Appendix I

Instrument of Accession

Instrument of accession executed by Maharajah Hari Singh on October 26, 1947 (sic) Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as India, and that the government of India Act 1935, shall with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor General may by order specify, be applicable to the dominion of India. And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor General, provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof. Now, therefore, I Shriman Inder Mahinder Rajrajeswar Maharajadhiraaj Shri Hari Singhji, Jammu & Kashmir Naresh Tatha Tibbet adi Deshadhipati, Ruler of Jammu & Kashmir State, in the exercise of my Sovereignty in and over my said state do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall by virtue of this my instrument of Accession but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of Jammu & Kashmir (hereinafter referred to as 'this state') such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India, on the 15th day of August 1947, (which Act as so in force is hereafter referred to as 'the Act').

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make law for this State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of
the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of the State, then any such agreement shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this, my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by Instrument supplementary to this instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorizing the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purpose of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense, or, if the land belongs to me, transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into agreement with the Government of India under any such future constitution.

8. Nothing in this instrument affects the continuance of my Sovereignty in any over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors. Given under my hand this 26th day of

October, nineteen hundred and forty seven.
Maharajadhiraj Hari Singh

Acceptance of Accession by the Governor General of India

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession. Dated this twenty-seventh day of October, nineteen hundred and forty seven.
Mountbatten of Burma
Government General of India.
Schedule of Instrument of Accession

The Matters With Respect To Which The Dominion Legislature May Make Laws For This State

Defence

1. The naval, military and air forces of the Dominion and any other armed forces raised or maintained by the Dominion; any armed forces, including forces raised or maintained by an acceding State, which are attached to, or operating with, any of the armed forces of the Dominion.
2. Naval, military and air force works, administration of cantonment areas.
3. Arms, firearms, ammunition.
4. Explosives

External Affairs

(i) External affairs; the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries; extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty’s Dominions outside India.
(ii) Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, India, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in India of persons who are not British subjects domiciled in India or subjects of any acceding State; pilgrimages to places beyond India.
(iii) Naturalization.

Communications

1. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other like forms of communication.
2. Federal railways; the regulation of all railways other minor railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and services terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers; the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.
3. Maritime shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on tidal waters; Admiralty jurisdiction.
4. Port quarantine.

5. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of Port Authorities therein.

6. Aircraft and air navigation: the provision of aerodromes; regulation and organization of air traffic and of aerodromes.

7. Lighthouses, including lightships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft.

8. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

9. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of the police force belonging to any unit to railway area outside that unit.

10. Ancillary.

11. Election to the Dominion Legislature, subject to the provisions of the Act and of any order made there under.

12. Offences against laws with respect to any of the aforesaid matters.

13. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the aforesaid matters.

14. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts with respect to any of the aforesaid matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the acceding state, not so as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any courts other than courts ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that state.
Appendix II

Article 370 of the Indian Constitution

Temporary provisions with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir

(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution,

(a) The provisions of article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu & Kashmir.

(b) The power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to,

(i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent List which, in consultation with the Government of the State are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and

(ii) Such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concurrence of the Government of the State, the President may by order specify.

Explanation for the purposes of this article, the Government of the State means the person for the time being recognized by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja’s Proclamation dated the fifth day of March 1948;

(c) the provisions of article 1 and of this article shall apply in relation to that State;

(d) such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify: Provided that no such order, which relates to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in paragraph (i) of sub-clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Government of the State: Provided further that no such order, which relates to matters other than those referred in the last preceding proviso shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

(2) If the concurrence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) of clause (1) or in the second proviso to sub-clause (d) of that clause be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon.
(3) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this article, the President may, by public notification, declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may specify: Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be necessary before the President issues such a notification.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Article 370 the President, on the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, declared that as from the 17th Day of November, 1952, the said Article 370 shall be operative with the modification that for the Explanation in Cl.(1) thereof, the following explanation is substituted namely. ‘Explanation – for the purpose of this article, the government of the State means the person for the time being recognized by the President on the recommendation of the Legislative Assembly of the State as the Sadar-i-Riyasat (now Governor) of Jammu and Kashmir, acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers of the State for the time being in office,’ (Ministry of Law order No. C.O. dated 15 Nov. 1952).
Appendix III
Abridged Text of the Indus Waters Treaty
(Signed in Karachi on September 19, 1960)

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, being equally desirous of attaining the most complete and satisfactory utilization of the waters of the Indus system of rivers and recognizing the need, therefore, of fixing and delineating, in a spirit of goodwill and friendship, the rights and obligations of each in relation to the other concerning the use of these waters and of making provision for the settlement, in a cooperative spirit, of all such questions as may hereafter arise in regard to the interpretation or application of the provisions agreed upon herein, have resolved to conclude a Treaty in furtherance of these objectives, and for this purpose have named as their plenipotentiaries: The government of India: Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, and The Government of Pakistan: Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan, H.P. H.J. President of Pakistan, who, having communicated to each other their respective Full Powers and having found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles and Annexes.

Article II
Provisions Regarding Eastern Rivers
All the waters of the eastern Rivers shall be available for the unrestricted use of India, except as otherwise expressly provided in this Article.

Article III
Provision Regarding Western Rivers
Pakistan shall receive for unrestricted use all those waters of the Western Rivers, which India is under obligation to let flow under the provisions of Paragraph (2). India shall be under an obligation to let flow all the waters of the Western Rivers, and shall not permit any interference with these waters, except for the following uses, restricted in the case of each of the rivers: The Indus, The Jhelum and The Chenab, to the drainage basin thereof: (a) Domestic Use; (b) Non-Consumptive Use; (c) Agricultural Use; as set out in Annexure D.
Article VIII
Permanent Indus Commission

India and Pakistan shall each create a permanent post of Commissioner for Indus Waters, and shall appoint to this post, as often as a vacancy occurs, a person who should ordinarily be a high-ranking engineer competent in the field of hydrology and water-use. Unless either Government should decide to take up any particular question directly with the other government, each commissioner will be the representative of his Government for all matters arising out of this Treaty, and will serve as the regular channel of communication on all matters relating to the implementation of the Treaty, and, in particular, with respect to (a) the furnishing or exchange of information or data provided for in the Treaty; and (b) the giving of any notice or response to any notice provided for in the Treaty. That Government will determine the status of each Commissioner and his duties and responsibilities towards his Government. The two Commissioners shall together form the Permanent Indus Commission. The purpose and functions of the Commission shall be to establish and maintain co-operative arrangements for the implementation of this Treaty and to promote co-operation between the Parties in the development of the waters of the Rivers. The Commission shall determine its own procedures.

Article IX
Settlement of Differences and Disputes

Any question which arises between the Parties concerning the interpretation or application of this Treaty or the existence of any fact which, if established, might constitute a breach of this treaty shall first be examined by the Commission, which will endeavor to resolve the question by agreement. If the Commission does not reach agreement on any of the questions mentioned in the Paragraph (1), then a difference will be deemed to have arisen, which shall be dealt with by a Neutral Expert. If due Neutral Expert has informed the Commission that, in his opinion, the difference should be treated as a dispute, then a dispute will be deemed to have arisen. As soon as a dispute to be settled has arisen, the commission shall, at the request of either Commissioner, report the fact to the two Governments, as early as practicable, stating in its report the points on which the Commission is in agreement and the issues in dispute, the views of each Commissioner on these issues and his reasons therefore. Either Government may, following receipt of the report, or if it comes to the
conclusion that this report is being unduly delayed in the Commission, invite the other Government to resolve the dispute by agreement.
(The full text of the agreement can be found at the Henry L. Stimson Center website, www.stimson.org.).
Appendix IV

The Tashkent Declaration

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal relations between their countries of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighborly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means. They considered that the interests of peace, particularly in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu & Kashmir was discussed, and each side set forth its respective position.

Troops Withdrawal

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25 February 1966 to the positions they held prior to 5 August 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on Diplomatic Intercourse.
Trade Relations

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreement between India and Pakistan. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they will give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue the discussions of questions relating to the problems of refugees and eviction of illegal immigrants. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agree to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

Soviet Leaders Thanked

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the two sides will continue meetings both at highest and at other levels of matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to (set) up joint Indian Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken. The prime minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings, deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting, which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality. They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to witness this declaration.

Prime Minister of India  
Lal Bahadur Shastri

President of Pakistan  
Mohammed Ayub Khan

Tashkent, January 10, 1966
Appendix V

The Simla Agreement

The government of India and the Government of Pakistan are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples. In order to achieve this objective, the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have agreed as follows:

(i) That the principles and purpose of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the countries;

(ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;

(iii) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good-neighborliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefits;

(iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries of the last twenty-five years shall be resolved by peaceful means.

(v) That they shall always respect each other’s national unity: territorial integrity; political independence and sovereign equality;

(vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; they shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.

In order progressively to restore and normalize relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:
(i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including over flights;

(ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country;

(iii) Trade and co-operation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible;

(iv) Exchange in the fields of science and culture will be promoted. In this connexion, delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details. In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both Governments agree that:

(i) Indian and Pakistani forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border;

(ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat of the use of force in violation of this line;

(iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this agreement and shall be completed within a period of thirty days thereof.

(V) This agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will come into force with effect from the date on which the Instruments of Ratification are exchanged.

(VI) Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representative of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of a durable peace and normalization of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

Indira Gandhi  
Prime Minister  
Republic of India

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto  
President Republic  
of Pakistan
Appendix VI

Kashmir Accord

November 13, 1974

Indira Gandhi

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

Agreed conclusions, which led to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah’s accord with Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister, and his subsequent assumption of office as Chief Minister in February 1975:

1. The State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is a constituent unit of the Union of India, shall, in its relation with the Union, continue to be governed by Article 370 of the Constitution of India.

2. The residuary powers of legislation shall remain with the State; however, Parliament will continue to have power to make laws relating to the prevention of activities directed towards disclaiming, questioning or disrupting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of India or bringing about secession of a part of the territory of India from the Union or causing insult to the Indian National Flag, the Indian National Anthem and the Constitution.

3. Where any provision of the Constitution of India had been applied to the State of Jammu & Kashmir with adaptations and modifications, such adaptations and modifications can be altered or repealed by an order of the President under Article 370, each individual proposal in this behalf being considered on its merits; but provisions of the Constitution of India already applied to the state of Jammu & Kashmir without adaptation or modification are unalterable.

4. With a view to assuring freedom to the State of Jammu & Kashmir to have its own legislation on matters like welfare measures, cultural matters, social security, personal law and procedural laws, in manner suited to the special conditions in the state, it is agreed that the State Government can review the laws made by Parliament or extended to the State after 1953 on any matter relatable to the Concurrent List and may decide which of them, in its opinion, needs amendment or repeal. Thereafter, appropriate steps may be taken under
Article 254 of the Constitution of India. The grant of President’s assent to such legislation would be sympathetically considered. The same approach would be adopted in regard to laws to be made by Parliament in future under the Proviso to clause 2 of the Article. The State Government shall be consulted regarding the application of any such law to the State and the views of the State Government shall receive the fullest consideration.

5. As an arrangement reciprocal to what has been provided under Article 368, a suitable modification of that Article as applied to the State should be made by Presidential order to the effect that no law made by the Legislature of the State of Jammu & Kashmir, seeking to make any change in or in the effect of any provision of Constitution of the State of Jammu & Kashmir relating to any of the under mentioned matters, shall take effect unless the Bill, having been reserved for the consideration of the President, receives his assent; the matters are:

(a) the appointment, powers, functions, duties, privileges and immunities of the Governor, and

(b) the following matter relating to Elections namely, the superintendence, direction and control of Elections by the Election Commission of India, eligibility for inclusion in the electoral rolls without discrimination, adult suffrage and composition of the Legislative Council, being matters specified in sections 138, 139, 140 and 50 of the Constitution of the State of Jammu & Kashmir.

6. No agreement was possible on the question of nomenclature of the Governor and the Chief Minister and the matter is therefore, remitted to the Principals.

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg
G. Parthasarathi
New Delhi, November 13, 1974
Appendix VII

The Lahore Declaration

The prime Ministers of the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan: Sharing a vision of peace and stability between their countries, and of progress and prosperity for their peoples; Convinced that durable peace and development of harmonious relations and friendly cooperation will serve the vital interests of the peoples of the two countries, enabling them to devote their energies for a better future; Recognizing that the nuclear dimension of the security environment of the two countries adds to their responsibility for avoidance of conflict between the two countries; Committed to the principles and purpose of the Charter of the United Nations, and the universally accepted principles of peaceful co-existence; Reiterating the determination of both countries to implementing the Simla agreement in letter and spirit; Committed to the objective of universal nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation; Convinced of the importance of mutually agreed confidence building measures improving the security environment; Recalling their agreement of 23rd September, 1998, that an environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interests of both sides and that the resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose;

Have agreed that their respective Governments: (a) Shall intensify their efforts to resolve all issues, including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. (b) Shall refrain from the intervention and interference in each other’s internal affairs. (c) Shall intensify their composite and integrated dialogue process for an early a positive outcome of the agreed bilateral agenda. (c) Shall take immediate steps for reducing the risk of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons and discuss concepts and doctrines with a view to elaborating measures for confidence building in the nuclear and conventional fields, aimed at prevention of conflicts. (d) Reaffirm their commitment to the goals and objectives of SAARC and to concert their efforts towards the realization of the SAARC vision for the year 2000 and beyond with a view to promoting the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life through accelerated economic growth, social progress and cultural development. (e) Reaffirm their condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and their
determination to combat this menace. (f) Shall promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Signed at Lahore on the 21st of February 1999

Atal Behari Vajpayee
Prime Minister of the Republic of India

Muhammad Nawaz Sharif
Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan
Appendix VIII
Agra Summit, July 2001

Although India-Pakistan relations remained in the doldrums for two years following the Kargil adventure, the Vajpayee government announced a cease-fire of offensive military operations in Kashmir in fall 2000. In spite of the refusal of the insurgents to cooperate, Delhi prolonged this for an extended period. When the Vajpayee government decided to end the cease-fire in May 2001, it coupled this with a surprise invitation for Musharraf to visit India in July. This set the stage for what proved to be perhaps the most dramatic, but ultimately most disappointing, India-Pakistan summit. Fairly extensive consultations among senior officials had preceded previous parlays, but not in the case of Agra. Although the two sides held some preliminary talks, Pakistan was reluctant to enter into detailed discussions. There was agreement regarding the schedule; however, no meeting of the minds occurred on substantive goals. India’s public statements indicated Delhi’s interest in resuming the Lahore summit dialogue, and in obtaining Islamabad’s agreement to phase-out its support for the Kashmir insurgency. Pakistani statements focused on the importance of tackling the Kashmir issue. This was consistent with the view, which the army leadership strongly held, that failure to make progress on this “core” issue would render illusory progress achieved on other India-Pakistan problems. Musharraf accepted the invitation and soon after appointed himself President. He arrived in New Delhi and enormous public excitement on July 15, 2001. The emotional high point of the day came when Musharraf returned to the house located in the heart of Old Delhi from which his family had fled in August 1947 when he was four years old. Indian President K.R. Narayanan hosted a state dinner with Musharraf as the guest of honour and he was the first leader to lay a wreath at the memorial to Mahatma Gandhi along the banks of Jammu River. He had a one-on-one meeting with Prime Minister Vajpayee. During this session, the Indian leader accepted Musharraf’s invitation to pay a return visit to Pakistan to initiate what many assumed would be a series of regular summit meetings. The day’s only sour note was Indian officials’ boycott of reception that Ashraf Qazi, Pakistan high commissioner, hosted as he invited a number of Kashmiri separatists.
The following day, the summit shifted to Agra where two delegations were housed in adjacent luxury hotels. While Vajpayee and Musharraf had a second meeting alone, their foreign ministers and staffs were frenetically trying to fashion a joint statement that would relaunch the bilateral dialogue. The going was slow as draft texts passed back and forth between the delegations during the day and evening. The sticking point centered on Kashmir. Pakistan wanted the issue underscored as the key dispute that needed addressing. India was ready to acknowledge the importance of Kashmir, but also wanted Pakistan to agree to reduce its tacit unacknowledged support for the insurgency. That evening, breaking a tacit understanding about dealing with the press, the Indian Information and Broadcasting Minister Sushma Swaraj upset the Pakistani by suggesting that the two leaders had talked about a wide variety of subjects, but not about Kashmir. The Pakistanis promptly countered that Kashmir had been front and center to discussions. The morning of July 17, 2001, the Pakistani President had a breakfast meeting with Indian editors in what was supposedly an off-the-record session. Cameras were present, however, and Pakistani and one Indian television channel aired his remarks live. At his most open, Musharraf spoke frankly and with much emotion about India-Pakistan differences. He made clear his strong feelings about Kashmir, comparing this issue to the Palestinian struggle with Israel. Pakistan’s President reiterated that progress on other bilateral matters was possible only in parallel with progress on Kashmir.

Prime Minister
of India
A.B. Vajpayee

President
of Pakistan
Pervez Musharraf