, the French, and the Australians. You need to look no further than the NAM. There's been a raging debate on the revitalisation of the NAM — the theme of the current summit meeting.

Given its vast nature, the NAM cannot operate like a structured grouping, because it is cross-region and cross-continent. A brainchild of Jawaharlal

Nehru, Norodom Sihanouk, Sukarno and Tito, the NAM was to be the vehicle to further the process of de-colonisation and act as a check on the one-time imperialist nations.

At best, it could be a forum for articulating the concerns of the developing world.

Information exchange, which could lead to common positions on issues such as global trade, could be a good way to cement these ties.

Here, at the Putra World Trade Centre, where the summit got under way today, there was not much response from the large Western media networks which would usually be present in great number at forums like the APEC and the ASEAN in this part of the world. This is not to say that developing countries speak in one voice, or that developed nations don't utilise these differences to further their interests in trade and other matters.

But, if the NAM conferences are to be relevant, 'multi-polar world' needs to be more than just a slogan in the speeches.

The NAM needs to take into account the churning process that America's drive for a war against Iraq has generated in Europe and even in the U.S. If multi-polarity is to be real, then the NAM nations must identify themselves with anti-war protesters and countries such as France and Germany, which are out of sync with Washington after a generation and more.

NAM not to take up bilateral issues

By P. S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 24. The Malaysian Foreign Minister, Syed Hamid Akbar, disclosed that it was decided at the first-ever interactive meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Foreign Ministers, held here on Saturday, that "bilateral issues should not be brought to the forum of NAM". It "is not the function of NAM" to play the role of a peace-broker among its member-states, he emphasised. (Malaysia is the new chairman of the NAM).

Asked about the "fierce" exchanges between the leaders of Pakistan and India during the day, Mr. Hamid underlined, at a press briefing, that "there is nothing unusual about that".

Amplifying, he said: "When you are in the plenary session, each country will put (forward) its own position." He drew attention to the diplomatic ferocity of the speeches that the leaders of many countries often made at the United Nations against one another.

As for the NAM, he said the question was whether "at the end of it all", the forum could "come up with a consensus document or not". There could even be "big differences" between any two countries. But without getting directly involved in bilateral disputes, "we do everything possible in order to bring unity" among the member-states.

THE HINDU

25 FEB 2003

Mahathir calls for banning war, n-arms

By P.S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 24. Proposing a new political agenda for the Non-Aligned Movement, Mahathir Mohamad, Malaysia's Prime Minister and NAM's new Chairman, today called for a multilateral "struggle" to "outlaw war" and, equally significantly, "outlaw nuclear weapons." The new NAM "struggle" should also be designed to "stop research and development of more and more lethal (yet) so-called conventional weapons" and to "control the arms trade." He said the NAM should take the "moral high ground."

The NAM leaders were exhorted to oppose what he saw as an imminent war against Iraq in the dual context of the U.S. campaigns against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Maintaining that the threat of war should not be allowed to hang over the NAM's head as the "Sword of Damocles," the new Chairman argued that the "enforcement" of a ban on war, as suggested by him, must be left to "multilateral forces under the control of the United Nations."

Delivering an impassioned speech during the inaugural session of the 13th NAM summit here, he did not address the magnitude of the agenda he sought to sensitise the NAM to. It was either an intended irony or an incidental episode that he called upon the NAM, which has in its fold both India and Pakistan as two member-States with nuclear arsenals, to take the initiative for

banishing atomic weapons, according to some delegates. Most of them were struck by the sheer stridency of the Malaysian leader's anti-war case in the present context of a highly surcharged globalised campaign against terrorism. Also noticed was his strategy of equating the concerns of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) with those of the wider NAM itself.

Suggesting a creative NAM campaign for "a new world order," as different from his calls for constructive opposition to war and weapons, Dr. Mahathir urged the disarmament hawks of the non-aligned fold to join hands with the peace activists of the West. Noting that the NAM was aware of its weaknesses, he said "we have allies (too) in the (developed) North." These "allies" across the divide "may not agree with us (on) everything."

However, "they are ready to oppose their warlike leaders" and "we must work with them." Outlining a very expansive NAM agenda, he said: "We must work for a new world order, where democracy is not confined to the internal governance of states only but (also) to the governance of the world."

Emphasised, too, were the goal of a "revival of the United Nations and multilateralism" and the need to dismantle or "modify the powers of the victors of a war fought half a century ago."

Picking up from where he had left off during Sunday's NAM Business Summit, he amplified the dangers of an evolving "clash

of civilisations." Blurring the definitive distinction between the NAM and the OIC, he said the "blatant double standards" of the West on issues concerning Israel and the Palestinians "infuriates Muslims, infuriates them to the extent of launching their own terror attacks."

On a more contemporary issue, he said: "If Iraq is linked to the Al-Qaeda, is it not more logical to link the expropriation of Palestinian land and the persecution and oppression of the Palestinians with September 11 (terrorist attacks)? It is not religious differences which (had) angered the attackers of the World Trade Center in New York. It is simply sympathy and anger over ... the injustice and the oppression of the Palestinians and Muslims everywhere."

"If the innocent people who died in the (post-September 11) attack on Afghanistan and those who have been dying for lack of food and medical care in Iraq are considered collaterals, are not the 3,000 who died in New York and the 200 in Bali (terrorist attack last October) are also just collaterals whose deaths are necessary for the operations to succeed" in the campaign against those perceived to oppress the "Palestinians and Muslims everywhere," Dr. Mahathir asked.

While several NAM delegates noted the manner in which he chose to integrate the OIC's world-view with that of the NAM, it was also noticed that he did not mention Kashmir, an invariable subject on the OIC's table.

THE HINDU

25 FEB 2003

MUSHARRAF RAISES KASHMIR ISSUE AT NAM

PM speaks of Pak's territorial designs

By Amit Baruah

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 24. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, today accused the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, of justifying terrorism against India by talking of its "root causes". Mr. Vajpayee's comments in his address to the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit came soon after Gen. Musharraf spoke of "flagrant violations" of international law in Kashmir, Rwanda and Palestine. Gen. Musharraf introduced a contentious bilateral note into the multilateral forum. Later, when asked by this correspondent why he raised these issues while calling for a "dialogue" with India, the General did not provide a direct answer.

As other NAM leaders laid stress on Iraq and the need to use the multilateral route to resolve the crisis, Gen. Musharraf said the 116-member grouping should press for the realisation of "just causes" such as Kashmir and Palestine and "shun a selective approach" to U.N. resolutions. Calling on NAM to address the "root causes" of terrorism, Mr. Vajpayee's one-time interlocutor in Agra said, "We must not allow anyone to manipulate the fight against terrorism... Resolution of long-standing disputes as also efforts to address injustice... would certainly help this cause."

In a direct response, Mr. Vajpayee said, "President Musharraf has referred to my country a little while ago. His strange logic masks Pakistan's territorial designs on an integral part of India. He justifies terrorism against India by talking of its root causes. Does he go into the root causes of sectarian terrorism in his country? Or does he take stern action against the perpetrators of terrorism? He talks of the 'oppressed people of Kashmir'. These same people recently cast their ballots in an election universally recognised as free and fair. They defied the bullets of terrorists, aided and abetted by Pakistan. "Those very terrorists assassinated candidates and political activists in the elections and killed women and children because they refused to provide them food and shelter. These terrorists continue to perpetrate violence against innocent civilians every day. Yet Gen. Musharraf talks of an international humanitarian order," Mr. Vajpayee stated.

As the India-Pakistan sideshow took place, Gen. Musharraf told presspersons that he had no intention of talking to the Indians if they did not want a dialogue. "Do they (Indians) want to speak to me, I would like to ask? If they want to speak to me, I will because I have tried my best in the past and I am not the only one who should keep trying. They should also try. If they don't want, I'm not too keen at all."

The Pakistani Foreign Minister, Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri, when asked if raising contentious issues at a multilateral forum helped, said, "If you (India) want dialogue, does it help to say beforehand and before going, before... arriving, you are

not going to meet anyone (from Pakistan)?" Mr. Vajpayee, in his address, said that it was important for NAM to take a clear and unequivocal stand on terrorism. "There can be no double standards, no confusion between terrorism and freedom struggles, and no implicit condoning of terrorism through an investigation of its 'root causes'. There can be no justification for terrorism." NAM should concentrate on issues that united rather than divided them. "In a Movement of 116 members, it is inevitable that there are some differences or even disputes among us. We

It's between the two, says NAM chief

By P.S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 24. Malaysia, new chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, has categorically affirmed that "the issue between Pakistan and India is between Pakistan and India". It was also underlined that today's NAM summit "did not discuss the issue" relating to a specific connotation of terrorism which prompted the leaders of these two countries, Pervez Musharraf and Atal Behari Vajpayee, to outline their positions on it in a cameo of combative diplomacy.

The NAM chairman maintained that the forum would turn its laser-beam focus on matters that "unite us (the member-states) on our commonalities". The NAM's entire accent was on subjects that "do not divide us".

would be losing time, energy and focus if we involved ourselves in these issues. This principle is accepted in the Charters and practice of successful organisations like the OIC and ASEAN. NAM's outlook and agenda have to be global."

On Iraq, the Prime Minister said that India, like every other non-aligned country, wanted a peaceful solution to the issue. "We also support the multilateral route of the United Nations to address this issue. But objectivity — and not rhetoric — should govern our actions. Weapons of mass destruction do need to be eliminated. It is essential that Iraq complies fully with the obligations it has accepted, including disarmament, and that it cooperates fully in implementing Security Council Resolution 1441. As a fellow member of NAM, this is our sincere advice to Iraq. We also expect that if Iraq fully complies, sanctions against that country should be lifted.

"We should also not lose sight of the humanitarian dimension of the suffering of the Iraqi people. Apart from the immediate consequences of military action, there are long-term implications for stability and security in an already volatile region," Mr. Vajpayee added.

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THE HINDU

Anti-war shine on showman

1.8 2/2 NAM

PRANAY SHARMA

Kuala Lumpur, Feb. 24: Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed today again proved he is one of the best showmen in the developing world.

Demanding that all war — apart from that sanctioned by the UN — be declared illegal, Mahathir rode high on the rising sentiment of many Non-Aligned Movement nations that the likely war on Iraq was another instance of the “clash of civilisations” between the West and the Islamic world.

In his opening speech at the Nam summit, the chairman grabbed the opportunity to play the Muslim card to the hilt. “Is it true that Muslims are born terrorists because of the teachings of a prophet who was a terrorist?” he asked.

“How do we explain the pogroms, the inquisitions and the holocaust which characterised Christian Europe for almost 2000 years? Why did the Jews choose to seek haven in Muslim countries whenever Christian Europeans persecuted them? Do people seek safety in the hands of terrorists?” he continued.

Mahathir’s speech was greeted with loud cheers and appreciated by most delegates, nearly 50 per cent of whom are from the Islamic world.

South African President and former Nam chairman Thabo Mbeki, too, kept the focus on Iraq. “Peace and stability in our countries and the rest of the world demands that Iraq, a long-standing member of our movement, should cooperate fully with the UN Security Council and the weapons inspectors to satisfy all humanity that she has



Mahathir Mohammed greets AB Vajpayee at the Nam summit on Monday. (AFP)

no weapons of mass destruction,” he said. But he was quick to add that the findings of the weapons inspectors and the decisions of the Security Council should be respected by all, including those “who are incomparably more powerful than” the developing nations.

Mbeki’s remarks reflect the consensus the Nam has reached on Iraq. But it was Mahathir’s

articulation of the fears of the Islamic world that pleased many delegates.

The Nam chairman picked up from where he left off at the Business Summit yesterday. His intentions were clear: If India and South Africa, driven by their “pragmatic approach”, were trying to steer Nam towards engagement with the West, he was not party to it. He wanted to hold

the mantle of the developing world.

It is the “double standards” of the West that infuriated the Muslims, Mahathir continued. Risking that his remarks could be seen as justifying terrorism, he built up his argument, weaving the September 11 attacks, the likely war on Iraq and the West Asian crisis as part of a logical sequence.

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THE TELEGRAPH

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NAM game

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Recognise that this is a useful talking shop for lesser powers. And that's it

THE Non-Aligned Movement was a product of the Cold War. While some countries opted to take sides in the conflict between the "capitalist" West and the "socialist" East, many other countries, often "mixed" economies, opted to remain non-aligned. With the end of the Cold War, many assumed non-alignment would lose its relevance and NAM would fade away. Interestingly, it has bounced back.

Is it an anachronism sustained by a clutch of marginal powers unwilling to accept the reality of a uni-polar world? Not necessarily. True, "non-alignment" is no longer a "movement" and in that sense NAM needs a new name. Perhaps a Non-Aligned Association! However, given the composition of the group, with a predominance of developing countries, it could still play a useful role as a platform for voicing grievances about globalisation and the inequities of a global economic order. In the World Trade Organisation, for instance, NAM member countries have from time to time come together to take a unified view on certain issues. More importantly, NAM could be one more platform in a multipolar world that provides an opportunity for groups of countries to meet and discuss issues of mutual interest.

Critics of NAM often forget how many out-dated plurilateral groups still continue to meet due to some felt need of members countries. The G-7, for example, is one such anachronism. An association that has Italy and Canada on it but no China or India, G-7 is as much of an irrelevance as NAM. Yet, if associations like these continue to meet a decade after the end of the Cold War it is largely on account of the fact that the post-Cold War world may be "unipolar" but is evolving in the direction of "multipolarity" and different countries use different forums to pursue different objectives. Apart from G-7 and the Commonwealth, look at all the other international or plurilateral groups that continue to meet — the Cairns group, the Organisation of Islamic Countries, the Organisation of African Unity, North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (today an anachronism that stares us in the face!), and so on. So why not NAM? This said, no one should imagine that NAM is any longer a "movement", nor does it have a coherent and united worldview on the emerging multipolar world. It is a useful talking shop for the lesser powers and that is precisely how it should be viewed.

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INDIAN EXPRESS

\$300 BILLION GLOBAL FUND TO ALLEVIATE POVERTY PROPOSED

NAM
HD 1

Depoliticise economic cooperation, says Vajpayee

29/2

By Amit Baruah

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 23. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, said today that economic cooperation must be "depoliticised" and made immune to "bilateral issues" — an obvious, indirect reference to Pakistan, which India believes has actively subverted bilateral and regional economic cooperation in South Asia.

Addressing the NAM Business Forum on South-South Cooperation, he called for the "reform and reorientation" of globalisation as part of the effort to remake the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) by articulating a strong developmental agenda. He spoke of the volatility of capital flows and the need for increasing resource flows to poor countries through "affirmative action" if necessary.

He proposed that capital flows be regulated by an "international levy". A token tax of a quarter of a per cent could generate annual revenues of some \$300 billion and could form the corpus of a Global Poverty Alleviation Fund. Describing the NAM journey as one of "huge missed opportunities", he said further opportunities should, however, not be missed by this 116-nation organisation.

On the relevance of NAM, he said its political agenda had changed with the end of the Cold War. Globalisation had thrown up both challenges and opportunities for

developing countries. "Our unrealised goals of development and our shared vision for a peaceful tomorrow should unite us even more conclusively in the era of globalisation than the political goals of the Cold War era."

Mr. Vajpayee said 10 million people had been annually joining the ranks of the world's poor in the last decade.

A quarter of the world's population, he stressed, lived below the poverty line — a billion people surviving on less than a dollar a day.

He was firm that strengthening regional economic cooperation offered a time-tested framework for rapid and mutually beneficial economic growth. "In our scramble for the increasingly saturated markets of the advanced countries, we ignore the growth possibilities of South-South trade and investment linkages."

"Today, Malaysian firms are building highways in India and Indian companies are building railway projects in Malaysia. Such linkages can be multiplied literally a hundred fold in the areas of energy security, food security, infrastructure development, tourism, entertainment and the media."

Calling for the exchange of information on success stories such as Bangladesh's micro-credit institutions, he said, "In the jargon of today, most of us are fully wired. Yet we do not seem to be connected to each

other... We do not exchange information with countries around us on the more basic realities."

Referring to the end of statist models of economic growth, Mr. Vajpayee said Malaysia was a success story in private enterprise being supported by a facilitatory role from the Government.

"In India, too, economic liberalisation has yielded positive results. Within the last decade, nearly 15 per cent of our population has been lifted above the poverty line — and that means 150 million people." However, one could not be blind to the fact that globalisation had not rewarded most developing countries.

The 116 nations of NAM, representing two-thirds of the world's population, still contributed barely 20 per cent of the globe's GDP, he pointed out.

"Their economic growth was slower in the Nineties than in the Seventies. In most developing countries, per capita incomes have been falling, unemployment is rising and income disparities are widening."

He added that for years, NAM had been arguing the merits and demerits of a permanent Secretariat, with competing claims for its location and disagreements on the scope of its activities.

"With one website on the Internet — or a network of such websites — we can virtually perform many functions of a NAM Secretariat."

24 FEB 2003

Anti-terror draft 'agreed upon'

By P.S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 23. A new anti-terror draft has been "more or less agreed upon" on the eve of the Non-Aligned Movement's 13th summit which will begin here tomorrow, according to diplomats who participated in the trouble-shooting deliberations on this sensitive issue.

Should there be no last-minute surprise, the anti-terror draft will be adopted tomorrow by the NAM's Political Committee as an integral part of a conference document that will then be considered for endorsement by the summit leaders.

Although the diplomatic battle lines on the anti-terror issue were drawn essentially along the margins of the Organisation of Islamic Conference and those of the non-OIC countries within the NAM forum, the Pakistan factor was no less critical in shaping the direction of the debate on the draft. Some NAM delegates indicated tonight that they would, therefore, keep their fingers crossed and see whether the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, might yet have a "surprise" card up his sleeve.

The draft, as now agreed, is understood to enshrine the basic principle that there is no justification for terrorism regardless of the identity of the persons involved and the places they might choose as their theatre of action. Replete with a "language" that would convey this sense in a suitable "NAM terminology", the draft condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations besides calling upon the member-states to combat this menace, according to delegates privy to the discussions. The draft centrepiece of

the NAM's anti-terror canvas is the pronounced accent on the mandatory U.N. Security Council Resolution 1373, which is being accepted as a "blueprint" for implementation.

The idea of an international conference on terrorism, as already proposed by several countries, is expected to be commended in some form or the other, without the issue being necessarily seen as a political gamesmanship in the context of India's efforts, somewhat "stalled" at this stage, to persuade the U.N. to adopt a comprehensive anti-terror directive, delegates indicate.

The issues that held up a draft accord until tonight ranged from perceptual differences over "self-determination", "state-sponsored terrorism", "state-sponsors of terror" and related political ideas. In the event, most NAM members found it comfortable to live with the idea that "self-determina-

tion" and other political choices in a colonial context, or even in a post-colonial context of voluntary aspirations not instigated by external forces, could be easily distinguished from acts of terror against innocent people, even if these be committed in the name of ostensibly legitimate "causes".

The latest draft is, in some ways, a reaffirmation of the previous Durban Declaration on what terrorism is not about. The precise formulation on the inter-related issues of various aspects of state-related terrorism, insofar as the present draft is concerned, can still be fine-tuned. Several countries other than India, ranging from East Asia to Latin America, have played pivotal roles in fashioning the new draft. India's Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal, noted, at one stage during the drafting exercise, that those shy of an anti-terror agenda "seem to have got some additional ox-

igen because of the (current) Iraq situation".

While the NAM working groups have already drawn up a definitive draft on the latest Iraq situation, a collective formulation was agreed upon by the morning today as regards the critical mass of the diplomatic kind concerning North Korea's "proliferation". However, it unravelled by nightfall because Pyongyang changed its mind.

Under the earlier formula, North Korea had virtually given up its demand for security guarantees as compensation for a credible non-proliferation pledge, while the other NAM countries did not wish to press Pyongyang beyond its tolerance level over its adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The agreed draft on Palestine is significant in calling for "legal remedies" for the "war crimes committed in the Occupied Palestinian Territory".

India prepared to respond to Musharraf's speech at NAM

By Amit Baruah

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 23. India is prepared to respond if the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, raises Jammu and Kashmir or any other bilateral issue at the Non-Aligned Movement meeting which opens here tomorrow morning.

As per protocol, Heads of State will speak before Heads of Government.

So, Gen. Musharraf will speak before the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee. And, Mr. Vajpayee will have plenty of time to frame a response to any contentious issue Gen. Musharraf may choose to raise.

At their last multilateral forum — the United

Nations General Assembly in New York in September 2002 — Gen. Musharraf had raised the issue of the killings in Gujarat and pointed the finger at the BJP. Given past experience, it is more than likely that he will raise one contentious issue or the other in his speech.

Given the time constraints, each speaker in the 117-member NAM grouping has been given seven minutes to make his submissions. In New York, the Prime Minister responded directly to the points made by Gen. Musharraf. There is also the possibility of India exercising a separate right to reply in case the Pakistan President rakes up the Jammu and Kashmir issue or "violations" of human rights.

24 FEB 2003

THE HINDU

Muslim nations stall India's call on terror at NAM

By Mahendra Ved
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Kuala Lumpur: The NAM statement on terrorism, largely authored by India, was stalled on Sunday on the eve of the summit with most of the two score Muslim member-nations viewing it as one that targets them and their religion.

(The NAM countries on Sunday night agreed on a draft declaration that envisages revitalisation of the grouping and calls for effectively dealing with the emerging trend towards unilateralism and the rise of new challenges, PTI reports said.)

Prospects of a US attack on Iraq had clearly worked to thwart a broad understanding on this "very difficult subject", foreign secretary Kanwal Sibal said

Reuters



Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee and South African President Thabo Mbeki attend a NAM business forum in Kuala Lumpur on Sunday.

at the end of a day that was hectic despite being "a non-working" one.

It appeared to be a case of give-and-take. While conceding that there will be no reference against the US in the draft on Iraq, the Muslim nations dug in their heels on the issue of terrorism. This led to speculation that this is being done in the hope that the US might still be persuaded to hold back its military action against Iraq.

On the issue of disarmament, the Indian line on a linkage between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction has met with acceptance.

Working closely with host Malaysia and some others, India

had been working on formulations on the global fight against terrorism that, it was hoped, would meet the widest possible acceptance. But America's continuing rhetoric against Iraq even as NAM officials and ministers grappled with the draft forced the Muslim nations to view the issue of terrorism "through the West Asian prism", Mr Sibal observed. This, despite the fact that the specific conditions prevailing in West Asia were not being replicated.

Malaysian premier and new NAM chairman Mahathir Mohamad gave in to the sentiments when he warned at the NAM Business Forum earlier in the day that an attack on Iraq would anger Muslims across the world. He also emphasised that replacing one leader or group of people did not mean that another leader or group would not surface giving fillip to the very thing that was sought to be unilaterally eliminated by force.

Mr Mahathir also spoke of the Palestine-Israel conflict, an issue that has gained added urgency in the current situation. However, India is among the countries that do not want to highlight it for want of inviting an Israeli/Western reaction and missing the woods—the larger issue of combating terrorism—for the trees, officials said.

The net result of the current stand-off on the terrorism issue is that both India and Pakistan, earlier viewed as fighting a proxy war on the issue, have toned down their postures. "It is not an India-Pakistan confrontation as yet," said an official, cautioning that the summit was yet to begin and President Musharraf was yet to make a statement.

With the Indian-authored draft stalled, Pakistan, which sees itself targeted in any reference to "state sponsorship" of terrorism, can take it easy. But that may not prevent it from raising the Kashmir issue. If it was raised, there would be an "appropriate reply", Indian officials said.

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Talks tomorrow if Pak. gives up terrorism: PM

By Amit Baruah

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NAM
KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 22. The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, said today that India and Pakistan could begin talks tomorrow if Islamabad gave up cross-border terrorism but ruled out the possibility of a meeting with that country's President, Pervez Musharaff.

Asked if there was American pressure on India to talk to Pakistan, Mr. Vajpayee told presspersons on board his special aircraft that India had told its friends that it was ready to begin talks if Pakistan eschewed cross-border terrorism.

Before boarding the aircraft to Kuala Lumpur to attend the XII Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit, the Prime Minister said terrorism would definitely figure in the deliberations of the February 24-25 summit. The NAM should avert a war on Iraq and all countries should accept that further action should flow from the U.N. Security Council route. Mr. Vajpayee said a lot depended on what stand the NAM took on Iraq insofar as the continued relevance of the movement was concerned.

On the coming elections in Himachal Pradesh, he said the contest was quite even (*'Barabar ki takkar hai'*) though the Congress had forged ahead earlier. The BJP would have to work hard for victory. Mr. Vajpayee appeared hurt about the recent pamphlets brought out in Madhya Pradesh on the "beef-eating" issue. Nobody (from the Congress) had even bothered to admit there had been a mistake. The Prime Minister, who is expected to meet several leaders, including the Cuban President, Fidel Castro, on the sidelines of the summit, said the NAM should contribute to the building of a multipolar world order.

The NAM Foreign Ministers, meanwhile, agreed on a draft resolution to be issued by their Heads of State/Government on the Iraq situation. Sources said all direct references to the United States were removed and that the Foreign Ministers agreed upon a milder version of the draft resolution. Stressing the centrality of the U.N. and the Security Council, the draft said: "We believe the peaceful resolution of the Iraqi crisis would ensure that the Security Council will also be in a position to ensure Iraq's sovereignty and the inviolability of its territorial integrity, political independence and security, and compliance with Paragraph 14 of its Resolution 687 on the establishment in the Middle East of a weapons of mass destruction-free zone, which includes Israel."

In a separate briefing, the External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, said NAM Foreign Ministers had agreed on a draft statement on Iraq. He, however, criticised some countries that were prepared to adopt the most strident resolution and then make their territories available for a war against Iraq. This kind of contradiction and dichotomy should be avoided, he added.

THE HINDU

23 FEB 2003

'NAM must speak out against war'

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By P.S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 22. Meeting at this "fragile time for world peace and security", the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) began here today its first-ever interactive session of Foreign Ministers, ahead of the forum's 13th summit, on a high note of hopes and wishes that it might be able to make its presence felt at "the centre of global power".

The NAM's new wish-list, as outlined at the inaugural session of the pre-summit ministerial conference, ranged from the forum's insistence on a political and strategic say over contemporary issues of international concern to the "hope" that the movement would be able to bring a sense of

"balance and moderation" to the present volatile global politics.

Addressing the assembled Foreign Ministers, the Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister, Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, said "the strategic realpolitik of bipolarity", which marked the U.S.-Soviet Cold War at the time of the movement's inception in the 1950s, "has (now) been replaced by the vested interests of unilateralism" as practised by "just one superpower", the United States.

"This state of affairs brings us to the brink of conflict which the peoples of the world have loudly and clearly opposed," he said in a reference to the current standoff between Washington and

Baghdad over the latter's per-

ceived profile as a "proliferator of weapons of mass destruction". This ground reality "suggests that we live in a world that is no better than the one which the founding fathers of this movement found themselves in".

In such "a unipolar world", the NAM "must continue to maintain our independent position in global affairs". The forum, Mr. Abdullah said, "must continue to pursue peace and stability in the international order and to speak out against war, violence and terror". A "collective will" on these lines was required so that NAM could "once again occupy its place" at the benign nucleus of global power "as the legitimate voice of the world's majority".

While addressing urgent political issues of war and terrorism, the NAM "must (also) continue to be the indispensable forum for developing countries". Mr. Abdullah's reasoning was that "no superpower, however benign and well-meaning, could ever represent the interests or articulate the aspirations of the developing world". Reminding the NAM members that "only we ourselves can best represent our individual and collective interests", he asked the forum to engage the developed bloc in serious parleys. He cautioned though that "in doing so ..., we must be constructive in our approach vis-à-vis our partners in the North".

The bottom line, Mr. Abdullah noted, was that the NAM

should "engage and forge strategic alliances with the industrialised countries, including with their international groupings, such as the European Union, with which we share a strong commitment to multilateralism".

Before handing over the 'baton' to Malaysia at the NAM ministerial session, the Foreign Minister of South Africa, outgoing NAM Chairman, Dlamini Zuma, emphasised that "multilateralism is critical for our (NAM's) very survival". The movement should, therefore, "assert the centrality of the U.N." in settling matters of collective international security. The NAM's sustainable relevance would depend on such efforts as also its activism in protecting and promoting the economic interests of the developing nations.

About the need to dispel "the gathering clouds of war" which only served to "divert the attention of the international community away from the key question of (economic) development", she discussed "the fundamental principles around the (possible) war against Iraq".

The South African Minister said, "There is no question that Iraq must continue to comply with the U.N. Resolution 1441 and allow the inspectors unlimited and unconditional access." Iraq "must be disarmed if it possesses weapons of mass destruction". In any case, "it is possible and desirable" the issue be settled through "peaceful means".

23 FEB 2003

Nam resolution on terror finds no consensus

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

KUALA LUMPUR, Feb. 22. — Non-aligned foreign ministers today failed to agree on a draft resolution on terrorism with India rejecting host Malaysia's proposal for a separate conference on terror and a Pakistani move for a mechanism to resolve intra-NAM disputes.

The Non-Aligned Movement pre-summit meeting of foreign ministers opened here today with a strong assertion that the United Nations should be responsible for disarming Iraq if it possessed weapons of mass destruction. "There is no question that Iraq must continue to comply with UN Resolution 1441 and allow the inspectors unlimited and unconditional access. Iraq must be disarmed if it possesses weapons of mass destruction," South Africa foreign minister Ms Dlamini Zuma said in her opening speech.

"The question is, how best to achieve this. We believe that it is possible and desirable that we do this through peaceful means... The United Nations must be the one that does it, as it is charged with our collective security in line with the principles contained in the UN Charter. We must assert the centrality of the UN in settling such matters," Ms Zuma said.

Asserting multilateralism is critical "for our very survival," Ms Zuma, whose country is the outgoing chair of Nam, said the clouds of war also diverted the attention of the world away from key question of development, which would ensure sustainable peace and security for the generations to come. Noting that globalisation has inequitable

VAJPAYEE ON PAKISTAN

KUALA LUMPUR, Feb. 22. — Pakistan's active involvement in aiding and abetting terrorism in India was likely to come up at the Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Kuala Lumpur which would adopt a resolution against international terrorism, Prime Minister Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee said today in New Delhi before leaving for the two-day summit beginning on 24 February. Later, Mr Vajpayee asserted that a war in Iraq should be avoided and said that the Non-Aligned Movement should put pressure on USA to find a solution to the crisis through the United Nations.

Pakistan today again raised the Kashmir issue in the foreign ministers meeting here. Pakistan's foreign minister Kurshid Mehmud Kasuri said: "The Jammu and Kashmir dispute has divided our region for a half a century. This dispute must be resolved justly and amicably." — PTI

benefits for the world, she said the rich and powerful get the lion's share of its benefits. **Diluted resolution:** Dropping a demand by key Arab states to categorically reject US-led unilateral action on Iraq, Non-Aligned countries today agreed on a diluted resolution even as India asked the grouping to put pressure on Washington to accept the U.N route for a peaceful solution to the escalating crisis.

23 FEB 2003

THE STATESMAN

Pak. asks India not to 'exploit' NAM on terror issue

By P. S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 21. Pakistan today sought to stop India on its anti-terror campaign trail during the preparatory meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement's 13th summit here. While the "in camera" deliberations on the need for a brave new vision of a NAM agenda on anti-terror issues were marked by some sharp perceptual differences between New Delhi and Islamabad, the Pakistan Foreign Minister, K.M. Kasuri, said outside the conference that India "should not use the platform of NAM" to pursue its foreign policy objectives.

Asked about India's stand that the NAM should update its global view on anti-terror issues in the context of the "9/11" and also the perceived failure of Pakistan to abide by its commitments to give up its calculus of "cross-border terrorism" as regards India, Mr. Kasuri said: "My fear is that, unfortunately, India is misusing the atmosphere created by 9/11".

Contending that India, unlike the U.S., "is not a victim" of "the 9/11 aggression", he maintained that the old U.N. Security Council Resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir "pre-date 9/11". There being "no parallel between 9/11 and the (present) situation in Kashmir," New Delhi should abandon its

"misplaced approach" and "face (the) reality" that India "cannot have a solution which bypasses ... the people of Kashmir".

On Pakistan's preparedness to meet the contingency of India taking advantage of any U.S. military action against Iraq in the present circumstances, Mr. Kasuri asserted that Islamabad will not "depend on anybody's goodwill for the defence of Pakistan". He said Pakistan "need not fear that India will use that pretext" of a (possible) U.S. attack on Iraq.

About the current scale of "cross-border terrorism", he said the "activity across the Line of Control" has in fact decreased significantly and that Pakistan had already acted against those infringing the policies of President Pervez Musharraf in this situation.

Calling upon India to "hold out hope to the Kashmiris", Mr. Kasuri argued that this would also be an antidote to the "activity across the Line of Control". He did not, however, address the possibility that such a prescription by Pakistan would imply its acceptance of India's locus in Jammu and Kashmir.

Reaffirming Pakistan's willingness to engage India in a renewed dialogue on the sidelines of the NAM meetings here, Mr. Kasuri said he had desisted from respon-

ding to the recent cascade of "provocative statements". These, inclusive of a claim that Pakistan might be decimated in a nuclear exchange, had come with "a rapidity which almost resembles a military barrage".

Brushing aside such a scenario of a nuclear winter, he said: "the only sensible way out is to agree to have a composite dialogue now". Otherwise, "it is a game of Russian roulette".

He dismissed as "totally hypothetical" any suggestion that the Kashmir dispute be set aside so that India and Pakistan could engage themselves on issues of mutual benefit. He also accused some Indian leaders of using a "domestic political agenda" as the prism for India-Pakistan issues.

Pre-summit deliberations

Meanwhile, the summit-preparatory meetings of the senior officials of the NAM went into a marathon-mode as the deliberations on the key issues of terrorism as also disarmament and Iraq continued until after midnight here for a second day.

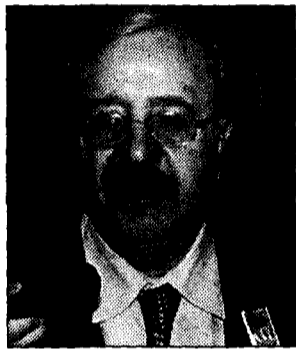
The various committees constituted to formulate agreed drafts for the consideration of the NAM foreign ministers and summit leaders carried their discussions forward even after the senior officials held a formal closing session at the plenary level.

NAM likely to be split over Iraq

Udayan Namboodiri
New Delhi, February 21

THE 13TH NAM summit at Kuala Lumpur, for which Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee leaves on Saturday, will see fiery debates over Iraq as the impending conflagration in the Gulf threatens to tear the movement down the middle.

The Summit Declaration, to be adopted by 114 member states of NAM, has walked the tightrope on Iraq, which is a member of the group. The Draft declaration, adopted at the ministerial meeting in the Malaysian capital on Friday, has failed to condemn those Arab countries playing host to US troops ahead of a



AP
Iraqi foreign minister Najib Sabri in Kuala Lumpur on Friday.

possible invasion of Iraq.

Iraq had moved that proposal but the Arab member states of NAM shot it down as they regard it as an "in-

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ternal issue". Iraq's envoy in Malaysia had been warning for the past few weeks that the United States would try all kinds of covert diplomacy to prevent the NAM summit coming out with a no-war resolution.

Vajpayee is expected to make a forceful presentation against action on the Saddam Hussein regime. In his various speeches over the past few days, Vajpayee has urged for respect of the United Nations system.

The Draft Resolution reads more or less the same as the Indian formulation on Iraq. While expressing categorical rejection of any attack on Iraq, it has also urged Baghdad to actively

implement the requirements under United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441.

India, one of the founders of NAM, is keen to see the movement strike a new relevance. The Indian proposals for revitalisation of NAM has been accepted. But sources here expect Pakistan to queer the Indian pitch at the summit by raising the Kashmir issue using the window offered by the definition of terrorism.

The US has appealed to the NAM leaders to "look at important political and economic issues with a more balanced view". Though the US is not a NAM member, it has been invited to send a representative to Kuala Lumpur as an observer.

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THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

'Update' view on terror, NAM told

21/2
By P. S. Suryanarayana 49-12

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 20. India today called for a new world-view by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in tune with the global urgency to roll back the rising tide of international terrorism. In taking this position during the first day of official-level deliberations here ahead of the 13th NAM summit, India, however, did not table any definitive formula or proposal. The objective was to impart new impetus to the NAM's sense of relevance, at this time of uncertainties on the global stage, without India itself getting enmeshed in a wrangle with Pakistan.

For its part, Pakistan maintained that the enshrined NAM "principle" of a "distinction between terrorism and self-determination" must be sustained even now. The subtle sub-text of such priorities, which were articulated during the discussions with some finesse on both sides, were separately amplified by India's Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal, and Pakistan's permanent representative at the U.N. Geneva offices, Shaukat Umer, in interactions with the media.

Mr. Sibal said: "NAM must have an updated view of international terrorism which

is in conformity with the latest developments on the international scene".

Asked about the transparent reference to Pakistan in this context, he said that NAM must take a "fully updated" position and that India was aware that "a leopard doesn't change its spots so quickly" even if the delegation from Islamabad were reckoned to have been circumspect on this occasion.

Emphasising that all this did not imply any move by India to present the non-aligned leaders with any new initiative or get involved in a bilateral fracas with Islamabad, Mr. Sibal said that "one of these latest developments which NAM must reflect ... is Pakistan's role in international terrorism which continues even now" in the context of the new evidence about the survival quotient of the Taliban and the Al-Qaeda.

Answering questions from this correspondent, Mr. Umer said that Pakistan was still "negotiating" so as to snuff out "some amendments" from India which was "targeting countries". The differentiation of "self-determination" from "terrorism" had been recognised by NAM since its Jakarta summit in the early 1990s, the Pakistan diplomat said.

In media interactions, Mr. Sibal's response to Mr. Umer's assertions was that it "is not our intention" to place Pakistan in the dock at this forum. However, "anything that we (Indians) say on terrorism, they (Pakistanis) will think they are the targets. ... It's their own sense of guilt". The Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, would, as "always" in India's case, "make a sober, thoughtful, positive statement" to the NAM summit next week, Mr. Sibal said. India would, despite disappointments in the past, "hope" that the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, "will adhere to a certain code of conduct" while making his statement at the NAM summit.

Mr. Sibal said there was "no indication" that Malaysia's Prime Minister and the current NAM host, might "surprise" India on the semantics of the terrorism issue, somewhat on the lines of how Nelson Mandela of South Africa had done in relation to Kashmir at the previous NAM summit.

Noting that Malaysia was not alone in insisting on defining international terrorism or discussing its "root causes", the Foreign Secretary said such moves only served as a "red herring" during the international community's ongoing battle against terrorism.

Panels set up on Iraq, N. Korea

By P. S. Suryanarayana

KUALA LUMPUR, FEB. 20. The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) today set up sub-committees on Iraq, disarmament issues and the North Korean "proliferation" puzzle in a bid to arrive at a consensus on these sensitive matters of immediate relevance to the forum's efforts to evolve an updated political agenda.

An intensive discussion on Palestine was also decided upon. A separate statement on the current Iraq crisis is considered likely at this stage. These panels will work under the overall auspices of the Political Committee that the NAM senior officials

constituted for preparing the ground for the forum's thirteenth summit early next week. The 114-member NAM will be enlarged to 116 at this summit. Malaysia's Foreign Minister, Syed Hamid Albar, presided over today's inaugural session of the preparatory meetings, after South Africa, the previous NAM Chairman, handed over the 'baton'.

While some highly contentious political issues were discussed, the deliberations of the NAM's Economic and Social Committee made relatively rapid progress on questions ranging from globalisation to the more traditional aspects of

South-South cooperation. The issue of terrorism, in the specific context of the U.S. view of Iraq's suspected plans to make and deploy weapons of mass destruction and in the separate domain of North Korea's "proliferation" agenda, is posing a particularly difficult challenge to the NAM at this juncture, according to diplomats from various countries.

On proliferation, India has, as the leading founder member of the NAM, taken the line that countries with legally binding commitments under international law should abide by them, regardless of the issue that New Delhi will not sign the

discriminatory Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. On Iraq, Pakistan has, as a non-permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, adopted a nuanced position. Pakistan's Permanent Representative at the U.N.'s Geneva Office, Shaukat Umer, said: "it is not correct to put things in black and white" as regards the evolving dynamics of the confrontation between U.S. and Iraq. On whether Pakistan was not placing itself on a collision course with the U.S. by insisting on "multilateralism" on the Iraq issue, he said: Islamabad favoured "compliance" by Iraq insofar as the relevant U.N. resolutions were concerned.

India alerts NAM against terror

Press Trust of India

KUALA LUMPUR, Feb. 20. — Ahead of the NAM summit, India today asked the 116 nation grouping not to deflect itself from threats posed by terrorism and make attempt to justify it.

"No cause justifies terrorism — political or economic," foreign secretary Mr Kanwal Sibal told reporters here after the official-level meeting to prepare the agenda for the two-day summit beginning on 24 February was conducted.

He said it was felt that NAM must take note of threats posed by terrorism to world peace and "update" its view on the issue.

On Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir Mohammad's remarks that the underlying causes of terrorism should be dealt with, Mr Sibal said NAM should not deflect itself from the threats posed by terrorism and "no attempt should be made to justify it."

Asked what would be Del-

Pak alleges harassment

ISLAMABAD, Feb. 20. — Pakistan today alleged that Indian intelligence agents harassed an embassy official on the streets of New Delhi, shouting abusive language and bumping his scooter as he rode to the mission.

In Karachi, Pakistani foreign minister today said Islamabad is ready for "comprehensive dialogue" with Delhi over Kashmir and other issues. — AP

hi's stand if Pakistan raised the Kashmir issue at the Summit, he said India had made it clear that NAM was not a forum to take up bilateral matters. But, he said, Delhi would not be surprised if Islamabad again raised the Kashmir issue, as "a leopard does not change its spots."

Mr Sibal said India would give its response if General Pervez Musharraf raised the Kashmir issue.

21 FEB 2003

THE STATESMAN

NAM should focus on global issues, says Sibal

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, FEB. 18. India is keen on ensuring that the coming Non-Aligned Movement summit in Kuala Lumpur focusses on global issues, instead of addressing intra-NAM conflict resolution matters.

Briefing presspersons before leaving for the senior officials' meeting in Malaysia, the Foreign Secretary, Kanwal Sibal, said that intra-NAM conflict resolution efforts would not be "for the good of the movement." Asked if he was concerned about the prospect of Pakistan raising the Kashmir issue at the NAM meeting, Mr. Sibal said there was no need to be "worried very much" on this count.

Even in the United Nations General Assembly, there was only one country (Pakistan), which mentioned Kashmir; nobody else referred to the issue. Without naming Pakistan, Mr. Sibal said the country would be present in Kuala Lumpur. He expected it to "act true to form" and refer to its "pet theme."

There were other issues involving NAM countries. When there was talk about intra-NAM conflict resolution, African countries did look favourably at such efforts coming

from within the movement. "If there was no global agenda which you have to contend with, I can understand that you are looking for a role. But when there's such a complex and vast agenda stacked against you, there's a lot the NAM countries can and must do together...." The NAM's strength lay in its numbers (115 nations) and if they did not act together, even the force of numbers would not be effective.

Asked how the Kuala Lumpur declaration would be issued, Mr. Sibal said this was always done by consensus. He ruled out with a loud "no" the possibility of a meeting between the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, on the sidelines of the summit. And on whether there was an effort to ensure that the two leaders did not run into each other by chance, he said: "When they are not going to meet, they are not going to meet. It's as simple as that. We don't have to do any choreography."

Would NAM focus on Iraq? The Foreign Secretary said it was inevitable. "It will require a huge leap in imagination to forget Iraq... You know how much the debate on Iraq is divisive in any case — even in New York — pitting members of the (U.N.) Secu-

rity Council against each other, creating rifts, divisions in Europe, in NATO." The Gulf countries were also concerned about the impact of a war in Iraq. "There is the whole question of oil... the price of oil, the security of oil supplies. It is a matter of global concern. There are other questions about the integrity of Iraq, how it impacts on the neighbourhood, what the neighbouring countries may or may not do...."

This was the debate taking place in the West. And there were concerns within the international community about the role of the United Nations — the issue of unilateralism versus multilateralism. "So, clearly NAM countries will not be able to escape addressing the Iraq issue and all that the Iraq issue implies in terms of the functioning of the international system," Mr. Sibal said. On the relevance of NAM itself, he posed a counter-question — what was the relevance of NATO when there was peace in Europe? India had never looked at NAM to place itself in the "middle" of two power blocs.

It was a method of preserving some independence of judgment and action in international affairs rather than having policies determined by one or the other bloc.

THE HINDU

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