

Pugwash Meeting on Jammu and Kashmir and the India-Pakistan Dialogue: The Prospects Ahead

11–14 December 2004, Kathmandu, Nepal

Press Release, 14 December 2004

The Pugwash Conferences, recipient of the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize, today concluded an historic meeting involving more than 50 individuals from Jammu and Kashmir, India and Pakistan on ways of ending more than five decades of conflict and establishing a secure and prosperous future for the peoples of this vital region of South Asia.

For the first time in many years, members of political parties, non-governmental organizations, and civil society from both sides of the Line of Control were able to meet each other, and their colleagues from India and Pakistan, in an atmosphere of trust and reconciliation as they discussed ways of overcoming many of the contentious issues that confront them.

Participants of the conference welcomed the resumption of the composite dialogue between India and Pakistan in the hope that a sustained dialogue between the two countries will lead to enhanced confidence and greater cooperation in areas of mutual interest and a resolution of all outstanding issues including Jammu and Kashmir.

For too long, conflict in Jammu and Kashmir has produced widespread suffering and deprivation for the people of the region and served as an enduring source of conflict between India and Pakistan. Participants expressed the hope that Jammu and Kashmir need not forever represent a chasm dividing Pakistan and India, but could potentially be a bridge between these two great countries and transform the political and economic fortunes of South Asia.

Over four days, participants discussed ways of reducing violence and building trust, improving the transportation infrastructure and economy of the region, instituting cooperative programs, and generally enhancing the welfare and fulfilling the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Much remains to be done if long-standing tensions are to be overcome. But participants at the Pugwash meeting were optimistic that an important first step had been

taken. Future meetings and ways of continuing and intensifying the dialogue were discussed in the knowledge that the people of Jammu and Kashmir themselves must help lead the way to a more peaceful and prosperous future.

The Pugwash Conferences would like to express its deep appreciation to the government of Nepal for its assistance in hosting the meeting in Kathmandu, and to the governments of India and Pakistan for their encouragement and support.

Prof. Paolo Cotta-Ramusino
Secretary General
Rome office

Dr. Jeffrey Boutwell
Executive Director
Washington, DC office

ADDENDUM

Statement of Consensus by Persons from both sides of the Line of Control, Jammu and Kashmir

During the Pugwash meeting in Kathmandu, Nepal, there was a meeting just of persons from both sides of the Line of Control, on Monday, December 13. The following is a statement from that session.

A general consensus developed as follows:

- (1) The dignity and welfare of the inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir are of paramount importance;
- (2) The process of peace should be developed around the following features:
 - solutions to be sought in a peaceful manner
 - solutions to be perceived as honorable
 - solutions to be feasible
- (3) Confidence-building measures to be taken include ending violence, steps to improve the economy and social institutions, and steps to create the conditions for the rule of law.
- (4) The dialogue process started in Kathmandu should be continued and institutionalized.

Media Coverage

From Kashmir to Kathmandu

14 December 2004

By *Charles Haviland*

BBC correspondent in Kathmandu

In a corner of the lobby of Kathmandu's plushest hotel, a remarkable cluster of people sat together over whisky, tea and coffee.

There was a retired army general, the epitome of Pakistan's military and political establishment.

There were Kashmiri politicians from both sides of the Line of Control which divides the territory; an academic and a teacher; and a leader of Kashmiri Hindus, the Pandits, displaced from their homes by the violence in Indian-controlled Kashmir.

Remarkable sentiments were being expressed on this emotional occasion: one of the first times that different parties in the dispute have met in South Asia.

"We're similar in language and culture, in fact we're birds of the same feather," said the Kashmiri Pandit leader, Jatender Bakshi.

Ethnic division

He was seated with Professor MARK Khaleeque, a party leader and retired government member in Pakistani-controlled Kashmir, who nodded in agreement about the value of meeting "our brethren from that side".

The two had just met for the first time. Prof Khaleeque said any religious or ethnic division of Kashmir should be ended, while Mr Bakshi outlined his vision for the near future.

That is the return of Pandits to their homes in the Kashmir Valley "to live physically, emotionally and intermingle with the majority [Muslim] community there as we lived before".

"We're similar in language and culture, in fact we're birds of the same feather."

—Kashmiri Pandit leader, Jatender Bakshi

He had been invited to hold a meeting on this subject at the Srinagar office of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference—the main umbrella separatist group in Indian-controlled Kashmir.

Nearby, Hurriyat leaders—those representing its mod-

erate wing, opposed to the armed struggle—patiently gave media interviews, although keen to get out sightseeing.

Hurriyat chairman Mirwais Omar Farooq, young and slick, said the great value of these informal talks was that they were focused on Kashmiris rather than just on India and Pakistan.

"Half my family are in Azad [Pakistani] Kashmir, but I've never visited," he said. "We need open borders—let's forget rhetoric, forget passports."

A hug

His older Hurriyat colleague, Prof Abdul Ghani Bhat, was effusive—the meeting had enabled a far greater depth of interaction than anything in the past, he said.

There was even a hug between Pakistani and Indian retired lieutenant-generals, Talat Masood and BS Malik.

Holding such talks in Nepal—like Kashmir a Himalayan beauty spot—may have seemed an unlikely choice.

"We chose Kathmandu because it's neither India nor Pakistan but very nearby," said the amiable Italian professor, Paolo Cotta-Ramusino, the prime mover behind this event.

As head of Pugwash Conferences, an international peace think-tank, he visited both halves of Kashmir a year ago and decided to do something concrete.

He said there was a heartening degree of mutual respect, adding that the Indian and Pakistani governments had offered "amazing" support.

He did not, however, hide his disappointment that Indian-administered Kashmir's current and former governing parties had both failed to send delegates.

"We tried by every means to get them—you'll have to ask them why they didn't come," he said.

Humanitarian problem

By contrast, there was a contribution of sorts from the hardline faction of the Hurriyat separatists.

Syed Ali Shah Geelani had sent a paper for debate, describing Kashmir as a humanitarian problem rather than a territorial dispute.

Hurriyat chairman Mirwais Farooq said that while both Delhi and Islamabad had tried to "sabotage" such meetings in the past, things were now different. He had been allowed to travel using just his driving licence for identity purposes.

Media Coverage

But whatever new cross-border initiatives are discussed here, and however deep the goodwill, will the governments will retreat to their normal positions when it comes to the crunch?

That could happen, admitted Hameeda Nayeem, a professor from Srinagar. But, she felt, when ordinary people and think tanks get involved, “it is very difficult for governments to backtrack”.

On India’s regular complaint, alleged cross-border incursions by militants, General Masood said he believed Pakistani policy towards guerrillas had significantly hardened, especially since assassination attempts on President Musharraf last year.

Delegates here talked of a future of open borders, of Kashmir being an engine of commerce in the region—a unifier rather than a divider.

That may all be a long way off. But as of now, the Pugwash-sponsored talks here have produced a lot of smiling faces.

Story from BBC NEWS:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/south_asia/4094421.stm
Published: 2004/12/14 12:36:00 GMT
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Editorial

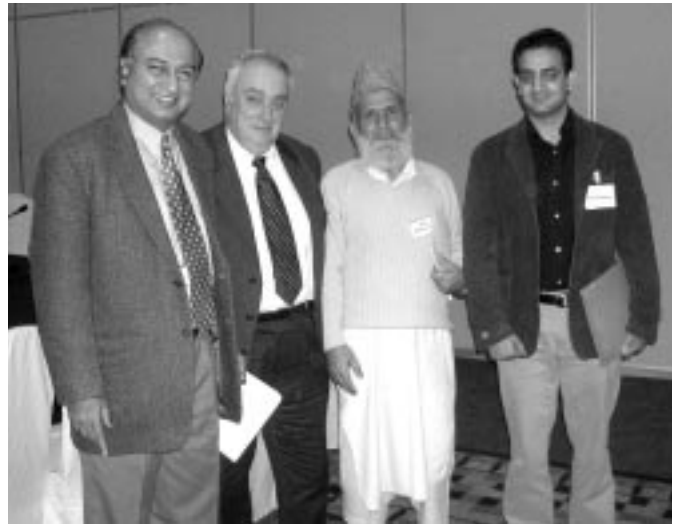
15 December 2004

Daily Times of Pakistan

Milestone Kathmandu conference

The Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs has recently concluded a meeting in Kathmandu that brought together experts from India, Pakistan, the United States and some other countries. Even more significantly it had some leaders and analysts from the two sides of Kashmir — Azad Kashmir and Indian-Held Kashmir. This was a milestone conference for many reasons.

The stimulus for Pugwash came from a Manifesto issued in 1955 by eminent scientist Albert Einstein and philosopher Bertrand Russell. The manifesto “called upon scientists of all political persuasions to assemble to discuss the threat posed to civilisation by the advent of thermonuclear weapons”. The forum got its name from Pugwash, a small village in Nova Scotia in Canada, birthplace of the American philanthropist Cyrus Eaton, who hosted the first meeting. Since that day, Pugwash has expanded to



Amb. Parthasarathi, Prof. Cotta-Ramusino, Mohd Abdullah Tari, and Imram Jeelani

cover various areas of security and conflict resolution. It brings together, “from around the world, influential scholars and public figures concerned with reducing the danger of armed conflict and seeking cooperative solutions for global problems”.

During the Cold War, Pugwash provided a forum to antagonists on both sides of the East-West divide to talk to each other candidly in private. This is why Pugwash meetings work on the principle of non-reporting. While the Einstein-Russell Manifesto sets the ideal goal, much of Pugwash’s success — for instance, in relation to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons — was owed to its policy-oriented approach. In 1995, it got the Nobel Prize for Peace in recognition of the work it had done towards non-proliferation and arms control.

For the last four years, Pugwash has also been involved in reducing the risk of war between India and Pakistan — following the nuclearisation of the two countries — and has recently also joined efforts to try and work out a solution to the Kashmir problem. The Kathmandu conference was a follow-up on at least two earlier conferences in Geneva and New Delhi. However, this was the first time it managed to bring together leaders and opinion makers from both sides of the Line of Control.

What is good is the fact that the meeting was facilitated by the governments of India and Pakistan, though there were anxious moments when bureaucrats on both sides tried to throw a spanner in the works. Pugwash was

Media Coverage



Prof. Cotta-Ramusino, Hon. M. Rasgotra, Gen. Masood, and Raja Mohan.

also a little concerned about some press coverage in the run-up to the conference, some of which hinted at its (Pugwash) being part of the American efforts to work out a solution. That is wrong, as Pugwash was at pains to point out. It simply provides a forum for frank and candid exchange of ideas which, most would agree, is important as part of ongoing efforts to improve the atmospherics between India and Pakistan and keep the normalisation process on the rails. Additionally, this particular meeting proved significant because of the interface between Kashmiri leadership from AJK and IHK. It has been a long-standing demand of Pakistan as well as the All Parties Hurriyat Conference that Kashmiris on both sides should be allowed to meet and work out a joint strategy. Therefore, it makes eminent sense for Pakistan to support all initiatives, whether official or unofficial, which seek to do just that.

Given that the UN resolutions on Kashmir have become mostly moribund in the backdrop of India's refusal to accept them, it is important to come up with creative solutions. Also, no solution of Kashmir is likely to stick unless it is generally acceptable to the majority of Kashmiris. This is also the official position of Pakistan and General Pervez Musharraf has reiterated it consistently. A good upshot of the recent meeting has been the committees set up to intensify contacts between leaders on both sides and provide them the space to flesh out ideas dis-

cussed at the Kathmandu meeting. That is why this development should be welcomed by India and Pakistan. Both can use the Kashmiris to climb down from their maximalist positions without losing face. *

Kidnappings are a blot on Sindh CM

Upper Sindh is once again in the clutches of dacoits and gangs of kidnappers. On December 3, a gang of criminals kidnapped three additional sessions judges, one of whom managed to escape but not before he was severely beaten up. The other two, Abdul Wahab and Farooq Ahmed Channa, are still missing. All three were travelling from Ratodero to Shikarpur when they were kidnapped.

But this is not the only incident. Ten other people including three Hindu boys have been kidnapped in Shikarpur alone in less than a month. There have been other reports of similar incidents from the districts of Jacobabad, Sukkur, Ghotki and Larkana. While the Citizen-Police Liaison Committee in Karachi has extensive records on kidnapping-for-ransom cases in urban Sindh, rural Sindh is largely a matter of conjecture. Rough estimates put the number of recent incidents across Sindh at nearly 100 cases. There is also a discrepancy between records held by the police and estimates given by the CPLC and other NGOs working with citizens. Invariably, in rural Sindh, the kidnapped person has had to buy his freedom.

An interesting observation regarding these cases is that the dacoits either target officials or people from less powerful clans and tribes. Most known Baloch tribes have generally not faced this problem. Another pattern relates to the rise in kidnapping cases whenever there is a political government in Sindh. Many observers have noted the nexus between dacoits and politicians in the province. That is why it is important for the Sindh government to capture the culprits and take to task the politicians involved in it in any way. The Sindh chief minister has generally showed off as a "tough" administrator. But he might be a better chief minister if he could take time off from private tableegh to look after the welfare of his public constituents. *

From http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_17-12-2004_pg3_1

Media Coverage

Not chasm, J-K a bridge between India and Pakistan

15 December 2004

C. Raja Mohan, *Indian Express*

Hope reigns at first-ever interaction between people from J-K and across LoC

Dispelling political concerns all around and overcoming many procedural difficulties, a rare conversation among Indians, Pakistanis and Kashmiris ended here today with the hope that the state of Jammu and Kashmir could eventually become a bridge between New Delhi and Islamabad.

As the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, winner of the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize, prepared to host a dialogue on Jammu and Kashmir, there was considerable anxiety in New Delhi about its unusual format and potentially unwelcome consequences.

Despite those apprehensions, New Delhi decided to allow leaders of the All Party Hurriyat Conference to travel to Kathmandu in their individual capacity. Many of them, including Mir waiz Omar Farooq, Abdul Ghani Bhatt and Sajjad Lone joined the unprecedented dialogue.

Although the Indian government let Syed Ali Geelani travel and participate in the conference, the hardline leader of the Jamat-e-Islami in Kashmir was a no-show.

New Delhi's calculated risk appears to have been worthwhile as the engagement between Indians, Pakistanis and Kashmiris took place amid rhetorical restraint, political civility and mutual respect.

No one at the conference ceded ground on the controversial question of Jammu and Kashmir. Yet, no one sought to impose a set of positions on the others. The emphasis was on the widely shared interest in promoting peace and development in Jammu and Kashmir.

The conference over the last four days saw two sets of conversations. One among Indians, Pakistanis and Kashmiri leaders; and another, taking place for the first time, just between the conference participants from Jammu and Kashmir across the dividing line.

Summing up the essence of the dialogue in a press release, Paolo Cotta-Ramusino, Secretary General of the Pugwash, underlined the vision that "Jammu and Kashmir need not forever represent a chasm dividing India and Pakistan, but could potentially be a bridge between these two great countries".

A separate statement from the leaders of J-K reflected the consensus among them that the solutions to the problem in the state must be "sought in a peaceful manner", "perceived as honourable", and must be "feasible". No one from New Delhi, Islamabad, Srinagar or Muzaffarabad would want to quibble with those political criteria for a settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir question.

A running theme in both the conversations was the urgency of initiating measures to reduce the levels of violence, enhance the rule of law, and generate greater contact and economic exchanges between the people of the divided state.

Trading charges and apportioning the blame for the extended crisis in Jammu and Kashmir are common in any dialogue between Indians and Pakistanis. The focus at Kathmandu, instead, was on finding common ground despite major differences between Indians, Pakistanis and Kashmiris and among the various regions of the original state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The conference did not come up with any solutions to the Jammu and Kashmir problem. It was not expected to. If sustained, however, the initiative might help generate a wee bit of political space for New Delhi and Islamabad to explore answers to the problem.

http://www.indianexpress.com/full_story.php?content_id=60



Jammu and Kashmir and the India-Pakistan dialogue: The Prospects Ahead

Kathmandu, Nepal, 11-14 December 2004

Report

By Claire Galez

[Throughout the document, unless otherwise specified, "Jammu and Kashmir" is taken to mean all the territory comprising both Indian and Pakistani-administered Jammu and Kashmir]

Following a terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament in December 2001, diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan were suspended and both countries maintained a military standoff for over a year. After more than five decades of acrimonious relations between the two neighbours, where the lives of millions of people were imperilled by three wars and several near-war situations, India and Pakistan in April 2003 committed themselves to fresh rounds of talks with the aim of constructing a bilateral composite dialogue where the conflict over Kashmir would be addressed.

The Pugwash workshop on 'Jammu & Kashmir and the India-Pakistan Dialogue: The Prospects Ahead' was the most recent in a series of Pugwash workshops on South Asia issues, held in Lahore, Geneva and New Delhi in 2002-2003, focusing on the need for and ways of strengthening a normaliza-

tion process between India and Pakistan. Although Jammu and Kashmir is certainly one of the most contentious issues between the two countries, it had not been discussed in detail during previous sessions, except for issues of cross-border infiltration and the management of the Line of Control as seen from the perspective of India's and Pakistan's national security concerns. It was felt that the participation of key Kashmiri actors from both sides of the divide was paramount in evolving mechanisms of sustainable and rewarding conflict resolution.

For the first time in decades, members of political parties, non-governmental organizations, and civil society from both sides of the Line of Control were able to meet with each other, and with their colleagues from Pakistan and India, for constructive dialogue. More than 50 participants from India, Pakistan, Azad Jammu and Kashmir (Pakistan Administered Kashmir-PAK) and from all the regions of the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir (Indian Administered Kashmir-IAK) attended. [No representatives from Kashmir's Gilgit and Skardu regions (the Northern Areas-NAs) attended].

The Pugwash Conferences are very grateful to the governments of India and Pakistan for helping to

facilitate the meeting, to the government of Nepal for agreeing to host the meeting on its territory, and to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for its support of the Pugwash South Asia program which made the meeting possible. The Pugwash Secretary General, Prof. Paolo Cotta-Ramusino, and all the members of the Pugwash community would especially like to pay tribute to Mr. J.N. Dixit, the national security advisor to the government of India, who did so much to help make the meeting a reality, and who passed away on 3 January 2005, shortly after the meeting.

Following a general opening plenary session, the participants broke into three working group sessions on the following topics:

- Intra-Kashmiri Dialogue
- CBMs and Immediate Measures
- Steps towards a Peaceful Resolution of the Conflict

The workshop then concluded by re-convening in a plenary. What follows is a general summary of the main points covered in the meeting, with the report being the responsibility of the rapporteur, and not meant to convey or imply approval by any particular participant, or the group as a whole.

Background

The stated positions of all parties to the Kashmir dispute are well known. After a brief introduction of the standard Pugwash methodology for meetings—where individuals represent only themselves and where there should be no attribution of remarks made during the meeting—the organizers urged participants at this meeting, intended at **creating a framework for dialogue between people from India, Pakistan and from both sides of the Kashmir divide**, to go beyond acrimony and stated positions and creatively reflect on their own capacity in contributing to peace and reconciliation in the region.

First steps towards conflict resolution

Although no consensus was reached in identifying the starting point for evolving conflict resolution mechanisms, all participants acknowledged that the human dimension of the conflict should take priority over geo-strategic considerations. Key approaches were developed by some participants, stressing the need for ‘**change**’ mainly in developing a people-centred approach and making the human dimension of the Kashmir problem part and parcel of the political dialogue at all levels.

Some participants also felt that ‘**time**’ is a fundamental factor in establishing a durable peace between India and Pakistan, but most importantly for the whole of Kashmir in its regional environment. What is needed is a prolonged period of non-violence, coupled with genuine social and economic reforms, that could deflate a great number of problems and help establish a durable and sustainable peace. One cannot expect a society to shift instantly from pro-

found trauma to peace. Genuine space should be carved out for the people of Kashmir to recover from 56 years of estrangement and alienation, and from over a decade and a half of intense violence.

At the outset, there seemed to be much agreement that the **UN Resolutions** proposing a plebiscite to express the political choices of Kashmiris, of acceding to either India or Pakistan, was now obsolete.

It was also generally agreed that the end result of negotiations on the future political status of Kashmir cannot be realistically ascertained at this stage. Nevertheless, initial negotiations can and should focus on the Kashmiri people’s prime interest in

peace, reconciliation, and economic and social development. While there remain dissenting views on who exactly are the representatives of the Kashmiri people (and in fact no party or individual can claim an absolute representative character), the overriding consideration is that the **Kashmiri people need to be represented** meaningfully at different levels of negotiation.

The need for developing a **multi-level approach** was generally agreed to by the participants, stressing the need for an intra-Kashmiri dialogue and process of reconciliation within both sides of Kashmir and across the Line of Control; and between Kashmiris and both capitals. To that end,



while participants appreciated the efforts of both India and Pakistan to sustain a composite dialogue, it was nonetheless emphasised that the bilateral process should arrive at **Kashmiri-specific CBMs**.

This **multi-track dialogue** should be a means rather than an end; it should result in formulating CBMs that should in turn be implemented by all parties concerned within a particular timeframe. Most importantly, CBMs related to Kashmir—whether emanating from the bilateral or the multi-track dialogue process—must provide people of the State with palpable dividends. It was also underlined that while the Indian and Pakistani governments have set up a framework for a political route that could lead to a more secure environment and perhaps to peace, a number of measures can safely be taken without embarrassing either government or making either of them dramatically change their historical position. Meanwhile, measures such as opening roads and enhancing trade relations would substantially improve people’s lives.

The heterogeneous character of J&K must of course be taken into consideration. Over 56 years of history, there have been no opportunities for developing social, economic or political cohesion within Jammu and Kashmir, either across the LoC or within the respective units of Indian Administered Kashmir and Pakistan Administered Kashmir. Today, each region of J&K tends to be specific rather than inclusive about its own vision and demands. In the context of a multi-track dialogue, it will be important to keep ground realities in focus while simultaneously recognizing at the outset the common link of geographical conti-

guity as a basis for more fluid relations among them.

One should also recognize that the question of **quality leadership** is essential in evolving people-centred policies and giving the Kashmiris their due place in a negotiating process. All parties, mainstream or separatist, must emphasize their commitment to genuinely benefiting the people and staying away from political manoeuvring by India or by Pakistan. A high sense of responsibility and morality must prevail in claiming

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.....

a representative role on behalf of the Kashmiri people. Moreover, some participants thought that a multi-track dialogue should be inclusive of all parties concerned, to include representatives of the Northern Areas, main stream parties contesting elections in Indian Administered Kashmir, and opposition parties in Pakistan Administered Kashmir.

The Pugwash gathering was reminded that over 15 years of violence have profoundly affected people’s psyche, especially in Indian Administered Kashmir, where physical violence has stamped every soul. Kashmiri society ground realities are very different today than fifty or

twenty years ago. Violence has crippled all institutions and affected people’s confidence, both with presumed friends and imagined foes. No party concerned can therefore remain insensitive to the fact that reforming a society is quite different than reconstructing a war torn society. It is therefore expected that collective interests will ultimately prevail upon personal ambitions. Secondly the leadership in India, in Pakistan and in each unit of J&K must develop a truly compassionate mind-set that is realistic in vision and pragmatic in deeds while being committed to restoring the right to life, and the right to live, of the Kashmiri people.

Beyond wide acknowledgement that there can be **no military solution** for Kashmir, it was stressed that a prime requirement for sustainable dialogue and resolution of the conflict was the **end of violence**. The yearning for non-violent interventions on Kashmir territory was strongly emphasized throughout the meeting by most participants, who agreed that all forms of violence should be stopped unconditionally. The gun must be silenced from all sides and all forms of violence—including mental persecution and human rights abuses and violence perpetrated by armed groups—must be halted immediately in all parts of Kashmir. Political will on all sides is essential to this end, especially as the military option seems to still exist in the strategic thinking of some parties.

Meeting of Kashmiri participants:

As noted in the press release circulated after the meeting (see page 3 of the *Newsletter*), Kashmiri participants gathered for a separate session during the Kathmandu conference and issued the following statement:

A general consensus developed as follows:

- (1) The dignity and welfare of the inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir are of paramount Importance;
- (2) The process of peace should be developed around the following features:
 - Solutions to be sought in a peaceful manner
 - Solutions to be perceived as honourable
 - Solutions to be feasible
- (3) Confidence-building measures to be taken include ending violence, steps to
- (4) Improve the economy and social institutions, and steps to create the conditions for the rule of law.

The dialogue process started in Kathmandu should be continued and institutionalized.

Recommendations of the Working Groups

The three working groups that met during the Kathmandu conference also came up with general recommendations, as noted below. These recommendations represent general principles discussed by one or more of the working groups, and do not necessarily represent the view of each and every conference participant.

Ending violence

- All forms of violence should end, irrespective of their form or origin.
- Oppression and humiliation of Kashmiri people should be stopped.
- Civil society throughout the state should de-legitimize violence through massive demonstrations.
- Whereas the ceasefire between Pakistan and India on the LoC is already paying dividends, the cease-

fire should be extended within J&K.

- Proselytizing should be banned; training camps and recruitment networks should be dismantled. All parties and individuals should refrain from statements and actions that incite or promote hatred and violence.
- No one should assume that all individuals or parties yearn for an end to the conflict. They should be identified and the dialogue process should be extended to them as well.

A process of dialogue and reconciliation

Whereas multiculturalism and tolerance are historic features of Kashmiri society, inclusiveness, democratic and secular values should be the bottom line of resolution of the conflict within J&K and between all parties concerned. There is a need to create the right set of conditions and an atmosphere conducive to re-building trust and giving people confidence by:

- Allowing freedom of political expression in all parts of the State.
- Releasing political prisoners and prisoners interned without trial for long periods.
- Allowing and facilitating interaction between all regions of the state, including with the Pandit and other displaced communities.
- Easing restrictions on travel documents to ensure maximum possible people-to-people contact.
- Facilitating family reunion across the Line of Control.
- Building extensive academic, social and cultural contacts between institutions across the Line of Control.

Above all, Kashmiris need to contemplate on how to use the political space they would gain by India and Pakistan relieving pressure on them.

Social and economic measures

For there to be a durable peace, India and Pakistan must take adequate measures and encourage the development of a vibrant economy in all the different regions of J&K. Good governance and accountability are key issues that need to be examined in all parts of the State, therefore models of greater political and economic autonomy applied to all parts of the State should be put forward.

Notwithstanding the violence that has become associated with Indian Administered Kashmir (IAK), the problem as much as the solution is not confined to the IAK. Important steps have to be taken as well in Pakistan Administered Kashmir and the Northern Areas in order to greatly improve the governance model in these areas of Kashmir and to ensure that people across the state benefit from social and economic reforms.

- In terms of specific measures to be implemented across the Line of Control and within both Indian and Pakistan-administered Kashmir:
- Bus services should be activated linking different parts of the state.
 - Multiple land routes should be opened or constructed within J&K and across the LoC and infrastructure should be developed to link all parts of J&K to the rest of the region.
 - Border markets and meeting points could be set up at possible crossing-points along the LoC, for example at Beelam Valley and at Uri-Chakhoti.
 - Trade in goods and services should be developed across the LoC and at a regional level.
 - Kashmir's water resources should be the subject of closer studies and in depth discussions, as the State holds a great potential to benefit itself and the whole region.

- It would be desirable to identify and initiate joint developmental and environment projects in areas of mutual interest across the LoC

Media

The national media in India and Pakistan as well as local media in J&K and international media have the potential to play a major role in de-escalating tensions, de-legitimizing violence and strengthening peace constituencies in India, in Pakistan and in J&K. Honest and objective reporting, and the discarding of stereotypes and inflammatory rhetoric, could go a long way in rebuilding social bonds in the region.

Strengthening dialogue, CBMs, and negotiations

- (1) A good deal more social, economic, cultural and political interaction between peoples in different parts of the State would be beneficial in highlighting different sets of issues and viewpoints that are of concern to the inhabitants of J&K, and could lead to the building of new relationships based on common denominator interest in local and regional issues.
- (2) CBMs should be seen as creating trust from the ground up, and should not be made hostage to progress in other areas of the bilateral composite dialogue between India and Pakistan. At their most effective, CBMs create inter-dependence between a wide range of issues, allowing progress to be made in a number of different spheres. Specific CBMs relating to the Pandit community should also be explored.
- (3) There should be transparency in the negotiation and dialogue

processes between India and Pakistan on the question of J&K. While it goes without saying that the Kashmiri people must be an integral part of the negotiation and dialogue process, it is also true that State leaderships should walk an extra mile to understand and take into account the national and security concerns of India and Pakistan. Finally, all parties concerned should demonstrate their political will and intellectual ability in showing flexibility. Moving away from maximalist positions, all parties concerned must envisage various formulae applicable to J&K which would not necessarily disregard vital interests.

Security and military issues

Participants welcomed the reduction of security forces in IAK and hoped that a continuation of the process of normalization will lead to further reduction of forces. It was also stressed that basic political freedoms are necessary in Pakistan Administered Kashmir so that no military overt or covert operations can gratuitously hijack the dialogue and peace process by making use of these areas.

The cease-fire should be extended and maintained within the State, and should be accompanied by the demining of border areas in order to facilitate people-to-people initiatives and the overall strengthening of CBMs.

Finally, the role of various intelligence agencies operating in J&K was generally perceived as distorting people's wishes, creating fear psychosis and working against people's interests. Such conduct can only undermine the long-term viability of a solution to the J&K issue.

Participants adjourned at the end of the three day-meeting with strong agreement that such dialogue involving all sectors of society from J&K with counterparts from Pakistan and India should continue, and with the Pugwash Conferences promising to seek the resources necessary to convene a follow-up meeting, hopefully in the spring of 2005.

Participants

Mr. Sardar Attique **Ahmed Khan**, President, All Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference, and Member, Legislative Assembly, Azad

Mr. Imtiaz **Alam**, Secretary General, South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA), Lahore, Pakistan; Senior Editor, *The News*, Islamabad and Lahore

Prof. Mohammad Hamid **Ansari**, Distinguished Fellow, Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi; Visiting Professor, Academy of Third World Studies, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India [formerly: Vice Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, India; Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations; Ambassador to UAE, Australia, Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia]

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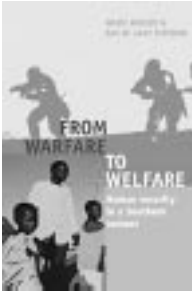
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