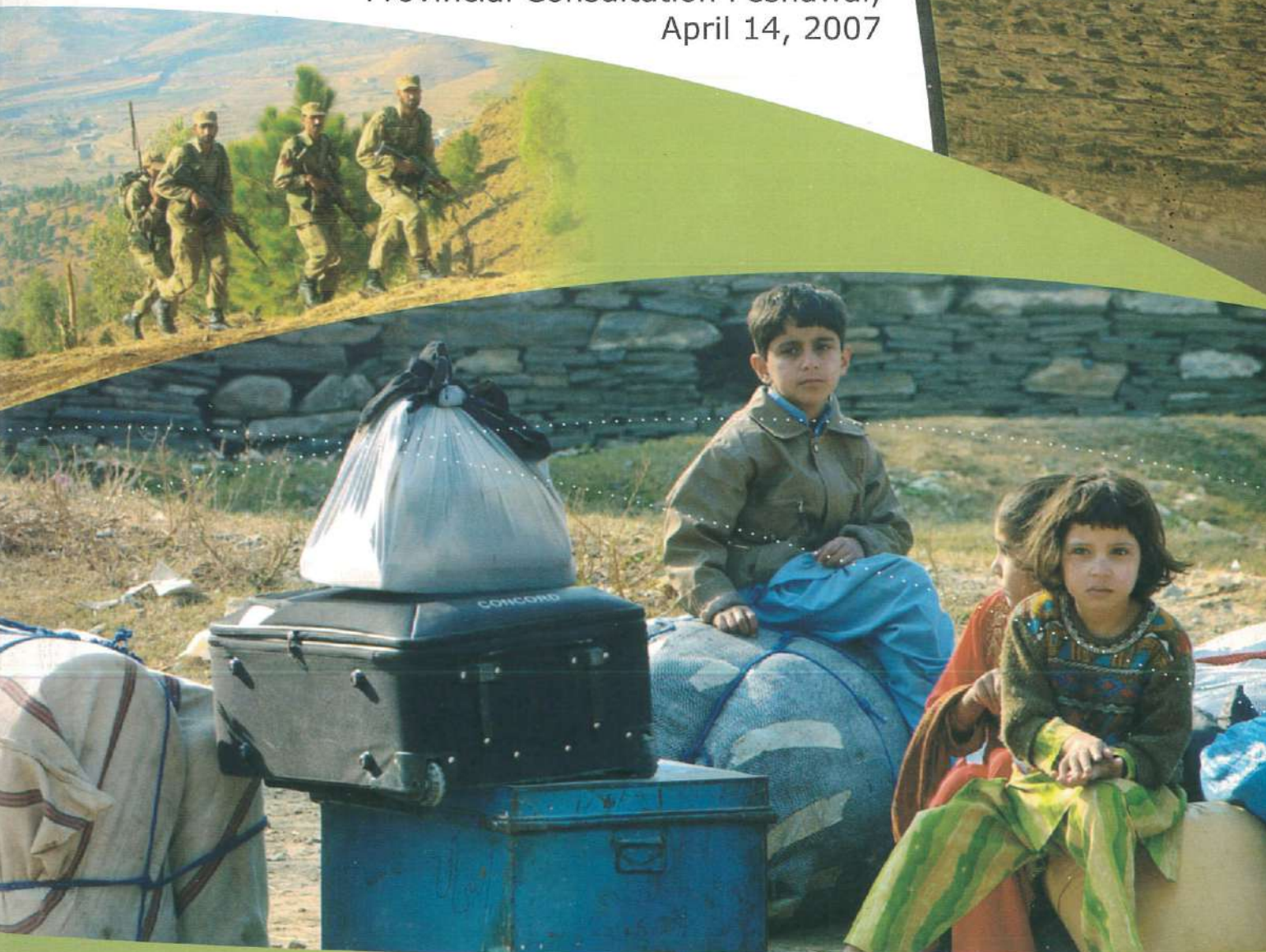


Voicing People's Perspective

on the

State of Peace and Human Security in NWFP and FATA

An Analytic Report of the
Provincial Consultation Peshawar,
April 14, 2007



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Published in Islamabad, 2007

Note: Some of the content and views expressed in this consultation may not necessarily represent the positions of the organizations.

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Introduction:

Since beginning of this year, 2007, Pakistan is going through a very turbulent period, maybe one of the most difficult in history. With ever increasing violence at all levels, be it the recent spate of suicidal and terrorist attacks throughout the country, be it the repeated conflict in Balochistan, ethno political violence in Karachi, Sindh, localized conflicts along religious, sectarian or tribal identities or the outstanding conflict with India (Kashmir , Sir Creek, Siachen Glacier), ordinary people's livelihood and human security is adversely affected. Women, children and minorities are the most vulnerable and therefore, suffer most. Freedom from fear seems aloof.

In almost all the aforementioned conflicts, the Pakistani state is a party to it. Hence, the dominant discourse in public and media is heavily focused on the notion of national security, leaving little room to highlight people's real issues and grievances. The paradigm of national security is frequently exploited to legitimize the use of force, often against its own citizens. The protector becomes the perpetrator of human rights violations, the creator of humanitarian crisis, clearly marking the breach of the basic social contract between the state and its citizens.

Against this background, we – Actionaid International Pakistan, Sungi Development Foundation, Sustainable Development Policy Institute & Human Rights Commission of Pakistan - are holding a series of provincial consultations on the state of peace and human security in NWFP and Fata, Balochistan and Sindh, with the aim to, capture an array of perspectives issues and grievances, get informed about ground realities of the respective conflict situation and bring conflict parties and/or their associates onto one platform to discuss possible ways or solutions to the conflict. Through these consultations we envision to not only highlight the sufferings of ordinary people from a human security perspective of human security, but to also analyze the root causes and dynamics of the conflict with the aim to come up with people-centric as well as realistic recommendations pushing towards a peaceful resolution of the respective conflict through political dialogue.

The participants of this consultation came up with concrete suggestions/ recommendations for the provincial and federal government as well as for the larger civil society. If taken seriously, the government can take necessary steps to reduce the suffering of people affected by this particular conflict.

Finally, this process is going to culminate in a national consultation on peace and human security in Pakistan, to present major analysis and recommendations of this consultative process to policy makers and national media providing an opportunity for dialogue between concerned and conflict parties at the end of this year. Keeping the election period in mind, this process may well help to put certain people's issues onto the political agenda.

Executive Summary

Pakistan backed the Taliban government in Afghanistan before Sep 11, 2001, but had to abruptly reverse its course and join the US-led antiterrorist coalition after the crumbling of the World Trade Centre. Pakistan has since become a key actor in the US-led war on terror. General Pervez Musharraf is under enormous strain: Americans have constantly been putting pressure for doing more; religious extremists are furious at him for abandoning the Taliban and joining hands with Western imperialist forces; and major political parties are shunning him as he has been resisting the restoration of democracy in the country.

The situation in Pakistan has changed a lot after 9/11, as far as human security is concerned. Anti-Americanism exists in Pakistan especially in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Fata) and North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) resulting in clash of interest between the government and the people of those areas. There are reports that recruitment of militants especially teenagers have been on the rise. There are reported cases that teenaged boys and students from different schools and seminaries have gone missing. The phenomenon of suicide bombings and terrorist attacks has specifically increased since early this year, not even sparing the hitherto protected capital.

The present consultation is of immense importance as until now the focus of public discourse remained on national security issues, activities of the militants, different operations in tribal areas, whereas human security concerns have been ignored altogether. Even after holding this consultation on April 14, 2007, the need for addressing human security concerns enhanced manifold due to growing activities of militant organisations. Following this programme, the Talibanisation phenomenon has also taken some central and hitherto peaceful districts of NWFP in its fold including Swat, Peshawar, Mardan, Charssada, Nowshera, Swabi and Kohat.

The Lal Masjid saga in the heart of federal capital and the Swat uprising by the militants, which resulted in military operation, showed how religious extremism have crept into different areas. The operation against the rebellious cleric Ghazi Abdur Rasheed of the Lal Masjid and his armed supporters culminated after eight-day standoff. Similarly, it took the security forces more than a month to dislodge the militants from the positions and areas occupied by them.

The militants had taken hostage 247 soldiers including eight officers in Momi Karam area of South Waziristan tribal agency on Aug 30, which was a big setback and a source of embarrassment for the security forces. Three of the hostages were killed and rest of them were set free after the government released 25 hardcore militants in return.

The situation is still volatile in the two Waziristan agencies. In areas dominated by Mehsud tribe the security forces have vacated most of the checkpoints. In the area of Ahmadzai Wazir tribe a

pro-government militant commander Maulvi Muhammad Nazir has been in control after his fighters crushed the Uzbek warriors in pitched battles in 2007.

The growing incidents of suicide bombings in the entire country touched an alarming level as 44 such incidents occurred this year. Alarm bells rang in the concerned quarters when a burqa-clad woman suicide bomber blew herself at a military checkpoint in the high security Peshawar cantonment on Dec 4.

In the daylong deliberations and discussion, the key speakers and commentators focused four key issues concerning the human security.

The 'War on Terror' and the State of Human Security:

Although the state of human security has never been encouraging in the tribal areas and the NWFP, but after 9/11 and the subsequent military operations in Waziristan it has further deteriorated. In various tribal areas schools have been closed down and examinations could not be conducted in some of the schools. The deteriorating law and order situation resulted in closure of health facilities as doctors, nurses and other health professionals avoid visiting these facilities. The basic infrastructure in tribal areas especially roads are in shambles.

There is no safety of life and property in tribal areas. People can be picked or killed anytime by any of the actor in the War on Terror whether it is state or the so-called terrorists or the Taliban. They could fall prey to unknown rockets fired from within or outside the country. The growing militancy has adverse effects on human dynamics. In North and South Waziristan tribal agencies' brutal operations were conducted in which scores of innocent people also got killed.

Whereas on the one side militants' activities adversely affect the enforcement of basic human rights, e.g. right to education and health, on the other side military operation conducted by the Pakistan army often lead to humanitarian crisis. As a result, poor people, especially women, children and minorities get internally displaced. Proper relief is not provided to the affectees. To add to the already existing misery of the people residing in Fata and NWFP, the phenomenon of 'Enforced Disappearances' has hit Pakistan since 2001, often targeting political activists and sometimes even innocent people. It is evident that this vicious cycle of terrorism and counter-terrorism measures is rather reinforcing each other and increasing violence rather than coming to a solution of the problem and decreasing human insecurity.

The signing of peace deals with the tribal people and militants in North and South Waziristan and Bajaur agencies helped the militants to consolidate their positions and to further increase their activities.

Increasing Wave of Talibanisation in Fata and NWFP:

The word 'Talibanisation' is increasingly used to describe the rising phenomenon of religious extremism and militancy in Pakistan History repeating itself, the Taliban phenomenon of

Afghanistan has now been transferred here. Girls' schools, hair-dresser shops, CDs, dish antennas, television and polio vaccination have been the target in this wave of Talibanisation.

A high level government meeting in March observed with anxiety that respect for law and state authority has gradually been diminishing as terrorism and talibanisation are on the rise.

As a result of the fallout of the war on terror and military operation against militants in Fata, there was a spill over effect of the so-called Talibanisation in the areas adjoining tribal regions of South and North Waziristan, resulting in bomb blasts, suicide attacks and target killing of law-enforcement personnel.

Apart from Waziristan, the tribal agencies of Bajaur and Mohmand, and areas of NWFP especially Peshawar, Swat, Malakand, Tank, Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Lakki Marwat, Kohat, Mardan, Swabi, Charssada and Buner became centres of the activities of the pro-Taliban elements.

The Lal Masjid issue left deep impact on such like elements in NWFP and tribal areas. The activities of the burqa-clad female vigilantes of Jamia Hafsa started with a raid on a private residence, going around and telling video shop owners to change their business and finally it enhanced to the extent of kidnapping six Chinese women on charge of indulging in immoral acts. Following an eight-day standoff between the security forces and militants and students holed up in the Lal Masjid-Jamia Hafsa compound, the rebellious cleric Ghazi Abdur Rahseed was killed in a fierce battle in which the government claimed 58 persons including eight soldiers were killed.

The Lal Masjid proved to be a source of inspiration for militants in other areas as a new 'Lal Masjid' sprung up in Mohmand Tribal Agency on July 28 when pro-Taliban militants occupied a century old mausoleum of known freedom fighter Haji Sahib Turangzai and an adjacent mosque and renamed it. Following hectic negotiations and requests by local jirgas in Lakarao area, the militants vacated the shrine and mosque in August.

Similarly, reports had been appearing about presence of some jehadi outfits in Ghat Peuchaar, Chaprial and other areas of Matta Tehsil in the scenic Swat Valley, situated in the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), but the concerned quarters turned a blind eye to it and finally the situation was out of the control of local police. The extremist elements twice tried to destroy a huge rock-curving of Buddha at Buthgarh Jehanabad in Swat and succeeded in defacing the image of archaeological importance.

A rebellious cleric Maulana Fazlullah was openly running his illegal FM radio station from his native Imam Dehri village where he had also been constructing a sprawling seminary. He setup his own volunteer force for checking law and order and three persons were flogged in public on Oct 12 after they were found guilty of kidnapping two women. The police and paramilitary forces launched operation against him when his supporters took over most parts of Swat and the Shangla

District headquarters, Alpurī. Finally, the army took over charge of the operation and in early Dec the militants were dislodged from most of the positions they were holding. Government claimed of killing 230 militants and 20 civilians in the operation.

The State of Civil and Political Rights in NWFP and FATA:

Under the 1973 constitution the tribal areas are part of Pakistan and the inhabitants of these areas are entitled to the fundamental rights enshrined therein. However, there is no mechanism for the enforcement of these rights in FATA as the constitution bars the jurisdiction of superior courts in tribal areas. The ouster of high court jurisdiction has turned these rights useless. Neither a political party nor an NGO can be formed in FATA. All those benefits which flow from civil and political rights are not available to the tribal people.

The colonial era black law of Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR; 1901) governs the life of the tribal population, which illustrates the continuation of a colonial approach by the federal government. The only guiding principle of this law is that of collective responsibility which empowers the administration to hold an entire tribe responsible for an act of an individual. There is concentration of power and the authority of all laws revolved around the political agent. He is the administrative as well as judicial officer.

There are 12 MNAs and eight senators from FATA in the Parliament. These parliamentarians legislate for rest of the country but can't make laws for their own areas. It is the prerogative of the President of Pakistan to extend a law to FATA under Article 247 of the Constitution or to issue any regulation in that regard.

The very fact that the Political Parties Order, 2002, prevalent in rest of the country, has yet not been extended to the Fata combined with the denial of right to association and assembly has naturally resulted in lack of organized and constructive political and social activities among people. The absence of organized progressive social and political forces combined with a repressive governance structure naturally provides a 'grazing land' to religious extremist and militant forces.

An Analysis and Appraisal of Government Policies in NWFP and ATA:

The situation emerging after 9/11 brought FATA in focus of the Pakistani and Western governments. In 2002, the Musharraf government announced reforming FATA and for that purpose the FATA Reforms Committee was constituted comprising various notables, tribal elders, lawyers and intellectuals. That committee recommended large scale reforms, but the report of that committee had never been implemented.

The committee had suggested establishment of elected agency councils to be headed by agency nazim out of the influence of the political agent. They also recommended reserving seats for females in these councils and drastic changes in the FCR specially giving the tribal people right to

appeal before an independent forum. Instead of implementing those recommendations, the government introduced non-elected agency councils three years ago that too, without any nazim.

Another committee, FCR Reforms Committee, was established which was headed by a former judge of the Supreme Court Justice, Mian Muhammad Ajmal. This committee was assigned the exclusive task of formulating a report including recommendations regarding the FCR. The committee presented its report to the governor more than a year ago. The recommendations of that committee have yet to be implemented.

General Musharraf had promised to integrate the Fata areas into the mainstream Pakistani system with the aim to ensure long-term development of the area. However, this has not happened as yet. No doubt, the 'War on Terror' has halted the process of Fata integration into Pakistan's mainstream political and socio-economic system.

The inconsistencies of state policies towards the tribal areas from the 80s till date have severely harmed the people of Fata. People residing in the area feel betrayed and deprived. Formerly hailed and state-sponsored mujahideen have now turned into anti-state elements or terrorists. Also, whereas once the Pakistani government backed by the US let madrassahs mushroom, it is now not able/ capable of implementing the earlier promulgated madrassah reforms, as the Lal Masjid episode clearly illustrates. Local leaders and activists heavily criticize the Pakistani government for their political dependence on America, which has pushed Pakistan once again to become a 'frontline state'. On the other hand, Pakistan has been criticized for its mixed responses towards the conflict in Waziristan as she has been using either excessive force against the militants and sometimes signed so called peace deals with the same to appease them.

Last year the government established the Civil Secretariat FATA ending the coordination between Fata and NWFP as the provincial home secretary is no longer responsible for security in the tribal areas. Similarly, after introduction of the Devolution Plan there is now no link between the settled and tribal areas as the established institutions that served to coordinate between the two areas were dismantled.

Recommendations

On the Constitutional Status of FATA:

- ❑ The constitutional status of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) should be revised. It should be integrated into mainstream system of the polity of Pakistan i.e. either become the part of the province or be given the status of an independent province. Subsequently the civic and political rights of the people of FATA – including the right to vote - must be declared constitutionally.
- ❑ Therefore, the constitutional committees on the reform on Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) and FATA should be re-activated and their recommendations implemented.
- ❑ The principle of the 'balance of powers' should be ensured in Fata by clearly separating administrative powers from judicative and from executive powers as a foremost democratic prerequisite.
- ❑ The Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the Peshawar High Court shall be extended to Fata in order to ensure fundamental human rights and deal with the breaches of peace and human rights.
- ❑ Local administration needs to be empowered by elevating the power of 'Agency Councils' from advisory to a decision making and implementing body. Elected Nazims should be heading these agency councils like the ordinary district councils.
- ❑ Around 33% seats should be reserved for women in the local bodies in FATA
- ❑ The Political Parties Order, 2002, should be extended to FATA and the political parties should be allowed to carry out their activities to promote healthy political processes among the people, especially women and youth. Some participants suggested that representation should be given to Fata in the NWFP provincial Assembly.
- ❑ The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan shall be re-enacted in its original form.
- ❑ With the support of human rights organisations a constitutional petition should be filed before the Supreme Court of Pakistan challenging the FCR on the touchstone of fundamental rights.

On the Government Policies towards FATA:

- ❑ The Pakistani government is urged to formulate an independent foreign policy free from external pressures, in consultation with the parliament and subservient to the interests of the people of Pakistan
- ❑ Intelligence agencies should stop interfering in political affairs and should refrain from intermingling in the elections. Further, the existing political wing within the ISI should be abolished
- ❑ The Government of Pakistan should strictly follow the madrassa reform agenda and thus regulate peaceful madrassa and abolish those involved in any illegal or militant activity
- ❑ Reforming Frontier Corps militia should be taken into serious consideration and the proposed reforms should be implemented immediately and effectively. Transforming them into a regular police system with the similar powers and constraints should be one of the options.
- ❑ The 'Durand line issue' should be resolved through a consultative process in a peaceful manner taking the social and cultural aspects into account.
- ❑ Participants of the consultative dialogue unanimously demanded to rule out the possibility of an invasion of American Forces with the support of Pakistani Forces in the conflict afflicted areas such as north and South Waziristan.
- ❑ Military operations or actions in the tribal areas should only be conducted in the tribal areas with prior authorization by the parliament.

On Human Rights Violations in FATA:

- ❑ Government of Pakistan should stop the practise of illegal and arbitrary detentions (Enforced Disappearances) and their illegal transfer to the USA. Henceforth, all illegally detained people should be immediately produced in front of the relevant civil courts.
- ❑ Media and civil society organizations should be allowed to freely move and work in Fata and that an enabling environment needs to be created for the civil society and NGO activists.
- ❑ Religious leaders are urged to openly denounce acts of terrorism including suicide attacks, which kill or harm innocent people.

On Development in and of FATA:

- ❑ Provincial autonomy shall be ensured for ending the sense of deprivation among the smaller provinces. It was recommended that the capped amount of Rs 6 billion on account of net profit on hydel power generation to the NWFP should be enhanced in accordance with the decision of an arbitration tribunal. The province has been facing financial crunch in the absence of the accurate amount of net profit due to which the social sector had also not been receiving required funds.
- ❑ Government should initiate special development projects particularly in the social sectors i.e. education, health, drinking water, sanitation and employment etc to uplift the living standard of people of Fata. All development and reform processes should be implemented through a consultative process and not imposed by the centre.
- ❑ The International Community and donor agencies are urged to increase their non-military funds and activities in the tribal areas.
- ❑ The government of Pakistan was urged to generate employment opportunities especially for the already alienated youth in Fata (and NWFP). It was suggested that given the abundance of mineral wealth in the tribal areas, industrialisation can and should be promoted
- ❑ The funds received from the US on account of 'war on terror' should be utilised for the development of the tribal areas. There should be complete transparency in utilisation of these funds and proper mechanism of checks and balances should be in place for that purpose.

First Session:

The 'War on Terror' and the State of Human Security

Setting the stage for discussion, Aimal Khattak from SDPI, inaugurated the consultation by stating that the 'War on Terror' had direct impact on NWFP and the tribal areas. He explained the objectives of this consultation especially within the context of the dominating discourse of national security. He then posed some questions to the participants while focusing on the concept of human security such as; Whether the situation has been deteriorating or not? What are the causes of insecurity and why? What people think about the prevailing situation? How does it affect ordinary people's livelihood? He stated that their recommendations would be taken forward to other forums. The session started off with the lead talk by Dr. Sarfaraz Khan, lecturer at Area Studies Center, Central Asia, Peshawar University, followed by a discussion.

Dr. Sarfaraz Khan: Defining human security, Dr. Sarfaraz Khan said that it mainly describes safety of life and property, and secondly, that there are certain socio-economic indicators considered important in this regard. He said it would be wrong to say that the condition of human security was satisfactory and praiseworthy before 9/11. However, he added that the situation further deteriorated after 9/11. He pointed out that various schools were closed down and even examinations could not be conducted in some of the areas. Due to precarious law and order situation, health facilities have also been closed down in some of the tribal areas as doctors, nurses and other health professionals avoid visiting these facilities. The entire infrastructure in tribal areas, especially roads, is in a shambles.

"There is no safety of life and property in the tribal areas. People can be picked or killed anytime by any of the actors in the 'War on Terror', whether it is the state or the so-called terrorists/'Taliban'. They could fall prey to stray rockets fired from within or outside the country," Dr. Sarfaraz elaborated his point of view. He added that it was evident to every one by now what kind of violence has been going on in different areas.

He pointed out that the discussion should focus on the condition of basic social facilities including health, education, potable water, agriculture, etc and should analyze whether there was improvement in these indicators or deterioration after the start of the 'War on Terror'.

Dr. Sarfaraz presented some basic facts and figures about FATA and especially South Waziristan tribal agency. The reason he gave for choosing South Waziristan was that this tribal agency remained the centre flashpoint in the ongoing 'War on Terror'. The number of persons killed and operations conducted by the Army there is more than in any other tribal agency.

The South Waziristan Agency touches Afghanistan on the one side and shares boundary with North Waziristan, Dera Ismail Khan and Balochistan in Pakistan. Looking at this region there is great possibility of the spill over of the disturbance to other areas including Balochistan province and the entire region.

Dr. Sarfaraz mostly quoted figures from the 1998 national census. He informed that South Waziristan is stretched over an area of 6620 square kilometres. The population of FATA is 3.4 millions, whereas that of South Waziristan is 430,000 - 12.6 percent of the total FATA population. He said that area wise it is the largest agency, but as far as resources are concerned it is the most backward. The total cultivable area is 15920 hectare out of total 662,000 hectare which comes to 2.40 percent. The total number of government tractors is eight out of which two are in South Waziristan.

Giving the number of teachers in FATA, he informed that there were 285 teachers in mosque schools; 8524 in primary schools; 3469 in middle schools; 3570 in high schools and 176 in higher secondary schools. In South Waziristan, he pointed out there were 419 schools including 327 for male students and 92 for female students. The teacher student ratio in FATA is 1:11 meaning that there is one teacher for 11 students. Giving a bleak picture of female education, he quoted the census report that the female literacy rate is only 2.5 percent as compared to male literacy rate of 32.5 percent.

Discussion: While beginning the discussion, some participants believed that both national and human securities are vital and they could not be divorced from the each other. The lack or absence of one will invariably affect the other.

Ismail Khan, Editor of Daily Dawn in Peshawar, was of the opinion that security was very vital as development could not take place without it. "You can't just operate in vacuum." He seconded the opinion of Dr. Sarfaraz that the FATA in general and South Waziristan in particular had the lowest socio-economic indicators in whole of Pakistan. BHUs have been taken over by militants. The government has failed to provide security to the people there and has relegated its functions.

The growing militancy has adverse effects on human dynamics. There is 'collateral damage'. In North and South Waziristan tribal agencies, brutal army operations have been conducted in which innocent people are killed. It is necessary to establish the writ of the state in these areas.

Mr. Khan informed that donors were now reluctant to invest in the tribal areas as they had no access there and, secondly, the security environment was very bad. He added that few days back there was a donor conference for discussing 10 year development strategy for FATA. For that development strategy two billion dollars are at stake.

Other participants who spoke on the point were averse to the steps taken by the government during this conflict. They opined that the 'holy war' promoted against the Russians responsible

for developing a particular liking for *jihad*. Following the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan, the Americans and the Pakistani government did not take any step for changing that psyche of the people in tribal areas. They questioned the 'War on Terror' and said that in fact it was an American war unleashed against the Muslims.

They also opposed the indiscriminate operations in tribal agencies stating that innocent people got killed in these operations. "When bombings are carried out, killing innocent people, neither the Parliament nor the cabinet have ever been taken into confidence," said Shahab Khan Advocate. He added that the intelligence agencies were involved in terrorism against ordinary people as hundred of persons had gone missing as they had become victims to "Enforced disappearances" by these agencies.

Few of the participants believed that the inhabitants of the tribal areas were in a fix as the situation was very complex. They suspected the involvement of intelligence agencies in aggravating the situation. They alleged that these agencies had been supporting militancy in the past and still they had not changed that policy and were involved with the militant organisations. They added that the funds meant for the 'War on Terror' had been misused and there was no check on utilisation of these funds.

One of the participants from Southern districts elaborated the state of human security in reference to the 'War on Terror' and claimed that 90 percent of the people killed during this war were innocent, whereas at the most only 10 percent foreign militants were killed. He alleged that the government in a clandestine manner supported resistance against the coalition forces in Afghanistan, but when they were under pressure from the US they started operations in FATA which was merely an eye-wash. He narrated various incidents in support of his contentions and stated that the situation of human security was precarious as the tribal people did not enjoy any fundamental rights in the troubled regions.

The participants also elucidated that the state of human security after the signing of peace deals with the tribal people and militants in North and South Waziristan tribal agencies and recently in Bajaur. "Following these peace deals, the army has confined itself to the camps and the militants have expedited their activities," said one of the speakers. He also casted doubts over arrests of the militants, pointing out that some of the local 'Taliban' were arrested with hand grenades, but they were released within few days by the courts. "They must be influential people, otherwise why they were released by the courts."

Another important point raised by a few of the participants was that the police had been complaining against the intelligence agencies of creating hindrance in investigation of different cases. "The intelligence agencies used to take away suspects from police custody and never returned them back, which affects the entire investigation," a participant said, quoting a high ranking police officer.

Tariq Khan of SAP-Pak stated that in remote areas individual clerics had been rising and trying to impose their own brand of Islam. He pointed out that in Swat district, Maulana Fazlullah, had been preaching his version of Islam and discouraging female education, but the state agencies could not tackle him (for some inexplicable reasons).

“The Pakistani establishment believed that they would impose the so-called Islamisation policy as in Afghanistan, but did not know about its spill over effect. They thought that this phenomenon will confine only to Pukhtoonkhwa, but did not know that it will inspire extremist elements in the rest of the country,” he added.

Another point which dominated the discussion in other sessions also was that there should be a distinction between a ‘terrorist’ and a ‘freedom fighter’. “Majority of the tribal people consider the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan as a war of liberation against the American occupation and not as a ‘War on Terror’”, said a participant. He added that it was very difficult for the government to justify its participation in this war.

Israrullah, Advocate of Jamaat-e-Islami, said that the Army should not have any role in politics and the intelligence agencies should be restrained from manipulating elections. He added that the 1973 Constitution was formed by all the major political parties and all the problems in the country had emerged due to its non implementation. He added that human security was directly linked with a strong parliament and democratic institutions.

“There shall be proper patrolling between the tribal and settled areas. The government shall also avoid following the unjust demands of the US which has direct impact on the national and human security in the country,” Mr. Israr said.

There was consensus among the participants that the state of human security was unsatisfactory in FATA and NWFP. They also agreed on the point that following the ‘War on Terror’ the law and order situation has been on the decline.

Second Session:

Increasing Wave of Talibanisation in NWFP

Taking on from the first session, Ms. Nusrat Sheikh, who moderated the session, said that two main questions may be addressed: What is 'Talibanisation' and how people in the affected areas look at this phenomenon? What is the role of government and what shall be its role in the present situation? She said that they feel that in different areas the writ of the government had been weakening and parallel governance systems had been in place.

The main speaker on the issue, Ismail Khan, journalist and editor of DAWN bureau office in Peshawar, focused his presentation on the government and public perception towards growing Talibanisation in the NWFP and adjoining tribal areas. He shared information regarding a high level meeting held in Peshawar, which gave a clear picture to the participants about the gravity of the situation.

Defining the term 'Talibanisation' he stated: "Broadly you determine what the 'Taliban' did in Afghanistan, the same symptoms replicate here. The Taliban phenomenon in Afghanistan has now been creeping into Pakistani society". Girls' schools, hair-dresser shops, CDs, dish antennas, television and polio vaccination have been the target in this wave of Talibanisation.

He maintained that fortunately the religious parties including JI and JUI (F) now say that these things are wrong and are aimed at defaming Islam, but they do not say it loud and clear. "These things which are coming to us will sweep away all the forces including moderate, secular and religious, as these forces do not fit in the narrow interpretation of Islam given by the elements supporting Talibanisation.

Explaining the prevalent situation and government perception, Mr. Khan referred to a recent high level briefing held at the Governor House on March 3, 2007, which was attended by the NWFP Governor Ali Muhammad Jan Aurakzai, the Chief Minister, Akram Khan Durrani, chief secretary, home secretary, officials of LEA and intelligence agencies. He had also published the report about the meeting in Daily Dawn.

"Inaction on the part of LEAs – government on the retreat. Writ of the government shrinking with every passing day. Vacuum being filled by non-state actors. Respect for law and state authority gradually diminishing. Morale of the LEAs and people supportive of government on the decline. Talibanisation, lawlessness and terrorism on the rise."

This scary "situation analysis" of the NWFP was presented in that meeting convened exclusively to discuss the deteriorating law and order situation against the backdrop of creeping Talibanisation in some of the southern districts of the province and the adjoining tribal territories.

The participants of that meeting were told that as a result of the fallout of the 'War on Terror' and operation against extremists in Fata, there was a spill over effect of the so-called Talibanisation in the districts adjoining tribal regions of South and North Waziristan, resulting in bomb blasts, suicide attacks and target killing of law-enforcement personnel.

Explaining the current situation, the meeting was told that suicide attacks were on the rise, extremism and militancy was spreading in Fata and the NWFP, there was free movement of militants, their financial, physical and moral support was growing in the presence of large number of LEAs.

Mr. Khan said that according to security and senior administration officials, much of the problem lies in the shortage of police manpower and logistic support.

Ironically, the strength of the NWFP police force which was nearly 35,000 in 1947 remains almost static, at 36,000 sixty years after independence, putting the police-population ratio to one policeman for 800 people, compared with the Punjab where it is one policeman for every 300.

Some government officials grumble that while the situation continues to deteriorate, commitment by federal government led by former Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali three years ago to let the NWFP government to recruit 15,000 police over a period of three years has not been met.

Not only that, there is also shortage of a well-trained bomb disposal squad, particularly in the districts affected by militancy, the scope of the Crimes Investigation Department, whose sole mandate now is to fight terrorism, is restricted to Peshawar.

He said that to further aggravate the situation, nearly 70 per cent of the Frontier Constabulary, whose basic job is to man the border between the tribal areas and the settled districts of the NWFP, are serving in Islamabad, Karachi and Balochistan.

In North or South Waziristan, initially people supported it as state institutions had failed to provide security to people. After some of the actions of these local Taliban such as kidnapping, target killing, etc. the support turned into fear and when fear increased to a great level it turned into resentment.

Mr. Khan informed that background interviews with different high ranking players about why these things have been happening suggested "There is a total state of Paralysis. They have no solution to this problem"

He was of the opinion that the Federal Government was least bothered towards this situation as the only thing which matters to them is Punjab.

Discussion: The participants put forward various explanations for the growing Talibanisation. While various participants shared the view that the Talibanisation has been expanding to other settled areas of NWFP, some of them disputed the presence of the said phenomenon in the NWFP. There is also one theory put forward by few of the participants that the intelligence agencies and the local Taliban have a nexus between them and the former has deliberately been supporting the Taliban.

Kamran Arif from HRCP stated that in NWFP at least one tehsil in the southern Dera Ismail Khan, the native town of Maulana Fazlur Rehman, had been taken over by Taliban. "There are serious Taliban challenges in three or four other districts. Tank district is virtually in their control and every night rockets are fired at government installations," he added.

The CD shops, barbers and girls schools have been receiving threats and in different areas these have been attacked. The cases of suicide bombings are also on the rise and some very senior police officers were lost in it.

Sailab Mehsud from the South Waziristan tribal agency as well as head of the Tribal Union of Journalists (TUI) stated that in some of the areas local people had started resisting the policies of local Taliban. He narrated the incident which occurred in Serai Norang area of Lakki Marwat district, where the local Taliban attacked some musicians at a marriage ceremony. The locals started exchange of fire with them which continued for three-four hours.

Mr. Mehsud pointed out that before the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in late 1970s, there were very few religious seminaries as there were only 14 madaris in South Waziristan and only three or four in the North Waziristan. "Now with the support of Western forces, USA and the Arabs there are 90 madaris in North and more than 100 in South Waziristan, where hundreds of children have been and are still studying. In most of the cases the teachers are also fighters and jehadi training has been imparted to the students."

Various participants were of the opinion that the institutions in NWFP and tribal areas had failed to deliver due to which it had become easy for the local Taliban to increase their activities.

They said that in different regions clerics had been propagating their brand of Islam and trying to impose their conservative interpretation on others. In Swat district, Maulana Fazlullah, belonging to the proscribed Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariah-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) has been riding a horse in the area. In his area, television sets and CDs were set on fire by the people due to his teachings imparted through an illegally run FM radio station.

Mukhtar Bacha regretted that all these things are happening in the name of Islam. He said civil society groups and the religious parties should openly oppose such wrong interpretation of Islam.

In the Upper and Lower Dir districts to the North of the provincial capital, Peshawar, Akber Khan said that as these districts shared boundary with Afghanistan. Therefore, there is a direct impact

on them of the prevalent situation in Afghanistan. "Hair dressers are asked to stop shaving off beards, CDs and movie shops directed to wind up their business and threats are issued to the female educational institutions. The EDOs have issued directives that female students should wear burqa while coming to school," he informed.

Contrary to the general perception about growing Talibanisation, some of the participants disputed it and termed it propaganda by the US and her allies in Pakistan. They believed that the wrong policies of the Pakistani government had given birth to the reaction among the people which they called "Talibanisation".

"When the state deviates from the culture and traditions of the people and it adopts anti-Islamic steps, then there is always a reaction among the masses. It is not necessary that the reaction will be in the right direction and sometimes it may even become violent," said Israrullah Khan.

He believes that there is a difference between Islamisation and Talibanisation and the two should not be mixed up. The threats given to schools or barber shops are not Islamisation rather it is a threat to Islam.

"The reason for it is that some people overreact and when their vision and thinking are not clear they react in such a hostile manner. If you develop policies in accordance with Islamic teachings such wrong reactions would not occur," he maintained.

Kamran Wazir said that the phenomenon of Taliban was different in Afghanistan than that in Pakistan. He said that in Afghanistan, the Taliban had been fighting against the coalition occupational forces, but the one in North and South Waziristan agencies are different. "The cruelties perpetrated by the Pakistani and American forces forced the people in the two agencies to become Taliban," he said.

During the Afghan war, Islamists were invited from across the world for participation in the 'holy war' but after the withdrawal of the Russian troops these fighters were left in the lurch. During the 20-25 years long Afghan war, different negative cultures developed in Pakistan including the so called 'Kalashnikov culture', drug trafficking, unemployment and personal enmities.

There is unrest among the tribal people as the government has been following the same oppressive policies as introduced by the British colonial rulers and people have been subjugated through the misuse by the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR). "Tribal people are not terrorists. They want development for their children," he said adding "the priorities of the donors are different as they have been focusing on irrelevant projects like Aids and Polio drops whereas we need education, roads and health infrastructure."

Another important point was added to the discussion by a participant from Waziristan who stated that 'targeted killing' of progressive tribesmen averse to the local Taliban had contributed towards the increasing Talibanisation. "Due to fear nobody could raise voice against the activities

of these Taliban. Target-killings are going on the pretext that those killed are US spies," he claimed.

The perception about Taliban-government nexus was supported by Dr. Said Alam Mehsud, senior vice president of Pukhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP), who said that Taliban were those who studied in religious seminaries, but General Musharraf gave this name to the entire Pakhtun nation.

"Any enlightened person who runs a FM radio station without government support would not survive, but clerics have been running illegal stations without any check on them," he claimed. He said that the problem had emerged as the non-Afghan militants were reluctant to completely follow the directions of the ISI. He believed that the entire conspiracy was for the destruction of the Pakhtun nation.

Some of the participants were repeatedly linking the issue with the Russian invasion of Afghanistan stating that at that time the same people, who had now been held responsible for Talibanisation, were encouraged and their services were highly eulogised. One of them questioned: "How the acts justified at that time could now be termed un-Islamic and illegal?"

A participant from Bajaur Agency pointed out that the nationalist forces had termed the war against the Russians not a holy war and time had now proved that they were right. He believed that in Pukhtoonkhwa (NWFP) power was deliberately given to the alliance of religious parties in the 2002 general elections by the intelligence agencies as the government wanted to give a message to the world that the Pakhtuns were extremists and fundamentalists. "Whatever is going on in this province, the MMA is equally responsible for that," he maintained.

A representative of JUI (F), Abdul Jalil Jan disputed the claims of some of the participants regarding Talibanisation. He said that on both sides of the Durand Line, Pakhtuns have been suffering and when they have been defending their motherland against the American aggressors, Western powers give it the name of Talibanisation. He posed a question; "When someone attacks my house and disgraces our females and I retaliate in self defence why I should be called a Talib?"

He supported the theory that due to flawed policies of the federal government there was growing disenchantment among the people resulting in extremism.

Third Session:

The State of Civil and Political Rights in NWFP and FATA

The moderator of the session, Amjad Nazeer from Sungi Development Foundation, introduced the topic and requested the participants to focus on the human rights violations and how the state of insecurity is affecting the ordinary people in NWFP and FATA. He also posed the question how the constitutional status especially of FATA can be improved in order to ensure the implementation of fundamental human rights and ensure peace in the area.

Kamran Arif, provincial vice president of HRCP (Peshawar), was the lead speaker on the topic. He mostly focused his presentation on the political and civil rights in FATA with special emphasis on the FCR and how it contributes towards negation of fundamental rights.

“Under the Constitution the inhabitants of tribal areas are citizens of Pakistan and the constitution has guaranteed them all the rights mentioned therein. The constitution empowers the high court to enforce the fundamental rights but its jurisdiction has not been extended to FATA,” Mr Arif stated.

Article 247 of the Constitution has ousted the jurisdiction of the superior courts in the tribal areas. Hence, the tribal people have same rights as the people of the settled areas but there is no mechanism to enforce these rights. The ouster of high court jurisdiction has turned these rights useless.

The constitution guarantees political rights, freedom of assembly and association, but neither a political party nor an NGO can be formed in FATA. All those benefits which flow from civil and political rights are not available to the tribal people.

Mr. Arif was of the opinion that FCR governed the life of the tribal population. “The only guiding principle of this law is that of ‘collective responsibility’ which empowers the administration to hold an entire tribe responsible for an act of an individual,” he said.

Elaborating the tribal administration set-up, he informed that there was concentration of power and authority of all laws revolving around the political agent. “The political agent is a collector under the Customs Act, he is a judge under the Criminal Procedure Code and he is also chief prosecutor. Due to the lack of high court jurisdiction there is no check on him regarding use of all these powers. He is the direct appointee of the governor”.

With regard to the political structure, he said that FATA people elect 12 members of the National Assembly and eight senators. These parliamentarians legislate for the rest of the country but

cannot make laws for their own areas. It is the prerogative of the President of Pakistan to extend a law to FATA under Article 247 of the Constitution or to issue any regulation in this regard.

Mr. Arif further added that as there is a very lucrative border trade going on, all sorts of mafias are well entrenched in the tribal areas. Mr. Arif was of the view that these mafias are not in favour of enforcement of fundamental rights and the introduction of the regular legal system in FATA. The tribal areas have turned into greener pastures for the civil servants and due to the same reason they are in favour of maintaining the status quo.

He narrated various instances and ongoing conflicts between different groups which have resulted in curtailing the rights of individuals. More than 300 persons got killed in the conflict between two religious groups of Lashkar-e-Islami and Ansarul Islam in Khyber Agency, for instance. Both groups have been running their respective FM radio stations and propagating against each other.

Giving a bleak picture of the overall situation, Mr Arif said that obscurantist forces had been coming forward and the very few development work being carried out in the FATA areas has also been affected. *Fatwas* (decrees) have regularly been issued by the same elements against the NGOs.

“The events going on in the tribal areas have a spill over effect and have crept into the settled districts, too. The militant groups threatening the entire country had originated first in the tribal areas. CDs and barber shops have been targeted by the militants on regular basis. In the tribal areas these things started on very low key and later on engulfed the entire area and the same situation has now emerged in some of the settled districts,” he maintained.

Mr. Arif suggested that the discussion should be centred on how different rights could be enforced in tribal areas like the right to fair trial, civil and criminal justice, etc. Political participation is the next important thing to discuss.

He put some other questions to the participants asking who could close down the illegal FM stations. He also pointed out the growing number of cases of “enforced disappearances” stating that people were generally picked by intelligence agencies and kept incommunicado. He questioned: why the courts are helpless in this regard?

He said that prior to partition of the Indian sub-continent, the NWFP and tribal areas were the most backwards areas and the situation has not changed much during the last 60 years of Pakistan history.

Discussion: Adding to the main presentation, Sailab Mehsud informed the participants that the people in Waziristan tribal agencies did not hate George Bush as much as they hate NGOs. He added that the situation was very complex.

Mr. Mehsud also pointed out another emerging situation, the anti-social elements have now been joining the ranks of the Taliban and they got their own axe to grind. He added that people from 31 countries had been in Waziristan in the shape of militants, clerics, beggars, etc. He claimed that

more than 200 tribal influential had been killed in the ongoing spate of 'target killings' so that nobody could raise voice against the activities of the local taliban.

Some of the participants taking part in the discussion said that there were various ills in the tribal areas which were not because of 9/11 rather these were legacy of the colonial rulers like the black law of FCR.

Khalid Usman from Khwendo Kor, Bannu district, a non-governmental organization, was of the view that most of the violations of fundamental rights are due to the existence of the draconian law called the FCR. "FCR is an outdated and oppressive law and there is a dire need to change it. Poor people have been subjugated by the tribal administration under this law." He added that Taliban have enhanced their activities and they have regularly been hearing abduction of different persons by the local Taliban.

Similar to other participants, Sheikh Jan Bacha from Bajaur agency also reflected that the FCR had no relevance with the tribal people. "It is only a reminder of the black past of the colonial rulers. There is a need of drastic reforms in FATA."

The president, who is responsible to FATA, is not answerable to the people there. There is no mechanism of checks and balances in the tribal areas and the political agents have been functioning like uncrowned kings. There is no concept of freedom of speech, association and expression in the tribal areas.

Mukhtar Bacha disputed the entire operations conducted on the pretext of the 'War on Terror'. He put forward an argument that the Army and the ISI were in alliance with each other and their agenda was different. They are interested to grab money from the West and in this pursuit they have been killing innocent people. He said that in some of the tribal areas violent incidences have occurred, which have nothing to do with the 'War on Terror', e.g. the clashes between two religious groups in Khyber Agency or the sectarian violence in Kurram Agency, but are associated with it.

Fourth Session:

An Analysis and Appraisal of Government Policies in NWFP and FATA

In the absence of the main speaker on this topic, Nazoora Ali from HRCP, Islamabad, set the stage for discussion by giving an overview of the hitherto government policies towards FATA while pointing out inherent contradictions. She stated that there was a need to discuss which policies are made in the name of peace and development and how much such policies are successful in achieving their goals. She put forward various questions to the participants: What are the factors responsible for non-implementation of these policies? Which hurdles or gaps have to be removed? What do we expect from the government?

Asad Afridi, advocate of the Tribal Political Movement (TPM) explained in detail different policies and so-called reforms introduced in FATA by the government. Following the occurrence of 9/11 the importance of FATA increased and some attention – though not in adequate manner – was paid to these areas by the US, EU and Musharraf's government. They claimed of starting development works there. In 2002 for the first time, the Musharraf government announced reforming the tribal areas and for that purpose the FATA Reforms Committee was constituted comprising various notables, tribal elders, lawyers and intellectuals.

Mr. Afridi informed that the said committee recommended large-scale reforms, but the report of that committee has never been implemented. This committee has suggested the establishment of agency councils to be headed by agency nazims out of the influence of the political agent. They also recommended reserving seats for females in these councils and drastic changes in the FCR specially giving the tribal people the right to appeal before an independent forum against orders of the administration.

Instead of implementing those recommendations, the government introduced non-elected agency councils three years ago and these, too, without any nazim. These councils have no proper structure and are powerless bodies. These bodies have their directorate in the FATA Civil Secretariat headed by a director. Till date, none of their meetings have taken place.

Another committee, the FCR Reforms Committee, was established which was headed by a former judge of the Supreme Court Justice, Mian Muhammad Ajmal. This committee was assigned the exclusive task of formulating a report including recommendations regarding the FCR. The committee also included some journalists and lawyers.

Mr. Afridi pointed out that the committee members visited different agencies and sought opinion from tribal people. Millions of rupees were spent on activities of that committee and finally it presented its report to the governor more than a year ago. The recommendations of that committee have yet to be implemented.

He questioned the logic behind appointing an additional chief secretary for FATA in the FATA Civil Secretariat stating that such officials were always appointed for a province. "Scores of secretaries have been appointed in this secretariat, which is only a waste of money and time." In the new system of administration the coordination between FATA and the NWFP has ended as the provincial home secretary is no longer responsible for the security in FATA and the tribal agencies has got its own secretary security. "This has created a mess and the government now, does not know how to control it."

Of late, he pointed out, General Musharraf has been saying two things: to strengthen the *maliks* as well as the *jirga*. He elaborated that these two tribal institutions had already failed to deliver and strengthening them is definitely not a solution to the problem.

Dr. Said Alam Mehsud of Pukhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP) emphasised the need for introducing elected agency councils to which the political agent should be subservient. He said that for centuries the tribal people had been living in peace and they could again live in peace. An elected *jirga* would help to resolve problems within the current problematic situation. He added that there should also be a joint FATA council of all the agencies having representatives of tribal people in it.

He disputed the opinion that the home department, police and judiciary had the capacity of functioning in the tribal areas, stating that when courts could not restore peace in Islamabad and the rest of the country, how they could do it in FATA.

Further elaborating his point, Dr. Mehsud said that the Pakistan Army has had a myopic vision vis-à-vis Afghanistan and in the name of the 'War on Terror' they have been spreading terror in Pukhtoonkhwa. "The Pakistan's foreign policy has been made by two Army Generals and the Parliament is subservient to them. The Prime Minister has no say in formulating or influencing the foreign policy."

It is necessary to isolate Army and ISI from politics, if we want to ascertain peace in this country. He added that the government should adopt a policy of equity towards all the nationalities existing in Pakistan.

Some of the participants criticised the devolution plan on the ground that this plan should have been evolved by the provinces keeping in view their own requirement instead of imposing the same from the centre.

Ismail Khan pointed out that part of the problem was dismantling of established institutions that served to coordinate between the tribal territories and the adjoining settled districts of the NWFP. Following the implementation of the so-called Devolution Plan there is now no link between the settled and tribal areas.

"A plan envisaged for the whole country, which failed to take into account the peculiar geographical situation of the NWFP, was implemented. Now there is no link-up between the province and the adjoining tribal areas."

The participants of the consultation unanimously condemned the contradictory policy by the Pakistani Government towards the FATA areas as well as Afghanistan. They emphasized the need for an independent foreign and domestic policy putting people's concerns and needs at the centre.

About the Organizers

ActionAid International Pakistan

Formed in 1972 ActionAid has been helping over 13 million of the world's poorest and most disadvantaged people in over 40 countries. ActionAid sees poverty as the denial of basic and fundamental rights of people. It believes that no intervention would be effective unless the power system that generates, reinforces, redistributes and ensures poverty is challenged.

Rights to End Poverty outlines the overarching mission and value of ActionAid International as it seeks to realize the vision of "a world without poverty". ActionAid focuses its policy and advocacy efforts around six rights-based themes: *Women's Rights*; *Right to Education*; *Right to Food*; *Right to human security in conflicts and emergencies*; *Right to dignity and life in face of HIV and AIDS*; and *Right to just and democratic governance*.

ActionAid is operating in Pakistan since 1992. Its partners range from small community support groups to national alliances and international networks. In Pakistan, it is owned by national affiliate working with people, communities, associates, and partners. Its scope of work and outreach make it country's leading civil society organization.

ActionAid Pakistan's (AAPk) three area offices in Lahore, Karachi and Peshawar and existing 28 Development Areas (DAs) cater to the essential needs of the communities in the areas of health, education, water, sanitation and community infrastructure. The country office at Islamabad extends technical input in the areas of development support training, advocacy and communications.

AAPk has been working on peace related issues since mid 2001, ranging from people to people contact between India and Pakistan, peace education for youth and teachers and now with the introduction of the new international theme of Human Security (in 2005), AAPk takes a people-centric approach and believes that every human being has the right to a life free from fear of violence and freedom from want.

AAPk recognizes that the individual activist in the context of the larger civil society can bring about change in society. While acknowledging that the process of development and change itself is conflictual, AAPk takes a transformatory approach to conflict, with the aim to prevent violent conflict and build sustainable peace with justice whereby the achievement of peace is not understood as an end in itself but rather as a continuous process.

Understanding the nature of the Balochistan crisis, AAPk has been continuously advocating for a political solution of the conflict. Since AAPk has a presence through its three DAs in Bolan,

Noshki and Loralai, it has successfully carried out a people centred advocacy campaign on the conflict at local, provincial and national level.

To know more about ActionAid Pakistan and the Human Security portfolio, please, log on to www3.actionaid.org/Pakistan or email to: mail.pakistan@actionaid.org

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

Founded in 1986, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) has developed into a broad-spectrum, countrywide human rights body. Nationally, the HRCP has established a leading role in throwing up a highly informed and independent voice in the struggle for human rights and democratic development in Pakistan. It is an independent, voluntary, non-political, non-profit making, non-governmental organisation, registered under the Societies Act (XXI of 1860), with its Secretariat in Lahore and Provincial chapters in Karachi, Peshawar and Quetta and supported by special task forces at Hyderabad and Multan. HRCP also runs a Centre for Democratic Development in Islamabad, and is supported by correspondents and activists across the country. Investigations into human rights violations of local nature are regularly carried out by district core groups and activists. It also issues an annual report on the state of human rights in the country, both in English and Urdu. Besides monitoring human rights violations and seeking redress through public campaigns, lobbying and intervention in courts, HRCP organises seminars, workshops and fact-finding missions.

While the human rights situation is not satisfactory in any part of Pakistan, the problems being faced by the people of Balochistan can be likened to the plight of tailenders in the canal system. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) has been taking various measures to apprise itself of the state of human rights in the province of Balochistan. Two fact-finding missions, led by chairperson Asma Jahangir, to Balochistan in December 2005 and January 2006 enabled HRCP to gain first-hand information about the human rights situation in areas of the province hit by conflict. The findings were detailed in a report, '*Conflict in Balochistan*', brought out in January 2006. HRCP maintains a comprehensive website www.hrcp-web.org and another website www.hrcpelectoralwatch.org on election data.

Sustainable Development Policy Institute

Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) is an independent non-profit public interest think tank that provides advice to public, private and voluntary organizations based on policy-oriented research and advocacy. SDPI is registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of the 1860 on 4th August 1992.

SDPI's goal is to catalyze the transition towards sustainable and just development in Pakistan and to serve as a source of expertise and advisory services for the government, private sector, and non-governmental initiatives. It also initiates, establishes and participates in collaborative advocacy and other activities with like-minded organizations in and outside the country.

SDPI's research program drives three main activities i-e policy advice, advocacy and training. SDPI defines sustainable development as the enhancement of peace, social justice and well being within and across generations. SDPI produces knowledge-knowledge that can enhance the capacity of government to make informed policy decisions and to engage civil society on issues of public interest.

As far as Balochistan crisis is concerned, SDPI has been raising and highlighting the issues of provincial autonomy, resource distribution, military operations and effects of ongoing conflict on the life of ordinary people through individual advocacy initiatives (mainly seminars) as well as through collaborative efforts to with other like-minded organisations. Details of some of the seminars are as follows; Seminar on "Balochistan Crises: War over resource rights for whom?"; Seminar on "Greater Provincial Autonomy?"; Seminar on "Provincial Autonomy"; Seminar on "Conflict Situation in Balochistan"; Seminar on "Assassination of Akbar Bugti: Implications for the National Unity?"; Seminar on "Balochistan Crisis: A Civil Society Perspective"; and Screening of documentary entitled "Negotiating at Gunpoint".

SDPI has also actively participated and contributed in various peaceful protest demonstrations, press conferences, walks, conferences organized in collaboration with other civil society organizations and networks.

SDPI can be reached at www.sdpi.org and contacted at main@sdpi.org

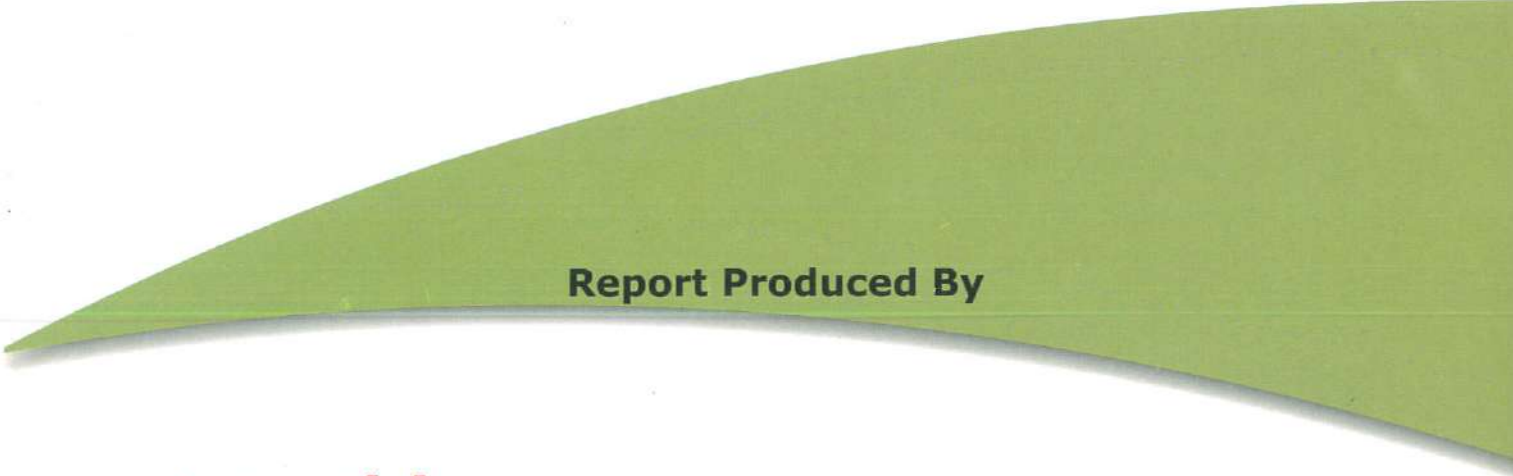
Sungi Development Foundation

Sungi Development Foundation was formed in 1989 as a non-profit, nongovernmental organization. Contemporary Sungi is a leading public interest civil society organization working towards improving the quality of life of the poor in Pakistan, especially marginalized and deprived groups. Sungi believes in 'rights-based participatory development' based on the premise of good governance and democratization through a decentralized and bottom-up planning and implementation approach. In order to advocate for and promote rights based development Sungi works both at the policy and practice levels.

With an extensive experience in problem identification, planning and implementation at grassroots level and promoting community based disaster management system; Sungi implements an integrated multi-sectoral program. It has a decentralized structure with five zonal offices taking care of effective implementation of the program.

An Oxfam International Contingency Plan partner, Sungi works in eight districts of NWFP and Punjab province in partnership with more than 700 community based organizations.

For detailed activities of Sungi visit their website at www.sungi.org



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