

## **Kashmir Resolution: A Case Study of Musharraf Era in Pakistan**

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### **ABSTRACT**

In South Asia, Pakistan and India are the next-door states. Since independence, both the states had a long list of historical cum territorial and water disputes. However, Kashmir is the only one issue between Pakistan and India which has always remained both the states at the brink of war. Many democratic and military governments in Pakistan came and went. But none could resolve the issue. Very little work regarding Kashmir issue has been done for the resolution. It is generally said that army was behind the cause to not to solve the Kashmir conflict. But General Pervez Musharraf, after taking office, proved this belief as wrong. Although, Musharraf was a dictator and an army chief but he has worked more for the solution of Kashmir cause than any other political or military leader of Pakistan. Both disputed parties tried to resolve the conflict but the efforts proved fruitless. However the efforts of Musharraf made the hot environment between two governments, cold up to some extent. Therefore, this study seeks to explore and analyse the efforts for the resolution of Kashmir dispute during Musharraf regime in Pakistan.

**Keywords:** *Territorial disputes, Kashmir, democratic, military, resolution, Musharraf, war*

### **Introduction**

The Asian states particularly Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, and China share the region of Kashmir in the Himalayan Mountains. The share of Pakistan is nearly thirty five percent while the share of India and China is around forty five percent and nineteen percent respectively. Pakistan and India shares an unchallenged boundary of Kashmir that is one hundred and ninety eight kilometers long. On the other hand, both the states shared line of control (LOC), a challenged boundary of seven hundred and seventy eight kilometers long. During the past several decades, the region is facing serious chaos. Their people are being imprisoned due to present hostile relations of Pakistan and India. (Bose, 2004).

Kashmir is a troubled old clash of the world and in addition a nuclear flashpoint between the two major participants among the South Asian nation states. Both countries professed as nuclear power and fought over the Kashmir state on three events in 1947, 1965 and 1999 (Johnson, 2005).

Prior to the division in 1947 Jammu and Kashmir were holding a position of a princely state and devising a choice to be confronted that either to unite Pakistan or India. Maharaja Hari Singh, the Hindu head of state of that time, said no to go for Pakistan. Hari Singh called help from Indian army. Later that in 26th Oct, 1947, with army help of India, he conquered Kashmir under the Indian Territory (Lamb, 1992). Involvement of Indian military forces over Kashmir was the cause for the first Pakistan-India war in 1947.

Kashmir is geologically, geo-strategically and economically vital for India and Pakistan. On one cross, Kashmir has had a solid tactical and defensive point. Historians indicated that who so ever will rule over Kashmir, it may have had a solid martial footing regionally. On the other cross, Kashmir has an immeasurable farming of timber with head-works of three key rivers of Indus Basin. As well as the status of water is involved, the situation is alarming for Pakistan owing to the flow of river of Indus, Jhelum and Chenab through Kashmir valley before it ran to Pakistan. The farming soil of Pakistan's major economic producers, Punjab and Sindh Provinces, is watered by the water of these rivers. Pakistan's opinion is that if in case, it will fail to attain Kashmir, it may end in to damage of its autonomy and freedom because India may discontinue this water flow anytime. Remarkably, Pakistan took those shares of Kashmir region who has had deep economic profits than those of taken by India (Malik, 2002).

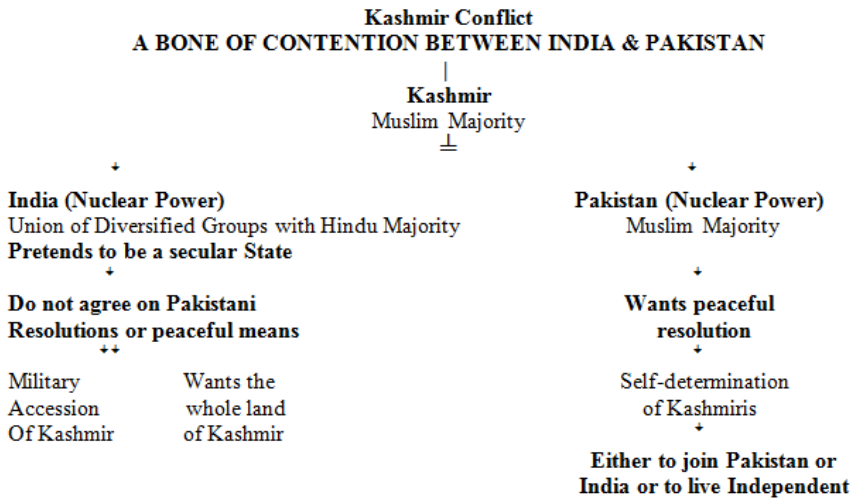
Musharraf, era is considered very significant in terms of Indo-Pakistan relations because for the first time, the importance of Kashmir settlement was recognized in Pakistan by a military government. General Pervaiz Musharraf desired to create friendly relations between Pakistan and India. For this determination, he used to resolve the Kashmir problem. He took more influential and new measures than any other former governmental officials. However, he started a peace process through dialogues between both of these states for obtaining two goals. The first goal was to show his country's prestige as sober country internationally. The second and the most substantial goal was to obtain international support for his military rule.

### **1.2 Root for Kashmir Clash: India's and Pakistani Perspectives on Kashmir**

India claims to be a secular state. Therefore, it declares the area of Kashmir as its own past specifically the Muslim majority area to determine and to show itself as a secular in front of World Communities. On the other side, Pakistan is a state that was achieved purely, on the basis of Islam, the land of Muslims. Consequently, Pakistan affirms the Kashmir territory as its own place due to its Muslim majority. The leaders of Pakistan assert that without Kashmir, its geographical territory is incomplete (Ganguly, 2006).

Officially, many times India has declared that the Kashmir is a connected part of Indian Territory. Therefore, legally, this area cannot said to be an undecided area. Hence, this region is not an unresolved region and adding further that terrorism is the main problem for the people of J & k which is being backed by Pakistan (Behar, 2004).

**Figure 1.1 Kashmir Conflict in context of Pakistan and India**



### 1.3 Significance of the research

The significance of the study lies in the fact that Kashmir issue was the only controversial and hot issue that emerged by the partition of British India into India and Pakistan. The intensity of this issue is considered same as of Israel-Palestine and Cypriot-Greek-Turkish conflict due to its diligence, responsiveness and invulnerability to judicious arrangement.

Since independence, three wars have been fought between India and Pakistan namely war of 1948, 1965 and 1999 over Kashmir dispute. Moreover, the disputed countries over Kashmir are specifically, Pakistan and India. Both the states are nuclear powers. It is expected by many analysts, experts and scholars of Political Science that this dispute may lead to the eruption of first nuclear world war.

### 1.4 Research Objectives

- To directly address the efforts for the resolution of Kashmir dispute in Musharraf Era of rule in Pakistan.
- To represent the recommendations and possible solutions for the resolution of Kashmir conflict.

### 1.5 Research Questions

- Why the Kashmir was a significant and burning dispute during General Musharraf era?
- How has Musharraf tried to resolve the Kashmir problem?

### 2.1 Review of Literature

Doughla, Scott Sagan (2009) in the book, Inside nuclear South Asia evaluates that the two neighboring powers namely India and Pakistan have fought three battles after the partition of subcontinent in 1947 due to Kashmir conflict. There was possibility of another war in 2001 when terrorists attacked on Indian parliament.

Indian leaders blamed Pakistan of being involved in this attack. Also, India claimed that Pakistani sponsored terrorist organizations particularly LeT and JeM were behind this damage to Indian state.

Owen Bennett and Dr. Farzana Shaikhin their article, Pakistan's foreign policy under Musharraf: between a rock and a hard place, analyzed Pakistan's relations with India during Musharraf regime. The President of Pakistan and an army General, Pervaiz Musharraf wanted to create friendly relations between Pakistan and India. For this purpose, he used to resolve the Kashmir issue. He tried to take more influential and new steps than any other former governmental officials. He tried to promote dialogue between both of these states for obtaining two aims. The first aim was to show his country's prestige as sober country internationally. The second and the most significant aim was to obtain international approval for his military rule.

In her book, Nuclear Weapons and Conflict Transformation: The Case of India-Pakistan, Saira Khan evaluated the functions of leaders and third party involvement in creating stress among countries. The writer emphasized that the US has always played an imperative task of holding peace and cooperation between India and Pakistan through dialogues. US compelled Musharraf to combat terrorism. General Musharraf took several initiatives to eradicate terrorism from the state due to which the hostile attitude of India towards Pakistan shown a change to cooperation. This sudden change was occurred owing to the efforts of Super power, US, of resolving issues between India and Pakistan. Due to the involvement of US in this matter of conflict, instead of state's opposition, Musharraf initiated some measures to eradicate insurgency and started the peace process through dialogues. He banned many religious militant groups who helped Kashmiri insurgents against India before.

An article titled, Post-9/11 Foreign Policy of Pakistan, was written by Shamshad Ahmad. She has assessed the absolute dares, being faced by Pakistan's foreign policy in the wake of 9/11. As well as the relation of Pakistan with India is concerned, Pakistan regenerate its foreign policy to ease the relationship with India. However, Kashmir issue was the major conflict in the way of peace process. In order to resolve this issue, UN presented the self-determination formula for Kashmiris. In this regard, Musharraf gave multiple formulae to resolve this conflict but all in vein. Nothing could make this effort fruitful. In future, the solution for this problem will depend upon the political leaders of the nation. Military intervention of militancy would not give the rights of freedom to oppressed Kashmiris.

After the attack of Taliban on the US World Trade Centre, Pakistan faced hostile attitude from India, US and the world. The reason behind this attitude was the blame made by India that Pakistan is supporting the militant groups specifically Taliban and exploiting the state of India. In short, Pakistan is backing state terrorism. On contrary, Pakistan gave counter statement that it is a victim of terrorism more than Indian state. India declared Pakistan as a habitat of terrorism. Since then, while countering the Indian propaganda of damaging the image, Pakistan became a fore front player in war against terrorism. (Sattar, 2007:268,269)

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Due to terrorist attack on Indian Parliament, the relations between India and Pakistan again worsened. India strongly blamed Pakistan behind this conspiracy. Vajpayee annulled his trip to Pakistan. India stopped trade and social interactions with Pakistan. Pakistan also carried alike measures. Both the states stood their military forces at state borders. By observing these aggressions and hostilities, it was expecting that the war between both states will start sooner or later. India made a charge-sheet and demanded twenty suspected criminals responsible for attacks in India. Musharraf stated that none of Pakistani would be jailed and handed over to Indian army as without any proof of crime. India alleged that Maulana Masood Azhar is a master mind behind this attack. While countering Indian allegations, Musharraf said that he is a Pakistani citizen. He has free hand to move anywhere because there is no criminal record of him in the Court of Pakistan. (Rizvi, 2009. 51-52).

### 3.1 Methodology

By using qualitative, analytical, and explanatory methodology, this study helps readers to understand the regional and international dynamics of the Kashmir issue particularly focusing on Musharraf military regime in Pakistan.

In order to narrow down research, researcher further utilized case study method. A number of prior studies, literature reviews, books, articles, journals, newspapers, and web links were being analyzed to explain the causes of Kashmir conflict and to understand the Musharraf's policies and initiative to reduce the intensity of this conflict. It delivered in-depth accomplishment and applicable result.

#### 4.1 Musharraf Regime (1999-2008) and Indo-Pak relations:

On 12 Oct, 1999 the chief of Army staff, General Pervaiz Musharraf dismantled the democratic government of PM, Nawaz Sharif. He tried to portray the progressive and moderate image of Pakistan. He wanted to have good relations with the neighboring countries especially India. The Indian government refused to engage dialogue with Pakistan due to following two reasons:

1. Firstly, India had much confidence on the elected government lead by the Nawaz Sharif. Hence, they cannot trust a military dictator who has no support in masses.
2. Secondly, Musharraf was a key player in Kargil war.

India also blamed that terrorists, came to India from Pakistan. Moreover, the Indian government tried to isolate and opposed Pakistan on diplomatic fronts. It further boycotted SAARC, commonwealth and United Nations meetings and councils. Indian authorities issued statement time and again against the military rule in Pakistan as they feel that dictator motives are more dangerous for India than a politically elected government because he knew that India had a role and influence on the neighboring states and the global community.

Musharraf expressed his policy in his first press conference in relation to India in these words:

*If India would show a sign of threat perception towards Pakistan, it would confidently respond back with threat but if India would like to make peaceful*

*relations, Pakistan would firmly respond positively. Nothing would be above than the country prestige.*

Similarly, General of Pakistan emphasized that Kashmir is a core matter between India-Pakistan correspondences. It is the main responsibility of India to withdraw its forces from Kashmir .General Musharraf also expressed his desire for the revival of relationship between India and Pakistan. He further evaluated in a detailed manner that:

*We have had many issues that we share with India such as territorial and water issues. But if we look closely, the most important one remains the Kashmir matter, I would like to resolve that issue. I would not be the part of any resolution other than the Kashmir cause. If India would show a positive attitude towards the solution of this issue, I would surely be successful in resolving that conflict.*

#### **4.1.1 Hijacking of Indian Plane: Beginning of Tensions**

A plane of India was hijacked in the area of Kandahar while it runsoff from Katmandu (Nepal). The Indian authorities' accused Pakistan Intelligence for being involved in this hijacking. They started claiming that these commanders were instructed from Pakistan. The commanders called for the freedom of 35 detained extremists in India. However, the chief call of release was for the leader of the Pakistan grounded extremist group, Jash-e-Muhammad (JeM) named as Muhammad Masood Azhar. This leader was highly responsible for holding the terrorist blasts that were continuously happening in India Indian occupied Kashmir region. When negotiations were held with hijackers, the Indian government had to release three territories forcefully after seven days and in response, hijackers released the passengers. India closed all sort of dialogues with Pakistan and a way of hope regarding negotiations ended in smoke. The arbitration could not took place till the mid of 2000. Consequently, Pakistani support for Kashmir jihadist increased gradually and it further annoyed the Indian authorities. The main reason for tension between India and Pakistan was the humiliation of Pakistan army in Kargil as the Pakistani soldiers had to set back from Kargil due to international pressure (Rizvi, 2009).

#### **4.2 The Restoration of Mutual Relations:**

After Kargil war, the procedure of reconciliation between India and Pakistan once again initiated through Agra Conference.

##### **4.2.1 Agra Conference:**

Agra conference brought forward different perceptions and focal points of India and Pakistan. India planned to discuss the whole sequence of important matters which were acknowledged by both countries in the Lahore Announcement like political and economic problems, to decrease nuclear threat, CBMs as well as Kashmir issue. Nevertheless, Pakistan insisted that to negotiate on other issues like CBMs and economic collaboration was baseless without the resolution of Kashmir conflict because it is the central issue between India and Pakistan. Previously, Pakistan had already drawn its much attention on Kashmir as a main focus for dialogues.

On the other hand, during the two days Agra conference, no formal accord could be achieved between the leaders of Pakistan and India. In spite of many talk hours

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between the two deputations and five tough and time consuming rounds, the two sides remained rigid on the main issue of Kashmir. After the failure of negotiations, General Musharraf invited Vajpai as to forget their differences, for a visit of Pakistan. He concluded that the issues were much more complex and could not be solved in a short period.

Many important discussions were held during the summit including the issue of Kashmir. But none could alter the outlook of Indian authorities. Originally the draft for this conference was made by the foreign relations ministries of both the states. When it came to the knowledge of Indian prime minister, Vajpayee, he stopped to sign this draft in the last moments of meeting. Even the Indian cabinet refused to approve it. To make it acceptable, a new draft was made even but India refused to acknowledge it. Even so, all considerations led towards the collapse of Agra conference.

### **4.3 The Unexpected Incident of 9/11 and Pakistan's altering paradigm for Kashmir strategy**

On 11 Sep, 2001, the terrorists used to blast the world trade Centre of New York and pentagon (Washington D.C, US). The hijackers suddenly hit the airplane to both buildings. These sharp, episode traumatize the whole world especially the American authorities. Many people, around seven thousand were died during this happening. The leaders of al-Qaeda took the responsibility for this strike. The bush administration of America took a decision to start war against Al-Qaeda or Taliban, famously known as war on terrorism or war against terrorism. He asked Pakistan to be a main partner in this war to abduct the chief leaders of Islamic militant groups particularly Al-Qaeda. General Pervez Musharraf smelled the situation and accepted all demands of US mission that came to Pakistan. In this regard, General Musharraf did not consult the Pakistani high officials to entertain the demands of US mission regarding Afghanistan. In these circumstances, Pakistan withdraw its support for afghan Taliban's and the Kashmiri freedom fighters, but it was mere an eye wash for the Indian authorities (Ahmed, 2001).

Resultantly, Pakistan became international partner in war against terror and facilitated USA and its partners to curb afghan jihads and the Taliban. In response to this Pakistan got support in matters of security, economy and strategic nuclear and missile assets. But Pakistan became more vulnerable due to insecure situation in Afghanistan. Pakistan faced a huge burden of war on terror in Pakistan due to afghan migrants. It strengthened Muthada Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), as this political organization in Pakistan had sympathy for Taliban's. The victory of MMA in 2002 General elections was a message of hatredness towards the west. Similarly the religious forces in Pakistan disliked the entry of Pakistan in war against terror (Pirzada, 2001).

In 2002 general election, foreign policy was a major factor to attract the attention of voters. The MMA exploited the situation and highlighted atrocities of NATO forces in Afghanistan with the help of Pakistan. In this regard, MMA was a key supporter of the Taliban and facilitating certain Taliban groups in tribal areas. Resultantly, MMA partner Jamate-i-Islami started strikes against the US attack in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 (Koshy, 2003).

The anti US rhetoric further increased in Pakistan when the dead bodies of various citizens of KPK and Baluchistan were received to their relatives. After the US attack in Afghanistan, the US did not involve in welfare and rehabilitations of the people of Afghanistan.

#### **4.4 Post 9/11scenario and Indo-Pakistan Relations:**

A new height of skirmishes between Pakistan and India developed in the wake of 9/11 incident. Pakistan turned into the main player in the US led war against terrorism.

##### **4.4.1 Terrorism: Beginning of a new wave of issues in the way of Pakistan-Indian affairs**

Terrorism is a common threat that is prevailing throughout the world. However, in context of Indo-Pak association, it unwrapped a new episode of conflicts. India took the chance to relate the international extremism with struggle of Kashmir. It tried to convince the America that in order to reduce the transnational act of terrorism, Pakistan should play a main part. It further insisted the US that many of the extremist Islamic militant groups have their strong bases in Pakistan that have always being found responsible for the terrorist attacks in the region of Kashmir and India. Particularly, Abdul kalam azan, the president of Indian state, and L.k Advani, the home minister of India, laid stress on the role of Pakistan in this regard while pressurizing the international community to take certain solid measures to evade the giant loss due to these extremists' activities (Sattar, 2007).

##### **4.4.2 A new chapter of hostility between Pakistan-India relations**

An advance level of hatred started in India in December, 2001 when the group of terrorists attacked the parliamentary house floor. Approximately 13 men were massacred including terrorists during the 45 minute fight among the terrorists and defense police force. The government of India called that this was the largest terrorist act, backed by Pakistan. Additionally, the Indian government assumed the engagement of two Pakistani grounded radical groups for openly involved in this strike (Rizvi, 2009).

##### **4.4.3 Blame Game**

The ISI, Pakistani state intelligence organization, was accused by Indian Government that they are backing the extremist armed groups to counter India. However, in reality, Pakistan severely criticized it but Indian authorities constantly suspected the state of Pakistan guilty of crafting threats towards India.

Moreover, leaders of India charged Pakistani entered networks of LeT and JeM for spreading rebellion in the land of Kashmir. Pakistani leaders denied Indian accusations and appealed that Indian government should present some suitable proofs. In response, India asked Pakistan to end the cross boundary extremism. Furthermore, India demolished all travel relations to Pakistani state. Particularly, It removed all the foreign and embassy officials from the capital territory of Islamabad. Immediately, the political affairs of India-Pakistan arrived to the bottom level (Bukhari, 2005).



#### **4.4.4 Misperceptions and the largest military standoff between both countries (Pakistan and India)**

The confusions continued to develop and led to deep-rooted and intensified war in the form of the biggest military standby between two neighboring nations. Indian army instantly installed its militaries across the state boundaries of Pakistan. The affairs related to the communication were apprehended remarkably rail, road, and air services were ceased. The government of India made a scheme of Aggressive attack towards the Pakistani State. The total number of placed forces were almost around 1,000,000. In the wake of 13 Dec Incident, Indian state authority signaled numerous dangers to Pakistan. She claimed that Pakistani spies are continuously crossing the defined border line. The Indian reaction came as extreme anger. Extreme bellicosity, shown by India, was the biggest move of Indian forces along the borders from May to June 2002.

The skirmish worsened which increased the risk of nuclear struggle. The reports of state officers by Bharat were persistently signaling Pakistan that clearly defined that nuclear war would possible and predictable to crush the moves of Islamic militants found in Indian territory of Kashmir and to suppress Pakistan's armed support for them (Mehmood, 1994).

General Musharraf delivered a speech in front of people and media of Pakistan while maintained that;

*If any hostile move would be taken by Indians armed forces around the state boundaries, it would surely be met by an aggressive action from Pakistani state armed forces, Insha'Allah, it would be certainly a war, not a normal one.*

These statements were greatly understood by Indian forces as signaling forward war by Pakistani President. Consequently, a counter statement was made by George Fernandez who was defense minister of India at that time. He indicated that;

*We would use not only one but two or more nuclear bombs if needed. The explosion would enough heavy to destroy the whole of Pakistan.*

#### **4.4.5 World community's role in Indo-Pakistan relations during post 9/11 scenario**

The international community extensively criticized the atomic and armed hostility of both countries. It asserted that both nations should resolve their hostilities through opening of the negotiation course. At that time, Pakistan was facing the dual situation. On the one face, Pakistan was the chief partner of US led war on terrorism. However, on the second face, Pakistan and India were involved in a major army deadlock. This phenomenon made the security situation of the entire Asian region extremely danger. Consequently, under these circumstances, the part of world community seemed great importance (Bukhari, 2005).

##### **4.4.5.1 The US Involvement and the peace maintenance**

President Bush played an important part to calm the hostilities primarily after terrorist attacked the India Parliament. In a telephonic conversation with Indian Prime Minister, Vajpayee, he expressed his sympathy. Additionally, he made a telephonic call and asked Musharraf for undertaking suitable initiatives to combat

the transactional extremism upon the request of Indian governance. He compelled Musharraf to adopt crucial moves to remove those networks spreading terrorism specifically on Indian land. Bush gave surety that US was prepared to give Pakistan all sort of support to crush the terrorist organizations. The Bush administration, on 20 Dec, 2001 acknowledged the world wide extremist groups list among which Lashkar-e-Taiba was the main group. The US banned this group. It was accused of being involved in the hit of Indian Parliamentarian building owing to which, its resources were apprehended. The two intimation militant groups, let and JeM were named as global radical factions. The US demanded certain critical actions against these groups from Pakistan as they has host webs in Pakistani territory.

The US was constantly convincing Pakistan to take severe actions against the local armed set ups. It compelled Musharraf to put ban on the prominent terrorist groups of JeM and LeT. Musharraf assured that Pakistanis territory would not be used for any kind of violence against any state but he remained standby for the Kashmir resolution and maintained that he would not reversed back from his standpoints over Kashmir territorial dispute. After passing certain days, Collin Powell, the secretary state of US, made an important flight to south Asian region from India to Pakistan. The Main purpose behind this flight was to restart the joint talks between both countries of concern. But the Collin Powell remained unsuccessful in this regard.

Again in July 2002, Collin visited India. This was the time when India was going to hold elections in the state of Kashmir. He advised India to hold free but fair elections. For this purpose, the availability of autonomous observers should be ensured. Besides, he made a statement in Islamabad that the Kashmir issue is an international issue. It is on the Global high priority. This statement was disliked by India. It became another reason for the failure of Collin to maintain easy relations between two hostile states.

#### **4.4.6 The deadlock broke**

In the month of April 2003, Vajpayee, the prime minister of India, gave an address in Srinagar (the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir, controlled by India). During the speech, the PM showed the desire to make peaceful relations with Pakistan through dialogues. But he put certain terms and conditions. Two major demands were came from Indian leader. First was the end of access to Kashmir territory illegally. The second was the eradication of cross boundary extremism. These demands of India were cherished and welcomed by Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali, the PM of Pakistan. Even a call was made by PM Jamali to the PM Vajpayee. During the call, both leaders shown an interest to begin the negotiation course specifically the continuation of diplomatic affairs.

A new sequence of cooperative relationship could be seen between India and Pakistan while Vajpayee was taking decision to stabilize the atmosphere of pressure. A significant number of Confidence building measures were signed between both the states due to the first hand collaboration from India. These CBM's comprised of:

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- The opening of bus service from Muzaffarabad (the capital of Pakistan occupied region of Kashmir) to Srinagar (the capital of Indian occupied region of Kashmir).
- The scheme of reopening of train service from Munabao (Rajasthan, India) to khokrapar (Sindh, Pakistan)→It was sealed due to war of 1965

On 23 Nov, 2003 the PM, Jamali, presented a scheme of one-sided cease-fire in the disputed land of Kashmir which was accepted by the Indian Prime Minister. It further broke the deadlock between both the states. Hence, this scheme was ultimately adopted on 26 Nov, 2003 (Kumar, 2008).

### **4.5 The Combined Talk (Famously known as Composite Dialogue):**

The SAARC meeting of January 2004, proved as a melting point between Pakistan and Indian after a long series of hostilities. It took place in the Islamabad, the capital territory of Pakistan. It was held between the PM of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee and President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf. Both the leaders approved the re-construction of combined talk mechanism. Moreover, Pakistan affirmed that she will take a severe action if anybody could try to use her land for any kind of violence to damage India's land. During this period, new elections were conducted by India. Manmohan Singh became the new PM of state of India. In the month of May, he continued the peace procedure again. With the continued success of these talks, the leaders of both neighboring nations met again in the month of September in the famous city of America, the New York. Hence, mutual discussions were held for the resume of talks and the stabilization of joint connections (Chaudhry, 2005).

There were following central concerns that were discussed between both the nations:

- CBM's
- A hot issue between Pakistan & India: Kashmir conflict
- Issue of Siachin
- Conflict of Wular Barrage
- Sir Creek Issue
- Extremism Plus Drug Smuggling
- Financial Plus Marketable Collaboration
- Advanced mutual interactions among numerous spheres

Important meetings were conducted between the secretaries of foreign affairs of both states in New Delhi, the capital of India, from June 27 to June 28 in 2004. At that time, Riaz Khokhar was the foreign secretary of Pakistan while Shashank was of India. Both of these officials delivered a combined description that stimulates collaboration, reconciliation cum safety. The necessity of CBM'S were highly recommended by the high officials for the promotion of harmony and shared assistance. During CBM's the significant decisions regarding the earlier announcement of nuclear trials, renewing embassies in India (Mumbai) and

Pakistan (Karachi), active authorization of high officials and the freedom of fisherman were taken. Kashmir issue was the main part of the dialogues. Both decided to resolve whole series of quarrels by joint consultations cooperatively.

In this regard, the diplomacy of transport was relatively remarkable viewpoint. This was a good use of diplomacy in the peace process regarding Kashmir cause. A bus service was approved from Muzaffarabad to Srinagar. Moreover, they deliberated about the legal problems about the papers of travelers. The leaders utterly wished for the solution of problem of Kashmir in accordance with the charter of United Nations and the agreement held at Shimla. Both acknowledged the nuclear capacity and power of their states. They contracted a settlement that they would hold systematic conferences about the shared apprehensions especially about the nuclear affairs (Kreutzman, 2008).

By following the prior practice of using the cricket diplomacy by Zia-ul-Haq, the prior president of Pakistan, General Musharraf used this form of diplomacy to overcome clashes and rigidities. Musharraf of Pakistan desired to hold the cricket matches in India. Hence, these matches were kept on Indian state during the months of April and March of 2005. In response, India's government referred on invitation to view a match on Indian land. Resultantly, Musharraf quickly accepted this offer. On April 17, 2006, he flew to India to view that one day match. That stay proved very fruitful and changed in a comprehensive meeting. Afterwards, the meetings were organized in India in April. Both governments presented numerous plans which revealed the solutions of shared conflicts. Statements were made by both leaders in which they approved to boost CBMS, public to public interactions and collaborations. They decided to revive the talk practice regarding the dispute of Kashmir and Jammu. Both obliged that they would improve the summits discussion agendas about LOC (bordering line). So that, both the divided nations would make their relations active and effective and to promote sphere of trade between the two wings in Kashmir. Also, they were agreed to begin the bus service between the two wings of Kashmir. Further, they decided the start of train service from Munabao to Khokrabar and vice versa on January 1 in 2006. They further took the decision for the revival of Karachi and Mumbai corresponding consulates till the end of year 2005. With the improvement and promotion of the plans of composite, both leaders agreed to initiate dialogues momentarily regarding the problem of Siachin and Sir Creek. Directions were provided by the governments to the higher level officers to make negotiations about the existing issues in accordance with the international system (Sattar, 2007).

The meeting between foreign ministers was organized in the month of October, dated as 03-10-2005. The main agenda of this meeting was to increase the development of combined talk particularly the peace evaluation of CBM's. Besides, joint commission conference was arranged. The chief objective was to promote the combined efforts of April 18, 2005. They concentrated to improve the schema of combined dialog. This was to promote peaceful relations collaboration. Plus, they evaluated the growth of schema of its mechanism. Moreover, the ministers of neighboring states promoted the proposals that were presented in the combined statement, made on September 2, 2005. They jointly decided that expert level conferences would be held. These would be started at the end of 2005. The arrangements of procedures plus principles for conferences were decided between the opposite relatives (Kumar, 2008).

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Numerous concerns were publicized between the dividend countries. These were comprised of following arrangements:

- A contract regarding for the implementation of bus transport from Amritsar (India) to Lahore(Pakistan)→Nov, 2005
- Another arrangement of bus transport from Amritsar (India) to Nankana Sahib (Pakistan)→Oct, 2005
- Agreement for the technical arrangement of bus transport from Poonch to Rawlakot.
- Mutual agreement for the execution of truck transport from Muzaffarabad to Srinagar.
- Based on morality, it was decided to free the detainees and fisherman.

Additionally, these ministers made a pact for consulate. It involved the rules and regulations concerning the imprisonment of people captured by defense forces. They decided that a quick announcement should be dispensed regarding the detaining of their nationals. Within 3 months of detention, consulate should be operationalized. Other matters of concerns were the detainees' relief, the process of certification for nationality and the illegitimate border cross. The concerned agents further discussed sir creek and Siachen glacier, Indo Pak conflicts. Both the nations approved a decision that before the upcoming Jan, 2006 summit of combined dialogue, the negotiation should be maintained regarding Siachin issue as to discover a practical and shared plan for this issue. Furthermore, they settled a plan for the resolution of sir creek issue that there should be a combined review to obtain possibilities of practical solution. They also maintained that they would inform each other about it in the coming combined negotiation. The significant potentials of the famous project of Gas pipeline known as IPI. (Iran→ Pakistan →India) were also discussed as to get implementation and benefits by that plan. It was decided by the ministers that they would authorize several CBMS. Among those the famous were as follows;

- The Pact regarding informed testing of Ballistic weaponries.
- The unofficially contract for Memorandum of Understanding between the two parties named as Maritime security agency of Pakistan and coast guards of India as to expand the transmission linkages.

When the 3rd series of meetings were held, the main point of discussions was Jammu and Kashmir. It was approved from indo Pak authorities that non-conventional confidence building measures should be adopted especially the non-developed new positions and non-fortification of prevailing disobedience mechanisms. Agreements were signed regarding the matters of crucial importance specifically about flag gatherings and convections about the replacements of nationals that cross the international boundaries by fault. It was suggested by Pakistan that J and K should be demilitarize. In response to it, India maintained that demilitarization would increase terrorism in the region. Afterwards meeting of two days were organized between the opposite nations from thirty to thirty one may, 2006. Both the nations revealed the moderation in the Visa strategy. Chiefly,

Pakistan managed various moderations in her Indian Visa strategy. Among those, changes the following were prominent:

- 30 days visiting visa instead of 14 days
- Hajis of India would be delivered by 15 days visa instead of shrine precise visa
- Stretched business visa up to 6 months plus three fold entrance visa with delay of maximum 30 days

Pakistan provided liberty to Indian movies. It improved the trade affairs of both nations. Certain business community of Pakistan was opposed to the exchange of movies by India in Pakistan but Pakistani government did not turn ear to this.

Other merchandises trade was also increased at that time. It was authorized by Pakistan to restore the beneficial mutual affairs. It permitted the truck transportation from terrestrial paths to Afghanistan. Rawalakot punch bus transport was a significant step initiated by daughter of Gandhi, Sonia on June 20, 2006. It furthest performed a significant role in resolving the joint misunderstandings. The third series of combined negotiation round with the concise deliberation on Tulbul-Wullar Barrage ended on June 23, 2006. (Kumar, 2008).

#### **4.6 Strategy for joint counter-terrorism measures:**

The change in India-Pakistan relations took place in early 2006 when the cross-border bus service from Amritsar to Lahore started in January 2006. Pakistan and India took several initiatives for peace in the region. The weekly bus services started between India and Pakistan on February 18, 2006. The relations stabled and successful negotiations also took place. But suddenly in July 2006, the affairs became verse due to attacks in Mumbai. Around 200 people were killed. The Indian authorities refused the foreign secretary level meetings. The Indian police fired the responsibilities of Mumbai attacks on Pakistan based Lashkar-e-Taiba. But in September 2006 a meeting of higher diplomatic authorities was held in Havana and it was jointly decided that a strategy of counter-terrorism will be laid out to eliminate terrorism from the region. Likewise, it was decided to continue composite dialogue in order to address issues between India and Pakistan.

In addition to that it was also decided that the issue of Siachin will also be discussed in the bi-lateral talks. For this purpose, leader of both the countries will sit for dialogue in NewDelhi. It was agreed that joint survey of Siachin area and discussions regarding maritime boundary will also be discussed in the meeting. Moreover, they agreed that the foreign securities of both the sides will streamline the agenda item for all issues pertaining to India & Pakistan.

#### **4.7 President Musharraf's Plan for reduction of state armed forces from Seven Regions**

On Oct 25, 2004 Musharraf talked to an assembly of senior editors of wide variety of newspapers. He appealed to the nation for discussion to know the possible outcomes for Kashmir resolution. The most important reason for this call was to develop a consensus to alter the line of control in to an international border. He recommended that the Kashmir territory should be divided into seven dubious zones but these zones must be armed free. Out of these seven regions, Azad

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Kashmir plus northern sides should be the authority of Pakistan. Jammu must be the part of 2nd positron but the Muslim majority areas of Gujras, Sindhans, and Rajhas should be connected to Azad Kashmir. Muslim dominated Kashmir valley would comprise of 3rd positron. The Shia and Balti populated areas of Kargil should be included in forth portion whereas, Buddhist residential land of Ladakh and its connected parts would make the 5th portion.

These seven zones were completely different from each other in terms of language ethnicity, religion, geography, politics and several other characteristics. Pervaiz Musharraf added that on part of these differences, territory must be revised. Further a compromised resolution for this issue should be established. At that time his public debate for Kashmir resolution was highlighted by the opposition as a roll back. On the other side it was not acceptable for India to give consensus on the division of Kashmir into seven regions because this was the direct redrawing of original map of J and K. Just like other proposals presented by Musharraf, this was an additional step to create talking space for both the disputed states to think beyond their previous specified stand points for Kashmir cause. To further convince the Indian authorities, Musharraf on Dec 17, 2003 revealed in front of masses that we have left the resolution issued by UN security. Moreover, he during his formal discussion with Indian PM, Atal Behari Vajpai, on Jan 6, 2004 stated that Pakistani land should not be used by an extremist militant groups. By these two active statements Musharraf was in a position to purely persuade the Indian government come to the table of talks.

### **4.8 Four point resolution over the conflict of Kashmir cause:**

Although Musharraf presented many resolutions for the solution of the issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan but his four point proposal has a great importance in the history of conflicts between both states regarding the division of Kashmir territory which he projected on 5 Dec, 2006. He proposed this formula in an interview to an Indian based channel named NDTV (New Delhi Television Limited).

This proposal had the following four important points as;

- Spineless/spongy boundaries in territory having no alteration of boundaries
- Self-sufficiency in all the constituencies of region
- The combined administrative system

Through this proposed solution, General Pervaiz was very near to a state to influence the authorities of India. Even, the India's governance decided to make an overlook on Musharraf's plans that were made for Kashmir resolution. The Indian government was of the view that Pakistan and Indian authorities should make a conclusive design for the solution of this longed disputed matter. In short, the governments of both the states were engaged with each other while using indirect methods of communication for the formulation and execution of plans made by General Musharraf (Matinuddin, 2004).

## **5.1 Conclusion**

The army ruler, after coming in to power in Pakistan, strained to rebuild the easier face of the country to words all the states of the world specifically India. Due to the Kargil war of 1999, all the dialogues were dead between the two South Asian nations, Pakistan and India. After the era of seal of communication, both the states again engaged in a dialogue through Agra meeting. However, the episode of 9/11 changed the whole scenario of dialogue between Pakistan and India. Moreover, in the wake of extremist spell on Indian Parliament House, it started claiming throughout the world that Pakistan is sponsoring state border terrorism. It reached both the states towards war (a nuclear arm race and military standoffs). Due to this phenomenon, the Indian state and world community started pressurizing Pakistan to counter terrorism. Consequently, Pakistan had to ban the Islamic extremist groups, having ground basis in Pakistan and, those that were causing terror in Jammu and Kashmir. This proved to be a major transfer of Pakistan foreign policy regarding Indian state. Moreover, Pakistan affirmed that its land would not be used by any terrorist group against any territory especially Indian.

Musharraf was in a state to realize that Kashmir problem is a major bone of contention between Pakistan and India. Hence, he considered this issue as a major foreign policy challenge. In his first press session, the President of Pakistan, Musharraf, showed his policy aims about India. He asserted that if India would pursue aggression towards Pakistan, the reaction of Pakistan would be surely more aggressiveness than that of Indians. But if India would show a peaceful policy, Pakistan would show a hand of friendship. However, if India would follow coercion, Pakistan's policy would never be peaceful towards India. Everything would be done for the promotion of the better image of the country.

The core developments during Musharraf rule involved the following:

- The series of merged dialogues
- The historic four point formula for Kashmir
- Numerous struggles towards Confidence building
- The structure of multiple interchanges
- Joint Anti-Terrorism. Mechanisms

One new method was approved by the General Musharraf in a form of four point formula which contains demilitarization and self-autonomy with mutual system in 2006.

Although many resolutions were made by both the states and many were not fully operationalized but the peace process did not fully dismantle. Also, the peace dialogs were being damaged by the attacks in Mumbai and 26/11 incidents which created a strong blockage between two potential neighboring countries. However, the upcoming elections of Pakistan in 2008, changed the whole scenario of politics regarding Kashmir resolution. The next coming democratic government did not implement the peace proposals regarding Kashmir resolution made by Musharraf.



## 5.2 Recommendations

With the help of analysis of the entire situation, the researcher has suggested some significant recommendations for the resolution of Kashmir dispute which are as follows;

- The super power, US, can play an influential role in the solution of this problem. Instead of promoting dialogues between India and Pakistan, US is making close operation with Indian terms of nuclear and economic field. The US is becoming closer to India great market influence in international market and to use India as a deterrent against china. US did not turning its deaf ear on the matter of human rights violation by India in Kashmir. Moreover, in the wake of 9/11, US is supporting the war of India against Kashmiri freedom fighters by considering it as a part of war against terrorism. US has two intentions on supporting India. The first intention is to make a strong hold in the region. The second and more important intention is to make a big sale market of US weapons to India and Pakistan. Interestingly, china is showing a neutral attitude towards this issue because if it will support the Kashmiri freedom fighters then it may result into the loss of its own eastern province in which separatist movement is going on.
- Violation of human rights must be stopped in Kashmir education and employment facilities should be given to Kashmir. Because it is their fundamental rights. Although, this may not be the ultimate solution, but it may create peaceful environment for settlement.
- Because both the disputing states are nuclear powers, therefore, both the nations should minimize the nuclear development process.
- The trade and economic relations between both the states should be enhanced to promote diplomatic and peaceful atmosphere.
- Proxy-wars must be banned from both sides. Political leaders of both the states should not use radical and anti-peace elements against each other. These states should reach to a diplomatic agreement by demilitarizing the region of Kashmir.
- There is need of strong political determination and commitment from both sides for holding peaceful resolutions.
- The old plan of holding referendum in Kashmir is the best possible solution. After referendum, if Kashmir emerge as an independent state, it may act as a buffer state between India and Pakistan in order to hold and maintain good relations. It is also possible that after referendum, the Kashmiri people would decide to interpolate with Pakistan which would not be tolerable for India. Therefore, India is against about any resolution having choice of referendum.
- If India does not reach on maintaining referendum for the self determination of Kashmiri people (Pakistan's stance) and Pakistan does not agree to seized Kashmir as essential portion of India (India's stance) then the finest choice for the resolution is the proposal of a Chinese

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intellectual that 'postpone the conflict', which means to advance the region, provide confined self-rule, prosperity of public, stress-free interaction and movement between the dual portions of Kashmir, simple permit procedures, easy-going border, person to person communication and harmony in the zone will one time lead to enduring solution of the puzzle. If the opponents of the two world wars with land differences i.e. France and Germany can develop welcoming and joined attitude then why can't Indo-Pak stabilize their affairs and resolve two- sided clashes.

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