

E-ISSUE

BORDER AFFAIRS

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Editor Pushp Saraf

Act of terrorism

As we wind up this issue of Border Affairs we get the shocking report of bomb explosions in Samjhauta Express, one of the few credible links between New Delhi and Islamabad. It is unfortunate that 64 persons have been killed and many injured. It is a blatant act of terrorism and must be condemned forthwith. Prima facie it appears an attempt to derail the peace process between the two neighbouring countries. Sooner the sub-continent is exorcised of the evil of terrorism the better it will be for all of us. No effort should be spared in this direction. – P.S.

Those who feel strongly about the need for a concerted effort to strengthen relations between the border states and the country's heartland are invited to write for *Border Affairs*. They can dwell on any problem concerning border areas, giving factual details and constructive analyses. Those who want to express their views briefly can do so in the 'Response' column.

POLL BATTLE BEGINS

Pushp Saraf

Assembly elections are scheduled to be held in Jammu and Kashmir in the latter half of 2008. But, it seems, the election year has already begun. The manner in which the coalition partners – the Congress and the People’s Democratic Party - are taking on each other is more than an example of democracy being noise at work. There are threats and counter-threats. The two parties have openly clashed on the following issues in recent times: (a) the functioning of their combined government, (b) self-rule, and (c) reduction in troops and withdrawal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA).

Two rather amusing developments underline their differences.

The PDP founder, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, has lavished praise on Congress President Sonia Gandhi and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at a public meeting completely ignoring the State Congress leadership, including Chief Minister Ghulam Nabi Azad. The Chief Minister has hit back during the reply to the demands for his ministries in the State Legislature and has referred to the State Government’s achievements alone during his tenure. By quoting statistics he has tried to prove that the alliance had done better under his stewardship than that of the Mufti.

Matters had indeed come to a head at one point when the Chief Minister threatened to go in for early elections. For its part the PDP turned what was meant to be a warning into an opportunity by saying that the party was ready for it any time. The PDP’s virtual refusal to defend the Government on sensitive subjects like fake encounters and human rights violations has irked the Congress. The latter is also upset by the PDP’s strident advocacy of self-rule. The PDP has no longer kept the concept vague. It has defined its contours by seeking, among other things, the appointment of the Governor (Sadar-e-

Riyasat) by the Legislature. The Congress is satisfied with the existing dispensation which it has defined as the “government of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

In fact, each political party has evolved its own theory for the future of the State. If the PDP has self-rule the National Conference is harping on the greater autonomy. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is insisting on a federal set-up. The Bharatiya Janata Party has reverted to its earlier agenda for reorganisation of the State. The Congress does not recognise the demand for Union Territory status for Leh as anti-national but it has alienated the powerful Ladakh Union Territory Front (Leh) consisting of its erstwhile members.

On the secessionist spectrum, the Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front (in all its manifestations) stands for a “united, independent and secular” State. The hardcore Hurriyat faction is for the right of self-determination. The other Hurriyat Conference is vigorously pursuing a peaceful and negotiated settlement. The Jamaat-e-Islami may have distanced itself from its one-time leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani. It may also claim to give preference to its religious mission for the time being. However, nothing has happened to suggest that it has abandoned its ultimate political goal which is the same as that of Mr Geelani.

The Chief Minister has evidently bitten more than he could chew. He has allowed himself to be provoked enough to ask those legislators seeking demilitarisation to surrender their security cover first. And he has insisted that they must do so in writing.

The Mufti and his supporters lost no time in following his advice. Some have also begun to give a slip to their security guards who are apparently under no instruction to pull out. This in turn has resulted in avoidable tension for the security forces. The Hurriyat Conference, led by Mirwaiz Moulvi Umar Farooq, which is engaged in talks with both New Delhi and Islamabad has also felt offended. Some of its top leaders have the official forces defending them for the right reasons. The Mirwaiz has suffered heavily at the hands of militants. So has his associate Bilal Lone whose charismatic father Abdul Ghani Lone was gunned down because, to quote former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, “he was working for peace.”

The lesson in all this for Mr Azad is that statecraft can't be permitted to be influenced by political slogans howsoever distasteful they may appear to be. Actually once in power a political party may have to

readjust its professed priorities. A case in point is the BJP's virtual silence on its constant demand for abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution guaranteeing special status to J&K after it had ascended to power at the Centre as the leader of the National Democratic Alliance.

By all means the presence of troops (the Army and para-military forces) in the civilian areas should be reduced. An ideal situation is the one in which the police assumes its due role. The million-dollar question is: has the situation improved to that extent that the Army and para-military forces can return to their barracks? One can reply in one word: no.

It is too early to forget that almost the entire police apparatus had collapsed in the Kashmir region in particular in the 1990s. Like a Phoenix it has risen from the ashes. But it has still some way to go. Till it fully recovers its efforts have to be supplemented by better-equipped outfits. For, the terrorists and their patrons have not given up their designs on the State. They continue to prowl and spoil the State's picturesque surroundings.

Anyone opposed to them invites their wrath. Their insane behaviour necessitates that there is a bulwark between them and their intended targets. It is true that the increasing bonhomie between New Delhi and Islamabad has ushered in a better atmosphere. The overall scenario is

EXTRAORDINARY JOURNEY

My last meeting with Mr D.D. Thakur was when, much to my pleasant surprise, he rang up one day asking me to see him at the residence of his son – Justice Tirath Singh of the Delhi High Court - in New Delhi. I knew he was seriously

Also see “My father: A man for all seasons” p 6

ailing. When I met him his voice was firm and he was in full control of himself. His humility was striking. So was his concern for etiquette. He had managed to write an autobiographical account, “My life and time in Kashmir politics” from his sickbed. He asked me whether I could write a curtain-raiser for Jammu and Kashmir's leading newspaper, “Daily Excelsior”. I agreed gladly. I was in my school when he had moved in our mohalla - Subzi Mandi – in Jammu city from a village in faraway hills. He used to literally burn midnight oil. He

definitely looking upbeat. At the same time, it can't be ignored that the agents of murder and mayhem also roam freely in the neighbouring country which too is evidently feeling the heat. Some are clearly cogs in a vicious global machine working on a wider religious agenda. As long as they are around the sane voices of peace need to be protected. There can't be two opinions about this.

Admittedly, there are serious problems whenever fake encounters take place or when innocent civilians are caught in the cross-fire between the security forces and the militants. The ordinary people feel angry and agitated. They need to be mollified. The situation becomes delicate and requires tactful handling instead of being made a bone of contention to settle political scores.

As the main opposition party the NC is visibly enjoying the cat-and-mouse game between the Congress and the PDP. It has reserved all its fire for the Mufti's outfit for reasons which are too obvious. Both are fighting for domination in the Kashmir region which was the NC's exclusive preserve at least till 1990.

There is no need to get alarmed over these events. Experience instead shows that they can have a positive impact. More fiercely the mainstream parties clash the more isolated the secessionist elements are. It may sound strange but it is true. The 1977 (NC versus Janata Party) and 1983 elections (NC versus Congress) bear eloquent testimony to this heartening reality.

became very close to my father, Mr Om Prakash Saraf, and joined his party Praja Socialist Party - which had attracted the educated youth of Jammu and Kashmir. As a PSP candidate he came close to winning the Ramban Assembly seat. In retrospect, I feel the PSP almost created major upsets in three constituencies - Ramban, Sunderbani and Amirakadal - but was denied its due by the powers-that-be partly for whose sins the State is paying the price now. Mr Thakur rose step by step. He became a leading advocate. He was a judge of the J&K High Court, a minister and then Deputy Chief Minister of J&K and Governor of Assam. He made a mark in the Supreme Court. For a person belonging to a secluded mountainous hamlet it was a tremendous journey. Only a man of rare courage could have travelled this long distance. He passed away on February 3, 2007. He has left behind a highly educated family of judges, lawyers, academicians and soldiers.

—P.S.

POLITICS, POLITICIANS AND PERCEPTIONS

Ahmad Rashid

“*Jo chup rahe ge zaban-e-khanjar laho pukare ga aasteen ka*” (the dagger may not speak for its action but the blood on the hands of the killer would speak). The recent exposure of shock killing of five civilians, who had gone missing in the past over one year, in fake encounters by the personnel of the Special Operations Group (SOG) of Jammu and Kashmir Police and the Army has established the apt execution of the adage. The massive search hundreds of Kashmiris have begun for their missing ones in the aftermath of the murder scam speaks volumes of the suspicion about the magnitude of such incidents carried out by the men in khaki just to earn cash rewards and departmental promotions.

There is no authentic record about the number of persons that have disappeared in Kashmir ever since the armed trouble erupted in 1989-90. Even the official statistics have reckless variation. According to Chief Minister Ghulam Nabi Azad 1074 persons have disappeared in the State. Former Chief Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed (in 2003) said that only 60 persons were missing of whom, he said, many could have crossed over to Pakistan for arms training. However just a few days before the Mufti's revelation, Mr Muzaffar Hussain Baig, then Law Minister in Mufti's Cabinet, had told the State Assembly that 3744 persons were missing. The non-government organisations and human rights groups put the figure between 8000 and 10000 persons.

Whatever the truth, one can little afford to ignore the scale, sensitivity and seriousness of the problem, more particularly when those deemed to be protectors turn out to be predators. Ever since five missing civilians were found buried in graveyards in Ganderbal area as “Pakistani cadres of Lashkar-e-Toiba militant outfit killed in gunfights with SOG and Army troops”, not a single day has passed without hapless relatives marching through the streets of Srinagar and demanding to know the whereabouts of their separated kith and kin. “*Hamare khoye huye kahan hain*” (where

are our missing ones) reads a banner at Koker Bazar in the historic Lal Chowk of Srinagar. The photograph of a local youth Mohammad Saeed was pasted on bottom of the banner. Saeed is alleged to have been picked up by personnel of the Central Reserve Police Force at Regal Chowk in 1990. His location is not known since then.

There is a man who says his brother — a Special Police Officer — was picked up from home and tortured to death. Then a fake encounter was organised to manipulate his death. There is a father Abdul Rasheed Beigh of Srinagar whose photographer son was picked up by the SOG in 1997. Beig then poured out his heart in a booklet chronicling a father's travails.

Ghulam Mohammad Bhat of Nowhatta personally visited the newspaper offices to tell the tale of his son's "forced disappearance". "Some plain-clothed persons picked up my son Mohammad Yaseen outside a mosque at Jabgaripora on March 2, 2000 when he was coming out after offering night prayers. The same night security forces raided our house and searched Yaseen's room. Since then we don't know his whereabouts. We have searched him in every jail, police station, security camp but of no avail", he said. Forty-eight-year old woman Parveen Ahanger of Batmaloo has been fighting a lonely battle to know the position about her son who was arrested by the security forces in 1990.

The list is endless. The relatives of missing persons have now gathered under the banner of Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP) to launch a joint search with a common cause. "We

MY FATHER: A MAN FOR ALL SEASONS

Karuna Thakur

We have just returned after offering our prayers at Haridwar. As per your desire, a part of your ashes were also immersed in the Madhumati river, flowing through Pogal Paristhan, the land of your birth and so dear to your heart. How I wish I could let you know that thousands of your near and dear ones travelled long distances to pay their

A daughter remembers D. D. Thakur

homage to you. You rightly understood that they would be disappointed if they did not get a chance to bid you farewell. You did not want them to be left out even in your final journey.

It is hard to believe you are not around. Your books, mementoes and photographs are all around but a stark emptiness has crept in along with a deluge of memories.

My earliest recollections are those of

are now psychologically prepared for everything. If they have killed him, we want the body so that we can give our son a decent burial”, said Ms Ahanger, who heads the Association.

GHULAM NABI AZAD

The exposure of the heinous crime committed by a ring of rogue police and security men was a major embarrassment for Chief Minister Ghulam Nabi Azad. His trouble had furthered as the exposure came at a time when the State Assembly was in session and the opposition National Conference was ready with all the fire and cylinders to target the Government. But the Chief Minister exhibited an unprecedented amount of courage, wit and boldness by taking the initiative into his own hands. He asked the bosses in the police to come down heavily on the personnel and officers responsible for staging fake encounters for “promotions and cash rewards”. Five policemen, including Senior Superintendent of Police Hansraj Parihar and Deputy Superintendent of Police Ram Bahadur were arrested.

The Chief Minister left the opposition thinking for other ideas when he ordered judicial probe into fake killings. He trod miles by promising probe in all the cases of disappearances since 1990. What goes to Mr Azad’s credit more is that he is the first Chief Minister who showed concern and took cognizance of the civilian killings. Custodial deaths and disappearances have been a perennial feature during all the governments (including Governor’s rule) after 1990. Abdul Rasheed Beigh, whose

seeing you deeply engrossed in the study of law books. Cases kept you busy and made you travel a lot. Promises of small outings and shopping were often deferred for days but you made up in your own unique ways, often reminding us how each one of us was very special to you.

As we grew up, we found ourselves surrounded by a lot of other people in the house, who, we were told, needed to be educated and settled in life. An even larger number had to be looked after who trooped in from all corners for medical help. I often wondered if Dr N S Pathania, Dr S L Verma and many others in the fraternity found you too demanding as you never stopped ringing them up at odd hours for admissions and check ups. But nothing could ever stop you from doing a good deed.

Formality and artifice were alien to your character. You breached barriers to reach out to people you cared for. You tracked down old friends, associates and childhood

son Fayaz Ahmad disappeared in 1997 had knocked at the door of then Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah almost daily but had failed to evoke his intervention. Tasleem Akhtar, wife of Nazir Ahmad Deka, who has now been found to be among five civilians killed as Pakistani militants in Ganderbal, said that she had visited the residence of People's Democratic Party chief Mehbooba Mufti several times to seek her help in finding her missing husband but was not able to get an audience.

Notwithstanding the praise and appreciation that Mr Azad deserves he is unlikely to have an easy time. More than an outward threat, Mr Azad has been entangled from within. The PDP, which is a partner in the Government, is not ready to share any blame in this behalf. It wants to take credit only for the Government's positive doings leaving the vile and vice for its associates. This fact came crying when the stinking Ganderbal scandal came to the surface. More than a responsible partner in the Government, the PDP behaved like the opposition. It flung all the filth it could find on the Congress and squarely held the Chief Minister responsible for it.

MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED

The PDP-Congress relations appeared to be touching breaking point when the PDP patron and former Chief Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed wrote to the Chief Minister seeking withdrawal of his security. Other PDP leaders followed their leader. Party President Mehbooba Mufti and her senior colleagues Ghulam Hassan Mir, Muzaffar Hussain Baig and many more also sought the removal of security around

mates out of wilderness, often breaking journeys, taking detours, missing meals and being with them to relive old times. I still remember your disbelief and shock when an organiser of one of your friendly dinners reminded you that most of the invitees in your list were retired people. For you, relationships had a meaning beyond time space and status. I once asked you, "why do you give so completely to others? Do you receive in the same measure as you give?" Your answer was, "there is greater pleasure in giving than in receiving, and let me tell you, it is one of life's blessings that you are in a position to give. Receiving in the bargain is immaterial to me."

You had a taste for adversity. It brought the best out of you. You turned every seemingly adverse event in your life in to an asset, that is how you took up challenges and never regretted them ever. Acceptance of things which are beyond human control, like your illness came with great fortitude

them.. It looked bizarre that Ms Mufti made this demand while talking to media persons under the heaviest security cover around her official Fairview house at Gupkar Road.

As if to prove that she meant what the PDP said, Ms Mufti gave a slip to her security guards and along with Mr Ghulam Hassan Mir visited the holy shrine at Aishmuqam in Anantnag. The PDP leaders kept their visit a secret and telephoned media organisations of their venture without security only after they returned to their secured residences in Srinagar. The PDP filed another missive to the Chief Minister to hold discussions on the issue of withdrawal of armed troops back to the barracks and abolition of hate laws. The Mufti has written a formal letter to the Chief Minister in this regard and has sought a debate and discussion on the issue in the Cabinet.

Keen observers believe that the PDP's attempts to keep the Chief Minister on tenterhooks are unlikely to see any end. Instead, these are certain to grow in intensity and noise in the days to come. Clearly, the PDP ideologues are working out a plan to dominate the psyche of the people till the Assembly elections are held next year. There is virtually consensus among political pundits that the PDP's moves are aimed at influencing voters in the Assembly elections due next year. The PDP had contested the 2002 Assembly election almost on a separatist agenda. Its leaders particularly the Mufti and his daughter touched the emotional chord by raising the issue like human rights violations by security forces, dialogue with militant leaders and withdrawal of special powers to security forces. It is widely believed that

too. A prayer from Bible was your guiding inspiration: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change. The courage to change the things I can. And the wisdom to know the difference."

I often wondered how could you be what you were. How could you be so good to so many people at the same time? Your secret to that treasure was, "nothing can give you greater satisfaction than a good deed done. If there is one advice I can give to you after seventy seven years of life's experience, it is do a good deed each day".

Your sensitivity to others' feelings and needs, I guess, stemmed from the simple fact that you had experienced life in all its shades. On your 60th wedding anniversary-which you celebrated at Batote last year, you circulated a written message to the family, a part of which read:

"I have already reached the evening of my life and am not sure how many more wedding anniversaries I will be able

the PDP leadership is out again with the same slogans and wants to derive maximum advantage out of them with an eye on the next elections.

Right from Syed Ali Shah Geelani, chairman of hard-line faction of the Hurriyat Conference, to the opposition National Conference President Omar Abdullah, there seems to be a considered opinion that the PDP is virtually out with an electoral agenda and campaign.. Both Mr Geelani and Mr Abdullah publicly blasted the PDP leadership for trying to make political capital out of “human blood”. The former described the PDP outcry on fake encounters as “*makarana siyasat*” (politics of duplicity) and alleged that when PDP was in power, hundreds of civilians and militant commanders were eliminated in staged encounters.

The Muftis are reported to have the backing of a strong section of politicians and bureaucrats in New Delhi. There is a general belief that they are made aware of possible initiatives on Kashmir beforehand. It is against this backdrop Mr Geelani had called the Mufti “the most trusted lieutenant of New Delhi who is taken into confidence in all the decisions regarding Kashmir”

OMARABDULLAH

New Delhi’s seemingly more-than-expected love for the Muftis has caused frustration not only in the separatist camp but the opposition National Conference is also at a loss of wits as how to fight them. Despite being a major partner in power, the PDP has left little for the National Conference to harp on as the opposition

to celebrate. I am leaving these thoughts with you as I consider them most vital in the life of a man. Honesty and integrity should be your vital theme and compassion must be your indispensable obligation... Charity is another road to heaven, to share with someone particularly the weak and needy is important. Help need not necessarily be given to a professional beggar but if it is a legitimate need, even to a close relative, who hesitates in asking for help. He should be helped without asking. Selfless help to the poor and needy without any selfish motive is an act which is credited to our account in the ledger of the Supreme Power”. Throughout your illness at home and in the hospital, countless people came upto you only to tell you the many ways in which you made a difference to their lives. It was the time when you received in an immeasurable way what you consciously never expected- love, gratitude and emotions. Your words were, “I have a

party. The PDP has pushed the NC to defensive by raising the issue of withdrawal of troops and the laws granting them special powers. The NC President was left with no choice but to oppose the PDP demand saying "time is not ripe yet for withdrawal of troops". Left with little options, Mr Abdullah had to borrow an idea from South Africa to demand the formation of Truth and Reconciliation Commission to probe all the cases of custodial deaths and disappearances in the State. "Time has come where there has to be a commission on the pattern of South Africa to probe human rights violations by security forces since 1989", he asserted.

But what should make the National Conference look positive is that despite apparent pro-people chorus, the PDP's sloganeering is yet to cut ice with the common masses. There is a large section of common people who describe the PDP moves as shallow and without commitment. They hold the PDP equally responsible for the "crimes committed against them in the name of counter-insurgency operations". The all-out campaign against the PDP leadership by both factions of the Hurriyat Conference appears to have made an impact on the psyche of ordinary masses.

A major point played against Muftis is that the father-daughter duo wooed voters in the last Assembly elections promising to disband the SOG, which was mainly held responsible for human rights violations, but reneged on their promise after getting into the seat of power. It was during the Mufti's tenure as the Chief Minister that all the top commanders of militants groups were gunned down. They included the Hizbul

sense of fulfillment when I did all that I did, it was with a sense of sincerity and faith in God. I feel so happy."

Looking back, I now believe that you were blessed with an unusual gift by divine grace. You were unambiguously clear in your perception of right and wrong. It became your greatest strength. In all your dealings nothing could deflect you when it came to doing what you thought was right. That is what made you live life on your own terms unwaveringly till the end.

All parents are invaluable and every father an impeccable role model. Yet you were unique. You lived life like an art, meaningful in every sense of the term. You were the purest form of human being, a loving father, a trustworthy friend, a sincere guide, dear not only to your family but to many others whose hearts you touched so deeply. You, my dear father, were truly a man of all seasons. We are going to miss you forever.

Mujahideen commanders who had held dialogue with the Central Government in 2000.

The NC leaders repeat these allegations time and again to keep them fresh in public mind. Dr Mahboob Beg, NC's provincial president and MLA, caused flutter in the PDP when he, in response to the Muftis' demand of withdrawing troops to barracks, said that it was the Mufti who had forced the troops out of barracks when he was the Union Home Minister. The NC offensive is obviously designed to score a hit or two against the Mufti.

SYED ALISHAH GEELANI

Like the mainstream, the separatist politicians are out on the roads to knock down one another. They have been involved in brinkmanship of sorts for one-upmanship. Even as Mr Geelani appears high on the pedestal on moral grounds his arch rival Mirwaiz Umar Farooq is moving faster on the diplomatic front to assume a role for which there are many takers.

Mr Geelani has suffered a major setback with the Pakistan Government showing a clear preference for the Mirwaiz's approach. The Pakistan establishment has closed down the office of the Geelani-led Hurriyat Conference in Islamabad. The faction is also reeling under a black-out by the official Pakistan Television and Radio Pakistan in its news bulletins.

A spokesperson of the Geelani-led separatist amalgam accused the Mirwaiz Hurriyat of influencing the Pakistan Government to "act against their faction of the Hurriyat". However, Mr Shahidul Islam, a close aide and spokesperson of the Mirwaiz said that it was the decision of the Pakistan government. "We have nothing to do with it", he insisted.

The Geelani Hurriyat was operating under the name of Kashmir Centre in Pakistan and was headquartered in the same building at Islamabad where the moderate Hurriyat had its office. "A few days back our office-bearers went to the office as usual but were stunned to see it locked", said the spokesperson. He said that 'our office was closed after the Mirwaiz's visit to Islamabad.'

The Mirwaiz led a three-member team of his Hurriyat faction to Islamabad in January. He held talks with Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf and other Pakistani leaders as a part of his "efforts to find a peaceful solution of Kashmir issue". However, his visit was preceded by a protest strike in the Valley, called by the rival faction.

Sources in the separatist spectrum revealed that the Hurriyat delegation pleaded with Pakistan President and Prime Minister that they should come up with a clear stand vis-à-vis Hurriyat Conference. "Either

we (Mirwaiz-led Hurriyat) or Geelani *Sahib*’, the Mirwaiz and his colleagues, who included Prof Abdul Gani Bhat and Mr Bilal Ghani Lone are reported to have told the Pakistani leadership. The sources claimed that the closure of Geelani-led Hurriyat office was a follow-up to this demand. The Pakistani establishment is reported to have advised its official media including Pakistan TV and Radio Pakistan to ignore in their coverage all those separatist groups and leaders, who were operating outside the Mirwaiz-led Hurriyat Conference.

Mr Geelani described it as “incongruity in ideas and actions of the Pakistani establishment”. “On one hand, they are inviting me for talks, and, on the other, they don’t allow my men to work freely”, he said. On February 5, the Pakistan Prime Minister said that he would invite Mr Geelani for talks to Islamabad. Incidentally, Mr Shaukat Aziz’s statement came just two days after Gen Musharraf hinted that Mr Geelani would not be taken into confidence while negotiating a solution on the issue of Kashmir by saying “supporters of terrorism in Kashmir would not be taken on board”.

MIRWAIZ UMAR FAROOQ

With his proximity to both New Delhi and Islamabad, the scenario seems to be little rosy for the youthful leader. His Pakistan visit was preceded by a total shutdown across the Valley on January 17. Grenades were also fired on his house at Nageen in Srinagar on January 13 to keep him away from the Pakistan trip. The Mirwaiz says that his meetings with leaders in New Delhi and Islamabad are part of his efforts to contribute towards the ongoing peace process between India and Pakistan with a view to finding a respectable resolution of the Kashmir issue.

The three-hour long meeting with the Pakistan President has emboldened the Mirwaiz and his associates to talk tough against militants and their modus operandi. Their confidence got a great boost as Gen Musharraf agreed to their demand of closing the hardcore Hurriyat’s shop in Islamabad. “This (militancy) has failed to achieve us goal (of freedom) except that it increased the number of graveyards in Kashmir”, the Mirwaiz remarked publicly. He asserted: “The Kashmiris can no longer afford to continue with violence and bloodshed. The militancy has to pave way for the political discourse so that the issue (of Kashmir) is solved to the expectations of the people of Kashmir and is acceptable to India and Pakistan.”

Earlier, Abdul Ghani Lone was the only leader to have mustered the courage to challenge militants on the soil of Pakistan. In 2002, when he

was in Pakistan in connection with the marriage of his son Sajjad Lone, he asked the foreign militants to confine their role to simply advising and not dictating in Kashmir.

The Mirwaiz's tough talk against the Kashmir militancy is the official line of the present day Pakistan. The formation of joint India-Pakistan mechanism against terrorism, following a meeting between Gen. Musharraf and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Havana, last September is dependent upon the stoppage of terrorist activities in both countries. Pakistan has already curtailed the activities of militant groups on its soil. It is widely believed that militants would be further marginalised in near future.

The Pakistani establishment is working out on an option of encouraging a rift within the militant amalgam United Jihad Council, which is headed by Hizbul Mujahideen chief Syed Salahuddin. The Hizb chief is considered a close confidant of Mr Geelani and he does not endorse the change the Pakistan President has introduced in his country's traditional approach towards Kashmir. A group of senior militant commanders of various outfits including Mushtaq Zargar (al-Umar Mujahideen) and Rafiq Dar (JKLF) are reported to have already distanced themselves from Salahuddin.

These moves have got further credence with Mushtaq Zargar (one of the three militants set free by New Delhi to secure the release of passengers of a hijacked Indian Airlines plane) defying the United Jihad Council's decision to boycott the Mirwaiz during his Pakistan sojourn. Instead, he made it a point to meet the moderate Hurriyat leader. The supporters of the Mirwaiz had raised the banners of Mushtaq Zargar and chanted slogans in favour of the al-Umar chief during their reception to the Mirwaiz on his return from Pakistan to Srinagar. Mr Bilal Ghani Lone, son of late Abdul Ghani Lone, was also accompanying the Mirwaiz.

Mr Bilal Lone's younger brother Mr Sajjad Lone had moved away from the Mirwaiz after the Mirwaiz's participation in the funeral prayers of an al-Umar commander Rafiq Dar alias Lidre, who was alleged to have been involved in the killing of Abdul Gani Lone. Mr Sajjad Lone is carrying out his activities independently. He has recently brought out "a vision document on resolution of Jammu and Kashmir conflict." It is titled "*Achievable nationhood*."

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Aimless political leadership

DELIBERATE ATTEMPTS TO CREATE CONFUSION

Thupstan Chhewang

It is pity that even after more than five decades of Jammu and Kashmir's accession with the Union it is not considered a settled issue. Confusion is created deliberately. This is done unfortunately not only by anti-national forces but also by political leaders who keep shifting their positions. Their utterances are designed to define the Centre-J&K relations in a manner significantly different from the Centre-State ties as these are understood in the rest of the country.

The New Delhi-J&K ties are sought to be explained in the context of the Instrument of Accession, Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, so-called Delhi Agreement of 1952, Indira Gandhi-Sheikh Abdullah accord of 1974 (implemented in 1975), "greater autonomy" and "self-rule". The other states, on the other hand, assert their rights in the light of the dispute resolution mechanisms under the Indian Constitution, Administrative Reforms Commission, Rajamanar Committee, Sarkaria Commission and miscellaneous inter-state consultative bodies like the Inter-State Council and the National Development Council.

It is interesting that our State also participates in most of these joint Centre-State forums. However, when it comes to clearly taking a stance about J&K's relationship with the Union our leaders tend to sound ambiguous. What has been proved over the decades is that their voices are determined by the fact whether they are in power or not. If they occupy positions of authority they are all praise for New Delhi. If they are in the opposition they go to any extent to create trouble. It is only a matter of record that some of them have not fought shy of talking of secession and accession in the same breath.

For them the State's "special" status in the Union means how effectively they are able to call the shots within the State. In the process they are not averse to settling scores with their opponents on the home turf. Recent developments show that they can go to the extent of wooing even

separatist elements while indulging in one-upmanship. One would not have liked to name names in this behalf. But if this unpleasant exercise is not done one apprehends that the ground reality will not be duly appreciated. First of all it needs to be clarified that when we talk of leaders we mean those who have ruled the State on one occasion or the other. With one exception — that of the present Chief Minister — they have invariably belonged to the Kashmir region.

It is strange that the incumbent Chief Minister too has faltered. It was, indeed, shocking to hear him virtually seeking clemency for a person sentenced to death for complicity in attack on the Parliament House, the greatest temple of democracy in the country. That he withdrew his observation later is to be welcomed. In the intervening period, however, his remark provided fuel to the ammunition of secessionist and rabidly fundamentalist sections of society. A legal argument was sought to be drowned in the cacophony of religion-based politics with adverse effect on the psyche of ordinary citizens.

The following examples will prove that the theory of “special” status (under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution or otherwise) is whipped up by our leaders to flaunt their influence instead of serving wider public interest:

1. Sheikh Abdullah’s threats as the “Prime Minister” (the designation then of the popular head of J&K) to toe an independent line and put his local critics behind the bars. This was before his arrest in 1953.
2. The subversion of democratic process during Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad’s tenure as the “Prime Minister” (rejection of nomination papers of candidates belonging to the opposition was a routine in this period).
3. Rampant political and administrative corruption in the absence of jurisdiction of Central institutions like the Election Commission of India. There is no industrial development worth the name.
4. The Resettlement Bill providing for the return of migrants from the State to Pakistan and claim their ancestral property (it has been done without ensuring similar rights to the people of the State who have been forced to leave behind their property in prosperous towns like Mirpur and Muzaffarabad, among others).
5. Attempt to deprive the women of the State of their permanent resident status on marrying outsiders.
6. Large-scale induction of arms and ammunition and massive to-and-fro movement of militants across the Line of Control in the 1980s when an elected government was in office in the State.

7. Neglect of Jammu and Ladakh regions to the extent of discrimination in all matters (a reference may be made in this context to the report of the Gajendragadkar Commission which dealt with various specific issues including the concept of political empowerment).
8. Total neglect of Ladakh region (it is considered a region only in geographical sense. Administratively it is part of the Kashmir Division — one of the two divisions in the State, the other being Jammu). It is pertinent to mention that the Justice Wazir Commission had recommended the creation of more districts in Jammu Division so that both Kashmir and Jammu Divisions could have equal number of districts. It had taken into account the fact that Leh and Kargil districts together constituting Ladakh were part of the Kashmir Division. However, the present Government while raising the number of districts has maintained the numerical primacy of the Kashmir Division. It has thus behaved like the majority of its predecessors. All of them (the solitary exception being the People's Democratic Party-led coalition government) have revelled in ruling Leh and Kargil through remote control never bothering to integrate them emotionally into the Kashmir Division.
9. Injecting communal virus into Ladakh politics. A hideous bid is being made to split Buddhists and Shias of Ladakh by making light of their age-old ethnic and linguistic affinity.

With this background in view it should be evident that our leaders are unable to look beyond their nose. They have confined their prime concerns to the Kashmir region which happens to be their electoral constituency. It has been done to the exclusion of genuine hopes and aspirations of the people of Jammu and Ladakh. It is also doubtful whether they have been able to live up to the expectations of ordinary masses of the Valley. Their marginalisation on the home turf since 1988 is self-explanatory. We are too close to the history. But sooner or later it will have to be admitted that their double talk and conflicting statements have confused an entire generation of Kashmiri young persons.

This backdrop is necessary to understand why we have been agitating for a separate Union Territory status for the last 50 years. We in Ladakh feel that our interests will be best served if we are free from the clutches of a puzzled and self-absorbed leadership. We want a direct contact with New Delhi. For us the Centre-State relations mean preserving our beliefs, culture and customs within the framework of the Indian Constitution. We do believe that there should be specific schemes for the welfare of people living in difficult areas as they do in this State. But

we don't think that the way to achieve this is to have a separate Constitution.

We are for autonomy provided it percolates down to the people and is not vested in the hands of those who want to perpetuate their hold over political and administrative dispensation in its disguise. Moreover, it should be accompanied by the will to generate revenue to reduce dependence on the Centre.

We have always given preference to the country's overall interests in our State. That is why whenever asked by Central leaders beginning with Jawaharlal Nehru we have stopped short of taking our stir for UT to the logical conclusion. We may not agree with their plea that the separation of Ladakh would affect to some extent the country's case before the United Nations so far as the State is concerned. But we have seen no reason to suspect their motives. We will not dare do so. Nehru and Indira Gandhi both have taken special care to shower tremendous affection on the people of Ladakh.

To our ill luck, however, the situation is only worsening in the recent years. Now and then there are efforts by the State Government to undermine our authority. We had after a sustained struggle won the right to form the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) to manage our affairs in Leh (we can claim with humility that our success has enabled the people of Kargil to see reason and have a similar dispensation though they were initially reluctant. Elsewhere also there are demands for setting up such councils). More tourists — domestic as well as foreign — visit Ladakh now than ever before.

The Council in Leh has been able to extensively protect and develop indigenous products. It has literally taken the administration to doorstep. One can notice the amazing enthusiasm that it has generated at grassroots level. The Ladakh Union Territory Front (LUTF) that controls the Council regards its formation as a step towards realising the goal of UT. Its reputation is confirmed by its nearly clean sweep in the last elections held in 2005. It had won 24 out of the total 26 seats for which the contests had taken place. What else can prove that there is overwhelming popular sentiment in favour of UT?

However, it is being balked in its drive to ameliorate the lot of ordinary Ladakhis. We cite the following examples in support of our contention:

1. The Council is not being given financial and legislative powers even in matters under its charge. I may draw a parallel with Lakshadweep. In size the beautiful group of islands is the same as Ladakh but its population is less than one-third that of Ladakh. Yet, as UT it has a

budget of more than 400 crore rupees a year as against less than a hundred crore a year of Ladakh.

2. We don't get our quota of Central funds sanctioned under various schemes especially in social sector. On one occasion the State Government had even transferred the funds sanctioned by the Planning Commission for Leh under the Border Area Development Programme (BADP) for some other place. We resisted it and were eventually able to persuade the Planning Commission to tell the State Government to retrace its move.
3. The State Government has just ignored the LAHDC's plea to let it have a deputy commissioner of its choice. The deputy commissioner by virtue of being the chief executive officer of the Council is a key functionary.
4. Likewise the State Government has not even discussed the Council's plea for sharing four nominated seats. It has gone ahead with appointing its nominees in a brusque manner.
5. There is no consideration of an important factor in planning. Ladakh deserves priority because of its area and not population which is sparse. The schemes have to be tailored according to its typical requirements.

We feel that the Government does not want to act in a rational way. Naturally it has strengthened our resolve to work for achieving UT sooner than later. We will continue our struggle to this end even while working for the welfare of the people as a party in charge of the LAHDC.

To put it briefly, our demand for UT is based on the following principles:

1. We have to preserve our unique identity in every sense — ethnic, linguistic and even religious. We are the only region to have grand Buddhist monasteries and eminent schools of Shia philosophy co-existing with each other.
2. We are a trans-Himalayan territory that deserves particular attention which is possible only if it is governed directly.
3. We are concerned about our very survival because the most of our "leaders" sitting in Srinagar distrust us completely and have made it known through their actions.
4. Our huge natural resources in the form of pashmina and herbal plants, among many others, remain unexploited. The LAHDC has taken some beneficial steps in this regard but a lot more can be done which will be possible only if we have a full-fledged administrative set-up taking care of them.
5. We want due recognition for the Bhoti language. It may be pointed

out that the trans-Himalayan MPs' forum which is active in Parliament has already sought its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

6. There should be more assembly seats in the region. Also, there should be at least two Lok Sabha seats — one each for Leh and Kargil.
7. We want to have a separate university.
8. There should be complete jurisdiction of Central institutions like Parliament. We don't favour any dilution in this regard. There are any numbers of our "leaders" who have sought and got relief from the Supreme Court and the National Human Rights Commission after being denied the same in the State.
9. We are unequivocal in our commitment to India and don't want any truck with those who are either unclear or mischievous about their political aims. We don't want to be led by those who are bereft of conviction and change their tune according to the occasion. It is astounding that even some Communists in the State should exhibit religious biases.
10. We are for a genuinely secular society in which every religion is equally respected. We don't want discrimination on any ground — religion, gender or region. We seek dignified existence for every individual.

I wish to point out that almost all remote areas have UTs. I have already referred to Lakshadweep in this regard. We can cite the examples of Daman and Diu and Nicobar Islands too. One reason that they have been made UTs is their isolation from the mainland heightening the country's security concerns. In the case of Ladakh as well it is cut off from the mainland for seven months every year. Instead of sea we are separated by the mighty Himalayas. Unlike the Islands, however, we are face to face with hostile neighbours not only directly eyeing but also targeting us. Both Pakistan and China have managed to bag a big chunk of our territory. Our strong point, however, is that we have a powerful democratic dispensation. Our cooperation with the Armed Forces is legendary. This is recognised by one and all. We feel that we can contribute more in this direction in terms of infrastructure if we have a UT. A UT based on the will of the people will be the country's bulwark in Ladakh. Let it not be delayed any further.

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(In this regular column we give information about happenings across the Line of Control which are of relevance to the Indian sub-continent as a whole. Muhammad Amir Rana's following article has been quoted in parts and also commented upon in several newspapers. He is Director of the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS) and a renowned expert on terrorism. The article has been taken from the PIPS's website and is being reproduced in full. "Azad Kashmir" is the local name of the Pakistan-occupied territory)

CHANGING TACTICS OF JIHADI ORGANISATIONS IN PAKISTAN

Muhammad Amir Rana

The President Musharraf-led Government made all out efforts to stamp out Jihadists but they are still surviving in Pakistan successfully. They have thrashed out new plans and tactics for their survival. Before the crackdown against jihadi organisations, 104 outfits were active but now only 25 of them are active and working under new plans. ^[1]

Restructuring of the militant groups:

The Muttahida Jihad Council (MJC) ^[2], the alliance of Kashmiri jihadi organisations was restructured in January 2004. The structure of the new

Chart I: Banned organisations in Pakistan

No	Name	Banned Date	Current Status	New Name
1	Lashkar-e-Taiba (LT)	January 12, 2002	Active	Not Changed
2	Jiash-e-Muhammad (JM)	Do	Active	Tehrik-e-Khudamul Islam
3	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LJ)	August 14, 2001	Active	Using different names
4	Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP)	January 12, 2002	Active	Millat-e-Islamia Pakistan
5	Sipah-e-Muhammad (SM)	August 14, 2001	Active	Not changed
6	Tehrik Nifaz-e-Shariat Muhammdi (TNSM)	January 12, 2002	Active	Not changed
7	Tehrik-e-Jafria (TJ)	Do	Active	Tehrik-e-Islami
8	Hizbul Tehrir (HT)	November 20, 2003	Active	Not Changed
9	Jamiat-ul-Ansar (JA)	November 20, 2003	Active	Not Changed
10	Jamaat-ul-Furqan (JF)	November 20, 2003	Active	Al-Furqan Trust
11	Millat-e-Islamia Pakistan (MIP)	November 16, 2003	Active	Sunni Action Committee
12	Tehrik-e-Islami (TI)	November 16, 2003	Active	Millat-e-Jafria Pakistan
13	Tehrik Khudamul Islam (TKI)	November 16, 2003	Active	Al Rehmat Trust

body is a unique one. Six smaller alliances were formed within the MJC and each alliance is representing various organizations. The logic behind the restructuring was that jihad organisations will no longer use the words jihad, Lashkar, jaish or mujahideen with their names so that they appear more political than militant. [3]

In the new structure, movers and shakers of the MJC stressed adopting a principle of unity. Five Pakistan-based organisations Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Muhammad, Brigade 313, Al-Bader Mujahideen and Jamaatul Furqan, which were not the part of MJC in beginning, have also been included in the new structure. [4]

The secrecy was the third important feature of the new MJC and its leaders agreed that no organisation would issue any press statement, nor would disclose the activities and operations.

This surprising move was to counter international pressure and remove obstacles created by the government. However, just after 9/11 initial response from the Jihadists was very poor. They were not expecting the immense pressure. After fall of Taliban, jihadi organisations suffered a lot as their important commanders and hundreds of warriors were killed, fighting against the US forces. President Musharraf banned several groups and security agencies arrested thousands of their members besides sealing their offices and banning their fund collection campaigns. [5]

Small organisations could not survive in these circumstances and merged in the big organizations or dissolved [6]. Even the big organisations were finding it hard to survive in the crisis. The atmosphere triggered mistrust and panic amongst Jihadists that caused division amongst them. Jaish-e-Muhammad was divided on the issue whether attacks on Christian missions and foreign interests are fair or not. [7] A group of Harkatul Mujahideen, who wanted to continue targeting foreign interests, parted its way, disagreeing with the high command that believed that it should only focus on Kashmir. [8] Various groups blamed each other for being used by secret agencies and some of them went to the extent of labelling each other as infidels.

However, Markaz-Al-Daawa tul Ershad, Lashkar-e-Taiba's (LeT) sister organisation, was an exception that had realised gravity of the situation just after shift in Pakistan's pro-jihad policy. It renamed itself as Jamaatud Daawa and dissolved LeT's Pakistan chapter and shifted its offices in Azad Kashmir. [9]

Jamaat-e-Islami, Pakistan also shifted the offices of its militant wing Hizbul Mujahideen into Azad-Kashmir. [10] Jamaat also declared that it did not have any organisational link with Hizb. It was operating from the premises of JI offices in Pakistan since 1990. JI leadership had also asked

the Hizb to remove all hoardings and signboards from Jamaat offices across the country. However, this was just the face-saving steps, otherwise HM is still working as a JI's subordinate wing in Pakistan but now it has become the part of Shabab-e-Milli (SM), the youth wing of the JI. ^[11]

Chart 2: Suspected sectarian and terrorist groups identified by the law enforcement agencies 2005

Name	Status	Description	Network
Al-Badar Tigers		Faction of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	Punjab, Balochistan
Ahle Hadiath Youth Force		Jamait Ahle Hadiath youth wing	Pakistan
Ali Tigers		Sectarian	Underground
Al-Farooq		Sectarian	Underground
Almi Jamaat-e-Ahle Sunnet	Under observation	Sectarian	Punjab
Harkatul Mujahideen Alalmi	Do	Terrorist	Underground
Jamaitul Mujahideen Alalmi	Do	Deobandi jihadi outfit	Pakistan
Tehrik-e-Taliban		Jihadi	Active in Tribal areas
Tehrik Defah-e-Sahaba	Under observation	Sectarian	Punjab, NWFP
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	Banned	Terrorist	Underground
Jhangvi Tigers		Terrorist	Underground
Sipah-e-Muhammad	Banned	Terrorist	Still active in Balochistan
Ashgaria Organization		Shia sectarian	Sindh
Khumani Tigers		Shia sectarian and Jihadi	Underground
Nojawana-e-Ishat			
Toheed wal Sunnah		Sectarian	Punjab, NWFP
Lashkar-e-Umer		terrorist	underground
Tehrik Tahafooz			
Namoose-Sahaba		Sectarian	Some parts of Punjab
Majlis-e-Ahrar	Under observation	Sectarian jihad	Pakistan supporter
Mukhtar Force		Shia	Punjab, NWFP
Imamines	Under observation	Shia sectarian outfit	Punjab
Jamaat Ahle Hadiath		Sectarian	Pakistan
Jamait Ghurba-e-Ahle Hadiath		Sectarian & support jihadist	Pakistan
Hizb-e-Islami		Reportedly recruiting Mujahideen for Taliban	NWFP

Tactics for survival:

Other organisations followed footsteps of these two organizations and changed their organisations names. Jlash-e-Muhammad converted into Tehrik Kudamul Islam (Movement of Islamic services) Harkatul Mujahideen into Jamiatul Ansar (Party of Hosts) and Sipah-e-Sahab becomes the Millat-e-Islamia. (See Chart1) ^[12] From December 2001 to

August 2002 these organisations remained silent, but with the passage of time they started their activities again. This time these outfits appeared with new faces, under cover of religious-political or political groups, apparently excluding agendas, based on Jihad and sectarian hatred from their manifestos. ^[13] In fact, they are still working for the same objectives and goals. Some organizations used their political influence for wheeling dealing with the government. For example Sipah-e-Sahaba, the sectarian political party adopted the new name Millat-e-Islamia and his head Member of National Assembly, Maulana Azam Tariq joined the government in November 2002. It was a time when pro-Musharraf Pakistan Muslim League needed the vote of confidence in the Parliament for Prime Minister. Maulana Tariq exploited his position and in return not only got released hundreds of his party workers, involved in the sectarian killing, but also got freedom of movement across the country.

Some jihadi leaders joined the religious political parties and contested the 2002 general elections. Though, a few ones were elected, rest of them were also benefited by the move and groomed their image as politicians. ^[14]

Outfit	Strength	Areas of operation	Head
Gaand Ullah	20	Karachi	Ataur Rehman
Harkatul Mujahideen Alalmi	—	Karachi	—
Lashkar-e-Jhangvi	Above 200	Pakistan	—
Al Badar group	—	Balochistan and Karachi	—
Lashkar-e-Ummer	15	Punjab and NWFP	Osama Nazir
Harkatul Islami	—	Balochistan	—

This was a complex situation for jihadist, who disappointed a large number of lower cadre militants. They joined Al-Qaeda's undergrounds groups and started operations on Pakistani soil. ^[15] (Chart 3; Al-Qaeda underground groups)

By the end of 2002, jihadist outfits managed to make a comeback that strengthened the impression that the government failed to control the non-state actors. In another bid to contain jihadi leaders, the government forbade all the registered members of the jihadi groups from leaving their areas without informing local police stations but this step also did not work as the government was expecting. Only the ban on collecting the funds from public was implemented effectively, which created serious financial problems for jihadi groups. But, they again foiled the government's bid and found out a way to counter it. They started

investing in the agriculture lands and buying the commercial plots for generating money.

Jamaat-ud-Daawa (JD) invested 20 million rupees in several of its departments which include education, publishing, health, farming, and transportation. ^[16] The land bought for 25.5 million rupees is apart from this where training centres, madrasas and mosques are being established. The Jamaat plans to establish its centers, madrasas and mosques in all the districts of Pakistan. In the first phase, attention was paid to Sindh where in the three districts big piece of lands had been bought there for this purpose.

JD properties in Pakistan have been reached worth sixty million rupees and it aims at achieving a target of 120 millions rupees more during the next five years. Apart from these, the number of students in its model schools has reached ten thousand approximately and in the madrasas it has touched six thousand. In order to increase its area of influence, it is also establishing health centres and dispensaries. According to one of its leaders, the Jamaat and Lashkar shall be self-sufficient to such an extent that will not need to collect contributions and they shall be in a position to train five thousand mujahideen.

Another challenge for the militant organisations was to find out the new operational areas. After the fall of Taliban Pakistani militant organisations networks and structures were collapsed. Government was also trying to restrict these organisations to continue military support for Taliban. Due to fencing on Line of Control (LoC) and Indo-Pak Peace process the infiltration was reduced rapidly. A few organisations shifted their fields of endeavour from the battlefields to missionary work. Jamaat-ud-Daawa and Al-Rasheed Trust have set up their network in Interior Sindh especially in the Hindu majority districts. These organisations have set up dozens of madrasas, mosques, dispensaries, and other welfare centres. Their first target is to 'reform' the Hindu population of the area. In view of its aims and objectives, Jamaat-ud-Daawa has already launched a Sindhi magazine while this area also gets special attention in its other publications as well. ^[17]

While the northern areas of Pakistan share borders with China and Afghanistan, a narrow strip called 'Wakhan' of Afghanistan separates it from Tajikistan. Most of the people here are Ismaili or Asna Ashari shias. Those of the Ahl-e-sunnat comprise only ten percent of the population and they believe that the Ismailis want to establish their own state here.

Jamaat Ahl-e-Sunnat, Baltistan is the representative religious organisation of the Sunnis. They have a good number of their madrasas and mosques here. The Agha Khan Foundation network is quite strong

here and they are already running a number of welfare projects. However, Jamaat Ahl-e-Sunnat asserts that they are working only for the Ismaili population and it wants to establish a separate state here. Apart from Jamaat Ahl-e-Sunnat, Tanzeem-ul-Akhwan was also running some welfare organisations here but now apart from Al-Rasheed Trust, Jamiat-ul-Ansar, Jamaat-ud-Daawa, and Tahreek-e-Khuddame-e-Islam have also started setting up their networks. Their aim is to minimise the impact of the Agha Khan Foundation in these areas and to find out safe training camps for their mujahideen so that they may reach up to Afghanistan and central Asia more easily.

The Government of Pakistan made another attempt to crush down the jihadist in November 2003 and banned some more organisations, barring them from working with changed names. ^[18]

The second ban was largely ineffective. The basic reason was that it was not a new situation for them. This time they responded to the ban strongly and not only changed their names but also the outfit's structures. Six of them now are working as the charities. Jiash-e-Muhammad is now working by the name Al-Rehmat Trust, Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami as Al-Ershad Trust and Harkatul Mujahideen as Al-Asar Trust in the Pakistan premises. ^[19] But in Kashmir they are still active with their original names under the MJC codes.

In NWFP and Balochistan, the outfits are still alive but they have lost confidence of their own operatives, despite all the favorable conditions. ^[20] Here militants don't need support from any organisation for carrying out jihad. They can directly join Taliban, especially in federally administrative tribal areas of Pakistan, North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan's Phuston belt. According to the local sources the Taliban has allowed individuals only to join them with a condition that they will not form any Pakistani group, within the Taliban. The Taliban have adopted this policy after some bitter experiences with Pakistan's jihadi organizations. ^[21]

Jihadi organisations are still working in Pakistan. After 9/11, they are continuously changing tactics for survival. Government has also achieved some goals. Now, no outfit can recruit mercenaries or collect funds or hold open public meetings because of the government's checks. Their organisational structures are weaker now but still pose a threat.

There is need to do more to crush the threat of non-state actors, which are now becoming more of internal threat than to neighbours. During 2004-5, there were above 100 terrorists' attacks in Pakistan, including 10 suicide bombings, which killed only Pakistanis. The culprits arrested for bombings and target killing belonged to militant outfits. ^[22]

The present scenario of militant groups in Pakistan developed during last four year especially after 9/11. The tactics these organizations used:

After every ban, these organisations would change their names

Now, they are changing identities and are emerging as charities and missionaries

Find out new ways like purchasing the lands and investing in education and health business for financial survival.

Developing political image

After Earthquake:

The earthquake in Pakistan on October 8, 2005 provided them another opportunity for better surveillance. The jihadist groups JD, Hizbul Mujahideen and Al-Badr Mujahideen and religious political parties Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam and Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan are more active in the relief activities about hundreds young militants brought food, medicine, blankets and drinking water for shell-shocked locals, arriving days ahead of government relief teams and even the Pakistan Army.^[23]

A fair amount of damage was also occurred to some terrorist training camps in Pakistan and Azad Kashmir. The training camps as well as the offices of the groups in the district of Manshera and other part of Azad Kashmir have also been destroyed. According to the reports from local journalists many important commanders and leaders have died or injured which includes Jamaatud Daawa (JD), Jiash-e-Muhammad and Hizbul Mujahideen commanders. The training camps and other infrastructure belonging to Hizbul Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Toiba, Tehreek-ul-Mujahideen (TuM), Al-Badar Mujahideen, Harkatul Mujahideen and Jiash-e-Muhammad in Manshera District of NWFP have been badly damaged. All these areas fall within a radius of 10 kilometres from the epicenter of the earthquake.

Many of their members were either dead or seriously injured. JEM and LET camps in Sangerbar, Albadr, Hizbul Mujahideen camps, in Oggi and HM and other small group's camps were situated at Barashi in Manshera district. Local journalist claim there might be the casualties more than thousands but these organisations are trying to hide the loses.^[24]

Moreover, one should not over-estimate the damages suffered by the training infrastructure of the militant groups. Their training camps generally consist of tents and other makeshift structures, which can be shifted from place to place to evade detection and targeting. Even if these have been damaged, the human casualties are likely to be low. The jihadist are currently regrouping with the prevalent atmosphere also offering them

an opportunity to reinforce their support structures within Azad Kashmir and in Pakistan, at the expense of the administration, which has come in for a great amount of flak for its delayed and ineffective response to the disaster. Groups that advocate radical Islam consider relief efforts and social aid to people who have been disregarded by the state as an important part of their strategy. Jamat-ud-Daawa, the parent organisation of the LeT has diverted a considerable part of its network towards relief efforts.

The other Jihadist groups that have contributed to quake relief are the Karachi-based Al-Rashid Trust (ART), Al-Rehmat Trust of Jiash-e-Muhammad, Al-Furqan Trust of Jamaatul Furqan, Al-Aser Trust of Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami, Al-Badar Mujahideen, Tehrikul Mujahideen, Al-Akhtar Trust and the charity wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami. President Musharraf's vacillating and deficient response has led people to seek assistance from the jihadists. The JD has emerged as the most effective relief agency that has built up an excellent rapport with the victims.

In fact the government's failure to respond quickly and effectively left room for Islamist groups to gain public goodwill by being the first in taking aid to some devastated areas.

President Pervez Musharraf's public apology for the government's inadequate response indicates government has failed to deliver effective aid in a natural disaster. Government's failure create the room for militants groups to gain the public support, while giving the gesture government is not interested or capable to deliver relief for masses. It's also a fact that militant organisations are dedicated and uncorrupt, while government bodies are riddled with corruption, laziness and incompetence. The militant organisations are organised and disciplined, with considerable funds from mosque and private collections at home and abroad.

The same happened in 1989, when a major earthquake struck the Tipasa region in Algeria, the official response was pathetic. In Egypt, three years later, the poorer districts of Cairo itself did not see a government official for days after a tremor killed hundreds. In Turkey, too, the civilian government and the powerful military failed lamentably after a tremor in 1999 killed nearly 20,000 and left 50,000 homeless.^[25] Such seismic shocks can translate into political upheavals. The cancellation of national and local elections in 1991, in which the Islamist groups were set to win handsomely for the first time, led to 10 years of bloody civil war in Algeria. In Egypt, the years after the Cairo earthquake saw the largely non-violent Muslim Brotherhood take over key parts of civil society, and a vicious war between radical militants and state security services. The state's poor showing in the Turkish earthquake contributed to the

victory of an, albeit very moderate, Islamist party in elections there. A relatively reformist government in Iran, widely criticised for its performance in the Ban earthquake of 2003, was beaten by conservatives earlier this year.^[26]

New targets:

In the changing scenario these organizations have been set up new targets:

To launch maximum charity projects for getting people's support, recruiting new militants and collecting funds.

Some groups especially affiliated with Al-Qaeda and the frustrated individuals from jihad organisations are operating in Pakistan, especially targeting the Christian's missions, foreign interests and minority sects.

Bringing the Islamic revolution through education

4. Enhancing the role as non-state actors to enforce Shariah in the country.^[27]

Their new targets are posing new threats not only for Pakistan but also for the rest of the world.

The role of militant groups in Afghanistan has been curtailed by the government. Conducting the jihad in Kashmir is becoming difficult day by day. The trend of setting up underground jihad organisations is increasing that poses serious threat that the militants may knit a large terrorists network in Pakistan and other countries.

Jihadists are rapidly penetrating in education system and are disorientating the youth.

They are strengthening ties with political groups and may pressurize the government through political alliance to achieve their goals related to militancy.

The challenge:

This is a big challenge for President Musharraf's government to handle with the jihadist tactics and their new targets. The new front which needed more attention is ideological. The government is just responding to the terrorist's activities and taking seriously the expanding roll in education and social services sector. However much the jihadist movements appear to be suppressed, they will revive absent a more effective ideological response.

Bibliography

[1] There are 244 religious organisations working in Pakistan out of which 25 are political in nature and participate in elections, 145 have sectarian bases, 12 don't believe in democracy and want to set up Khalafah and 104 are jihadi.

- [2] Muttahid Jihad Council (Untied jihad council) was established in 1991 to solve the internal differences among different jihad groups and for adopting joint operational strategies.
- [3] President General Musharraf in his historical January 12, 2002 speech had announced that all the organisations, which have the words like jihad, lashkar, jaish or mujahideen will be banned. He had said “There is no need for Lashkars (Army), Jaishs (Armed group) and “Mujahideen” (Holy Warriors) in presence of a regular Army.”
- [4] Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Muhammad, Brigade 313 and Al-Bader Mujahideen are considered as important jihad organisations but they were not the part of MJC because their leadership is Pakistan based. All these organisations were making efforts to become the member of MJC and were adjusted in the new structure.
- [5] Five organisations; Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami, Harkatul Mujahideen, Jiaish-e-Muhammad, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Tehrik Nifaz-e-Shariat Muhammdi suffered a lot. Some of their important commanders and hundreds of workers were killed. Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami’s 340, Harkatul Mujahideen’s 79, Jaish-e-Muhammad’s 36 and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi’s 27 militants were killed according to their own claims. While 14 of Harkatul Mujahideen, 7 of Jaish-e-Muhammad and 11 of Harkatul Jihad militants were found in Guantenamo bay. (These figures published in their publications).
- [6] Especially the organisations belonging from the Bralivi school of thought suffered very much and out of 14 now only one organisation, Lashkar-e-Islam is still active.
- [7] Amir Rana, Daily Times April 12, 2003—Jaish-e-Muhammad’s supreme commander had ordered to attack on the churches in Pakistan. He claimed that he did it with Maulana Masood Azher’s consent. Later Masood had denied and expelled 12 important commanders including Jabbar from the organisation.
- [8] A group of Harkatul Mujahideen parted ways from the organisation in February 2002 and formed Harkatul Mujahideen Alalmi. They started targeting foreign interests. This group was involved in the attacks on a French Engineers bus, the American Consulate and also tried to assassinate President Musharraf
- [9] Daily Jang Islamabad December 29, 2001-Jamaatud Daawa’s head Prof Hafiz Muhammad Saeed in a press conference on December 27, 2001 announced to dissolve Lashkar-e-Taiba. He declared LeT as an independent organisation which will work only in Kashmir
- [10] Many of its founding members were the veterans of the Afghan struggle who had fought under the Hizb-e-Islami of Gulbaden

Hikmatyar. It depended on the experience and the training of the Afghan war veterans. The Jamaat-e-Islam started supporting HM from 1991 when the insurgency in Kashmir peaked. Hizb was working under the direct patronage of the Jamaat and its offices were in JI offices around the country. While Qazi Hussain Ahmad was the chief Patron of the Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) according to the constitution of the organisation and had the authority to remove or assign any person to HM head. The Chief of Jamaat-e-Islami, Qazi Hussain Ahmad in May 2003, talking to a reporter in a seminar categorically stated that his party had no links with the HM and added that the jihad outfit was based in Kashmir and was fighting indigenously for the right of self determination of the Kashmiris. When a reported tried to pin him down on reports that most HM offices in Pakistan were being run by the JI workers, he said these offices were set up by the HM's sympathisers in the party and not by the JI.

- [11] Amir Rana, Daily Times, Lahore, September 8, 2003
- [12] Musharraf had banned the 7 organisations on January 12, 2005, while Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipah-e-Muhammad were already declared terrorist organisations on August 2001. There is the table of the organisations, which were banned and later changed their names.
- [13] It is interesting that anti-Shia party, Sipah-e-Sahaba (Millat-e-Islamia) in its new manifesto stressed for the sectarian harmony and unity, which was totally contrary to its previous manifesto.
- [14] Some of them were elected on the JUI seats despite being members of Harkatul Mujahideen and Hizbul Mujahideen
- [15] These are just operational groups and obey command instructions, which are given time to time. After completion the target they were assigned other target with the different group name. According to an intelligence official, Al-Qaeda itself chooses the members from the different jihadi organizations, especially sectarian banned terrorist group like L] and Harkatul Jihadi Islami Alalmi.
- [16] Friday Times, Lahore, February 2003
- [17] Several reports and travelogues also found place in the publications of the Jamaat and Al-Rasheed Trust. *Mujalla Al-Daawa* published one such travelogue, "Most of the Hindus have decorated their doorways in the town of Mutthi with the pictures of Hanuman. Walking thorough this town, one gets the impression that it is a Hindustani village where Hindus perform their rites against Islam and Muslims. They also make a dent on their faith. This group came

back after two days of moving around in the desert and saw so many things during this time that exhibit how artfully their faith has been defiled and it is difficult for an ordinary Muslim to even mark that defilement. The Hindus are spreading their culture by mixing their ways into the Muslim lives. The ulema and propagators of faith should try their best to stop this wave, and if every Muslim tries to play his role, the increasing influence of the Hindus on the religious and political lives in Sindh may be stopped. If no attention is paid to these, not only the people and the country will be affected crucially but they shall be liable to answer on the Day of Judgment. May God give us senses.”

[18] See chart no 2

[19] These jihadist trusts have started different welfare projects, like ambulances service, free medical camps etc.

[20] In Balochistan and NWFP jihadists have no need to join Taliban or AL-Qaeda through Pakistani jihad organizations as they believe all jihad organizations are created by ISI and working on its lines.

[21] The Taliban accused some Pakistani jihad leaders of cooperating with the government and are responsible for the arrest of some Al-Qaeda leaders.

[22] Jiash and HUJI militants were involved in the most of the attacks

[23] ibid

[24] The control stations of Lashkar-e-Toiba and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen have been destroyed, too. The launching pads of militants have also been smashed by the quake. Hizb and LeT had suffered major losses in their Azad Kashmir camps.

[25] Jason Burke, Quoted by Daily Times, Lahore, October 18, 2005

[26] ibid

[27] Their role as non-state actors is vividly expanding. Recently Jamaatud Daawa announced to establish District Shariah courts around the country. In NWFP, provincial government of the religious party's alliance is already trying to impose self-made Shariah laws. In tribal areas a Taliban commander, Biatullah Mehsud has prepared a Lashkar (army) for imposing Shariah on people.

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