Fighting for peace from slippery slope

Opposition from the country's largest political party to President Kumaratunga's constitutional peace package and endless LTTE treachery have rendered peace in Sri Lanka elusiye as ever, writes M Abdul Hafiz

LEDGING peace Ms Chan-driks. Kumaratunga came to power in 1994 in a wartorn Sri Lanka. Craving for peare the exasperated Sri Larkans gave her an ov rwhelming mandate. But, a er five years of her pres-Jency, the country have moved further away from that goal with prospects for peace look-ing all the more bleak. It is in spite of the fact that she, for the first time, attempted a political solution to Sri Lanka's ethnic imbroglio with all her earnestness and has been working on a peace package with a sweeping devolution of power to the advantage of the country's Tamil minority. She, however, stumbled at the starting block when fresh conflict erupted rather unceremoniously as the LTTE treacherously broke the ceasefire to strike at unprepared government forces in April 1995. This was followed by increasing militarisation of the crisis bringing more miseries to Sri Lankans and reaching nowhere

near a solution. Recently. President Kumaratunga has announced her intention of placing the constitutional package before the parliament as her last-ditch effort to restore peace. Although the package has not been endorsed by the country's biggest political party, the United National Party (UNP), she expressed hopes in her recent pronouncements that her government was destined to usher in peace in the next millennium. She has not elaborated

It is not only the UNP, the main opposition party, which did not endorse the peace package devised by the ruling alliance. A number of other political parties including the Janatha Vimukti Perunama (JVP), the ultra-left and ultranationalist party opposed it and refrained from participating in the peace process. And so did the influential Buddhist clergy, Yet, it is the UNP support

which is essential for the establishment, without it, there will not be the two-thirds majority required under the constitution to push it through the parlia-

Addressing one of the biggest ever rallies in recent times, organised to celebrate her first five years in office. President Kumaratunga urged all parties to work for a peaceful solution to end the war. She particularly appealed to the UNP to join her in finding a consensus to arrive at the constitutional solution of the crisis. While no response was immediately available. Ms Kumaratunga still has too many other hurdles to surmount on her arduous road to

But will president Chandrika's olive branch be reciprocated by a megalomaniac rebel on the other side of the divide? Have the tigers sufficiently mellowed down to appreciate the gesture? With another shattering blow the Tigers seem to have dashed those hopes. The recent assassination of Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam, for which the accusing fingers are obviously pointed at the LTTE, came as a stunning blow to Chandrika's peace initiative. Because it was Neclan Tiruchelvam, a Tamil intellectual, a gifted lawyer and a member of the parliament, who, it is widely acknowledged, provided most of the inputs into the peace package from the Tamil side. The removal by the Tigers of such a vital link in the entire peace process not only carries the message of a blunt refusal to the offer, but also works as a disincentive for the

process. Equipped with a razor-sharp mind, an X-ray vision and a finely-honed debating skill, 'Dr Neelan was the natural choice for negotiations between the Tamil moderates and Sinhalese majority belonging to both SLFP (Sri Lanka Freedom Party) and PA (People's Alliance) and the opposition UNP. In addition, Dr Neelan had also

been a counsel to the president having access to the major players of Sri Lankan polity. Though a reluctant politician (he was only a party nominee to the legislature) he trekked the difficult ground of Sri Lanka's turbulent politics only to fight the cause of peace. He thought he could bring some sense and direction in the country's violent politics. His death marked yet another senseless episode in the unfolding tragedy of Sri Lanka that can no longer be defined only as an interethnic conflict between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.

According to observers Neelan's assassination had been part of a LTTE strategy to coerce other Tamil parties to refrain from backing the constitutional package which will soon be presented to parliament. But Neelan's absence from the scene has other significant fall-outs on the peace process. It helps decimate the strength of President Kumaratunga, seemingly the lone crusader of peace. Though well entrenched in the presidency, she survives in the parliament with the help of several Tamil parties including the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) of which Dr Neelan was a vice-president. That vital support base for Ms Kumaratunga may now be under threat. The Tigers have not just targeted much of the Sinhalese leadership in the country they also have eliminated several Tamil leaders who did not toe their line.

In a protracted no-win war between the LTTE and the government forces neither could decisively defeat other. What has however been defeated in this gory game is the mission for peace. To attain it is going to be still more difficult as there is the visible growth of hard-line militarism among the Sinhalese who are further alienated as a result of senseless killings by the Tigers. To them, there is no alternative to crushing the LTTE if peace is to be



Lone crusader for peace

Neelan's killing has added to the conviction of many Sri Lankans who believe that the only way in which the troubled island can find peace is by militarily subduing the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) or liquidating its fascist leader Veripillai Pravakaran. Referring to the assassination of Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam, a leading Colombo newspaper comments: this incident is one more illustration of the futility of trying to resolve the country's internal conflict with constitutional reforms before the principal threat to constitutional government in this country, namely the LTTE, is neu-

President Kumaratunga, after a series of deceits by the Tigers, has now made it clear that she will talk to the LTTE, only if they recognise the rights

of others to participate in the political process, declare their intention of laying down the arms and limit the talk to a time frame. She has rejected the Tigers' demand for third party mediation although she does not object to a facilitator. Like the UNP in the past she, too, has been cheated by the Tigers in the name of negotiation. It is all too clear now that they agree for a negotiated settlement of the issue only for buying time to regroup, rearm and assault with greater fury. The government scems determined not to give that chance anymore to the

The hardening of attitude on both sides has led to a deadlock that will be difficult to break. In the meantime, peace in Sri Lanka will remain as elusive as

The writer is a retired brigadier of Bangladesh Army

Calcutta abuzz with accentuated electioneering

The Calcutta political scenario is abuzz with new gimmicks and election campaigns, writes Sakyasen Mittra from Calcutta .

Trinamul Congress winning by

a margin of 1,13,000 votes from

his nearest Congress rival. This

time the fight against Rajdeo

Goala of the CPIM and Ray will

be tougher, feels Bandopadhaya. The Calcutta north-west has

a total of 13,78,496 voters and

HE trend as far as the city of Calcutta is concerned is towards the Trinamul Congress. The CPIM and its other partners of the Left Front may be dominant in the villages. However, in the city the result could well be Trinamul Congress 3, CPIM 0. The Congress will just play the

role of the side hero. The Calcutta North East has always been a forte for the Congress. Except in 1977 when the Janata Dal candidate won, the electorate has always voted for the Congress. Ajit Panja has been the beneficiary of this constituency since 1984. However, in 1998, he shifted to the Trinamul Congress and continued his winning trend. The last time the victory for Panja is the 12 lakh strong constituency was by a margin of 2,80,000 thousand votes. However, this time, he is unsure of a repetition against the new Congress candidate Tapas Roy and a CPIM trade union leader, Mohammed Salim. By nominating Salim, the CPIM has managed to a draw a sizeable vote bank from the minority community of the constituency towards them, a strength that Panja utilised with great aplomb in

The former Coal Minister and the Trinamul Congress MP however, is confident of winning. "The margin may decrease, but I will win surely," said a suave Panja wearing his trademark kurta pajama. He is about to start on his daily padayatra to a particular section in his constituency. When asked to rationalise the decrease in margin, Panja said. "The Congress have fielded a very good candidate. Tapas Roy, in fact is my protege in politics. As a teacher I would have loved to lose to him, but not this time. He is applying the same techniques that I use. Moreover, the last time there was a distinct Trinamul Congress wave. This time it is not there. However, Calcutta north-east being an anti-CPIM strong hold, I will

the past.

surely retain my seat." The CPIM candidate, however, does not think this will happen. "This time the applecart will fall," says the 48-year old Salim. He has reasons to justify his claims. "I have travelled extensively in my constituency during the last fortnight. Everywhere there have been complaints that he only cares for the rich. The poor has remained where they were in the last 15 years. That is the point that I am trying to emphasise," says the trade union leader. He is also quick to point out that the Muslims will no longer vote for Panja. "He talks about a decrease in margin. He should start planning to spend his spare time after the elections," said Salim.

Amongst these two heavyweights, the odd man out seems to be Tapas Roy of the Congress. The youngest of the lot, Roy came into active politics when he was selected to the West Bengal Assembly in 1996. This time he has got to fight against the same teacher who planned his victory in 1996. "Fight against a stature of Sir's nature is always difficult," said Roy as he stepped out from a car loaned to him by a friend. Then over a cup of tea added, "The problem is the lack of funds. We have not really been able to kick-start our campaign. My only hope is that Congress supporters, who had voted for the Trinamul in 1998. will come back to us this time. If that happens, then only there

is a chance of winning, other-As far as campaigning is concerned, Panja has left both his opponents far behind by his innovativeness. With electronic voting being the order of the day in Calcutta North East, Panja has painted the walls with replicas of the machine. Then there are instructions on how to vote through this machine. At the end it is just written, "Courtesy, Your own Ajit Panja." The Congress and the CPIM on the other hand are just depending on street corners. Panja has also tailored dresses for campaigns. White-Kurta pajamas with the Trinamul Congress logo of flower and grass inscribed on it. A total of 5,000 of these dresses have been distributed in various localities. The crunch of the matter however, is that 200 Muslim women of a particular locality has been used to make these dresses. By this one act. Panja has managed to nullify to some extent that Salim had on his Muslim voters. His planning however, does not end here. Come September 17, the day of the Vishwakarma Puja, the sky in Panja's terrain will be adorned with kites saying, "Vote for the Trinamul." More than 10,000 kites have been prepared and distributed to young children. "My policy is catch them young. They may not be voting this time because of their age. But five years from now at least 75% of the kite fliers will vote for me." said Panja. Salim, his main opponent, however, just feels that

these gimmicks are not enough. The voters have politically rejected the Trinamul Congress. So he will not win," says the The Calcutta North-west

ing. The elections in 1998 saw

Sudip Bandopadhaya of the

has always been a traditional Congress base. This is the place where the turnout is always over 75% on the day of the polls. Only in 1998, did the Congress falter when the Tri-

namul wave swept the entire state. Siddhartha Shankar Ray however, feels that his nomination will once more turn the tide. "I have been appealing to the voters to come back to the original Congress," says Ray sporting a bright red shirt and white trousers. He smells of the expensive cologne Fahrenheit and defies his 79-years as he briskly walks from door to door in a ward of his constituency. "I am anti-CPIM and anti-BJP and its allies. So please vote for me," he urges a middle-aged man. The voter assures him. Such assurances have been forthcoming. However, one doubts the integrity of the Congress workers working for their candidate. "He always appears during elections," says an anonymous worker. Ray however, snaps back when asked to react his views on this issue. "At 79, I cannot attend all meetings and gatherings. However, I am always available when the senior leaders of the state unit Congress have wanted me. Street corners and a systematic meeting with the electorate is what Ray has been following during the past fortnight. He feels that he has the capability to wrest the seat back on his own. "If leaders from Delhi

Ray may be confident about his image, but it is that factor which the CPIM candidate has been utilising to bring him down. "He definitely has an image, but a destructive one," said Rajdeo Goala, sitting in one of the election offices opened within the constituency. When he was the Chief Minister of West Bengal more than 10,000 CPIM and Naxalite workers were murdered with the help of the police. We are just refreshing the memory of the electorate," said Goala. The CPIM candidate is distributing leaflets within the entire constituency depicting the horror that Ray spread during his tenure. Goala like Ray is confident of winning. "The Congress and the Trinamul will divide the anti-CPIM votes and I will win. Moreover the voters are

want to come to my con-

stituency they are welcome.

However, even without them, I

will win," he asserts.

Calcutta North East Ajit Panja, in Howrah Dr Kakoli Ghosh Dastidar ... ". However, when the time arrived for announcing the name of Trinamul candidate for the Calcutta South constituency. Mamata Bannerjee paused and said, "Apnara sabai (all of you)." That one statement probably reflects the entire situation of the constituency. The two candidates against her this time is Subhankar Chakrabarty of the CPIM and Partha Roy of the Congress. Both at this moment seem non starters.

Such is the confidence of the Trinamul Congress leader that she is not even spending time in her constituency. "They will always vote for me and the Trinamul Congress." she says referring to the electorate. "My job is to see that the other Trinamul candidates come through. That is why I am visiting constituencies where we are expecting a tough fight." However, certain questions have cropped up regarding her performance in the last three years. Ms. Bannerjee has failed to utilise more than 50% of the amount allotted in the MP Local Area Development Fund. Of a total of rupees 3.03 crores, Ms. Bannerjee has managed to use up only rupees 1.5 crores. Her critics are now attacking her on this issue. The CPIM candidate Subhankar Chakrabarty said today, "This just goes to show that all through she has been making bogus claims of working for the benefit of the people." The Trinamul Congress candidate however, wipes away these allegations with the wave of her hand. "These are all petty things. At least I have done 50% of what I had promised to do. What has the CPIM done for the people." She also is quick to point out, " The problem with the CPIM and the Congress is that they have duped the people. After criticising one another for the past 22 years, they have suddenly turned friends. This hypocrisy has turned out to be our greatest weapon. We have been able to derive political mileage from this situation."

In the 12 lakh strong constituency, Ms. Bannerjee's advantage is that she is contesting against two people who really do not have any political locus standi. Both are beginners in the game. The CPIM candidate also is not a popular figure amongst the young voters in the constituency. Two years ago, when he was the principal of Ashutosh College, Chakrabarty had banned girls from wearing salwar kameez and jeans and Tshirt - An issue which made him one of the most hated person amongst youngsters. He

Dialogue, not sanctions Any impression that Pakistan is using the Taliban to establish a dominant position in

Afghanistan is not justified, writes Dr Maqbool Ahmad Bhatty

HE recent weeks have witnessed an intensification of efforts to bring peace and stability to Afghanistan, which has completed two decades of conflict this year. Though the Taliban control 90 per cent of the territory of Afghanistan, they have been denied recognition, and the representative of the Rabbani regime, which hardly controls any territory, occupies the seat of Afghanistan in the UN. While Ahmad Shah Masoud.

the only leader with some credible military strength, battles the Taliban with external help and encouragement, Prof Rabbani has been behind the latest initiative by Pakistan to promote reconciliation and dialogue between the Taliban and the factions in the so-called Northern Alliance. As the fighting in Afghanistan flared up soon after the UN-sponsored .six-plus-two meeting in Tashkent in July, accusations that Pakistan was directly involved in supporting the Taliban were repeated not only by the spokesmen of the Northern Alliance but also by the media in some other countries. The

basic fact is that sharing a 1,400 kilometre-long border with landlocked Afghanistan. Pakistan has to deal with whichever power is in control of most of that country. Pakistan's recognition of the Taliban-led government in Kabul means that it deals with the authorities there on practical matters, including transit facilities to which Afghanistan is entitled under international law. At the same time, Pakistan has consistently adhered to the position that the resolution of internal rivalries and disputes between opposing factions within Afghanistan should be left to the Afghans themselves.

In the course of the recent fighting between the Taliban and the forces of Masoud, the Taliban apparently compelled some of the Tajik population of the Shumali Plains, north of Kabul, to vacate the war zone. This created a humanitarian problem, which prompted an understandable, critical reaction in the international community. At present, some of the major powers are thinking in terms of imposing sanctions on the Taliban regime through a

resolution of the Security Council. The US proposes to place such a resolution in the context of international terrorism, since Osama bin Laden, whom Washington accuses of complicity in the bombing of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, is enjoying sanctuin Taliban-held Afghanistan. Russia wants to relate sanctions to the threat posed by the Taliban to the peace and security of the region.

Pakistan has held the view that international action is needed to restrict the supply of weapons to various factions in Afghanistan, since it is the infusion of weapons which fuels the fighting. Following reports of plans to introduce a resolution in the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on the Taliban, Pakistan has been engaged in efforts to dissuade the US and Russia from such a course of action, because it would be self-defeating. The real need is to engage the Taliban in a dialogue, and to make life easier for the Afghan people, rather than more difficult, by placing an embargo on the

supply of arms to all factions, including the Taliban. Sanctions against the Taliban would have no real effect, and the continuing supply of arms to the other factions would only cause an intensification of the conflict, and prolong the agony of the hapless Afghan people. For Pakistan, the prolonga-

tion of the conflict in Afghanistan compounds both the political and economic challenges confronting it. Several important regional players. notably Iran and Russia, remain totally unreconciled to the rise of the Taliban as the dominant faction Afghanistan. Both have provided military and financial support to the Northern Alliance, and have tried to dilute the influence of the Taliban as the next best thing to eliminating it altogether. India is also stepping up its involvement and is sending two senior foreign ministry officials to the US to push for sanctions by the UN Security Council against the Taliban on the ground of their alleged support to terrorism in the region. Pakistan not only faces problems in its relations with countries opposed to the Taliban, notably fran, but must also carry a disproportionate burden in meeting the requirements of Afghanistan in terms of food and fuel. The process of the return of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan, who still exceed one and a half million. is also slowed down by the continuing instability in Alghanistan.

The latest initiative by Prof Rabbani in urging Pakistan to step up its efforts to facilitate an Afghan settlement by bringing the Taliban and the Northern Alliance to the negotiating table, reflects recognition that Islamabad alone is in a position to exercise its good offices. Most Central Asian republics are also cognisant of this potential, as also of Pakistan's sincerity in seeking to promote stability in Afghanistan which is crucial to the success of regional co-operation through the ECO. Any impression that Pakistan is using the Taliban to establish a dominant position in Afghanistan is not justified, especially as the strong opposition of the Afghan people to external hegemony, as evident from their record of resistance to the British and Soviet attempts is well known to the leadership and intelligentsia of Pakistan. Its leaders and public opinion have extended full support to multilateral efforts under the auspices of the UN and the OIC to bring about peace and stability to the war-torn coun-

the Gordian knot of Afghan factional antagonism is stepped up at the regional and global level, the broad outlines of Pakistan's projected role are becoming clear: (i) Pakistan remains wedded to the concept of the Afghans working out their future destiny through their own efforts. Pakistan also recognises that only a solution that accommodates the legitimate aspirations of all major ethnic groups in the country will endure. (ii) So far as inter-

national initiatives to influence developments inside Afghanistan positively are concerned. Pakistan favours an arms embargo, to minimise the scale of military conflict, and considers that sanctions against the Taliban will be counterproductive. The UN should continue its efforts through the six-plus-two meetings and in the meantime continue its humanitarian and developmental assistance. (iii) Two elements remain important so far as Pakistan's own role is concerned. It considers close co-ordination with Iran crucial to the success of any diplomatic efforts pertaining to Afghanistan. The interior minister was in Tehran recently, following a number of other high-level visits to Ir in from Pakistan. The other element is an even-handed approach towards various Afghan factions and ethnic groups. Pakistan recently announced the contribution of 1,000 tents and 2,000 blankets for the relief of Tajiks displaced by the recent fighting. (iv) Pakistan considers that while the role of the UN will be decisive in the long run in promoting peace and development, the current anomalous approach by the world body does not help its credibility. It recognises the Rabbani regime which controls very little territory and is seen to be pressuring the Taliban who control 90 per cent of Afghanistan, and have established law and order in the areashunder their control. The 55 session of the General Assembly of the UN will be commencing shortly in New York. Pakistan has traditionally played a prominent role in the discussion of the Afghan question over the past two decades As major global and regional powers bring their own perceptions and interests to bear on the issue, we have to be both watchful and active in promoting peace and stability in Afghanistan. In particular, we need to mobilise informed opinion against moves to impose sanctions against the Taliban, who are not even directly represented in the UN. This will call for intensive consultations with the P-5 countries on the

one hand and the OIC members on the other. While we hold no brief for various aspects of the policies of the Taliban, we have to oppose moves to penalise them for alleged involvement with international terrorism. Their successful record in reassuring their Central Asian neighbours on their policies of non-inter-

As diplomatic activity to cut

ference into the internal affairs of other countries will be a powerful argument against targeting them for alleged violation of international norms. Many analysts believe that if recog-

nition is accorded to the Tal iban regime which exercises jurisdiction over most of Afghanistan, and normal interaction begins with the rest of trade union leader. the world, highly qualified Alghan technocrats would take Constituency however, has sudover the helm of affairs to help denly become the cynosure off reconstruct war-ravaged all eyes with the former Chief Afghanistan and bring it into Minister of the state Sidthe mainstream of world afdhartha Shankar Ray contest-

— Courtesy: The Dawn

lairs.



Mamata Bannerjee, sure of success however is not worried. "The

wise now. They cannot just be duped with ideology and political thoughts." Bandopadhaya is however, quick to point out the developmental work carried out in his constituency. He talks about new parks, new sanitation complexes in his area. However, as he walks with his glamorous film star wife Nayna Das through a red light area, one prostitute snaps, "Where were you in the last 15 months. When a sex worker got killed in November last year, you had failed to make an appearance. Why do you now come for votes." It is this factor that may worry Bandopadhaya. He however, springs to his defence. "I have a double job. That is to look after my constituency and also the organisational aspect of the Trinamul Congress party. So there may have been places where I have not gone." He, however, feels that Ray is a formidable opponent and then adds, "I am trying to emphasise continuity to the electorate. By voting for me they will be closer to the Government.

A tough fight awaits all the three here. A few days ago, she was announcing the names of the Tri-

namul Congress candidates for

elections. She droned on, "In

the forthcoming Lok Sabha

ish third, so why should spend money on a lost cause. Once the elections are over the party will forget me." Out of the total of 35 wards in the constituency, Roy has so far covered only nine. He does not wish to cover all. "What is the use. It would have been better if the Congress had gone into an electoral alliance with the Trinamul.'

older people are with me. Plus

there is a committed voter

group for the CPIM. The job is

tough, but not insurmountable.

and Subhankar Chakrabarty

the Congress candidate Partha

Roy is having a harrowing time.

He lacks the two most essential

requirements for contesting an

election, funds and manpower.

There are no wall paintings.

slogans or posters proclaiming

his name. And he is quite hon-

est as he says, "I never wanted to

contest. I know that I will fin-

Pitted against Ms. Bannerjee

Regarding her opponents she has but one statement. "They are very respectable and good persons. I just wish they had been more politically aware. They are just being made scape-

goats. Nobody can really disagree with her.

Kargil conundrum

T Ananthachari writes on the implication of the Kargil conflict for India's internal security

OW that the dust and sound forced on Kargil by Pakistan's misadventure has started settling down, it is important to analyse and understand the implications of this abortive and reckless attempt by Pakistan for the internal security of the country in general, and Jammu and Kashmir in particular. It is generally believed that, not withstanding the fact that Pakistan's deceit and illintentions have been laid bare this time to a degree unknown in the past, there is no reason to think that Pakistan would be any wiser or reasonable and refrain in the future from meddling with the internal security of the country even for a short while. If at all, Pakistan will find hece sary to step up orgamised violence particularly in Rashmir. Past experience does not give any scope to think of contrary lines. The latest massacres in Doda and Poonch where innocent and unarmed people have been made the target of attack confirm the above assessment of the Pakistani plan of action.

In fact, today Pakistan has emerged as an untrustworthy neighbour. Perhaps a proper understanding of the fall-out of the Kargil misadventure followed by the daring Bandipur incident would be useful in not merely foreseeing what Pakistan might do next or in the coming days but also the direction in which our own initiatives should proceed to ward off future attempts by Pakistan to disrupt harmony and integrity of India.

There are various guesses about the objectives of Pakistan in embarking upon the Kargil aggression - partly meant for internal consumption and more importantly, to capture the imagination of the international opinion to force India to a settlement on Kashmir on the lines most advantageous for Pakistan. This article is more about the latter than the Pakistan's domestic aspect. Pakistan has consistently been insisting that Kashmir is the core issue between the two countries and unless problem was sorted out satisfactorily, there can be no enduring peaceful relations between India and Pakistan.

Also, Pakistan is openly and, time and again, committed to giving moral, political and diplomatic support to the cause of the so-called freedom fighters' (substitute by 'militants') in Kashmir. It is also well known that the Pakistani support to the militants in J&K extends far beyond mere moral or cliplomatic support. Pakistan is fully involved in planning the strategy to be adopted by the militants besides training and equipping them. Having failed to sway the local Kashmiris on considerations of Islamic fundamentalism. Pakistan resorted to the alternative of inducting mercenaries from various Islamic fundamentalist

groups from Afghanistan, Sudan and many other countries. If we analysed the events which have taken place in J&K from the later half of 1988 onwards, it will be seen that Pakistan consistently failed to keep

up its promise of securing 'azadi' for the Kashmiris. On the other, democratic life resurface in J&K and there is evidence of all round economic and social activities resulting in the people of J&K going about their normal day-to-day chores without the fear of the militants disrupting the same. There have been visible signs of economic activity drawing people away from preoccupations of nearly a decade of militancy. Groups of tourists are there for every one to see. Pakistan could ill-afford to allow such a development to stabilise. It is obvious that Pakistan and its henchmen had to find ways and means of registering their presence in J&K.

A lot of euphoria had been raised among the Pak elements inside the Kashmir valley when the Kargil intrusions came to light and the difficulties it posed to the Indian nation. Expectations soared high among them when in the very initial stages of the Kargil operations aircraft of the AIF were shot down by Pakistan and Flt. Lt. Nachiket was taken prisoner by Pakistan. Everyone among them thought that it was just a matter of days, if not hours, before the USA intervened on the same lines as Kosovo and converted the entire Kashmir into a 'protected jurisdiction'. Unfortunately for them, such hopes were just short-lives and as in the past, Pakistan could not

keep up its words and assurces. — Mandira The author, an IPS, is a former Director General of Border Security Force.