

Militancy Without Borders

Secular Nationalism as an Antidote

By C UDAY BHASKAR

THE Lahore declaration of February 20, 1999 was effectively torpedoed by Kargil and the complexities that bedevil the Indo-Pak relationship are reflected in a related development. Masood Azhar, the Pakistani cleric and ideologue released by the Indian government on December 31 in exchange for the safe release of the hostages trapped in Kandahar is back in the news. Returning to a hero's welcome in Lahore and Karachi, his public statements warrant notice and reflection in terms of the implications for India.

Semantic Minefield

In Lahore on January 26 Azhar announced the formation of a new Lashkar-i-Muhammadi, a six-lakh force that would wage *jihad*, such that *ham India ke ang, ang ko tor denge* — we will break every part of India. Later in Karachi, (February 4) Azhar called upon all mujahedin to come under one banner — this time the Jaish-e-Mohammad Mujahedin-e-Tanzeem, or the movement of the army of the holy warriors of Mohammad.

While the turbulence generated by whipping up such frenzy will be monitored by the Indian security apparatus, the conceptual underpinning to what is happening to warfare in the Indian subcontinent warrants scrutiny and tentative comment. Two broad observations are in order to contextualise the current development. One — that the activity of warfare and the entity of nation are linked in a complex yet inevitable manner. Two — that the military strategy shaping war has a symbiotic relationship with the phenomenon of nationalism. Many of these terms — such as nation, nation-state and nationalism and what they convey, or how they are interpreted are currently at the core of an intense academic debate. In the language of critical discourse — they are “contested”, and any kind of generalisation would be inadvisable and perhaps invalid.

But within these constraints, the threats to India from the Harkat ul Mujahedin or other new banners warrant closer scrutiny to relate them against the larger canvas of war and nationalism. Nationalism as a term is the veritable equivalent of a semantic minefield and evokes many interpretations of equal persuasiveness and divergence and the debate on the subject continues as history is either re-visited or excavated to fill in the gaps. Among the many scholars who have contributed to the discourse, Edward Carr offers an interesting point of

departure — with the caveat that his formulation is more relevant in a classical sense to the western experience.

Nationalism, he avers has three phases — the first a dissolution of the mediaeval unity of church and empire in the 18th century; the second from the Napoleonic wars to the advent of World War I in 1914 when there was a democratisation of nationalism and finally the 20th century which witnessed what Carr describes as the socialisation of nationalism.

Extrapolating from Carr, the following proposition may be made in relation to war per se over the last few centuries. Religion has a certain centrality in the conduct of war, and in the long cycle of history, Christianity, Islam and Hinduism have differently jostled with each other in the annals of the history of Asia and Europe. Thus the major wars in the early part of the last millennium were essentially religious wars and we have the long drawn-out Crusades (11th-13th centuries) that pitted the defenders of the Christian and Islamic faith against each other as a case in point. Subsequent wars such as those between the major European powers culminating in the two World Wars were based on nationalism, and patriotic fervour replaced religious zealotry. The politico-military strategy underpinning the Napoleonic wars was derived from the unleashing of latent nationalism that revered country and flag and this fervour is evidenced in the killing of thousands in World War I.

Elaborate Networks

A significant transmutation takes place in the mid-20th century — the invoking of a supra-nationalism that is a complex mix of religious empathy, cultural affinity and political ideology. At one level, this is a return to the religious supra-nationalism of the mediaeval period that gave way to an imperialistic transmutation from the Renaissance onwards. The Cold War was ostensibly predicated on bipolarity but this in turn was packaged in the form of a liberal “Christian West” pitted against the evil empire of communism. The major powers were divided along this fault line and the amassing of almost 60,000 nuclear warheads with missiles to boot defined the strategy and contours of warfare in the menacing Cold War decades.

Paradoxically, as the Cold War was going through its last phase in terms of the Soviet ‘imperial over-stretch’ getting mired in-

Afghanistan, another kind of supra-nationalism was being nurtured by the West. From 1979 onwards, the US and its allies stoked the fervour of *jihad* among the Islamic mujahedin in Afghanistan and empowered them to take up arms against the Soviets. This was sustained through an elaborate network and the Pakistani ISI became the conduit for funnelling aid that ran into billions of dollars over a decade. The Afghani mujahedin was extolled as the moral equivalent of the founding fathers of the US by no less a personage than US President Ronald Reagan, and Islamic supra-nationalism, Kalashnikov in hand, became an abiding symbol as the world lurched into the uneasy post-Cold War years.

Sense of Nationhood

Sustained by narcotics and an intense inter-Islamic political rivalry, this dynamic was forgotten as the detritus of the Cold War in southern Asia, but it acquired a politico-religious sheen between the Shia and Sunni faiths with competing ethnic fissures as noticed in the Arab-Muslim world from Saudi Arabia through Iran to the Pakistan-Afghan-Central Asian region. Islamic militancy of this gene pool recognised no political borders and saw itself as a supra state entity waging war against state entities from the Maghreb to Bosnia to the southern Asian region. Pakistan and Afghanistan are perceived to provide support to such Islamic militancy/terrorism and hence the anxiety about the Osama bin Laden factor that led to the US raining missiles on the Pak-Afghan border.

This phenomenon impacts the nature of warfare, as evidenced in Kargil, as also in the high incidence of foreign mercenaries among the terrorists who continue to be apprehended by Indian security forces. In effect, the cleric in Azhar is able to stoke the complex distillation of these determinants in a vast constituency and unleash them, against the Indian state and society. Paradoxically, in the process of “bleeding” the adversary, Pakistan whose sense of nationhood is ill-defined, runs the risk of being swept away by an undercurrent that has acquired its own autonomy. This kind of supra-nationalism and the violence it spawns needs to be recognised in its complexity and dealt with, most importantly by strengthening the positive elements of secular nationalism that are enshrined in the Indian Constituion.



UN imposes tough sanctions against Taliban

UNITED NATIONS: The UN has decided to slap fresh tough sanctions against Afghanistan's ruling Taliban and ban arms sale to them unless they close terrorist-training camps and surrender Saudi terrorist Osama Bin Laden within a month even as the militia condemned the move saying it would wreak havoc on the Afghan people.

The 15-member council on Tuesday night voted a joint American-Russian resolution, imposing sanctions over objections openly voiced by secretary-general Kofi Annan only a few hours earlier at a press conference.

Thirteen members voted in favour of the resolution, a rare joint effort by two former rivals, and China and Malaysia abstained, arguing that the new measures would only harm the people already burdened with two decades of civil war and a crushing drought.

The resolution calls for withdrawal of all foreign military and security advisers who, diplomats says, are mostly Pakistanis.

A report from Islamabad said the Taliban immediately denounced the new sanctions, threatening to walk out of the UN-sponsored peace talks. The new measures would lead to further deterioration in the situation.

"America takes a whole Afghan nation hostage for one person, Osama Bin Laden. Under which law is it justifiable to victimise 18 million people of Afghanistan using the excuse of one person," Taliban ambassador to Pakistan Mullah Abdul Salam Zaeef said.

Mr Zaeef claimed that the "Taliban had made several offers to solve the Osama Issue through peaceful means of negotiations".

"Sanctions are starvation tactics used for selfish political goals," he said.

Pakistani diplomats and Taliban representative expressed distress that the arms embargo is sought to be imposed only against Taliban while leaving the northern alliance untouched.

"The UN is playing politics because the arms sanctions are only on the Taliban and not on

the opposition alliance. The UN is trying to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs and siding with one party which hold little territory and has no popular support," director-general of the state-run Institute of Strategic Studies Shireen Mazari said.

The resolution says if Taliban does not comply with twin demand of closing terrorist-training camps and surrendering Bin Laden, the sale of arms, ammunition and military vehicles and equipment will be banned.

Besides, it calls for immediate closure of all offices of Taliban worldwide, limit travel by Taliban officials and freezes all funds and other financial assets of Bin Laden, his associates and his Qaida group. Diplomats say it will be difficult to monitor the ban but assert it will send a strong message to Taliban as the resolution clearly says they are not only harbouring Bin Laden but other terrorists also.

The UN has already withdrawn all foreign aid workers, fearing reprisals against them. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

21 DEC 2000

Hand over Osama or face new curbs: UN

REUTERS

UNITED NATIONS, DEC 20

THE UN Security Council has imposed new sanctions on Afghanistan's Taliban rulers until they surrender Saudi-born militant Osama bin Laden and close "terrorist" camps, dividing the United Nations on the impact of embargoes on the impoverished nation.

The resolution was initiated by the United States and Russia in a rare show of unity by the former Cold War rivals and was adopted on Tuesday by a vote of 13-0 despite strong misgivings by aid officials and UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

China and Malaysia abstained, voicing concern that the sanctions would only further harm and isolate ordinary Afghans, caught in a 30-year-old war and the worst drought in a generation.

Stung Taliban shuts UN mission, bans US goods

ASSOCIATED PRESS
KABUL, DEC 20

ORDINARY Afghans, shattered by 21 years of war, hungry and miserable from a devastating drought and a bitterly cold winter, today greeted news of fresh UN sanctions against ruling Taliban with frustration and anger.

As the sun rose over the snow-peaked mountains that surround the war-ruined capital of Kabul, Afghans began their daylong fast - a religious duty throughout the Islamic holy month of Ramadan - saying the world had forgotten them.

At a bus station in the ruined heart of Kabul hundreds of people waited in the frigid winter temperatures to get a bus heading east toward neigh-

The resolution imposes an arms embargo against the Taliban, including foreign military assistance that UN officials say comes mainly from Pakistan. It limits travel by the senior Taliban authorities, freezes any assets of bin Laden and orders the closure of Afghan Ariana Airlines offices abroad.

Stung Taliban shuts UN mission, bans US goods

bordering Pakistan, 225 km away. "Why is the United Nations doing this to us?" asked 45-year-old Bizmullah Baikhi. The Taliban has said it was shutting down a UN special mission to the country in retaliation and would boycott US goods into the country.

Taliban ambassador to Pakistan Mullah Abdul Salam Zaeef said the UN was no longer neutral in Afghanistan and his Islamic movement would reject any UN mediation in peace talks against its opponents.

"We will ban all American goods produced in America and exported to Afghanistan and consigned to American interests," he said speaking through an interpreter. "We ask all other Islamic countries also to do the same."

The measures aim to pressure the Taliban to close "terrorist" training camps within 30 days and expel bin Laden, charged by the United States with plotting the

1998 bombings of US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Some 225 people died and 4,000 more were wounded in those attacks.

For Russia, the Taliban are alleged to be behind Chechen, Uzbek, Tajik, Uighur and other rebellions of "extremists," according to Russia's UN ambassador, Sergei Lavrov.

The embargoes would go into effect one month from now if the Taliban does not comply. They lapse in a year after which the council would have to vote to reimpose them.

In anticipation of the council's actions, the United Nations withdrew its relief staff from Afghanistan, fearing a backlash to the sanctions. "It is not going to facilitate efforts, nor is it going to face our humanitarian work," an aide at an end-of-the-year conference.

Taliban greets UN ban with vow to keep Osama

FROM SAYEL... UDDIN

Kabul, Dec. 20 (Reuters): Afghanistan's ruling Taliban movement today rejected new UN Security Council sanctions as unjust and said it was closing a UN mission to the country and would boycott US goods in retaliation.

Taliban officials said their Islamic movement would not be forced to surrender Saudi-born militant Osama bin Laden, who is wanted for trial by the US, but repeated offers for a settlement of the issue through talks. A Security Council resolution adopted yesterday imposed an arms embargo on the Taliban and limited travel by senior Taliban officials.

There were no immediate reports of any protests against the sanctions, imposed until the purist Islamic Taliban surrenders bin Laden and closes "terrorist" camps. In an apparent move to avoid any violent backlash, Tal-

iban leader Mullah Mohammad Omar urged people to remain patient and not to hold any demonstrations.

Taliban information minister Qudratullah Jamal called the Security Council an enemy of Islam which was using bin Laden as an excuse to stop the Taliban's Islamic movement. Jamal said Afghanistan had no "terrorist" camps and repeated the Taliban's defiance against handing over bin Laden. "We will not change our Islamic regime for America's sake. Even if Osama's case is resolved they will find other excuses against us."

The 13-0 vote in the 15-member council was sponsored by former Cold War rivals, US and Russia, despite objections from UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan who said the move would not help peace efforts. China and Malaysia abstained. Bin Laden has been charged by the US for master-

mind the 1998 bombings of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that killed more than 200 people. Taliban ambassador to Pakistan Mullah Abdul Salam Zaeef said that the UN was no longer neutral in Afghanistan and his Islamic movement would reject any UN mediation in peace talks against its opponents.

"In the meantime, UNSMA (UN Special Mission to Afghanistan) will be closed in retaliation to the closure of our offices outside the country," he said.

"We will ban all American goods produced in America and exported to Afghanistan and connected to American interests," he said. "We ask all other Islamic countries also to do the same". He said the boycott was necessary to break what he called US arrogance and said a similar boycott could apply to Russian goods if that were considered to be in the Afghan interest.

But Zaeef said although Washington had rejected Taliban offers for talks in the past to settle the bin Laden affair, it still wanted talks.

"We still insist on negotiations," he said. "We are ready to settle this dispute in accordance with the laws of Islam. We are not terrorists and we are not happy with terrorist acts of others."

THE TELEGRAPH

21 DEC 2000

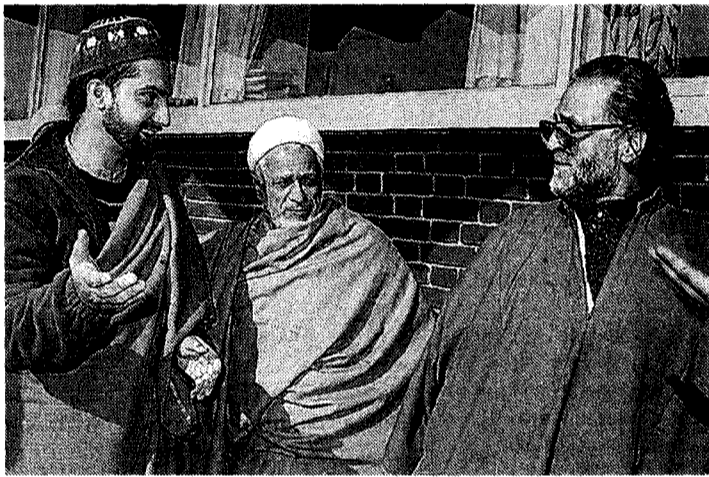
Lashkar, Hizb apprised of APHC move

By Shujaat Bukhari

JAMMU, DEC. 21. Three leaders of the All-Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), including its chairman Prof. Abdul Gani Bhat, have talked to the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) chief, Hafiz Mohammad Sayeed, and the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen supremo, Syed Salahuddin.

According to an LeT press release here, Prof. Bhat, Mr. Yaseen Malik and Syed Ali Geelani talked over the telephone "to the Amir of the Lashkar-e-Taiba, Hafiz Muhammad Sayeed, in Islamabad and the Hizb supreme commander and chairman of the United Jihad Council, Syed Salahuddin, to take them into confidence."

The two militant leaders were assured that the APHC would not compromise over the blood of *Shuhada* (martyrs), the release said adding "they (Hurriyat leaders) said that in order to achieve their objectives talks were inevitable". The militant leaders, on the other hand, made it clear that they would not allow the Kashmir issue to become a victim of politics and asked the Hurriyat leaders not to give any promise to



The Hurriyat leaders, Mirwaiz Umer Farooq, Maulvi Abbas and Mr. Abdul Ghani Lone, having a talk before going to the APHC executive meeting in Srinagar on Thursday.

— Photo: Nissar Ahmad

India on the ceasefire. They also said the *mujahideen* in the Kashmir Valley could not be left at the mercy of the "Indian forces".

The APHC chairman, Prof. Abdul Ghani Bhat, confirming the talks with the Lashkar and the Hizb chiefs, said a new process had been set in motion because of which "it is imperative for us to

have face to face meeting with them". "If and when we are allowed to visit Pakistan, we won't be going there for sight-seeing. That is why we thought it advisable to inform them." The militant leaders welcomed the Hurriyat initiative and were "eagerly waiting for the Hurriyat leaders", he said.

THE HINDU

22 DEC 2000

Militant assault on Red Fort

OUR BUREAU AND AGENCIES

New Delhi, Dec. 22: Suspected Kashmiri militants tonight mounted a daring attack on an army camp in the historic Red Fort, killing at least three persons.

Police said the night strike is suspected to be an act of a suicide squad of the Lashkar-e-Toiba, a Pakistan-based militant outfit which had rejected the Ramzan ceasefire and its two-day-old extension.

A caller claiming to represent the Lashkar told the BBC office here that the militant group was

responsible for the attack. This is the first time militants have hit an army installation in the capital.

The car-borne militants, believed to be two in number, disappeared after the raid. Police said the militants fled towards Ring Road, which encircles Delhi, but the Lashkar said in Srinagar that one of them was still hiding in the area.

The police said the militants attacked the camp of 7 Rajputana Rifles after 9:30 pm and fired indiscriminately.

"Two people opened fire. We don't know their identities. Three people have been killed, one civil-

ian employee of the defence, one barber and one soldier," Reuters quoted additional commissioner of police Ajay Chadha as saying. But other reports said two soldiers had died.

The militants entered the fort through the Lahori Gate, where all entry and exit is expected to be monitored and regulated by the army. They switched off the lighting system inside the Moghul-built fort before opening fire.

The assault happened near the Moti Mahal Mosque and the Swan Bhado complex near the barracks. Agency reports quoting the police said the militants struck at

three places inside the fort.

Part of the imposing fort is open to tourists during the day, while the rest serves as a garrison for a battalion of at least 1,000 personnel of the Rajputana Rifles. The entire area was cordoned off and the police began stop-and-search operations on roads leading out of the city.

Another menacing reminder of the challenges confronting the ceasefire had come in the afternoon in Srinagar. For the first

time in years, gun-toting Hizb-ul-Mujahideen militants made a dramatic appearance at the historic Jamia Mosque where thousands

of people were offering prayers. Before leaving, the militants raised pro-Pakistan slogans, fired in the air and denounced the ceasefire. (Picture on Page 9).

However, earlier in a statement, Hizb deputy chief Abdul Majeed Dar described the extension of the ceasefire and withdrawal of troops by Pakistan as "important steps which show both countries are serious in solving the Kashmir problem".

The six masked militants, brandishing AK-47 rifles and pistols, entered the mosque through a rear entrance. Executive members of the All-Party Hurriyat

Conference were present at the mosque. "We have come here to listen to the speeches of the Hurriyat leaders," said a militant leader, introducing himself as Abdul Basit, a Hizb district commander.

The Hizb favoured the state's merger with Pakistan, he told reporters. The unilateral ceasefire was "nothing but an attempt to deceive the world community", Basit added and left the mosque.

Addressing the mammoth Friday gathering, the Hurriyat leaders described the ceasefire extension and the subsequent steps by Pakistan as "praiseworthy".

THE TELEGRAPH

23 DEC 2000

9 killed in militant attack near Srinagar army hq.

Attack first of its kind after Ramzan ceasefire offer

The Times of India News Service and Agencies

SRINAGAR: In yet another attack targeted against army installations, militants on Monday blew up an explosives-laden car outside the Indian army's 15 corps headquarters in Srinagar, killing nine people including five security personnel, and injuring 26 others.

According to information available, a suicide bomber drove the car, bearing a Delhi registration number and stuffed with explosives, to the headquarters and blew it up outside the main gate. The attack is the first of its kind since the Ramzan ceasefire came into force on November 28 and the second in eight months.

A defence spokesperson said that the militants detonated the car bomb at Batwara in front of the main gate of the army headquarters at about 2.20 p.m.

Security sources, however, said five securitymen, three civilians and the suicide bomber were killed and 26 others were injured in the attack.

Eye-witnesses, on the other hand, said that the guards posted at the gate opened indiscriminate fire, killing two passengers and injuring at least 22 people in a bus bound for Pampore. The eye-witnesses also said that several shops in front of the cantonment were set on fire. Denying the allegations, the defence spokesperson said two shops and a house caught fire due to the blast and army fire-tenders were pressed into service to extinguish the blaze.

Unofficial sources said that some military police personnel were among the soldiers killed in the blast.

Pro-Pakistan militant outfit Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen, which dubbed the Centre's ceasefire a "bluff", claimed responsibility for the attack, saying that its activists had set off the car bomb with a remote-controlled device.

In a related incident, two scooter-borne militants killed a pedestrian in the Court Road area of Lal Chowk. The militants also threw a hand-grenade near the KMD bus stand at Budshah Chowk, injuring several pedestrians, official sources added.

Kashmiri Pandits in New Delhi, expressing scepticism about the success of the government's peace initiatives in Jammu and Kashmir, on Monday criticised the Centre's moves to hold talks with separatists who did not recognise the Indian constitution.

Seven organisations of Kashmiri Pandits adopted a resolution asserting, "The five-lakh-strong minority community of Kashmir will not remain a silent spectator if it is not involved in talks on the future of the Valley."

City police put on red alert after Lashkar threats

By Our Crime Reporter

MUMBAI: The city police has been put on red alert by the central intelligence agencies following the recent incident at the Red Fort in Delhi involving Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) terrorists. Three men, including two civilians, were killed in the firing.

Sources in the Mumbai police said there were indications that the pro-Pakistani Lashkar group would try to create a law and order problem here. Following a tip-off from the Intelligence Bureau (IB), the city police has stepped up its vigil since Sunday evening and has deployed additional forces from the State Reserve Police (SRP).

Plainclothes policemen have been deployed in several parts of Mumbai to keep a close watch on the situation and security has been tightened in a number of sensitive areas. Security for several VVIPs, including Bal Thackeray, has been beefed up and they have been advised to restrict their movements.

Officers from the crime branch are trying to track down persons who may have links with the Lashkar. It may be recalled that the Thane police had raided a Lashkar hideout on Godbunder Road in Thane (West)

on November 23 and had arrested four terrorists who had planned acts of sabotage in the metropolis. The police had recovered an AK-56 rifle, two magazines, three hand grenades and maps of several vital defence installations, as well as a detailed sketch of the RSS headquarters in Nagpur. The police had also recovered maps of two vital installations, including the Bombay High oil rig.

The police have also alerted the Coast Guard as they have information about explosives reaching the western coast to aid terrorist groups, sources stated.

Incidentally, among other places, the SRP has also been posted to guard the police commissionerate situated near Crawford market. The commissionerate houses several important buildings, including the police commissioner's office, the main control room, the crime branch, the police statistics and computer wings and the police museum. Policemen are also maintaining a high alert at prominent business centres and at the stock exchange building, which was targeted during the bomb blasts of March 1993.

A year ago, the country had witnessed the hijacking of an Indian Airlines aircraft, IC-814, at Kathmandu. The city police had then arrested four alleged Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) agents from Jogeshwari for allegedly being involved in the hijacking conspiracy.

TERROR TACTICS

- Suicide bomber blows up explosives-laden car
- Twenty-six people, including civilians, hurt in the attack
- Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen claims responsibility for the blast

THE TIMES OF INDIA

25 DEC 2000

Militant involved in Red Fort ^{Gr 1} ^{Shamam}shootout killed ^{2/12}

Accomplice escapes; arms seized

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: A Lashkar-e-Taiba militant, allegedly involved in the Red Fort shootout, was killed in an encounter in the Jamia Nagar area in south Delhi early on Tuesday.

An AK-56 rifle, two hand grenades and 30 live cartridges were recovered from the rented accommodation of the militant, identified as Abu Shamal, a Pakistan national, aged about 20. The police claimed that the other militant involved in the Red Fort shootout, Abu Sadd, had escaped from the capital.

The police have also arrested an accomplice of the Red Fort raiders, Ashfaq Ahmed, his wife, Rehmana, and another unidentified woman. The trio has been remanded to 14 days in police custody.

The encounter took place between 5-5.30 a.m. when the police raided the Jamia Nagar hide-out of Shamal after receiving specific information from Ashfaq, who was arrested from the Ghazipur area in east Delhi on Monday night.

Nearly 74 rounds were fired during the encounter, which left the doors and walls of the flat riddled with bullets. Special commissioner (administration) R.K. Sharma said, "Shamal was seen entering the flat at about 5 a.m. When the police team knocked at Shamal's door, he opened fire from his AK-56 rifle."

The police returned fire and he was hit by three bullets. No one from the raiding party was injured. Shamal had fired 28 rounds from his rifle, said a special cell official, who headed the raid party.

Some of the bullets fired during the encounter, went through the window panes in the kitchen and

hit the wall of a house across the lane.

Shamal's body was recovered from the floor of a room next to the main door. A quilt, a mattress and a pillow lay in a pool of blood on the floor of the room. Blood stains could also be seen on the walls. A khaki uniform, similar to the one used by the police, was also recovered from the room.

Other residents of the Batla House area building, in which the encounter took place, said the firing made them think that a robbery had taken place in the flat occupied by Shamal. "We didn't dare to come out," said one of the residents.

G.M. Bhatt, who lives in a flat adjacent to Shamal's, said he had moved into it on December 3. "We never had any interaction with him," he said. "We only know that three of his friends used to come to meet him regularly," a neighbour said. The police are questioning the owner of the building and have also launched a hunt for a property dealer, Rasheed Khan, who had helped the militant get this rented accommodation.

Area residents said Rasheed had moved into the flat about three months ago and handed over possession to Shamal on December 3.

The Delhi police on Tuesday recovered an AK-56 rifle from marshy land behind the Red Fort. Four magazines, hand grenades and a knife were also recovered from the spot.

Special commissioner R.K. Sharma said the rifle and ammunition were recovered from a ditch behind the Fort. "These were dumped there after the Red Fort incident," he said.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

27 DEC 2000

...SOPHISTICATED ARMS, AMMUNITION SEIZED FROM CAPTURED TERRORIST

Lashkar man involved in Red Fort attack held

New Delhi
26 DECEMBER

IN A breakthrough to five-day-old sensational shoot-out inside the Red Fort premises, Delhi police have arrested one militant of Lashker-E-Toiba (LET) and his wife besides killing another militant in a brief encounter.

"After thorough investigations into the case, police with the assistance of other central agencies, arrested one person Ashfaq Ahmed from Ghazipur area in the wee hours of today," special commissioner R.K. Sharma told reporters here.

Ahmed, after crossing over through Kupwara border in Jammu and Kashmir in May 2000, had been living in Delhi clandestinely and had also married a woman Rehmana, who was helping him in his anti-India activities.

Police also recovered a pistol, some cartridges along with other relevant documents from the arrested militant, Mr Sharma said.

Ahmed revealed during interrogation that he was part of a six-member team, which stormed the army camp inside the Red Fort on Friday night. Out of this team, two entered the battalion headquarters of 7th Rajputana and shot dead three persons, Mr Sharma said.

At Ahmed's instance, a team of Delhi police kept a close watch at the Batla house, a residential complex at Jamia Nagar, where the other militant, Abu Samaal, was living.

At the break of dawn, police knocked at the door of the flat in which he was living. On seeing the police, Samaal opened fire, which was returned resulting in his death.

Meanwhile, Ashfaq Ahmed and his wife Rehmana were produced before chief metropolitan magistrate Sangeeta Dhingra, who remanded them to 14-days of police remand.

Sharma said Samaal fired 28 rounds from his AK-56 rifle at the police party. Cops also recovered 30 live cartridges and two hand grenades from the site of the encounter.

Sharma said Ashfaq had also helped police in identifying a place outside Red Fort where the militants had buried their second AK-56 rifle.

Besides this, the police party also recovered four hand grenades, two magazines and 32 live cartridges from a marshy land behind the eastern side of the historic complex, he said.

With this, the total recovery of arms and ammunition since Saturday morning is three AK-56 rifles, six hand grenades, eight



FEAR NOT, FEAR NOT: Locals shop for Eid under heavy security in Srinagar following Monday's blast in the army cantonment. — AFP

magazines with cartridges and pistol with bullets, Mr Sharma said.

According to Mr Sharma, Ahmed was sent by Lashker-E-Toiba with a specific instruction to set a base in Delhi for carrying out terrorist activities.

He had set up a computer institute in Okhla area and had also married a local girl this month only.

Ahmed was joined in by five terrorists Abu Samaal, Abu Saad, Abu Shakar, Billal and Haider for carrying out the subversive acts at the Red Fort, Sharma said.

While Samaal was killed, the other four have apparently managed to flee.



MASKED: Ahmed

Giving details of the Friday night shoot-out, Mr Sharma said Ahmed along with the other five LET militants had conducted reconnaissance of the Red Fort area for quite some time.

On the fateful day, the six persons entered the historic monument on the pretext of watching the "light and sound show" and carried the weapons with loaded magazines and grenades camouflaged on their body.

After the show, two of the six militants sneaked into the military area under the cover of darkness while the other four came out of the premises and took positions around the Red Fort. — PTI



SNOWBALL EFFECT: Army jawans play with snow on the Siachen Glacier on Monday. — PTI

Decision on Hurriyat leaders soon: Advani

New Delhi
26 DECEMBER

THE GOVERNMENT will soon decide on the issue of allowing Hurriyat Conference leaders to travel to Pakistan for parleys in connection with the peace process in Kashmir, home minister L.K. Advani said here on Tuesday.

"Jaldi nirnay hojaega (A decision will be taken soon)," Advani told Zee News in an interview.

The home minister asserted that while the government is not averse to holding talks with Hurriyat, it will also hold dialogues with the National Conference, BJP, Congress and leftists who are fighting cross-border terrorism.

"At times, the Hurriyat tries to give an impression that it is the lone representative of the people of Jammu & Kashmir. This is not true," he said. On the ceasefire, Advani lamented that the term was being "often used loosely."

"I will repeat what Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee has already said: That our jawans will not open fire first. But if the militants are taking shelter in some hideouts and planning some assaults, they (jawans) should go and do their job," he said.

"Humne banduke rakh nahi di (It is not that we have put down our guns,)" the home minister added. — PTI

Security net around PMO, sensitive areas

New Delhi
26 DECEMBER

SECURITY AROUND Prime Minister's office and residence and all other sensitive areas in the New Delhi has been beefed up following threats by militants to carry out fidayeen (suicide) attacks.

"We have beefed up security in all sensitive places, including the office of Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee," special commissioner (security) R.S. Gupta told reporters when asked about the Lashker-e-toiba threat to carry out suicide attacks on the PMO.

"After successful intrusion of the Red Fort on Friday it is not impossible to sneak into the PMO," amir-e-alla (supreme commander) of the outfit, Abu Baker Bhai, told local newspapers in Srinagar. — PTI

Terrorism: pressure on U.K.

By Hasan Suroor

LONDON, DEC. 29. Pressure is mounting on the British Government to crack down on expatriate terrorist groups such as those involved in anti-India activities and, on Thursday, a Member of Parliament's Select Committee on Home Affairs said a line must be drawn between democratic political campaign and terrorism.

Mr. David Winnick, who is also a Labour MP, said Britain "should not under any circumstances be a safe haven for any sort of terrorist activities". He said while he agreed that people had a right to put across their point of view, "I draw the line at actively promoting activities that could be described as terrorism."

His statement followed a spate of media stories highlighting the activities of terrorist groups based in Britain amid reports that the suicide-bomber responsible for the killings in Srinagar on Christmas day was a British citizen.

While there was no official confirmation of his identity, newspaper reports gave his name as Mohammad Bilal (who operated under the assumed name, Abdullah Bai), a Pakistani boy brought up in Birmingham and recruited by a Pakistani terrorist outfit. He carried out the Srinagar attack on behalf of a new splinter group Jaishe-Mohammed, it has been reported.

Sheikh Omar Bakri Mohammed, a Muslim cleric who claims to recruit volunteers for "jihad" around the world, has claimed "credit" for "discovering" Bilal.

He told *The Times* on Thursday that Bilal's parents were proud of his "sacrifice", but did not want to disclose his identity for fear of police action. "They worry that their house will be attacked... it is not safe for them to reveal their son's true identity," he said pointing out that the family did not want to be identified as Muslim fundamentalists.

He also claimed that Bilal's brother and several of his cousins were also working for the same outfit.

Sheikh Mohammed, who came into prominence for recruiting "Mujahideens" for Afghanistan, Chechnya and West Asia, said Mohammed Bilal was not the real name of the bomber.

He described him as a "conscientious student" and he was recruited by a group called al-Maddad which he (Sheikh) finances.

Over the years, Birmingham, a predominantly Asian area, has become a major centre of terrorist groups' activities and in recent months a number of people have been arrested in police raids.

But under the existing laws, fund-raising and recruiting volunteers for political or religious campaigns does not constitute an offence. However, a new and more stringent terrorism law is in the offing and the Government is said to be preparing a list of groups which would be targetted once the new law comes into force in February.

Under the Terrorism Act 2000, fund-raising and recruitment of volunteers would constitute a breach of law, if it is proved that such activities are part of a conspiracy to 'export' terrorism. The Home Office has vowed to enforce the new Act strictly.

THE HINDU

30 DEC 2000

US warns Pak on jihadi outfits

■ Supports India's peace move in Kashmir ■ Condemns threat against Vajpayee

CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA
WASHINGTON, DEC 30

THE United States on Saturday warned Islamabad against the runaway terrorist activities directed against India by organisations based in Pakistan and said the Government of Pakistan had the responsibility to rein in jihadi outfits that preached and practiced violence.

Senior Administration officials told *The Indian Express* that the US government condemned "in the strongest terms" the recent terrorist attacks in Srinagar and New Delhi's Red Fort, and the threats against the life of Prime Minister Vajpayee issued by the Lashkar-e-Toiba.

"Such attacks and threats do nothing to advance the resolution

of the Kashmir issue and are inconsistent with recent steps in this direction," Bruce Riedel, Special Assistant to President Clinton and Senior Director at the National Security Council, told this correspondent.

Riedel said the US Government was fully supportive of Prime Minister Vajpayee's declaration of cease-fire in Kashmir. Pakistan's response in holding its fire on the border was also encouraging. However, the activities of terrorist organisations in Pakistan are "reprehensible" and would make it much more difficult to arrive at a solution, Riedel said.

Administration sources said Washington had made it clear to Islamabad that threats made against the Indian Prime Minister from Pakistani soil was "unaccept-

able." Since the threats are being issued from Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan has to take the responsibility of reigning in the jihadi outfits, the sources added.

The United States' stern warning to Islamabad comes in the fading days of the Clinton administration after it failed to designate the Lashkar-e-Toiba and other outfits as terrorist organisations despite their acts of violence in India. Administration officials said on Friday that the process was still under review and it takes a "fair amount of time" to put together a fool-proof case.

The officials suggested it could still happen before January 20 -- before the current administration bowed out -- and even if it did not "there will be continuity in the process," i.e. the Bush Administra-

tion could quickly nail the process.

However, *The Indian Express* has learned that the issue of designating Lashkar-e-Toiba and other jihadi outfits as terrorist organisations has been the subject of an inter-agency battle within the Clinton administration for several months now. Although there is broad support in the White House and the State Department to go through with the designation, some influential policy makers have held up the process.

The argument they are putting forth is based on the plea from the Pervez Musharraf regime that such a step would undermine the current regime in Pakistan and spell further trouble in the country.

The reasoning has not gone down very well with New Delhi,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

INDIAN EXPRESS

31 DEC 2000

Ethnic hit by Lashkar

FROM MUKHTAR AHMAD

Srinagar, Nov. 24: In a chilling response to the government's determination to go ahead with the peace initiative, suspected Lashkar-e-Toiba militants today kidnapped and killed five people in scarred Doda district.

Police said the five men were abducted from a bus in Tali area of Kishtwar town by a group of four Lashkar militants this evening. Their bodies were recovered from forests in Kishtwar, around 200 km from Jammu.

Though no group has claimed responsibility, Jammu police chief R.V. Raju blamed the Lashkar for the attack.

The guerrillas entered the bus and after segregating the passengers, on religious lines, pulled out three men — driver Raj Kumar, conductor Prakash and Romesh Kumar, an employee of the state food supplies department.

The militants dragged the men towards the nearby jungles. On their way, they stopped a group of labourers and kidnapped them as well.

The driver and one of the labourers, who knew the moun-

tainous terrain well, managed to escape and inform residents in Patimhalla village.

Once they reached the forests, the militants lined up the men and opened fire. Police have identified the victims as Bhushan Lal, Sudesh Kumar, Ashok Kumar, Romesh Kumar and Prakash.

The killings come two days after five truck drivers were shot dead on the Srinagar-Jammu highway. The incident had triggered howls of protest from the Shiv Sena, an ally of the Vajpayee government, which said the Centre must withdraw its offer of a Ramzan ceasefire. The Lashkar has rejected the truce.

Tension gripped the area as news of the massacre spread. Police have stepped up vigilance in Doda district and a general alert has been sounded. Senior police officials have rushed to the spot.

The government has decided to post armed police guards on every bus plying in the remote areas of Doda district, sources said.

Most militant groups have dismissed the truce offer as a ploy to win international sympathy and vowed to intensify attacks on mili-

tary camps across Jammu and Kashmir.

Chief minister Farooq Abdullah met Union home minister L.K. Advani and defence minister George Fernandes in Delhi. Abdullah later told reporters that the attacks by militants were aimed at provoking the security forces in the run-up to the ceasefire.

Abdullah said a magisterial inquiry has been ordered into the highway massacre. The probe, he added, "will determine how militants managed to surface on the highway, committed the crime and disappeared in to the woods".

Abdullah said vigilance on the highway would be increased and movement of vehicles regulated. No vehicle will be allowed to ply on the highway after 6 pm without clearance from the government.

Earlier on Thursday, five Kashmiri boys abducted by guerrillas a week ago, escaped from a militant hideout to a security unit in Poonch district.

Police said unidentified militants also attacked the office of the People's Democratic Freedom Party separatist group in Srinagar with a grenade on Friday, but the explosion caused no damage.

THE TELEGRAPH

25 NOV 2000

USA, Russia plan strikes against Laden

THE TIMES, LONDON

LONDON, Nov 26. — The USA, in cooperation with Russia, is considering military action against Osama bin Laden after finding links between the bombing of the US warship, *USS Cole*, and his group's attacks on the American embassies in East Africa.

Gen. Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said an attack with cruise missiles or other weapons was possible. "That is an option." US investigators have found links between the 1998 bombing of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania which killed over 200 people, including 12 Americans, and last month's attack on the *USS Cole* in Aden, which killed 17 US sailors.

Mr Vince Cannistraro, former CIA anti-terrorism chief, said. "There is some dispute over the execution. Some people feel a state is involved." Intelligence officials suspect Iran may have used the Hezbollah (Lebanon) in supplying the explosives and training the bomb-makers.

Osama was spotted at Russia's former air bases in Afghanistan, such as Bagram, before taking refuge in Hindu Kush. Analysts feel Osama wouldn't tie himself to such a static target, which the USA could easily attack, but would rather retain his flexibility.

The air bases, however, could be among the 1,000 training sites for Islamic fighters hosted by the Taliban. Moscow would be delighted if Washington would help to take up the cudgels against a threat the President, Mr Vladimir Putin, identified to Mr Tony Blair when they met in St Petersburg in March.

THE STATESMAN

27 NOV 2000

UK pins hope on US-Russian joint hunt for Osama

Vijay Dutt
London, November 26

HC-13 29/11

THE BRITISH anti-terrorism intelligence units are hoping that the proposed US and Russian deal for a joint operation against Osama bin Laden would fructify soon. They fear that if he is not cornered, Osama could make greater use of Britain for plotting his operations, specially against the Americans here.

The Yemeni Prime Minister Abdel-Karim Ali Iryani, has bolstered the chances of the US and Russian joint campaign to catch Osama by stating that those behind the attack on the USS Cole were veterans of the Arab war to oust Soviets from Afghanistan. Osama is a by-product of the same jihad. His al-Qaeda was set up at that time in the 80s.

The defence analysts here agree that the only way to catch the - Muslim Pimpernel -- is to mount a joint US-Russia offensive against him. So far all attempts including the US Tomhawk cruise missile attack have failed to curb Osama's activities. He has indeed grown more dangerous for both Russians and Americans.

Paul Beaver of Jane's Information Group has been quoted in the Times saying that the only practical route in for an American special forces team would be from the north which would require overflight approval from Russia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.



Iran and Pakistan would not allow any intrusion from the south. China is also said to be reluctant to open the entry from the east for hunting Osama. So Russia is the key, says Beaver.

Russians have the necessary knowledge of the Afghani territory and also have their own counter-terrorist units. The Kremlin is increasingly getting worried about the Afghani support to Chechen rebels and for encouraging militant Islamic groups in Central Asia. For the US Osama has been the number one enemy since the bombing of its two embassies in 1998.

Reports are that officials of the two countries have met to swap intelligence about Osama. Significantly on last Thursday, the Russian Defence Minister hinted that some action against Osama was imminent. He said, "Today, they (Islamic separatists) are not individuals terrorists but a powerful army with centralised control, well armed and financed."

The reports indicate that Russians have already stationed more armed forces in southwest Russia and on the borders of Central Asia. The men are being armed with latest weapons. The US then could attack with its cruise missiles. But they realise that Osama has more than half a dozen hide-outs and its difficult to pinpoint his location at a given time. The intelligence of both the countries are concentrating, according to sources, on the former Soviet air bases in Afghanistan.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

27 NOV 2000

India, Russia, U.S. and Taliban menace

By K. K. Katyal

HD-14
28/11

NEW DELHI, NOV. 27. A joint mechanism may not be there but there is no mistaking a strong tripartite understanding among India, Russia and the U.S. on the urgency of countering the Taliban menace in Afghanistan and on the approach to achieve this objective. This is what the sum-total of recent bilateral discussions - between India and the U.S., India and Russia and the U.S. and Russia and the public positions taken on these occasions - amount to. What stood out was the agreements at the bilateral levels and in the resultant three-nation accord, on tough international sanctions against the Taliban.

The specific measures envisaged by them included a call, through an appropriate forum, notably the U.N., to the world community to have no interaction with the Taliban, no financial dealings, no trade and other economic contacts, an embargo on the movement of Taliban leaders and on setting up offices by them abroad.

These steps, it was hoped, would yield concrete steps. Also, it was considered necessary to extend support (it was not publicly specified) to the ele-

NEWS ANALYSIS

ments in Afghanistan which are in a position to rebuff the Taliban - the most important being the force, led by Commander Ahmed Shah Masood, whose Northern Alliance, though literally driven to a corner, was seen as having the potential for reversing the Taliban tide. Of late, there was evidence on the ground of a beginning in that direction.

Meeting of JWG

The latest in the bilateral series was the meeting of the India-Russia Joint Working Group on Afghanistan on November 20-21, agreed to be set up during the recent visit here of the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin. It was led by Mr. V. Trubnikov, First Deputy Foreign Minister, who some time back, held detailed discussions with the number three in the U.S. State Department, Mr. Thomas Pickering, on ways to coordinate their efforts in dealing with the Taliban.

On their part, India and the U.S. considered ways to enhance their cooperation to combat international terrorism at the Joint Working Group on the subject here some two months ago. The JWG, set up early this year, to institutionalise bilateral contacts, was later included in the architecture of institutional dialogue, agreed upon by the two sides during the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's visit here.

During the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vaj-

payee's trip to the U.S. it was decided to expand its mandate so as to include Afghanistan and narco-terrorism.

The tripartite understanding on the Taliban threat stemmed from their principled positions against international terrorism as also from the convergence of compulsions created for each one of them by the Taliban-engineered violence - for India in Jammu and Kashmir, for Russia in Chechnya (apart from the CIS countries), while the U.S. had identified the Taliban as the source of major threat to its interests, manifesting through the activities of Osama bin Laden (based in Afghanistan) who had gained international notoriety and had been on Washington's "most wanted" list.

Russia's concern

India and Russia, at last week's working group meeting, reiterated their view that the Taliban movement presented an ever-increasing threat in the region. The Russian side was gravely concerned at the advance of the Taliban forces to areas, 50 km from the CIS border, and though there was no armed incursion so far, its possibility was not ruled out. Because of this "alarming" turn in the situation, Russia, of late, intensified its consultations with the CIS countries, feeling threatened, and agreed to be "in a state of preparedness," to quote a Russian source.

In the joint statement issued after the group's meeting, India and Russia noted that "direct foreign intervention in the Afghan affairs has exacerbated the civil conflict and is preventing the return to peace "and called upon" those states which give the Taliban all kinds of assistance, including military one, to cease their interference in Afghan affairs". This was an obvious reference to the role of Pakistan - an issue that was reported to have figured pointedly in the Russia - U.S. talks as well. As a matter of fact, both these countries had agreed to exert their influence on Islamabad to give up its negative role in backing the Taliban regime. Mr Putin's envoy to Islamabad too had strongly impressed on the military ruler there to stop this support, while drawing attention to the danger, posed by Talibanisation of Pakistan's civil society.

India and Russia, on the one hand, and Russia and the U.S., on the other, have agreed to coordinate their activities in the international arena, in particular, firm support to any anti-Taliban move at the U.N. - possible renewed efforts in the Security Council for sanctions against the Taliban and support to the India-sponsored move for a convention against international terrorism. At the same time, they will be closely watching the military situation in Afghanistan.

THE HINDU

29 NOV 2000

HD-16

Yemen joins chorus against Osama *Perrotan*

By Kesava Menon *26/11*

MANAMA (BAHRAIN), NOV. 27. Yemen had been among the group of Arab countries which not only opposed some of the major elements of the U.S. policy on West Asia but was also not unafraid to express its views.

Now, the Government of Yemen has espoused one of the U.S. administration's theories about the ubiquitous role that Osama bin Laden plays in international terrorism. This change in Yemen's attitude dovetails with reports that the U.S. is preparing for some hard action against Bin Laden and his hosts Taliban in Afghanistan.

After the naval vessel, USS Cole, was struck in a suicide bomb attack, killing 17 servicemen in Aden harbour, the Yemen Government sought to play down the possibility that it could have been an act of terrorism. Yemen has been in bad light internationally for the frequency with which tribesmen in the country kidnap foreigners for ransom. There is also a strong Islamic movement in the country which is a partner in the otherwise secular coalition Government. In lieu of these factors and the fact

that Yemen has opposed several of the U.S. policy postulates on West Asia, it is understandable that Yemen should try to avoid the impression that it had become a place where terrorist attacks would also be staged.

In the initial days after the attack on the Cole, there was a divergence between the initial hypotheses drawn up by the U.S. administration and the Yemen Government. While U.S. investigators appear to have quickly adopted the theory that the attack was a terrorist act and probably masterminded by the loose global network that has grown up in the last 10 years, Yemeni authorities were talking of the possibility of an accident. However, Yemeni officials did co-operate with the U.S. investigators and have finally allowed them to question the several dozen suspects who have been taken into custody. They have finally come around to the theory, favoured almost from the outset by the U.S. that Bin Laden probably had something to do with the attack. Yemen's Prime Minister, Mr. Abdul Karim al Iryani, has told a London-based Ara-

bic paper that, although hard evidence had not been found as yet, Bin Laden was at least involved indirectly in the attack on the Cole. From what has been disclosed about the investigations so far, it appears that the two men who carried out the attack were natives of Yemen. At least one of them was, like Bin Laden, believed to be a Yemen native who had taken on Saudi nationality.

Another UAE-based suspect is believed to have provided the explosives while a native of Morocco was believed to be the engineer who put the explosive device together. All of them are believed to have linkages with the Afghan-based "jehadi" forces and there is also said to be proof that they had connections with Bin Laden's Al Qaeda organisation. U.S. and Yemeni investigators are now trying to find whether Bin Laden was directly involved in planning, financing and providing the explosives or had merely given a general directive.

Many of these allegations and pointers have been provided to the Pakistani daily *The Nation* by U.S. officials who have more or

less directly warned that retaliation against the Taliban and Bin Laden is imminent. But what is surprising is that the Yemen Government should also have spoken out about the Bin Laden angle after the U.S. had made its position and intentions so evident.

The Government of Yemen has been articulate in its opposition to the economic embargo imposed on Iraq and it has, in direct contradiction of U.S. views and desires, called on the Arab world to confront Israel militarily so as to stop Israel's current action against the Palestinians. (The Yemen Government's agreement to provide supplies and fuels for the U.S. naval ships that enforce the Iraqi embargo sits ill with its expressions of anguish at the plight of the Iraqis but the Government had apparently not disclosed to its people that the U.S. ships calling in their prime port of Aden were indeed carrying out this policy).

The fact that one of the more staunchly nationalistic Arab Governments has begun singing the U.S. tune on global terrorism gives the distinct impression that the noose is about to tighten on someone.

THE TIMES

28 NOV 2001

Day one of truce: 17 dead, 30 hurt

HT Correspondent
Jammu, November 28

SEVENTEEN PERSONS, including five soldiers, were killed and nearly 30 others injured in a landmine blast and four encounters on the first day of the month-long unilateral ceasefire declared by the Central Government.

Militants blasted an Army vehicle with an improvised explosive device killing five soldiers at Dooru in Anantnag district about 70 kms away from Srinagar this afternoon.

Police sources said that such was the impact of the explosion that the bus in which the Army men were travelling went up several feet high.

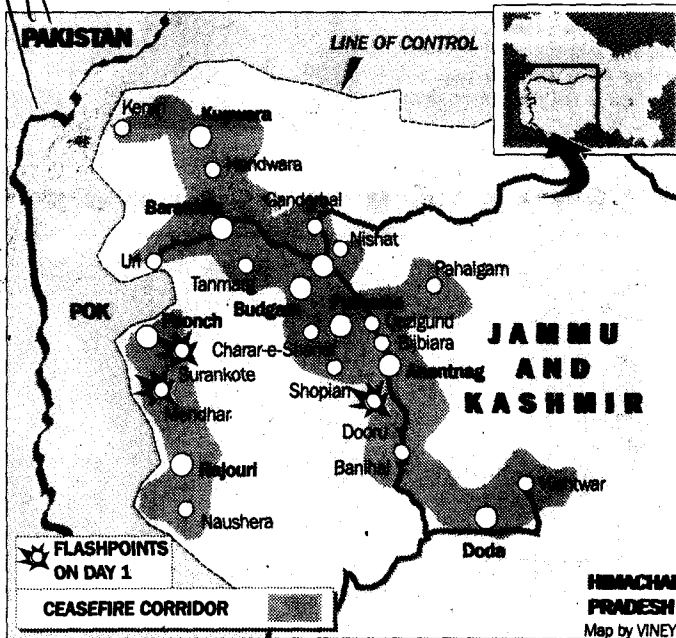
The pro-Pakistan Hizb-ul-Mujahideen has claimed responsibility for the blast. Its Pakistan-based spokesman, Salem Hashmi, told newsmen in Srinagar that this was part of the group's plan of action.

Five militants, two soldiers and two civilians were killed in a fierce encounter in Saujian in Poonch district. Five soldiers and seven civilians were also wounded in the gun fight. Reports said militants belonging to the Tehreek-ul-Jehad-i-Islami entered the border village close to the line of control.

Among the dead is Ashraf Ahmad, chief commander of the Tehreek group. In other incidents in Poonch district, two militants were killed in Surankote and one in Mendhar.

Srinagar, however, remained peaceful till late this evening.

Director General of Police



Gurbachan Jagat said Pakistan-based militants would attempt to step up violence in the State.

People offered prayers and the rush in the markets was normal. There was a sense of relief among the people in Srinagar and other towns in the Kashmir Valley as no operations were carried out by the security forces anywhere.

However, after reports of the landmine blast in Dooru came in, there was panic among the people in the nearby villages. Security forces intensified vigil in the area after the incident.

Dooru is one of the worst-affected areas by militancy. It was here in May this year that the state's

Power Minister, Ghulam Hassan Bhat, and four others were killed in a blast. The Hizb-ul-Mujahideen had owned up that attack also.

NEW DGP: Meanwhile, Additional Director General of Police (CID) Ashok Kumar Suri has been promoted and appointed as the new Director General of Police, succeeding Mr Jagat, it was officially announced today.

The Government also promoted two other Additional Director Generals, S.S. Ali and R. Tickoo, as Director Generals. Mr Ali will be DG, Prisons, while Mr Tickoo will take over as DG, Vigilance.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

29 NOV 2000

U.S. may brand Lashkar a terrorist outfit

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, SEPT. 29. The United States may declare the pan-Islamic Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) a foreign terrorist organisation as part of its rejuvenated campaign to counter terrorism originating from South Asia.

Highly placed sources in the Government here said the U.S. authorities were completing the necessary formalities for declaring the LeT, main suspect in the recent massacre of pilgrims in Pahalgam, a terrorist outfit. The subject of pan-Islamic terrorism and the organisations involved in it were discussed by the U.S. coordinator on counter-terrorism, Mr. Michael A. Sheehan, and Indian authorities here earlier this week.

During the talks, the two sides agreed to create a data base on all fundamentalist organisations operating in India, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

They also agreed to deny "liberated zones" or areas outside the control of law enforcement agencies to terrorist outfits. It was felt that the existence of such zones were being used for narcotics cultivation and were therefore central to funding terrorist activity. Not surprisingly, the U.S. side interacted with officers of the Narcotics Control Bureau. In fact, the U.S. will pump in Rs. 91.8 lakhs for equipping and training Indians from this set-up.

Determined to cut the financial links of terrorist outfits, it was agreed that all contributions coming from Europe, West Asia and Canada be carefully scrutinised. Special attention should be paid to tracking the end-users of these funds who may be connected to international terrorist networks.

It was also decided that the activities of foreign terrorist organisations, which change their names should be monitored and intelligence related to their current activities shared. For instance, the Harkat-ul-Ansar which was operating from Pakistan changed its name to Harkat-ul-Mujahideen after the U.S. declared it a terrorist organisation. The Harkat, according to leading Pakistani scholars, shifted its key bases and training camps to Afghanistan in the mid-nineties.

Sources here feel the LeT too may migrate to Afghanistan. Such a shift, however, is likely to benefit the Jaish-e-Mohammed, led by the cleric Masood Azhar, released by Indian authorities to terminate the hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane in Kandahar. The Jaish-e-Mohammed is believed to have taken over most of the infrastructure vacated by the Harkat in Pakistan. The likely "vacuum" after the LeT's departure may also be filled in by this outfit.

Taliban-US meet to discuss Bin Laden extradition

BY T.V. PARASURAM

AA-4
Washington, Sept. 30: A Taliban delegation met senior US officials and discussed, without making any progress, the issue of extradition of international terrorist Osama Bin Laden from Afghanistan.

Other issues discussed between the Taliban delegation, led by deputy foreign minister Abdurrahman Zahid, and under secretary of state Thomas Pickering and assistant secretary of state Karl F. Inderfurth on Friday included peace, narcotics, human rights, especially those of women and girls. It was a "frank, and straight-forward" discussion, US states department spokesperson Richard Boucher said.

"The issue of Bin Laden was discussed. We raised it in terms of the UN resolution, which calls for his expulsion for trial," Mr Boucher said.

"I cannot characterise anything as being in progress," the spokesperson said commenting on the talks.

Each side explained clearly its position and looked forward to further talks in the future, he said.

"They explained their position. I wouldn't say whether we accepted it or not. I think it is quite clear we don't agree on those subjects," Mr Boucher said.

He said the Taliban did not raise the issue of recognition to its government in Afghanistan. Forces of the ruling Taliban movement have

driven opponents loyal to commander Ahmad Shah Masood from a strategic position in the north-east of Afghanistan. Opposition sources said on Saturday.

1110
Taliban fighters captured Farkhar gorge to the east of Taloqan town after two days of fierce fighting, they said. Farkhar gorge lies on the main highway linking Taloqan with Badakhshan province, the political heartland of the Opposition. With its fall, the Taliban have managed to further tighten their grip on Taloqan. The Taliban can also target Farkhar Valley, the strategic entry point to Badakhshan, and the last region where the retreating Opposition forces have been entrenched after Taloqan's loss. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

- 1 OCT 2000

U.S. will provide classified terrorism-related info to India

WASHINGTON: In the strongest indication yet of the significant level of cooperation that the U.S. intends to pursue with India to combat international terrorism, intelligence agencies here have agreed in principle to provide New Delhi with highly classified intelligence information that Washington would have usually kept to itself.

Senior intelligence sources said that as a tangible manifestation of the mutual concern between the U.S. and India about the situation in Afghanistan and India's concerns about the Taliban and its connection with international terrorist organisations, particularly those sponsored by Saudi renegade Bin Laden, the U.S. would share with India intelligence and satellite photos about terrorist camps in Afghanistan and Pak's borders where anti-U.S. and anti-India conspiracies are allegedly hatched.

By passing on the information to India, New Delhi would also be in a position to get a sense of the type of weaponry and the modus operandi that they would be up

against in dealing with the terrorists that launch attacks in Kashmir after being trained in Afghanistan and the camps bordering Pakistan, the sources said.

These sources said that the U.S. intelligence agencies have obtained CD-ROM copies of a six-volume manual allegedly used by the bin Laden-sponsored groups to train hundreds of recruits in terrorist camps in Afghanistan to launch anti-American terrorist operations and also forays into the Indian state of J&K. They have said they would pass on this information to India "for whatever preventive action they may want to take."

Intelligence officials have described the manual as "a gold mine" on Bin Laden's tactics and said they hope to use it to help slow or disrupt terrorist operations overseas. The officials had recently given the manual in CD-ROM form to the CIA and the FBI. They had seized it from one of the 16 men arrested in Jordan in December for allegedly planning New Year attacks in Israel and Jordan. (IANS)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

7 06 2000

8 OCT 2000

Vajpayee warns against terrorism

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, OCT. 4. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, today cautioned against the use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy saying that this cannot be allowed.

It was an indirect reference to Pakistan's use of terrorism as a foreign policy instrument. In the only other indirect reference Mr. Vajpayee made to India's problems with Pakistan, he said "we have desired friendly and cooperative relations with the countries in our neighbourhood," relations which should be based on "mutual respect and civilised norms of behaviour."

But the rest of the speech was devoted mostly to recalling the great historical ties of friendship between the two countries. India and Russia were not simply fair weather friends, their friendship had withstood the "twists and turns of history and politics," Mr. Vajpayee said. He was speaking after the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, at the joint session of Parliament today.

Complementing the Russian people for their legendary bravery — Mr. Putin himself belonged to Petersburg, which withstood a siege of 900 days during the Second World War — Mr. Vajpayee noted the "mutuality of interests and shared perceptions" between

the two countries and the "significant overlap and intersect" on a host of international issues.

Both countries recognised the need for multipolarity, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and non-interference in internal affairs. He also welcomed Russia's "continued support" for a permanent seat for India in the Security Council.

In fact the theme of the long friendship between India and Russia was picked up by the Rajya Sabha Chairman, Mr. Krishan Kant, in his welcome address as well as by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Mr. G. M. C. Balayogi, who said the ties had been maintained "through thick and thin"

THE HINDU

5 OCT 2000

Clinton vows to get at US warship attackers

Needle of suspicion on Bin Laden

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, October 13

PRESIDENT BILL Clinton has ordered the US forces and missions in the Middle East to be on high alert and vowed to get at the perpetrators of Thursday's bomb attack on the warship, USS Cole, at the Aden port that killed at least six sailors.

Saudi terrorist Osama bin Laden appears to figure prominently in list of suspects, although the US authorities say that pending investigations, it is too early to say anything in the matter.

Only last week, the US had asked a visiting Taliban team to extradite Laden to a third country to stand trial for the terrorist attacks on US missions in Africa two years ago.

FBI agents, apart from defence and State department officials, have been despatched to Yemen to uncover the terrorist plot.

Soon after the blast, Mr Clinton called a meeting of the National Security Council and decided to order a pullout of US ships from ports in the region and a step-up in the security for the land forces. The Pentagon deployed a group of 70 marines from the US Navy's Fifth Fleet headquarters in Manama, Bahrain, for the anti-terrorist support operations.

"If, as it now appears, was an act of terrorism, it was a despicable

and cowardly act. We will find out who was responsible and hold them accountable," Mr Clinton said.

"If their intention was to deter us from our mission of promoting peace and security in the Middle East, they will fail, utterly," he added.

On a day when the Middle East crisis escalated, Mr Clinton made a renewed appeal to leaders on both sides to undertake an immediate cease-fire. He spoke to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, according to a *Washington Post* report today, has made an offer to Mr Clinton to host a summit of US, Israeli and Palestinian leaders if only Israel halted its military activities in Gaza and the West Bank. Mr Clinton himself had put forth this very proposal three days ago, but Mr Mubarak reportedly remained lukewarm to it then.

"The Israeli-Palestinian conflict may be one of the most difficult problems of our time, but it can be solved," Mr Clinton said. He reminded the two sides that the progress of the last few years (for Israel the hope of peace with true security and for Palestinians the hope of a sovereign state recognised by the whole world) was not made through violence.

Militants' threat casts shadow on I-Day in J&K

By Shujaat Bukhari

ND-1
SRINAGAR, AUG 15. Against the backdrop of repeated threats from militant groups, particularly the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Independence Day was celebrated in the State under the blanket of an unprecedented security cover. Till late afternoon no untoward incident was received from any part of the State. Shops and other business establishments remained closed in all regions including Jammu.

15/8
Early in the morning, amid the tightest ever security arrangements, the Chief Minister, Dr. Fa-

rooq Abdullah, unfurled the national flag in an almost empty Bakshi Stadium here. A few Ministers and senior civil, police, paramilitary and Army officers were present along with some media-persons. The senior BJP leader, Ms. Uma Bharti, present on the occasion, tied a *Rakhi* on Dr. Abdullah's wrist. At various district headquarters, the Ministers concerned took the salute and unfurled the national flag.

As part of the nation-wide red alert, security forces began the exercise of sanitising the areas several days in advance. On Monday, large contingents of police and

paramilitary forces descended on the city forcing the general public to rush inside their houses. All roads leading to the Bakshi stadium were sealed and a three-tier security cover enveloped it.

An eerie silence prevailed in the city today with not a single civilian on the streets.

Shops, business establishments were closed and vehicles were off the roads in response to a general strike called by the All-Party Huriyat Conference in protest against the Independence day. Reports from major towns suggest that the strike was complete.

In the capital, no one was al-

lowed to venture near the Bakshi stadium or areas near Radio Kashmir, Doordarshan and the Civil Secretariat. When this correspondent visited the Tourists Reception Centre on Monday, where the senior officials live besides housing some other offices, the authorities refused permission saying all special passes for vehicles had been cancelled.

In Jammu the Minister for Education, Mr. Mohammed Shafi Uri, unfurled the national flag at the mini-stadium at 9 a.m. amid tight security.

More reports on Page 13

JAMMU

16 OCT 2000

MONDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2000

40-12

THE TERRORIST TWIST

16/10

THE BRAZEN ATTACK on a warship, USS Cole, at the port of Aden in Yemen last week appears to bear the hallmark of a terrorist operation, although the political signature of the suspected "suicide bombers" has not been deciphered. The incident, which occurred while the destroyer was still at anchor for refuelling on its journey to the Persian Gulf for deployment on a routine operational alert against Mr. Saddam Hussein's Iraq, deserves to be condemned. Tragic as the loss of the lives of 17 U.S. military sailors was, the latest flare-up of utter ferocity in the historic Israeli-Palestinian war may complicate not only the search for clues but also the process of bringing the unidentified perpetrators to book. It was while making comments on the current brinkmanship in West Asia that the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, first took note of what the American naval officials described as an external blast that damaged a portion of the guided-missile destroyer. If this seemed to place the Aden episode in a specific regional context, the U.S. will certainly look beyond West Asia, too, in tracing the suspected terrorists and holding them "accountable". In the absence of an authentic word on Mr. Clinton's prescription of accountability, a precedent is that of the missile strike that Washington carried out against the suspected bases of Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan in the wake of the bombings of the U.S. diplomatic missions in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998.

Osama bin Laden is transparently regarded by the U.S. as an international terrorist whose moorings are not necessarily traceable to the near-archetypal West Asian milieu of Arab-Israeli divide. His rise as a wealthy Saudi dissident and the political lore about his links with the fundamentalist Taliban of Afghanistan can pose new questions if, as expected, the U.S. seeks to evaluate the suspicions of his possible

role in the Aden episode. The Taliban, of course, is hardly a factor of real significance to the West Asian mosaic of militancy at present. The current phase of the Jewish-Palestinian war has not also been defined by any official activism by Saudi Arabia, and this is an aspect that could arguably suit the alleged anti-American purposes of a militant dissident of that country. In any case, the U.S. military has had the mortification of an explosion at one of its facilities in Saudi Arabia in the mid-1990s. However, more to the point now are the reports of competing claims by obscure or new outfits — "Mohammad's Army" and "Islamic Deterrence Forces" — about their having targeted a U.S. warship at this time. In the absence of a proper establishment of the identities of these groups, the investigative spotlight may be turned on the entire gamut of anti-U.S. groups and interests.

A political riddle of relevance to the current initiative by India for a comprehensive international convention against terrorism is the definition of circumstances in which an assault on a military vessel can be deemed a heinous act of terror. The USS Cole was not actively engaged in combat duty at the time of the suspected attack. However, the ongoing process of spelling out war crimes in a new international ambience must be matched by a careful updating of the meaning of terrorism in regard to military resources and interests as well. On a different plane, the international efforts to roll back the spiralling religious-political passions in West Asia need to be intensified at this juncture. The U.S. is taking the lead once again and there is a point in Mr. Clinton's assertion that Israel's vision of "a final peace" with "true security" and the hopes of the Palestinians for sovereign statehood were in the first place made possible only by negotiations and not war.

THE HINDU

16 OCT 2000

U.S. planning strikes against Osama?

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD, OCT. 15. Is the United States planning to strike once again at the bases of the Saudi dissident, Osama bin Laden, in Afghanistan? *gemmm*

Quoting diplomatic sources, several Pakistani papers have speculated on the possibility in the wake of the attack on the USS Cole and an attempt to destroy the British Embassy in Yemen. *HD-1*

The papers said the suspicion about involvement of an organisation linked to Osama in the attacks have triggered fears that the U.S. might once again launch strikes on the alleged hideouts of the Saudi millionaire. *18710*

The U.S. attacked suspected bases of Osama in August 1998 following the bombing of the American embassies in North Africa.

The decision to close U.S. embassies in several countries including Pakistan till further orders has strengthened the impression that America could be planning to retaliate.

In a report from Washington the English daily, *The News*, said that if investigations established that Osama was behind the attack on the USS Cole, the U.S. would strike a "hard blow to deter elements from such activities in future".

In a report from Peshawar, the *Frontier Post* said the ongoing presidential election campaign and the growing public opinion in favour of stringent action against fundamentalist groups could tempt Washington into launching another operation against Osama.

The refusal of the Taliban regime to hand over the Saudi dissident to the U.S. and comply with the sanctions imposed by the United Nations could provide a "legal excuse" for the U.S. to "act" against the Taliban and Osama.

Experts leave for Eden: Page 14

THE HINDU

9 5 OCT 2001

Aftershocks may be felt in India too

Pramit Pal Chaudhuri
New Delhi, October 17

THE WEST Asian event most likely to impact on Indians is getting the least attention. The main suspect in the bomb attack against the US warship, 'USS Cole', is Osama Bin Laden. If Washington proves his involvement, the repercussions will be felt in South Asia.

Two Islamic terrorist groups in Yemen are prime suspects. Both are linked to Bin Laden, himself of Yemeni origin. One is the Army of Aden-Abyan. This outfit, filled with Afghan war veterans, claims responsibility for the blast. When Yemen tried to close its training camp, a Bin Laden representative stepped into mediate.

The other is the Islah Party. Its military leader, Abdul Majid Zandani, is said to have fought alongside Bin Laden in Afghanistan. Bin Laden's first known terrorist act was the bombing of a Yemen hotel used by US servicemen in 1992, probably with Islah's help.

Bin Laden was known to be on the prowl. A

US counter terrorism official had warned in May: "Bin Laden needs to hit US targets to restore his credibility. If the US investigators in Aden prove Bin Laden's culpability, Afghanistan will be bracketed with cruise missiles.

First, the US has said it will hold the Taliban responsible for Bin Laden's attack. After Washington scuppered an attempt to smuggle explosives into the US in December 1999, the

Bombing of US warship

US counter terrorism coordinator, Michael Sheehan, phoned Kandahar and threatened retaliation.

Second, the US Vice-President Al Gore, will take flak from the Republican Presidential candidate George W Bush, if no action is taken about the 'USS.Cole'. The rightwing Heritage Foundation has accused the Democrats of being soft on Afghanistan.

Islamabad and Kandahar see the danger. 'Jang' carried a Bin Laden statement on

Tuesday warning the US not to attack. The Taliban issued a similar plea. Pakistan's press says the buzzword in Washington is 'retaliation'.

The end result could be to bring US Afghan policy closer to India's. Differences remain. Washington declines to militarily support the Northern Alliance. Many US diplomats are still misty-eyed about the 'Mujahedin', their Cold War allies.

Also, the US puts Kandahar and Islamabad in separate boxes regarding Islamic terrorism. Pakistan distinguishes between terrorists who strike at the West and 'jihadis' who fight in Kashmir. It helps the US fight the former, but not the latter.

The US foiled Bin Laden in 1999 because of a Pakistani tipoff. One senior US diplomat excused the Pakistan-Taliban axis last month saying "Pakistan is rightly concerned about stability on its northern border."

Washington is inching towards a tougher policy. This year, counterterrorism specialists wrested US Afghan policy away from area diplomats.

THE HINDUSTAN TIME

18 OCT 2001

MURARI MOHAN
MUKHERJEE

FIFTH COLUMN

TACTICS TO DEAL WITH TERRORISM

18/10
While addressing the United Nations general assembly at the millennium summit held in New York recently, the prime minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, said that India has been a victim of cross-border terrorism for more than a decade. He also pointed out that international terrorism is the most dangerous of the many threats to peace and democracy in the world today.

According to Vajpayee, terrorism feeds on violence against innocent people and seeks to undermine a plural society. He reacted sharply to General Pervez Musharraf's diatribe against India and termed the general's speech in the UN as "an Orwellian mockery." He pointed out that Pakistan's acquisition of nuclear weapons and delivery systems and its vigorous terrorist campaign has claimed over 30,000 lives in India and sabotaged the historic Lahore peace process. The prime minister has made an appeal to the international community to adopt and implement India's proposal for a comprehensive convention against terrorism.

The pact signed between Vajpayee and Bill Clinton at Washington laid emphasis on combating terrorism and outlined a strategy for bilateral cooperation to deal with this matter.

Security alarm

India's major problem today is how to meet the steady rise in terrorism. At present it faces a three-fold threat. First, terrorism in Kashmir has assumed nightmarish proportions. Militants have been demanding a separate state on the basis of historical, religious and geographical differences. Second, India also faces a threat from the insurgents in the Northeast. Dissatisfied with the Centre's "discriminatory policies" they have been demanding more autonomy. Last, there has been a tremendous upsurge in attacks on civilians.

Another threat to India's security comes from political terrorism. The agents of political terrorism are many — individuals, combat groups and state apparatuses. The target can be the individual, a group, a city or even the whole country. Of the different types of political terrorism, state sponsored terrorism is the most dangerous because of its wide reach and because it is unidimensional.

On August 20, 1998, US military strikes on terrorist bases along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border and in Sudan drew attention to the grave and complex challenge that state-sponsored terrorism posed to the global community. These raids and the growing influence of Osama bin Laden, highlighted the contradictions in the US Cold War policy towards terrorism.

Global terrorism is a post-Cold War phenomenon. Many undercurrents and subterranean forces driven by religious fervour and factional subnationalism have surfaced with vengeance in the aftermath of bipolarity.

Remains of the day

State terrorism has been abetted by the remains of the erstwhile superpower rivalry — as in the case of covert US military aid to Afghan mujahedins on the one hand and monetary support made available through the global narcotics network on the other. Rapid technological advances, particularly in the range of arms and explosives, has further given a fillip to it.

After the Cold War and the US victory over Iraq in 1991, the religious zealotry espoused by militant Muslim groups took on a pan-Islamic sheen. While the US is aware of Pakistan's support for terrorism, it is unwilling to brand it a "terrorist state". The attack on US embassies has nevertheless changed the outlook and after the joint statement issued by Clinton and Vajpayee in New Delhi last March, a review of US policy on terrorism has become more likely.

For effective containment and elimination of terrorism, a serious analysis of the roots, causes, and a comprehensive strategy involving the media and security forces is necessary. An updated intelligence network through collaboration among the security forces can be of immense help in providing information about terrorist targets and sites in advance. Also, public support should be built up against terrorism.

The fact that states often sponsor terrorism as part of their foreign policy is bound to complicate matters. The challenge for India however is to capitalize on the positive turn in US policy, while insisting that international terrorism cannot be fought selectively.

Price of pre-eminence

THE UNITED States is all ways on the lookout for attacks on its missions and overseas installations. Yet the terrorist hit on the USS Cole in Yemen last week came like a bolt from the blue. America was reminded that as it stretches itself to be the lead player in the post-Cold War era, there are costs too, not just monetary but physical, psychological and emotional as well.

America was reminded that as it stretches itself to be the lead player in the post-Cold War era, there are costs also.

SRIDHAR KRISHNASWAMI on the USS Cole incident.

Norfolk, Virginia. The President, Mr. Bill Clinton, was no less emphatic when he declared that those who perpetrated the act against the USS Cole would find no "safe harbour". But beneath all the tough words and thoughtful measures, the big question is always "what can be done".

America has hit out physically in the past after acts of terrorism against it. Only two years ago, in response to the bombing of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that killed 250 people, the Clinton administration let loose Cruise missiles against Sudan and Afghanistan looking for the hideouts of Osama Bin Laden. But this even while the action seems to have made no appreciable dent on terrorism itself.

Forget for a minute that Osama is still around holed up in Afghanistan and taunting the U.S. There are genuine questions as to whether

or the pharmaceutical company that the U.S. destroyed in Sudan was really manufacturing weapons of mass destruction. Further, its owner is suing the U.S. for \$50 million for making false charges as a pretext for the attack.

In the case of the attack on the USS Cole, while publicly there has been a lot of talk about "terrorism", the U.S. has been careful in not saying much about what has been discovered thus far. At the same time, it has left the military option quite open. But the difficulty may not be as much in identifying the terrorists responsible as in pinning the responsibility on a nation-state.

And this is where the problem will always be — identifying a state that openly backs and sponsors terrorists. This makes military retribution all the more difficult and complex. Intelligence specialists look at the 1988 bombing of the Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. The U.S. and Britain sought legal and economic remedies against Libya, not a military response. And after years of investigative work, two Libyan intelligence agents have been indicted and are now on trial in the Netherlands.

But the response to the USS Cole attack could be different if the American intelligence agencies find the handwriting of Osama, even in a remote fashion. The fact that Osama has "warned" Washington not to attack him in Afghanistan is not going to make much of a difference if a determi-



The U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton... worrying scenario.

nation is made that it was indeed his handiwork.

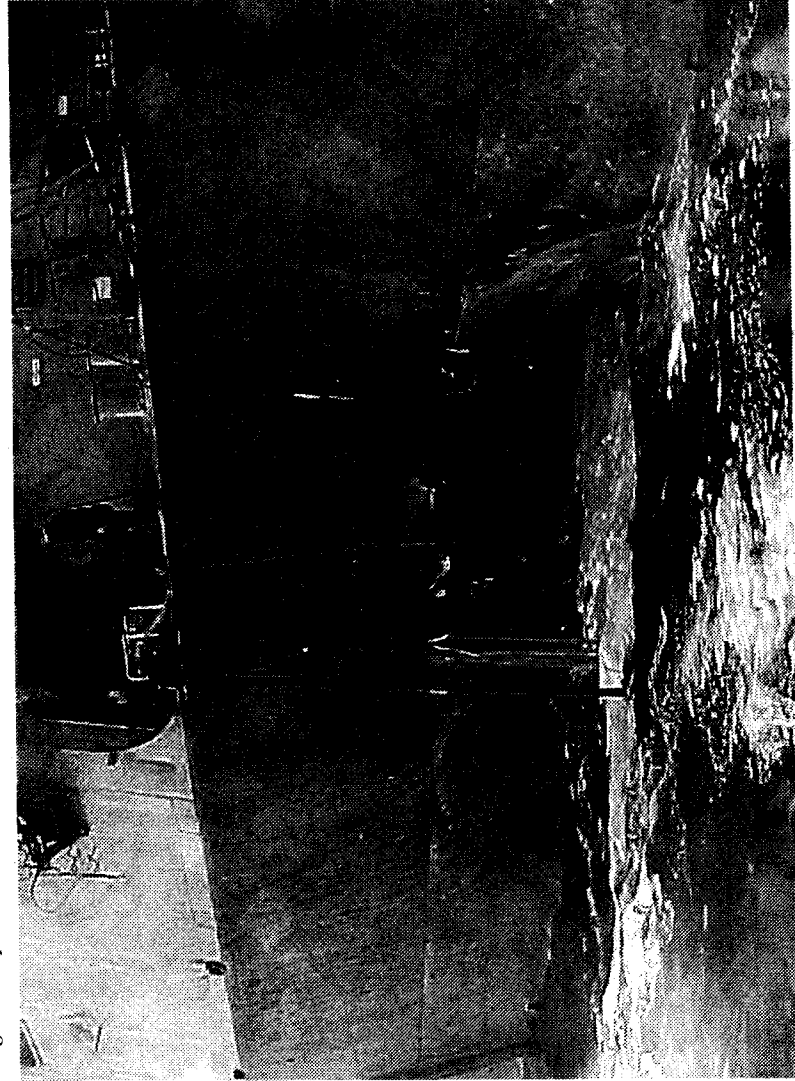
If Washington does exercise its options against Osama, there will be political headaches for the administration at the United Nations and elsewhere, but not insurmountable ones.

Neither Russia nor China, for that matter, seem to have much use for Osama and his followers who operate in different parts of the world.

terrorism sprouts yet more faces. The attack on the U.S. naval destroyer, USS Cole, while it was harboured in Aden brought on display not just the malignant vitality of terrorism but also its ability to manifest in different forms.

For a bomber to convey the explosives to the side of the berthed vessel in a dinghy and set it off, perhaps committing suicide in the process, was right out of the LTTE textbook. But this was perhaps the first time that a terrorist unit had used such a *modus operandi* in West Asia and North Africa. Israeli frogmen have used these methods successfully against Egyptian and Syrian targets and terrorists have driven trucks loaded with explosives, as they did in the successful demolition of the U.S. embassy in Beirut in the 1980s or in East Africa more recently. But the first were carried out by regular service units of a national army while in the examples of the second type the attacks were on land.

It is necessary to labour to prove that the attack on the USS Cole was unique if only to show how terrorism has learnt to operate past the shade of the expected. The sailors on board the destroyer probably had set a deck watch and, post the attacks on the targets in Saudi Arabia, they probably had standing orders on how close and on what conditions they should allow a vehicle to approach their vessel. Then the attack comes not over land but from the sea. And this happens to a warship that has men and women trained to be



The damage to the USS Cole. (Right) Survivors of the attack grieve for their compatriots who were not so lucky.



Hydra-like

Global terrorism's many heads are being chopped down and stomped upon, but with a vitality that even Ravana did not display terrorism sprouts yet more faces, writes KESAVA MENON.

alert for danger. What then of the innocents.

In Algeria, after ten years of civil war, the Government has finally eradicated terrorism from many parts of the country. But people living in areas that have supposedly been cleared still have their throats cut by people who claim to be acting for the masses. Algeria is almost a textbook case which proves that terrorism can never succeed against the power of the state.

Algerian Governments might have talked about "hearts and minds" programmes (i.e. winning over the masses and thereby isolating terrorist groups through socio-economic uplift) but have rarely been able to carry them through. Yet, relying almost solely on the brute power of the state, topped with the offer of amnesty when the pressure was at its highest point, the present Algerian

Government has had far greater success against outfits such as the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) than its predecessors.

Perhaps, an even greater success story has been that of the Egyptian Government in its fight with the Gamaa Islamiya. The Egyptian Government acted far faster than its Algerian counterpart to curb the rising terrorist movement. But by the time it got its act together, the Gamaa was a potent force in the teeming tenements of Cairo and rural belts along the Nile Valley.

Once again the awesome brutal power of the state proved equal to the task and the Gamaa has been crushed by the hard sentences handed down by military courts, the annihilation of some of its leading cadres and the arrest of others.

The Jordanian monarchy, scarred by the threat that militant outfits posed to its own survivability in the 1970s, shows if anything even less patience with nascent terrorist movements than Egypt does. Its sensitised reaction to terrorism is so swift that information related to terrorist activity in the kingdom most often appears in the "news in brief" columns of newspapers outside the country.

Just a few months ago, the Jordanian security forces claimed to have broken up a major terrorist cell affiliated to the dissident Saudi Osama bin Laden and to have arrested some of its leading cadres. Several months before that the then Prince Abdullah (this was well before he was designated as his father's heir or took the throne as Abdullah II) personally led his commando unit in a raid on a terrorist hide-out. It is perhaps a measure of the Jordanian success in this regard that news of a crackdown on terrorist cells in the country is often met with scepticism.

As always when talking of terrorism it is necessary to trot out the aphorism that one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. This aphorism is particularly apt when talking of the Hizbollah in Lebanon or Hamas in the Palestinian territories.

But Hamas and Hizbollah, unlike the GIA or Gamaa, have serious social, economic and political programmes which offer something substantial to their people. Pure terrorist outfits on the other hand have nothing to offer except hate for those who they regard, in a queer reversal of rational perspective, as evil.

For all that, so long as there is a lot of pent up rage and hatred in the world terrorist outfits manage to survive like earthworms no matter how they are crushed.

After 15 years, Kanishka wound is still raw

SANDEEP PHUKAN
NEW DELHI, OCT 29



THE sleepy morning silence at C.S. Malhotra's house was broken when his Toronto-based brother, Raj Malhotra, called up at 5am. His news: The Canadian police had arrested two persons who masterminded the *Kanishka* blast on June 23, 1985.

For the Malhotras the call provoked memories of the tragedy on the Air India (A-I) flight on the Montreal-London-Delhi-Mumbai route. The blast killed their 26-year-old second son, Atul Malhotra, working as an aviation engineer with the Indian Airlines (I-A).

Though the tragedy is 15 years old, the Malhotras have it etched in their minds. "We knew that Atul was arriving on Sunday as he had called from Toronto," says Rakesh, Atul's elder brother. It was a lazy Sunday for him until he received a call from his maternal uncle who used to then work at Palam



Atul's parents and relatives — Express photo by Premnath Pandey says Rakesh.

Rakesh's *mama* called him from Palam at 1.00 noon saying that an A-I flight flying from Montreal crashed off the Irish coast at about 12.45pm (IST). "He had just heard it and wanted me to confirm if Atul was on board or not. I told my parents about it only at 3pm after confirming it from my uncle in Toronto. Those two-hours were very trying."

C.S. Malhotra, Atul's father, also has to deal with the painful memories. He tells us that Atul was slated to fly out from New York on June 16 but had missed his connecting flight from Miami to New York. "The airline — PanAm — didn't allow him to board the aircraft as he was not wearing a jacket and a tie. As per their rules, a first-class passenger

was required to wear formal clothes," Malhotra says. Atul went to Canada to his uncle's place. He would have missed the *Kanishka* flight as well but was allowed to board the plane at Canada because he knew the commander of the aircraft, Captain H.S. Narendar. "I wish he had missed this flight as well," the father says. Though 129 bodies were recovered, Atul's was not of them.

"We gave up after waiting for nine days," says Malhotra, trying to hold back his tears. "My brother had flown in from Canada while my wife's brother had flown down from India to search for his body."

Atul's mother, Santosh, says: "His name is the first on the memorial which has been set up at the crash site."

The Malhotras visited it the year after they lost their son.

"It's all destiny and nothing can bring back our son. God is the biggest giver of justice and who are we to question it," he says.

"We are very happy that even after 15 years the people behind the crash have been arrested. The message should be that nobody should be able to go scot-free," says Rakesh. His father nods in agreement.

My son is religious man: Bagri's mother

'In his free time, he recites Gurbani and even sleeps very little at night'

Rajinder S. Taggar
Chak Kalan, (Jalandhar) Oct 29

THE 71-YEAR old Rattan Kaur, mother of Ajaib Singh Bagri who was arrested yesterday in Canada for the Kanishka air crash, cannot reconcile to the charge of her son being "involved" in the mass murder of 1985.

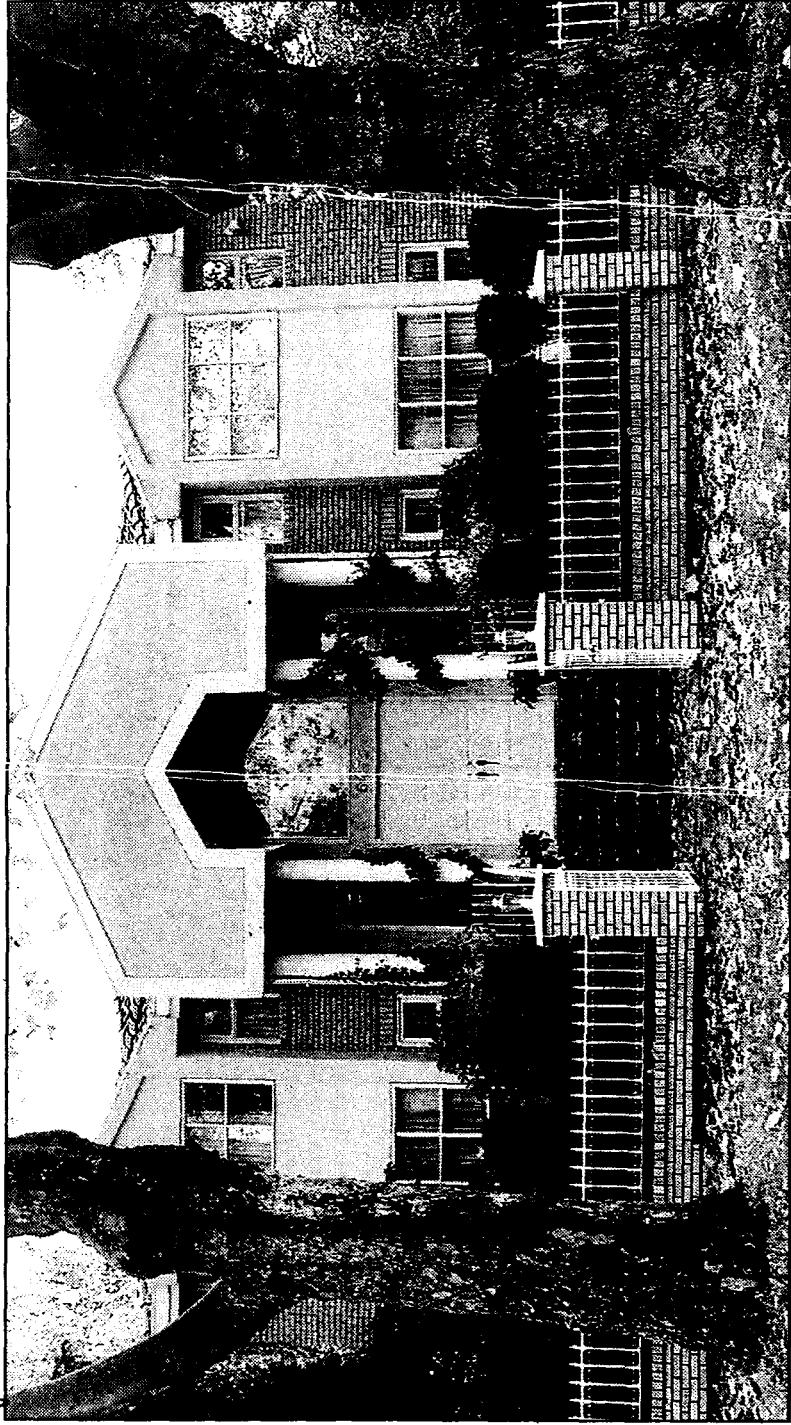
Mrs Kaur was shocked when, during her morning visit to the village Gurdwara today, one pointedly asked her about the fate of Ajaib Singh. Till then, Kaur had no information about the arrest of her son by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).

"Why shouldn't I be pained at the troubles of my son, I am a mother and every mother feels sad if her progeny gets into troubles of this kind," replied Mrs Rattan Kaur with moist eyes.

For her, Ajaib Singh, who migrated to Canada in 1970 while studying in BA II, is an extremely religious and good-doer. "He in his free time recites Gurbani and even sleeps very little in the night," recollects the mother.

Intersecting in the dialogue, Piara Singh, younger brother of Ajaib Singh, disclosed that Ajaib Singh had never talked about Khalistan or his hurt feelings after the Operation Blue Star, although he had been visiting his village quite often.

Piara Singh is youngest of the five Bagri brothers who look after the ancestral house and land in the village, while three of his elder brothers and a sister are settled in Canada since 70s. The



The Vancouver residence of millionaire Ripudaman Singh Malik. Photo:AFP

eldest of them is settled in England since 1957. Ajaib's elder brother Sarwan Singh, who works in a mill in Canada, is currently on a visit to his native village, which is second after he moved out of India in 1972.

Admits Sarwan Singh, "Ajaib had been a member of the Babbar Khalsa International (BKI) like some others in Canada." But,

Whether he had ever advised Ajaib Singh to desist from terrorist activities, Sarwan Singh said that he did not brook any interference in his life. "You have your life to look after, why do you bother about me," Ajaib once told his elder brother who lives in Sarh. Ajaib Singh has four daughters and a son.

Sarwan Singh said that the

Khalistani groups did not have much following now in Canada.

A young nephew of Ajaib Singh, dressed in a Jean and Lewis shirt, is not too sure whether his grandfather Shankar Singh, 75, will be able to withstand the news of his arrest. This correspondent is advised not to insist on meeting Ajaib's father who was busy in the farm.

End to terrorism holds the key

By C. Raja Mohan

ND-17
NEW DELHI, NOV. 20. India hopes that its latest initiative for a ceasefire in Kashmir will expand the constituency for peace in the valley without letting up in any way its demand for an end to cross-border terrorism from Pakistan, according to highly placed sources in the Government.

Pakistan, however, remains skeptical about the Indian move. And its reaction today reflects the deep apprehensions in Islamabad that New Delhi may be attempting to divide the militancy in Kashmir and marginalise Pakistan from the incipient peace process in the valley.

India has good reasons to be pleased with the positive international reaction to its unilateral ceasefire, but it is not entirely convinced that Pakistan is ready for a substantive engagement with India to resolve the outstanding disputes.

Some in the Government are convinced that like in the earlier move by India to negotiate with the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, Pakistan will only try and scuttle any attempt by the militant groups to negotiate with New Delhi. The initial response from Pakistan today tends to confirm the worst-case analysis in India.

The prospects for a peace process in the valley are going to be determined by three sets of issues that are in play — modalities of a peace process, de-escalation of the violence in Kashmir, and the perceived motivations of the three actors involved — India, Pakistan and the militant groups.

The Indian initiative a few months ago to engage the Hizb collapsed at the insistence of the group's leadership based in Pakistan that Islamabad must be a party to any dialogue between New Delhi and the militants.

In its reaction to the Indian move today, Pakistan has emphasised the importance of a dialogue between the two nations in which the leadership of Kashmiri militants must participate. Indian officials, however, say there is "no hope in hell" that New Delhi will ever agree to a "tripartite dialogue" to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

India says it is ready to talk to any militant group that puts down the gun. Its unilateral ceasefire is a demonstration of its political good faith. New Delhi has also proclaimed that it will engage Pakistan the moment there is evidence of a cessation of cross-border terrorism.

In short, India is prepared for two different tracks of dialogue when there is a conducive

NEWS ANALYSIS

climate — one with the militant groups and the other with Pakistan. Pakistan says it wants a single table for the negotiations that involves all three parties.

Can this hurdle be overcome? If Pakistan ends cross-border terrorism and allows the militant groups to negotiate with India, it should be possible for every one to proclaim a victory on the question of modalities. India will be engaging both Pakistan and the militant groups; and Islamabad, in any event, is in direct contact with the insurgents.

All three tracks can proceed ahead, when there is a reduction of cross-border terrorism. Islamabad and the militants can declare that there is a "triangular" engagement, and India can insist that they are two different tracks of dialogue.

That brings us to the question of de-escalating the ground situation in Kashmir that in-

volves quietening military exchanges on the line of control, ending cross-border infiltration, and reduction of violence in the State.

India wants to see credible evidence of a change in the ground situation on these three elements. But Islamabad today appears to have tied its willingness to deescalate cross-border terrorism to moves by New Delhi to reduce the "repression" in Kashmir. India, on the other hand, points out that the large Indian military presence in Kashmir has been necessitated by Pakistan's support for cross-border terrorism.

Can the two sides finesse the question of "sequencing" and take steps that facilitate a movement forward? If Pakistan can rein in the militant groups during Ramzan, India would have no problem in redeploying its military in the valley. In short, reciprocal steps by both could change the overall dynamic in Kashmir.

The third set of issues relate to motivation. Given the deep distrust of each other's intentions, India and Pakistan will have to find a way to signal the intentions behind their moves and not allow the peace process to be derailed by bald statements. The question of sincerity can be only addressed by intensive communication and letting the process go forward, without prejudice to their long-standing positions on the Kashmir dispute.

The key to a successful peace process may lie in Pakistan controlling the Jihadi groups during the month of Ramzan from engaging in cross-border terrorism. If the signals come through clearly, India will be in a position to take the necessary reciprocal steps to further deescalate the situation. And that could open up diplomatic space for exploring a credible and durable solution to the Kashmir dispute between the two nations.

21 NOV 2006

21 NOV 2006

Afghanistan a real threat, says Russia

518
Terrorism
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Nov. 20 —
Russia sees a ray of hope with
trilateral cooperation among
New Delhi, Washington and
Moscow to fight against
international terrorism.

Russia's deputy minister for
foreign affairs, Mr. VI
Trubnikov, said that the
Taliban-controlled Afgha-
nistan is a real terrorist
danger.

He further said that there
was a 'lot of scope' for trilateral
cooperation to combat the
terrorism menace including
the threat posed by Osama Bin
Laden.

Mr Trubnikov said the area of
cooperation should not be
confined to Laden's activities
alone. Its scope should be
much wider.

"Without internal peace in
Afghanistan, we will see every
now and then the threat of
terrorism and narcotic drugs
emanating from the territory
controlled by the Taliban," he
said. Russia would also talk to
the US on the issue of
terrorism.

Mr Trubnikov, leading a
high-level Russian delegation,
attended the first meeting of
the Indo-Russian joint working
group on Afghanistan.

THE STATESMAN

21 NOV 2000

Militants spurn ceasefire offer

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE & Agencies

ISLAMABAD/NEW DELHI, Nov. 20.

The United Jihad Council, representing 14 militant groups in Jammu and Kashmir, today rejected the Centre's Ramzan ceasefire announcement, while Pakistan said it would wait and watch.

"What is the point of the ceasefire? They stop killing for one month and then start killing again," said the council's chairman, Syed Salahuddin, who is also the Hizbul Mujahideen chief. "This limited ceasefire has no meaning without a meaningful dialogue. As long as this remains unresolved, there will remain general unrest and the danger of a nuclear outbreak."

The Hizb chief's rejection followed that of Al Badar, which said it was

planning 'operations' during the holy month that starts at the end of November. "The announcement is one more attempt to misguide world opinion. Our jihad will continue until Indian forces withdraw from occupied Kashmir." Al Badar opposed the Hizb's ceasefire announcement in July. It did not, however, oppose Hizb's repeated demands of a reciprocal ceasefire offer from the government.

The Lashkar-e-Tayyaba also rejected the Ramzan offer and vowed to step up its activities. "This is a drama," said the Lashkar spokesman. "Jihad is a sacred mission and we will continue it in Ramzan."

Harkat-ul-Mujahideen termed the announcement as an "eyewash". "We reject it outright," said Harkat, alleging that "India is trying to fool the world community". It, too, threatened

to accelerate its activities during Ramzan.

Pakistan's Jamaat-e-Islami also called the offer a "deception". "The mujahideen should not accept this and should coordinate their efforts during Ramazan. The jihad should continue," said the Jamaat spokesman.

Pakistan said it would "closely watch" the developments and the "intent and purpose" of New Delhi's announcement. The views of the Kashmiri leadership, specially the Hurriyat Conference, would be important, the foreign office spokesman said.

"We cannot overlook the fact that India tried to exploit Hizbul's ceasefire offer by sowing dissension within the freedom movement, excluding Pakistan from negotiations," he said.

China refrained from commenting, but hoped New Delhi and Islamabad

would resolve their differences through peaceful means. Russia and Britain welcomed the unilateral offer and hoped Pakistan and militants would respond positively. "India's initiative should be respected and Pakistan should follow suit," said the British minister of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs, Mr Peter Hain.

The CPI and the CPI-M welcomed the offer and urged the Centre to follow it up with constructive political steps. But the CPI-M Politburo said it was not clear how the government proposed to move for a political settlement. It maintained that greater autonomy was a must.

Dr Farooq Abdullah said the ceasefire was the "first major step towards peace which would gradually lead to bigger steps". He said the ceasefire could be extended "if all goes well".

The chief minister said he had anticipated that some groups would object to it as "their bread and butter lie in killing innocents... Let the world know who wants killings and who wants peace". Praising the Prime Minister, he said the gesture has been received well in the state and even the Hurriyat was divided on the issue.

Amanullah call: The JKLF leader, Mr Amanullah Khan, has asked the PoK Prime Minister, Mr Sultan Mehmud, the Muslim Conference leader, Mr Sardar Abdul Qayum Khan, and the Jamaat to hold talks with Kashmiri leaders currently in Pakistan for his daughter's wedding.

RDX haul: Delhi Police today said it had arrested a hardcore Hizb militant with 2.5 kg of RDX, with which he planned to carry out explosions during Ramzan.

THE STATESMAN

21 NOV 2000

Militants on Thackeray mission nabbed

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

MUMBAI, Nov. 23. — Four Lashkar-e-Taiyaba militants were nabbed in a dawn raid in Thane today. The ultras' mission — codenamed "Bharat ka sitara bujha" — was to kill Mr Bal Thackeray, and blow up the RSS headquarters at Nagpur and vital installations like Bombay High.

Tipped off by the Intelligence Bureau, a police team of 30 commandos and 10 officers swooped down on the second floor of Greenwood Complex on Ghodbunder Road, where the terrorists were sleeping.

Though taken by surprise, the militants put up a stiff fight, firing three rounds at the police. The Lashkar's regional commander Mourkya Hamza Ali alias Habibullah Saibullah, a karate black belt, gave the cops a tough time. Finally,

pushed into a corner by 12 policemen, Ali jumped out of a window. He was taken to a local hospital with fractured limbs.

The police team had been ordered not to fire and avoid casualties. At least half a dozen policemen were injured in the 15-minute operation, Thane police commissioner Mr Surendra Mohan Shengare said.

The militants had one AK-56, three hand grenades of Pakistani make, and two live magazines with them. Each grenade is believed to be powerful enough to raze a three-storeyed building. None of the militants has a passport.

Three of the terrorists — Mohammed Yasin Fateh Mohammed, Mohammed Syed Niyaz and Mohammed Afzal Shahad — were produced

before the press today. Yasin and Niyaz are from Faisalabad, while Shahad comes from Lahore. Their commander Ali is from Muzaaffarabad, the capital of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

Shahad had been camping in the state for the past six months and possessed maps of several key installations.

On interrogation, the three militants said they — along with Ali — had visited Mumbai, Nagpur and Pune over the past six weeks, doing a recon of the RSS headquarters and Mr Thackeray's home, Matoshree.

Hamza Ali was the Lashkar's man in-charge of the region from Mumbai to Kerala.

Police said Ali and another militant had joined the rest of the team two, holed up in Thane for the five to six days, only last evening.



Relatives of truck driver Madan Singh, killed in J&K on Tuesday, mourn over his body in Jammu on Thursday. — AP/PTI

THE STATESMAN

24 NOV 2000

Kanishka suspects face trial

FROM ALLAN DOWD

Vancouver, Oct. 31 (Reuters) — More than 15 years after the death of 329 people in history's deadliest act of aviation sabotage, two suspected Sikh extremists appeared in court on Monday to face murder charges.

Ajaib Singh Bagri and Ripudaman Singh Malik entered no pleas, but Malik's attorney denied his client was responsible for the 1985 bombing of Air-India's *Kanishka* over the Atlantic and an explosion at Tokyo's Narita airport that killed two people.

"There is no evidence at all, other than a few people who don't like Malik," Terry LaLiberte told reporters outside the Vancouver Provincial courthouse after a judge ordered the suspects to remain in custody.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police said they have arrested a third person in the Vancouver area late on Sunday in connection with the bombings.

Media reports in Vancouver

on Monday said the latest suspect to be arrested was Hardial Singh Johal, a prominent member of the Vancouver Sikh community and outspoken advocate of an independent Sikh homeland in Punjab. Police said more arrests were expected, and Monday's hearing marks only the start of what is expected to be one of the longest and most complicated court cases in Canadian history.

Malik, a wealthy Vancouver businessman, and Bagri, a British Columbia sawmill worker, appeared separately before the judge in hearings that lasted less than a minute.

LaLiberte lashed out at what he said was mistreatment of his client because he appeared in court wearing a cloth bag to cover his hair rather than with a turban headpiece that is required of devoted Sikhs.

"It is an insult to Malik and his religion," LaLiberte told the courtroom, which was packed with supporters and relatives of the defendants who were arrested Friday.

The bombings were thought to be intended, in part, to avenge the army's 1984 storming of the Golden Temple — Sikhism's holiest shrine. The bombing was thought to have been planned in British Columbia, which has one of the largest Sikh populations outside of India.

Air-India Flight 182 was blown out of the sky June 23, 1985, off the Irish coast while on route from Toronto and Montreal to India via London by what was believed to be a suitcase bomb.

The Tokyo suitcase bomb had exploded in the airport about an hour earlier while being transferred to another Air-India plane that carried more than 170 people. Two luggage handlers were killed and four other people injured.

Malik and Bagri were both prominent members of the fundamentalist wing of the Sikh religion in western Canada. They are also alleged to be connected with Babbar Khalsa, which has waged a violent campaign for a Sikh homeland.

Talwinder Singh Parmar, a founder of the Babbar Khalsa who was killed by Indian police in 1992, was named by Canadian authorities on Friday as an unindicted co-conspirator.

Authorities also named Inderjit Singh Reyat as an unindicted co-conspirator for the Air-India bombing. Reyat, of Duncan, B.C., was convicted of building the bomb that exploded in Tokyo and is in the last year of a 10-year sentence.

Police have said the arrests on Friday have prompted a number of witnesses to come forward with information they had been afraid to provide before.

Security was tight at the court in downtown Vancouver.

Plans by a Punjab chief minister, Parkash Singh Badal to make an official visit to British Columbia have been scuttled in the wake of the arrests. Officials have declined to say why Badal's visit has been cancelled, but reports in Canada and India said it was because of security concerns.

THE TELEGRAPH

1 NOV 2000

Journal 1/11 Flight to Terror

Prakash Bedi lost his entire family when Kanishka, the plane carrying them burst in mid-air. Like him, there are parents, brothers and sisters who mourn their loved ones. For all of them, the only good news in a long time has been the completion of investigation into that gruesome tragedy. Indeed, the government of Canada and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police deserve to be complimented on finally getting to the bottom of the worst-ever terroristic act perpetrated against a passenger airliner. The 1985 mid-air explosion of Kanishka which killed all aboard did not receive as much global attention as the sabotage of the PanAm 103 flight over Lockerbie in 1988. From the beginning it was suspected that the 747 airliner went down over the Irish sea as a result of a bomb planted by Khalistani terrorists based in Canada. What made investigation far more difficult in the case of Kanishka was that it went down an ocean. Again, unlike in the case of the US airliner where the relatives of the passengers formed an association and lobbied hard to put pressure on investigators to get at the truth, the Kanishka explosion could not generate and sustain analogous pressure. That makes it all the more creditable that the Canadian police pursued the case to its end. In both cases, unlike in other cases of aerial hijacking, the motive appears to be vendetta. The Khalistani extremists wanted to take revenge for 'Operation Blue Star' while there are allegations that PanAm 103 was brought down to avenge the mistaken shooting down of an Iranian airbus over the Gulf by the US navy. The Palestinian hijacking of airliners in 1970 initiated the era of frisking and hand luggage search of air passengers. The Kanishka tragedy brought in the X-raying of checked baggage as a routine necessary precaution in air travel.

Kanishka was one of the high points of separatist terrorism which assumed international dimensions because of the subcontinental diaspora in North America and Europe. The long and bitter campaign of terrorism that followed in Punjab, in turn, encouraged Pakistan to unleash the proxy war, first in Kashmir and then in the north-east. Dealing with international terrorism and successfully countering it in this globalised and integrated international environment requires long-term anticipatory planning and intelligence-gathering capability on the part of national authorities and collaboration with other friendly intelligence organisations sharing similar interests. The lesson from Kanishka is that the war against terrorism will be long and sustained. There are various national and international elements who are opposed to India's emergence as a pluralist, democratic, secular and economically strong country. The cyber age may unfold new forms of terrorism. We can no longer afford to be reactive in our decision-making as that will place the country at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the advances in techniques available to terrorists. We should not be paranoid. At the same time, though, we need to develop skills that will protect us from future perpetrators of Kanishkas. We have, however, a history of evading harsh realities. The price for security, as for freedom, is eternal vigilance.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

1 NOV 2000

BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

AFTER FIFTEEN LONG years, the Canadian police have made the first arrests in relation to the conspiracy to blow up Air India's 'Kanishka' Boeing 747. It was one of the worst disasters in aviation history, killing 329 passengers and crew, off Ireland, as the aircraft was readying for landing at London's Heathrow airport on its way from Toronto-Montreal in June 1985. A similar plot had also been hatched to blow up another Air India aircraft scheduled to fly the Tokyo-Bangkok sector, but the explosives blew up earlier killing two loaders. The Canadian authorities launched a global investigation to get to the bottom of the conspiracy and finally detained at least two Sikhs based in Canada. Considering the time taken, one can only hope that the investigators have completely tied up the case to ensure that justice is finally delivered.

The Kanishka bombing shook the entire aviation world, raising basic questions on security and also throwing an open challenge to India in the aftermath of 'Operation Bluestar' in Punjab and the assassination of Indira Gandhi soon after. It was a sad end to the lives of over 300 people — mostly Canadian citizens of Indian origin. They were on the flight to meet up with relatives in India when the aircraft exploded before landing in London. The investigations into the crash proved conclusively that it was a mid-air explosion. It was, thereafter, left to the Canadian authorities, from where Air India's flight 182 took off, to unravel the conspiracy and nab the culprits behind the bombing. It may be difficult to explain why it took the Canadian investigators so long, but when it involves several countries it takes time. In a majority of the aviation crashes involving sabotage or bombing, countries have been able to track down the culprits. A case in point relates to the blowing up of a PanAm flight over Lockerbie in 1988 for which two Libyan suspects were finally handed over for trial in the Netherlands just last

year. It is only the air crashes where technical and manufacturing flaws are involved that the mystery remains unsolved.

In the Kanishka case, two of the accused have been named while a third person was arrested but not charged. Ripudaman Singh Malik and Ajaib Singh Bagri, both now in their 50s, were part of the Sikh diaspora in Canada that was affected by 'Operation Bluestar' and the ugly phase of terrorism that rocked Punjab in the 1980s. It was one of those dastardly acts of terrorism which have now become commonplace acquiring a trans-national character. What wrong did those innocent passengers, including women and children, do that they should have been so brutally killed in mid-air? One of the accused seems to have been a fairly influential ethnic leader in his community and this could spark fresh problems for Sikhs there.

Having arrested the accused and charged them under eight different counts, including first-degree murder, the Canadian investigators must bring to book all the co-conspirators in the double conspiracy. Only the sternest of sentences can assuage the families of the Kanishka victims. With international terrorism posing a major challenge to Governments around the world, it is imperative to act together. Be it in the aviation sector or in the bombing of high-profile targets/buildings, the international community must launch determined action to nab all conspirators and bring them to justice. Countries providing them refuge or a safe haven to escape from the long arm of the law must also be dealt with firmly. Now that they Canadian police have laid the charges, they must move swiftly to bring them to trial to produce all the evidence they have gathered to prove them guilty. That is the least they can do in memory of the innocent victims.

THE HINDU

8 NOV 2000

India, U.S. to intensify anti-terrorism drive

WASHINGTON: The U.S. has pledged full support of G-8 nations to an Indian proposal for a UN convention on terrorism and agreed with New Delhi to take their cooperation against it to a higher plane.

At a meeting between foreign secretary Lalit Mansingh and U.S. under secretary of state Thomas Pickering at the State Department on Friday, the U.S. also shared India's concerns about the growth of narcotics traffic "in our neighbourhood, especially in Afghanistan," Mr Mansingh said.

The talks, which combined a third round of regular Indo-U.S. consultations at the foreign secretary level with the agenda for Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to Washington, also included discussions on the possibilities of renewing the Fulbright agreement.

Referring to Mr Vajpayee's visit, Mr Mansingh said his schedule would be expanded in Washington to enable those he was to have met on the West Coast to interact with him but, in New York, "we will have to provide some period of rest after the hectic programme" before his visit to Washington.

The foreign secretary also ruled out any meeting between Mr Vajpayee and Pakistan's military ruler General Pervez Musharraf in New York, adding there was also no role for Islamabad in the discussions on Kashmir between "our authorities and our people in Kashmir. We have given our assessment to the Americans of the prevailing situation in Jammu and Kashmir."

On the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, he said that India's stance that a consensus had to evolve on the issue remained the same, adding on both the CTBT and the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty the gap between the the countries' positions had been narrowed but not yet bridged. The subject of U.S. sanctions against India was, however, not brought up in the two-day talks, Mr Mansingh said, pointing out that the Americans "very well know our opposition to sanctions. We consider them to be counter-productive and ineffective but we have not appealed to them to remove them."

Despite sanctions, he said, there was extensive cooperation between India and the U.S. especially in the field of science and technology. (PTI)

OF INDIA

Pak to clip wings of militants favouring peace in Kashmir

Our Political Bureau

NEW DELHI 3 SEPTEMBER

CONTINUING WITH its sabotage of the efforts to put an end to violence in Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan has mounted a major campaign to marginalise the pro-peace sections within the Hizbul Mujahideen and Jamaat-i-Islami.

A plan for clipping the wings of those militants who favoured the ill-fated peace process in July-August, was approved by the new chief of the ISI, Brigadier Usmani, on last Thursday.

It was based on the inputs provided by Dr Ayub Thokar, UK-based ideologue of militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, who was called to Islamabad for "urgent consultations."

The strategy is not restricted to just the "usual suspects" like the deputy commander of Hizbul Mujahideen, Majeed Dar, or G.M. Batt, the chief of Jamaat-i-Islami, who favoured the peace process disregarding Islamabad's known

preferences to the contrary.

It also seeks to check the Hizbul Commander, Shaikh Salahuddin. Though Salahuddin played the trusted pupil, obliging his mentors by calling off the ceasefire on August 8, his recent statement that Hizbul could consider sliding into a political role has not gone down well with the ISI establishment.

Reports reaching here have it that the ISI sees in Salahuddin's statement a longing for political power which has remained unfulfilled since he, contesting as a MUF nominee, was made to lose the 1997 assembly election by what is widely perceived to be fraudulent methods.

The ISI's notion is that promises of honourable accommodation in a re-launched political process could bring that desire back on the surface. In any case, Salahuddin cannot be stoic to the limelight he has basked in since the ceasefire was

announced.

The pre-emptive plan seeks to debar the Hizbul from playing any political role by laying down the line that it is a militant organisation and should remain so.

The diktat is to come from the United Jihad Council where Kazi Hussain, Amir (chief) of Jamaat-i-Islami, Pakistan, and Abdul Rashid Turabi, Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami, PoK, are expected to read out the riot act to Salahuddin.

Indications are that the entire United Jihad Council could be revamped to ensure that the Hizbul and Salahuddin are disabused of their desire to consider any option other than jihad.

The inclusion of Batt and Dar in the 'hit list' is no surprise. Batt, known for his hardline views on theological matters, has remained a major disappointment to Islamabad since he took the line that peace takes precedence over everything else.

Terrorism to dominate UN millennium summit

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

UNHQ, Sept. 4. — Cross-border terrorism, nuclear disarmament, poverty eradication and strategy for fighting deadly diseases are expected to come under close scrutiny at the three-day UN millennium summit beginning on Wednesday.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee is scheduled to address the summit on the last day, Friday. He is expected to give India's vision of the 21st century, call for fighting international terrorism which threatens to destabilise democratic societies and commend an international convention against terrorism. Terrorism will be on the mind of

most nations, including the USA and western powers. Recent reports that Osama bin Laden has declared a "jihad" against Jews has added urgency to the need to tackle terrorism. Mr Bill Clinton, who'll be the first speaker, is expected to give a call for fighting terrorism and other speakers pick up the theme.

More than 150 world leaders are scheduled to speak and each has been asked to restrict the presentation to five minutes. They could, however, circulate bigger texts for record.

At the end of the debate, the leaders would make some very ambitious commitments, including ensuring primary education for all children by 2015.

They would also commit to control and reverse HIV/AIDS and stop environment degradation.

But, analysts say 2015 is too far off to make the pledge relevant and commitments for funds is next to nil. The targets, they fear, will remain only pious words on the paper unless massive funds are granted to poor countries.

The wording and content of the declaration is causing a lot of headaches to diplomats who have been meeting constantly for several weeks to sort out the issues and the language.

Hundreds of protests on several issues and against leaders are on the cards but the authorities don't expect demonstrations to be anywhere of the

size and vehemence witnessed during the World Trade Organisation meeting in Seattle and the World Bank meeting in Washington.

Globalisation is expected to arouse a passionate debate, especially as poor nations are afraid of its consequences and see the UN siding with industrialised nations and their corporations.

Analysts say the fears arise from the fact that globalisation is being driven by the very countries that were responsible for colonisation and most of the corporations actively seeking it belong to them. Added to this, is fact that these are also the powers who decide when and in which conflicts to intervene.

Mr Kofi Annan is aware of the fear, but says arguing against globalisation is like arguing against law of gravity. However, he also said the world should not accept a law that only favours the heavyweights and globalisation should be used to lift people out of poverty and not hold them down.

The related issue expected to be touched on is the pressure from industrialised nations to impose labour and environment standards on the developing countries, knowing fully well that they cannot bear the burden.

The poor from Africa would definitely make a point to call for more aid and debt relief, a subject that the rich are not prepared to discuss in detail.

THE STATESMAN

15 SEP 2000

India, UK to set up JWG on terrorism

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, September 4

INDIA AND Britain are to set up a Joint Working Group (JWG) to ensure close co-ordination over a large number of issues especially terrorism and drug trafficking.

Senior officials of the two countries are expected to meet in London in October to finalise the composition and other parameters of the proposed JWG. The visiting British Home Secretary, Mr Jack Straw, made an announcement to this effect here today after a meeting with his Indian counterpart L.K. Advani.

Mr Straw said the establishment of the JWG was illustrative of the deepening and strengthening of relations between India and the United Kingdom. "As a sequel to over-connection and huge amount of mutual interest between the two countries, it has been decided that the pro-



British Home Secretary Jack Straw with Home Minister L.K. Advani in the New Delhi on Monday. Photo: P rakash Singh

posed JWG should function as a permanent mechanism to counter terrorism and drug trafficking that would give currency to our bilateral relations," he emphasised.

As regard to the proposed improvements in the existing visa-regime for Indians, Mr Straw said the changes are being contemplated for smooth issue of transit papers. "A new visa-regime for Indian entrepreneurs in information technology and e-commerce has come into force from today," he added. He further elaborated that the new regime was expected to ensure immediate visa-papers for the entrepreneurs in the two sectors without the necessary proof of substantial wealth.

Official sources said that Mr Straw and Mr Advani in their 90-minute meeting had covered a large gamut of bilateral relations. On his part, the British Home Secretary indicated that they had taken up the thread from where it was left during Mr Advani recent trip to the UK.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

SEP 4 2000

U.S. set to brand Lashker-e-Toiba a terrorist group

WASHINGTON: The extremist group Lashker-e-Toiba (LET) is on the verge of being designated a foreign terrorist organisation (FTO) by the U.S. and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright may possibly announce its blacklisting during Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to Washington, according to informed sources.

If indeed it happens next week, it would be a gift for India and a tangible manifestation of Washington and New Delhi's joint efforts to combat terrorism, and a slap on the face of Pakistan, particularly at a time when military leader General Pervez Musharraf is in the U.S. participating in the UN Millennium Summit. It is well-known that the LET, which is active in Kashmir, is a Pakistan-sponsored group, which receives significant support from the ISI.

The sources said that during the past few months there had been intense inter-agency deliberations among the U.S. State Department's terrorism bureau, its legal affairs office and the departments of justice and of treasury regarding the legal ramifications of such a designation. Also being debated is the question whether such a listing could justify the criteria that this group was a threat to U.S. security, which the legislation required for an organisation to be listed a FTO.

The sources said that apparently the inter-agency panel that had been working on this issue believed it could be justified, considering the anti-American fervour this group had and its links with Afghan groups, some of which were aligned with Saudi renegade Osama bin Laden.

Consequently, the sources said, the Clinton administration believed it had an iron-clad case which it could strongly defend in

court if the designation was challenged.

The administration believed it had sufficient independent evidence collected through its own intelligence that linked the LET to recent massacres in Kashmir that were essentially aimed at torpedoing the negotiations between the Hizbul Mujahideen and the Indian government following the former's unilateral cease-fire in late July.

Evidently, the LET's involvement in the recent massacres, according to the sources, were what had tipped the scales vis-a-vis a consensus within the inter-agency panel that the group's activities clearly made it eligible for the dubious designation, which meant that any support—either financial or material—by any one or any group in the US could result in civil and criminal penalties.

Meanwhile, dreaded militant Farooq Ahmed Bhat alias Farooq Ansari was killed in an encounter with security forces, while one person was injured and another abducted by militants in Doda district on Wednesday, an official spokesman said.

Rashtriya Rifle (RR) troops, after a three-hour gun battle in Kalamat forests, eliminated Ansari, who was the provincial chief commander of the Hizbul Mujahideen for Doda and Udhampur districts and had masterminded the August 13 blast on the national highway in Kud in which several BSF personnel were killed.

Ansari had recently returned from Pakistan after being conferred with a "prestigious" ISI award, the spokesman said.

Troops were continuing search operations to track down another high-ranking militant and the slain militant's brother Shakeel Ansari, he said. (IANS & Agencies)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

30 SEP 2000

Vajpayee takes Pak to task at UN meet

'Terrorism and dialogue do not go together' *'Don't cloak cross-border terrorism as jihad'*

By Ramesh Chandran
The Times of India News Service

The Times of India News Service

NEW YORK: Echoing the theme of international terrorism from his earlier speech to the Asia Society, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee in his address to the United Nations Millennium Summit said "terrorism and dialogue do not go together" and that the "acid test of sincerity of purpose is not words but deeds".

In a thinly-veiled reference to Pakistan's General Pervez Musharraf's remarks to the gathering on Thursday, Mr Vajpayee with razor-sharp rhetoric said that "many statesmanlike words have been delivered from this high tribune — unfortunately, some of them are an Orwellian mockery".

The Indian Prime Minister's contention was that "those who stifled democracy at home, speak of freedom from this forum" and those who have "engaged in the clandestine acquisition of nuclear weapons and delivery systems talk of ridding South Asia of these".

In this scathing vein, he continued that those who had "repudiated solemn covenants talk of new agreements to prevent war" and that the authors of a "vicious terrorist campaign that has claimed more than 30,000 innocent lives in India and who had actively sabotaged a historic peace initiative" were now offering new initiatives for dialogue.

Mr Vajpayee made no overt references to Kashmir but instead focussed on the violent cross-border terrorism exported from the neighbourhood and spoke on expansive issues ranging from the need of a new financial architecture to strengthen multilateral institutions, the universal concern over the debt burden, the need for economic interdependence to be based on the principle of non-discrimination and of course the universal demand for nuclear disarmament.

Mr Vajpayee told the UN gathering that India had been compelled to conduct nuclear tests because the spread of nuclear weapons in the neighbourhood had made it "especially vulnerable". But he added, "Nevertheless, our policy is based on responsibility and restraint and we continue to press for universal, verifiable nuclear disarmament with undiminished commitment even while safeguarding our strategic space and autonomy in decision-making."

NEW YORK: In one of his toughest speeches he has made at a public forum, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee warned Pakistan not to "cloak cross-border terrorism as jihad" and not to misread India's "generosity of spirit and desire for friendly relations as weakness".

Addressing a select gathering at Asia Society on Thursday within hours of his landing in New York, Mr Vajpayee said that Pakistan had "consciously" opted to pursue the path of hostility by promoting terrorism in different parts of India.

Mr Vajpayee told an audience of 500 at the Waldorf

Astoria's Grand Ballroom that in the "face of extreme provocation, we have shown patience and restraint" and that the "proliferation of practitioners of medieval religious extremism in the neighbourhood was only one of the factors that have contributed to cross-border terrorism". However, he

said, it had provided a "convenient cloak to disguise the aggression on our civil society — the cloak of jihad". The Prime Minister pointed out that India had repeatedly taken new initiatives for dialogue with Pakistan, including his bus diplomacy to Lahore — and Pakistan had responded by sparking off the Kargil conflict.

Mr Vajpayee reminded his audience: "The history of that episode is well known — Pakistan had suffered a military and diplomatic defeat." The Prime Minister also listed a catalogue of Pakistan-sponsored atrocities in its "painful record" of cross-border terrorism — the hijack of an IA airliner, the massacre of 40 innocent Sikhs during U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to India in March, the savage slaying of more than 100 pilgrims. Mr Vajpayee told the Asia Society fund-raiser, which was a \$ 1,000 a head event and comprised of a number of eminent Americans and prominent Indian-Americans, that Indians were a "patient people and have persevered in the search for a peaceful settlement with Pakistan in the conviction that war is in nobody's interest" but it was determined to "preserve and protect our national interests". He warned that none should "doubt that India has the means and the will to protect her territorial integrity, secular unity and communal harmony".

THUS SPAKE VAJPAYEE

- PM slams Pakistan for cross-border terrorism
- India was forced to go nuclear
- We are committed to dialogue
- U.S. and India are natural allies

THE TIMES OF INDIA

9 SEP 2000

Focus on terrorism ^{MF-10}

AS IS evident from some of the points made by Atal Behari Vajpayee in his address to the UN millennium summit, few Pakistani leaders have had lesser credibility in recent times than that country's present Chief Executive. It is not only the corporate-style designation which underlines General Pervez Musharraf's unconstitutional position, his coup was also known to have been conducted as a measure of self-preservation. It was his sacking by the then democratically elected Pakistani Prime Minister which made the army chief take the reins into his own hands, implicate the political leaders in all kinds of cases and handpick a judiciary to give a verdict approving of the coup. For such a man to shed tears about the absence of 'freedom' in Kashmir is ridiculous.

It was this telling point which Mr Vajpayee made when he said that "those who have stifled democracy at home speak of freedom". Similarly, the Indian Prime Minister's castigation of "those who have actively sabotaged a historic peace initiative" are now talking of "new agreements" effectively exposes the treacherous policy which Pakistan is following, for it is no secret that when the Lahore declaration was being drafted, General Musharraf was feverishly engaged in his Kargil misadventure behind Nawaz Sharif's back, as the latter has revealed. No less damning is Mr Vajpayee's reminder of Pakistan's "clandestine acquisition" of nuclear weapons while he mocked at its current advocacy of disarmament.

But perhaps the most significant reiteration of India's stand was Mr Vajpayee's reference to the fact that "terrorism and dialogue do not go together". Although the point has been made before, it needed to be mentioned in front of a world audience to underscore why India, whose Prime Minister went out of his way to visit Lahore, should now be reluctant to talk to Pakistan. The reason is that Pakistan is now in the grip of elements whose rule not only lacks legitimacy but who seem to be driven by the medieval concept of *jihad* or holy war against infidels. The open manner in which various *jehadi* groups operate in Pakistan, uttering dire threats against India, and the close involvement of these militants with official Pakistani agencies like the ISI in organising acts of terrorism in Kashmir and elsewhere in India leave little scope for any purposeful dialogue with Islamabad. Talks by themselves are meaningless unless there is a genuine desire for peace. Of all the Governments in Pakistan, the present one shows the least inclination in this respect. //

PM turns the spotlight on Pak-sponsored terrorism

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, September 14

PRIME MINISTER Atal Behari Vajpayee today began his official US visit by turning the spotlight on Pakistan's cross-border terrorism and making out a case for redoubled Indo-US efforts to combat the menace over a broad front.

Addressing the US Congress, Mr Vajpayee said no country had faced as ferocious an attack of terrorist violence as India over the past two decades: 21,000 were killed by foreign-sponsored terrorists in Punjab alone; 16,000 have been killed in Jammu & Kashmir.

Without naming Pakistan, he spoke of the fashioning of terrorism into an instrument of state policy in the name of religious war in India's neighbourhood. Unlike his address to the Asia Society in New York last week, Mr Vajpayee did not use the word 'jihad' as such.

The forces which seek to "unravel India's territorial integrity" through terror are doomed to fail in their efforts, he said to cheers from the assembled members of the House of Representatives and the Senate. "You know and I know: Such evil cannot succeed."

Hitting out at countries seeking to "redraw boundaries and settle claims (historical or imag-

US Cong for lifting curbs

IN A heart-warming curtain-raiser to PM Vajpayee's visit, the US Congress on Wednesday passed a resolution urging the lifting of all the remaining sanctions against India. But, the Clinton Administration remains firm that New Delhi sign the CTBT before it can possibly lift the punitive measures.

Detailed report and picture on Page 12

inary) through force", Mr Vajpayee said India itself favoured an Asia "where cooperative rather than aggressive assertion of national self-interests defines behaviour among nations".

Mr Vajpayee, who delivered his lines haltingly, also went into length on the turnaround in Indo-American relations and complimented President Bill Clinton for his leadership and vision in steering the dialogue and the US Congress members for supporting and encouraging this process.

Mr Vajpayee also proposed a comprehensive "Global Dialogue on Development" in a bid to improve the economic conditions of all. "A situation that provides comfortable living standards to one-third of the world's population but con-

demns two-thirds to poverty and want is unsustainable," he said and offered New Delhi as the venue for the dialogue.

The Prime Minister's remarks on the contributions of the 1.5 million strong Indian community to the advancement of American society drew a prolonged applause.

"We are two nations blessed with extraordinary resources and talent. Measured in terms of industries of tomorrow, we are together defining the partnerships of the future," he said, adding: "But our two countries have the potential to do more to shape the character of the global economy in this century."

Dwelling on India's economic buoyancy and the reform process, Mr Vajpayee said India held its course when much of Asia was convulsed by the economic crises two years ago. India is now among the 10 fastest growing economies of the world, having recorded 6.5 per cent growth annually. And over the next 10 years, India will strive to double the per capita income by growing at the rate of 9 per cent.

While important infrastructure areas like power, insurance, banking and telecom are being opened to the private sector, both domestic and foreign, India will remain committed to the State's primacy in fulfilling its social obligations to the poor and the weak, he said.

What some of the CMs told Gates

O.P. Chautala (Haryana): "Gurgaon is a good IT investment destination because it is "pollution free, the law and order is very good, it is not far from the national capital and its International airport".

Vilasrao Deshmukh (Maharashtra): "e-commerce initiatives could take off effectively in my state because there is considerable industrial and commercial activity is taking place. Mumbai leads in commerce, industry and financing and therefore it is it has the maximum potential for e-commerce."

S.M. Krishna (Karnataka): "Microsoft should look at Bangalore as a centre for software development, specially for a 'scalability' laboratory for the software needs of Internet-linked next generation of systems".

P.S. Badal (Punjab): "Microsoft should collaborate with us in setting up an e-governance centre at the Mahatma Gandhi Punjab State Institute of Public Administration and establish a software development centre in Mohali."

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 SEP 2000

Pakistan accuses India of cross-border terrorism

By Mahendra Ved

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: It is "an act of terrorism" and of "cross-border terrorism" — only the accuser is Pakistan and the accused, India. The terms used are not new, but they gain a greater currency after the just concluded United Nations Millennium Summit. They do not include "counter terrorism."

The authorities and media in Pakistan have expectedly blamed India and its "secret terrorist organisation, RAW" for the latest round of bomb explosion in a fruit market in Islamabad that killed 15 and injured over 75 persons on Tuesday. A high-level inquiry has been ordered on the directions of Chief Executive General Pervez Musharraf. But civil and military officials and "sources" in the Pakistani establishment "do not rule out the foreign hand."

However, this is the 49th explosion in Pakistan within the current year, according to Indian intelligence sources. And although the Indian connection is routinely alleged, inquiries in at least some of them have shown them to be the result of ethnic or religious violence, between Shias and Sunnis, or by armed mercenaries who abound in Pakistan thanks to the seminars that train thousands of them for the "jihad".

A blast in Quetta last month was blamed on "Indian agents". But the Baluchistan Liberation Army formally claimed responsibility. That the grapes-laden truck carrying the explosive had come from Afghanistan has not in any way deflected the Indian "hand".

"Afghanistan?" Unlikely, because if that country has a friend it is Pakistan. India? The finger must point in that direction because India has a well-proven record in this sphere," says an editorial in *The Dawn*.

It says: "The Indian connection with terrorism within Pakistan is thus no figment of the imagination. It is real, it has been happening for some time and its purpose is clear: To settle scores with Pakistan. Cross-border terrorism...what other name to give to this deadly game? India portrays itself as a victim of cross-border terrorism. The evidence in the form of civilian Pakistanis dead and wounded suggests that it is the perpetrator."

The truck came from Khurram Agency, an area in the North-West Frontier Province governed by special laws. However, *The Dawn* laments: "Travelling the length and breadth of it without papers or other forms of identity is easy. At roadblocks, cops are used to smelling the breaths of passersby to see whether they have imbibed anything. If they see a couple they will want to see their marriage certificate. Anything to make an extra buck. Islamabad's head of army monitoring team Major General Faheem Akhtar "apprehended the involvement of Indian terrorist agency, RAW," *The Nation* reported. However, information minister Javed Jabbar cautiously told BBC: "The route which has been adopted by enemy elements has nothing to do with the particular location or the origin of the vehicle. Until we have precise indicator from the suspects, it would not be appropriate to give more specific direction."

INDIA

JOINT WORKING GROUP CONDEMNS MILITANCY IN ALL ITS MANIFESTATIONS

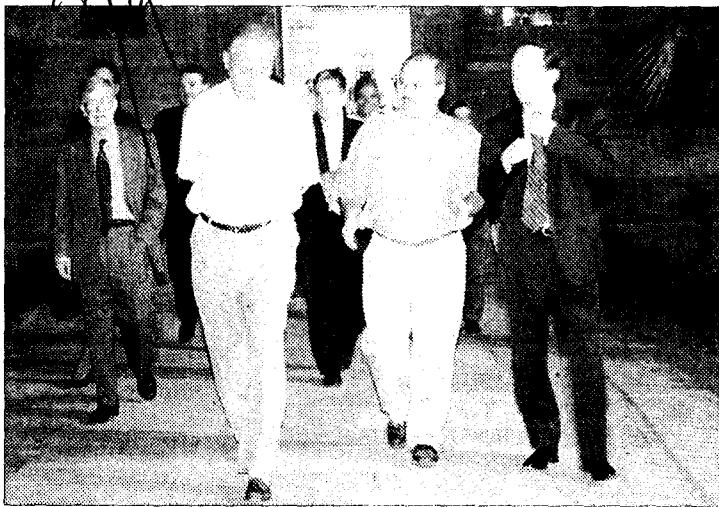
India, US to jointly combat terrorism

New Delhi
26 SEPTEMBER

INDIA AND the United States, on Tuesday, agreed on a range of measures to combat international terrorism, as Washington joined New Delhi in unequivocally condemning all acts of terrorism, including religious considerations, to justify such acts.

This was decided at the second meeting of the Indo-US joint working group on counter-terrorism, during which, India conveyed its serious concern over Pakistan's sustained attempts at sponsoring cross-border terrorism in the name of jihad (holy war). It was agreed that inter-agency teams would share their experiences, exchange information and coordinate approaches and action to deal with the menace.

The US team was led by Michael A. Sheehan, US coordinator for counter-terrorism,



ALL FOR ONE: US coordinator for counter-terrorism Michael A. Sheehan (right) and US envoy Richard Celeste (second from left) come out of the external affairs ministry after talks with the Indian officials on Tuesday. — PTI

while the Indian delegation was headed by Alok Prasad, joint secretary.

The two sides unequivocally condemned all acts, methods and

practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, whatever the considerations — be it political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious, or of any other

nature — that may be involved to justify them, a joint statement issued at the end of the two-day talks said.

The Indian delegation comprised officials from ministries of external affairs and home, besides CBI and other law-enforcement agencies.

For the first time, an inter-agency group of counter-terrorism and narco-terrorism law enforcement officials were included at the delegation-level talks, a senior foreign official told reporters.

During his recent visit to the US, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and President Bill Clinton had reaffirmed the importance of this working group to combat international terrorism. The leaders also decided to expand the mandate of the group, to include discussions on issues like narco-terrorism and Afghanistan, the largest producer of opium in the world. — PTI

The Economic Times.

UK Home Office in a fix

Vijay Dutt
London, August 1

HF-12
Summation

IN A highly controversial judgement delivered at the Old Bailey on Monday, the Special Immigration Appeals Commission (SIAC), has over-ruled the Home Office order to deport two suspected Sikh terrorists. The two, Mukhtiar Singh, 27, and Paramjit Singh, 26, were alleged by British authorities to have been involved in supplying weapons from Pakistan to India for terrorism.

They were greeted boisterously by their supporters and allegedly pro-Khalistanis as they walked out free from the Old Bailey premises. They are now at liberty to go on living in Britain, as per 'exceptional leave to remain' order by the Commission.

Mukhtiar Singh and Paramjit had entered Britain illegally, hiding in a lorry, some time between 1994 and 1996, according to the Home

2/8

Office. They were detained, while living and preaching Sikhism in Birmingham area, in November 1998 on the charge of being threats to national security. Ian Barnett, QC for the Home Office, contended that they had conspired to ship 15 kilos of explosives, detonators and other weapons from Pakistan to India.

They had applied for asylum but

Deportation Case

their plea was rejected last August. They were told that they would be deported "in the interest of national security".

Under the provisions of the new Terrorism Bill any action which leads to terrorism outside the UK is also violative of national security. The two, however, appealed against the deportation order. Justice Potts, with two judges, ruled that if sent back to India the

two faced a "real risk of being subjected to torture", contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights.

The judgement has put the Home Office in a quandary. The judges have refused the deportation but not granted the refugee status to the two, on the ground that they are a threat to national security. Sources in the Home Office said that the order has led to the perplexing question, why was the refugee status refused. The Home Office is slated to appeal against the ruling.

The commission had in another high profile case over-ruled the deportation of a Pak cleric Shafiqur Rehman, 28, who was alleged by the MI5 and MI6 to be leader of the British wing of Lashkar-i-Tayyeba. The MI6 agents had testified that he recruited young British Muslims for training in Mujahideen camps near Lahore and also collected funds.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

2 AUG 2000

Hizbul claims contact with Delhi



FROM MUKHTAR AHMAD IN SRINAGAR AND OUR DELHI BUREAU

Aug. 1: After several rounds of shadowboxing, the Hizbul Mujahideen today claimed the first direct contact with the Centre and said home ministry officials were expected to reach Srinagar tomorrow.

The Hizbul's nominee for negotiations, Fazal Haq Qureshi (picture above), said in Srinagar that officials from the home ministry spoke with him on phone this morning. "They told me they were coming to Srinagar tomorrow to meet me," said Qureshi, a veteran separatist leader who heads the Jammu and Kashmir People's Political Front.

While Delhi did not respond to Qureshi's statement, the government clarified that officials from the home ministry and the security forces will comprise the team that will negotiate with the Hizbul.

Qureshi refused to disclose details of his talks with the officials, but said: "I told them that I am available for anybody." Qureshi added that he was waiting for "guidelines" from the Hizbul on the peace initiative. "I told them that since I did not have any brief from the Hizbul yet, I cannot discuss anything much with them," he said.

Qureshi disclosed that Hizbul leaders got in touch with him in the afternoon and assured him that "they would send the details of what I have to discuss with the officials". The separatist leader described himself as an "intermediary" whose job is to "work out modalities of the ceasefire between the Hizbul and the military". He said the outfit will name a few of their commanders for the negotiations and "I will then request the Centre to rush an expert".

The Vajpayee government has already stated that home secretary Kamal Pande would be its principal interlocutor in any negotiation.

Government sources said today that the proposed negotiations will be carried out within the country and the first meeting will most likely be held in Srinagar.

Officials feel the Centre's team should comprise serving officers because of the "experience" in the Northeast. They believe that serving officials would be better placed to hold negotiations because the Hizbul's truce offer is temporary. "Details like disarming the Hizbul cadre and surrender of weapons will crop up during the initial talks in which ranking officers from security forces can play an important role," a senior official said.

Delhi is approaching the peace initiative by the Hizbul "very cautiously" and work on preparing the ground rules to enforce the ceasefire will start as soon as representatives of the Centre and the Hizbul have their first formal meeting.

In Islamabad, the Hizbul's new spokesman, Saleem Hashmi, urged Delhi to "immediately" start the tripartite meeting.

THE TELEGRAPH

- 2 AUG 2000

Big words, little action

India's diplomatic concern about terrorism has been confined to sheer rhetoric. It is time it stops dealing in double-speak and initiates real action, writes NILOFAR SUHRAWARDY

TERRORIST THREATS compelled the United States embassy in Jordan to cancel this year's Independence Day celebrations in Amman. The message was obvious. Despite the US carrying out military exercises against the sponsors of terrorists, militants have not been cowed down. It would thus be wrong to view US anti-terrorist measures as a success.

Likewise, the hype raised about India's 'success' in projecting its diplomatic stand against terrorism is questionable.

'Diplomatic success' demands attention because inflated rhetoric appears to have assumed new levels with Indian politicians. It is only a bid to impress the global community about this country's concern about terrorism as opposed to a genuine concern that signals this trend. Of late, the European Union has supported India's move in the UN for a comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

Earlier, India and Portugal agreed to cooperate at the multilateral level to combat terrorism. The menace was discussed with Italy too. France and Turkmenistan have also shared India's concern about terrorism. The US and India have agreed on a joint committee to fight terrorism.

Can such agreements be a major indicator of India's diplomatic success? There is no evidence about different countries understanding terrorism as India would want them to. It would be wrong to presume that they view terrorism through the same lens as does India. If in India's understanding, EU's "unreserved condemnation of terrorism in all forms" refers to 'sponsored' terrorism in Kashmir, others may relate it to the anti-Christian attacks being carried out in this country.

Also, differences prevail over the very definition of the word terrorism. If according to France, international terrorism is a heinous act of barbarism committed in a foreign country, for Greece, terrorism is quite different from what it sees as 'freedom fighting'.

Double standards maintained by the Vajpayee Government regarding terrorism

PLATFORM

perpetrated in India cannot be missed. The recent attacks against Christians can also be labelled as anti-national and terrorist acts as they question 'secularism' and religious freedom laid out by the Indian Constitution. Yet, the Indian premier has chosen to dismiss them as 'isolated incidents'.

Perhaps, India's latent desire is to promote the stereotype image of terrorism in its Islamic variant. Chances of this tactic paying off are fairly limited. Of late, in the West, the Muslim elite's efforts to counter



Arrested Kashmiri militants: Just window-dressing?

this image have been given due importance by the international media. The Oklahoma bombing case forced the Western media to start questioning the stereotype they were presenting about Islamic terrorism.

Initially presumed to be an act of Islamic or Arab terrorist, the Oklahoma bombing turned out to be the act of a former American soldier. Besides, it has been pointed out that a greater number of anti-US terrorist acts have taken place in Latin America than in Muslim countries.

Without doubt, India's primary motive has been to campaign against Pakistan's role in the spread of terrorism related to

the Kashmir issue. Little attention has been paid to differing conclusions that can be drawn by other nations and observers from India's diplomatic posture regarding terrorism. From one angle, the tone suggests that India has been forced to raise the issue at the diplomatic level. This is also a tacit acknowledgement of India having failed to combat terrorism within its own borders. Should India be gloating about this shortcoming in diplomatic circles?

Besides, what kind of cooperation does India actually envisage from nations willing to combat terrorism with it? Definitely, Portugal, Italy or Turkmenistan is not expected to provide troops to guard India's borders. The US armed forces are known to be engaged in 'peacetime' military activities to prevent conflict as and when diplomacy demands. Expecting other nations to come to India's help is equivalent to India limiting its own options.

This argument can be perhaps countered by projecting that strategically India wields a double-edged sword, diplomatically and militarily. If this approach had helped India score diplomatic points against Pakistan or crush terrorism at home, it would have been accorded some credibility. India has so far only succeeded in dangling this sword in the air. To date, Pakistan has not been declared a terrorist state by the US.

At its recent meeting, the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers dwelt on taking "necessary measures to convince India to put an immediate end" to the alleged human rights violations in Kashmir. Evidently, Pakistan has been isolated only in India's diplomatic understanding of global affairs. India's diplomatic jargon appears to have had negligible impact on militants too. It has also not restrained the non-political elite in the subcontinent from exchanging cordial notes with each other.

In other words, the actual significance of India's diplomatic concern about terrorism has been confined to a solitary level: that of inflated rhetoric.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

3 AUG 2001

Centre admits lapse in security for Amarnath pilgrims ■ Clinton expresses grief ■ Yatra resumes

101 fall to militants' bullets in J&K

SPINOR 26/8
KAVITA SURI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE



attacks was "a determined bid by those upset with the prospects of peace to abort the initiative taken by that militant group."
The Amarnath yatra would continue "with renewed security measures" and the Centre was determined to provide all necessary protection to the common people.
Today, the yatra was resumed.

None of the victims identified so far is from West Bengal. The state government is in constant touch with the BSF for information about pilgrims, Mr Buddhadev Bhattacharya said. The information about pilgrims from the state can be obtained from the I-G (control room) at Writers' Buildings. Phone: 2215486

talks and peace".
(Conveying Washington's deepest sympathies over the massacres in Jammu and Kashmir, Mr Bill Clinton tonight told Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee that he would speak to leaders of Pakistan and "do everything possible to contain such activities", add PTI and UNI.
Pakistan's chief executive, Gen Pervez Musharraf tonight categorically denied any role in Hizbul's cease-fire offer but said it was up to India and Pakistan together to utilise this opportunity and initiate a dialogue.)
A special alert has been sounded all over the state and security further tightened.
The security scenario was reviewed at a high level meet-

Women and children cry over the bodies of labourers killed by militants in Mirbazar, south of Srinagar, on Wednesday. — A/PIPTI

ing held at Raj Bhavan in Srinagar this afternoon which was attended by the Governor, chief minister, special secretary, ministry of home affairs and senior Army and paramilitary officers.
The meeting discussed the spurt in terrorist violence in the wake of the ceasefire announced by the Hizbul Mujahideen and the Centre's peace initiative.
The Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, which is opposed to the Hizbul Mujahideen's ceasefire, is reported to have been behind the Pahalgam carnage. The identity of the killers was established as two AK-57 rifles recovered from the two slain militants had ~~Lashkar-e-Tayyiba~~ markings on them.
A total of 101 people were killed allegedly by Lashkar-e-Tayyiba in eight different incidents since last evening. The

victims included 30 pilgrims, eight village defence committee members and 26 non-Kashmiri labourers.
However, officials put the toll at 95.
In Parliament, the government today admitted that there might have been some flaws in the security cover to Amarnath pilgrims at Pahalgam in the absence of Army deployment at

the base camp, adds SNS, New Delhi.
However, the incidents across Jammu and Kashmir would not derail the process of engaging in a dialogue with "peace-loving people", the government asserted in Parliament this evening.
As long as the Hizbul Mujahideen adhered to ~~its~~ ceasefire and willingness to negotiate, the Centre would take a "positive" position, Mr LK Advani told the Rajya Sabha.
The immediate motive of the

ON PAGE 8
■ Stunned Centre in Kashmir rush
■ Taken aback Army rues 'bad form'
■ A pilgrimage to hell

MILITANTS:
(Continued from page 1)

that after the Hizbul's peace move it was expected that other militant groups would step up their activity.
The home minister had no satisfactory answer to questions by Lok Sabha members who, cutting across party lines, wanted to know why the pilgrims were only guarded by the CRPF and the J&K Police when there were advance warnings about terrorists picking on them as their next target.
Mr Advani said: "I am trying to find out, but from the information which I have with me I can't tell with certainty if the Army was present at the spot of the killings. The CRPF was there and so was the state police." Six Army battalions had been deployed to provide security cover to the pilgrims and the government had augmented the force after the incident.
What caused concern among members in both Houses was a suspicion that after the ceasefire offer the security effort had been diluted. Serious exception was taken to military and police officers' suspension to announce a suspension of offensive operations.
In his statement, Mr Advani reported a death toll of 80 in a series of incidents. After the developments concerning the Hizbul there had been reports that other militant outfits might escalate the violence, the home minister said.
"It is because of this vigilance the security forces had foiled an attempt of the militants to attack the Amarnath pilgrims in a Jammu camp on the morning of 1 August. In this clash one militant was killed and another injured," he said.

Information about the victims can be obtained from the Prithviraj Road office of the resident commissioner, J&K. People seeking information can contact Mr KS Sharma, deputy director of information (Ph: 4611217, 4611108 and 4615999) or secretary to resident commissioner, Mr SS Ahmed (Ph: 4617954, 3387471)

following the lifting of curfew in Pahalgam town, with 3,500 pilgrims leaving the base camp for onward trek to the cave.

There was uproar in both Houses this morning. The Prime Minister and the home minister gave the initial information available to the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha respectively, and announced that later in the day a detailed statement would be made.

During the discussions that followed the statement, the leaders of the Opposition in both Houses, Mrs Sonia Gandhi and Dr Manmohan Singh, pointed to a massive security lapse. Mr Indrajit Gupta, and several others said

■ See MILITANTS: page 8

Talks with Hizb militants open on positive note

Vajpayee says a vehement 'No' to talks with Pak till cross-border terrorism in J&K ends

By Law Kumar Mishra
The Times of India News Service

SRINAGAR: A formal dialogue between the Hizbul Mujahideen, Kashmir's largest militant outfit, and the Centre opened at the historic Nehru guest house in the fortified Raj Bhavan complex here on Thursday morning, with the two sides agreeing to identify and isolate forces hostile to the ceasefire. The two sides also set up a negotiating committee, which is expected to meet "very shortly", in their endeavour to take the peace process to its logical conclusion.



A.B. Vajpayee

In a surprise development, Union home secretary Kamal Pandey arrived here from New Delhi on Thursday morning by a special plane since the Hizb had threatened to withdraw its ceasefire and had even set a deadline for the start of the talks. Mr Pandey was joined in his talks with the Hizb 'commanders' by two special secretaries in the home ministry, T.R. Kakkar and M.B. Kaushal, and two other officials who had been telephonically talking to the Hizb representative, Fazal Qureshi, for the last couple of days.

The Hizb side comprised Fazal Qureshi, Ghulam Mohammad Nayakoo, Mushadiq Adil (both formerly of the Al Fateh Tanjim), and four 'divisional commanders'—Reyaz, Farooq, Masood and Zafar.

Abdul Mahjid Dar, who had announced the ceasefire on July 24 here, was, however, not present. One of the Hizb 'commanders' came to the guest house in a Maruti car with his face masked.

However, he spoke to reporters and said the core issue would be discussed only by Hizb chief Salauddin, who is in Pakistan. "We have come here to discuss the modalities for implementing the ceasefire."

All the Hizb leaders were unarmed and urged the gathered reporters not to ask them any questions. Home ministry officials also requested mediapersons not to question the Hizb leaders. They had come overground for the first time. These are the Centre's first talks with the Hizb in 11 years.

The militant leaders were not allowed to meet the media after the 90-minute meeting ended. However, video camerapersons and photographers were allowed to shoot them, minus interviews. The two special secretaries in the Union home ministry were virtually escorting and providing cover to the Hizb leaders right from the point at which they alighted from their vehicles.

One of the Hizb leaders repeatedly asked the photographers and videographers not to shoot. "Our life is in danger. Do not expose us. We have not met anyone as yet." When the camerapersons refused to oblige, he threatened to smash the cameras with a stick he was carrying. However, he was pacified by the other militant leaders, who further said they would also talk to the Hurriyat leaders. All the Hizb leaders said they were at a "very delicate stage" in the talks and, hence, should not be "harassed".

The talks were to start at noon, but the militants appeared on the scene only after 1.35 p.m. while the senior home ministry officials were kept waiting. The corps commander of the 15 Corps, Lt Gen J.R. Mukherjee, was also waiting for the Hizb leaders, who came to the Nehru guest house in different vehicles. Mr Kamal Pandey was seen watching the drama unfold on

the ground floor lawns from the balcony, while the special secretaries were escorting the militants with due courtesy for the talks.

The Hizb militants had come with a 12-point charter which sought, among other things, modalities for the ground rules of the ceasefire, a removal of bunkers, an end to crackdowns, the release of prisoners, the revocation of the Special Powers Act and an end to the alleged harassment of civilians.

After the talks were over, Mr Pandey said the meeting had been held in a cordial atmosphere. The negotiating committee of the Centre would be led by Mr Kaushal and assisted by officials of the state government, the Indian army and other security agencies. From the Hizb's side, it would be led by Khalid Shaiullah.

Members of the committee agreed to work in a spirit of cooperation and understanding to finalise the modalities for the effective implementation of the cease-fire. Mr Pandey said the talks would be taken to their logical conclusion—restoration of peace in the state. The Hizb leaders were congratulated by the home ministry for their "bold and timely decision". Mr Pandey said the modalities would be pursued seriously to isolate and identify the elements opposed to the peace process.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee, rejecting a suggestion for third-party mediation in Kashmir, held Pakistan squarely responsible for the recent massacre at nine different places in Jammu and Kashmir. Mr Vajpayee declared that there was no possibility of any talks with Pakistani ruler Parvez Musharraf.

The PM, who led an all-party parliamentary delegation to Pahalgam, where 30 pilgrims were gunned down on Tuesday night, said there was no scope left for talks with Pakistan after these mass killings in the state. The silence of the Pakistani ruler on these killings was all the more intriguing. "I don't see any possibility of talks with Pakistan," the PM said.

The PM said Gen Musharraf should openly condemn the killings in Pahalgam and other places. On the one hand, Gen Musharraf wanted talks with him, while on the other, his forces were encouraging mindless killings in J&K, Mr Vajpayee said, and alleged that Gen Musharraf's silence was proof of Pakistan's direct involvement in the recent killings.

The delegation, which consisted of opposition leader Sonia Gandhi and senior leaders Mulayam Singh Yadav, Somnath Chatterjee, Yerran Naidu, Mamata Banerjee, George Fernandes and Chaman Lal Gupta, spent about 90 minutes in Pahalgam. Governor G.C. Saxena, chief minister Farooq Abdullah and Congress MP Ghulam Nabi Azad were also present.

The PM felt that the administration should have been more alert about the safety of the Amarnath pilgrims and added that the security lapses were being investigated at the executive level.

The PM termed as ridiculous the Pakistani media's accusation that the recent killings in J&K were the handiwork of Indian agencies. He said there was no need for any inquiry as it had been proved beyond doubt that the Pakistan-sponsored Lashkar-e-Toiba was behind these deep-rooted and well-executed massacres. The militant organisations which were hostile to the Hizbul Mujahideen's ceasefire were angry as they felt that their game was over. "I don't see any immediate provocation other than this," Mr Vajpayee said.

► See Edit: War by Other Means, Page 10

THE TIMES OF INDIA

4 AUG 2000

Dar was present during talks

KAVITA SURI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

SRINAGAR, Aug. 4. — Contrary to denials by Union home ministry officials, the Hizbul Mujahideen chief commander (operations), Abdul Majid Dar, was present during yesterday's negotiations with Mr Kamal Pande, sources said.

Dar, who announced a ceasefire on 24 July, was one of the two who covered their faces with handkerchiefs during talks with the Union home secretary, the sources said.

Dar (40) did not wear the Pathan suit in which journalists had seen him at the Nishat Bagh hideout where he announced the ceasefire. Yesterday he wore a shirt and trousers, and covered his face with a striped handkerchief. He also wore a Karakoli cap and spectacles.

When Hizbul commanders arrived for talks at Nehru Guest House near Raj Bhavan, Fazalul Haq Qureshi, Hizbul negotiator, told journalists that Dar was not part of the negotiating team. Mobbed by journalists, the four commanders said they had come to discuss the modalities for future rounds of talks with the central team.

The man with the Karakoli cap shouted at photographers and said: "Don't take our photographs, our lives are in danger." This man has been identified as Abdul Majid Dar.

Dar, whose pictures had been published in newspapers and magazines after he announced the ceasefire, has stopped dyeing his beard which is now grey.

Dar has been in the valley for some time and had met almost all Hizbul field commanders and Hurriyat leaders. He will be the "main negotiator" though Fazalul Haq Qureshi has been named the Hizbul representative, the sources said.

THE STATESMAN

F 5 AUG 2 1990

Hizbul doves tell Pak-based groups not to insist on riders

Anil Anand
Srinagar, August 6

CAUGHT IN a cleft stick over the August 8 ultimatum given by Hizbul Mujahideen's supreme commander Syed Salahuddin for involving Pakistan in Kashmir talks, the outfit's local leaders have sought the Pak-based Kashmiri leaders' intervention for creating a congenial atmosphere for the Centre-Hizbul talks on ceasefire.

Mr Fazal Qureshi, chief of the People's Political Front (PPF) who was recently nominated by the Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) to work out modalities for the talks, had a long telephonic conversation this morning with the People's League chairman Farooq Rehmani in Pakistan. He reportedly conveyed to Mr Rehmani the local sentiments attached to the peace process and asked him to use his influence to drum up support in Pakistan for the peace initiative.

Meanwhile, the talks between the HM commanders and the Government's representatives are likely to resume with the arrival

here tomorrow of Special Secretary (Home) M. B. Kaushal. The talks were postponed yesterday as two of the six Hizbul commanders could not reach the designated venue.

While categorically stating that public opinion favoured peace

(read Pakistan's participation in talks), will derail the process. Describing the efforts to set up a ceasefire monitoring mechanism as a mere 'initiation' towards the more crucial political dialogue which will follow subsequently, Mr Qureshi even offered to step down in favour of the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), if it helped bringing peace to the Valley.

In response, Mr Rehmani is reported to have indicated that a decision regarding either the extension of the August 8 deadline or its withdrawal will be taken by the Pakistan chapter of the HM.

In a more forthright assertion of the local sentiments, PPF secretary general G. M. Naiku, who also spoke to Mr Rehmani alluded to the APHC's "serious reservations" about the "hasty" ceasefire announcement. He said the PPF was willing to be "marginalised". "If it helps the peace process, we will not mind anybody, including the Hurriyat, representing Kashmir's political spectrum in the (ongoing) negotiations," he told Mr Rehmani.

Hizbul Hardliners

THE HIZBUL Mujahideen on Sunday asked India to get into tripartite talks to resolve the Kashmir issue, saying New Delhi should not waste the "golden opportunity" provided by its declaration of unilateral ceasefire. "If India does not enter into tripartite talks and the situation gets further worsened, the entire responsibility will rest with New Delhi," chief of the group Salahuddin said.

PTI, Islamabad

endeavour, Mr Qureshi is understood to have told Mr Rehmani to convey in clear terms to the Pak based Hizbul leaders that attaching any condition at this juncture

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

27 AUG 2000

Dar and other J&K leaders go underground

Hizbul calls off ceasefire

SI-1
9/18
Jammu



PTI & UNI

ISLAMABAD, Aug. 8. — The Hizbul Mujahideen withdrew its unilateral ceasefire this evening, accusing New Delhi of not responding positively to its call for tripartite talks involving Pakistan.

"We withdraw the unilateral ceasefire. We direct all the commanders and the Mujahideen in the field to break the ceasefire and go ahead with target-oriented mission," said Hizbul's supreme commander Syed Salahuddin at a Press conference here after the expiry of the outfit's 5.30 p.m. deadline to India to agree to a three-way dialogue.

"India has failed to respond categorically to our offer of peace and has dilly-dallied in giving peace a chance, squandering an opportunity," he said.

The Hizbul chief, however, said the outfit's options were open and it could review its decision once India "breaks the barrier of rigidity .. if it does, we can persuade other armed resistance movements to join us for a peaceful resolution".

He warned that another war in the region was possible unless the issue was resolved. "The next war over Kashmir could be nuclear."

"We put our credibility of 12 years at stake for our desire to facilitate a peaceful resolution," said Salahuddin. "This has not been reciprocated by India, who have demonstrated their traditional intransigence."

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, while agreeing to hold talks with Hizbul leaders in the state, had categorically ruled out having Pakistan at the negotiating table.

Salahuddin alleged that Mr Vajpayee had been issuing contradictory statements. "In one breath he talked about dialogue on the basis of humanity and also the need to keep the negotiations within the framework of the Indian Constitution."

There was no immediate response from the Hizbul commanders in Kashmir who had initiated talks with the central

team to chalk out the modalities of the three-month unilateral ceasefire announced by Abdul Majid Dar on 24 July.

Hizbul's Kashmir commanders who represented it in the first round of talks with the government, including Dar, went underground soon after Salahuddin's announcement.

The Cabinet Committee on Security reviewed the situation in the wake of the ceasefire withdrawal. The meeting, chaired by Mr Vajpayee, was of the view that the government should be prepared to face any eventuality in the post-ceasefire scenario, sources said.

The Hurriyat executive committee will meet here tomorrow to discuss the development. Its spokesman refused comment.

Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Mr Farooq Abdullah regretted the Hizbul's decision despite India's "flexible" stand. He blamed vested interests inclined towards Pakistan for sabotaging the peace process.

The BJP said the Hizbul decision was "influenced by Pakistan" and the move showed Pakistan did not want peace.

A new element of uncertainty gripped Kashmir as the news of ceasefire withdrawal spread. Even before Hizbul's announcement, the state witnessed six major encounters. Eighteen people, including 14 militants, and three security personnel were killed in the encounters. A top security officer escaped a militant bid on his life in Badgam.

The police and the CRPF scuttled a militant plan to strike at Sonmarg, base camp for Amarnath pilgrims, by arresting three Lashkar-e-Tayyiba ultras.

Welcoming the Hizbul decision, various Pakistan-based groups said it would boost the "freedom struggle" in Kashmir. Harkat-ul-Mujahideen said it was "a timely decision" while Lashkar said "India's hollow slogan" now stood "exposed". Pakistan Muslim League(N) also welcomed the move.

■ More reports on page 8

India alleges Pak sabotage

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Aug. 8. — Regretting the withdrawal of the ceasefire offer, India has accused Pakistan of sabotaging the peace process, but iterated its appeal to militants to return to the path of peace.

"Pakistan's object has been to derail the peace process by seeking to involve itself as a party in discussions," the government said in a statement hours after the Hizbul announcement.

Maintaining that it was "evident since 24 July that the ceasefire did not fit in with Pakistan's design of abetting terrorism," the government said Pakistan's Intelligence had put "intense pressure on the Hizbul leadership in PoK to sabotage the ceasefire".

Pakistan had also put pressure on other groups in the state to intensify activities, leading to the massacres on 1 and 2 August, the government said.

Maintaining that India remained "committed" to the peace process, the Centre said dialogue with Pakistan was a different matter. "India is willing to talk to Pakistan on all matters of bilateral concern when it puts an end to cross-border terrorism".

Defence sources said there was unlikely to be any immediate impact on the ground situation, which had not really changed in the last fortnight or so. The armed forces are, however, awaiting signals from the local Hizbul commanders who might not be too keen to follow the leadership in Pakistan.

Pak reaction: Pakistan held India responsible for the development. A government spokesman said the insistence on talks within the constitutional framework and without Pakistan "exposed India's insincerity", adds Reuters from Islamabad.

THE STATESMAN

9 AUG 200

Hurriyat mum over failed talks

HT Correspondent
Srinagar, August 9

THE ALL Parties Hurriyat Conference (APHC) today exhibited itself as a neutral party in the collapsed talks between Centre and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen by refusing to comment on the development even after having deliberating on the issue for almost three hours this afternoon.

The Hizb-ul-Mujahideen, at one point of time, was understood to be working under the direct influence of Jamait-i-Islami, one of the constituents of this secessionist combination. But today, APHC leadership sought to show as if the development was distant to it.

Sources said that the Hurriyat leadership found it difficult to lay blame on the Government for then it would have supported the Hizb version. Any such observations would have amounted to accepting the ceasefire call by the Hizb and its talks offer and at same time, shutting it off as well. That is one of the reasons

why the Hurriyat chose silence over commenting on the talks.

Hurriyat has been maintaining that it had nothing to do with Hizb on its ceasefire and talks offer and had charged the militant outfit with having taken the decision in haste. Any pro

The Hurriyat leadership found it difficult to lay blame on the Govt for then it would have supported the Hizb version and any pro or anti comment would have gone against its stand vis a vis the Hizb

or anti comment today would have gone against its stand.

It was only Syed Ali Shah Geelani who commented on the situation on his arrival at the APHC headquarters at Raj Bagh. He blamed

the Government for being immune to reality and having allowed the peace talks to derail. "It is Government of India that has lost its chance to talk by refusing to accept Pakistan as a party to the Kashmir dispute."

"India has shied away from talks. It should be clear to India that without talking to Pakistan and people to Kashmir, no lasting solution can emerge," Mr Geelani said ahead of the meeting. But at the end of it, he too maintained a rigid silence like his other colleagues.

Abdul Ghani Lone, the first to emerge out of the meeting into the glare of the TV cameras, said, "No comments", much to the shock of waiting reporters who had been waiting for an official reaction from the APHC since yesterday.

The words "No comments" were echoed by all the Hurriyat leaders, including JKLF chairman Yasin Malik, Syed Ali Shah Geelani and APHC chairman Abdul Ghani Bhat. It seemed as if all of them had unanimously decided not to reveal anything of their three-hour deliberations to the outside world.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

10 AUG 2000

Srinagar blast kills 12

Hizbul breaks silence

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE
and AGENCIES

SRINAGAR, Aug. 10. — Within 48 hours of the truce breakdown with the Hizbul Mujahideen, militants struck in the heart of Srinagar this afternoon, killing 12 people with one of the strongest blasts ever in the valley. Both Lashkar-e-Tayyaba and Hizbul have claimed responsibility.

Militants first lobbed a grenade in the busy Residency Road at 12.30 p.m. outside State Bank of India. The area is frequented by security personnel for banking transactions. As journalists, mainly photographers, security and police personnel gathered at the spot, a car bomb was triggered within 15 minutes of the grenade blast.

Ten people were killed on the spot, of which seven were policemen, one was *Hindustan Times* photographer Pradeep Bhatia, and two bystanders. Around 25 people were injured. The journalists who were injured were Amin War (*Daily Excelsior — The Tribune*), Fayaz Kabli (Reuters), Irfan Ayub (Zee TV), Habibullah Naqash (*The Asian Age*) and I Tariq (*Srinagar Times*).

Bhatia's body will be taken to Delhi tomorrow around 3.00 p.m. and kept at the Press Club of India.

Sources said the bomb was planted in an Ambassador of Jammu and Kashmir Bank, which was carjacked this morning along with its driver. Militants released the driver in the evening after the blast.

Srinagar wore the look of a ghost town after the blast as shops downed shutters and vehicles remained off the roads.

Hizbul has threatened to intensify its operations by targeting military installations all over India. Its supreme commander Syed Salahuddin said this in an interview published today. However, civilians would not be targeted, he added.



An injured policeman cries for help while his colleague runs for cover seconds after the blast in Srinagar on Thursday. — AP/PTI

Forces in Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Chandigarh have been beefed up.

The incident is being viewed as a clear signal from militants that Amarnath was not an isolated incident, fuelling fears of further strikes. It also dashes the Centre's hope of a divide between the Hizbul's Kashmir and Islamabad leaderships. Home ministry officials were hoping that Hizbul commanders in Kashmir were under intense pressure from the local populace to give up violence and pursue peace, a hope belied by the Hizbul's claim today, adds SNS from Delhi.

Union home ministry officials said they were still awaiting a detailed report and that it would be premature to conclude that Hizbul had returned to the path of violence. They felt it was more likely to be the handiwork of the Lashkar. After the dramatic ceasefire announcement by the Hizbul, intercepts of radio messages from across the border had indicated that foreign merce-

naries were being directed to step up the strikes.

The Army also appears to be in two minds on the brain behind today's blast. One section believes the Lashkar or another foreign outfit masterminded it. "This is Lashkar's handiwork. They are trying to blame the Hizbul. I don't think Hizbul would kill its own people," a senior officer said. He felt Hizbul would have mined a road for Army vehicles, attacked a convoy or a military post.

By tarnishing Hizbul, Lashkar may be trying to scotch any further chance of Hizbul-Centre talks. But again, as the Hizbul statement claiming responsibility came from Islamabad, some Army officers feel the hawks within Hizbul may be trying to do same thing even if it was not actually responsible.

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee said the blast was "executed at the behest of Pakistan". Mourning the deaths, he promised to continue the "battle against terrorism".

Chief Minister Mr Farooq Abdullah, also blaming Pakistan, described the attack as barbaric. "Killing people and engineering blasts will not take militants anywhere. They might be obliging their mentors across the border, but their acts are against the tenets of Islam and humanity."

Condemning the blast, the Congress asked the government to take adequate precautionary steps. The BJP said Pakistan was trying to derail the peace process with such heinous acts.

Pakistan also condemned the explosion and demanded an "impartial" investigation to uncover those responsible.

Britain condemned the incident and expressed disappointment over Hizbul's ceasefire withdrawal. British Foreign Office Minister Mr Keith Vaz said: "I am horrified," adding that Britain fully supported India's increased peace efforts.

The USA condemned the blast and cautioned Hizbul that such

acts would do nothing to advance a settlement of the Kashmir issue.

Pak shelling: At least seven houses were razed and five partially damaged in artillery and mortar shelling by Pakistani troops in Karnah early this morning. No one was hurt as the villagers had fled to safer places.

Security forces killed a Hizbul militant and arrested another with explosives last evening. This is the first time a Hizbul man has been killed following the talks collapse.

Hurriyat in Geneva: Moulvi Omer Farooq and Mr Altaf Hussain are among the several Hurriyat leaders who reached Geneva today to participate in the first International Conference on Self-determination. It is being organised by the International Human Rights Association of American Minorities. Mr Yasin Malik will inaugurate the conference.

■ Another photograph, more reports on page 8

THE STATESMAN

11 AUG 2000

SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 2000

THE SLIDE BACK INTO TERRORISM

THE CAR BOMB blast in Srinagar on Thursday, wherein over 10 persons including a photo journalist were killed and twice that number injured, proclaims loud and clear that it is back to square one on the insurgency front in Jammu and Kashmir, what with the Hizbul Mujahideen also back in subversive business after a two-week ceasefire and a brief, even if palpably tentative, engagement with the Government of India in a 'peace' process. The savage attack mounted by the Pakistan-backed militant elements has, not surprisingly, invited vehement condemnation from all sections of public opinion who have high stakes in seeing the end of turbulence in the Valley and the resolution, ultimately, of the vexed Kashmir problem in the overall geopolitical context. Interestingly, both the Hizb and the Lashkar-e-Taiba (which is suspected to have had a hand in the anti-peace initiative massacres earlier this month) have claimed "responsibility" for the horrendous episode; it is likely that the HM is overly anxious to re-establish its 'credentials' as a group of the Jamaati persuasion and demonstrate its 'striking' power.

Whichever outfit was culpable, going by the timing of the explosion, it looked as if the craftily-designed attack employing a combination of hand grenade and timer-linked IED was the militants' answer to the Home Minister, Mr. L. K. Advani's authoritative statement in Parliament only the previous day on the 'post-ceasefire revocation' context. He had asserted that the security forces were ready to "face the challenge and threat of renewed militancy" and went on to claim that "it is the militants who should worry". And elsewhere, the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, had held out the assurance that the Army's "preparedness remained unchanged", implying there was no lowering of guard on its part. A disturbing aspect of the official responses at the Central level to such terrorist killings in Jammu and Kashmir — or for that matter, militant attacks elsewhere in the country — is that they have almost invariably been re-

stricted, by and large, to deploring the incidents and seeing the hand of Pakistan or its ISI in them. True to pattern, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, has declared emphatically that the car bomb blast was executed "at the behest of Pakistan" and termed it "yet another example of Islamabad's sustained campaign of cross-border terrorism".

The Government's anxiety to expose Pakistan's role in 'exporting' terrorism in the name of 'jihad' and build up international pressure against that country does make a lot of political and diplomatic sense. Given the volume of hard evidence that is already available on this count, one wonders whether the political establishment in New Delhi should need to be pressing that point at every conceivable opportunity as it seems to be doing and, in the process, let that objective become an obsession of sorts. The rhetoric of the kind being dished out by the powers that be will not amount to much in fighting the militants on the ground. From this standpoint, it is imperative to evolve an effective counter strategy, which envisages a judicious deployment of the Army and other security forces, strengthening of the intelligence system and better coordination among the various agencies involved in the anti-insurgency operations, not to speak of keeping proper vigil on the borders. Of relevance here are the gaping holes the Kargil conflict had exposed in the country's intelligence, reconnaissance and surveillance networks. With Independence Day — an occasion the subversive forces look forward to for mounting a major strike — just a few days away, the civil administration and the defence authorities need to get their act together if the nation is not to witness the likes of the Pahalgam and Srinagar episodes or worse yet again. The multi-pronged endeavour to frustrate the militants' attempts to kill or otherwise strike terror should continue alongside the moves for finding a political solution through a constructive dialogue with various groups and interests concerned.

THE HINDU

12 AUG 2000

Hizbul apologises for lensman's death in blast

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE
and AGENCIES

SRINAGAR, Aug. 11. — The Hizbul Mujahideen today regretted that a photojournalist was killed in its car bomb attack yesterday. "Our target was Indian security forces, not journalists," Hizbul spokesman Saleem Hashmi said in Islamabad, offering the outfit's condolences.

Hizbul's supreme commander Syed Salahuddin said India's refusal to tripartite talks on Kashmir would prove fatal. "Over the next few days, Hizbul will undertake bombardment to the extent never witnessed in the last 10 years of the liberation struggle," he said in an interview yesterday.

A special IAF plane took the nine injured in the blast to Delhi today. The condition of Irfan Ahmed of Zee TV was said to be "very critical", with 60 to 90 per cent burns.

In a new twist, the Lashkar-e-Taiyaba has denied involvement in the explosion. Its chief spokesman contacted a local English daily last evening and said the reports of its involvement were incorrect.

"We do not believe in striking at public places that could endanger the lives of civilians. We have never done it and we will never do it," he said. He also iterated that the outfit was not involved in the Pahalgam massacres. Lashkar was at war with the Indian forces, not with innocent civilians, he added.

The US state department's coordinator of counter-terrorism, Mr Michael Sheehan, however, said Washington was reviewing whether Lashkar could be designated a foreign terrorist organisation.

Sixteen people, including five militants and three BSF jawans, were killed and four injured today in the continued spell of escalated violence in Jammu and Kashmir as the valley observed a bandh in protest against yesterday's blast.

SONIA BACKS GOVT

HYDERABAD, Aug. 11. — Mrs Sonia Gandhi has assured complete support to the government in its handling of the Kashmir situation. "We support the government in whichever initiative they take to restore peace in the valley," she said today.

On whether the Centre was hiding details, she said: "I don't think I can say that." She said it was not always possible for the government to share all information with the Opposition because of the circumstances. "I am sure it will do so at an appropriate time."

She refused comment on the government's stand that talks were not possible unless Pakistan ended cross-border terrorism. — SNS

Three BSF personnel were killed and two wounded when militants ambushed a security patrol at Kanitar Nallah in Poonch late last night. BSF troops fired back, but the militants managed to escape.

In another incident, Tanvir Ahmad, a Class X student, died and another student, Nazia Akhtar, received bullet injuries when their bus was caught in cross-fire between militants and security forces in Sanerwani. The students, of Marigam High School, were returning from an excursion trip.

Today's bandh was almost total in Srinagar, but had little impact in Baramulla, Kupwara, Budgam, Anantnag and Pulwama. It was called by an alliance of anti-insurgent groups, Rashtriya Suraksha Sangathan.

As Kashmir returned to its bloody self, three militants and a village defence committee member were killed in a fierce encounter at Chawara-Ramkote village in Kathua, Jammu, last evening, a security spokesman said.

A counter-insurgent was

killed when militants opened indiscriminate fire after storming into his house at Nadihal village in Baramulla last night.

The spokesman said security forces shot dead two militants, one each at Rangwar-Chowkibal in Kupwara and Bran Khudu in Baramulla last night. Rifles, wireless sets, grenades and some ammunition were recovered from them.

Militants also shot dead two persons at Shahdara Sharief Nallah and Behrote-Thana-mandi in Rajouri last night.

Two persons sustained splinter injuries when militants made an abortive attempt to target a security picket at Amirakadal in the heart of Srinagar yesterday. Militants had hurled three grenades in quick succession at a picket in central Srinagar.

Diplomatic war: India and Pakistan clashed over the situation in Kashmir in Geneva today, with New Delhi declaring that the root cause of the problem was cross-border terrorism backed by Islamabad.

The heated exchanges took place after a Pakistan diplomat, Mr Farooq Iqbal Khan, criticised a report for ignoring alleged atrocities in Kashmir at the ongoing 52nd session of the sub-commission of the UN Human Rights Commission. The report was prepared by an independent study to look into wartime rape and sexual abuses.

Mr R Prasad of India questioned the moral authority of a military dictatorship to speak on such matters. Several NGOs also condemned Pakistan for "supporting violence in Kashmir in the name of religion".

Farooq slams RSS: Chief Minister Mr Farooq Abdullah today warned the RSS for suggesting the state's "trifurcation", saying it would lead to balkanisation. "If RSS talks about trifurcation, they must be ready for separate Khalistan."

■ More reports on page 8

Clues point to Lashkar hand in blast: police

KAVITA SURI

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

12/8 81-1
SRINAGAR, Aug. 12. — Some vital clues found by J&K police suggest that Lashkar-e-Taiyaba, not Hizbul Mujahideen, may have triggered Thursday's blast that killed 12 people, mostly policemen on the busy Residency Road at Kothi Bagh.

Senior officials told **The Statesman** that a Hizbul militant was arrested from Raj Bagh in the heart of the city. He had parted ways with Hizbul because he didn't support Abdul Majid Dar's ceasefire call. He assisted Lashkar militants in carrying out "a meticulously planned mission."

Police claim to have specific information on four militants on motorcycles, too, who stopped the Jammu & Kashmir Bank Ambassador car at Maisumá Bazar around 11.30 a.m. on Thursday, blindfolded the driver and took him to an unknown place.

The J&K director-general of police, Mr Gurbachan Jagat, told **The Statesman** that they were certain the Kothi Bagh blast was not triggered by Hizbul militants. "We have specific information and we're working on it. I hope we'll be able to show you results within two days."

Mr Jagat said Hizbul's commanders and activists hadn't reacted violently to the ceasefire call. Also, "Hizbul so far hasn't gone for any big action," and that has disappointed the ISI to a great extent.

That's why at first, Lashkar too claimed responsibility for the blast, but later it was said the Hizbul was behind it, Mr Jagat said. The Lashkar backtracked from its claim because it was instructed by the ISI to do so, thereby making Hizbul seem responsible.

"The Lashkar did so to create the impression that Hizbul had become active after the unilateral ceasefire was withdrawn," Mr Jagat said. Hizbul commanders in Kashmir valley still appear inclined towards peace, he said.

THE STATESMAN

12 AUG 2008

CEASEFIRE AGAIN IF INDIA RELENTS: SALAHUDDIN

5 BSF men killed in blasts

By Shujaat Bukhari

SRINAGAR, AUG. 13. Ahead of the Independence Day, militants struck in a major way today by triggering two blasts in Udhampur district on the Srinagar-Jammu National Highway killing five Border Security Force (BSF) personnel and injuring 51 others. One CRPF jawan was killed when militants attacked a patrol party in Baramulla.

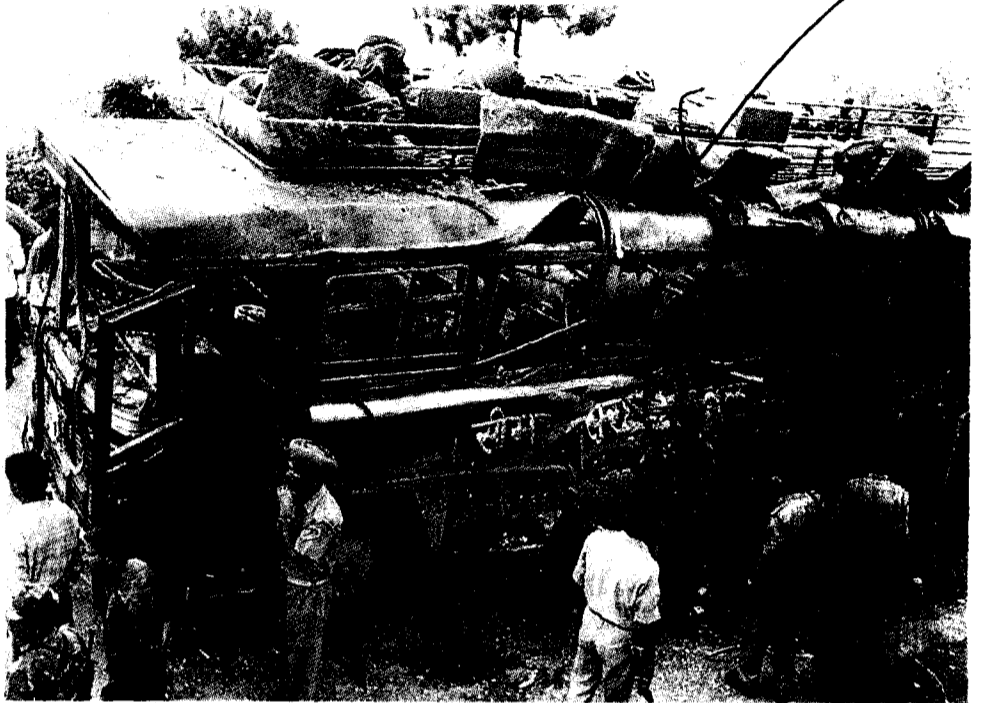
The Inspector General of Police, Jammu Zone, Mr. Radhavinod Raju, told *The Hindu* that militants had planted an Improvised Explosive Device (IED) at a curve called Tamatar Morh near the Kud health resort; as soon as a convoy of security forces passed through the area, they detonated it. The convoy was on its way to Srinagar.

The Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM) was behind the blasts, according to Mr. Raju. (An AFP report from Islamabad quoted the HM spokesperson, Mr. Salim Hashmi, as saying that Hizb militants planted a mine to effect the blast. "Until India accepts our demand (for tripartite talks) we will intensify our attacks on Indian security forces and military installations," he said.)

The explosion, which occurred at about 8.30 a.m., threw one of the 15 vehicles in the convoy several metres away. Three BSF personnel were killed on the spot and 38 injured. Enforcements were rushed to the spot immediately for removing the injured to hospital and one more jawan succumbed on the way. The condition of at least seven personnel is critical. Many of the injured have been shifted to Udhampur Army Hospital. The IGP said 19 soldiers were later discharged.

The second blast

Even as additional forces were rushed to the



The BSF vehicle which was the target of a landmine blast by militants in Kud, 100 km east of Jammu, on Sunday. — Reuters

area, the militants effected another blast at around 2.20 p.m. in Chenani, half a kilometer away from the first blast site. One BSF jawan was killed and 13 others injured, many of them critically. This time the convoy on its way to Doda.

In Baramulla, militants fired at a CRPF patrol last night. One jawan died on the spot and another was injured. At least six youth were

picked during a crackdown which followed the attack.

Security tightened

Security arrangements on the eve on the Independence Day have been further tightened in the Valley, particularly in Srinagar. Heavy deployment of police and paramilitary forces was witnessed around the Bakhshi Stadium, venue of the main function where the Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, would be taking salute. All roads leading to the stadium have been sealed.

PTI reports:

Salahuddin's offer

In Islamabad, the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen chief, Syed Salahuddin, said the outfit could again declare a ceasefire if India accepted the participation of Pakistan in tripartite talks.

Mr. Salahuddin said, "There is a possibility of ceasefire again if India accepts our logic that talks should be tripartite. Our doors are open... India should demonstrate flexibility in responding to the basic reality that discussions will only be for the ultimate resolution of the Kashmir problem," he told PTI in an interview here.

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THE HINDU

14 AUG 2000

US has no intention to label Pak 'terrorist' state

Udayan Namboodiri
New Delhi, August 14

THE UNITED STATES has no intention of declaring Pakistan a "terrorist" state, which is an old Indian demand restated once more yesterday by Minister of State for External Affairs Ajit Kumar Panja.

Rather, the US views Pakistan as an ally in its fight against terrorism in South and Central Asia.

Just a month back, ambassador Michael A. Sheehan, the US State Department's Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism, testified before the House International Relations Committee, that though Pakistan has a "mixed record" on terrorism, its government has co-operated with the United States by making arrests and turning over to Washington terrorists and supporters of terrorism.

This policy has continued under the Pervez Musharraf regime. Therefore, as far as American interests go, Pakistan does not fit the description as a state abetting terrorism. Though ambassador Sheehan acknowledged that there were reports of Pakistani material support to militants, including the Harkat ul-Mujahideen, he seemed to place faith in the Pakistani version that it only extends "moral and diplomatic support" to militants in Kashmir.

This is not to say that Washington debunks the Indian stand. In terms of weightage, it is apparent from the Sheehan testimony and the subsequent one given by the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, Mr Karl Inderfurth, to the same sub-committee that the Taliban occupies more space in the United States' concern about terrorism.

The warning note sought to be sounded by Pakistan's President Rafiq Tarar that Kashmir was a "nuclear flashpoint" is being interpreted as Islamabad's latest attempt to attract greater American concern to this region. So, in a sense, both India and Pakistan are utilising time-worn methods to give Washington the wake-up call.

But Afghanistan is a greater concern right now because of the "great game" in terms of oil and natural gas resources lying, waiting to be

exploited in Central Asia by US firms. As long as the civil war continues in Afghanistan, there can be no prospects for hunting the "great game". Pakistan is crucially located for providing Central Asian oil and gas the warm water ports it needs, besides access to potential markets in the sub-continent. With this in view, the US has

decided to utilise the handle enjoyed by Pakistan on the Taliban.

The importance of Pakistan in the US' scheme of things has in fact multiplied in recent weeks. Mr Inderfurth categorically stated in his disposition that the old strategy of engaging the Taliban to take action against Osama bin Laden and "other issues" had not worked. So it turned to Pakistan for effecting a solution to the Afghan problem, believing it has "considerable influence to convince the Taliban to surrender Laden to justice and shut down Afghanistan's terrorist network altogether".

Therefore, Mr Panja betrayed the Indian innocence of the larger US geopolitical outlook. In fact, observers fear that the more India calls upon the US to use its handle on Pakistan to suit New Delhi's interest, the wider it will open the door for third party intervention in Kashmir.

News Analysis

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Possibility of Kashmir dialogue bleak

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STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

SRINAGAR, Aug. 16. — The possibility of talks between New Delhi and Hizbul leaders seems bleak though the outfit's emissary, Fazal Qureshi, has hinted at resumption of the stalled dialogue.

Hizbul leaders in Kashmir have gone underground and snapped links with the government.

(Eighteen people were injured in a powerful grenade explosion in Anantnag district today as elsewhere in Jammu and Kashmir five militants, including two top Hizbul Mujahideen members, and a village head were among eight killed since last evening, adds PTI.)

Mr Javed Shah, National

HIZBUL LEADERS GO INTO HIDING

Conference legislator and a former militant leader, said today that lack of coordination among government agencies and their misconception that "they have won the game" led to the failure of the dialogue.

Mr Shah, who played a significant role in bringing about normalcy in Kashmir valley in 1995 after his surrender, said the Centre could not handle the situation after the Hizbul announced ceasefire since nobody in the government team could feel the pulse of the Kashmiris.

Even the state home secretary, Mr C Phunsong, who was

included later in the team, has very little understanding of the Kashmiris, Mr Shah said. Instead of Mr Phunsong, a Ladakhi, a person with an understanding of the dispute and the Kashmiri psyche

should have been roped in, he said.

Mr Shah, who had predicted that the dialogue would fizzle out, said though there were differences between Hizbul supreme commander Syed Salahuddin and chief operations commander Abdul Majid Dar, the latter won't make it public. That's why Dar has not made any statement after the

Hizbul leadership in Islamabad announced withdrawal of the ceasefire.

"If Dar splits the Hizbul at this crucial juncture, there is maximum possibility that he would be dubbed an *ikhwani* (surrendered militant). And he certainly would not like that," Mr Shah said.

The government has made a mistake by inviting the media to the Nehru Guest House where home ministry officials and the Hizbul leaders, including Dar, interacted for the first time, the NC legislator said.

Though Dar has the support of the Tehreek-e-Jehadi Islami (the outfit he floated and later merged with the Hizbul

■ Another report on page 8

■ See DIALOGUE: page 8

THE STATESMAN

17 AUG 2000

Militants gun down six 19/8 in Rajouri

HT Correspondent
Srinagar, August 18

MILITANTS KILLED six persons of a community in the Kotdhara village of Rajouri district last night. An indefinite curfew has been imposed in the area.

The incident took place at around 8 pm when heavily armed militants descended upon the village and started firing. The militants' main targets were members of the village defence committee (VDC). While five men and one woman died on the spot, six others were injured in the incident.

While a massive manhunt to nab the militants has been launched, the Army has been called in to stage a flag march in Rajouri town to stem any backlash to the killing.

VDC members have been the prime targets of militants in the hilly areas of Doda, Rajouri and Poonch since the force was first raised in 1994 as a local resistance to the militants.

Meanwhile, in Jammu, two security personnel and a special police officer (SPO) were killed and two others injured in militancy-related incidents in Jammu division, while two Hizbul Mujahideen militants surrendered, reports PTI.

Sources said the two Rashtriya Rifles personnel were killed and two others injured in a landmine explosion in Buzla area of Banihal tehsil in Doda district on August 16.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

7 9 AUG 2 000

Hurriyat offers to co-ordinate talks

Hizb chief Salahuddin disowns emissary Qureshi

HTC and Agencies
Srinagar, August 18

THE HURRIYAT Conference today offered to constitute two groups of Hurriyat leaders for holding talks separately with the Indian and Pakistani Governments to hammer out a solution to the Kashmir problem.

"The seven-member executive committee of the Hurriyat proposes to break into two groups. The bigger group of four will talk to leaders in New Delhi and the smaller one to the leaders in Islamabad. I trust this can take shape," Hurriyat chief Prof Abdul Ghani Bhat said here.

"This will meet the stand taken by India, which is opposing tripartite talks. At the same time, it would also satisfy Pakistan which wants to be a party to any final decision on Kashmir," he said.

Prof Bhat, who recently succeeded Syed Ali Shah Geelani as the chairman of All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), said the meeting of Hurriyat leaders with the Indian and Pakistani Governments will ultimately result in bridging the gap between the two countries.

He said India, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir should sit together and engage in positive

political thinking, activity and planning. "To preserve nuclear peace, you cannot talk in a vacuum, much less abolish it in war," the Hurriyat chief said.

When asked about the response to the offer, he said the proposal was made informally and so far the Centre has not responded to it. Prof Bhat said the Hurriyat had occasional informal interaction with "individuals from Delhi".

"Back channel or Track II talks are on. A quiet political exercise is being undertaken...What is needed is a sincere effort to improve relations between India and Pakistan. Build bridges of understanding and goodwill for the resolution of disputes," Prof Bhat said.

On the ceasefire in Kashmir, the Hurriyat chief said: "I had said India, Pakistan and representatives of Kashmiris (Hurriyat) in a joint statement should just say one thing - cease-fire. Then the ceasefire will hold. But when a group is involved, it may not work."

The APHC has convened an emergency meeting to deliberate on its chairman's proposal. "I would like my colleagues to discuss it threadbare. I hope they will approve of the same," Prof. Bhat told *The Hindustan Times*.

Meanwhile, the Hizbul Mujahideen today disowned the Kashmiri emissary, Fazal-ul-Haq Qureshi, who claimed the group would resume its collapsed dialogue with India.

Hizbul's supreme commander Syed Salahuddin said in a statement in Islamabad that the group had only two spokesmen, Saleem Hashmi and commander Masoss. "Nobody else has either the right or authority to speak on behalf of the Hizbul Mujahideen," he said.

Qureshi was a go-between after the Hizbul declared a unilateral ceasefire on July 24 and arranged the talks the group offered to India.

Qureshi claimed in an interview published in *Kashmir Monitor* of Srinagar on Wednesday that the Hizbul would soon resume the dialogue with India. Other secessionist groups operating in Kashmir would also join the dialogue once the negotiations reached a "certain point", he said.

Qureshi said without Pakistan the process of resolving the Kashmir "dispute" could not be carried forward. He, however, said "it is not practical for Pakistan to be involved in the process initially. There are some difficulties in it. Pakistan should realise that", Qureshi said.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

20 AUG 2000

Hizb headed for a split?

2/1/8 By B. Muralidhar Reddy *Genovick*

ISLAMABAD, AUG. 20. Does the decision of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen to declare a ceasefire and revoke it later indicate a split in the militant organisation?

Yes, if an analysis in the weekly, *Friday Times*, is to be believed. The article by the Consulting Editor of the paper, Mr. Khaled Ahmed, has argued that there was nothing surprising about divisions in the militant outfits waging 'jehad' (holy war)

"Now that the Hizb has decided to go its own way under Commander Majeed Dar, further splits are being feared on both sides. It is said that Dar was able to announce the ceasefire after 'breaking' a number of commanders belonging to the clique of Syed Salahuddin, which forced the later to accept the ceasefire on the pain of being without any following."

"But the Kashmiri side of the Hizb too is under pressure. One split that has happened among the Kashmiris is the revolt of Commander Masood of the Pir Panjal regiment. He has declared that he will not abide by the ceasefire and will continue to fight," Mr. Ahmed said in his piece.

He said the rapid pace of developments, beginning with the announcement of the unilateral ceasefire to its revocation had led to speculation in Pakistan that the split in 'jehad' had been engineered by the ISI because the Musharraf Government "wished to bring India under international pressure before the Musharraf-Vajpayee meeting in New York" in September.

HD-1
In another development, reports from Karachi said that the authorities had stopped Maulana Masood Azar, who was freed from an Indian jail in December last in exchange for the passengers of the hijacked IA plane, from speaking at an anti-India rally and banned him from the Sindh province for three months.

Maulana Azar had broken up with the Harkat-ul-Ansar after his release and had floated a new outfit — Jaish-e-Mohammad. The reports said he was stopped on Saturday when he was on his way to Sukkur to hold a 'jehad' rally.

PTI reports from Srinagar:

The Hizb today threatened to use force to scuttle any move aimed at dividing Kashmir valley on communal lines.

"We are eager to see those who have migrated from Kashmir to return to the Valley as they are permanent residents of the State. We will not allow division of Kashmir on communal lines," its spokesman, Commander Masood, said in a statement.

Reacting to the Jammu and Kashmir Government's plan, which envisages setting up transit settlements and camps at three different places in the Valley to rehabilitate Kashmiri migrants, he said, "We reject the plan and will use force, if necessary, to thwart such a plan which is aimed at dividing Kashmir on communal lines." The plan was approved by the State Cabinet on Friday.

THE HINDU

21 AUG 2000

Hizb faction stirs talks hope again

OUR BUREAU

Aug. 22: In what may be further evidence of a faction of the Hizbul Mujahideen leaning towards New Delhi at the risk of a split, the commander-in-chief of Hizb forces in the Kashmir Valley, Abdul Majid Dar, today said "international efforts" were under-way to break the deadlock in the talks.

He also expressed the hope that a ceasefire will become effective within the next "couple of months".

Dar's announcement came on a day when the Hizb in Pakistan claimed responsibility for the Kupwara landmine blast, which killed a brigadier and a colonel.

Indeed, just as Dar was making conciliatory noises from Srinagar, Islamabad-based Hizb chief Syed Salahuddin appeared to be apologising for the ceasefire initiative. "We should have taken all groups into confidence before announcing the ceasefire," he was quoted as saying at a function in Islamabad today. "But we could not do so because of circumstances that I cannot talk about at the moment."

Dar's statement today was his

first public remark since the ceasefire was called off on August 8 by Salahuddin. He was talking to a little-known Srinagar-based news agency, the Central News Service, believed to be close to Hizb commanders in the Valley.

Dar iterated that no dialogue could succeed without the involvement of Pakistan but did not make an issue of talks being held within the Indian Constitution, a big bone of contention between Delhi and the Pakistan-based Hizb leaders. Dar, in fact, said even a solution "favouring India" would be acceptable to him if it came as a result of tripartite talks.

But the most significant thing about Dar's remarks is his praise for Indian intelligence agencies, who, he said, had been making efforts to settle the Kashmir issue. Security and intelligence agencies have been hate objects for Kashmiri militant outfits and Dar's open praise for them is perhaps an indication that he is cosy-ing up to Delhi. There is a widespread view that Dar has made a deal with Delhi and has constantly been in touch with intelligence agencies on ceasefire talks.

Dar's tone and tenor are remarkably similar to that of Fazal Haq Qureshi, the man who led

Hizb commanders to the first and only round of talks with the Centre on August 3. Qureshi, too, has been claiming that dialogue with Delhi will soon be resumed.

Earlier this week, the Hizb headquarters in Pakistan disowned Qureshi and said he had no right to speak on its behalf. Dar, on the other hand, is believed to have had several meetings with Qureshi in the past few weeks.

Both government and Kashmiri militant sources have hinted in the past few weeks that Dar is ready to lead a team of local Hizb commanders to the negotiating table even at the cost of breaking away from the Pakistan-based umbrella militant organisation, the United Jihad Council.

Dar did not blame the Indian government or its agencies for the talks failure, something that his Pakistani bosses have been openly doing. Asked who was responsible for the breakdown, he blamed "some vested interests".

Salahuddin has repeatedly pointed a finger at the "intransigence" of the Government of India on the issue of Pakistan's inclusion and its insistence on a solution within the framework of the Constitution.

■ More reports on Page 6

THE TELEGRAPH

23 AUG 2000

Hizb chief denies Dar statement

AFP & PTI

MUZAFFARABAD (PoK)/NEW DELHI, Aug. 23. — A day after Abdul Majid Dar declared that a new ceasefire would be in place in the next two months, Hizbul supreme leader, Syed Salahuddin, said the outfit's Jammu and Kashmir-based leader had been "misquoted".

In New Delhi, Hurriyat chairman Abdul Gani Bhat said a ceasefire with an individual outfit could only provide a "temporary solution" — the Kashmir issue could be resolved only through tripartite talks between India, Pakistan and representatives from the Valley.

What Dar meant was that the "situation will be clear within two months," Salahuddin said in Muzaffarabad, Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. "The ceasefire will be resumed only after India accepts our basic demands, whether in two days, two months or in ten years."

If India agreed, Hizbul Mujahideen would take a step "bigger than the ceasefire", Salahuddin said. And "Pakistan will back us in that step."

In an interview to a Srinagar-based news agency yesterday, Dar had said that international efforts were on to break the deadlock, and that a new ceasefire in the state would come into force within two months. On 8 August, Salahuddin had called off the ceasefire Dar had declared earlier.

Blast breakthrough: Six mil-

itants, including a Pakistani national and a member of the Lashkar-e-Taiyaba, were arrested today for the 10 August car bomb blast that killed 15, including Pradeep Bhatia, *The Hindustan Times* photographer, in Srinagar.

From Rajouri in the Jammu region, security forces recovered a huge cache of arms and ammunition last evening, an official spokesman said in Srinagar today.

Ghauri III tested: Stratfor, a prestigious US Intelligence consultancy firm, was today quoted by a Pakistani daily as having said Islamabad might have tested its Ghauri III missile on India's Independence Day.

Seven objects streaking through the Baluchistan sky on 15 August were perhaps Ghauri III missiles, tested deliberately on India's Independence Day, *The News* quoted Stratfor as saying. The report said Pakistan's air force has a major base west of Quetta, which it uses as a missile test range.

A report from Islamabad today quoted Gen. Pervez Musharraf as saying any attempt to violate Pakistani territory would be repulsed "with full force". Pakistan, he told troops at a training area outside Lahore, was "fully capable of thwarting any aggressive design of the adversary".

- Editorial: *Halfway house*, page 6
- Another report on page 8

THE STATESMAN

24 AUG 2000

Vigil on Hizbul-Lashkar clashes

KAVITA SURI
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

SRINAGAR, Aug. 24. — Inter-group and intra-group rivalry among militant outfits operating in J&K is not a new trend. But, security agencies are keeping a close watch on the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba and Hizbul Mujahideen clashes in the post-ceasefire period.

After the Hizbul chief Syed Salahuddin called off the unilateral ceasefire on 8 August, many developments involving the two important militant outfits have taken place. The Lashkar comprises mainly youths, and the Hizbul has foreign militants.

Immediately after the cease-

fire was withdrawn, the Lashkar triggered a car blast on Residency Road, killing 14 people, including photojournalist Pradeep Bhatia. On 17 August a Lashkar militant was gunned down at Mehrot in Poonch by Hizbul militants. And a couple of days ago, two Hizbul commanders surrendered before the Romeo Force in Rajouri.

Mr Gurbachan Jagat, J&K director-general of police, told **The Statesman**: that group rivalries "came to the fore when the ISI handed over the reigns of militancy to foreign mercenaries sidelining the local ones". When everything from money distribution to arms and operations came under them, local militants felt cheated by the ISI

and giving rise to serious differences among the outfits.

During the past few months, the main cause of clashes was Jaish-e-Mohammadia, the outfit floated by Moulana Masood Azhar. Most militants from various groups have joined Jaish leading to differences within the cadres, said the DGP.

Abu Hijrat, Lashkar instructor who recently surrendered to the Army in Jammu, has said relations between the two outfits were never good, for Hizbul always considered Lashkar "a threat to their dominance".

Lashkar cadres operating in J&K have direct instructions from Ameer Hafis Sayeed to target Hizbul men in the state "as they committed treason by

announcing the ceasefire".

Though security agencies have launched a massive hunt for Lashkar cadres, observers feel that had the ceasefire remained in force they would have been able to eliminate "almost the entire Lashkar cadres as Hizbul knows most of the hideouts and infiltration routes from where they sneak into Indian territory."

Though Hizbul has withdrawn the ceasefire, security agencies fear a bloodbath between the two militant outfits, primarily because Lashkar cadres have clear cut instructions from across the border to go for Hizbul activists. The unified command of security agencies has put all the forces on alert.

THE STATESMAN

25 AUG 2000

Osama plot to target Sydney N-site foiled

27/8
AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

AUCKLAND, Aug. 26. — A terrorist plot targeting a nuclear reactor in Sydney during the Olympic games has been thwarted, New Zealand police said today.

Osama bin Laden sympathisers planned to attack the 42-year-old Lucas Heights reactor in Sydney's south, New Zealand detectives said.

The report comes just a day after the International Olympic Committee withdrew an invitation to the Taliban militia to send two official observers to the Olympics.

The Weekly Herald said its sources revealed members of what appeared to be a clandestine cell of Afghan refugees in Auckland granted New Zealand residency "continue to maintain direct telephone links with suspected terrorist organisations in their strife-torn homeland."

Detectives in Auckland stumbled on the apparent reactor conspiracy during an investigation into people-smuggling by organised crime syndicates.

They conducted house raids in March and found evidence suggesting a conspiracy to attack the reactor, situated in a dense residential area.

THE STATESMAN

27 AUG 2000

49-17

India may join 'Shanghai Five'

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JULY 5. India may join the Shanghai Five, a regional summit devoted to security and struggle against international terrorism that unites Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

India, Iran and Uzbekistan were seeking membership of the Shanghai Five, the Mayak Radio said in its broadcast from Dushanbe, capital of Tajikistan, where the presidents of the Shanghai Five held a one-day meeting on Wednesday. The President of Uzbekistan, Mr. Islam Karimov, for the first time took part in the summit as an observer.

Speaking after the summit the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, said the Shanghai Five was not 'a closed club' and was open for other countries to join. He proposed renaming the Shanghai Five into the Shanghai Forum, because discussions had gone far beyond the original agenda of the summit set

up in 1996 to resolve border issues along the old Sino-Soviet frontier.

"This organisation has become a significant factor for stability in the region and has a serious influence on the international situation," the Russian leader told press persons in Dushanbe.

The presidents of the Shanghai Five adopted a Dushanbe Declaration which called for coordination of efforts in combating international terrorism and regional extremism, agency reports said. The Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, said the Shanghai Five had been forced to shift their attention from border issues to terrorism because of the 'activation of international terrorism' in the region. The declaration singled out Afghanistan as the chief source of instability outside Central Asia's borders.

The Uzbek leader, Mr. Karimov, suggested that Russia and China, as members of the UN

Security Council, should propose the establishment of a single anti-terrorist centre at the UN Millennium Summit in September. For his part, Mr. Putin announced that Russia would set up a military base in Tajikistan on the basis of the Russian 201st army division deployed in the republic for the past several years.

The summit supported a proposal by Kyrgyzstan to set up a joint anti-terrorist centre on its territory, which last year was invaded by fundamentalist rebels trained in Afghanistan.

The Shanghai Five also urged preserving the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty as a cornerstone of global strategic stability and came out in favour of banning all use of force in international relations without UN sanctions.

The five presidents strongly backed the Russian military operation in Chechnya.

THE HINDU

11 200

Existing law can deal with terrorism: NHRC

187 By J. Venkatesan 119 i

NEW DELHI, JULY 12. Even as the Government is keen on enacting a new law to tackle cross-border terrorism and insurgency, the National Human Rights Commission is totally against any such "draconian" legislation.

At a meeting yesterday, the Commission, presided over by the chairperson, Mr. Justice J. S. Verma, felt that there was no need for enactment of the Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2000 or a similar law and that the existing laws were sufficient to deal with "any eventuality, including terrorism".

During a meeting last month, the Chief Secretaries of States favoured the introduction of the new law. The NHRC's decision has come as a shock to the Government which planned to introduce the Bill in the monsoon session of Parliament.

The meeting, convened to seek the NHRC's opinion, reviewed the draft Bill and the relevant judgments and the views of NGOs. The Commission was unanimous that there was no need for a new law.

The Commission felt that unless there were "compelling reasons to depart", its earlier opinion should prevail. "The real

need is to strengthen the machinery for implementation and enforcement of the existing laws and further for this purpose, the working of the entire criminal justice system requires to be strengthened."

THE HINDU

13 JUL 2000

Jethmalani against enactment of special anti-terrorism law

New Delhi, July 16

UNION LAW Minister Ram Jethmalani is opposed to the proposed Prevention of Terrorism Bill 2000 recommended by the Law Commission and intends to take it up with the Cabinet.

"I am personally against enactment of any special law against terrorism as it is bound to be misused by the police," said Jethmalani.

"Now that the National Human Rights Commission has reacted against the enactment of the Prevention of Terrorism Bill, I will soon write a detailed note against the proposed bill recommended by the Law Commission and forward it to the Union Cabinet."

The Government had said in response to the NHRC objection

that the proposed law "strikes a very good balance" between the requirements of combating terrorism and protecting the essential human rights of the accused.

Asked whether the NHRC could reject a bill and advise the Government not to enact a particular law, the Law Minister said, "The NHRC has no such mandate to advise the Government to either enact a particular law or not. It was a body set up to deal with the human rights violation cases alone."

The NHRC on Friday rejected the Government's defence on a draft bill on the lines of TADA and categorically said, "There is no need to enact such a law."

However, Jethmalani said the NHRC was supposed to react to all

legislations which it felt would violate citizens' human rights or would be an instrument in the hands of the authorities to abuse power.

"The NHRC feels the provisions in the proposed Prevention of Terrorism Bill will be inconsistent with the human rights of the citizens. That is why it has reacted in this manner," the Law Minister said.

He said existing laws were enough to meet any untoward incidents arising out of insurgency, militancy and terrorism.

The NHRC had taken a similar view and said there was no need to enact the new terrorism law as solutions to the problems could be found under the existing laws, if properly implemented. (PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

17 JUL 2000

Govt. to consult NHRC on terrorism law

By Our Legal Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 17. The Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, has told the consultative committee of Members of Parliament that the Government would consult the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) on the proposed anti-terrorism legislation.

(The NHRC had earlier rejected the proposed law, saying that the existent laws were sufficient to deal with any situation, including insurgency and terrorism).

Mr. Advani told the members that the Government was yet to take a decision on the legislation and the views expressed by the NHRC would be taken into account. Before bringing in any such law, the Government would like to have wide-ranging debates and consultations.

He said the conference of the Chief Ministers on internal security, to be inaugurated by the Prime Minister next month, would provide an opportunity to assess views on the need for the anti-terrorism law. Various political parties might also be consulted, if need be.

The Law Commission had drafted the Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2000 as there were demands from several quarters. He recalled saying earlier that while Central legislation in this regard was not being considered, the States might do so.

Following persistent demands from the States, the Government had asked the Law Commission

to draft the legislation in conformity with similar legislation in other democracies, and incorporating enough safeguards. He said the Government had not taken any decision.

The members were unanimous that terrorism was posing a grave threat to national unity. Though there was divergence of views with some members saying that existing laws were sufficient, a majority felt there was a need for special legislation to tackle terrorism.

About the provision on the obligation to furnish information and the apprehension that it would cover journalists too, Mr. Advani, said existing laws of the IPC also had similar provisions. In any case, before taking any view on the draft Bill it would be discussed with journalists.

The meeting was attended among others by Mr. Indrajit Gupta, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, Mr. Shivraj Patil, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad and Dr. Karan Singh.

Indian peacekeeper dies

FREETOWN, JULY 17. An Indian peacekeeper died on Saturday from wounds suffered during the operation to free the remaining U.N. troops held by rebels in eastern Sierra Leone, the U.N. force commander, Gen. Vijay Jetley, said here today. Seven troops were wounded. — AFP, PTI

THE HINDU

18 JUL 2000

98-8
19/7

Spectre of oppressive laws

Case against a new TADA

IN April this year the Law Commission — an expert non-statutory body — submitted to the Central government its unanimous report recommending adoption of the Prevention of Terrorism Bill 2000. On July 14, after careful consideration, the National Human Rights Commission — an expert statutory body — unanimously opined that the Bill as proposed be not enacted. The Bill, it said, would have the ill-effect of providing unintentionally a strong weapon capable of “gross misuse” which must be avoided in view of the past experiences of misuse of TADA, and earlier of MISA of the Emergency days. The voice of mature experience should have prevailed. But it has not — not yet. Instead, a government spokesman has said that it is determined to press ahead with the Bill, although the Law Minister says he is opposed to it. Amidst all this disputation, the public is left confused.

The proposed Bill is drastic. It permits custodial detention during investigation for as long as six months, Special Courts are set up, empowered to sit in any place, and to order that its proceedings be not publicised, bail is to be ordinarily denied if the public prosecutor opposes it; then there is a statutory abrogation of the presumption of innocence contrary to the mandate of the IC-CPR (1966) which India ratified in 1979; and, to crown it, all, the safeguard in the Evidence Act 1872 is removed — the confession of an accused recorded by a superintendent of police is made admissible in evidence: almost an invitation to custodial torture.

But all this may well have been “small change”, if the public could be assured that a harsh law was really necessary to put an end to “terrorism”. Past experience shows it is not.

The TADA Acts of 1987, which lapsed in May 1995, were even more stringent than the proposed Bill, but “terrorism” did not abate during the entire period of their operation. The powers exercisable under TADA Acts were

made more horrendous by the official statistical revelation that not more than one per cent of those tried before the designated courts were convicted — the rest were acquitted for “want of evidence”: that is, in 99 per cent of the cases, the accused (who was invariably denied bail before trial) was wrongly prosecuted under TADA. The Law Commission overlooked this vital piece of information when making its recommendations, as also the fact that the successful working of the proposed new law depends entirely on the proper functioning of police officers and of public prosecutors: neither of whom have functioned “properly”. Vari-



FALI S. NARIMAN

A vital fact ignored by those arguing for a new anti-terrorism Bill: in 99 per cent of the cases the accused was wrongly prosecuted under TADA

ous reports of police commissions, backed by the experience of the NHRC, show that constant interference with the police force has seriously impaired its ability to investigate crimes freely and independently. Besides, the absence of proper training and the lack of forensic skills has thus far prevented effective investigations by the police, even when there is no outside interference.

There is also no competent machinery to prosecute, with efficiency and expertise, terrorist-related crimes: the public prosecutor who is to be assigned this job belongs to the same class of public prosecutors who have not proved to be highly successful even when prosecuting ordinary crimes.

And above all there is the problem of oppressive laws creating a climate of oppression. Never underestimate this. I was witness to its manifestation during the period of the Internal Emergency. I had been invited to preside at a Confer-

ence of Andhra state lawyers at Rajamundhry in August 1975. Justice Krishna Iyer was to inaugurate the conference: it was expected that 2,000 lawyers would attend. Despite the proclamation of the Emergency, they did: When we arrived, the organiser (a senior lawyer of the district) informed us with anguish that his son, a law student at Visakhapatnam, who was assisting him in the arrangements, had been arrested under MISA the day before our arrival. He was a conscientious student — almost obtusely so. When his lecturer had announced in class that they would all march in procession on a particular week-day in support of Indira Ga-

But, after this, the boy simply could not be found! No one knew where he was put away; he was ultimately located after some weeks, in some jail in a remote part of the state, and ultimately (after many anxious moments) returned to his parents. No one in Delhi instructed the district magistrate to act as he did — in fact, North Block, even in those lawless times, would have been aghast at such irresponsibility. But, once laws are passed which enable untutored officials to act, then in this country (and possibly in every other country) they will do so, with hobnailed boots!

With the prospect of a repressive law being oppressively implemented, the people could of course turn to the courts. But unfortunately the courts can do little — especially after the constitutional validity of the TADA Acts have been upheld (by a majority of judges) in Kartar Singh's case (1994): a truly regrettable decision, as regrettable as the earlier one in ADM Jabalpur (1976) during the Emergency era — in which Chief Justice Ray infamously said that liberty itself was the gift of the law and may by law be forfeited or abridged!

In the wake of acute differences in perception between the Law Commission and the NHRC, the citizen's plight is somewhat akin to the exasperation of a judge of the court of appeal in England who many years ago (when examining two conflicting opinions of the House of Lords) made the plaintive plea: “Overrule us if it please you, but at least say something clear to guide us in the future”. The two commissions, the one set up by the government and the other by Parliament, must put their collective heads together and tell us whether, in the wider public and national interest, individual human rights safeguarded under our Constitution really do need to be sacrificed at the altar of a fierce anti-terrorist law. Say something clear, good ladies and gentlemen, to guide us: but please say it in unison.

The writer is an eminent lawyer.

INDIAN EXPRESS

19 JUL 2000

Jethmalani meets Verma to 'explain' Govt. stand on bill

J. Venkatesan

NEW DELHI, JULY 19. The Union Law Minister, Mr. Ram Jethmalani, today called on the Chairperson of the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), Mr. Justice J. S. Verma, and discussed with him the proposed bill on terrorism.

During the hour-long meeting, Mr. Jethmalani reportedly explained the Government's stand vis-a-vis the NHRC's views on the need for such legislation.

At the Parliamentary Committee meeting, the Union Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, had assured the Members of Parliament that the Government would take the NHRC into confidence before bringing in the legislation. No final decision had been taken on enacting the law and the issue would be discussed with the Chief Ministers and a consensus arrived at.

It was in this context that Mr. Jethmalani met Mr. Justice Verma. The meeting assumes significance because the NHRC had rejected the Government's move to introduce a special law to tackle terrorism and insurgency.

According to sources, the Minister assured Mr. Justice Verma that the Government would try to arrive at a consensus in favour of the proposed legislation. (Mr. Jethmalani has already aired his personal view that he was against the introduction of a special law to deal with terrorism).

He reportedly assured the NHRC Chairperson that provisions ensuring human rights of detenus as also greater accountability of police and other security agencies would be incorporated in the new law.

In the perception of NHRC, "there is no need to enact a law based on the draft Prevention of Terrorism Bill, 2000." If the proposed legislation was enacted, it would result in gross misuse and violation of human rights.

According to Law Ministry sources, this view was hailed worldwide by human rights organisations/activists, including Amnesty International, and the Government was put in an embarrassing situation.

Mr. Jethmalani's meeting with Mr. Justice Verma was intended to mollify the Commission and explain that its sentiments would be honoured.

THE HINDU

20 JUL 2000

Hizbul announces three-month ceasefire in J&K

Centre hails ^{25/7} JKLf leader
decision ^{gr 1} sees U.S. hand

By Law Kumar Mishra

The Times of India News Service

SRINAGAR: In an unexpected development, Hizbul Mujahideen, the formidable pro-Pakistan militant outfit, announced a unilateral ceasefire for three months in Jammu and Kashmir. The announcement was made at a hurriedly convened press conference called by Abdul Majid Dar, "chief commander" of the outfit, on Monday.

Although the Centre welcomed the decision of the Hizbul Mujahideen, a state government spokesman said, "The chief minister considers it below his dignity to comment on the militants' announcement. He would have reacted had the announcement been made by Pakistan's CEO, Gen Parvez Musharaff."

Even as the Hizbul leader was making the announcement, a rocket-propelled grenade landed at a BSF bunker in downtown Srinagar.

The Hizbul Mujahideen shot into the limelight in 1990 when it virtually hijacked militancy from the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). Its first target was Mir Mustafa, an independent MLA, who was killed in captivity.

Reacting to the announcement, Abdul Gani Bhatt, the newly elected chairman of the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), told this newspaper that his party was awaiting the details of the announcement and would make a statement on Tuesday.

According to Mr Dar, the outfit's 'supreme commander', Syed Salahuddin alias Mohammad Yusuf, who is also chief of the Jihad Council (an umbrella organisation of militant outfits in PoK), had given his approval for the ceasefire.

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Top leaders of the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) went into a huddle in Rawalpindi on Monday evening to decide on a response to the Hizbul Mujahideen's move to order a ceasefire and seek talks with New Delhi.

"Yeh kaisa bam phat gaya (What a bomb has exploded!)," was the first reaction of JKLF chief Amanullah Khan when he spoke to *The Times of India* from his residence in Rawalpindi. Mr Khan said he would "neither condemn nor welcome" the move. He, however, admitted that it had taken the JKLF by surprise. "At a meeting yesterday, these communal-minded groups accused the JKLF, saying that it had no one in the field. Now look what they've done," he said.

Asked whether the Hizbul Mujahideen could have made the cease-fire decision without clearance from the authorities in Islamabad, Mr Khan said, "This is possible." But he hastened to add that the top bosses of the Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan had been having extended discussions with representatives of the State Department in the U.S., including especially Karl Inderfurth. "Everyone here (in Pakistan) is saying that the U.S. has found a new ally," he said.

Asked what possible steps the JKLF would now take, Mr Khan said that for quite a while, his organisation had been arguing that militancy had to be brought down—but not entirely abandoned—in favour of a diplomatic and political solution. He said the JKLF would also be prepared to talk to the Indian government on the "basis of our ideology and our formula".

THE TIMES OF INDIA

25 JUL 2000

Anti-terrorism Bill: some misconceptions

By B. P. Jeevan Reddy

THE PREVENTION of Terrorism Bill 2000, sent recently by the Law Commission to the Government of India, has aroused a good amount of controversy. The project was not taken up by the Law Commission on its own. It was requested by the Ministry of Home Affairs to do so. The Government had prepared a revised version of TADA called the Criminal Law Amendment Bill 1995. Later certain official amendments were introduced. The Law Commission took the said Bill and the official amendments into consideration and prepared a new Bill, which does not deal with disruptive activities as was done by TADA. It is directed only against acts against the unity, integrity, security or sovereignty of India or to strike terror in the people or in a section of the people. It provides for punishment for possession of unauthorised arms in notified areas. It declares the holding of 'proceeds of terrorism' an offence and prescribes a procedure by which such proceeds can be forfeited to the State. The idea is to target the assets acquired by terrorists wherever and by whomsoever they are held.

Some critics say the Acts seek to penalise journalists for not disclosing their sources. All that section 14 says is that an investigating officer is entitled to call upon any person in possession of information relating to an offence under the Act to furnish such information to him. Failure to do so is punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three years or fine or both. The section does not create an exemption or an immunity in favour of the journalists. The British Acts already in force or the proposed anti-terrorism Bill introduced in the British Parliament also do not contain such exemption. The Supreme Court of India has repeatedly held that a journalist has no greater freedom of speech and expression than any other citizen. It is well settled by the decisions of British courts that where the public interest requires, a journalist can be compelled to disclose his sources. The same would be the law here.

It is also said that the confession made to a police officer is made relevant and admissible. This criticism is again based upon an incomplete reading of the Bill. Section 27 makes confessions to a police officer relevant. But such a confession is

not admissible by itself. If a confession is made before him, the police officer is under an obligation to produce the person before a Chief Metropolitan Magistrate or a Chief Judicial Magistrate, along with the statement of confession. The Chief Metropolitan Magistrate/Chief Judicial Magistrate is required by law to ascertain whether the accused has been subjected to any torture and also to record his statement. If the accused complains of any torture, he shall be sent for medical examination and thereafter the accused will go to judicial custody and not back to the police custody. What is admissible is both the statement before the police officer and the statement and record before the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate/Chief Judicial Magistrate.

istration of an offence falls to ground; (ii) The accused is entitled to have his legal advisor present during his interrogation by the police; (iii) An offence under the Act can be registered only by police officers not lower in rank than Deputy Superintendent/ Assistant Commissioner; (iv) No prosecution can be launched unless the State Government accords sanction therefor; (v) Appeal against an order refusing bail; (vi) An appeal to the High Court against conviction; (vii) Punishment of officials abusing the powers conferred upon them by the Act; (viii) Constant monitoring of the progress of cases by the Review Committees and (ix) Provision for transfer of a trial, at the instance of accused or prosecution, if a fair trial is not possible in the appropriate special court and so on.

The mere possibility of abuse of an Act cannot be a ground against its very enactment.

It is also said that the burden of proof is shifted to the accused and the presumption of innocence is made inoperative. This is unfounded. There is no such provision in the Bill suggested by the Law Commission. Another criticism is that bail provisions are made stringent and that no bail can be granted unless a notice is given to the public prosecutor. Sub-sections (6) to (9) of Section 30 are substantially akin to the relevant provisions in TADA relating to bail. The Supreme Court has pointed out in *Kartar Singh's* case that the provisions of TADA relating to bail are in essence the same as those contained in the Criminal Procedure Code. Just because the provisions of bail are made little more stringent, as it ought to be in the case of an anti-terrorism law, no exception can be taken to it.

The Bill contains innumerable safeguards against abuse. It is not correct to say that the Law Commission has not taken into consideration the experience under TADA. It is in the light of said experience alone that a number of new safeguards have been provided, e.g. (i) Unless an FIR is approved within ten days by the Director-General of Police or within 30 days by the Review Committee (composed of Secretaries to the Government), the reg-

Good Friday Accord (concerning Northern Ireland), the Government recently introduced a permanent anti-terrorism Bill in Parliament. The provisions of the said Bill, which have been set out *in extenso* in the report of the Law Commission, are more stringent than the Bill prepared by the Law Commission. The U.S. also enacted an anti-terrorism law with more elaborate and more stringent provisions. But then it is said that our police are notorious for abusing their powers and that therefore the examples of England or the U.S. are not relevant. If this logic is extended, even the Indian Penal Code should be repealed because the rate of conviction under the IPC is hardly six per cent; 94 per cent of the prosecutions end in acquittals. Indeed, human ingenuity has not been able to devise a law which cannot be abused by persons so minded. The mere possibility of abuse of an Act cannot be a ground against its very enactment — a fact repeatedly affirmed by the Supreme Court. The Law Commission would appreciate if someone suggests further safeguards to protect the human rights of the accused but it is difficult to understand the argument that in as much as the Act is likely to be abused by the police, no such Act should be enacted even though India is indisputably one of the worst victims of terrorism — much more than the U.K.

Some persons hold the view that an anti-terrorism law is not required to fight terrorism in India. But there are others who hold the contrary view, as would be evident from the Report of the Law Commission. It is, of course, for the Government and ultimately for Parliament to decide whether such a law is necessary. The Law Commission does not monitor the implementation of its recommendations nor it is supposed to do so. For example, the Law Commission had *suo motu* prepared a measure called "Corrupt Public Servants Forfeiture of Property Bill" providing for forfeiture of assets of corrupt public servants, which expression includes Ministers and Legislators. No action has been taken so far to introduce such a Bill in Parliament, in spite of the Central Vigilance Commission and some organisations pleading for it. (The writer is Chairman, Law Commission of India.)

Before preparing the Report, Law Commission held two seminars to ascertain informed public opinion. The first seminar was inaugurated by Mr. Justice J.S. Verma, Chairman, National Human Rights Commission. While certain representatives of human rights organisations said no such law was necessary since it was likely to be abused, Mr. Justice Verma's, personal view was that in the present circumstances such a law was necessary particularly to preserve the unity and integrity of the country, but that adequate safeguards should be incorporated therein to prevent its abuse. He stressed the desirability of appropriate provisions to make the matter of bail realistic (as laid down by the Supreme Court) and to ensure speedy trial. The learned Judge also opined that mere possibility of abuse cannot be a ground for not enacting such a law and suggested vesting of the powers in high-level officers to guard against abuse. He also suggested provision for punishment of officers misusing the powers.

The Law Commission preferred the view expressed by Mr. Justice Verma, particularly in the context of the material placed before us by the Home Ministry. England has had anti-terrorism laws for more than last two decades and notwithstanding the

Kargil made Kashmir ultras rethink their future

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE AND AGENCIES

NEW DELHI, July 26. — Mr

George Fernandes today said some Kashmiri militants were rethinking their future after the Pakistani intrusion into Kargil was repulsed last year.

“Major Kashmiri militant groups have started re-think-

ing their future and this is the direct fallout of Pakistan's defeat last year”, the defence minister said today.

Mr Fernandes hoped that the temporary ceasefire announced by the Hizbul Mujahideen would lead to a process of “dialogue and peace” in the Valley. He said the Centre would respond to the offer very soon. The rethinking by the militants showed that the Kashmiris were losing faith in Pakistan's attempts to create trouble in the Valley.

He added the militants were getting financial and military backing from Pakistan, something “local” Kashmiris were now worrying about.

Mr Fernandes' statements come on the occasion of Kargil Vijay Divas today, commemorating India's victory over Pakistani intruders in Kargil.

Asked what the major lesson from Kargil was, the defence minister said it was “never ever trust anybody” and to always be vigilant. He said the country had to pay a heavy

price in Kargil as some slackness crept in after the Simla Accord in 1972 when it was decided by both sides that some areas would not be manned.

“Kargil Day”, he said, was no celebration. “The day is being observed to remember the supreme sacrifices by valiant soldiers and officers,” he said.

“This is also to remind our enemy what consequences await them if they dare such misadventures again”, Mr Fernandes said, adding that there were talks last year of

many other Kargil's happening and if anybody dared, the same fate would befall them.

He said the day was also being observed to tell the country's enemy the capability of India's armed forces which would safeguard national security.

Asked about modernisation efforts in the armed forces after the inadequacies were exposed in Kargil, Mr Fernandes said: “Whatever is needed is being made available and finances are not being allowed to come in the way”.

THE STATESMAN

27 JUL 2000

Army suspends Hizbul chase

Hurriyat Conference welcomes talks offer; Govt optimistic

HTC and Agencies
Srinagar, July 29

CARRYING FORWARD the Centre's initiative of opening talks with the Hizbul Mujahideen (HM), the Army today suspended all operations in Jammu and Kashmir against the outfit, reciprocating its unilateral ceasefire as Home Minister L. K. Advani expressed hope that HM leaders would come overground for parleys with the government.

However, the army operations against other militant outfits would continue as before, Lt Gen. J. R. Mukherjee, Commander 15th Corps, told reporters.

"In keeping with the directions given by the government, I have instructed all field commanders of all security forces in Kashmir to suspend all operations against the Hizbul Mujahideen," he announced a day after the Centre asked the leadership of the Pakistan-based outfit to come overground for talks. The army order would also apply to foreign militants cadres of HM.

The Hizbul Mujahideen have welcomed the government's offer of talks for resolving the Kashmir issue but said a formal reaction would emerge only after the meeting of its supreme council ended.

As Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah met Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in Delhi, Mr Advani told

reporters in Chennai that the Centre might have reservations talking to Pakistan but had no hesitation in talking to "our own people even though they have strayed to the path of militancy." The leaders and cadres of Hizbul were all Kashmiris and "there should be no hesitation in talking to our own people, who strayed onto the

In a Nutshell

- Hizbul Mujahideen welcomes talks offer but says formal reaction only after a meeting of the outfit's Supreme Council.
- Army suspends all operations against the militant organisation.
- Hurriyat welcomes government's decision for talks without any pre-conditions.
- Home Minister L K Advani hopes Hizbul will respond positively to talks offer.
- Farooq Abdullah meets Prime Minister Vajpayee, says Pakistan should ask other militant organisations to shun violence.
- The J&K Council for Human Rights welcomes government's peace overtures.

path of militancy," he said. Mr Advani was optimistic that the Hizbul leaders would respond positively to the Government's call for talks.

The Home Minister the Hizbul's ceasefire offer was an outcome of the Government's three-pronged strategy in tackling militancy in Kashmir. The strategy involved defeating mili-

tant violence overground, engaging those who strayed towards militancy in talks to resolve their genuine grievances, and speeding up the developmental process.

He pointed out that militant-sponsored violence in the Valley had come down after the Hizbul's ceasefire and the security forces had also been asked to respect the ceasefire.

Mr Advani said that the Centre was dealing with a "measure of caution" the declaration of the ceasefire by Hizbul Mujahideen.

In a major shift of stand, the Hurriyat Conference has termed as "welcome change" the Centre's decision to hold talks without any pre-conditions with the Hizbul and expressed the hope that the change of attitude may lead to a permanent resolution of the Kashmir problem. Hurriyat had initially criticised HM for declaring the ceasefire.

When contacted, a spokesman of the Hizbul Mujahideen said from Islamabad that "it was a welcome step as the Indian Government was not sticking to its earlier stand of holding talks within the Indian framework." However, he said, "our high command is in session to discuss the Indian response following our ceasefire offer in Kashmir."

J&K Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah has said the announcement of ceasefire by HM was a "welcome step" but more such steps were needed from Pakistan before India could enter into any dialogue. **See also Page 10**

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

30 JUL 2000

Hizbul names team for talks with Govt

Militant outfit wants India to be more 'flexible'

Muzaffarabad, July 30

PAKISTAN-BASED MILITANT group Hizbul Mujahideen on Sunday named a three-member team which it would like to be present in the proposed negotiations between the Indian government and the "Kashmiri leadership," reports AFP.

Hizbul spokesman Kalim Siddiqui said that the group's top leader Syed Salahuddin named Ghulam Ali, Mushtaq Gillani and Mohammad Ali Saqib for the talks.

"There can be other people as well but these three have raised the issue around the world and we want them in any negotiations between India and the Kashmiri leadership," Siddiqui said.

Earlier, the Hizbul Mujahideen central command, which met in Islamabad on Sunday, asked the Indian government to bring "flexibility" in its stand towards Pakistan.

Salahuddin, in a statement, said his outfit had already made it clear that the Kashmir issue could be settled "only through tripartite talks that include Kashmiris, India and Pakistan".

The pro-Pakistan militant outfit also threatened to review its ceasefire if the government sets conditions for the proposed talks.

"The beginning of the talks process will be impossible unless India categorically announces to hold unconditional talks. The Hizbul Mujahideen will have no other option but to review its ceasefire declaration," Salahuddin said.

The Hizbul leader said his organisation had created a "conducive" atmosphere for talks by announcing a unilateral ceasefire.

Even as the Hizbul announced the names of the team for the talks with the Government, Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah met Home Minister L K Advani in New Delhi today, adds HTC. They agreed that operations against militant outfits other than the Hizbul Mujahideen would continue unless they too announced a ceasefire and showed readiness for talks with the Centre.

Dr Abdullah said while he welcomed the ceasefire



Syed Salahuddin

announced by the Hizbul, other militant outfits should follow suit for lasting peace.

Dr Abdullah, who later left for Srinagar, said his government has extended full support to the Centre for its current initiative to restore peace. "When I took oath in October 1996, I had made it clear that I will knock every door that could lead me to peace and prosperity for the people of the State," he said.

He said he was in favour of talks between India and Pakistan but echoed the Centre's stand that dialogue could not be held until Islamabad stopped "abetting cross-border terrorism."

Dr Abdullah and Mr Advani also discussed the autonomy issue for

Ceasefire modality talks

Talks have begun between the security forces in Kashmir and the Hizbul Mujahideen which made a shock ceasefire offer one week ago, a top police official said on Sunday. "There is a contact that has been made to sort out the modalities of a formal ceasefire," said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

"We are confident that acceptable modalities will be worked out within a week or 10 days," the official said, stressing that the initial talks were "not at the political level." Hizbul Mujahideen, the largest of the indigenous Kashmiri militant groups, made their surprise unilateral ceasefire announcement on July 24.

"The ceasefire is an extremely important step," the police official said. "It's too early to say what form a formal ceasefire would take. Let's see what they want first. Above all, the ceasefire must be adhered to. But certainly this has the potential to mark a turning point in the militancy in Kashmir," he said.

AFP, Srinagar

which the former has been meeting several political leaders to gather support. He reiterated that the Centre should set up a group of ministers (GOM) to avoid further alienation of the Kashmiri people.

"We have formed a GOM and we want the same from the Centre...let this forum discuss and make necessary amendments in our report after convincing us," he said.

Asked whether the autonomy resolution was to stall the dialogue between the Centre and the Hurriyat Conference, Dr

Abdullah said, "Why should I stall it when I have expressed my desire to talk to them."

He denied that he had locked horns with anyone in the bureaucracy at the Centre over talks with the Hurriyat.

Dr Abdullah said grant of greater autonomy would bring misguided youths back to the national mainstream. "These youths have understood that neither the State would be annexed to Pakistan nor will it become independent...and I have information that they would be content with the resolution. There is a need for all political leaders to put their heads together and sort out the issue," he said.

Dr Abdullah, who met Finance Minister Yashwant Sinha also yesterday, said he had asked him to release plan funds for the State at one go as the working season for utilisation of such funds was very limited.

Even Beijing agrees

CHINESE PRESIDENT Jiang Zemin's forceful condemnation of international terrorism during his talks with Indian President K. R. Narayanan in Beijing should help consolidate support for a concerted effort to tackle this menace. Though China is also concerned over the rapid rise of Islamic fundamentalism along its western periphery, it has often stopped short of openly condemning international terrorism, including the kind promoted in the various training camps in the south Asian neighbourhood. This has been interpreted in diplomatic circles as a concession to its longstanding friend and ally, Pakistan, which is now widely regarded as a country with established links with terrorist outfits which are active in the south and central Asian region.

Mr Jiang's assertion that there can be no justification for using terror as a political tool is particularly significant since political disputes have often been used as a pretext for propagating a series of unlawful and trans-border activities ranging from drug trafficking to gun-running. It is quite possible that the strong position adopted by the United States on this issue and the signals given by President Bill Clinton during his visit to India in March this year, could have persuaded the Chinese leadership to spell out its position for the first time in such unequivocal terms.

India has worked long and hard on a new draft of an International Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, some of the loose ends of which were sorted out through discussions with US officials in Washington last month. This draft seeks to put together a comprehensive framework for tackling terrorism by combining the relevant points made in earlier legislations and conventions, including the Montreal and Hague conventions. It also includes provisions for dealing with hijackings and "nuclear terrorism". India and the US have agreed to lobby support for adoption of the convention at the UN General Assembly session later this year. Besides, several European countries and Japan have already indicated that they will back this proposal.

That is why, a clear enunciation of its position by Beijing should make it even better for the global community to formulate a lucid response. It will not only provide more value to its international endorsement, it will also raise hopes regarding its influence on the conduct of India's western neighbour, from where a substantial part of the problem originates. Indeed, that makes the import of Mr Jiang's words doubly welcome.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

51 JUN 2000

40-13
5/6

U.S. panel for aggressive steps against terrorism

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By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JUNE 4. A bipartisan commission on terrorism has called on the United States Government to take more "aggressive" steps to combat the menace. The National Commission on Terrorism has suggested a number of steps including removing restrictions on the Central Intelligence Agency, monitoring foreign students and slapping sanctions on "friendly countries" such as Pakistan and Greece.

The Commission's 64-page report will be formally released tomorrow but excerpts have appeared in the Sunday editions of *The Washington Post*. A pointed suggestion has been that the U.S. military, and not the Federal Bureau of Investigation, be the nodal agency in event of an attack on American soil.

The Commission, appointed by Congress in the wake of the attacks on U.S. Embassies in Africa two years ago, called for increased funding to fight terrorism, tightening the screws on suspected terrorist fund raising in the U.S. and increased pressure on other countries for cooperation on the terrorism front. The proposals, *The Post maintains*, will stir controversy among civil libertarians, parts of the Arab-American community and those who will question expansion of the anti-terrorism efforts which is already costing \$ 10 billions a year.

The Commission, chaired by Mr. Paul Bremer, Ambassador at Large for counter-terrorism at the State Department, has concluded that global terrorist networks such as the Al Qaeda posed exceedingly difficult problems for domestic law enforcement and intelligence agencies. One of its recommendations, which is certain to raise many eyebrows, is the repeal of a regulation that requires senior CIA officials to approve the recruitment of any counter-ter-

rorist informant with a criminal record. "The CIA has created a climate that is overly risk averse. This has inhibited recruitment of essential, if sometimes unsavoury, informants and forced the U.S. to rely too heavily on foreign intelligence services," the Commission said. A CIA spokesman, Mr. Bill Barlow, disputed the finding that the agency's rules on recruitment hindered counter-terrorist operations.

"The bottom line is, CIA headquarters has never turned down a request to use someone — even someone with a record of human rights abuse — we thought could be valuable to our overall counter-terrorist programme," Mr. Barlow told *The Post*. The FBI has not commented on the findings of the Commission, which has six Republicans and four Democrats as members.

Another recommendation expected to generate opposition, perhaps even within the administration, is a separate classification for countries "not cooperating fully" on the terrorism issue. In this category would be nations such as Greece and Pakistan, both friends of Washington. If implemented the recommendation would stop short of adding such nations to the "state sponsor" category, a list that currently has seven nations.

The Commission said that while Pakistan cooperated on counter-terrorism "at times", it had not been consistent. Further, Islamabad "provides safe haven, transit and moral, political and diplomatic support to several groups engaged in terrorism".

It was suggested that a nation "not cooperating fully" should be barred from buying U.S. military equipment; removed from the visa waiver programme that allows people from friendly nations to travel to the U.S. without visas.

THE HINDU

5 JUN 7 1998

No sanctions against Pakistan over terrorism, says Albright

By Ramesh Chandran

The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: In her typically forthright manner, Madeleine Albright, U.S. secretary of state told a cable network station that there would be no immediate imposition of sanctions against Pakistan despite concerns expressed over terrorism by the National Commission on Terrorism. Never mind that she had not read the Congressionally appointed panel's report and recommendations but "sanctions" were not being considered although the administration was "pressing" Islamabad on Afghanistan.

The Washington Post had first reported that a 64-page report submitted by the National Commission on Terrorism a blue ribbon commission created by the U.S. Congress two years ago in the wake of the bombings of two U.S. embassies in East Africa had specifically recommended that the American military and not the FBI or the Federal Emergency Management Agency which ought to lead the government's response in the event of a terrorist attack on American soil. It



Madeleine Albright

also said that a "well-financed, fanatical and global terrorist network such as "Al Qaeda" (run by Saudi dissident Osama Bin Laden) posed "exceedingly difficult problems" for U.S. law enforcement agencies. It also suggested that terrorist fundraising within the U.S. ought to be directly targeted. And it quite categorically said Washington ought to consider imposing sanctions against Pakistan and Greece since both were nations, which were allies, that were not "fully cooperating" with the United States against terrorism under a statute Congress passed four years ago.

The commission found that Pakistan has cooperated on counter-terrorism "at times" but "not consistently" adding it provides a "safe haven, transit and moral, political and diplomatic support to several groups engaged in terrorism". Whilst Greece was considered as being "disturbingly passive" in response to terrorist activities. At present Afghanistan is the only country listed by Washington as not being fully cooperative on terrorism. The commission, headed by Paul Bremer III, a former state department ambassador-at-large for counter-terrorism, is composed of six Republicans and four Democrats as well as other prominent analysts such as Fred Ikle, and James Woolsey.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

6.7 JUN 2007

Diplomat murder: Greek group claims hand

REUTERS

ATHENS, June 9. — Greece's November 17 guerrilla group today claimed responsibility for the murder of a British diplomat. Defence attache, Stephen Saunders, was targeted for his key role in Nato's bombing campaign against Yugoslavia last year, the Left-wing group wrote to the Athens newspaper, *Eleftherotypia*.

The group said Britain's role during the Nato raids was more provocative than that of the USA and accused the Greek government of playing an active role in the bombings.

Two men shot dead Saunders as he drove to work along a busy Athens avenue yesterday. Ballistic tests of four spent cartridges found at the scene of the murder link the shooting to November 17, police said.

Terming Saunders' murder as a barbaric act, the Prime Minister, Mr Costas Simitis, pledged to protect public safety. Among other world leaders, Mr Tony Blair called the act contemptible. The EU expressed its "utter abhorrence" of the murder. The group also said Britain's role during the Nato raids was more provocative than that of the USA.

November 17 also admitted its involvement in a series of attacks attributed to it by police in the spring of 1999 in which no one was killed, adds AFP.

THE STATESMAN

10 JUN 2000

Fresh evidence of Pakistan's role in Kashmir terrorism

Vijay Dutt
London, June 10

AN INTERVIEW of three terrorists in police custody, but without the presence of any Indian official, by the Times correspondent Stephen Farrel has helped convince some more British MPs and the people here of Pakistan's complicity in keeping the valley on boil.

The three-bearded Muslim youths admitted to have been sneaked across mountains separating the divided Himalayan State says the report in the daily. The three, Abdul Rehman Dar, 23, Mushtaq Ahmad Parray, 18, and Manzoor Ahmed Shah, 16, have claimed that they were among 8,000 to 10,000 disaffected locals who received religious and weapons training in remote forest camps in Pakistan.

Another 6,000 foreigners, including Sudanese, Iranians, Pakistanis and Arabs are also being trained in such camps in Pakistan, according to the three.

Pakistan might be embarrassed by these disclosures, but the fact is

that Islamabad stopped caring about such revelations since a long time.

The military rulers know the US and British intelligence have enough proof about its active support to terrorists and their bloody activities in Kashmir, say sources in the British counter-intelligence. Many MPs also concur.

The report says that the three detained terrorists looked sullen but became animated, during the two-hour long interview, when talking about their hatred of the security forces.

They accused the forces of killing and harassment.

Shah told the daily that he had crossed over to Pakistan on August 2 after being approached by a Hizbul Mujahideen militant known by his code-name Ishtaq. He along with 20 others were taken across by five Pakistani guides and then onwards to Muzaffarabad. From there they were escorted to a Mujahideen camp near Manshera.

The three also affirmed that at every stage Pakistanis were involved, including during the bor-

der crossing. But, apparently uniformed Pak armymen were kept out of sight as they say that they never saw any military man.

Fellow Kashmiri teachers instructed them in the teachings of the Koran and 'jihad'.

Shah was then sent along with 75 others to a forest camp for training by foreign Urdu-speaking instructors.

They trained them in the use of small arms and light and heavy machine-guns.

He was sent back into the valley on May 25, that is after about 10 months.

Parray and Dar from Halmatpora confessed they too received similar trainings as Shah but at a camp known as Safirda. They too were then sent back with instructions to recruit more Kashmiris.

But, once their fourth accomplice was captured they surrendered believing that their hide-out had been compromised.

The methods employed by fundamentalist groups in Britain for luring the young for terrorism are not very different.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

11 JUN 2000

Terrorism will figure at E.U. summit

By Our Special Correspondent *Q. H. S.*

NEW DELHI, JUNE 22. At the first-ever India-European Union summit schedule in Lisbon on June 28, India is expected to bring up its strong concerns about terrorism — with its interlinkages with drug trafficking — posing a major threat to regional and international peace and security. On the economic front, while the progress achieved in bilateral trade and economic cooperation would be reviewed and strengthened, the concerns about labour standards and other non-tariff trade barriers would also be discussed.

The Indian delegation being led by the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, is to include the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, the Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha, the Commerce and Industry Ministry, Mr. Murasoli Maran, and the Information Technology Minister, Mr. Pramod Mahajan. From the E.U. side, the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr. Antonio Guterres, in his capacity as the E.U. president, would lead the delegation which would comprise the European Commission president, Mr. Romano Prodi, and Mr. Javier Solana, Secretary-General of the Council of the EU and High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU.

Briefing reporters on the summit, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh, said that while the economic aspect of India's relation-

ship with the E.U. had been invigorated by the on-going economic reforms programme here, the EU was now acquiring a political personality too. "It is with this new identity that we would like to interact," Mr. Mansingh said.

Consequently, a joint declaration at the end of the summit is expected to be illustrative of the depth and dimension of the relationship between the two partners. "It will be a broad statement of India-E.U. relations and will provide a blueprint for upgrading the relationship to a qualitatively higher level. The summit will also finalise an agenda for action which will include joint initiatives in the political, commercial and economic fields," the Foreign Secretary said.

Asked whether India apprehended any "pressures" to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty during the summit, Mr. Mansingh said, "our views on CTBT are well known and there is no question of any pressure on us. If the issue is raised during the summit, we will put our views very strongly."

On the issue of India still being out of the Europe-Asia forum while it was having a summit with E.U., Mr. Mansingh said New Delhi was still interested in joining the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) but declined to go into details whether there was opposition from some Asian blocs to India's entry.

Asked whether India would lobby for support for its claim for a permanent membership of the U.N. Security Council, Mr. Mansingh

said India had been effectively campaigning for its candidature, but clarified that the E.U. as a body did not decide on such issues.

It was left to individual member-countries to do that and the issue would possibly be raised in the bilateral meetings.

On trade and economic issues, Mr. Mansingh said the E.U. was India's largest trade partner, a major contributor of development assistance, an important source of technology and a major destination for Indian service providers. There was immense untapped potential for further building upon the relationship, he said adding that the India-EU Civil Aviation Financing Agreement would be signed during the summit.

Asked about any possible agreement on terrorism, he said it would be discussed by the leaders and further progress would be decided later.

Mr. Vajpayee would also pay state visits to Portugal and Italy. He will be in Italy from June 25 to 27 and in Portugal visit from June 27 to 29. In Rome, the Prime Minister would address a business meeting jointly organised by FICCI and its Italian counterpart while in Lisbon, he will address a meeting being organised by the Confederation of Indian Industry.

During the visits, an agreement with Italy on tourism promotion will be signed while an agreement on investment promotion and protection would be initiated with Portugal.

INDIA TODAY

23 JUN 2000

U.S. 'report card' indicts Pak.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

NEW YORK, APRIL 30. South Asia has emerged as a hub for international terrorism with Pakistan and Afghanistan providing support to international terrorist groups, says the U.S. State Department in its report on terrorism, a copy of which was given to *The New York Times*. The report, to be released tomorrow after a briefing by the administration's top counter-terrorism official, Mr. Michael Sheehan, says Pakistan has sent "mixed messages" on terrorism by harbouring and aiding terrorists including many who are fighting in Jammu and Kashmir.

The U.S. apparently has tough words for Afghanistan, primarily related to Osama bin Laden, but it stopped short of adding Afghanistan or Pakistan to the list of nations sponsoring terrorism. Adding a country to the list entails some sweeping penalties, primarily on the economic front. Mr. Sheehan said Afghanistan was not added to the list as Washington did not recognise the government there; and Pakistan was excluded even if its record badly needed improvement because "it is a friendly state that is trying to tackle the problem".

The report on terrorism is one of the many "report cards" the U.S. issues every year. This year, South Asia has earned the dubious distinction of being the major hub of international terrorist

activity. The 107-page report lists the same seven nations the U.S. has accused since 1993 of aiding and abetting terrorism — Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan and Syria. According to the paper, when informed of the State Department report, the Deputy Chief of Mission at Pakistan's Embassy, Mr. Zamir Akram, denied his country had supported or even tolerated saying Washington had failed to present evidence to support such charges.

"If they have evidence they should share it with us. We are more of a target and victim of terrorism than the U.S. has ever been. We need to jointly fight against terrorism. Charges like this simply get our backs up," he said. A spokesman for the Taliban in New York also said the administration had not presented evidence of Afghanistan's involvement in terrorism.

The Times says the report is "severely critical" of Pakistan, a traditional ally of the U.S. The Clinton Administration, through the report, has said that while Islamabad arrested and extradited several terrorists, it has not stopped support for groups that train terrorists and refused to close certain religious schools "that serve as conduits for terrorism".

The U.S. has also said there are "credible reports" that Pakistan continues to support groups such as the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, one

of whose leaders was freed from an Indian prison in exchange for hostages aboard an Indian Airlines plane last year.

The report points to the changing trends in terrorist activities, which are increasingly turning religious and ideological. Besides, terrorists are now seeking biological, nuclear and chemical weapons of mass destruction as also practising cyber-terrorism.

LTTE claims Pallai

By V.S. Sambandan

COLOMBO, APRIL 30. Taking Sri Lanka's northern offensive closer to Jaffna, the LTTE today claimed control over Pallai, a crucial town north of Elephant Pass.

The rebels, in a statement, said the well-fortified garrison town fell this evening around 6 p.m. after 12 hours of fighting.

"The special commando units of the LTTE, backed by heavy artillery and mortar bombardments, launched a multi-pronged attack on the central military base at Pallai in the early hours of the morning," the release said, adding "after intense fighting, the commandos stormed into the military base."

There has been no comment from the Government on the latest situation and telecommunication links with Jaffna have remained severed for over a week.

THE HINDU

1 MAY 2000

Pallone for US to declare Pakistan a terrorist State

N C Menon

Washington, May 4

CONGRESSMAN FRANK Pallone, Jr., New Jersey Democrat and founder of the Congressional India Caucus, yesterday welcomed the clear link established in the latest State Department report on terrorism between Pakistan and official support for terrorist activities.

Pallone stressed that the US Administration must be prepared to follow through with the threat of declaring Islamabad a State sponsor of terrorism.

"One of the most dramatic findings of the report is that Pakistan, traditionally an ally of the United States, is guilty of providing safe haven and support to international terrorist groups," Pallone said. "At the beginning of this year, I introduced legislation calling on the State Department to declare Pakistan a terrorist State. I believe that the information made public this week gives added urgency to that effort."

The Congressman hoped that reason would prevail in Islamabad and that the Pakistani Government would see that the result of its present course would be increased isolation from the world community. "If not, then we must be prepared to follow through and declare Pakistan a State sponsor of terrorism with all of the stigma

and isolation that goes with such a declaration," he said. Pallone also drew particular attention to a warning issued this week by Ambassador Michael Sheehan, State Department Coordinator for Counter-terrorism that "for State sponsorship or the designation of foreign terrorist organisations, you can do it any time of the year."

President Clinton, during his recent trip to South Asia, had tried to appeal to the Pakistani military *junta* to cease support for terrorist organisations and activities, Pallone noted. "The pressure on Pakistan must be maintained and strengthened. Pakistani leaders should be reminded that the threat that their country could be designated as a terrorist State is a real one that could be invoked at any time."

Pallone pointed out that India had been the prime victim of terrorism emanating from or supported by Pakistan. "Thus, in keeping with the State Department's stated policy, we should strive to work much more closely with India, a democracy, on counterterrorism effort," he urged.

The State Department report points out, incidentally, that last November, after the UN authorised sanctions against the Taliban, terrorists launched a coordinated rocket attack against the US embassy, the American Centre and the UN offices in Islamabad.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

5 MAY 2000

Congress hearing on Pak, Afghan terrorist threats demanded

N. C. Menon
Washington, May 5

CONGRESSMAN ROBERT Wexler, member of the House International Relations Committee as well as the Asia Pacific sub-committee, has joined the rising ranks of those seeking a full Congressional hearing on the terrorist threats emanating from Pakistan and Afghanistan, as detailed in the latest State Department terrorism report.

"I am increasingly concerned about the developments in Pakistan, including the proliferation of terrorist organisation that threaten the US, India and our allies in the region," the Congressman said in a letter to House International Relations Committee Chairman Benjamin Gilman. "It is deeply troubling that the Government of Pakistan allows terrorist organisations to operate training camps and bases unhindered in its territory and provides political and logistical support for several of these rogue groups, including Harkat-ul-Ansar, which the State Department declared a

foreign terrorist organisation in 1997, and which has been linked to the Indian Airline hijacking."

Wexler wrote that he believed a full committee hearing would provide the proper forum to review the threat of terrorism in S. Asia.

Meanwhile, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said yesterday in a response to a question that the US policy on South Asia, with regard to "the issues and the situation there", had been quite clearly explained and articulated during President Clinton's visit to the sub-continent, both by the President and others. There was no change in that position.

In response to another question, Boucher also recalled that when he was in Bangladesh, President Clinton had told Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina that the US had been seeking the removal from the US of the three individuals, who had been convicted in the 1975 murder of Bangladesh President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The case was still being adjudicated. Clinton had also proposed that the US and Bangladesh negotiate an extradition treaty to handle such issues.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

6 MAY 2000

Hostage to terror

THE PHILIPPINES is no stranger to guerrilla violence and separatist movements. What is intriguing is that while the guerrillas of the Left, Right and various religious persuasions in neighbouring countries have either been marginalised or co-opted in the national mainstream, in the Philippines just the opposite has happened. New separatist groups have emerged. Some of them are heavily armed. Besides, Muslim separatist groups are active in southern Philippines fighting for the establishment of an Islamic state in the Mindanao region.

At this moment, the Estrada government is wrestling with three kinds of hostage crises. However, what has grabbed international attention is the kidnapping of 21 people, mostly Malaysians, Europeans and South Africans on April 23 from the Malaysian holiday resort of Sipadan. Masterminded by the dreaded Abu Sayyaf rebel force, the extremists have demanded the release of three Islamic prisoners, including Ramzi Yusaf, who was responsible for the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York. Muslim guerrillas are also holding 27 Filipinos hostage since March 20 on the island of Basilan and the separatist Moro Islamic guerrillas kidnapped 70 civilians after abandoning peace talks last Sunday. Despite this three-pronged attack, military operations have failed to achieve a breakthrough and the government is under intense pressure.

Muslim separatists say they are fighting for the establishment of a separate Islamic identity in a predominantly Catholic country. But the high profile which the guerrilla groups have maintained and the kind of nexus they have forged with an international network of Islamic terrorists have added an ominous dimension to the recent events. By all indications, Islamic terrorism seems to have moved east, with India, Russia and the Central Asian republics all wrestling with religion-inspired terrorism.

Meanwhile, the prime concern of the Estrada administration is to secure the release of the hostages. It is under considerable international pressure not to use force. The authorities have done well to reject the kidnappers' demand seeking the mediation of a UN representative, but the deadlock has become all the more difficult to break. As of now, an early end to the hostage crises appears unlikely. While President Estrada is facing severe odds domestically, there is no doubt that if his government fails this acid test, its credibility might hit a new low.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

MAY 2000

COMPETITIVE TERRORISM

Hostages in the Philippines 518

THE hostage crisis unravelling in the southern Philippine islands of Jolo and Basilan has come to acquire a larger political dimension only because of foreign hostages held on one of them. The Abu Sayyaf group, responsible for both kidnappings, is the smaller of two separatist Islamic guerrilla groups and, judging from its behaviour pattern, far less responsible. This may actually be competitive terrorism. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front is bigger, better organised and has the ear of the government. Abu Sayyaf wants a piece of the market and is, obviously, willing to go to greater lengths than its bigger rival. The group was founded in 1991 by an Afghan veteran and is said to receive money from Osama bin Laden. Their speciality is bombing buses and shops and rolling grenades down the aisles of cathedrals, the idea being to kill indiscriminately to attract maximum attention.

Their demands are incoherent. There was some talk of a ransom of \$2 million and release of three people, probably all of them radical Islamists, in the United States, among them Ramzi Yousef of the World Trade Centre fame. But the main objective in seizing foreign tourists from the Malaysian island of Sipadan on April 23 was to get the whole world involved in their desperation. They have succeeded. Media coverage so far has been lavish, especially on the plight of the foreigners. Harrowing tales of water-borne diseases, cramped living conditions and bad food are coming out of Jolo daily. Filipinos would be expected to weather all that much better. This is not being uncharitable. There are school children being held in Basilan, the camp was under attack from government troops, but less attention has been paid to it so far.

Army action so far has been counter-productive. Some hostages have escaped, some have also been killed. Abu Sayyaf is a small, nasty group with no big political stake, which is what makes them dangerous. They have nothing to lose and won't hesitate to kill. This probably calls for a clean, commando operation, instead of a full-scale Army offensive, unless the governments in question have decided that lives can be sacrificed in order to defend a principle.

THE STATESMAN

9 MAY 2001

Terrorism: Musharraf admits differences with US

AGENCIES

ISLAMABAD, MAY 2

PAKISTAN'S military ruler on Tuesday acknowledged there were key differences with the United States over what constitutes terrorism, the darkest cloud hanging over stormy Indo-Pakistani relations.

General Pervez Musharraf, in his first reaction to US charges Pakistan was linked to terrorist groups, stood by previous assertions Muslim militants battling Indian rule of Kashmir could not be called terror-

ists. "I just want to say that there is a difference of understanding on who is a terrorist... perceptions are different in the United States and in Pakistan," he told reporters.

The issue has become the main hurdle to reviving a stalled peace dialogue with India, which says it will not talk to Musharraf until he stops backing the militants fighting in Kashmir.

Musharraf, speaking after an official function, asserted that the militants could not be termed terrorists. Islamabad says they are "freedom fighters" trying to win

the right of self-determination in a disputed zone. "I have clarified on many occasions that... there is a difference in perceptions," said Musharraf, whose government officials refer to a 10-year-old uprising in Kashmir as a "People's War".

Asked to comment on US charges, Pakistan was linked to terrorist groups operating in the region, Musharraf replied bluntly: "Definitely not."

Earlier, a foreign office spokesman described as "unfounded" allegations levelled in a

US State Department report on Monday that Pakistan — along with Afghanistan — was becoming a major terrorist hub. Pakistan has always cooperated with the international community, including the United States, to combat terrorism, the spokesman said in a statement. He said Pakistan had also handed over a number of suspected terrorists to the US and to other countries and the annual US report "acknowledges" its efforts to tackle terrorism.

The spokesman said the government of general Pervez

Musharraf had launched a drive to confiscate illegal arms held by militants and extremists. Pakistan "continues to send mixed messages on terrorism", the report said, noting some cooperation but also its toleration of "terrorists living and moving freely in its territory".

The US report "takes a nasty swipe at Pakistan", a prominent daily *The News* said in an editorial. However it warned that Pakistan could ill afford to shrug off the US criticism in the existing geo-strategic context.

INDIAN EXPRESS

3 MAY 2000

J&K minister, 4 aides

HT Correspondent
Srinagar, May 15

JAMMU AND Kashmir Power Minister Ghulam Hassan Bhat and four of his aides were killed in a powerful landmine explosion in Chapran, 70 km south from here on Monday morning.

It was around 10 this morning when the Minister's car was negotiating the curves on the hilly countryside road at Chapran, when the landmine went off. The explosion ripped apart the bullet-proof car and killed Bhat, his driver, two personal security officers (PSOs) and wireless operators.

The Minister was on his way to Dooru, the Assembly constituency from where he was elected in the fiercely contested September 1996 elections. He had started his day's tour from his native village Mundipora, about half-an-hour before the landmine struck his car.

Pro-Pakistan militant outfit Hizb-ul-Mujahadeen has claimed responsibility. A handout of the group circulated to newspapers here said that such acts would continue till "custodial deaths, repression and atrocities" are not brought to an end.

Mr Bhat, 47, is the first minister to have been killed in the militant violence in the past 11 years, though the ruling National Conference has lost its former ministers, legislators and other prominent leaders. National Conference has been the target of the militants from the beginning of insurgency in the state 11 years ago. It has lost over 200 of its activists in the past



A sniffer dog examining the crater created by the landmine blast in Chapran near Srinagar on Monday. Photo: AFP

three-and-a-half years since it came back to power.

The party had lost its first sitting MLA Abdul Ahad Kar in Langate in northwest Kashmir on the same date last year. He was shot dead by militants when he was on his way to village mosque in Langate for morning prayers.

The police said that the improvised explosive device (IED) was detonated through a remote control device.

Of late militants have been increasingly relying on IEDs to target security forces and VIPs. That saves them from direct contact with security forces.

The assassination of Bhat sent the main-

stream political circles and the Government into gloom. The secretariat and other government offices were shut for the day as a mark of respect for the slain minister who was popular with his colleagues and bureaucracy.

The state cabinet condemned the assassination. The cabinet said this was an extremely coward act.

Bhat was born in Mundipora village. A Government Degree College graduate from Anantnag, he studied law in Kashmir University. He was also vice president of local bar association.

He became MLA in 1996 and rose to become parliamentary secretary in June 1998. It was in February this year that he was made the minister of state and allocated portfolio of power.

Meanwhile, Army and Indian Air Force in their joint operation killed six militants in Yusmarg. This was one of the rare operations in which helicopter gunships were used to destroy the hideout of militants.

The security forces also killed Hamza Sangrayar in Bandipore in northwest Kashmir late Saturday night.

In two other explosions on Monday, two security personnel were killed and 13 others were wounded. The first blast took place at Nowgam on the Srinagar-Jammu National Highway, wounding seven policemen who were on their way to defuse an IED near Jawahar Tunnel. One BSF jawan was killed and six others wounded in Kellar Kandi, near Aishmuqam in yet another landmine explosion. One Nonsta-

killed in blast

ble was killed in Tral, while a counter insurgent was shot dead in Qazigund market. His body was lying in the middle of the market road and no one picked that up for almost two hours.

Pak ploy: The government today said the three blasts in Kashmir in which seven people, including a state minister, were killed, was a deliberate ploy by Pakistan to foil any attempts for holding talks and restoring normalcy in the strife-torn Valley.

"Pakistan is not happy and has issued some instructions for creating disruption so that talks do not take place", an official spokesman said. He, however, expressed the government's resolve to go ahead with the process and declared that the Centre was keen to hold talks and see that these make substantial progress.

According to the spokesman, security forces had intercepted a message which contained several guidelines for terrorists directing them not to trust civilians, put the matter of killing a civilian before the terrorist organisation, sort out inter-group dispute and place it before the organisation leaders and avoid inter-group clashes. "No civilian may be considered an inside man", the guidelines said.

Meanwhile, Home Minister L K Advani described the killing of the minister as a "dastardly act backed by ISI". He, however, said the incident would further strengthen the resolve of the government and the people of J&K to put down terrorism and bring back normalcy.

Russia, US tell Taliban to hand over Bin Laden

Moscow, May 27

RUSSIA AND the US today called on Afghanistan's ruling Taliban militia to hand over suspected terrorist mastermind Osama Bin Laden and dismantle 'terrorist' training camps.

In a joint statement issued by the Russian Foreign Ministry, Moscow and Washington expressed 'serious concern' at the Afghan conflict and the 'taliban's support for terrorism'.

The declaration followed talks in Moscow between Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Losyukov and US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Karl Inderfurth.

Bin Laden is blamed by US for the 1998 twin bombings of American embassies in East Africa in which more than 220 people were killed. The US has been demanding the Taliban to expel

him to stand trial.

Moscow accuses Bin Laden and the Taliban of training Chechen rebels fighting Russian forces in the breakaway republic of Chechnya.

This week it threatened to launch pre-emptive air strikes against suspected terrorist camps on Afghan soil, but the US has urged Moscow not to widen the Chechen conflict.

Both countries said the Taliban militia, who control 80 per cent of Afghanistan and are fighting a northern opposition alliance headed by Ahmad Shah Masood, must respect UN resolutions on a 'political solution to the afghan crisis'.

If the Taliban "continue to ignore the opinion of the international community, this could require the UN Security Council to look at fresh measures," against Kabul, they said.

Russian warning: Russia has warned Afghan Taliban to either

stop training militants to send them to Chechnya or face reprisals.

Russian news agency *Interfax*, quoting a high ranking Kremlin source said the strike will follow as soon as political decision is taken by the Kremlin. It hinted the operation will be carried out by the Air Force. It added that the use of land forces is not planned.

"Russia is now ready to cope up with international terrorism. The General Staff of the armed forces has already selected its first foreign target - the Taliban bases in Afghanistan," daily *Izvestia* reported.

But the general staff is well aware that the Taliban possess up-to-date air defence systems that can knock down any aerial target. Besides, the taliban pilots fly russian made 'mikoyan-gurevich' mig fighters, defence sources have said. (AFP, AP)

THE HINDUSTAN

28 MAY 2000

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Jittery bin Laden replaces guards 29/5

Peshawar, May 28 (Reuters): Saudi exile Osama bin Laden, fearing infiltration by US intelligence, has replaced his Arab bodyguards in Afghanistan with Pakistanis and Bangladeshi militants, according to Pakistani officials.

They said bin Laden, one of America's most wanted men, recruited about three dozen Pakistanis and Bangladeshi militants belonging to Harakat-ul-Mujahideen, a Kashmiri militant outfit itself accused of involvement in terrorism.

Bin Laden, accused of masterminding the 1998 bombings of US embassies in Africa which killed more than 200, made the changes after the arrest in Afghanistan last month of a Syrian and an Iraqi who said they were working for US and Israeli intelligence.

The Taliban said that 22-year-old Syrian Abdur Rhaim and an Iraqi known only as Arkan confessed that they were recruited in the United Arab Emirates.

"Our mission was to collect in-

formation about Arabs in Afghanistan, bin Laden's whereabouts and his ties with the Taliban," Rahim told journalists who met him in jail where he and his Iraqi colleague await trial under Taliban Islamic law.

Pakistani officials said the arrests prompted bin Laden to dismiss a bodyguard formed of Arab militants and replace them with men from a training camp he helped set up at Rishkor, south of Kabul.

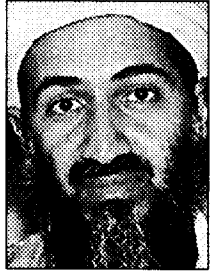
"The Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are more committed ideologically and it would be a year at least before they too are infiltrated or approached by the various intelligence agencies seeking information," said a Pakistani official.

They said bin Laden had been rendered ineffective by a communication ban placed on him by the Taliban to deflect US criticism,

but there were no restrictions on his movements. Witnesses said he moves between Logar and Wardak provinces and rarely visits the Taliban's spiritual capital of Kandahar. "He is a man on the run," said one official.

According to Pakistani government officials, he has recovered from a kidney ailment with the help of an Iraqi doctor and two assistants who reached Afghanistan in January. They said bin Laden was now beset by depression and poor nerves because he feared his Taliban hosts might surrender him to stand trial.

Afghanistan's supreme ruler, Mullah Mohammad Omar, whose failure to hand over bin Laden to stand trial prompted UN trade sanctions last November, strongly denied at the weekend that there were any terrorist training camps in Afghanistan.



Osama: 'On the run'

India, China against global terrorism

By C. Raja Mohan

BEIJING, MAY 29. Recognising that they are not political rivals, India and China today agreed to take a longer view of their bilateral relations and move towards greater cooperation on global issues, including the war against international terrorism.

In their meeting here today, the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, and the Chinese leader Mr. Jiang Zemin, were one in asserting that there can be no justification for using terrorism as a political tool.

After a formal ceremonial welcome to Mr. Narayanan at the

tone for his intensive consultations with the Chinese leadership beginning today.

Mr. Jiang focussed on the importance of the two nations taking "a strategic perspective" of bilateral relations. He repeatedly stressed the need for a longer view by "scaling heights and a looking afar."

Mr. Narayanan's emphasis was on moving Sino-Indian relations away from the notion of "competition" towards "cooperation."

He raised India's concerns about international terrorism and called for Chinese support to the Indian diplomatic efforts to get

cooperation in combating the menace. Mr. Jiang, however, was measured enough not to make any specific references to Pakistan. The discussion on terrorism was part of a broader discourse on international issues, where both India and China have many converging interests. One of them was the need to create a world of many powers and limit the dangers of dominance by just one state, the United States.

India and China also agreed on the need to reform the structures of the United Nations and expand the Security Council to make it more representative. Mr. Narayanan reaffirmed India's claim to a permanent seat in the UNSC; but the Chinese leader stopped short of extending support.

Sources in the delegation said the two sides were honest enough to express their respective concerns. Mr. Narayanan conveyed India's sense of urgency in finding an early resolution of the long-standing boundary dispute between the two nations.

Mr. Jiang, counselled "patience" in dealing with a problem that has been "left over by history." Mr. Narayanan insisted that inherited problems need to be resolved and "must not be left over for history."

Mr. Jiang referred to the Chinese concerns on the "splittist" activities of the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people who has taken shelter in India more than four decades ago. Mr. Narayanan reaffirmed the Indian position that Tibet was a national autonomous region within China and that New Delhi did not allow political activities by the Dalai Lama.

Mr. Jiang appreciated New Delhi's "prudent attitude and proper handling" of the unannounced arrival of the Karmapa from Tibet late last year. But he was apprehensive that the Dalai Lama and other anti-Chinese groups would "exploit" the presence of Karmapa in India. The Chinese President did not raise the question of India's nuclear tests that derailed bilateral ties two years ago. The very fact that China has decided to roll out the red carpet for Mr. Narayanan is being seen here that China is ready to put the nuclear issue aside despite the continuing differences on the subject. On its part, the Indian side, too, did not touch upon the issue of Chinese support for Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes. These issues are already under consideration in the bilateral dialogue that began earlier this year.



The President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, inspects a Guard of Honour with the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, (left) at the Tiananmen Square in Beijing on Monday. — AP

Tiananmen Square, the two leaders went into talks that lasted well beyond the scheduled two hours. They met initially with a few select aides and later with full delegations. Briefing the press here after the talks, senior officials in the Indian delegation said the talks were "very warm and friendly." They added that the personal chemistry between the two leaders, who have met twice before, was "excellent."

Mr. Narayanan enjoys a very special position here as an "old friend of China," and this has set

the international community accept a comprehensive convention on international terrorism.

Although the Chinese position is similar to that of India, Beijing had been somewhat reluctant to stand up in opposition to international terrorism along with India, given the context of India's poor relations with Pakistan and the "all weather friendship" between Beijing and Islamabad. But today, China for the first time at the highest political level came out forcefully against terrorism and called for greater international

Scrap this clause

27-10
A draft of the Prevention of Terrorism Bill, which is supposed to succeed the outlawed Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (TADA) Act, has draconian measures which must be scrapped immediately. The draft asks journalists to inform the police, 'as soon as reasonably practicable' any information he or she might have about terrorist activities. A failure to report is punishable with imprisonment of up to one year. It also gives the police the power to demand from journalists any information deemed to be related to terrorist activities. If this is withheld, journalists can be summarily jailed for a period up to three years. People voluntarily disclose information about impending terrorist acts, without being obligated by law to do so. In any case, abetting crime is a punishable offence under existing law. So the new wrinkle in the draft Bill is unnecessary and possibly dangerous. Indian judicial processes are slow, administration corrupt and discretionary. So the law will be vulnerable to abuse, imperiling media freedom.

That can happen because of several reasons. One, protecting a source who wishes anonymity is a cornerstone of good journalism. This way, media builds up trust, breaking more stories than it would have been able to without the cooperation of these sources. The draft Bill erodes the foundation of this relationship of trust between source and reporter. Two, it confuses the roles of administrators like the police and investigating agencies, with that of journalists. The latter is supposed to get information and broadcast or publish it, so that society is better informed. It is the job of the former to investigate crimes, including terrorism, and bring culprits to book. The two roles are mutually exclusive. Mixing them up by forcing journalists to collaborate with the police is a mistake. The police and investigating agencies are paid by taxpayers to enforce the law, not to encroach on the freedom of individuals or the press. The draft, now circulating among parties and state governments, has to be sent back. And the offending sections deleted.

The Economic Times

31 MAY 2000

US 'must' hold direct talks with Taliban on Osama

Islamabad, April 13

PAKISTAN HAS asked the United States to directly hold talks with the Taliban Government in Afghanistan on the issue of handing over of international terrorist Osama Bin Laden to stand trial for bombings of American embassies in Nairobi and Tanzania.

Interior Minister Lt Gen (Retd) Moinuddin Haider, who returned from a visit to the US and Britain yesterday, told reporters that "the FBI officials raised Osama's issue. I told them to hold direct talks with the Afghan Government."

He said that he assured them that Pakistan would help them in the talks. "Osama Bin Laden is not in Pakistan but he is living in

Afghanistan, which is an Independent and sovereign country," he said, adding he would raise the issue of terrorism with Afghanistan Interior Minister when he visits Pakistan later this month.

He said he would visit Afghanistan next month for follow up talks on host of issues.

"I will urge Afghan Government to close down all kind of training camps for Pakistanis in Afghanistan," Haider said. (PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

14 APR 2000

India, France may jointly fight terrorism

PARIS: India and France are contemplating setting up of a joint working group on terrorism.

The matter was discussed during talks President K.R. Narayanan had with his French counterpart Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, official sources said, adding that the French side was willing to consider the matter.

Sources said during the talks the French leaders expressed concern

over the present status of New Delhi's relations with Islamabad but did not press for any specific dialogue with Pakistan.

Mr Narayanan informed the French leadership that India was willing to resume dialogue with Pakistan provided Islamabad stopped cross border terrorism to create an atmosphere conducive for talks. The President also briefed the French leadership about India's

relations with China and Russia.

On Sino-India relations, the President said that "They are at ease and fairly stable" especially after the visit of external affairs minister Jaswant Singh to Beijing recently.

The entire gamut of bilateral and international relations came up for discussions between the two sides with Mr Narayanan favouring a multi-polar world, a view endorsed by the French leaders, the sources said. The French side urged India to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and supported New Delhi's claim for a permanent seat in an enlarged UN security council.

About U.S. President Bill Clinton's recent visit to India, the President informed the French leadership that it would benefit Indo-U.S. relations. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

20 APR 2000

Blair condemns Chechen 'terrorism'

LONDON, MARCH 11. The British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair, has condemned what he called acts of terrorism carried out by Chechen rebels and accepted that Russia launched its military offensive in the breakaway republic to combat the problem.

"They have been taking their action for the reasons that they've set out, because of the terrorism that has happened from Chechnya," Mr. Blair said in an interview on board his flight to St. Petersburg on his way to meet the

acting Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin.

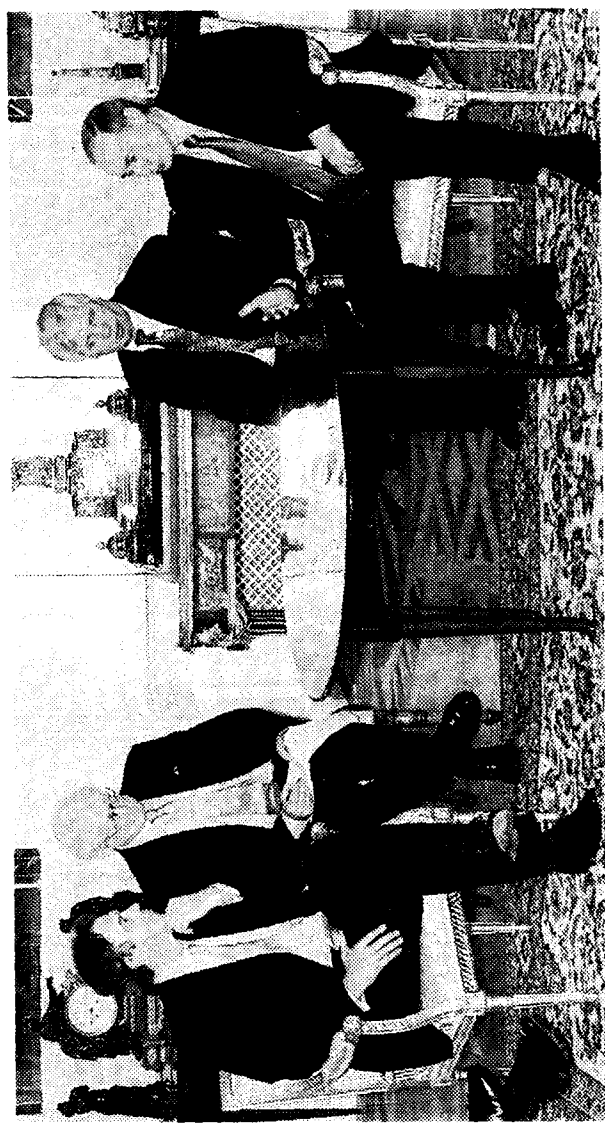
"... Some of the things that have been done by the Chechen rebels have been appalling, acts of terrorism," he said in the interview, broadcast by the BBC today.

Mr. Blair referred to the apartment block bombings in Moscow and other Russian cities which killed 293 people in August and September last year.

While it has produced no concrete proof, Russia has consistently blamed separatist Chechen rebels for the deaths, though authorities in the republic deny any responsibility.

Mr. Blair called on Russia to show restraint in Chechnya, and said that allegations of human rights abuses by federal forces should be investigated.

"But, and this is where the situation is more complicated than some of the other international conflicts we deal with, we also recognise that the Russians deal with serious problems of terrorism." Mr. Blair recalled that four British telecommunications engineers had been "executed in a particularly barbaric way" in Chechnya in 1998. — AFP



The Acting Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin (right), gestures while speaking to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair (left), during their talks in Petrodvorets Palace in St. Petersburg, on Saturday. Mr. Blair arrived in the city for a weekend visit including a meeting with Mr. Putin and a trip to the renowned Mariinsky opera house. — AP

Terrorists gun down 35 Sikhs in Anantpur

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 21 MARCH

KASHMIRI MILITANTS on Tuesday sent a "we are here to cleanse Kashmir" message to the visiting US President by gunning down 35 Sikhs in Chhattisinghpura village of Anantnag district hours before he commenced his five-day tour of the country.

The incident brought the Indo-US dialogue on countering cross-border terrorism into sharp focus with Mr Bill Clinton expressing outrage at the brutal killings and acknowledging the "tremendous suffering" that India had been undergoing.

Violence broke out a little after 9 p.m. on Monday night when as many as 50 heavily-armed militants — suspected to belong to the two leading terrorist outfits, Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) and Hizbul

Mujahideen — swooped down on the Sikh-dominated village and opened fire on the menfolk after ordering their families out of their houses. This is for the first time that the militants have targeted the Sikh families residing in the Jammu region. Until now, the "ethnic cleansing" of Kashmir was limited to eliminating the Hindus including Kashmir Pandits.

The minority community was massacred in several incidents including the one at Wandhama (25 Kashmir Pandits killed), Udhampur (27 Hindus), Champnari in Doda (25 Hindus) and Rajouri and Udhampur (20 Hindus killed in 3 separate incidents). The timing of the latest massacre — the worst in terms of the casualty figures — ensured that it got the utmost international attention.

President condemns killings, Oppn attacks Centre

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 21 MARCH

PRESIDENT K.R. Narayanan, on Tuesday, led the country in condemning the massacre of 35 Sikhs in Anantnag district of Jammu and Kashmir on Monday night even as Opposition parties, while joining in, also made a strong attack on the Union and state governments for their "inability and incompetence" to provide safety and security to residents of Jammu and Kashmir.

The pre-meditated incident, obviously timed and carried out meticulously with the intention of coinciding with US President Bill Clinton's visit to India, attracted international attention with world leaders strongly condemning the killings.

Expressing her anguish at the barbaric act, leader of Opposition, Ms Sonia Gandhi, said the carnage had exposed the inability of the governments at the Centre and state to provide security.

"It is obvious that in spite of tall claims, the militants have succeeded in unleashing a reign of terror and seem to be sowing death and destruction at will." The Congress party also called for a probe by a judicial commission to fix responsibility for the security lapses.

The President also made a public appeal to the international community for recognising the dangers of terrorism.

Pakistan cloaking terrorism in jihad: PM

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 21 MARCH

IN A frontal assault on Pakistan-sponsored cross-border terrorism, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on Tuesday asked the hostile neighbour to abandon "jihad" as its foreign policy. In the wake of the killings of 36 Sikhs in Kashmir on Monday night, Mr Vajpayee said such acts were "terrorism cloaked in the guise of jihad." Encouraged by President Clinton's stand endorsing New Delhi's concern for security, the Prime Minister spoke tough and said: "We have the means and the will to eliminate this menace."

Mr Vajpayee used his summing up speech after his talks with Mr Clinton to criticise Pakistan's acts of blatant terrorism. It carries no conviction, he said, adding that India and the international community "reject the notion that Jihad can be part of any civilised country's foreign policy."

He even went so far as to say that it was a deliberate design to "foment trouble, to sabotage any attempt at peace."

The Economic Times

22 MAR 2000

Terrorism tops his Pak. agenda

By Amit Baruah HD-13
ISLAMABAD, MARCH 24 The "core" issue of Pakistani support to terrorism will occupy centre-stage in talks between the visiting U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, and the Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, tomorrow.

Mr. Clinton, who arrives in Islamabad around noon tomorrow from Mumbai, will be the first American President to visit Pakistan, albeit for five hours, in the last 31 years. Apart from terrorism, the U.S. President's agenda includes non-proliferation, regional peace and respect for the Line of Control (LoC).

The U.S. President's recent statement on the involvement of some elements of the Pakistani Government in violence in Kashmir and the remarks made by his National Security Adviser, Mr. Sandy Berger, reflect the very, very serious concerns that the U.S. has about Pakistan.

"It's a dangerous area, and we're worried about Pakistan....It's a country with deep-seated problems. It has terrorist groups that are operating out of Pakistan, and I think in some ways one of the great dangers in this region is the potential failure of Pakistan...." Mr. Berger was quoted as telling American reporters in Jaipur. The message from Mr. Clinton will be: "You've got to decide what's important here in terms of your own future."

The U.S. official stated that Pakistan's military rulers "obsession" with Kashmir could prove "very, very damaging" to their country and could possibly lead to its collapse. He was also quoted

as saying that Mr. Clinton would urge the Pakistani leadership to "create some conditions" to bring India back to the negotiating table.

After arriving at the Pakistan Air Force (PAF) base at Chaklala near Islamabad, Mr. Clinton is scheduled to visit the Aiwan-e-Sadar to meet the President, Mr. Rafiq Tarar. The U.S. President will then have a working lunch with Gen. Musharraf where the two will hold talks and in which each side will raise their concerns.

The State-run Pakistan Television reported this evening that Mr. Clinton will be addressing the people of Pakistan live on PTV as per an agreement with the Musharraf Government. There is no scheduled press event — the direct address to the people will, presumably, reflect the President's concerns. At 5.45 pm tomorrow evening, the President is scheduled to depart Islamabad for Geneva.

Interestingly, an "open letter" written to Mr. Clinton by an American Task Force on South Asia had recommended that the President find an opportunity to "address the Pakistani people directly over local media". Like Mr. Sandy Berger, the Task Force stated that Pakistan was a country in danger of failing.

Among other recommendations of the Task Force (many of them seem to have been implemented by the Clinton Administration in respect of Pakistan), it said that privately the President "should let Pakistan's leaders know that the United States will have little option but to designate their country as a State sponsor of

terrorism (with all that entails in the way of sanctions under law) if they do not act more decisively against this threat."

It said that Mr. Clinton should "voice strong criticism of their (Pakistan's) provocative posture toward the Kashmir insurgency, making clear that they and their country would not be better off if Pakistan foments a war over Kashmir or anything else".

The depth of American concern towards Pakistan should come as an eye-opener for the country's military leadership. However, if recent statements are any indication Islamabad is unlikely to reduce its rhetoric on Kashmir and will persist in giving vent to the feeling that it has been "let down" after the Afghan war by the U.S.

Protesters arrested

MUMBAI, MARCH, 24. The RPI faction leader and MP, Mr. Ramdas Athavale, the city unit Samajwadi Party chief Mr. Abu Asim Azmi, the Communist Party's Ahilya Rangnekar—all members of ruling Democratic Front alliance in Maharashtra, were among 1000 arrested today in separate incidents when they staged protest demonstrations against the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's visit to the metropolis.

Five demonstrators including two women members belonging to 'Clinton Chale Jao committee', a Leftist forum, were injured when police lathicharged them during a protest demonstration at Hutama Chowk in south Mumbai.— PTI

THE HINDU
25 MAR 2000

Lanka urges SAARC group to combat terrorism

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, FEB 1

INTELLECTUALS and diplomats from several countries on Tuesday sought enhanced international cooperation, especially within the South Asian region, to jointly combat terrorism and impose sanctions against states sponsoring militancy.

"Some governments allow terrorist groups to operate within their countries.... they are not concerned about the lives of people in

your or my country," Sri Lankan High Commissioner to India Mangala Moonesinghe said at a seminar on measures to eliminate terrorism here.

Seeking increased cooperation between India and Sri Lanka in this regard, Moonesinghe said, SAARC nations, to begin with, should exchange information and intelligence focusing on the movement of terrorists and cross-border terrorism. "India, Sri Lanka and the United States have declared LTTE a terrorist organisation.

Why can't we get together (to fight it)? India has requested extradition of (LTTE chief) Prabhakaran, we also want him and so do the Tamils as he has got the Tamil political leadership eliminated," he said.

In the same vein, former Indian High Commissioner to Britain, L M Singhvi suggested heightened international cooperation and drafting of a "world charter" against terrorism.

Singhvi also sought "punitive sanctions" including confiscation of properties of terrorists and even

"those states which sponsor them".

Singhvi said there was "an emerging common resolve" the world over to fight terrorism and called for "political will of the world community and support of the world powers" in this direction.

Castigating "certain governments" for aiding, abetting, financing and sponsoring terrorism, he suggested creation of an international court of justice to specifically deal with terrorist crimes. "Peace cannot be secured without freedom from fear," Singhvi said.

INDIAN EXPRESS

- 2 FEB 2000

In the General's own words

ONE OF our major dailies published an exclusive interview given by General Musharraf in January. Musharraf's suggestion to the Government and people of India was that he should be taken at face value on what he says and does. He also said that India should accept the reality that his government is legitimate and that 130 million Pakistanis fully support him. His third suggestion was that the core issue of Kashmir must be addressed by India, without which there is no possibility of normal relations. Musharraf's interview was a conscious political decision to convey a direct message to India about his views on India-Pakistan relations. We must take him at face value in this respect.

It is equally important to assess the implications of his views in the context of the most recent developments in Indo-Pak relations, and the manner in which important powers are reacting to Pakistan. There has been a qualitative and quantitative increase in Pakistani subversive violence against India and its military activities across the Line of Control. The concerted attacks on military camps and establishments, terrorist violence against civilian targets and infiltration of terrorists and weapons into India have increased and the hijacking of flight IC-814 and the large-scale attack against Indian post in the Akhnoor-Chhamb sector on January 22-23 are major manifestations of Pakistan's policy of covert and overt confrontation.

While India faces this predicament, Pakistan is not doing too badly in terms of its credibility with the international community. Important world powers have, within the framework of their own interests, decided to acknowledge Musharraf government's legitimacy and to deal with him. The three factors contributing to the process are: he is in effective control of Pakistan; he has the support of people in Pakistan and thirdly, the world considers contacts with him and having leverages with the Pakistan government relevant to containing terrorism and furthering the cause of non-proliferation. (This is leaving aside other factors which make Pakistan strategically important and relevant). Musharraf has visited countries in West Asia, and the Gulf countries over the last three and a half months. He has visited China and has had meetings with the highest political leadership of that country. A number of US Legislators have visited him which

was followed by a visit by the US Commander in Chief, Pacific, Admiral Blair and then the visit by the US State Department delegation headed by the Assistant Secretary of State Karl Inderfurth. The British Defence Chief, General Sir Charles Guthrie, has also been to Pakistan. The response to India's puzzled and irritated curiosity about this flurry of visits from representatives of these countries has been that the objective of these discussions was to convey firm messages to General Musharraf to restore democracy, to abjure terrorism and normal relations with India. There is no doubt that such messages have been given to General Musharraf. Two other dimensions of these diplomatic moves, however, would be more relevant to India-Pakistan relations. First, what are the offers made to Pakistan if it responds to these advocates? Second, what has been the Pakistani initial response to these messages?

Musharraf argues that Kargil occurred because India consistently refuses to discuss the Kashmir problem in a meaningful manner. The implication is that a meaningful dialogue should result in India accepting a solution to the Kashmir issue within Pakistani terms of reference. He rejects the LoC being the basis of any solution. Asked about building up an atmosphere of mutual trust through confidence building measures, he says: "Well, again these confidence building measures, as I have stated, start looking as a farce, because we on the side try to develop confidence building measures, we try to open hotlines and there is hotline contact between DGMOs. I have been a DGMO. I have been talking to my counter-parts but these are cosmetic. They hardly serve any purpose... hardly ever did it serve a useful purpose, addressing issues

which came to some conclusion, other than may be there is a dead body they want to pick up and all that."

What is the conclusion to be reached? The entire processes of putting confidence building measures in place which began in 1989 and culminated in Vajpayee's Lahore visit, are considered irrelevant and cosmetic by the General. He is on record in the interview that he was not in favour of the Lahore Declaration or withdrawal of Pak troops from the

LoC in Kargil. As far as the hijacking of the Indian aircraft goes, he categorically denies Pakistani involvement. The General makes this assertion in face of clear evidence that the hijackers as well as the terrorists whom India released crossed over from Kandahar into Baluchistan. The main terrorist released by India, Masood Azhar, proceeded to Karachi and then to Bahawalpur, where he made public statements about continuing his terrorist campaign against India. Azhar also confirmed that the hijackers who got him released had proceeded back to Jammu and Kashmir. Cassettes of his speech are available for distribution in J and K and other states, within 10 days of his speeches. But then Musharraf says he has no knowledge of these developments which have received wide publicity in the Indian and international media.

Again, in an interview to the Pakistani newspaper, *The Nation*, on January 23, he stated that "India would be taught a lesson if it tries to cross the Line of Control." And he adds: "Washington has not issued any warning on terrorism-related issues. During talks with the Americans, I used the word reciprocity, that should be observed in the case of Kashmir. If India wants an end to Kashmiris' struggle, it should accept that Kashmir



is an issue and discussions should be held on it. They (India) should end atrocities and if there is reduction of troops in Kashmir he will request the Mujahideen." An involuntary acknowledgement of Pakistan's control over terrorists, after all the earlier denials about Pakistan having anything to do with terrorism.

One has only referred to his public pronouncements of policies in January. One has not referred to his assertion that tension on the LoC will continue, that Pakistan will continue to support the struggle of the Mujahideen, etc. His ultimate appeal in the interview is ingenious. "I would request Indians in the interest of peace. Again if they keep harping on what I said and did in Kargil and this hijacking and that, you are not going to progress". Also, he says Pakistan did not have a democracy between 1989 and 1999. He feels that it is the Pakistan army which would bring democracy but that it will take time.

The army will first examine what kind of political structure best suits the interests of people of Pakistan. And then the army will return to civilian rule with some modifications in the interest of the people of Pakistan. And then there is the concluding appeal and demand from Musharraf. He says: "I want to have peace in this region. I want this region to develop economically, but they (Indians) have to take me on face value. They have to trust me and that whatever I am saying I mean and they have to come along."

There is no problem in taking him on face value so far as India-Pakistan relations are concerned. His approach is: (a) Problem of Kashmir has to be solved on Pakistani terms, otherwise Pak terrorism and proxy war will be continued by him, (b) he does not consider confidence building measures and the past political dialogues to be of any relevance. He wants discussions on Kashmir *de novo*. His India policy is underpinned by an aggressive military stance. His tactic is to continue a confrontationist approach with India while being responsive to the demands of the US about countering terrorism against the US and Western democracies.

One does not see prospects of any reasonable dialogue with Pakistan in the near future but interaction with Pakistan, whatever its nature, should be subject to the above policy postures clearly articulated by the General.

J. N. DIXIT on taking Gen Musharraf at face value

India to brief US about Pak support to terrorism

Shishir Gupta
New Delhi, February 3

INDIA IS going to furnish the United States details of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in Kashmir and other parts of the country during the first meeting of the Joint Working Group (JWG) on counter-terrorism, to be held in Washington on February 7-8.

Government sources said the Indian delegation will share with their US counterparts the extent of "proxy war" being waged by Pakistan in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The Indian officials will also give exhaustive details about the activities of pan-Islamic terrorist groups such as the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and Laskar-e-Tojiba, who are involved in subversive activities. The US side will also be apprised about the increasing involvement of foreign mercenaries, including those from Afghanistan in terrorist violence and recent suicidal attacks on the Indian security forces in Kashmir.

The Indian delegation will be lead by Mr Alok Prasad, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, while the US delegation will be headed by Ambassador Micheal Sheehan, Chief Coordinator on Counter-Terrorism.

The Indian team includes Mr Dinkar Srivastava, Joint Secretary, MEA, Mr Rakesh Hooja, Joint Secretary (Internal Security) and two other counter-terrorism experts.

Indian Foreign Secretary Lalit Mansingh will arrive in Washington on February 8 to hold talks with Under Secretary (Political Affairs) Thomas Pickering. He will leave for New Delhi on February 10.

It is understood that the Indian side will also share

intelligence on the activities of groups operating in Kashmir that are sponsored by Saudi fugitive Osama bin Laden. There is evidence that terrorists group such as Al Qida, that is reportedly financed by Osama bin Laden, has been operating in the Valley. Al Qida was reportedly behind the rocket attack near the United States embassy in Islamabad last year.

There is an obvious convergence of interest of the two sides on this Afghanistan-based leader of terrorists for it was Osama bin Laden who openly called for Jihad (holy war) against United States and India. This statement was made during the hijacking of the Indian Airlines Flight 814 to Kandahar.

It is believed that India is keen to reach some sort of understanding with the US on sharing intelligence related to activities of pan-Islamic terrorist groups that are operating out of Afghanistan and Pakistan. During the JWG, India will also produce evidence to pinpoint the role of Pakistan and the Taliban in the recent hijacking of the Indian Airlines flight 814. Inflammatory anti-India statements made by Harkat ideologue Maulana Masood Azhar, who was swapped for the hostages in the hijacking, in Pakistan will also be put forth by the Indian side to strengthen their case.

Officials sources said the Indian side will bring to US notice the problems of cross-border terrorism and terrorist violence so that US President Bill Clinton has a balanced overview in case he makes a brief stopover at Islamabad during his forthcoming visit to South Asia.

It is believed that the terrorist training camps in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Afghanistan that are used for directing subversive activity against both the countries will also feature in the JWG meeting.

CIA dubs Pak a breeding ground for terrorism

WASHINGTON: Pakistan is a prime breeding ground for extremists and Saudi dissident Osama bin Laden is still the most wanted among terrorists "because of the immediacy and seriousness of the threat he poses", the CIA has warned.

CIA director George J. Tenet told the senate committee on intelligence on Thursday that "there is now an intricate web of alliances among Sunni extremists worldwide, including North Africans, radical Palestinians, Pakistanis and central Asians." Some of these terrorists, he said, were actively sponsored by governments that harbor great antipathy towards the U.S.. Mr Tenet mentioned Iran as the most active state sponsor of terrorism.

"Although we have seen some moderating trends in Iranian domestic policy and even some public criticism of the security apparatus," he said, "the fact remains that the use of terrorism by official Iranian organs has not changed since president Mohammad Khatami took office." He said, "Bin Laden is still foremost among these terrorists, because of the immediacy and seriousness of the threat he poses. Everything we have learned recently confirms our conviction that he wants to strike further blows against America." Indeed, said Mr Tenet, Bin Laden's organisation and other terrorist groups were putting increasing emphasis on developing surrogates to carry out attacks in an effort to avoid detection. For example, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ) is linked closely to bin Laden's organisation and his operatives located throughout the world, including in Europe, Yemen, Pakistan, Lebanon and Afghanistan.

"We remain concerned," said Mr Tenet, "that terrorist groups worldwide continue to explore how rapidly evolving and spreading technologies might enhance the lethality of their operations. Although terrorists we have preempted still appear to be relying on conventional weapons, we know that a

number of these groups are seeking chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear (CBRN) agents. We are aware of several instances in which terrorists have contemplated using these materials.

"Among them is bin Laden, who has shown a strong interest in chemical weapons. His operatives have trained to conduct attacks with toxic chemicals or biological toxins," he added.

Meanwhile, US assistant secretary of state Karl F. Inderfurth has described India "an emerging economic power house and world power, a dynamic nation forged from amazing diversity, and a successful democracy with over a billion people" in a lecture. Mr Inderfurth said Clinton's planned visit to South Asia signified a policy of greater US engagement with countries of the region but warned that this would depend a lot on progress in crucial areas such as nuclear disarmament and terrorism.

PTI adds from Islamabad: Gen. Musharraf said on Thursday that Indo-Pak tension would escalate if Clinton skipped Islamabad from his tour to South Asia, a media report said. Gen. Musharraf, however, did not elaborate on his statement. The Pakistan foreign office has also said that an opportunity to promote peace and stability in the region would be missed if Clinton skipped Pakistan.

However, Karachi's *Business Recorder* paper quotes sources as saying that gen. Musharraf was planning to hold the referendum next month. The paper wrote on Wednesday that preparations for the event had already begun. It said "the referendum is planned for March and aims to acquire the stamp of public approval to its ambitious programme of reforms and accountability." The paper said the basic objective of this referendum was to deflect international demands that Gen. Musharraf announce a time frame for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. (Agencies)

India cautions world against terrorism and narcotics trade

BERLIN: India, on Sunday, cautioned the world community against the growing influence exerted by terrorists due to globalisation, and asserted that these "non-state actors" along with narcotics and rising small arms trade, posed the "biggest threat" to peace and stability in the world.

"Non-state actors have emerged on the scene, fired by ideologies of extremism and fanaticism and equipped with more lethal power. Globalisation has enabled these actors, whom I would describe as terrorists, to develop linkages across continents," national security adviser Brajesh Mishra said. He was referring to changes in the nature of armed conflicts at the 36th conference on security policy at Munitot.

Speaking on the theme "Rising World Powers in Asia: Implications for Regional and Global Security", Mishra said non-military threats have assumed "greater salience" as part of the effects of globalisation.

Noting that challenges facing Asian countries would be more complex, Mr Mishra said forces that brought them together in the global market place also rendered them "more vulnerable" to problems that spanned national borders such as transnational crime and terrorism.

Ambassador Ronen Sen and Lt Gen Satish Nambiar, involved in UN peace keeping operations in Bosnia, were the other members of the Indian delegation at the conference. Mr Mishra told delegates that the traditional balance of power approach in Asia, which has never enjoyed any overarching security framework would not work. He suggested evolving a "cooperative security order" in Asia rooted in pluralism. "Asia is the crucible in which a new security order will be fashioned: an order that will be relevant not only for this continent but for the rest of the world," he said.

As New Delhi rediscovers its extended neighbourhood, central

Asia, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and south east Asia, through greater economic and defence engagements, the role of a secular and democratic India as a factor of stability in the Asian continent becomes increasingly apparent, he said. Mr Mishra said within Asia he would today place China, Japan and India as the rising "Asian world powers" with an increasing role in both economic and security matters.

While Japan was already a powerhouse, China and India have attributes that would make them significant players. That he said was "The fundamental reason behind the assessment that the 21st century will be an Asian century was because of the rapidly expanding role of these countries in global affairs."

Stating that both the U.S. and the EU have a "vital stake" in Asia, Mr Mishra said regional and global security is dependent on ties among rising world powers. (PTI)

India, U.S. may devise strategy against terrorism

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, FEB. 7. Terrorism will be the topic of discussion here today and tomorrow between senior officials of the Clinton administration and India. On a broad scale there is determination by the United States and India to join forces and fight the scourge with the two sides apparently working on details on how this could be effectively done regionally and on a global fashion. Terrorism or counter-terrorism is expected to be high during the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's visit to India next month.

The meeting between senior officials of the two countries is said to be unprecedented in the sense that different branches of the governments are interacting on a comprehensive and serious basis for the first time. This, the argument here goes, could lead to greater cooperation on the counter-terrorism front by way of training and 'sharing of experience' including perhaps on the intelligence front.

On Tuesday the talks between India and the United States take on a different level. India's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh will be holding formal consultations with very senior members of the Clinton administration and Cabinet. India's Foreign Secretary will be meeting the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Thomas Pickering; the Deputy

Secretary of State, Mr. Strobe Talbott, will be hosting a lunch.

Mr. Lalit Mansingh will also be having a meeting with the President's National Security Adviser, Mr. Sandy Berger. Although the Indian Foreign Secretary's visit has been passed off as 'normal Foreign Office consultations', it assumes special significance in the light of President Bill Clinton's visit to India. The last time there had been official Foreign Office-to-Foreign Office consultations was just prior to the nuclear tests of May 1998.

In a different context, terrorism is high on the agenda between the United States and Pakistan as well. In the immediate context the administration has asked for meaningful steps to be taken by Islamabad on terrorism, democracy and non-proliferation if Mr. Clinton is to include Pakistan in his South Asia programme. The Clinton administration wants official Islamabad to rein in the extremist groups operating in the area as also putting a squeeze on the Taliban to deliver Osama bin Laden.

For the record the administration here has not formally responded to the distinctions the top Pakistani General has been making in the last few days on terrorism and 'jihad'. Having said this it also has to be pointed out that while Washington shares New Delhi's concerns on the terrorism front on a broad level, it

has not completely signed on to the BJP agenda on this, especially as it pertained to the role of Pakistan.

For instance the Clinton administration has been very careful in how it has characterised the brutal hijacking of the Indian Airlines Flight 814 from Kathmandu and the sordid drama that was played out for about a week. While Washington may have identified groups such as the Harkat which has definite pro-Pakistan leanings and backing as having had a role in the hijacking, the Clinton administration has made it very clear that there was no direct evidence of the hand of official Pakistan in the incident.

Terrorism and the steps Gen. Musharraf is willing to take will be a factor in deciding whether Mr. Clinton drops by Pakistan during his South Asia trip. But what is being emphasised in many quarters is that the United States may not wish to jeopardise its longer term interests in the region by skipping Pakistan. In fact the *Newsweek* magazine, quoting official sources, is making the point that Mr. Clinton may visit Pakistan irrespective of whether Islamabad meets American concerns on terrorism fearing that a 'snub' might add to the region's instability. This is precisely what many in Pakistan — generals, politicians, and bureaucrats — have been saying, and for a long time.

THE HINDU
- 8 FEB 2000

And now, Pakistan opens a cyber-terrorism front

By Yashwant Raj
The Times of India News Service
NEW DELHI: Cross-border terrorism can be fought, but can one do much about cyber-terrorists merrily hacking into Indian Websites?

In the last few months, hackers claiming to be Pakistani have broken into several Indian Websites, defaced them and vamoosed. The cheekier ones have left behind calling cards and a familiar sign-off tune, the messages amounting to nothing less than name calling.

Among the victims of these Pakistani hackers have been government Websites such as www.doc.gov.in of the department of electronics and www.isc.2000.org.in of the Indian Science Congress, besides www.setindia.com of Sony Entertainment Television India and www.zee.net.in of Zee Television.

The most recent hacking—that of the Sony site—was on February 5, for which responsibility was claimed, in the tradition of militant organisations, by an outfit called 'Harkat-ul-mOs' which described itself as 'a Pakistan-based terrorist organisation that wants India to..'

(expletive deleted).
 The defaced message gives no further details about mOs, but threatens, "We will keep 'terrorising' you, defacing sites until there are no more Indian sites left that have still to be defaced."
 This particular hacking was com-

sense of humour? "Yes, we are terrorists," the hackers proudly proclaim, adding, "This defacement is brought to you by Bajaj Autos (sic) in collaboration with Jaswanth Singh (sic)." Yes, India's foreign minister.

But Phc, unlike mOs, is more magnanimous than mOs, and targets all kinds of sites irrespective of whether they are Indian, although the defacing is always concluded with anti-India vitriol.

Phc is consistent, but a little brash, leaving behind its e-mail address and the individual hacker's cyber name. So, meet doctornucker, who claims to be one of the two founder members of the club. To an e-mailed request for information about Phc, doctornucker replied, "We are students studying in Pakistan and are in computers just for the sake of hacking."

To be fair to them, the Phc guys do love hacking. Why else would they hack into even their own (Pakistani) sites such as www.tourism.gov.pk, the website of Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation, and www.ptv.com.pk, the website of Pakistan Television?

FBI to probe cyber-crimes

NEW YORK: Anonymous cyberspace vandals continued their well-orchestrated attacks on major Websites in the United States even as the Federal Bureau of Investigation said it will mount a full-scale investigation into the crime.

The justice department on Wednesday promised to locate the attackers, but officials admitted they have no credible leads and analysts said finding the criminals would be an uphill task.

Shares of e-commerce companies dropped as investors were trying to figure out the repercussions, especially people's confidence in trading and buying online. The companies were themselves taking steps to protect their Websites.

Besides attacking the sites, the attackers slowed down traffic on parts of Internet. (PTI)

Sounds ominous? But these guys do have a sense of humour. Their two messages end with the same sign-off line—'Zor ka jhatka, dheeray se lagay', a punch line borrowed from an Indian soft-drink ad.

But did someone say copycats can't make terrorists, or have no

But mOs is not the only cyber-ter-

U.S. wants Pak to take action ^{T1-16} against terrorism ^{18/2}

WASHINGTON: The Clinton administration has made quite clear to Pakistan its concern about activities of some terrorist groups which operate out of or within its territory, secretary of state Madeleine Albright said. "We have that under continual review...We have been concerned about the fact that groups like the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen which, we believe, was involved in the recent hijacking of Indian Airlines (flight) 814, operate in Pakistan and that they have been a transit point for terrorists," she said during a hearing of the House international relations committee Wednesday.

"We are concerned and we hope that we can see some action, both in terms of democracy and dealing with the terrorist threat," she said. Ms Albright said the U.S. had discussions with the Musharraf government "as we had previously with the Sharif government. And it is obviously with our concern about terrorism and the way that it effects the whole region, it is something that has been very important to us."

"We have been concerned about Pakistan's support for the Taliban who are, in turn, closely linked to Osama bin Laden. So, we are actively addressing these issues," she stated.

Ms Albright recalled Washington's "very important" relationship with Pakistan and one that, unfortunately, had been interrupted by the May 1998 nuclear tests as well as by the action of Gen Musharraf in toppling the elected government.

"We have consistently urged Gen Musharraf to move in terms of some measurable milestones, of a return to civilian government. We are watching very carefully how he reforms the electoral commission and holds local elections. We want to see some kind of a public show, and not just show but real action in terms of returning to democracy. And we will continue to support grass-roots democracy in Pakistan," she added.

Ms Albright said President Clinton had made no decision about including Pakistan in his South Asia visit next month. She was replying to Congressman Sam Gejdenson (Democrat) who wanted to know the U.S. reaction to Gen Musharraf's action of removing and trying the elected prime minister. Robert Wexler (Democrat) asked about the assurances Pakistan had given about its efforts to deal with terrorism. (UPI)

Delhi smells Pak-Taliban Kargil revenge plot

Atal puts forth 36-to-3 defence

Eight days that held India to ransom

DAY 1, DEC. 24

Indian Airlines flight IC 814 from Kathmandu to New Delhi is hijacked at 4.55 pm with 189 passengers on board. The hijackers want the plane taken to Lahore. Pakistan initially refuses to allow it to land. The plane lands at Amritsar at 7.20 pm with the pilot informing ground control that four passengers have been killed. The hijackers demand fuel. But the plane takes off suddenly when the tanker approaches. It forcelands at Lahore and after being refuelled, proceeds to Dubai.

DAY 2, DEC. 25

The hijackers kill Rupin Katyal because he disobeys them and locks up twice. They release 27 passengers, all women and children, and the body of Rupin Katyal at 6.30 am. Flight leaves Dubai airbase for southern Afghan city of Kandahar and lands at 8.33 am. A special aircraft to carry released passengers arrives in Dubai, leaves and reaches Delhi at 10.15 pm. The hijackers demand release of jailed militant leader Masood Azhar.

FROM CHANDAN NANDY

New Delhi, Dec. 31: The plot to hijack the Indian Airlines plane was hatched by the Pakistani intelligence and terrorist groups, with the cooperation of the Taliban, according to security agencies.

Two kidnappings of top Indian politicians or their near ones were also lined up for the same day.

The plan was worked out over one month and was aimed at avenging the Kargil defeat and publicising the Kashmir issue like never before.

Indian security agencies have now largely been able to figure out how the operation was planned.

Two friendly Western nations provided intelligence back-up in the form of communication intercepts between a Pakistani station, Kandahar and the hijackers.

The Pakistani Intelligence Bureau, which along with the ISI carries out intelligence operations abroad, the top Taliban leadership and terrorist groups such as Lashkar-e-Toiba and Harkat-ul-Mujahideen worked out the scheme to hold India to ransom.

They had planned to hijack an Indian aircraft originating from foreign soil, and kidnap either two important personalities or groups of well-known people from the national political establishment.

Five of the best terrorists from the two Pakistan-based outfits were handpicked for the job. They were trained to hold out against international pressure, go without food in extreme circumstances and, most important, to bargain.

For maximum impact, all three operations were to be con-

DAY 3, DEC. 26

A three-member UN team led by Erick de Mul leaves for Kandahar to provide humanitarian assistance to the hostages. A diabetic passenger, Anil Khurana, is released by the hijackers after his health deteriorates. Others are provided food, water and blankets. The UN delegation, except de Mul, leaves Kandahar for Islamabad. External affairs minister Jaswant Singh hints that a team will go to hold negotiations with hijackers.

ducted on the same day.

However, the kidnapping plan was dropped by the Pakistani intelligence possibly because past abductions in Jammu and Kashmir had failed to evoke the desired response from the Centre.

The sustained militant attacks on security forces, including the army, were a precursor to the hijacking.

After the kidnappings were aborted, the initial plan to hijack an aircraft on December 27 was advanced to December 24. The hijackers were informed of the change in plans at "very short notice".

"The Pakistanis passed on the message to the hijackers and directed them to launch the operation. After all, the logistics were ready and the plan solid," a security official said.

Officials are tightlipped on whether the hijacking was brought forward because the Pakistanis had found out that an important Indian official was to fly to Delhi on IC 814. Travel plans of the official should have been secret.

On December 24, five hijackers — identified as Pakistani nationals, at least one of whom is an intelligence officer — boarded the Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) flight PK-804 and landed at Kathmandu's Tribhuvan International airport at 9.30 am.

They were met at the airport by a Nepali national, most probably G.M. Tamrakar. It is being checked whether the intelligence officer sneaked out of the hijacked plane either in Dubai or Kandahar.

Tamrakar, two of whose brothers are top smugglers, took the five to Kunal Guest House near

the airport. There, one hijacker made a call over a mobile phone, possibly to the Pakistani "handler".

Having sorted out the travel details, including air tickets and fake identity documents, the hijackers returned to the airport and sneaked into the departure lounge.

Tamrakar's contacts among airport authorities helped them bypass security checks. The tickets were purchased from Himalayan Travel and Tours and Gorkha Travel and Tours.

Two Pakistani intelligence officers, Mohammad Arshad Cheema and Minhas, working under cover from the Kathmandu embassy, provided the back-up. Cheema, a first secretary in the mission, visited the airport on Friday and stayed there for an hour before returning to the embassy.

New Delhi, Dec. 31: It was a defensive Prime Minister who addressed the nation this evening. Atal Behari Vajpayee lost no time in using the occasion of millennium-eve to ensure that his handling of the Kargil crisis, did not take a beating due to the hijack.

His speech, delivered with a tinge of sadness, was largely to justify the crucial decision of letting off three hardcore militants in exchange for the hostages.

The Prime Minister told the nation that he had not paid too heavy a price. He said his government was able to "substantially scale down their demand" and reminded people that the hijackers had asked for the release of 36 terrorists. He did not go into the details of the importance of the militants released.

The Prime Minister expressed satisfaction with the fact that the hostages would soon be back with their families to "usher in a new year".

"While dealing with the hijackers," he said, "the government was guided by two concerns: the safety of the passengers and the crew, and the long-term, overall interests of our country."

Vajpayee could not avoid giving this explanation for the militants' release. Even before foreign minister Jaswant Singh had returned with the freed hostages, the Congress and the Left had started making noises.

The Opposition had said they would withhold criticism till the drama was over. This evening itself, they started blaming the government for compromising on the nation's security.

Vajpayee's message was also meant for staunch BJP supporters who swear by national pride. It was important to dispel possible misgivings among BJP workers who might have felt that the government fought shy of tough decisions in the face of an emotional outcry.

The speech also had a hint of fresh determination to face the menace of terrorism. Vajpayee described the hijacking as "diabolic and evil" and insisted that India would not "spare any effort to thwart the phenomenon of terrorism itself".

This implied the government would reconsider its anti-terrorism programme and make it much tougher.

Playing on the sentiments of the world community, Vajpayee described terrorism as a "crime against humanity" and said the time had come for the world to "confront this evil to act in concert and crush it".

THE TELEGRAPH
1 JAN 2000

The men India released

SRB Terrorism

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Dec. 31. — The three terrorists whom India exchanged for the passengers and crew on board IC-814 were instrumental in reviving and leading the militancy in Kashmir valley.

The first secretary-general of Harkat-ul-Ansar, Mohammed Masood Azhar was arrested in early 1994 when he came to India on a Portugese passport. He had sent several batches of Kashmiri youths to Pakistan and Afghanistan for training.

His visits to UP cities were followed by communal riots in Kanpur and Benaras. He played a key role in the merger of Harkat-ul-Mujahdeen and Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islamia

to set up the Harkat-ul-Ansar in June 1993.

In November 1993, Masood went to Kenya at the behest of the Pakistani authorities to assure Somalian Muslims that Islamabad would withdraw its troops from the UN peace-keeping force, and urged them to continue their jehad.

Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar (33), better known as Mushtaq Latram, is the founder-chief of

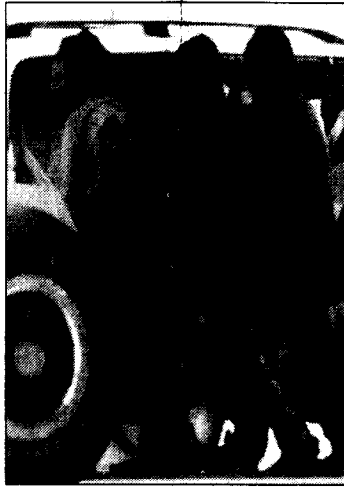
the now defunct Al-Umar. He was instrumental in giving boost to violence in the valley before being arrested in 1993 from central Srinagar. Zargar used to tie hand-grenades on the bodies of his victims before blasting the grenades.

One of the five founders of the terrorist movement in Kashmir, along with JKLF leaders Yasin Malik and Javed Mir, he later parted ways to form his own group. He is said to have visited Pakistan and PoK twice between August 1998 and February 1990.

The 28-year-old Harkut-ul-Ansar topgun, Ahmed Umar Saeed Sheikh was a British national of Pakistani origin. He was sent to Delhi to kidnap foreigners to secure the release of Masood Azhar

and Nasarullah Langaryal. Sheikh was arrested in October 1994 and lodged at Tihar Jail.

He had masterminded the kidnapping of three Britons and an American in 1994. He had undergone special training in Pakistan and Afghanistan, the last being a four-month special arms training at a camp near Miransar where his instructors were from the elite SSG of the Pakistan Army.



A Taliban official escorts two of the hijackers to a car at Kandahar airport on Friday. — AP/PTI.

THE STATESMAN

- 1 JAN 2000

Hijack reflects terrorist threat to democracies, says Pallone

N C Menon
Washington, December 31

HT-1A
THE HIJACKING of the Indian Airlines aircraft and the holding of passengers and crew as hostages is a reminder of the threat of terrorism faced by all democracies, Congressman Frank Pallone, Jr, has said.

"I hope this incident will alert the world of the threat India faces from this terrorist movement (Harkat-ul Mujahedeen)," the New Jersey Democrat and founder

and former co-chairman of the Congressional India Caucus, said. "I believe Pakistan must be

held accountable for contributing to this violence and instability. There should be more pressure brought to bear on Pakistan to be part of the solution, instead of continuing to exacerbate this problem."

Pallone, who has been one of the most outspoken voices in Congress warning of the danger of the armed separatist movement operating in Jammu and Kashmir, said that the hijacking demonstrated the need for the US to upgrade its cooperation with India to counter

terrorism.

"At this time, our foremost thoughts are with the hostages and their families," he said. "I appeal to the hijackers to release the passengers and crew, and I urge the Taliban authorities to play a helpful role in bringing this crisis to a peaceful conclusion."

"India and the United States have both been particularly targeted by Osama Bin Laden and the loose network of militant forces who share his goals," Pallone said.

"This is a further indication of the need for increased partnership between the US and India in identifying the shared threats we

face and devising ways to protect our citizens in ways consistent with open, democratic societies."

Pallone pointed out that the current hostage situation was linked to the militant movement waging a campaign of terror and violence against both military and civilian targets in Kashmir.

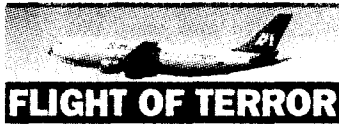
Although Pakistan has acknowledged its "political and moral" support for the separatist movement, Pallone has frequently charged that Pakistan's support goes far deeper.

Media coverage unfair: Envoy

AMBASSADOR NARESH Chandra has expressed disappointment with the reporting in the US of the Indian Airlines hijacking and with the media allowing itself to be used as a tool in the armoury of terrorists.

The US is the media capital of the world. It had been said that the terrorists's best friend is the media -- without it they were only criminals, he said. The media had reported about the demand for the release of 36 "Kashmiri separatists". Except for a Kashmiri named Zargar, who is a member of the Harkat-ul Ansar, the others are Pakistanis.

The demand for money was an effective propaganda ploy, ensuring that the story hogged front-page headlines. He said the mention of the hijacking being done by Sikh terrorists was intended to manage the media. "It was diabolical to point the finger at Sikh terrorists," he said. "The hijackers are in the aircraft, but have a good earth station which put out these details. The media should not swallow everything that is dished out."
HTC, Washington



India sharpens attack on Pak

'A third force was guiding hijackers' ✓ We'll arrest them, says Islamabad

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, January 1

Islamabad, January 1

A DAY after the hijack drama ended, India today termed Pakistan the real perpetrator of the terrorist act and came out with some more chilling details of the all-Pakistani hijack squad's intention to blow up the plane with the deadly explosive, RDX.

External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh said that New Delhi would take up with Islamabad the issue of extradition of the five hijackers "in an appropriate fashion at an appropriate time".

Mr Singh said that all the five hijackers and the three freed terrorists had headed for Pakistan after attending an Iftar at Kandahar. Initial enquiries, he said, had revealed that all the hijackers were Pakistani nationals. The hijackers, the Minister said, had in place plans to blow up the Indian Airlines aircraft if it was to be air-borne from Kandahar in the absence of India conceding their demands.

RDX along with other explosives had been placed in the hold of the plane, he said. It was pointed out that the lone hijacker to have checked in his luggage, a suitcase, insisted on retrieving it before leaving the plane at the end of the hijack drama.

There was a "quantitative and qualitative" change in the arms the hijackers were carrying, and "AK47s, pistols and grenades also appeared inside the plane," Mr Singh said while responding to questions.

Significantly, Mr Singh said a "third force" seemed to be guiding the hijackers. He said it was quite intriguing that the hijackers were calling off negotiations time and again and entering "consultations with somebody, not from the Taliban, as if a third force was advising them on how to proceed".

The Minister's revelations imply that the Indian Government had absolutely no choice but to enter the deal with the hijackers as a failure of the negotiations would have led presumably to the aircraft being air-borne followed by its blowing up with the hostages.

PAKISTAN TODAY said it would arrest and try the hijackers of the Indian airliner if they entered the country. Interior Minister Moinuddin Haider, quoted by the official APP news agency, said the five hijackers and the three militants freed yesterday, had not entered Pakistan.

All the eight are, however, believed to have crossed over to Pakistan from Afghanistan. AP quoted a Taliban official as saying that the hijackers have crossed over to the neighbouring country.

Pakistan was almost certainly the destination as it is realistically the country where they can reach within 10 hours, the deadline given by Taliban to leave the country.

Leading Pakistani Urdu daily *Jung* quoting Taliban Information Minister Abdul Hayee Mutmaeen said the hijackers had started their journey for Quetta, a six-hour drive from Kandahar, after sun-set yesterday.

Meanwhile, UN special representative to Afghanistan Erick de Mul, who was in Kandahar during the eight-day crisis said: "I am sure you will hear something in a few days. They will be spotted somewhere."

Condemnations pour in: The United States, Japan and some other countries whose nationals were among the passengers freed, have appreciated the handling of the crisis by India and said all efforts should be made to bring to book those responsible for the act of international terrorism.

No body found: India today denied that any dead body was recovered from the hijacked plane after it returned from Kandahar.

Hijacked plane back: The IC-814 Kathmandu-Delhi Indian Airlines plane, which endured the eight day-long hijack drama, finally reached its destination by touching down at Indira Gandhi International Airport (IGIA) at 12.20 p.m. today, a report from New Delhi said. (Agencies)

India, Lanka missed chance to gather world support

P. K. Balachandran
Colombo, January 2

IN DECEMBER 1999, India and Sri Lanka missed a rare opportunity to gather domestic and world support for their grim battle against terrorism, points out Mr. Dayan Jayatilaka, a Sri Lankan expert on insurgent movements.

If India meekly gave in to the Pak-backed terrorists' core demand within eight days of the hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane, the Sri Lankan President, Mrs. Chandrika Kumaratunga, offered to talk to the LTTE within hours of a gruesome attempt on her life.

"These are instances of a moral collapse in the face of a terrorist

challenge," Mr. Jayatilaka told *The Hindustan Times*.

The anti-terrorist sentiment, gathering strength in both countries, had been let down, he said. Such acts of submission, instead of curbing terrorism, will only encourage terrorists to continue to hold states to ransom, and sadly, the states of the South Asian region are particularly troubled by ethnicity centred insurgent movements, Mr. Jayatilaka said.

According to him, Mrs. Kumaratunga's strongly-worded tirade against the LTTE in her acceptance speech, and later in her interview to the BBC, made little sense because in the same breath she had called for talks with the LTTE. If in the acceptance speech

she called for "immediate" talks, in the BBC interview she said "would have to" talk with the LTTE.

The rush to offer talks would only strengthen the growing impression in Sri Lankan political circles and think tanks abroad, that the LTTE was invincible, the ana-

lyst said. He observed that both the

mainstream Sri Lankan political parties, Peoples' Alliance and the United National Party, seemed to be "hypnotised" by the Tigers.

The offer of talks and the support for it in the Sri Lankan polity looks ludicrous in the context of

the LTTE's military successes in

the past two months. Analysts say that the LTTE will not talk until it places itself in an unassailable military position by following up its unprecedented triumphs in November 1999.

It is now trying hard to take Elephant Pass (EP) and open up

the high road to Jaffna. It has already taken Paramathan, south of EP, and Kaddaikadu and Vetrilaikeeni, east of EP, and is trying to establish bridgeheads in Kilali and Yakachchi, north of EP

and in Thanankilappu, east of Jaffna town. Mr. Jayatilaka's fear is that the politico-military success-

Chandrika Kumaratunga received from world leaders after the bid on her life.

"Sri Lanka has also failed to use the critical fact that the fight against the LTTE has no bilateral or multilateral problems, because, as on date, no country supports the LTTE. This provides an ideal ground for international cooperation, and yet, little is done to exploit it," Mr. Jayatilaka lamented. Ad hocism and short term political goals determine the actions of the leaders in both India and Sri Lanka, Mr. Jayatilaka said. "There seems to be no concern for long term strategic interests. This is strange for a region which had produced Kautliya, the Sri Lankan analyst said.

He feels that Sri Lanka has failed to capitalise on the sympathy and anti-terrorist sentiment expressed in the many messages Mrs.

Battle Against Terrorism

PM pushes for Pak terror tag

FROM OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Jan. 3: Kicking off the campaign to isolate Islamabad internationally for its alleged role in the hijack, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee today urged key world players to declare Pakistan a terrorist state.

"Pakistan's active and sustained role in fomenting terrorism in India is now too obvious to be overlooked by the international community. India, therefore, strongly urges major nations of the world to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. Our government will work systematically towards this objective," PTI quoted Vajpayee as saying in Pune.

This is the first time that the Prime Minister has publicly stated that Pakistan should be tagged a terrorist nation. The statement indicates that Delhi, smarting under the humiliation of having to release three hardcore militants, is bent on turning up the heat on Pakistan for what it perceives as its complicity in the hijack.

Islamabad scoffed at Vajpayee's call, saying it was intended to build a strategic relationship with the US. By doing so, Pakistan foreign minister Abdus Sattar said, "India no doubt wants the world opinion to ignore its abhorrent record of state terrorism".

The five hijackers and the three released militants reportedly crossed over into Quetta, the Pakistani town six km by road from Kandahar.

Coinciding with the Prime Minister's global appeal, US Democrat Congressman Gary Ack-

erman said the hijack formed part of a "hegemonistic" campaign by certain sections in Islamabad to "dismember" Delhi.

"It is time the US sent a clear message that the administration will not tolerate terrorism of any variety or hue in any part of the world," he said.

Washington, in the past, has kept Pakistan on its terror watchlist — which includes countries suspected of encouraging or supporting terrorism. But so far it has not declared Pakistan a terrorist state.

India has claimed it will shortly table direct and circumstantial evidence to establish that the hijack trail leads to Pakistan. National security adviser Brajesh Mishra has said that Delhi will make public some of the messages intercepted during conversations between the hijackers and Pakistani officials.

During the standoff, foreign minister Jaswant Singh had pointed the needle of suspicion at Islamabad, saying all the hijackers were Pakistani nationals, as were the militants whose release they had demanded.

Officials are also trying to trace the role played by a Pakistani first secretary in its embassy in Kathmandu. The diplomat, who heads the consular section in the mission, was reportedly seen entering Tribhuvan airport when passengers of Flight IC 814 were called to check in. The officer was reported to have entered the check-in zone with a suitcase.

The diplomat is also said to have had links with Khalistani terrorists.

Declare Pak a rogue state: PM

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

PUNE, Jan. 3. — Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee today said India would work towards getting Pakistan declared a terrorist state.

In the city to inaugurate the 87th Indian Science Congress, the Prime Minister urged major nations to declare Pakistan a terrorist state for its role in fomenting terrorism in India. "I hope the US would take an initiative."

On the hijack crisis, he said all the available information made it clear that it was an "integral part of the Pakistan-backed campaign of terrorism". The hijackers and their "mentors", he said, had planned to

Commandos in air

CALCUTTA, Jan. 3. — The government started deploying commandos in several Indian Airlines flights from today, said a Calcutta Airport official. Commandos have also been positioned at the airport and will be put aboard Air India flights, say officials. The Prime Minister today said in Pune that the government was considering such a move. — SNS

internationalise the Kashmir issue and isolate India diplomatically, but failed miserably.

"If anything got internationalised, it was not Kashmir, but

the brazen resort to terrorism by those seeking to break India's unity," he said. "The hijacking has been universally condemned around the world. Now the anti-India forces have got isolated in the eyes of the world community, vastly furthering India's long-term interests."

He said: "It has strengthened the legitimacy of India's stand on Kashmir and simultaneously shown the world that Pakistan's Kashmir agenda is not only baseless, but is being pursued by recourse to terrorism which constitutes a patent threat to global security."

Even as he took apart

■ See PM: page 6

PM:

(Continued from page 1)

Pakistan for having engineered the hijacking, he was mum on Taliban's role throughout the crisis. Their role is yet to be "evaluated properly", he said, but the Taliban were "helpful" at Kandahar Airport.

He said there was no dissension among the ministers over the militants' release in exchange for the hostages.

All decisions were taken unanimously in the Cabinet Committee on Security.

Home Minister Mr LK Advani had also participated in the decision-making process, the Prime Minister emphasised.

THE STATESMAN

- 4 JAN 2000

Freed militants seen in Karachi and PoK

Karachi/Muzaffarabad, January 5

PAKISTANI CLERIC
Maulana Masood Azhar and Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar, a terrorist, who were freed by India in a deal with the hijackers of an Indian Airlines plane, have returned to Pakistan, a source in a militant group and witnesses said today.

Maulana Masood Azhar, who emerged as a central figure in the hijacking saga, has returned to Pakistan and spent hours with his friends at an Islamic seminary in Karachi, the source at the Harkatul Jihad-el Islami said. The group was at one time a part of Harkatul-Ansar.

"It is a great feeling to have him back. He deserved to be back as he did not commit any crime and is a Pakistani citizen," the source said.

The source said he knew nothing about the whereabouts of the five hijackers, who seized the Indian Airlines jet on Christmas-eve and held the passengers and crew hostage on board for a week.

The hijackers escaped after India gave in to their demands and released Azhar, Zargar and

Ahmed Umar Syed Sheikh, a British passport holder.

Azhar's return came two days after Pakistan's top military spokesman said the cleric could return if his Pakistani identity is established.

"He has a right to come back to Pakistan but only if he is the genuine one. He has not committed any offence," Brig. Rashid Qureshi told reporters here on Monday.

Witnesses in Muzaffarabad, the capital of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, said Kashmiri militants greeted Zargar when he arrived last night.

Zargar was greeted by members of the Al-Umar Mujahideen group (one of several Muslim militant organisations), the witnesses said.

Zargar, the founder of Al-Umar Mujahideen, made no comment to reporters, who had been tipped of his imminent arrival after the hijack ended in Kandahar on December 31.

"No retreat, no surrender is the slogan of Mushtaq Zargar," said one banner held aloft by a band of waiting militants, who had been expecting his arrival for the past three days.

"I cannot express my joy upon seeing the courageous commander here among us on this blessed night. He is really a source of inspiration for us," one militant said.

Tehran: A top foreign ministry official here has said the hijackers are not in Iran.

"Rumours about the presence of the hijackers in Iran are only trying to deceive the public," ministry spokesman Hamid-Reza Asefi said yesterday, quoted by the official IRNA news agency.

He did not elaborate about the rumours.

Meanwhile, in Islamabad Pakistani military ruler General Pervez Musharraf claimed that the hijackers were not in Pakistan and termed as "smear campaign" India's assertion about Islamabad's involvement in the hijacking.

"The hijackers are not in Pakistan" and Indian charges are "baseless", state-run television quoted the general as saying.

An External Affairs Ministry spokesman had, earlier in the day, said in New Delhi that Pak was obligated to act to apprehend and try the five hijackers even if they made their way to PoK. (Agencies)

Time to declare Pakistan a terrorist State: Pallone

N.C. Menon
Washington, January 5

NOW IS the time for the US and other major nations to declare Pakistan a state sponsor of terrorism, asserted Congressman Frank Pallone, Jr, New Jersey Democrat, here yesterday.

The recently concluded Indian Airlines hijacking crisis is only the latest in a long series of incidents that points to Pakistan's role in promoting violence and instability in the region, added Pallone, who has repeatedly cited Pakistan's active role in supporting the militants who have been waging a campaign of terror in Jammu and Kashmir.

Pallone, founder of the Congressional India Caucus, said he would formalise his request in a letter to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Pending a response from the State Department, he might draft legislation calling on the State Department to declare Pakistan a terrorist state.

Noting that the State Department had reacted cautious-

ly to Prime Minister Vajpayee's call for Pakistan to be designated a terrorist state, Pallone said he would continue to press for that status to be reviewed.

"Besides the terrorist organisations themselves, those countries that harbour terrorist organisations or provide them with technical, financial, political or other support should also be held accountable," Pallone stated.

There had been reports that a significant number of the individuals involved in the terrorist camps in Afghanistan are Pakistani nationals, the Congressman added. "In recent years, we have seen some of the most notorious international terrorists - including those responsible for the World Trade Center bombings and the shootings at the CIA Headquarters - turning up in Pakistan. Pakistan actually protested the U.S. military action against terrorist training camps in Afghanistan."

In what he described as "the last straw" in terms of Pakistan's association with terrorist activities, Pallone cited the recent statement from National Security Adviser

Brajesh Mishra that Indian intelligence had intercepted radio conversations between militant groups in Kashmir that confirmed Pakistan's links to the hijackers. "Pakistan's response to these serious charges is to make the absurd allegation that India engineered the hijacking of its own citizens," Pallone said, adding: "Yet the evidence once again points to at least some level of association between Paki and this terrorist incident."

"The history of the past few years points to the obvious conclusion that Pakistan is deeply involved in the ongoing campaign of terror afflicting Kashmir, and in terrorist acts elsewhere," he continued.

"The military junta that recently took over in Islamabad has only acted to increase that widespread perception.

"I believe that the global struggle against terrorism may have the longer-term effect of more closely uniting India and the United States, since both of our countries have been victims of the international terrorist movement with which Pakistan has been associated," Pallone said.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 6 JAN 2000

Indian campaign with U.S. has a long way to go

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 6. As the Government steps up pressure on the United States to identify Pakistan as a state sponsoring international terrorism, there is awareness here that the campaign has a long way to go.

In accusing Pakistan of masterminding the hijacking of IC-814 and demanding that U.S. act upon the evidence, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, has certainly raised the stakes in Indo-U.S. relations. But there was no expectation here that the moment New Delhi makes the demand, Washington would just follow suit.

The Prime Minister's statement is being seen here as part of a political effort to focus the attention of the Clinton administration on the sources of international terrorism inside the Pakistani state itself.

The Government has repeatedly conveyed to the international community over the last decade India's concerns over Pakistan's support to cross-border terrorism. New Delhi sees the hijacking as an opportune moment to nudge the U.S. to come terms with the realities in Pakistan.

India fully acknowledges the steadily hardening formulations of the Clinton administration, over the years, on Pakistan's support for international terrorism. In recent months, Washington has gone beyond the earlier reiteration of the Pakistani claim that its extends "moral and diplomatic support" to militant

groups engaged in terrorism against India.

The U.S. now says that Pakistan provides "material support" to some groups such as the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM), said to be behind the hijacking.

The U.S. has already branded the HUM a "terrorist organisation", following evidence of its involvement in the kidnapping and murder of Western citizens in 1995. It is also aware of the threats that the HUM poses to the long-term security of Pakistan itself. Washington charged that the HUM "is also tied to the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, a militant sectarian group believed responsible for the attempted assassination of then-Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, in January 1999".

India is now asking the Washington to take its own analysis of the sources of extremism inside Pakistan to the logical conclusion, and declare Islamabad guilty of sponsoring terrorism.

The Clinton administration, it is well understood here, is holding itself back not because of a lack of technical evidence on Pakistan's support for terrorist groups. The legacy of the past American relationship with Pakistan and the continuing expectations in Washington that Islamabad could be a useful partner in the future, make the Clinton administration reluctant to draw the inescapable conclusion.

The U.S. has enough and more evidence on the deep links between the Pakistani security establishment and the various terrorist groups operating worldwide. What holds the it back is

the concern that isolating Islamabad would lessen its leverages there and further radicalise the "failing state" of Pakistan.

In initiating a direct campaign to get Islamabad declared a state sponsor of international terrorism, India is challenging the political assumptions in the U.S. about Pakistan.

Insofar as India is concerned, Pakistan's support for cross-border terrorism could not get any worse than it is now. Nor is New Delhi impressed with the American arguments that "Pakistan must be saved from itself".

Unless the international community forces Islamabad to pay a price for its support to extremist and destabilising forces, India argues, there is little reason for Pakistan to mend its ways.

The public sparring between New Delhi and Washington on Pakistan comes amid growing Indo-U.S. cooperation in combatting international terrorism. In the last four months, senior officials of India and the U.S. have met thrice to discuss the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan as well as measures to combat terrorism in the region.

The two sides have agreed on the broad guidelines for the proposed Indo-U.S. Joint Working Group on Counter-Terrorism, which is expected to be instituted shortly. And during the recent hostage crisis, there was continuous contact between the officials of both the sides and exchange of critical information. The U.S. has also backed the Indian demand on bringing the hijackers to book.

On the plane of unreason

The hijacking of IC 814 has brought into focus many important issues. The anxiety of the relatives of the hijacked passengers is understandable. But it would be better to educate the public through the media about the ways and means of dealing with hostile situations such as these. Offering sympathy and assurances is not enough.

Many people are not aware that during such events, time is the most important factor. Gaining time creates opportunities for gathering information about the terrorists and for developing rescue plans. Indeed, the first few minutes in hijacking incidents are crucial. Both hijackers and hostages remain in a very unstable and excitable frame of mind. The reaction of the terrorists can be extremely unpredictable. Gradually, they regain some mental equilibrium. Hence it is essential for the law enforcement personnel or groups sent for rescue operations to avoid steps that might infuriate the hijackers.

Further, the passage of time also helps in the development of some rapport between the hijackers and their hostages. A twist in the relationship between captors and hostages is often referred to as "Stockholm syndrome" (after such an incident occurred in a Stockholm bank in August 1993). In this phenomenon, it becomes difficult for the terrorists to view the hostages as pawns in their hands with the passage of time.

They begin to feel concerned about the wellbeing of the captives. In some cases, hostages too develop complete sympathy for the cause of the terrorists. This occurred in the case of Patsy Hearst, the daughter of the American press baron, who was abducted by a terrorist outfit. Thus the chances of the hostages' survival improve over time.

However, each such incident is always different from another. The dynamics of situations may demand new approaches. During the seizure of the Iranian embassy by Arab terrorists in London in May 1980, the British Special Air Service did a superb rescue operation by storming the Iranian embassy, thereby releasing 19 hostages. Since the Stockholm syndrome did not set in, many of the hostages were as fanatical (in this case, Iranian diplomats loyal to Ayatollah Khomeini) as the terrorists and were not prepared to yield any ground. This changed the dynamics of the situation completely.

Many terrorist groups today are becoming aware of this possibility and they try to stop the development of an understanding between themselves and the victims by blindfolding the hostages or wearing masks themselves.

As abduction and hijacking have become a major form of terrorist activity throughout the world, it is absolutely necessary for every government to have a well rehearsed mechanism

Terrorist activity demands a well informed public response. The government needs to educate people about the real nature of terrorism, writes Sankar Sen

in place to deal with such situations in a trice. Indeed, the police and security forces in different countries over the past decade have had to develop special negotiating procedures to cope with such situations. But no two hostage situations are alike and there can be no standardized format, but only guidelines. Each situation has to be treated as it gradually unfolds.

After the Olympic tragedy in Munich in September 1972 in which 11 Israeli athletes, five Black September Arabs and one Munich policeman lost their lives, the New York police department formulated elaborate plans and guidelines for dealing with this new form of criminality. This was done because of the possibility of similar confrontations taking place in New York City, the headquarters of the United Nations.

The New York plan, as it has been called by law enforcement agencies, has been used effectively in many places in the US and Canada. The British police have also improved and perfected the techniques for dealing with such situations.

It is important to keep in mind that the negotiators play a very important role in the hostage-seize situations. The negotiator must establish a positive and supportive relationship with the captors so that their viewpoint can be related to the decisionmakers. The negotiator should normally be a middle ranking officer who would report to the decisionmakers. This saves time. Further, though unfavourable decisions may have to be accepted, this should neither be the negotiator's responsibility nor effect the negotiator's understanding with the terrorists.

There should also be secondary negotiators on the scene, especially because the primary negotiators may get stressed out. The chief of the security forces should not intervene in the negotiation, as this might prevent him from receiving other directions while decisions come up.

In some hostage situations, there has been use of non-police negotiators like the families of victims. This involves high risk. The untrained will not be able to bargain properly and will be overwhelmed by the situation. Thus, negotiators should be drawn from trained officers with professional consultants to back them up, if necessary.

In any such situation, the negotiator is one of the best sources of information on the captors' mental situation and be-

havioural patterns. The negotiators can keep the captors occupied or distract their attention, if assaults become necessary. An important principle to go by is that the captors should not be promised anything till they are ready to give something in turn. Also, some demands should be considered as non-negotiable, such as weapon, drugs or hostage exchanges.

The special operations and research unit of the Federal Bureau of Investigation Academy has conducted a lot of research into the issue of hostage negotiations and upheld that an exchange of hostages is never to be permitted. This may encourage the terrorists to launch similar operations in future.

It must be worth keeping in mind that the primary goal of the captors is not to harm the hostages, because they are aware of the authorities' access to force which may be used if they themselves take to violence. Fortunately most of these cases have been resolved peacefully as the captors' urge to survive outweighs their need to have their demands met. It is better to avoid deception and to promise what will not be delivered.

Captors mostly treat hostages as pawns and not as individuals. However, responses and reactions of the hostages have a significant bearing on the outcome of the situation.

It may be easy to conclude that a physically unharmed hostage has been treated well. But his inner trauma cannot be fathomed. Once 14 correctional officers were held as hostages by the inmates during a prison riot at the New Mexico penitentiary in the US on February 2, 1980. One of them recalled "a terror that affects both mind and body whose lingering effects like nightmare, anxiety and a certain jumpiness may never disappear".

Today, many governments have taken a stand not to yield to the extortion attempts of the terrorists and adopt a firm "no ransom policy". Proponents of this policy contend that consistent failure to extract and extort ransom will go on to convince the terrorists that these tactics will not pay dividends and will dissuade them from similar attempts. No ransom policy will be a deterrent against hostage seizures.

But this can only be adopted by a government that is confident of its ability to abide by it under utmost stress and strain. The terrorists are now seeking to put this policy of the government through an acid test. The government's chances of success depend upon factors like faith and confidence of the public in their decision. This is allied to the government's capacity to educate the public so people can see terrorist activity in its real colours.

It has to be admitted that so far the government has failed to educate the public and help it to place the problem in the correct perspective.

Many terrorists try to prevent the development of a rapport with the captives by wearing masks or blindfolding the hostages

THE TELEGRAPH

- 6 JAN 2000

US warns Pak on Azhar's activities

N.C. Menon

Washington, January 7 871

THE US yesterday warned Pakistan about some of the intemperate utterances made by Harkat-ul Mujahideen chief Masood Azhar, who was released from prison in India in exchange for the hostages aboard the hijacked Indian Airlines plane.

State Department spokesman James Rubin said Washington would hold Pakistan responsible if Azhar's activities threatened American lives.

The warning was clearly triggered by Azhar's pronouncements in Karachi at a gathering of the faithful that Muslims "should not rest in peace until we have destroyed America and India".

Azhar had also revealed his global terrorist ambitions when he called on all Muslims to "join the *jihad* for the people of Kashmir, Bosnia and Chechnya".

Meanwhile, a South Asia think-tank specialist pointed out that the militants released in exchange for the hostages were not making it easy for Islamabad to maintain its

innocent demeanour.

"India is pressing ahead with new evidence of Pakistani complicity," the expert noted.

"At the same time, the released militants obviously had no prob-

'Pak obligated'

INDIA ON Friday said Pakistan was obligated to take action against the hijackers of IA flight IC 814 now that they were in its territory. "The moment the hijackers entered Pak territory, the onus was on Pak to take action against them under international law. It should either prosecute or extradite them," the official spokesman for the MEA said.

Detailed report on page 12

lem entering Pakistan from Afghanistan, despite Islamabad's claims of having beefed up border security.

"And the US continues to maintain its stand that the hijackers must be brought to justice."

Referring to the threats by Azhar, a State Department official

has been quoted as saying that the US would expect Pakistan to meet its responsibilities to prevent the threatened attacks.

In fact, the US yesterday urged Pakistan to investigate Azhar and his incendiary rabble-rousing.

"By calling for the destruction of the United States and India, the militants are ensuring that the two democracies will come closer," the think-tank expert noted.

"And that cannot be palatable to Islamabad, which already fears that the United States and the rest of the Western world are beginning to lean in favour of India. I only hope Pakistan does not begin another misadventure in sheer desperation," he noted.

AZHAR RETURNS HOME: Maulana Masood Azhar has returned home to Multan to an emotional welcome, witnesses said today, according to an AFP report.

A crowd of 200 relatives and friends met Maulana Masood Azhar when he arrived late yesterday in his hometown Bahawalpur, in central Pakistan, about 100 km south of Multan, according to witnesses.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

8 JAN 2000

S. Africa mulls over Bill to tackle terrorism

By M.S. Prabhakara
CAPE TOWN, JAN. 7. The enactment of the anti-terrorism legislation and the amendment of the Constitution to deal with "urban terrorism" are likely to be among the top priorities of legislative business when Parliament reconvenes in Cape Town next month.

According to a report in a weekend newspaper, the Minister for Safety and Security, Mr. Steve Tshwete, wants the Constitution to be amended to enable the State to fight "urban terrorism" more effectively. Specifically, the Minister is quoted as saying that he wants such amendments that would enable the law and order authorities to hold for more than 48 hours persons arrested on suspicion of being involved in acts of "urban terrorism" — in effect, enabling detention without charges being framed. He also wants access to legal representation restricted for such suspects.

Article 12 in the Bill of Rights Chapter of the Constitution dealing with "freedom and security of the person" guarantees that the right to freedom includes the rather curiously formulated "right not to be detained without trial". Though the Minister has only spoken of an amendment, the maximum period allowed before suspects have to be produced, the distinction between detention without charge and detention without trial is thin.

The "right not to be detained without trial" like everything else in the Constitution, is subjected to the "limitation clause" (Article 36). Indeed, this right is not among the "non-delegable" rights under a state of emergency. Nevertheless, the openly expressed desire of the Minister to limit the existing rights reveals the frustration of the authorities over the failure to deal with urban terrorism, particularly in the Cape Peninsula.

The question, however, is whether the Government has been able to use effectively the enormous powers and the popular legitimacy it has to tackle the problem. A truism of the South African criminal justice is the lack of coordination among the three arms that comprise the system — the police, the judiciary and the correctional services. The flaw, long recognised and indeed somewhat of a scandal during the first term of the Government, is now much less evident following structural and administrative changes over the last two years.

But the popular mood of "zero tolerance" of crime, of which Mr. Tshwete seems to be an eloquent, indeed aggressive voice, demands instant solution to what is assumed to have become a "phenomenon". Mr. Tshwete has said that new legislation and modifications to the Constitution does not mean "reverting to old apartheid laws".

Lashkar, Harkat merge to form suicide squads

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Under the directive of Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), the Lashkar-e-Toiba and the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen have merged and formed small groups of suicide squads to attack the security forces in Jammu and Kashmir.

The new outfit has been designated as 'Fidayan'. Official sources said on Friday that this information was got from the interrogation reports and wireless intercepts.

They said that after General Pervez Musharraf had taken over the reins of power in Pakistan, the ISI authorities had forced those Kashmiri militants who had been camping in Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir (PoK) for several years to launch a major offensive against the Indian forces.

Most of these militants, who were arrested in December, had revealed during interrogations that the ISI had told them to form suicide squads which would carry out

their tasks in the spirit of "do or die", sources said.

They said the ISI objective was to keep "the Kashmir pot boiling" until U.S. President Bill Clinton arrived in the sub-continent.

It was also disclosed that thousands of Kashmiri youths were waiting in the PoK's Bagh district to cross over to the state in order to carry out subversive activities. Sources said an alarming trend had emerged in the second half of last year as several batches of Kashmiri youths were arrested at the border while attempting to infiltrate it.

The arrested youths have revealed during questioning that they were brainwashed by the ISI conduits operating in the valley. These conduits had been directed by the ISI to revive militancy in the state, which appears to have been flagging.

After the military take-over in Pakistan, sources said the ISI had been promoting the Harkat by providing it with sophisticated weapons and money.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

8 JAN 2000

Motivated, dedicated, and dreaded

EXPRESS FOCUS TERRORISM

MUZAMIL JALEEL profiles the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, which is back in the reckoning after the release of Maulana Masood — who unified the movement in Kashmir — in exchange for the hijacked hostages

THEY call themselves the Army of Allah and fight and die in the name of the Prophet. Eclipsed in recent times by the Lashkar-e-Toiba, the Pan-Islamic Harkat-ul-Mujahideen is back in the limelight thanks to the hijack drama. The hijackers demanded the release of Harkat leader Maulana Masood Azhar in exchange for the hostages.

Now the Harkat suicide attack and the 24-hour siege on the headquarters of the J&K Police's elite counter-insurgency wing — the Special Operations Group (SOG) — at Srinagar is being seen as an attempt to consolidate its position. Ten policemen including an officer were killed while three Harkat militants who had stormed the complex died in the attack.

The Harkat first came into the limelight in Kashmir, when it banned the Amarnath Yatra in 1993 "in retaliation to the demolition of the Babri Masjid." It demanded the reconstruction of the mosque and

wanted other closed mosques to be reopened.

The group again made news when it kidnapped two Britons from Aroo, Pahalgam on June 6, 1994 and was also suspected to be involved in the abduction of five western tourists in July 1995, allegedly by "masquerading as Al-Faran". The two Britons were released unhurt after the intervention of the Mirwaiz of South Kashmir, the late Qazi Nisar. However, the Harkat denied any role in the latter abduction. Of these western tourists, one escaped, a Norwegian national was beheaded, while on Thursday, the police announced that DNA tests had confirmed that a body exhumed in south Kashmir in 1997 was of Paul Wells, also among the tourists abducted. The fate of the other two remains unknown. (See box for details of Harkat activities).

The Harkat-ul-Mujahideen emerged in 1985 as a splinter group of the pan-Islamic militant outfit Harkat-e-Jehadi-Islami (HEJI). It is

learnt that a senior leader of HEJI, Maulana Fazlul Rehman Khalil, parted ways after problems cropped up between him and HEJI Amir (chief) Qazi Saifullah over the launch of the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen. Qazi was succeeded by Maulana Irshad Ahmad as HEJI Amir but died fighting in Afghanistan in 1991.

The parent HEJI was launched in 1980 with its headquarters in Pakistan and Afghanistan and its focus on the Afghan war. Aligned to the Deobandi school of thought, HEJI emerged as the armed wing of the Jamiat-e-Ulemai Pakistan, an organisation of Islamic clergy fighting the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Security agencies in the Valley believe it was involved in the Kashmir insur-

Major Harkat operations

- ◆ Two foreign nationals kidnapped from New Delhi in September 1994; later released.
- ◆ Two foreign engineers kidnapped from Dulhasti power project in Kishtwar, Doda district; released.
- ◆ Maj Bupinder Singh kidnapped and later killed in 1994.
- ◆ Two Britons (father and son) kidnapped from Aroo, Pahalgam on June 6, 1994. Later released after the intervention of South Kashmir religious leader, the late Qazi Nisar.
- ◆ Five foreign tourists kidnapped by Al-Faran on July 5, 1995. One among them, a Norwegian tourist, was killed. Security agencies claim Al-Faran to be a front group created by Harkat, a charge they deny.
- ◆ Bomb blast in Shalimar, Jammu, on July 26, 1993. One killed, 26 injured.
- ◆ Sixteen bus passengers killed on August 14, 1993 in Kishtwar. Harkat denies involvement.
- ◆ Three Armymen killed in Anantnag, on May 19, 1994.
- ◆ Thirteen persons killed in Kishtwar on May 27, 1994. Harkat denies hand.
- ◆ Doda BJP leader Swami Rajkatal killed on May 30, 1994.
- ◆ Seven Armymen killed in Purneja, Doda, on July 25, 1994.
- ◆ Explosion in Purani Mandi, Jammu, on July 20, 1995 leaves 17 dead. Harkat denies involvement.

INDIAN EXPRESS

8 JAN 2000

P. T. O.

gency as early as 1989. However, its role was then limited to training Kashmiri youth. Around 1,000 Kashmiri youths belonging to the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (Farooq Haider group) were trained in camps run by the outfit in Afghanistan and PoK.

Sources said Maulana Shahadatullah took over as HEJI Amir after the killing of Maulana Irshad in 1991. It is said that Shahadatullah wanted to reunite the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen with HEJI so that "by combining the sources of finance, weapons and cadre, the outfit can operate effectively and make its presence felt." Irshad sought the help of the clergy and following the efforts of Maulana Qaleemullah, Chancellor of Darul-Uloom Jamia Farooqi, Karachi, Mufti Rasheed Ahmad, Chancellor, Darul-Ifta-Wal-Irshad, Karachi and Maulana Rafi Usmani, the two factions finally agreed to merge as Harkat-ul-Ansar. The unification process took a few years and according to police sources in Srinagar, Maulana Masood Azhar, general secretary of the unified outfit, was specially sent to implement the merger on the ground in Kashmir. The police claim Azhar sneaked into India on a Portuguese passport, identifying himself as Issa Wali Adam.

Azhar had flown from London

to New Delhi via Bangladesh and entered Kashmir on February 9, 1994. But he was arrested along with senior Harkat commander Sajjad Afghani at Khanabal on April 13, 1994 by the Army, though the date of his arrest was later shown as July 16, 1994. The duo were booked under TADA (FIR 1/9) in the Police Station (Counter-Intelligence), Kashmir.

But police sources believe that two months before his arrest, Azhar had re-organised the two factions as Harkat-ul-Ansar. "A strong motivator, he was able to boost recruitment of local youth," said a senior security forces officer, who had been one of Azhar's interrogators. "Being an ideologue, he was involved in indoctrination of the pan-Islamist ideology and Jihad (holy war), besides fund-raising, rather than carrying out attacks."

Sources in the security agencies here claim that these Harkat recruits were imparted arms training in Yawar camp in Khost province of Afghanistan. This camp was said to be run by the Afghan Mujahideen group Hizb-e-Islami (Yunis/Khalid faction). Before the Yawar camp, the outfit had already set up another training camp in Allaq-e-Gare (Liza) area, sources said.

According to a police officer who has been questioning the arrested Harkat militants for years now, "this fundamentalist pan-Islamic outfit is extremely selective in choosing recruits, who are generally taken from theological schools worldwide to ensure a high level of motivation for Jihad." Harkat's strategy has "three cardinal components—tableeg (religious discourse), publicity and jihad (Holy war)" to achieve its pan-Islamist ambitions. The jail authorities admit that being cadre based, the foreign militant-dominated Harkat and Lashkar have more conviction than other groups. "Harkat and Lashkar militants have just one motivation—religion—and are always dreaded," a senior jail official said.

After the US declared Harkat-ul-

Chain of command

- ◆ Maulana Fazlul Fehman Khalil of Dera Ismail Khan (Pakistan) — Amir-e-Aala
- ◆ Maulana Abdul Jabbar Wasmi of Dera Gazi Khan (Sahiwal, Pak) — Nalb Amir
- ◆ Farooq Kashmiri of Rawlakote (PoK) — Commander-in-Chief
- ◆ Mufti Asghar of Bagh (PoK) — Launching Chief
- ◆ Salahuddin alias Salar of Gujarat — Chief in India
- ◆ Tasleem of Muzaffarnagar, UP — Deputy Chief in India
- ◆ Nayeem Khalid alias Sonaulah of Karachi — J-K Chief (reportedly dead)
- ◆ Abu Gazi alias Peerbaba — J-K Deputy Chief (reportedly dead)
- ◆ Azam Kashmiri alias Imtiaz — Officiating Chief in J-K
- ◆ Amir Kashmiri alias Zahoore Ahmad Dar, Nawakadal, Srinagar — J-K No 2
- ◆ Jehangir of Mirjanpora, Srinagar — District Commander, City

Ansar a terrorist group along with the LTTE, the outfit started functioning as Harkat-ul-Mujahideen. The group is not only active in Valley but internationally also, with a presence elsewhere in India (See box). In fact, the group has a well-knit structure, with Salahuddin alias Salar of Gujarat as chief, while Tasleem of Muzaffarnagar, Uttar Pradesh and Jameel of Assam are its No 2 and 3, respectively. Harkat, according to sources, is being run by a five-member 'Markaz' or Command Council in J&K, which includes Nayeem Khalid alias Nayeem Lohar alias Sonaulah of Karachi (as chief), Abu Gazi alias Peer Baba (deputy chief), Azam Kashmiri alias Imtiaz, Amir Kashmiri alias Zahoore Ahmad Dar of Nawakadal, Srinagar, Parvez Baba of Nayi Basti, Anantnag and Jehangir of Mirjanpora, Srinagar. Nayeem and Abu Gazi are believed to have been killed while Baba, who is an electrical engineer, is in jail.

Pakistan under U.S. scrutiny, but escapes watch-list

By Seema Guha

NEW DELHI: Representative Sam Gejdenson, now on a visit to India, said on Sunday that Pakistan might not be in the official watch-list of the U.S. administration, but its actions in the next few months would be under close scrutiny by the Clinton administration.

India wants U.S. to declare Pakistan a terrorist state and hopes the rest of the world to follow Washington. It also says Pakistan is behind the hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane. Home minister L.K. Advani provided photographs, names and addresses of the five hijackers to prove they are Pakistani nationals.

Most countries have not publicly reacted to the evidence provided by Mr Advani. Mr Gejdenson said, "The U.S. will wait for a more complete picture before rushing into action or comment. Instant reaction may feel good, but it is always wiser to act after ascertaining all the facts."

"We are certainly going to look at the evidence provided by India, it will also be looked at by our intelligence agencies," he told reporters. His point was that Pakistan's "intervening action", meaning what they do in the next few months, would be vital.

The Clinton administration have conveyed these facts to General Musharraf and his men. The yard stick would be, stop support to terrorist groups, turn in the hijackers, in case they are in Pakistan, and give a time-frame for the return of democracy to that country. Mr Gejdenson has been calling for Pakistan's quick return to democracy.

Mr Gejdenson, a Democrat, is a ranking member, meaning the

number two in the influential house international foreign relations committee. He hopes to take over the committee's chairmanship in case the Democrats do well in the next year's elections. At least, 20 vacancies are scheduled to come up in the House of Representatives.

The fact that Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, external affairs minister Jaswant Singh and defence minister George Fernandes made time for him is an indication of his influence. Mr Gejdenson said that dubbing a country as terrorist state often leads to loss of leverage with those in control in that particular country. Without actually saying so, he made it clear that the U.S. administration will not go along with India's suggestion.

The visitor was keen that India sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and said, "If the nuclear issue gets resolved it will give a tremendous boost to all-round development of ties between the two countries." He said President Clinton would visit India in March and Washington would be happy to have New Delhi come onboard on non-proliferation before the President came. However, he hastened to add, there were no links between the two. An important visit could be turned to a memorable one if India obliged by signing on. He said the President was unlikely to visit Pakistan.

Meanwhile, the special Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) team, probing the recent hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane, is likely to visit Kathmandu and Dubai soon in search of evidence on Pakistan's suspected role in the eight-day ordeal.

'Japan opposed to any form of terrorism'

TOKYO, JAN. 12. Japan today said international acceptance of evidence furnished by India that Pakistan was behind the recent hijacking of the Indian Airlines plane could have serious implications as Tokyo was strongly opposed to any form of terrorism.

"It could have a very big impact politically on the Japanese people which may lead to a political decision by the Japanese Government," a senior Japanese Defence Ministry official told Indian journalists accompanying the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, currently on a five-day visit to Japan.

The official, however, did not speculate on the implications.

Asked about the reported transfer of missile material and tech-

nology from North Korea to Pakistan leading to the test-firing of Islamabad's 'Ghauri' long-range ballistic missile, he said, "the Pakistan Government has so far not admitted that it received missile material and technology from North Korea" but asserted that Tokyo was "very much concerned over the development of long-range missiles as well as over nuclear weapons" by Pyongyang.

The official maintained that Japan was "totally opposed" to the export of any long-range missile technology to any country by North Korea which had been declared a "rogue state" by the United States and with which Tokyo had no diplomatic relations.

It is widely believed that Pakistan's 'Ghauri' missile was test-

fired following clandestine transfer of 'Nodong-11' missile technology by North Korea, which Japan considers a serious security threat.

MO-12

On Tuesday, in a major breakthrough since ties were strained after the Pokhran test, Japan and India agreed to initiate a security dialogue. The official attributed this to sustained efforts by the Indian Government and the long association of Mr. Fernandes with Japanese leaders, including the former Defence Minister, Mr. Hori Norota.

Mr. Fernandes, who arrived here on January 10 on a five-day visit leading a high-level Indian team, categorically told the Japanese Government during his talks that sanctions imposed by it after

the nuclear tests were an "irritant" in the process of normalisation of relations and sought an end to them.

Asylum not sought'

Mr. Fernandes said during all his meetings here, both official and otherwise, that he had been asked about the 14-year-old Karmapa's entry into India.

"They (Japanese political and religious leaders) wanted to know what is happening. My reply was that nobody has asked for asylum yet. He has come and is staying in India," Mr. Fernandes said.

The Japanese newspapers have given wide coverage to the Lama story, especially China's veiled warning to India to give asylum to the boy. — PTI, UNI

US has 'reasons' why Pak can't be dubbed terrorist

By N C Menon

Washington, January 14

XG-14 (S)

WITH THE next round in the series of Indo-US meetings convening in London on Sunday, India's persistent call to declare Pakistan a terrorist state takes on added significance. And that Michael Sheehan, the Clinton Administration's senior-most anti-terrorism official will be on hand at the London meeting gives credence to reports that India will press its case very strongly.

However persuasive India might be, it is totally unlikely that the US would decide to include Islamabad in its list of terrorist capitals. It is not that the US needs any further persuasion. It is fully convinced and concerned about the evidence India has provided. In all probability, with their greater intelligence resources, Washington has even more information tending to confirm Pakistan's complicity.

Significantly, the US is no longer asking India for specific evidence against Pakistan. The new argument is that if Pakistan were to be declared a terrorist state, it might become the last nail in its coffin, it could become a failed state, and fall off the brink into full-fledged fundamentalism as in Afghanistan.

The US has also been attempting to convince New Delhi

that it is on India's side, and has been putting a lot of pressure on Islamabad to mend its ways. If Pakistan is officially branded a terrorist state, the US feels it might lose even that influence.

There is, besides, the current American dread that with its back to the wall, a failing Pakistan might resort to irrational acts, including a nuclear war. That is a favourite scenario of the US Administration, thinktanks and the media here, but it is not backed by logic, even under unusual circumstances.

Pakistan knows that a nuclear attack by it will lead to its total destruction. Besides, the two neighbouring nations are

News Analysis

too close for nuclear war. As an Indian nuclear scientist once remarked, radiation from a strike on Lucknow will inevitably reach Lahore.

Pakistani "moderates" here continue to push the idea that General Musharraf is the best of a bad lot and the only chance for Pakistan to pull itself out of the mire; and India and Pakistan cannot obtain any resolution without a dialogue; O.E.D. India must talk to Gen. Musharraf.

The fallacy with that formulation is that Gen. Musharraf

has not displayed the slightest interest in a dialogue with India, lest he should be considered soft. In fact, he has acknowledged that he cannot survive if he tried to buck the *mullahs*. How then can India begin a dialogue?

In any case, the bottom line is that declaring a state terrorist is a tediously tortuous process. The US has not so far made such a declaration about any state that has not attacked the US directly. Under the criteria enacted into law by the US Congress, a finding has to be made that the whole government and the chief executive are involved in terrorist acts before the nation can be declared a terrorist state.

Instances here would be Libya (Gaddafi) and Iraq (Saddam Hussein). The argument is that Pakistan does not fulfill that requirement to the satisfaction of the law. To declare Islamabad terrorist, therefore, would be a marked departure from past practice. But the situation continues to be "under review."

"And even if we put Pakistan on the list, there are hardly any sanctions left that we can impose," said an official here. Syria is on the terrorist list, but just last week there was the Syrian Foreign Minister conferring amicably with President Clinton at the mid-east peace talks. The terrorist issue will certainly come up at London talks, but it will not be allowed to cloud the many other important subjects under discussion.

Terrorist groups using Canada as a safe haven, says report

Washington, January 15

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS are using Canada's immigration system to sneak into the country, and set up bases and raise funds for their activities abroad, the ABC News reported.

"With perhaps the single exception of the United States, there are more international terrorist groups active here than any other country in the world," Mr Ward Elcock Director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), which produced the report, was quoted as saying by a ABC News.

This report comes today amid accounts that the US will not tolerate terrorist activities and that the Pentagon is creating anti-terrorist teams to tackle terrorist emergencies.

On Thursday, the 'Los Angeles Times' citing intelligence sources and experts, said terrorists were shifting their activities to North America following a massive crackdown on their bases across Europe.

The Canadian Intelligence

report, written in July 1999 and accessed now by a freedom of information request, said, "this (terrorism) is of chief concern for Canada's national security."

According to the report over 50 terrorist groups are believed to be operating from Canada and prominent among them are the Sikh extremists, Tamil tigers, Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA), the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the Hezbollah, the Kurdistan Workers Party and Extremist Irish Groups.

The GIA has been linked to Ahmed Ressam, who was arrested last month by US officials while allegedly trying to smuggle explosives into the Washington State from Canada.

ABC News, quoting an expert, said Canada was especially susceptible to terrorists entering, either legally or illegally, because it accepts hundreds of immigrants and refugees. For instance, in 1997, it took in 216,039 immigrants and 24,101 refugees.

"Canada's immigration system, because it is both open and accessible, is vulnerable to exploitation

and abuse," the report said.

The report, titled "Exploitation of Canada's Immigration System: An Overview of Security Intelligence Concerns", said the country was being used as a safe haven by terrorist groups to raise funds, plan or support overseas activities and also as a way to obtain Canadian travel documents which makes it easier for them to criss-cross the globe.

In related developments yesterday, CIA Director George Tenet was quoted in the media as saying that the United States would never forget an act of terrorism against its citizens and would bring those responsible to justice no matter how long it took.

In an interview with the Discovery Channel to be aired tomorrow, Mr Tenet said, terrorism was something "that's getting closer and closer to most Americans." Pentagon officials were quoted as saying that 17 national guard teams were being created to help State and local officials respond to chemical and biological attacks. (UNI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
16 JAN 2000

Beware of biological terrorism: US experts

WASHINGTON: American experts have warned that terrorists may try to destroy the U.S. through biological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and called for urgent preventive mechanisms to be put in place to prevent a catastrophe.

Despite the threat from biological weapons, most U.S. cities are unprepared to react to deadly toxin attacks. Dr John Bartlett, chief of the infectious diseases unit at a well-known private hospital was quoted as saying in a recent article in *The Washington Times*.

It said that Bartlett wrote up a medical chart for a fictitious patient with fever, malaise, fatigue and a cough—the first symptoms of anthrax, the disease usually kills if untreated but doctors failed to diagnose it.

"I went to the emergency room and presented the case," Dr Bartlett told the infectious diseases society of America. "They presumed influenza and sent the patient home."

"A single squirt of anthrax spores or smallpox germs from a perfume bottle in a crowded subway," the daily said, "has the potential to bring a city to its knees. A couple of pounds of powdered tularemia or plague delivered from a low-flying crop duster could be equally catastrophic.

A deliberate attack with the

marburg or ebola virus would leave doctors helpless as the internal organs liquefy in hundreds of thousands of victims."

The paper quoted public health experts and infectious disease specialists as saying that they were "woefully unprepared should terrorists target a city in the U.S. with biological toxins.

The U.S.

commission on national security, in a report took note of this threat from biological weapons. It said deadly viruses capable of killing millions, can be made at costs of up to US\$ 10,000 to 100,000, which can be easily garnered by disaffected groups.

The commission, set up by the U.S. defence secretary under Congressional mandate and endorsed by the White House, said, "In the future, our national security system will have to consider a world of chemical and biological agents as well as nuclear and conventional weapons."

Stressing the danger from terrorism, it said, "Growing

resentment against western culture and values in some parts of the world, as well as the fact that others often perceive the U.S. as exercising its power with arrogance, is breeding a backlash that can take many forms.

Terrorism, however, appears to be the most potentially lethal of such forms. Therefore, the U.S. should assume that it will be a target of terrorist attacks against its homeland using weapons of mass destruction."

Underlining the importance of having a defence mechanism the commission said, "The U.S. will be vulnerable to such strikes."

"While the markets for 20th century conventional weapons will remain brisk," says the commission, "some important states will choose acquisition strategies to compete asymmetrically against major powers.

"These potential adversaries will invest in relatively inexpensive systems intended to deny U.S. the advantages that naturally accrue

with technological superiority. Weapons of mass destruction would serve this purpose.

Developing such weapons does not require a large industrial base.

Stating that the cost of producing nuclear weapons is high and there are risks of detection, the commission said development and use of radiological weapons could be easier and cheaper. "By pairing conventional explosives with radioactive materials like plutonium, such a weapon could generate both a major explosion and contaminate a large surrounding area for an extended period."

Chemical weapons are much easier to produce than nuclear and radiological weapons but they are harder to store and use effectively, it said. Such weapons are unlikely to be a preferred tool for terrorising entire cities, it added.

Stating that biological weapons are the most likely choice of means for disaffected states and groups, it said, "They are nearly as easy to develop as chemical weapons, far more lethal, and are likely to become easier to deliver. Bio-weapons can be produced in small, dual-use facilities and then reproduced in mass quantities using technologies and procedures common to micro-breweries and civilian pharmaceutical labs," the report added. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

18 JAN 2000

U.S. likely to press Pak. on terrorism

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 17. The Clinton Administration is sending two senior officials this week to Islamabad to assess the broad political direction of the three month-old regime of Gen. Pervez Musharraf and its readiness to crack down on terrorist groups operating inside Pakistan.

A spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs drew attention here today to the visit of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, Mr. Karl Inderfurth, and the Coordinator for counter-terrorism, Ambassador Michael Sheehan, to Pakistan.

But the spokesman refused to characterise the visit or predict its outcome. The Government, however, is acknowledging the importance of Mr. Sheehan's decision to travel to Islamabad and that it may be related to the current U.S. debate on dealing with the challenge of terrorism radiating from Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Significantly, both Mr. Inderfurth and Mr. Sheehan will be participating in the Indo-U.S. talks in London this week between the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and

Mr. Strobe Talbott, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State.

During these talks, India is likely to make a case for strong international action against Pakistan for its support to international terrorism. After listening to the Indian side in London, the U.S. officials will head straight for Islamabad to engage the Pakistani leadership.

Whatever may be the eventual decision in the United States on declaring Pakistan a terrorist state, there apparently is an on-going policy review in the U.S.

The Inderfurth-Sheehan visit is believed to be crucial in shaping the immediate American approach to the Musharraf regime and the final decision on whether the President, Mr. Bill Clinton, would visit Pakistan if he indeed travels to India in mid-March.

The visit by senior American officials also comes on the eve of a key mission of the International Monetary Fund, that has kept the ailing Pakistani economy on a drip.

The Clinton Administration must be expected to fully use the threats to cut off international economic assistance and put Pakistan on the list of nations which sponsor interna-

tional terrorism.

In using these levers, the U.S. wants to nudge Pakistan on at least four major issues. These include a scaling down of Islamabad's support to the Taliban in Afghanistan, a crack-down on the terrorist and fundamentalist groups, signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and offering a time-frame for the res-toration of a semblance of civilian rule in Pakistan.

But there are big unanswered questions about the ability of Gen. Musharraf to deliver on any or all of these issues and the capacity of the U.S. to extract major concessions from Pakistan.

As Indo-Pak relations head South after the hijacking of the Indian Airline flight, IC-814, the stakes in the U.S. diplomacy towards the sub-continent appear to have dramatically risen.

The Indo-U.S. talks in London and the Inderfurth-Sheehan visit to Pakistan this week will reveal the contours of the American approach to the sub-continent on the eve of Mr. Clinton's proposed trip.

And now cyber-jacking?

THE CONCERN expressed by US President Bill Clinton over possibilities of cyber-terrorism overtaking the world is not without an evolutionary context. Four years ago *The Times* of London carried a report which said a 21-year old Argentine youth, Julio Cesar Arditia, had "used a basic computer at his parents' flat to gain access to Pentagon, NASA and US Navy files, obtaining information about nuclear installations and defence programmes". The US authorities, the report continued, were seeking extradition of the hacker "who managed to penetrate top secret American defence files from his bedroom in Buenos Aires."

It was a "landmark case" in which US investigators used "the first ever court order allowing them to bug the Internet to trace the Argentine student". The US also made an extradition request of the Argentine government. The Argentine authorities arrested Arditia, but objected to extraditing him because the extradition treaty with the US did not include "information crimes". The American prosecutor who made the extradition request, Donald Stern, called it "the biggest cybernetic theft case of the electronic communications era."

In the four years since that episode, information technology has taken many leaps forward, in a way neither imagined then nor perhaps imaginable. Is it any surprise that the US President is today worried about "the technology behind palm-sized computers"?

Towards the close of December — the last days of the 20th century — he said in course of a CBS interview: "Now you've got these gadgets which you can use as a telephone or a typewriter and do e-mail. Well, the same miniaturisation will apply to biological and chemical weapons." And, he might have added, eventually to new kinds of nuclear weapons and devices.

As things are, in the last two decades some connectable developments have been reported — though not all together. In March 1979, a modest American political magazine in Madison, *Wisconsin Progressive*, was reported publishing — despite objections by US authorities — an article by Howard Morland which contained "conceptual and engineering details of thermonuclear weapons design, including the shape and arrangement of key components and materials that couple a hydrogen bomb's fission explosive trigger to the weapon's heavy hydrogen fuel." *The Economist* of London even then ridiculed US authority's objections to the publication of the article. It pointed out that making such a bomb was not difficult anyway — "the main practical constraint on making A-bombs is getting hold of the plutonium or highly enriched uranium."

Since 1979, there have been other relevant and connectable developments. First, about the time that *The Economist* wrote this,

Reuter reported from Washington that 20 pounds of highly enriched uranium had been stolen from the Erwin nuclear processing plant at Tennessee, enough to make a nuclear bomb. Secondly, after the break-up of the USSR, reports said substantial quantities of plutonium and enriched uranium had been smuggled to unknown buyers. Pilfered plutonium and enriched uranium were repeatedly seized from smugglers in Russia, Germany and the Czech Republic. After the 1998 nuclear tests in India and Pakistan, British nuclear expert John Aldridge was reported expressing fear that Pakistan's "mushrooming terrorist outfits including Harkat-ul-Ansar" might find it easy to lay their hands on nuclear bomb material and available technology.

Hardly surprising, then, that the US President should express anxiety about the future, with cyber-terrorism involving hackers no longer merely conjectural, with nuclear bomb technology becoming easy, and with fissionable materials and chemical warfare requirements becoming available. The US administration's \$91 million plan to counter cyber-terrorism and to protect "the vital sectors of our economy" is understandable. Also there should be little doubt that it would be more than commonly relevant at this time for countries like India — subjected to increasingly sophisticated terrorist violence from neighbouring states — to give serious thought to this emerging problem.

RAKSHAT PURI

Laden will end hostility if U.S. withdraws army from Saudi Arabia?

KABUL: A Taliban-controlled newspaper reported on Wednesday that suspected terrorist Osama bin Laden would end his "hostilities" towards the US if Washington withdrew its soldiers from Saudi Arabia—the site of two of Islam's holiest places.

"If the United States withdraws its forces from Saudi Arabia, Bin Laden will stop opposing it, give up his hostility and offer his hand in friendship," the Taliban's official Pashtu-language weekly newspaper, the *Shariat* reported. The article did not identify the source of the information. Bin Laden has declared a *jihad* against the US to protest the presence of US soldiers in his homeland.

Washington accuses Bin Laden of masterminding the bombing of its embassies in Africa in August 1998 and is pressing the Taliban to hand him over to the US or a third country to stand trial.

But the Taliban says Bin Laden is a guest and tradition forbids handing over a guest to enemies. Taliban members also say the US has not given evidence of Bin Laden's involvement in terrorism. They also

say that if Bin Laden is to stand trial, it should be in an Islamic court.

"We cannot hand him over to a court of infidels which cannot give him justice. If we do that, the name of Afghan people will be blotted forever," the newspaper said. "America has no proof of Bin Laden's involvement in terrorism."

However, the newspaper article also assured Washington that Bin Laden would not be allowed to use Afghan soil to conduct acts of terrorism. The newspaper article says Bin Laden is not alone in his opposition to US troops in Saudi Arabia.

The continued presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia is provoking anger among Muslims and hurting their religious sentiment, the article said. The newspaper also assailed the relentless criticism from the West of the Taliban's human rights record and treatment of women, which denies them access to jobs and education, beyond eight years old.

"Why do they want us to leave Islam and adopt their system?" the newspaper article asked. "They should leave us with our own system." It said, "Women and human rights are more safe in Afghanistan than in the West. In fact, the rampant prostitution in the western and eastern countries is the real abuse of women and undermines human rights," it said. (AP)



Osama bin Laden

India, U.S. to set up panel to counter terrorism

LONDON, JAN 19. India and the United States today decided to establish a Joint Working Group (JWG) to counter terrorism and work together to ensure that the perpetrators of the recent hijacking of the Indian Airlines aircraft were brought to justice.

The decision, taken at the two-day 10th round of parleys between the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Strobe Talbott, here is seen as an implied endorsement of New Delhi's concern over cross-border terrorism sponsored by Islamabad although it comes close on the heels of Washington's rejection of India's plea to declare Pakistan a terrorist state.

The first meeting of the JWG will be held in Washington early next month, said a joint statement, issued after their talks on security, non-proliferation, disarmament and related issues besides bilateral relations, regional developments and other global issues. On the hijacking, the statement said the two sides "agreed to work together to ensure that the perpetrators of the hijacking of IC-814 are brought to justice as part of their joint efforts to combat international terrorism." — PTI

Dealing with hijackings

By G. Balachandran

ONE OF the more enduring characteristics of the community of Indian security analysts is their preparedness to comment on an ongoing crisis and the shortcomings in its handling, even as the crisis is unfolding and in the absence of any hard information. The conduct of the officials at Amritsar was discussed threadbare even though few, if any, had any information on the number of hijackers, their arsenal or demands. As one leading analyst wrote after the end of the hijack "No attempt was made to go into the history of hijacking". Nor were any attempts made to analyse the manner in which hijackings have been terminated so far, both in India and elsewhere, and learn from them.

Perhaps now is the proper time to understand the nature of aircraft hijackings in the past decade and prepare ourselves for the future. A senior analyst discussing their nature listed certain common features. These were (1) aircraft hijacking has become a preferred terrorist act; (2) terrorists look for vulnerable points in aircraft routes where the security system can be subverted or bypassed, in this respect developing countries provide greater opportunities for terrorists; (3) induction of wide-bodied jets have also compelled hijacking operations to become a team effort; and (4) the main objective of hijacking is to secure the release of other terrorists in custody in the target state.

The analysis had given good reasons for these features. It would be instructive to look at the historical data to validate these assumptions. Notwithstanding the promise that is supposed to accompany airplane hijacks, there is not much historical and chronological data on them even on the Internet. The two agencies which maintain some sort of consistent data are the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) and the Federal Aviation Agency (FAA) of the U.S. Of these, the FAA data is more uniform and regular. The FAA publishes annually a report, "Criminal acts against civil aviation," which lists all such acts including hijacks. What does the data reveal?

First of all, airplane hijacking is not a

common or preferred choice of terrorist groups. Of the 108 hijacks reported during 1992-98, only 12 could be classified as either politically motivated or terrorist related. All others were either committed for personal reasons or had criminal motives. Even when politically motivated it was often an individual action not that of a terrorist group. For example, of the four such hijacks during 1998, one was to protest oppression of Muslims in Turkey, another to protest the ban on Islamic clothing in Turkey and another to protest the treatment of ethnic Kurds. The fourth one was by some Pakistanis to protest nuclear testing.

Other evidence substantiates this apparent lack of interest by terrorist groups. The U.S. State Department publishes annually the "Patterns of Global Terrorism", a publication which lists major acts of terrorism. During 1993-98, more than 500 acts were listed as being "significant terrorist incidents". Of these only two were airplane hijacks, one when, in October 1993, four members of a Nigerian dissident group hijacked a Nigerian Airways Airbus-310 with 150 passengers and crew on board shortly after it took off from Lagos.

After trying unsuccessfully to land the aircraft in Nijamena, Chad, the terrorists ordered the plane to land at Niamey, Niger. The hijackers then released two groups of passengers. After lengthy but fruitless negotiations, Nigerian police stormed the aircraft on October 28. All four of the hijackers surrendered, but one of the crew was killed as was one of the hijackers during the rescue operation. The other was when members of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) hijacked an Air France flight in Algeria in December 1994. The plane arrived in Marseilles, France, where a

French anti-terrorist unit stormed the plane, ending the 54-hour siege in which three hostages were killed by the terrorists. All four terrorists were killed during the rescue.

Similarly, only one of the 28 terrorist groups designated by the U.S. State Department as "foreign terrorist organisations", the GIA, has ever indulged in airplane hijacking during the 90s. None of the other 27 has ever been associated with hijacks during the past decade. It is, there-

Most of the hijacks during 1992-98 involving hostage-taking and prisoner release have been on Indian planes.... This may have something to do with the very porous policy India has on prisoner release.

However, it must be pointed out that the Indian experience has been rather different. First, the proportion of hijacks involving prisoner release has been much higher. Most of the hijacks during 1992-98 involving hostage-taking and prisoner release have been on Indian planes. Secondly, the involvement of foreign agencies, not necessarily terrorist organisations *per se*, in the execution of the hijacks even when Indian nationals were the hijackers, has been very prominent.

This may have something to do with the very porous policy India has on prisoner release. Unlike some other countries afflicted with terrorism, the U.S. and Israel, for instance, which have a declared policy of no negotiation on that issue, the Government of India has now, and in the past, blown hot and cold. Sometimes prisoners have been released, at other times the terms have been rejected.

Now, hijacks, as other terrorist-related activities, have a strong copycat tendency. They occur in sporadic bursts. That is a universal feature and one which was experienced by India in the early 80s and 90s. The danger is that the recent hijack coupled with the release of prisoners could result in a similar spate of hijacks and hostage-taking scenarios. The absence of a clear public policy that no negotiations will be conducted on the release of prisoners will only encourage such activities.

Certain analyses have cited the release of the head of the Hamas by Israel in support of prisoner exchange. That is a false analogy. It was not a case of hostage taking and prisoner exchange. It was rather a case of classical prisoner exchange where in each party releases certain persons held by them as result of some hostile act by both as in case of war or espionage. With Pakistan in the background actively encouraging and supporting hijacks and other hostage-taking terrorist activities, unless the Government of India comes out with an explicit refusal to negotiate prisoner release we should be prepared for such trauma for some time.

Report on Pak's terrorist links under US study

Vijay Dutt
London, January 20

THE AMERICANS have not outright rejected India's charge that terrorism in Pakistan is being State-sponsored, as has been made out by the media in the US. The impression gained during the 10th round of talks between Mr Jaswant Singh and Mr Strobe Talbott in London was that the US authorities are studying the evidence, both circumstantial and direct given by India, in support of its charge against Islamabad.

Indian Ambassador Naresh Chandra, when asked, explained that the process of declaring even Harkat-ul-Ansar as a terrorist organisation took time. The legal aspects are studied before any decision is reached. It's not easy to declare a State terrorist without full examination of all aspects, which include the national security concerns of the US as well.

The Americans are aware of the global reach of terrorists who are operating from either Pakistan or Afghanistan. The problem is not just India's alone. Masood Azhar, who was released by the Indian authorities in exchange of the hostages, had planned the murder of the Pope in Manila five years ago and had been to Saudi Arabia and Sudan for raising funds and recruiting volunteers.

It is significant that Assistant US

Secretary of State Karl Inderfurth is being accompanied on his trip to Islamabad by State Department co-ordinator for counter-terrorism Michael Sheen. Mr Sheen would also head the discussions at the Joint Working Group on Counter-terrorism, which has been set up following an agreement between Mr Singh and Mr Talbott. This is a very positive development at the meet.

The first meeting of the Group is scheduled for February and Joint Secretary Alok Prasad will lead the Indian side. The Americans have promised to take all steps to help India apprehend hijackers of the IA Flight 814. It is said that both sides have inkling about the whereabouts of the hijackers. The visit of President Clinton has almost been finalised but the official announcement will be made later simultaneously from Delhi and Washington.

Mr Chandra, however, did not comment on whether the President would go to Islamabad as well but sources said that the Americans are well aware of the adverse impression the visit would have in South Asia. It will give legitimacy to the coup.

The various aspects of non-proliferation were discussed in detail at a three-hour session. The Indian side explained that it has not yet been possible to discuss the issue of non-proliferation in Parliament for reaching a consensus.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

21 JAN 2000

'We trust our messages have been received'

US cites hijack to get Pak into terror fight

Islamabad, Jan. 21 (Agencies): The United States told Pakistan today to crack down on terrorist groups operating from its soil which, it said, were giving the country a bad reputation.

Assistant secretary of state for South Asia Karl Inderfurth said after talks with army chief Pervez Musharraf that the hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane last month "dramatically illustrated" the need for such a crackdown.

"We trust that our messages have been received and understood," said Inderfurth, who was accompanied by Michael Sheehan, coordinator for anti-terrorism at the state department, for the first talks with Pakistan since the October 12 coup.

"We hope that the government of Pakistan will take steps against such extremists...who give Pakistan a bad international reputation in the world community and work against Pakistan's national interests."

Inderfurth declined to say what steps Musharraf's 100-day-old government might take against militant groups such as Harkat-ul Mujahideen, which is suspected of carrying out the eight-day hijack which ended on

December 31 after three militants were released.

But he said Pakistan gave his delegation assurances that it would take "every step" to arrest the hijackers, who were last sighted driving from Kandahar in southern Afghanistan, close to the border with Pakistan.

Pakistani commentators have warned successive governments that action against the militants could lead to a backlash by radical Islamic groups and foment domestic violence and unrest.

Inderfurth's visit coincides with a concerted campaign by India to isolate Pakistan for its support for Kashmiri militant groups. (Inderfurth's statement is the first time the US has mentioned the hijack in the context of terrorist activities being conducted from Pakistani soil.)

New Delhi has accused Pakistan of involvement in the hijack and has refused to resume talks until Pakistan ends its support for the militants.

Inderfurth said he believed the hijackers would be caught. "I believe they simply can't vanish off the face of the earth."

Pakistan foreign minister Abdus Sattar told Inderfurth that

the region would remain "mired in conflict" so long as the Kashmir dispute remained unresolved.

In a speech broadcast by Pakistan television, Musharraf urged President Bill Clinton to broker peace in South Asia by resolving the dispute.

Inderfurth said he also pressed Pakistan to use its key influence with Afghanistan's Taliban regime to get Osama bin Laden expelled to face charges of masterminding the August 1998 bombings of two US embassies in Africa which killed 200. But he acknowledged that little progress was made in more than two hours of talks with a Taliban delegation which restated its demand that Washington provide proof of Bin Laden's involvement in the bombings.

Masood in Afghanistan

Masood Azhar, one of the three Pakistani militants freed to end the Kandahar standoff, has left for Afghanistan, his father Allah Bakhsh Sabir said in Multan.

A day after getting married on January 17 at his home in Bahawalpur, Masood left for Afghanistan to meet Mullah Omar, the supreme leader of the Taliban militia. Omar lives in Kandahar.

THE TELEGRAPH
22 JAN 2000

Secret strands from Osama web of terror

FROM BENJAMIN WEISER

New York, Jan. 23: Federal prosecutors, in a series of little-noticed court filings, have painted the most detailed picture yet of how Osama bin Laden directed what they say was a worldwide terrorism conspiracy.

The papers filed in the case depict an organisation that used international companies and a relief organisation as cover for its operations; obtained blank passports from the government of Sudan; recruited a network of people living in the US; and communicated by fax, satellite phone and coded letters, often using not-so-veiled language.

In one letter between group members, prosecutors say bin Laden was repeatedly referred to by the code name "Mr Sam" or "O Sam", and the group's members in Kenya were called "the fish people".

When the FBI questioned one bin Laden associate in Texas in 1997, a letter went out warning that the man had been confronted by an "opposition company called Food and Beverage Industry based

in the US". This, prosecutors said, was a reference to the FBI. "He was given an extensive interview," the letter read. "Give my regards to Sam and tell him to take extra precautions because business competition is very fierce."

The government has been investigating bin Laden's operations for nearly five years. Bin Laden remains a nebulous figure. Until now, authorities have revealed only snippets from the reams of documents seized from his associates by investigators, and it remains hazy how much control he has over them and other followers around the world. But federal prosecutors were forced to show their hand recently, when lawyers for one of the defendants, Wadiah el-Hage, challenged the government's assertion that he was dangerous or likely to flee the country.

El-Hage was arrested in 1998, a year after the Kenyan police, and US investigators, raided his Nairobi home and seized his personal papers and computer. US authorities tied him to the terrorist conspiracy, and he has been held without bail ever since under stringent restrictions.

Responding to pleas from el-Hage's lawyers for bail, prosecutors disclosed evidence in the court that they say shows he was one of bin Laden's most trusted and dangerous aides, privy to his secrets and a personal courier of his instructions.

They say el-Hage met bin Laden in Afghanistan in 1997, and took orders to operatives in Kenya to "militarise" for the first time. This, the government says, led to the 1998 embassy attacks. The revelation is the closest the government has come to offering evidence of bin Laden's direct complicity in the bombings.

The documents also show that bin Laden used a Kenyan charity, Mercy International Relief Agency, as a front for terrorist operations, the prosecutors say.

Separately, prosecutors suggested el-Hage worked closely with a Muslim religious figure in Texas, who has not been charged in the case but who they say helped bin Laden buy a jet after he had moved his operations to Sudan in 1991.

El-Hage, like the other defendants in the case, has pleaded not guilty, and his lawyers say the government's recent rev-

elations offer a distorted picture of their client. They say el-Hage, a naturalised US citizen, did work for bin Laden, but only in his legitimate businesses.

The most significant allegation made against el-Hage is that after returning to Kenya on February 22, 1997, he "played a prominent role in motivating the Kenyan cell into organising for violent action". He allegedly met bin Laden and other top members of his organisation in Afghanistan. One report recovered from a computer disk in el-Hage's Nairobi house, showed that he had travelled to Kenya on bin Laden's behalf to initiate a "new policy" for the cell of operatives in Kenya: "prepare 300 'activists'." The report was labelled "top secret".

The documents appear to be the first in the criminal case in which the US has tied bin Laden's group to unspecified violence in Ethiopia. The papers still do not make clear whether the government has any direct evidence that bin Laden actually ordered the embassy attacks.



Bin Laden: Follow the leader

NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

¹¹⁻¹⁸ ^{24/11} 'Bin Laden used relief organisation as cover for terrorist activity'

NEW YORK: Federal prosecutors say Osama bin Laden used international companies and a relief organisation as covers for what they describe as a worldwide terrorist conspiracy, the *New York Times* reported on Saturday.

Bin Laden, an exiled Saudi financier, is charged along with 16 others of conspiring to attack Americans in the 1998 embassy bombings in Tanzania and Kenya that killed more than 200 people and injured thousands. In court papers obtained by *The Times*, U.S. prosecutors say Bin Laden's organisation obtained blank passports from the Sudanese government and recruited people living in the U.S., communicating with them by fax, satellite phone and coded letters.

In one letter, according to the prosecutors, group members repeatedly referred to Bin Laden by the code name "Mr Sam" or "O' Sam" and called the group's members in Kenya "The Fish People," *The Times* reported.

In 1997, after the FBI questioned a Bin Laden associate in Texas, a warning went out that the man had been confronted by an "opposition company called Food and Beverage Industry, based in the U.S.," the court papers state. *The Times* cited a portion of the alleged letter that said the man "has given an extensive interview."

"Give my regards to Sam and tell him to take extra precautions because business competition is very fierce," it added. Prosecutors in New York had to reveal some of the evidence against Bin Laden and his alleged associates after one of the defendants in the embassy

bombings, Wadiah el-Hage, sought bail, denying the government's claim that he was dangerous or likely to flee the country.

El-Hage was arrested in 1998 after Kenyan police and American investigators seized personal papers and a computer in a raid on his home in Nairobi. The prosecutors claim that El-Hage, 39, a naturalised American citizen from Lebanon, is one of Bin Laden's most trusted and dangerous aides. Until his arrest, he lived with his American wife and children in Arlington, Texas, a suburb of Dallas.

El-Hage, like the other defendants in the case, has pleaded not guilty. *The Times* quoted his lawyers as saying that he worked for Bin Laden but only in legitimate businesses. The paper reported that the documents taken from El-Hage's home in Nairobi depicted Bin Laden as using a Kenyan charity, Mercy International Relief Agency, as a front for terrorist operations.

The paper said the prosecution's documents also appeared to link Bin Laden's group to unspecified violence in Ethiopia. The prosecutors contend that their documents contain a coded reference to the Taliban, the fundamentalist Islamic movement that governs Afghanistan, and information about Bin Laden's network in the U.S.

But the court papers "still do not make clear whether the government has any direct evidence that Laden actually ordered the embassy attacks" in 1998, *The Times* reported. (Reuters)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

24 JAN 2000

HPD-13
26/1

Jaswant for joint action against terrorism

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 25. Asserting that India's neighbourhood now provides the "single largest gene-pool of terrorism" in the world, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, today called for collective Asian action against the forces of extremism.

In his address to an international conference on Asian security here, Mr. Singh pointed to the rise of non-state actors "fired by ideologies of extremism and fanaticism, and equipped with ever more lethal firepower".

"Globalisation enables these terrorists to develop linkages across continents," he added.

Arguing that deepening of democracy was the critical imperative of Asian security, Mr. Singh said, "narco-terrorism, extremism and small arms proliferation constitute the biggest threat to plural societies" in the region.

Mr. Singh declared that not only was India "a factor of stability in Asia", but it also had a big stake in the region's security.

"Instability, extremism, narcotics, arms smuggling and terrorism," Mr. Singh said, "are the common threats that stand in the way of the Indian and Asian people realising their true destiny".

Pointing to the enormous diversity of economic and political systems as well as civilisations in Asia, the External Affairs Minister argued that stability in the region cannot be built on the traditional notions of balance of power, but within a framework of "cooperative security".

He also referred to the threat from weapons of mass destruction and called for "regional initiatives" in Asia for "de-legitimising" nuclear weapons and reducing the risks of an accidental atomic war.

Measures to reduce the readin-

ess of nuclear arsenals and joint agreements on the "no-first-use" of nuclear weapons, Mr. Singh said, "suggest themselves as evident first steps".

Speaking at a session on "limited local wars" during the conference, the Chief of the Army Staff, General V. P. Malik cautioned the Government against an over-reliance on the Army to combat terrorism and counter-insurgency.

Gen. Malik said the Armed Forces were the "ultimate instrument" of national power and their "early employment" in low-intensity conflicts reduced future options.

Arguing that the armed forces must be reserved for "the higher end" of the conflict spectrum, he made a case for raising additional forces or upgrading the existing paramilitary troops to effectively combat terrorism.

Canada toughening stance on terrorism

By D. B. S. Jeyaraj

Recent events in Canada and the U.S., are leading to a perceptibly hostile shift of attitude towards terrorism. This abhorrence is fuelled further by increasing resentment within the Canadian mainstream that the land of the maple leaf with its liberal values, reflected in its generous immigration laws, is being cynically exploited by the proponents of terror who are considering the country a "safe haven for terrorists". Though Canadian politicians are yet to take a public position on most issues involved, the law enforcement machinery, bureaucracy, judiciary and sections of the media are all being quite assertive and active in this respect.

The release late last year of the annual report for 1998 by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service informed Canadians that their country was being "flooded" by a flow of past and present terrorists as refugees and immigrants. While some had abandoned their past and were leading new lives others were still engaged in promoting their political goals. Almost every known group involved in political violence had its official and unofficial cells here, the report said. Apart from overt propaganda, many of these groups were involved in covert fund raising and channelling the money back home to keep fanning the flames of terrorist violence.

Canadian concern over being treated as a terrorist safe haven increased further by a dramatic detection on the border with U.S. on December 14 last year. Algerian born Ahmed Ressam was caught at the Port Angeles border crossing with powerful explosives and timing devices hidden in the trunk of his rented car. Ressam had several false documents of identity on his person. He was a resident of Montreal with a registered business license in Vancouver. After Ressam was taken in several others were arrested and details of an "Islamic terrorist" plot to target undisclosed locations in the U.S. to "teach the Americans a lesson" were allegedly uncovered.

While Ressam is being held in a Seattle prison his arrest triggered off the detention of an alleged accomplice, Mokhtar Haouari, in Canada on January 10 this year. He has been charged with providing material support to a terrorist plot. Born in Algeria, Haouari was now resident in Montreal. Though his claim for political asylum was rejected he was

not deported because of an administrative decision to impose a moratorium on all deportations by the Canadian Immigration Minister, Ms. Lucienne Robilliard, in 1997. The U.S. authorities have sought his extradition to face trial. At a preliminary hearing on January 20 a Canadian Judge was severely critical of the country's "lax laws".

Justice Jean-Guy Boilard of the Quebec Superior Court noted that Haouari had been living off welfare money while living in Canada and also possessed a criminal record in credit card fraud. "Without the liberality of the immigration laws and the ministerial decision there is strong reason to believe that Mr. Haouari wouldn't be before a Canadian court today," Judge Boilard said. In that context the same comment could apply to Ressam too as he was also like Haouari, a rejected refugee applicant whose deportation was put on hold. A full extradition hearing for Haouari would be held on March 15.

Canadian discomfiture is being further aggravated by an aggressive U.S. on this issue. An expedited hearing of the U.S. Congress Immigration Sub-Committee was scheduled to probe Canada specifically. Areas to be covered were the culpability of the Jean Chretien Government in ignoring security concerns endangering the U.S. The sub-committee was also expected to delve into Canada's role in combating terrorism, the phenomenon of terrorist groups using the country as a safe haven to foster terrorism, Canadian refugee and asylum procedures, immigration regulations enabling international travellers to transit through Canada without visas and, importantly, the legislation pertaining to suspected terrorist groups raising funds here.

It is feared in Canadian official circles that the U.S. is trying to pressure its northern neighbour into adopting a very tough line on immigration, security and refugee matters etc. at the expense of individual liberty. This possibility jars the sensibilities of the Canadian elite which prides itself on its liberal values enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights. But there are dissenting voices too.

Canada has in its immigration laws provisions that deem certain persons as inadmissible because of their connections with terrorism. Those seeking entry are denied admission while those who have already entered the country are deported under a national security certificate issued jointly

by the Immigration Minister and Solicitor-General. The process is not automatic but after due process of the law. That includes various modes of judicial appeal.

Another separate development has also illustrated the toughening of stance on terrorism. Two persons appealing against a deportation order issued under the national security certificate provisions had their appeals rejected. One was Manickavasagam Suresh, a Sri Lankan Tamil, who was reportedly the Canadian chief of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and an alleged fund raiser for the Tigers. The other was Mansour Ahani, a former member of the Iranian secret service, who allegedly was implicated in a plot to assassinate an Iranian dissident abroad. Both cases were heard by Federal Judge Joseph Robertson. The Canadian federal court of appeal in a precedent-setting ruling issued on January 18, has upheld the detention orders.

Though the judgments were issued separately they were equally applicable to both Suresh and Ahani. Justice Robertson held that Canada's right to protect itself from known and suspected terrorists outweighed the rights of individual suspects.

The controversial aspect of the judgment was that it approved of alleged terrorists being deported to their home country even if they faced risk of torture. "To the extent that Canada is not already a haven for terrorists, the government has a legitimate right to ensure that it does not become such" noted the Judge in his 84-page judgment.

Suresh and Ahani would not be deported immediately as their lawyers have obtained injunctions pending further appeals on this count to the Canadian Supreme Court.

Meanwhile an Indian national, Iqbal Singh, was quietly deported from Canada to Belize on January 6. The Canadian authorities had charged him with being an active member of the Babbar Khalsa International and involved in raising funds for terrorist purposes.

After losing a protracted legal battle to prevent being deported, Iqbal Singh opted to leave for Belize quietly. With U.S. pressure on the one hand and the precedent created by the ruling on the Suresh case on the other, all indications are that the mood in Canada will be that of being tough on perceived terrorists using the country as a safe haven.

Stop supporting terrorism, U.S. warns Pakistan

WASHINGTON: The United States warned Pakistan on Friday that it could be branded a sponsor of terrorism—and become ineligible for virtually all U.S. aid—if it gave direct support to a terrorist group that operates in Kashmir.

The warning was coupled by the state department with sharp criticism of the military-run government of Gen Pervez Musharraf for requiring judges to take a loyalty oath. "This move by Gen Musharraf undermines the integrity and independence of the judiciary in Pakistan," spokesman James P. Rubin said.

Six supreme court justices refused on Thursday to take the oath, which would shield the military from legal action.

"Gen Musharraf needs to make clear in a comprehensive fashion how he intends to return Pakistan to an elected government with a functioning legislature and an independent judiciary under a democratic constitution," Mr Rubin said.

President Bill Clinton is expected to decide soon whether he will visit Pakistan in March on a trip that will take him to India and Bangladesh.

Earlier this week, Mr Clinton and the state department declared there was no evidence that Pakistan supported the hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane in December.

However, at the time, Mr Rubin said that the hijackers might have been linked to a terrorist group that operates in Kashmir.

The group, known as Harkat-ul-Mujahedeen, was placed on the department's list of terrorist organisa-

tions in 1997 when it was called Harkat-ul-Ansar.

On Thursday, the U.S. official said, "That is a matter of extreme concern to U.S." and that senior administration officials had taken it up with top Pakistani officials.

"If the secretary of state determines that a government has repeatedly provided support to international terrorism directly, then she would be prepared to designate that country as a state sponsor of terrorism," Mr Rubin said. He said that was not a threat but rather "a comment about the realities."

Assistant secretary of state Karl Inderfurth and Michael Sheehan—the co-ordinator of the department's office to counter terrorism—conveyed U.S. concerns about terrorism and anti-democratic tendencies in talks last week in Pakistan, Mr Rubin said.

The hijacking incident ended with 155 hostages freed in exchange for the Indian government's release of three members of the group.

The seven countries listed by the state department as sponsors of terrorism are ineligible, under federal law, for virtually all U.S. assistance and for U.S. support in international lending institutions.

"Let me be clear," Mr Rubin said, "we are not conducting business as usual with Pakistan, in light of the October coup there."

Meanwhile, President Bill Clinton said that working to defuse crises between "India and Pakistan is one of the fundamental challenges" the U.S. must meet globally in the 21st century. (Agencies)

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