



# An Analysis Of Agra Summit 2001

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## Abstract

In the history of International Relations Pakistan and India have been remained the hostile neighbors to one another because of their old issues between them and the biggest issue is the Kashmir issue, to resolve these issues between them, the two countries have met for bilateral negotiations in different times. In these bilateral talks the Agra Summit has a unique place in the history which broke down the deadlock between the two countries. This research paper is about the Agra Summit, which took place in Agra (India) in 2001 between Musharraf and Vajpayee. This paper will analyze the Agra Summit with details. The researcher has used the qualitative method. Historical and analytical methods are used as well. Pakistan has been always of the view that all disputes including the Kashmir issue should be resolve through negotiations, and the Kashmir issue should be resolved first because it is the main cause of tension between the two countries and there will be no confidence and trust between the two countries until the Kashmir issue resolve through bilateral talks while India has been always of the view that Kashmir is the integral part of India and there is no need to negotiate on Kashmir and India is ready to talk on other issues. The same situation occurred during the Agra Summit, India was not ready to talk about the Kashmir issue. Later in bilateral talks at Agra Summit between the two countries although

India agreed to talk about the Kashmir issue but there was no sincerity in the attitude of India.

**Keywords:** Agra Summit, Musharraf, Vajpayee, Pakistan, India, Kashmir, dispute

### **Introduction**

Pakistan and India have strained relations since 1947. Both the countries have disputes between them and the major is the Kashmir dispute. Kashmir dispute has remained unresolved even with sincere efforts by various Pakistani governments. Due to the intractable attitude of the Indian government, the deadlock occurred in normalization and every time India backed out from its promise of plebiscite in Kashmir to decide the destiny of the Kashmiri people according to the resolutions of the United Nations Organization. The people of Kashmir have been fighting their freedom struggle since 1947 which has so far not come to an end despite a lot of sacrifices by the people of Kashmir. Due to the Kashmir problem the relations between India and Pakistan remained tense, and involved the two nations into two big wars in 1965 and 1971. Both the countries have a history of bilateral talks and negotiations but fruitless, the Agra Summit is one of the bilateral talks, which has a unique and prominent place in history.

When the Bharati Janta Party came in power in India Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee express his wish for the normalization of relations and to finish the tension between the two countries. A number of times he issued such statements that revealed his intension to put an end the horrible situations between Pakistan and India. Vajpayee visited to Lahore on the invitation of Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. During his visit he said that for the better prospects of life for the people of both countries, it is important that India and Pakistan should forget the differences of past and take initiatives to come closer to each other.

The Kargil episode exploded immediately after the end of Vajpayee's visit to Lahore. All the efforts and hopes of normalization and peaceful rapprochement between the two countries were damaged because of this.

The government of Nawaz Sharif was dismissed in October, 1999, by Chief of Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf, imposed martial law in the whole country and became the Chief Executive of the country. The government of India was not ready to start negotiations with the military dictator. (Rabbani M. , 2012). Since October, 1999 there was deadlock for four to five months between the two countries and this deadlock was finished through the visit of American President Bill Clinton to Pakistan on March 25, 2000. He also visited India

and met with Vajpayee and discussed the troubled relations between the two countries and stressed on him for finishing the deadlock. The Indian top industrialist, Dherobhai also met with Clinton and wished his interest for gas pipeline via Pakistan from Iran to India. During his visit Clinton stressed the two countries for pleasant atmosphere in the region and expressed his full support for the normalization of relations and peace between the two countries.

The BJP government had expressed it clearly that India is not interesting to negotiate and initiate peace process with a dictator until the civil government come back in Pakistan and Pakistan promised to stopped the support of terrorists across the border. India brought the sports into politics and stopped its cricket team from first visit to Pakistan, and then withdrew from the Sharjah Cup because of the participation of Pakistan in this cup. The whole world was afraid about the tussle of the two nuclear states because there was no hope for the normalization of relations between the two hostile nuclear states and in the war like situation the war could be started any time between the two countries.

In June, 2001 a big positive change was occurred in the policy of the Indian government and the whole world was surprised when the BJP government sent an official invitation to General Musharraf to visit to India for bilateral talks on all outstanding issues including Jammu & Kashmir. Before this according to the Indian stand on Kashmir, Kashmir was not a disputed territory between Pakistan and India but India considered it its integral part since the partition. Certainly it was a great break-through in the history of bilateral talks between the two countries and at the national and international level it was thought best option and way to find out the solution for the problems between the two nuclear rival's countries. However the world is surprise about the factors on which the Indian government compelled to send an official invitation behind General Musharraf because before this invitation the Indian government refused to initiate the negotiations and peace talks with the martial government in Pakistan.

There are a number of points of views regarding the invitation of General Musharraf to India by the Vajpayee government. One point of view is that the freedom fighters of Kashmir had given a tough time to India at that time, which compelled India to opt for negotiations. The other point of view is that the BJP government in India had taken this decision to gain the support of the Muslims of the country, as most of the Muslims were against the BJP government at that time. One can also not ignore that India at first made a dialogue offer to All Parties Hurriat Conference (APHC) which the later refused on the claim that no dialogue could be effective when Pakistan is not involve in the dialogue process. After the refusal of All Parties Hurriat Conference, India invited Pakistan to show the Kashmiri

leadership that Pakistan is ready for negotiations with India without the Kashmiri leaders. In this way India could develop the difference between the All Parties Hurriat Conference and Pakistan.

The China factor is also very important. When the Chinese Prime Minister completed his visit of Pakistan, just after that the whole process started. China and Pakistan have good relations since the early sixties. During his visit both the countries signed a number of pacts of economic cooperation between the two countries which, was not a good sign for India and the United States. United States stressed on India to engage Pakistan in a dialogue process with her and it may not able to go completely in the hands of China. Another factor is that, India wants a permanent member of the Security Council, for this purpose she took an initiative for peace talks, just to show the world. Some other reasons were also involved in the invitation of President Musharraf, after the nuclear tests by both the countries; there was general realization that war is not the total solution of the differences between the two countries. India was growing up as economic power in the region so this needed a calm and pleasant environment in the region. Vajpayee admitted in an article that because of the two factors India cannot play a major role in international stage one factor is the clashes with Pakistan because of the Kashmir issue and the second factor is the demolition of Babri Masjid. What might be the reason behind the changing policy of the Indian government; most of the people who are interesting in Indo-Pak relations, consider it as a move in the positive direction. (Ahmad F. , 2001)

Stephen Cohen in one of his articles made the following points about the Indian Prime Minister decision to invite Pakistan's chief Executive for talks.

"1) India wanted to pre-empt any American attempt to serve as a regional peacemaker, and there were reports the Bush administration intended to mount such an effort, albeit a modest one. Vajpayee is very concerned Pakistan might go the way of Afghanistan. He and his able foreign minister, Jaswant Sing, would rather have a weak but stable Pakistan on its border than a revolutionary Pakistan.

2) The visit might break the logjam that has blocked open and substantial trade with Pakistan. Indians believe the power of their expanding economy and their culture will yet bring them influence in Pakistan; in return, the Vajpayee government hopes that the energy-starved Indian economy would benefit from surplus Pakistan electricity and from a trans-Pakistan pipeline that is the cheapest method of delivering natural gas from Iran.

3) Vajpayee and his team realized the military was unlikely to be displaced as the real source of power in Pakistan for the next several years, even if a civilian government was created (probably with Gen. Musharraf as president) in the near future.

4) New Delhi concluded that dialogue with restive Kashmiri groups, such as the All Party Hurriyat Conference, an umbrella group of pro-independence political and religious parties in Kashmir, was headed nowhere. Since there is evidence that some Kashmiri groups received their inspiration and their weapons from Pakistan, India concluded that it might as well deal with the power behind the separatists- Pakistan –itself. Kashmir has long since resolved itself to a situation in which India cannot lose the state, but Pakistan cannot win it.

5) Finally an ailing Mr. Vajpayee realized time was running short for a general settlement with Pakistan and this successor might be more inclined to confrontation rather than accommodation”. (Cohen, 2001)

The genesis of Agra Summit goes back to the incomplete agenda of 1997 between Prime Ministers of IK Gujral and Mian Nawaz Sharif on the sideline of the Male meeting of the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The two leaders had agreed to resume bilateral talks on all outstanding issues of concern; and eight specific issues were listed, and amongst others, included Jammu and Kashmir. Prime Minister Vajpayee took this endeavor forward by agreeing Mr. Sharif when they met on 23<sup>rd</sup> September in New York and decided ‘to operationalise the mechanism to address all items in the agreed agenda of 23 June, 1997 (Gujral-Sharif), in a determined and composite manner. The chemistry resulted in Lahore Peace Process in which stated that the two Prime Ministers agreed to make stronger their efforts to settle all issues including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. Then came Kargil, and its aftermath, Sharif was sentenced to the wilderness and Musharraf became all-powerful.

Surprisingly despite Kargil and the torpedoing of the Lahore process, both Musharraf and Vajpayee were pragmatic that inner compulsion apart, the only way forward was by talks. On the initiation of Mr. Vajpayee, informal talks were proposed and as conveyed by Mr. Karl Inderfurth, the assistant to the US Secretary of State, General Musharraf was equally keen to carry the process forward. This set the stage for Track-II talks and while Musharraf nominated his brother Dr. Naveed Musharraf as his emissary, Vajpayee nominated Admiral (Retd) KK Nayyar.

On their parts, both Musharraf and Vajpayee announced Unilateral CBMs to inject positivity in the atmosphere and while Musharraf endorsed the Iran-India Oil pipeline promising security, Vajpayee announced a ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir. In view of the

manner of things shaping up in the Track II diplomacy, Vajpayee introduced Mr. Pramod Mahajan and his son in law, Mr. Ranjan Bhattacharya as his intercalates. They and Dr. Naveed Musharraf fleshed out the outline of an accord for what they hoped would bring 'lasting' peace in Jammu and Kashmir and improve the embittered Pak-India relations. The rudiments of the accord were modeled on the Israel-Palestine accord and drew on the 1952 Nehru-Sheikh Abdullah agreement. General Musharraf wanted it to be formalized and it was this that set the scene for the Agra Summit where it was hoped the accord would be signed. It is important to mention that United States of America facilitated this informal meeting of minds as like the belligerents; Clinton too wanted to bring peace in the region of the Subcontinent. (Cheema A. , 2014)

### **Important Points of the Accord**

- 1) India would have recognized Jammu & Kashmir as disputed territory.
- 2) India and Pakistan would have recognize three separate things in the Indian Jammu and Kashmir, the Indian Jammu, the Indian Ladakh and The Indian Kashmir Valley
- 3) There should be a passage run from Ladakh to Jammu and allowing movement of people and troops between Jammu Ladakh.
- 4) Except defense and foreign affairs the valley would be autonomous.
- 5) The border will be made soft for the people of Azad Kashmir (POK) and Jammu & Kashmir (IHK) and the people having domicile of Kashmir, will be enjoying free movement on border.
- 6) India and Pakistan will be agreed to promote trade. (Zaidi, 2001)

After the official invitation of the Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, the Chief Executive of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf decided to visit India for talks on all matters concerning Pakistan and India relations. It was a big step from the Indian side to break the ice.

It was a big challenge for Genera Musharraf thrown by India. After that General Pervez Musharraf became the President of Pakistan from Chief Executive, which apparently improved the political stature of General Pervez Musharraf. The Indian government immediately extended their recognition to the new position of General Pervez Musharraf. After holding the Presidency, General Pervez Musharraf exuded great confidence and conveyed the message to the Indian government that he was the most powerful personality in Pakistan to deal with them in the coming days. He responded positively to the offer of talks

by the Indian government and announced that he was ready to go to India to meet the Indian leaders for talks.

The media of all over the world attached great importance to the proposed meeting and talks of the two leaders entangled in hostilities against each other for more than two decades. The whole world focused enthusiastically on the outcome of the talks. Everybody hoped and prayed that some solution to the dilemma is accomplished to pull the innocent people of the Subcontinent out of the quagmire of the Kashmir dispute. (Rabbani M. , 2012)

Peace in the world and especially peace of the Muslim world is direct connected to the peace in South Asia. In south Asia in the field of socioeconomic cooperation and development, the instability in the region is the big hurdle. As someone has appropriately said, "When two elephants fight, the grass get trampled." The relations between Pakistan and India have been troubled, hostile and strained and there have been many wars between the two countries as Siachin, Kargil and the war of freedom in Kashmir but no result and the final decision was made on the negotiation table and there is no one the winner. Because of the military actions from the both sides no side could gain anything but now the time has come that there will be no more military action and not should be from any side. The military actions are not the total solution of our problem but diplomacy and negotiations can do everything and both the sides should have understand the importance of political means for the solution and settlement of the old problems. (Musharraf, 2006)

### **Arrival of President Musharraf in New Delhi**

On July 14, 2001 President Musharraf arrived in New Delhi by a chartered PIA Boeing 737-700 plane. The Pakistani President was received at Palam Air port among others by the minister of state for railways, Digvijay Sing. General Musharraf waved and greeted media men before the presidential convoy, comprising over 40 limousines, preceded to President House (Rashtrapati Bhawan. President Musharraf accompanied by Sheba Musharraf, was received by Indian President K.R Narayanan and First Lady Usha Narayanan, as alighted from the presidential limousine. He was then welcome by the Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee. The Pakistani president was guided to the saluting dais by the chief of protocol, Manvir Sing, as the national anthems of the two countries were played by the military band. Musharraf then inspected the Inter-services Guard of Honor. It is believed that the last time a Pakistani leader was given a ceremonial welcome at President House in 1953, to the then Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra.

When President Musharraf arrived he issued the following statement:

“On my arrival in India at the kind invitation of Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, I would like to extend warm greetings to the government and people of India on my personal behalf and on behalf of the people of Pakistan. I have come with an open mind and look forward to my discussion with Indian leaders on establishing peaceful, tension-free, and cooperative relations between our two countries. For the sake of economic prosperity and peaceful co-existence, Pakistan and India need to maintain dialogue to resolve disputes and to explore opportunities for improving bilateral relations. I am glad this dialogue has now been resumed.

‘For more than half a century, the Kashmir dispute has cast a shadow on relations between Pakistan and India. In my talks with Indian leaders, I will be looking forward to a meaningful, frank and substantial discussion urging them to join hand with us in resolving this dispute in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people. This will facilitate resolution of other issues and lead to a full normalization of relations.

‘I am hopeful that my talks with Prime Minister Vajpayee will pave the way for better relations between Pakistan and India”.

President Musharraf, accompanied his wife Sheba Musharraf, led a 19 members delegation that include Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar, Foreign Secretary Inamul Haq, Kashmir Affairs Director Muhammad Sadiq and ISPR chief Major General Rashid Qureshi

### **Indian government blocked live Television coverage**

On July 14, the Indian government had forbidden the television channels not to make coverage as live because General Musharraf was to be given the official welcome in which the Indian Military Chief was to be saluting to General Musharraf as he was also Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan. The Indian government did not want to show the sensitivity of the saluting scene to the world of. Before this all the ceremonial welcomes in the forecourt of the Presidential palace in New Delhi have been broadcast live on television, included those accorded to the then President of United States of America Bill Clinton, and the Russian President Vladimir Putin last year during their visits. The Indian Air force chief Anil Yashwant Tipnis represented the three wings of the military at this morning’s ceremony, when Musharraf inspected a tri Service Guard of Honor. The Indian government appears to have decided that the scene of an Indian Chief of Staff saluting to Pakistani Chief of Army Staff (military ruler) is not for public consumption. Doordarshan which is an official television was allowed to cover the reception, including the tri service guard of honor. So the Doordarshan would release an edited version shortly after that.



President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf and his Indian counterpart KR Narayanan set the tone for the two days Agra Summit starting by remembering the wishes of their respective founding fathers who had wanted the two countries to live in peace and harmony.

During the dinner hosted by the Indian President for his Pakistani counterpart, the two leaders held discussion with one another. President Musharraf smoothly responded on the President Narayanan's warm sentiments which he had expressed in his welcome speech, quoted the Quaid-e-Azam speech which he had delivered on August 7, 1947, in which the founder of Pakistan had said "the past must be buried and let us start afresh as two independent sovereign states of Hindustan and Pakistan. I wish Hindustan prosperity and peace."

General Pervez Musharraf advised India to join him "in this noble endeavor, let us begin this effort now, let us today embark upon this challenging and rewarding task, let us joint hands in building a better future for our succeeding generations.

Earlier in his speech, the President of India Narayanan had quoted from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's book "The Discovery of India" 1945-46 in which he has said: It is obvious that whatever be the future of India, even if there is regular partition, the different parts of India, will have to cooperate with each other, in a hundred different ways."

President General Pervez Musharraf stated his views that he believed in Quaid-e-Azam's vision good relations between Pakistan and India. "I believe also that this vision is not beyond our grasp and I have come to India because I would like to do everything possible to realize the dream of the Quaid-e-Azam."

Musharraf said that he had come to India with the purpose of bridging "The gulf that divides us," " My presence in your great country brings to an end a hiatus of more than two years, which I believe, has not served the broader interest of either side and as neighboring countries we need to bridge the gulf that divides us. I come to India with this purpose."

The Pakistani President said about the Kashmir, that Jammu and Kashmir issue continued to block progress towards normalization of relations between the two countries and "I believe that there can be no military solution of this dispute, we must be bold enough to face this issue squarely and resolve it once and for all. This indeed will open a new chapter of fruitful relations between our two countries and also put an end to the sufferings of the people of Kashmir."

The President of India Narayanan in his speech referred to another remark of Pandit Nehru, which he had made after the partition in which the first Prime Minister of India has said that it was to India's advantage that Pakistan should be a secure and prosperous state with which "we can develop close and friendly relations." Narayanan recalled that Quaid-e-Azam reciprocated these sentiments when he said: "Now that the division of India has been brought about by a solemn agreement between the two dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that, despite all that has happened we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbors, morally, materially, and politically, and thereby raise the prestige and status of both dominions."

### **Musharraf meeting with APHC leaders**

Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf met with All Party Hurriat Conference leaders on the sidelines of a tea party hosted for Musharraf by Pakistani High Commissioner Asharf Jehangir Qazi. In a 25 minutes closed door meeting with APHC leaders Pervez Musharraf promised that Pakistan will continue the support of the Kashmiri freedom fighters morally and politically. Later the All Parties Hurriat Conference Chairman Abdul Ghani Bat said that "The General Sahib has promised to continue moral and political support to the Kashmiries until to the resolution of Kashmir." Another APHC leader Ali shah Gilani said "We have very useful discussion. We are happy he accepted our request and listened to our request and listened to us very carefully. It is good that Pakistan wants the same solution of Kashmir which we want," he said and added that General Musharraf was "on the right track and we hope and pray for the success of talks."

### **Visit to His Old Village**

On July 14, President Musharraf visited India for the first time since his family migrated in 1946 to what is now Pakistan, and made a nostalgic visit to his childhood home. General Musharraf toured the old Nehar Wali Haveli in a now dilapidated area of old Delhi. General Pervez Musharraf received warm welcome from the eight families, the present occupants of the Nehar Wali Haveli. He got an emotional welcome from one of his old servants, Anaro Kashmaro, an eighty years old woman. Musharraf gave Kashmaro an expensive cloth to stitch into a shalwar kameez. He also gave her 200 dollars in an envelope. She was very excited and happy at that time because she had saw Musharraf at last time when he was just four years old.

### **Meeting with Sonia Ghandi**

The Congress leader Sonia Gandhi met with Pervez Musharraf and urged that there should be “flexibility and open mind” on both sides. Musharraf also expressed his views that rigidity on either side would not help in improving the relations of the two neighboring countries, adding that he looked forward for the recommencement of constructive dialogue between Pakistan and India, and urging that both countries must take into account each other’s compulsions. In this cordial meeting which lasted for 25 minutes, Sonia Gandhi told the visiting personage that the Simla accord and the Lahore Declaration should be the basis of the bilateral dialogue.

### **Advani Suggested for Extradition Treaty**

The Indian home minister L.K Advani suggested the Pakistani president during the meeting signing of extradition treaty. During the meeting Advani also raised the issue of cross border terrorism saying innocent people should not be made victim of terrorism simply because of the confrontation between the two neighboring countries. The suggestion of the treaty of extradition brought in the perspective that some people involved in criminal activities such as murders, kidnapping and other major criminal activities go to India or Pakistan and they enjoyed the strained relations between the two countries.

According to Advani India has treaty of extradition with Germany, Turkey and other countries and that countries are not safe places for criminals so as Pakistan is concern the extradition treaty is very important between India and Pakistan is so the criminals may not utilized the tension between the two neighboring countries. At this movement Advani declared that in the present time Dawood Ibrahim, the underworld don is in Pakistan but General Musharraf rejected this statement.

### **Talks with Vajpayee at Agra**

On July 15, General Musharraf arrived at Agra, where two rounds of talks were held with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee. They decided to hold third round of one-one meeting the next day to settle the difference which have created about the text of joint declaration between the two countries. India was not ready to recognize Kashmir as the core and important issue between Pakistan and India beside this India also has not considered the people of Kashmir and the leaders of All Party Hurriat Conference as the main factor in the Kashmir issue. This round was not so pleasant and smooth as it showed at the morning. The two sides exchanged their relevant drafts of the joint declaration after the first round which, as was expected, was too different, and required the intervention of the Indian Prime Minister and the President of Pakistan to smooth out the crumple.

Information minister of India Sushma Swaraj said that the issues like trade and terrorism were discussed between the two countries but she refused to confirm or deny that Kashmir was also included in the agenda of talks between the two leaders. On the contradictory press conference by the information Minister of India Pakistani delegation recorded their strong protest. The Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee interfered and got the two sides to take a second look at their relevant drafts of the joint declaration. Meanwhile a spokesman for the government of Pakistan repeated that Kashmir was the main issue in the agenda of discussion in the one-on-one meeting continued for about 90 minutes held between the General Musharraf and Vajpayee. He was asked to comment on the media talk of the Indian information minister earlier in the day in which she had said that terrorism and trade and some other issue were discussed and refused whether the Kashmir issue was the part of discuss. However in her statement to the media, she had omitted to mention the extensive discussion held between the two leaders on the Kashmir issue. The Pakistani government spokesman said that President Musharraf had made its stand firm that Pakistan could not be go towards normalization with the host country of relations unless and until the Kashmir issue was settled according to the Kashmiris aspirations.

Indian External Affair Ministry spokeswoman Nirupama Rao announced that President Musharraf invited his host, Vajpayee to visit Pakistan and that Vajpayee had accepted. President also visited the Agra's most famous sight, the Taj Mahal and later attended a dinner hosted by the governor of Uttar Pradesh. But again the talks spoiled by violence in the Kashmir region. At least 18 people were killed in heavy fighting between militants and the force of India.

### **The Agra Summit broke down**

On July 16, 2001, the two days historical Agra Summit finished and damaged without any conclusion and declaration because Pakistan was of the views that Kashmir should include in the talks and first of all the Kashmir issue will have to be resolved and the remaining issues will be discussed later but the Indian stand and demand was different and India was of the view that other issues will be discussed first and later the Kashmir issue will be discussed. Because of this main issue the Agra Summit became to the end without any result. Although there were long and comprehensive one-to-one talks and rounds between President Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee lasted for hours. An 80 minutes last, late-night round between the two leaders failed to break the deadlock, created by the stubborn and refusal of the Indians to be responsible and even the Indian side had accepted Kashmir in the proposed joint Agra Declaration. According to the Indians, however the

summit was doomed after President Musharraf's frank and candid press talks to Indian editors dubbed by their media as "Musharraf's breakfast bellicosity".

An Indian Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Niropama Rao said in a one line announcement after leaving Musharraf the Jaypee Palace Hotel "I am disappointed to inform you that although the commencement of a process and the beginning of a journey has taken place, the destination of an agreed joint statement has not been reached." President Musharraf wanted to hold a press conference there but not allowed by the Indian authority.

President Musharraf and Vajpayee held several one-on-one meetings that day and the foreign ministers and the foreign secretaries of the two countries held two more sessions, but official spokesmen had starting speaking of "difficulties" in drafting the "agreement" much earlier. The Indian wanted the cross border terrorism issue mentioned clearly in the joint declaration and Pakistan wanted to mention clear-cut the Kashmir as the main issue and some mention of including the Kashmiri in the process at any later stage.

Earlier in the day Pervez Musharraf had clearly stated to the Indian Editors that the Kashmiries would have to be made a party and this had to be mentioned in any declaration as "declarations are forever and not valid for one day one week or one year." (Wilson, 2001)

According to General Pervez Musharraf, "Initially everything was encouraging from the Indian side, as I went to Agra and met Vajpayee I was welcomed with a warm protocol. The one-on-one meetings between me and Vajpayee were held in which we condemned the terrorism and agreed on the Kashmir issue to be resolved through bilateral peace talks. After that we the both leaders agreed on a joint declaration, the words and sentences were very good and acceptable to both sides. The declaration took nearly one hour to ready for signing, the signing ceremony was held in the J.E Palace Hotel where Vajpayee was staying and everything was ready, suddenly my Foreign Minister and Foreign Secretary informed that India has refused to accept the declaration and has backed from the signing ceremony because of the cabinet. I was surprised to hear about the cabinet because there was no cabinet in Agra. I became very angry and decided to leave for Islamabad without delay but my Foreign Minister and Foreign Secretary calmed me down and they decided to make some changes in the declaration, I allowed them, at this time two to three hours took in changing the draft of declaration, my diplomats gave me green signal that the draft made successfully, after sometime I informed by my sources that India has backed again and refused from signing the declaration although changes were made with the consultation of the Indian diplomats. I dismissed my plane to visit to Ajmeer Sharif and decided to leave for Pakistan without meeting with Vajpayee according to my wishes but my diplomats proposed me to

send a message to Vajpayee. I done this and met with Vajpayee in angry mood, he was silent and nothing was with him for saying. I asked him that who was above us in Agra and who was there ruling us and told him that he has lost the best opportunity to make his name in the history. Before leaving the hotel I decided to talk to media men but informed that media was not allowed to me. I came out from the hotel all the media men were standing on both sides of the road and the bulbs on the road were turned off so the media may not capture my mode. This was our first attempt to make the relations normal with India after a big deadlock between the two countries.” (Musharraf, 2006)

When the Agra Summit broke and no declaration was signed between the two countries, because of the hard stand of India about the Kashmir issue and India was not agree to sign the agreed draft of declaration President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf decided to cancel his visit to the shrine of Sufi saint in Ajmeer Sharif, because there was no need remaining for his stay in India more.

### **Breakfast meeting with Indian Editors**

On July 16, President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf said that the Kashmir dispute remained central for ending the long hostility between India and Pakistan. “Let us not remain under any illusion that the main issue confronting us is Kashmir” he told during the breakfast in Agra to the Indian newspaper editors and TV anchor persons. He further said frankly “That is the reality on the ground, whether we like it or not, if India expects that I should ignore Kashmir, I better buy back the Nehar Wali Haveli and stay there.” Describing himself as a realist, Musharraf said that India and Pakistan must confront the realities and not brush them under the carpet. “I have never told that I refuse to talk of other issues, but please understand that Kashmir is the main issue. I will carry on saying it,” Musharraf said. Clearly unimpressed by the confidence building measures announced by India, General Pervez Musharraf said: “What confidence building measures? The biggest confidence building measure is Kashmir.”

### **Valuable progress made at Agra**

On July 17, Pakistani foreign minister Abdul Sattar told in a press conference in Islamabad that President General Pervez Musharraf came back to Pakistan with confidence and that both leaders shared a common vision of peace and prosperity for Pakistan and India. He said valuable progress was made at Agra. “Agra talks did not fail”

“It is unfortunate that the conclusion of the exercise was aborted,” Sattar said. He said Musharraf returned with a sense of confidence for the future in bilateral relations. “The

reason for the President's optimism is that both sides are keen to use the progress that has been made for further discussions, hopefully leading to full agreement", the foreign minister said.

### **After the Agra Summit**

According to Pakistani foreign minister Abdul Sattar "Accept that Kashmir is a dispute; Agra Pact to come into effect only after progress on Kashmir; what's going on in Kashmir is a freedom movement. Cross-border terrorism is irrelevant."

In Agra the stand of General Musharraf was very strong about the Kashmir issue. India blamed Pakistan for cross border terrorism.

Briefing about the Agra Summit and its result and the Indian stand during the Summit, the coalition of the Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP) Atal Behari Vajpayee said, that President Musharraf's firmness was on the Kashmir issue and any progress could not take place because of the strong stance of Musharraf on Kashmir issue and the Indian Stance was also not less than Pakistan, because of the no statement and draft could be became under signs and the Agra Summit ended without any positive result.

Both the countries termed the summit as successful. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar termed it as "inconclusive" and Jaswant Sing, the Foreign Minister of India termed it "another step in our march towards peace". One positive thing of the summit is that President Musharraf extended an official invitation to Atal Behari Vajpayee to visit to Pakistan.

It is argued by the supporters of Musharraf that he has come back unscathed, and even with superior moral stand because he refused to compromise on Kashmir cause and preferred to come empty-handed to Pakistan. The result of Agra Summit and strong stand of Musharraf on Kashmir issue was liked by Kashmiri Mujahedeen groups and religious parties in Pakistan. The leaders of Grand Democratic Alliance (GDA) also agreed with the strong stand of Musharraf about Kashmir issue in Agra Summit.

If we study history, we can find that the external issues were often used by our rulers to divert public attention from the issues inside the country. General Ziaul Haq used the Afghan war and the intervention of Soviet Union in Afghanistan for his own interests. Thus General Musharraf also used the Agra Summit and his stand on Kashmir issue to make unite the opposition against him in the country and to make his grip strong over the government and this was the best opportunity with Musharraf.

The people of both the countries, who wanted peace and good relations between the two countries, became very disappointed because of the failure of the Agra Summit because they have attached high hopes of a big breakthrough from the Agra Summit and the scene of warm welcome and sentiments between the two countries that they have seen on television screen. However the Agra Summit was very important and positive development for the mistrust and sustained tension between the two nuclear countries. (Wilson, 2001)

### **Causes of failure**

1) According to the Indian Prime minister Atla Behari vajpayee that General Pervez Musharraf was responsible for the failure of Agra talks because he took the stand that the violence taking in Jammu and Kashmir could not be described as terrorism and the bloodshed in the state was nothing but the people's battle for freedom. It was this stand of General Musharraf that India just could not accept. India on the other hand, believed there could be no normalcy in its relations with Pakistan until cross-border terrorism ended. (Archive, 2006)

2) "Three main factors can be held responsible for the failure of Agra Summit: one, neither India nor Pakistan was in negotiation mode; two, neither country had made an attempt to know the threshold to which the other could be pushed, especially on Kashmir. According to Dr. Muhammad Waseem, "India followed a confidence approach to the Musharraf-Vajpayee summit, while Pakistan took a conflict resolution approach to the dialogue between the two leaders. The former overestimated the potential between the two delivers where decades of diplomacy had failed. The latter overestimated the capacity of an issue specific strategy to lead to a meeting of minds across a gap of trust spread over half a century". Summit was not fruitless as it brought the Kashmir issue in the lime light and made the Pakistan stand point clear to the world". (Mahmood, 2012)

3 ) According to Musharraf that the Agra Summit between the two leaders would have been the victory of public relations and very important strategically for India and Pakistan, if the "Hidden Hand" not intervened between the talks to avoid the Indian side to recognize Kashmir as a main issue between the two countries once again and Musharraf was of the view that the Simla Agreement of 1972, should be mentioned in the draft agreement.

According to Musharraf the Indian diplomat "Katuji" the then joint secretary for Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan and L.K Advani the then Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister played the main role to break the Summit without any positive result, and ensured the summit's collapse and sabotage.



It may be remembered that according to a well made made plan Katju was told to sit during the meeting between Musharraf and Vajpayee. Musharraf raised an objection regarding the sitting of Katju with them to Vajpayee that Katju should not be there between them but the Indian Prime Minister brushed aside his concern and allowed Katju to sit in the room and “he took notes” as diplomate is trained to do during an official interaction. According to Musharraf it was Katju the “Hidden Hand” and the man responsible for the failure of summit because he had created a lot of hurdles during the meeting between the two leaders.

Musharraf say “ I told Vajpayee before leaving Agra. ‘ Today you and I have been both humiliated because there is someone above us, sitting above us who can veto what we decide.” (Anonymos, 2010)

4) Another question is raising that who was in the Indian cabinet committee, objected to the draft. It was secret for some months even in Indian press. Later a famous jurnal of India expose the point that the main character, objected the draft was deputy Prime Minister L.K Advani. Vajpayee was asked to comment this report, but did not reply. After four years Musharraf blamed L.K Advani publicaly for the failure of Agra Summit. It is interesting that seven years later Advani hemsself admitted that he had torpedoed the sunmmit, because in a breakfast meeting with Indian editors, Musharraf had blasted India’s position on cross border terrorism and Jammu and Kashmir.

5 ) Mr Jaswant sing on 17 July 2001 gave three reasons for the failure of the Agra Summit. First the Pakistani insistence that there can be no progress unless the issue of Jammu and Kashmir is made central. Second, cross border terrorism and violence is unacceptable to India. Third India believes that every compact, or agreement or effort that has led the present effort can not be annulled, cancel or wished away. That is why India made it clear and there is a reference here that the effort at Agra was a continuation not simply of the Lahore process but also a building upon the foundations that were laid by the Simla Agreement. It is that central objective which again had some difficulty in being accepted by our great visitors.

6) It was the Indian information minister’s one sided statement of facts on July 15 or General Musharraf’s characteristically candid comments the next day before the Indian editors, the summit did not devolop a deadlock on these counts alone despite low-key official accusations to the contrary by both sides. According to Indian minister that General Musharraf’s talk with Indian editors “adversely affected the environment”. But no Indian official has denied the repeated Pakistani claim that despite two mutual agreements on the draft of an Agra Declaration, it was the Indian side that reneged. If the contents of the draft declaration were

agreed upon at least twice, the real reason for the deadlock was neither Musharraf's meeting with the editors nor nitpicking over formulation, but the bee in India's bonnet seems to be their somewhat uncomfortable feeling that on home territory, the Pakistanis had "hijacked" the summit using their own media. (Rizwan, 2003)

7) The India scholar Gaurav Kampani is of the views that there were three main reasons for lack of enthusiasm of the government of India to accept the assurance of Pakistan at face value. First the Vajpayee government did not trust General Pervez Musharraf and the establishment that he represents in Delhi. In India the public and the government figures were of the views that because of General Musharraf the peace process between Vajpayee and the Pakistani Prime Minister was sabotaged at the Lahore Summit. Second although Pakistan has assured India that it will stop cross-border infiltration but India was not satisfied by the Pakistani words. Thirdly the Indian government had planned to hold regional elections in Indian Kashmir in October 2002. Similarly the Indian leadership considered Musharraf's refusal to give up support to the cross-border insurgency in Kashmir as the reason behind the failure of the Agra Summit. (Kampani, 2002)

## **Conclusion**

In the aftermath of the Agra Summit, India blamed the media for creating high expectations and then damaging the outcome. But the fact is that it was the Indian lack of preparation and planning which led to the failure of the Agra Summit. "It is a classical case of big, blind gamble passing off as diplomacy. Behind the blame game over the collapse of the Taj Mahal diplomacy is a harsh reality New Delhi does not want peace. The Summit was held at India's initiative and expense, with New Delhi coming out poorer."

On the other hand Pakistan was well prepared and had done its homework. General Musharraf has benefited from Agra since he was addressing different audiences through the media. To the people in Pakistan his posture was that of "hard talk" on Kashmir with the Indians and to the Kashmiries one of abiding solidarity with his insistence on meeting the All Party Hurriyat Conference. To the Indian public opinion, flexibility, friendliness, and courtesy by becoming the first Pakistani leader to pay tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and to the west, he positioned himself in the "middle", seeking continuation of the dialogue, attacking "hawks and extremists" and proclaiming his opposition to those who try to disturb peace.

All was not good as the summit was approaching closer and closer. Hawks on both sides were extremely critical of the emerging peace process. Religious parties in Pakistan were of the opinion that Musharraf was going to sell out on Kashmir, whereas hawks in India viewed the invitation as a sign of weakness. Many in the Indian armed forces were of the

opinion that “what was the idea of wasting six months (in a cease-fire) and precious lives in Kashmir, when Pakistan was to be engaged in the first place.” (Khan S. , 2001)

Hindu nationalist leader and Shiv Sena supremo Bal Thackeray wanted the Indian government to take a strong and firm line but at the same time was of the opinion that the country did not have a strong government, which could do it. When asked about his opinion on the outcome of the summit, he declared, “It will be one big zero”. (Thackeray, 2001)

The strong criticism came from former Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto. She declared the visit as controversial for three reasons: legitimacy, military history and Kashmir history. She compared General Musharraf to Lady Macbeth and declared that he could not wish the blood of Kargil martyrs from his hands. “When he flies into Agra with his seventy-man delegation, the ghosts of three thousand Pakistani soldiers buried secretly fly with him. She also declared that the “Musharraf goes to New Delhi as Islamabad weakest ruler. Lacking legitimacy, internal unity, and fiscal maneuverability, his visit to New Delhi is full of downside. (Bhutto, 2001)

“Musharraf has come to India with great strengths. He commands absolute political and military power in institutional terms, has built a very great and extensive consensus behind him and he was put in place a quasi-democratic election process which is most likely to bestow legitimacy upon him by the end of next year.” (Ahmad A. , 2001)

In politics and then international politics there is nothing like success or failure. International relations always face flexibility. Summit at least shows the freezing differences between the two countries. It gave a framework which could lead to sound and trustworthy relationships. Challenges on both sides had been realized. Initially it was premature to call it off as a failure as not concluding the Summit by issuing a declaration is not at all a measure for the success of a summit. Declaration at the end of a summit is not a definition of success going by the fate of declarations/proclamations in 1999 in Lahore (Vajpayee-Nawaz), 1997 in Male (I.K Gujral-Nawaz), 1989 in Islamabad (Benazir Bhutto-Rajiv Gandhi), 1987 in New Delhi (Rajiv Gandhi-Ziaul Haq), 1972 in Simla (Indira Gandhi-ZA Bhutto).

The Agra Summit which was a big breakthrough of the paused bilateral talks between the two countries was highly appreciated by the international community and highly supported by United States of America. It was a big and positive step towards peace and normalization of relations between the two countries by India. Musharraf went there with strong and firm stand and with open minds and wanted to discuss all the bilateral issues including the Kashmir issue (core issue) between the two countries. Musharraf wanted to discuss the Kashmir issue first, because it was the

main cause of all issues and a big hurdle to resolve the remaining issues between the neighboring countries but India wanted to discuss the cross-border terrorism at first, and wanted to use the delay tactics so the Kashmir issue may not discuss there but President Musharraf was not ready to step back from his stand and wanted to talk on the Kashmir first. Although India's role to invite Musharraf and breaking the ice was of great importance but on the other hand India was not ready for serious talks nor wanted to resolve bilateral issues sincerely. The invitation of General Musharraf to Agra was not more than to show the world that India was advocating for talks with Pakistan because to do so, India wanted to strong its political position at international level and wanted to gain the international support and sympathy for the permanent membership of Security Council. On the other hand these talks were on behalf of United States of America because America wanted to reduce the Chinese role in Pakistan. No change taken place in the Indian aggressive attitude and India through the Deputy Prime Minister L.K Advani sabotaged the Agra talks and blamed on Musharraf as he was responsible for the failure of Agra talks. Musharraf came back empty hands but the summit was not failure because he firmly presented the position of Pakistan to the international community and met with the leaders of All Parties Hurriat Conference. Although there was strong criticism about the summit in India and Pakistan by political and religious leaders but the summit gained very importance in both countries as well as at global level. The people of both countries became very disappointed on the failure of talks as they have linked a lot of hopes form the historical talks.

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