

Conflict Management between Pakistan and India (1996-2001): The Major Track Two Diplomatic Groups, Actors and Events Involved

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Abstract

Pakistan and India have a long history of skirmishes and conflicts since the evolution of two nations. There had been plenty of efforts involved in the peace making process between two nations. Some efforts were made on national governmental and administrative level to resolve the issues and other efforts were made on the Track Two diplomacy level. Track Two diplomacy has an ancient history since the times of Greek and Romans. Islam also has got its own methods and concepts of diplomacy and Track Two diplomacy. Track two diplomacy is an unofficial effort on individual and group level in order to resolve the issues. This paper enlists the major groups, actors and events involved in the Track Two Diplomacy efforts to resolve Pakistan-India conflicts from 1996-2001. The paper contends that there had been many commendable initiatives taken in this regard and this Track Two diplomacy route is a better solution for the Pakistan and India issues.

Key Words: Track Two Diplomacy, Peace, Conflict Management

Introduction

Hostility would be the right word to define the relations of these two neighboring states. The enmity exists since 1947 when they got freedom from their British colonial master. Millions of individuals were brutally killed, kidnapped and made handicapped during the process of separation. In 1947-48, both states fought their first war on the issue of Kashmir. The Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir decided to annex with India but the Muslim majority revolted against him. Indian forces entered in Kashmir and from other side the tribesmen started their offense. The war continued till 1949 when the UN intervened into the issue and the issue is still unresolved. Both sides held talks for the issue in 1954, 1957, 1963 and 1964 when Pakistan finally referred the case to the United Nations.

Early Years (1947-1960s)

Both sides fought their second war in 1965 again on the issue of Kashmir. The war started at Run of Kuch and escalated on September 6, when India attacked on Lahore Border. The war continued till 22 September when the case was filed in the UN for the ceasefire. The war ended in stalemate as both sides held some part of the territory of other side. In context of the 1965, the Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan met at Tashkent under the observation of Soviet Union in 1966. Both sides agreed to withdraw their forces at pre-

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August positions. Both also agreed to enhance the economic and diplomatic relations between the two countries. The agreement is considered to be one of the important agreements in Pakistan India history. (Story of Pakistan, 2005).

In 1971, Indian forces entered in to East Pakistan and infiltrated the ongoing civil insurgency in Pakistan. The both sides fought another war which resulted in the creation of Bangladesh in December 1971. Pakistan still believed it was Indian involvement which disintegrated Pakistan; otherwise it could have been solved as it was the internal affair of Pakistan. In 1972, Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi met at Shimla in India. Both sides agreed to increase the cordial relations and conflicts to be solved though “diplomacy” Pakistan accepts the border of Bangladesh as Line of Control and both sides agreed to not to interfere in internal affairs of other states

Decade of 1970s and 1980s

In 1974, India tested its nuclear device at Pokhran in an operation called “Smiling Buddha”. This Indian step disturbed the balance of power in India and created a direct threat to Pakistan. Henceforth, government of Pakistan announced to start its own nuclear program which was initiated in 1974 and got the nuclear ability in 1980s. In 1988, both sides signed an agreement that no one will attack on the nuclear assets of other state. In the agreement the “nuclear power and research reactors, fuel fabrication, uranium enrichment, isotopes separation and reprocessing facilities as well as any other installations with fresh or irradiated nuclear fuel and materials in any form and establishments storing significant quantities of radio-active materials” were included. Both sides also agree on sharing the information about their nuclear programs which is being done on January 1 of every year since then.¹

In 1989, armed resistance in Kashmir started against India. Indian government blamed Pakistan that it is behind this movement. India said that Pakistan is giving weapons, training and helping in “Cross-border terrorism”. While Pakistan declared that it only gives its “moral and diplomatic” support to the movement. The movement reached to its peak in 1990s and still continues. In 1991, both sides signed an agreement under which it was decided that both sides would share the information in advance regarding military exercises, maneuvers and troop movements and violation of airspace. In 1992, both sides agreed to “no use of chemical weapons” in case of clash or war.

¹ Tom Clancy, T. Z., 2004. *Battle Ready*, Washington DC: Grosset and Dunlap.

Decade of 1990s

In 1998, India detonated its five nuclear bombs at Pokhran and again disturbed the balance of power in South Asian region. In response, Pakistan detonated six nuclear devices which were necessary to counter the Indian aggression. Both sides were sanctioned by international community. In 1999, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bahari Vajpayee reached Lahore on the invitation of Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The Lahore declaration was signed and both sides re-affirmed the Shimla Accord and agreed to hold "Confidence Building Measures" "(CBMs) on regular bases. The relations again got worse after the Kargil War in 1999. This hostility was visible in 2001, when both sides were at peak of hostility and forces of both sides were allocated to the borders. It was ended in 2002 after the international involvement.

Track Two Diplomacy Conflict Management: Major Groups, Actors and Carriers

In Track Two diplomacy, number of groups worked significantly to bridge up the relational gap. The major groups were:

- Pakistan-India People's forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD)
- Neemrana Initiative
- Balusa Group
- Kashmir Study Group
- Association of Peoples of Asia (APA)
- Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP)
- South Asian Forum of Human Rights (SAFHR)
- Pakistan Peace Coalition and the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace
- India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace (IPSI)

Following are the introduction, purposes and efforts done by these groups in the field of Track Two diplomacy during 1996-2001. The efforts have been conducted by the participants and individuals for quite a long time.²

² Shaheen, A. Expanding Cross-LoC Interactions: A Conflict Transformation Approach to Kashmir, IRS: Islamabad, 2012,

Neemrana Initiative

One of most significant and early effort in Track Two diplomacy was Neemrana initiative. The program or process started in 1991 and left deep affect in Pakistan and India regarding Track Two diplomacy during 1996-1997. The initiative has still its operatives and members. The program was consisted of ex-military men, former diplomats, foreign secretaries, businessmen and other important social individuals from both sides. It was mainly funded by the US with allocation of an American convener. The group arranged over a dozen meetings till 1996. The main agenda of the group revolves around the issues like nuclear stability, border clashes, Kashmir issue, business interests, media cooperation and a constant communication channel between Pakistan and India. The program was designed on the blue prints of *Détente* between the US and the USSR during Cold War era in 1970s and 1980s.³

The US and the USSR remained successful to extract some agreements out of their *Détente* but Neemrana participants remained unable to do so. It was almost perished after the nuclear tests of 1998. Although the project did not show any significant success but it definitely prepared a strong ground for Track Two diplomacy between Pakistan and India. This initiative led to number of Track Two channels and programs between both rival neighboring states.⁴

Shanghai Initiative

This group remained operational from 1994 to 2000 It was consisted of four states i.e. Pakistan, India, China and the USA. The program had six to seven members. These members were former important scientists, diplomats and military officers. The program has extensive focus on the nuclear technology and capability of the member states. The members used to meet once in a year in Pakistan, India, China and US respectively. During the meetings, the members discussed the future implications, pros and cons, and balance of power among states after acquiring nuclear power. The program was mainly funded by the US Alton Jones Foundation. The meetings were also addressed to the perceptions, perspectives, and priorities of involving states regarding nuclear technology.⁵

After the nuclear tests by Pakistan and India in 1998, the importance of group became more vital. The members especially from both states engaged

³ Coll, S. March 2, The Back Channel, *The New Yorker*, 2009.

⁴ Malhotra, P. *India and Pakistan: Need for Creative Solutions*, New Delhi: IPCS, 2010.

⁵ Kutty, B. M. Pakistan-India Relations: Non-governmental Initiatives for Peace, *Pakistan Horizon*, 573, 2004.

in detailed talks and discussions over the future of relations of these states. The members presented the policy of their states although not officially but it produced a strong sense of understanding among the participants. Along with that, the newly emerged security parameters were also came under discussion. The participant intellectuals were of the view that the security dilemma between both states has been entirely changed and it will leave a long lasting effect on the relations of Pakistan and India. After the 1998 tests, the relations had come to a complete halt between both countries. The members of Shanghai initiative involved themselves in back door diplomacy specifically with regard to nuclear capability. In the last meetings of the group in Washington DC in 2000, it was found that the participants did not have an effective influence on the government policies back home, hence gradually the program was finished.. Despite no major development was achieved by the group but this program continued the tradition of Neerana program as some of its members were also in Neerana initiative. One of the members Abdul Sattar became Foreign Minister of Pakistan. This definitely made an impact on nuclear relations of Pakistan and India in the long run.

Women in Security Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP)

This organization was established in 1999 by Meenakshi Gopinath in Delhi. The main purpose of the group was to empower women in the areas like security, policy making, peace and international relations. Its main agenda holds the point that the gender gap between women and men in policy making should be bridged. The initiative was highly targeted towards South Asian women. It tends to encourage women to take part in state politics and policy making process. Further, it advocated that women must be integral part of inter-state negotiations, theory developing in international relations, conflict management and regional politics focusing on Pakistan and India relations. Along with that, the organization raised its voice on several forums regarding the plight of common women in South Asian states especially in the occupied land like Kashmir.⁶

Another major initiative took by the organization was establishing harmony among the South Asian woman. It was specifically done during the years of 1999 and 2000. A movement named *Athwas* which means holding the hand of another person for showing trust, cooperation and empathy was initiated by organization in 2000. It was introduced in one of the round table conference of the organization. It was started to show solidarity with Kashmiri women. The handshake was being conducted among the Kashmiri

⁶ Manjri, S. Women's Initiatives for Peace between Pakistan and India, *Pakistan Horizon*, 573, 2004.

Pundit, Sikh and Muslim women. It was the first initiative for Kashmiri women in a decade since the armed freedom movement was started in the valley. It was to make participants to understand the point of view of others. It was also to show the harmony and borderless love for the Kashmiri affected women.⁷

Kashmir Study Group (KSG)

This group was founded in 1996 by the former diplomats, academics, intellectuals, heads of NGOs, and former parliamentary leaders. These founders were mostly from the US, Canada and European countries. The basic purpose of the group was to extract the resolution of Kashmir issue. The founder of KSG was a Kashmiri-American Muhammad Farooq. He also funded the project so a resolution of the issue can be reached as soon as possible. The group rapidly got recognition in the world especially in Pakistan and India. According to a couple of South Asian intellectuals, the KSG “has achieved a reputation for nonpartisan objectivity that has earned it a hearing in New Delhi and Islamabad, and a measure of confidence among Kashmiri leaders”

The KSG arranged number of meetings between Pakistani and Indian former diplomats, military personals and academics. These meetings were mostly being arranged in Islamabad and New Delhi. The main agenda was to look, analyze and understand the point of view and perceptions of both sides. Furthermore, it was also come under discussion that how much the both sides can show the flexibility.⁸ The discussions were lengthy and strategically vital. The ideas and proposals presented by KSG was highly appreciated and considered by the policy makers of both, Pakistan and India. In its number of meetings, the Kashmir issue was highlighted at global level. One of the purposes of the group is to resolve the issue through the cooperation of international community and under special observation of the United Nations.⁹

One of the vital meetings was arranged between by KSG in 1999. The participants of the meeting were retired Pakistani and Indian military officials. The group held a prolonged discussion for the Kashmir issue. The meeting was important due to the involvement of military personals because these individuals have fought wars on the same issue with each other. They knew the importance of the territory hence a proposal by these individuals was highly vital. The group prepared a report which was published in 2000 under the title of “Kashmir Issue: A Way Forward” The main proposal of the

⁷ Jones, O. B.. *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*, Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005

⁸ KSG. Kashmir Issue Discussion, Washington DC: Kashmir Study Group, 2005.

⁹Ibid

report was to divide part of Kashmir in to two independent sovereign entities but without international status. The report was highly appreciated by both governments but like many other ideas this one also went into spiral of official red tape and lack of interest of politicians to resolve the issue of Kashmir. The activities of this group were highly important as the Kargil war recently fought between Pakistan and Indian, henceforth the significance of the Kashmir issue had come into lime light yet again. KSG is still active and have been publishing its reports for extracting a permanent and stable outcome of Kashmir issue mainly for the betterment of the people of Kashmir.¹⁰

Balusa Group

Shirin Tahir Kheli, who was a professor in John Hopkins University, and has remained holding important designations during George W. Bush's both first and second tenures, founded the Balusa (Knowledge) group in 1995. Her brother Toufiq Siddiqi who is an energy and environmental expert was the co-founder of the group. The duo established the group to generate a channel of communication and to improve relations between Pakistan and India. The UN development program and Rock Feller foundation were the main fund donors of the project. This step was considered to be one of the critical steps of Track Two diplomacy for establishing a reliable channel between neighboring arch rivals.¹¹

The meetings of this group are usually consists of former military officials, retired diplomats, and academics from Pakistan and India. The main agenda of the meetings are to analyze the options for trust building measures and resolution of burning issue of Kashmir between two neighboring states. Along with that the other major goal of the group is to bring out the discussion agendas from narrow strategic point to the economic, social and political options. The meetings were mainly held around mid and late 1990s. Another major proposal presented by the Balusa Group during 1996-96 was to establish a gas pipeline from Iran to Pakistan to India. Although the idea was already floating in official circles but this group further propagated the idea with new escalation. During an interview Mr. Siddiqi quoted: "*Shirin and I have had a continuous interest in promoting sustainable development in the Subcontinent, and here was a concept [the pipeline proposal] that would*

¹⁰ Kumar, S. Indo-Pak Relations: New Trends and Challenges, *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 22, 2012.

¹¹ Kheli, S. T. *India and Pakistan: Opportunities in Economic Growth, Technology and Security: A Report of the Balusa/ Princeton Group*. Washington, DC: Balusa Group, 1997.

*represent a win-win economic situation for the key adversaries, while also serving as a CBM”*¹²

General Durrani who was also a founding member of Balusa Group has also been a strong supporter of the idea. He emphasized upon the gas pipeline project after Nuclear tests in 1998 and then in 1999 after Kargil War. The General stated: *“The peace dividend will begin to flow the moment you sign the document. There will be newfound confidence as you move into detailed studies, construction, the to-and-fro between officials, and so on”*. He further produced a document which discussed the destruction and disadvantages of war between Pakistan and India. The paper was written on the outlines of agenda of Balusa Group. Although most of the intellectuals considered that the group has a little influence but it had established its sphere of influence in the official circles like General Durrani kept on furnishing the ideas of Balusa Group in the Defense Ministry of Pakistan.¹³

The Balusa Group emerged as a vital tool of Track Two diplomacy between Pakistan and India after Kargil War in 1999. The options were discussed to keep a channel open despite the hostility between both neighboring states. Furthermore the Group discussed the new security situation in context of military coup in Pakistan and its potential effects on Pak-India relationship.

India Pakistan Soldiers Initiative for Peace (IPSI)

After the Lahore declaration in 1999, many positive initiatives were being taken to further enhance the cooperation and communication between Pakistan and India. Along with other social and civil actors, military personals also started to take part in the activity. Former military personals of Pakistan and India decided to form a platform to discuss the mutual interests, issues and conflicts between the both sides. After the presentation of idea, soldiers of both sides appreciated it, hence under the chair of Nirmala Daish Pande, the organization under the name of India-Pakistan Soldiers Initiatives for Peace (IPSI) was formed in 1999. The organization has the offices in both Lahore and New Delhi. Distinguished former military officials head the offices on both sides.

Admiral (r) Ramdas a former Navy Chief is heading the Delhi chapter of the organization while Lahore office is run under the chair of Lt. General (r) Naseer Akhtar. The basic condition of becoming a member is that

¹² Dixit, K. M. *Within Grasp: Persian Gas for Southasian Engine*, Himal, 2005.

¹³ Durrani, M. A. *India and Pakistan: The Costs of Conflict and Benefit of Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

the candidate should be serious and devoted to building pace and trust channels between Pakistan and India. The organization has number of meetings and seminars especially after Kargil War in 1999 to discuss the potential implications on mutual relationship of both states. First major seminar of the organization was held in United States Centre in New Delhi on January 23, 2001. The Kargil War was still a hot topic and was fresh in the mind of participants. Pakistani delegation led by Lt. Gen. Naseer Akhtar faced some serious questions and hot debate. The misperceptions on many issues were finished on both sides. A joint declaration for peace was issued at the end of the seminar.

Second seminar of the organization was held in Lahore in 2001. The Indian delegation under Nirmala DaishPande reached the city. The Indian chapter of IPSI met President General Pervaiz Musharraf and discussed the vital military and economic issues with him. Furthermore the delegation met with the leaders of Al-Badr organization which was an active armed freedom movement organization in Indian Occupied Kashmir. The Indian delegations went back with many cleared misperceptions and with the feeling that majority of Pakistani people want peaceful relations with India.¹⁴

Pakistan-India People's forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFDP)

PIFPD was established in 1995 at the time of high tension between Pakistan and India. The major purpose of the group is to engage civil society activists on both sides of the borders. The members of the group are mostly academics, businessmen, media persons and NGOs. The individual or group wants to be member of this organization need to be supporter of the peace and cooperation agendas of this PIPFPD. Basic members of this organization were 24 who have the same purpose to promote peace and democracy in their respective countries. PIPFPD has the offices in Lahore and New Delhi. The major activity conducted by this group is arranging an annual seminar in both countries with 100-200 participants. There seminars held from 1995 to 2001 were highly important for a constant communication platform between Pakistan and India because the ties were hostile between them. The aura of suspicion and trust deficiency was prevailing. Henceforth PIPFPD kept a window open for contact across the border.

South Asian Forum of Human Rights (SAFHR)

The forum established in 1990 works for the basic Human Rights in South Asia. The head quarter of the organization is located in Katmandu, Nepal. The organization was established to maintain and to promote the

¹⁴ Gaur, M. *Foreign Policy Annual 2002: Events and Documents*. IPSI: New Delhi, 2003.

human rights in South Asia. Basic purpose of the group is to *"promote respect for universal standards of human rights with emphasis on universality and interdependence of human rights."* The group has worked intensively for the rights of the people of Kashmir. It has raised the voice in both Pakistan and India to resolve the issue of Kashmir for the Kashmiris. The seminars, conferences and talks were arranged by the group after the Kargil War in 1999 and 2000 to put pressure on Pakistan-India to seek a resolution of the issue. The members and participants are from both states belong to the sectors of education, welfare, media and diplomacy. Above discussed groups have played a significant role in sphere of Track Two diplomacy especially during time phase of 1996 to 2001. As mentioned earlier this phase was highly critical for both sides as the major issues like Nuclear tests and Kargil War were occurred in that period. These groups not only kept a communication bridge on but also presented their ideas and new proposals to the leaders and policy makers of both states to develop peaceful and cordial ties. This aspect and efforts of Track Two diplomacy may not be recognized by number of scholars of International Relations but no one can deny the role played by these groups and organizations.

Role of Individuals in Track Two Diplomacy between Pakistan and India

The groups who played a significant role in Track Two diplomacy between Pakistan and India but there were few important individuals who played a vital role in establishing a Track Two channel between both states. These individuals belong to diplomatic sector and media field has played a vital role. These individuals, mostly allocated by the heads of the states, arranged secret meetings in Pakistan and India to resolve the issues in hand. The major issues as discussed earlier were the nuclear tests in 1998, Kargil War 1999, and border stand-off in 2001-2002. These individuals not only kept on a connection between both states but also presented new ideas to resolve the issues with keeping the interests of their states on top. During this critical phase, these individuals played highly important role to maintain stable and sustainable relations between both hostile states.

Niaz A. Naik and R. K. Mishra: Two Poles of Track Two Diplomacy (1996-2001)

Niaz A. Naik, a former foreign secretary of Pakistan, played a major role during the government of Nawaz Sharif to bring Pakistan and India together and his counterpart R. K. Mishra, a journalist by profession and political secretary of the Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Bajpai played similar important role in bridging up the differences between both states. Both individuals were assigned by the head of the governments of both states. They were close to them. Before elections in Pakistan in 1997, the

relationship between both neighbors was in worse condition. The blame game was at its peak. Almost zero communication was occurring between both states. The elections of 1997 and victory of Nawaz Sharif by huge margin created a new ray of hope. Although both Niaz A. Naik and Nawaz Sharif didn't share same political grounds but both shared one common interest, good relations with India. In an interview Naik stated: *"Sharif was basically not a politician but a businessman. He could see the benefits of Indo-Pakistani co-operation in the economic and social sectors. He was really, genuinely interested in making progress."*

Newly elected Pakistani PM allocated Mr. Naik for establishing back door connection with India Naik was his second choice for the Track Two diplomacy after the death of his political secretary. Former foreign secretary was an old player of the field. He had already played a significant role during General Zia regime when he established back door channel between Pakistani ruler and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Meanwhile after the general elections in India in 1998, nationalist Atal Bihari Bajpai had come into power. Despite the doubts, the newly elected Indian PM was ready to establish cordial relations with Pakistan.

After the nuclear tests in 1998, the relations and communications between both states had come to a complete halt. Both Pakistani and Indian Prime Ministers first met at the sideline of the UN convention in New York. Both agreed to move the relations in positive direction. The official diplomacy was almost out of question as the feeling of hostility among the politicians and masses on both sides of borders prevailed. Hence, the option of Track Two diplomacy was decided to be adopted. Niaz A. Naik from Pakistan and R.K Mishra from India were the choices.

Delhi: Secret Meeting on Kashmir Issue

These Two individuals met for number of times mostly in New Delhi. Both individuals also arranged meetings during the Lahore summit when Indian PM Bajpai was on official visit of Pakistan. The topics discussed by them ranged from strategic stability, border clash resolutions, economic cooperation and most importantly Kashmir issue. During these meetings, the issue of Kargil arose and the focus of the negotiations started to turn towards its resolution, Pakistan's position and Indian aggression in the conflict. Both allocated by the head of the states tried to resolve the issue by peaceful and rapid means. According to some government officials and political analysts

US Deputy Assistant Secretary Gibson Lanphr was also played an important role during the Kargil War.¹⁵

According to some sources Mr. Lanphr and Mr. Naik went to New Delhi on July 1 when the Kargil War was continuing. They both flew at night and flew back in the morning without catching any media attention. These individuals met R K Mishra in a New Delhi Hotel. The meeting reported to be ended without any fruitful result. Since then the international actors, especially US government has gotten involved and Pakistan and India were going for the resolution of Kargil issue. This War highlighted the gravity of Kashmir issue for global community and specifically for Pakistan and India. PM Nawaz Sharif and PM Bajpai again decided to use the Track II diplomacy to seek new resolutions for the unresolved issue since 1947.

Kashmir Issue: Conflict Management By Track Two Diplomacy

During the Bajpai visit to Lahore, the Kashmir issue was already being discussed between them behind the closed doors. Both leaders decided to allocate a missionary representative for the negotiation like the Oslo Accord between Israel and Palestine. After reaching back to India, Bajpai called Nawaz Sharif and told him about his choice which was R K Mishra. Meanwhile Mr. Naik has been selected from Pakistani side. During the time of mid-march, 1999, Mishra came to Islamabad to meet Nawaz Sharif and Niaz Naik. Mr. Naik and Mr. Mishra decided to meet in New Delhi by the end of March for first round of negotiations on Kashmir issue.

On March 27, 1999 Niaz A. Naik reached New Delhi without any official recognition and media coverage. He checked in the hotel and never left the room for days. He used to order his meals in his room. There was no visitor for him. Mr. Naik has once remained a High Commissioner for Pakistan in the same city. There was only one visitor, R.K, Mishra. Both met for number of days for quite long hours. The main agenda was Kashmir. Both individuals had the consent of their Prime Ministers to extract new resolutions for the conflict. Both agreed to talk on neutral grounds, neither Mishra would call Kashmir as an integral part of India nor Naik would state it as the jugular vein of Pakistan. According to the sources, Mr. Naik took a map of India and Pakistan on April 1, and both Track Two diplomats studied it for hours to reach to a common ground.

¹⁵ Behera, N. C. July 16, Need to Expand Track-Two Diplomacy, *Asia Times*, 2003.

Options on Kashmir Issue: Delhi Meeting

Both unofficial diplomats decided the outline of negotiation beforehand there were some main points like:

- The resolution will be decided after taken the whole account of interests of Pakistan, India and Kashmiri People
- The solution will be practicable, implementable and equally balanced
- Finally the resolution will be final not partial like Shimla accord of 1972 in which partial conditions were included to resolve the issue

After deciding the outline of negotiation, two sat and discussed the potential outcomes of the conflict. Main proposed solutions were:

- Mishra suggested that both countries will admit Line of Control as the permanent border but was rejected by Naik as this was the reason of wars and was not feasible at all
- Second option was the independent and free elections in Kashmir but was rejected by Naik by saying that elections are much less that what Kashmiris want
- Third option being discussed was the Owen Dixon model of 1950. In which the UN mediator has suggested to divide Kashmir on majority region bases of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims The idea was rejected by Mishra because it would be not acceptable for nationalist government of BJP and it has the potential to turn into blood bath
- Fourth was the option of independent Kashmir. The idea was based on the Kashmir Liberation Front ideology emerged in 1980 but both rejected the idea
- Furthermore, both discussed number of possibilities from Swedish-Finnish model, Kuldeep Nayyar's proposal, Northern Ireland model but none could be reached to solution. R K Mishra told Bajpai that all the options have been exhausted. Bajpai asked them to innovate
- After that two focused on innovation and new ideas for the resolution of Kashmir issue. At the time Mr. Naik proposed the famous "Chenab Formula". He suggested that the river Chenab will be considered as the new border of Pakistan and India. The river flows from southwestern region of Kashmir. Mishra said that he did not know the exact location of the river. On that Naik went to hotel lobby and brought a common tourist map of the region. Both cannot ask for the detailed map without rising suspicion. Both discussed the proposal in detail.

Kargil War and De-railing of Track Two Diplomacy

On April 1, 1999, Niaz Naik returned to Pakistan with advice from Mishra to send him the detailed maps of river Chenab. Some days after in May the famous Kargil War broke out and the River Chenab formula went dry without any further progress. Mr. Naik went to India on June 26, 1999 for the last time when both states were on the verge of the total war. During that time, PM Nawaz Sharif had decided to go to China for seeking assistance for Kargil issue. At that point Mr. Naik suggested that a brief meeting could be arranged between Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India. The plan, he came up with was that Nawaz Sharif's plane is due to pass over Indian air range, a small technical error could be reported and plane would land in India where both leaders could meet one to one and a solution would be possible. Mr. Naik even sent a fax to Indian counterpart but never got a reply.¹⁶

Niaz A. Naik and R. K Mishra are not the much discussed figures in the diplomatic relations of Pakistan and India but the efforts of both individuals cannot be ignored. The tool of Track Two diplomacy was used efficiently by both individuals to reach out to some peaceful and applicable solutions of the issues between Pakistan and India. Many scholars considered these efforts as futile and resulted less but the timing of the back channel negotiations and effort put by these individuals had helped to establish a stable and amicable relationship. Due to their meetings and negotiations, a constant communication channel remained open, new areas were discussed, potential solutions of conflicts were extracted, and both almost reached to a possible solution especially on the Kashmir issue. Without practicing Track Two diplomacy, and relations between Pakistan and India could have been altogether different and relatively in worse condition.

An Assessment

This study explores all the major issues related to the conflicts between Pakistan and India. Secondly, the paper analyzes the history of the issues. The special focus of the paper was the enumeration and analysis of Track Two Diplomacy efforts involved in the conflict resolution. There had been many groups involved in the resolution of the problems between Pakistan and India. However, the involvement of individuals is comparatively not very forceful. Group efforts have been made many a times and they achieved some degree of success as well but these efforts also face the challenges of being called as the traitors and enemy lover groups. The Track Two diplomacy efforts is a very valuable way for resolving disagreements

¹⁶ Gupta, K.. Indian gains in stature, Pakistan sinks in the Mire, *Rediff*, June 29, 1999

between hostile nations like Pakistan and India. Military and war based solution are always destructive, tragic and inhumane. Whereas, Track Two diplomacy efforts are more humane, reliable and risk free.