Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS)

# Contents

# Abstracts

## Taliban on the March: Threat Assessment and Security Implications for the Region

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Since 1996, the Taliban militancy has been proliferating on both sides of Pakistan-Afghanistan border at strategic, operational and tactical levels. The Taliban are not only propagating their own version of Islam through diversified tactics but also expanding and consolidating their areas of influence. At the same time they are maneuvering small local militant groups and individuals in pursuit of their agenda. They have not been defeated in Afghanistan so far, nor has the Pakistani government managed to stem their growth and consolidation in its tribal areas and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). Meanwhile, Taliban groups have multiplied, expanded and set trends for other militant groups to follow, inflating the risk matrix for the entire region. Having links with jihadist groups and Al-Qaeda, on ideological and operational levels, the Taliban present a bleak security scenario for the entire region, particularly Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, China, India and Central Asian States.

## Radicalization and De-Radicalization in Singapore and Pakistan: A Comparison

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The term radicalism began to be used for rightwing ideas and movements after the Iranian Revolution of 1979 presented a model of mass uprising against dictatorship that was laced with a medieval ideology. After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, leftwing radicalism greatly weakened as a world force. Thereafter, Islamism in its different sectarian garbs and regional manifestations became synonymous with radicalism. While discussing the root causes and ideologies of Islamism, this paper attempts to compare the historical context and different approaches to radicalization and de-radicalization in two countries—Singapore and Pakistan. The tiny city state in Southeast Asia and the second largest country in South Asia have many parallels and differences in their respective manifestations and approaches

towards radicalization and de-radicalization. The comparison provides candid examples on how a nation-state could be guided by short-sighted political forces into chaos. Pakistan, a country that had a visionary beginning under the leadership of Jinnah, could learn from Singapore in balancing the freedom of religion with restraints on the misuse of religion to sow discord among different religious and cultural communities.

# Taliban on the March: Threat Assessment and Security Implications for the Region

*Safdar Sial*

### Introduction

Surfacing in Afghanistan as a group when they captured Kandahar in 1994, the Taliban—students of religious seminaries, mostly from Afghan refugee camps inside Pakistan—were not a completely nascent phenomenon for the world at the time. Neither were their religio-political mentors a surprise, nor their *jihad* roots untraceable. They had been a key part of the anti-Soviet *jihad* in Afghanistan backed by the US and Pakistan. The Afghan war had already put many of the students in seminaries along Pak-Afghan border, and some from as far as Karachi, out of place, not only geographically between the two countries but also psychologically from studentship to *jihad*.

The Taliban had emerged with an agenda—to restore peace and provide justice to the people of Afghanistan in accordance with Islamic law (*Shariah*) when Afghanistan was embroiled in ethnic chaos after the Soviet withdrawal. Tired of war, the people of Afghanistan did not have many options to choose from, in the quest for peace and tranquility. Being Pashtuns and belonging to religious seminaries, the Taliban did not take much time to win support of their ethnic community in Afghanistan, mostly along the Pak-Afghan border areas.

During the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the mujahideen were encouraged to establish their base camps in these bordering areas. Abdullah Azzam had then established his Maktab ul-Khidmat (Services Bureau) in Peshawar and Osama bin Laden's Masjida tul-Ansar was located in Kurram Agency in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Centers of Ittehad-e-Islami Afghanistan were situated close to Jaji Cantonment of Alikhel, around 10km from the border with Pakistan. Hizb-e-Islami, Jamiat-e-Islami and Hizb-e-Islami (Khalis) also established their training centers in this area. Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) militants from Miranshah, headquarters of North Waziristan Agency in FATA, used to cross Ghulam Shah check-post to enter Afghanistan. They used to report at Chochi, one of the training camps established by Jalaluddin Haqqani.[1]

Religious seminaries played a key role in the recruitment and training of these mujahideen. This trend continued after the disintegration of the Soviet

Union and students from religious seminaries, particularly in Pakistan's tribal areas and the NWFP kept adding to the Taliban's strength. Osama bin Laden had donated a lot of funds for this purpose whereas Jalaluddin Haqqani and Fazl-ur-Rehman Khalil's Harkatul Mujahideen took the responsibility to train the new recruits from Pakistan on a short-term basis.[2]

The 9/11 attacks in the US once again brought Afghanistan into limelight where the Taliban had consolidated their position and allegedly provided shelter to Al-Qaeda militants. When the Taliban—following the US invasion of Afghanistan—felt that they could not survive the heavy US air strikes, most of them looked to Pakistan's western border areas for refuge and establishing base camps to continue *jihad*. After noticing this danger, Pakistan constructed 186 regular army posts along Pak-Afghan border.[3] At the same time, the Pakistani government was trying to convince the tribes on its side of the border against providing refuge to the Taliban and other 'mujahideen' but the tribal people defied the state and supported the Afghan Taliban on the basis of ethnic and religious affinity.

The Pakistani government could not stop the continuity in strengthening and expanding network of the Taliban in FATA and the NWFP despite its continuous efforts, through peace deals and security operations. At times both options were exercised simultaneously. Haqqani Madrassa, base camp of Jalaluddin Haqqani, in Miranshah was sealed in November 2001 soon after US attack on Afghanistan, but Haqqani's network is still operational and has remained a prime target of cross-border US drone attacks for providing human resource support to the Afghan Taliban. The 'military' wing of Haqqani's network is currently being headed by two of Jalaluddin Haqqani's sons, Nasir ud-Din Haqqani and Badr ud-Din Haqqani, whereas another son, Siraj ud-Din Haqqani alias *Khalifa Ji,* is leading the overall network.[4] Taliban groups have, in fact, multiplied in Pakistan over seven years. More than 40 Taliban groups from the tribal areas and the NWFP joined hands under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud in December 2007 to form the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) with the agenda to liberate Afghanistan from foreign forces, target Pakistani security forces and pursue 'Talibanization' in Pakistan, particularly in the tribal agencies of FATA, and the NWFP. Having close links with Al-Qaeda, the TTP has been extensively brutal towards local tribesmen, political leaders and Pakistani forces. The TTP has targeted even the Taliban and militant groups that did not join their cause in fighting against the Pakistani security forces. As a response to TTP atrocities, another major Taliban alliance, Muqami Tehreek-e-Taliban or Waziri Alliance, came into existence in June 2008. Comprising 14 Taliban groups, it is led by Maulvi Nazir and Commander Gul Bahadur. In the seven tribal agencies of FATA and some regions of the NWFP, the total number of militants associated with

Taliban groups is believed to be more than 120,000. The figure does not include Taliban militants present in various districts of the NWFP, the Pashtun belt of Balochistan and urban Sindh. This suggests that the number of the Pakistani Taliban is not less than that of the Afghan Taliban and it is estimated that there are over 200,000 Taliban militants across the Durand Line.[5]

At the same time, the Afghan Taliban have increased their attacks and expanded their areas of influence inside Afghanistan, particularly in the Pashtun-dominated south and east. Britain's top military commander, Brigadier Mark Carleton-Smith is of the view that any clear victory for the allied forces in Afghanistan would be impossible. He says that the "Britons should prepare for a possible deal with the Taliban." General David Petraeus, head of the US Central Command, also does not see an early end to the war in Afghanistan. He says, "One should be prepared for a long drawn out war against terrorism in Afghanistan."[6] Indeed, since 2006 the Taliban have become more active on the operational front in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. They are on the offensive now.

## Pashtun Ethnic and Religious Ethos as Taliban's Support Base

People living along the Durand Line on the Pakistani side have always remained susceptible to the effects of events in Afghanistan, mainly due to the fact that the people on both sides of the border share the same ethnicity and religion.[7] Pashtun tribes on both sides of the border mostly share a common religious sect, Sunni or *Hanafi* Islam.

Pashtuns constitute the majority of Afghanistan's population. They are spread in southeastern Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan as well. FATA's seven tribal agencies—Khyber, Kurram, Orakzai, Mohmand, Bajaur, and North and South Waziristan—are populated with more than three million Pashtun tribesmen, adding to the 28 million Pashtuns who live in the settled areas of Pakistan and the 15 million in Afghanistan. The tribes on both sides of the border engage in intermarriages, trade and, sometimes feud too, with one another. They all adhere to *Pashtunwali*, the tribal code of honor and behavior.[8]

Several Pashtun tribes are known to have moved from Afghanistan to the areas that now constitute Pakistan between the 13th and 16th centuries.[9] Living on both sides of the Durand Line, they have kept their way of life and tribal system intact over the centuries in spite of the pressures from Indian and Central Asian empires.[10] In Afghanistan and Pakistan, where tribal law still has the final say in their day-to-day affairs, the political borders have

assumed little significance for the people of the same tribes living on either side of the border.

The present state of Afghanistan arose from the Pashtun tribes at a historical juncture when the Mughals in India, the Safavids in Iran, and the Uzbek kingdom in Central Asia were all in decline due to political turmoil and civil wars. At that time, the words Afghan and Pashtun were used interchangeably, and the Pashtun were seen as the only true Afghans. In 1747, all the Ghilzai Pashtun tribes held a nine-day *Loya Jirga* (grand meeting), in Kandahar, ultimately choosing Ahmed Shah Abdali as their king. Ahmed Shah, who changed his last name and that of his dynasty to Durrani, became the father of the Afghan nation. The Durranis moved the capital from Kandahar to Kabul in 1772 and conquered northern Afghanistan, incorporating other ethnic groups into the Afghan nation. Disputes and rivalries between the Ghilzais and the Durranis, and between Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns continued in the next two centuries.[11]

The present day cross-border support for the Taliban is not the first case where the Pashtuns from the Pakistani side of the border going to help their Pashtun brethren in Afghanistan or vice versa. They had acted in a similar manner against British and Central Asian empires. Nadir Khan—king of Afghanistan from 1929 until his assassination in 1933—was supported by Pashtun tribes across the Durand Line in his fight against Habibullah Kalakani, known as Bachai Saqao (son of the water-carrier), in 1929. Historical evidence also suggests that Waziristan has had a special place in Pashtun community, uniting and joining their 'Afghan brethren' in Afghanistan throughout history.

It was again the same ethnic and religious ethos which made the Pashtuns on both sides of the border fight side-by-side against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Apprehending that Marxism and secularism would place Islamic and its traditional values and practices in jeopardy, Pashtuns across Pak-Afghan border took it upon themselves to fight for the cause of Islam and preservation of their religion and culture. Starting in the northern areas of Afghanistan, the *jihad* against the Soviets soon became a widespread movement. Afghanistan's Pashtun groups were vehemently supported by the Pashtuns in Pakistan.

The Taliban's initial success also rested mainly on these two basic ingredients of support: Element of Pashtun ethnicity Pashtun ethnic and pro religious ethos. They had the advantage of a shared language, Pashtun human resource, *Hanafi* Islam, sympathies of fundamentalists, and well-established financial and educational institutions.[12]

In addition to the popular perception of the Taliban as a religious movement driven by the zeal of Islamic fundamentalism, the ethnic undertones of the movement cannot be dismissed as irrelevant to the analysis of its social support base. For the ethnic minorities, the Taliban was both a symbol of Islamic conservatism as well as a reflection of Pashtun ethnic chauvinism that aimed at recapturing political power and reaching its dominance.[13] This belief is amplified by the reports to the effect that in taking over Mazar-e-Sharif, the Taliban evidently showed a sectarian twist.[14] Hazara and Shia community did not feel at home in Afghanistan during the Taliban rule. Hundreds of thousands of people were internally displaced or fled the country to become refugees as a result of the Taliban's rigid policy on ethnic communities. Thousands of people were reportedly kept under captivity for months on the basis of ethnicity alone. Among these were around 2,000 Tajik and Hazara men who were taken from their houses in Kabul and held in various jails, including the notorious Pul-e-Charkhi prison in Kabul.[15] Ethnic rivalries between Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns that had remained dormant during the war against the Soviets erupted again after Soviet troops' withdrawal.[16] The Taliban had now become a new symbol of Pashtun ethnic and religious ethos.

**Taliban Frontiers**

Post-Soviet Afghanistan was destruction incarnate when it went through a civil war for five years, from 1992 to 1997. The Taliban emerged as a direct consequence of this civil war when warlords were trying to establish their own fiefdoms across the country. Frustrated young men who had fought against the Soviets and then returned to madrassas in Pakistan to resume their religious studies or to their villages in Afghanistan gathered around their elders demanding action. Under the leadership of Mullah Omer they chalked out a minimum agenda: to restore peace, disarm the population, enforce *Shariah* law, and defend Islam in Afghanistan. The Taliban soon organized themselves into a successful military force, seizing Kandahar in the winter of 1994 and then rapidly spreading north and west, capturing Herat in 1995 and Kabul in 1996.[17]

This encouraged an influx of foreign Islamic militants from Arab and Central Asian countries into Afghanistan, and Taliban's Pakistani fellows and supporters already knew no borders. The support of the religious groups was not confined to the *Deobandis* or major factions of the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) but went beyond. Most of the religious groups and parties in Pakistan, usually those with roots in the madrassa networks, extended full support to the Taliban, from their very rise to their control of Kabul and territories beyond the Hindu Kush mountains, when they confronted their ethnic rivals in the northern part of the country. The support ranged from food supplies to

money. Young fighters were motivated to fight against Muslims belonging to ethnic minorities of Afghanistan believing they were fulfilling a religious responsibility of *jihad* or holy war against the "infidels". Thousands of Arabs, along with Chechens and Uzbeks, were also part of the Taliban support base.[18]

The Taliban's initially set agenda was expanded by their political and religious mentors. They were increasingly coming under the influence of global *jihadi* network Al-Qaeda, which had a strong desire to keep the Taliban isolated from the world, but too dependent on its financial and logistic support base as a means of tactic and strategy. Between 1996 and 2001, Al-Qaeda trained an estimated 30,000 militants from around the world in Afghanistan.[19]

Many of the Taliban fighters had personal and institutional links with some, if not most, Pakistani sectarian terrorists who had got refuge in Afghanistan. They had a mutual support system and strategic ties that were forged during the anti-Soviet resistance and during their common training in some of the madrassas in Pakistan. A common religious ethos, socialization in the madrassas, an identical worldview, and similar approach to social and political issues in their respective societies helped forge the ties that have survived even after the ouster of the Taliban from power.[20]

However, this phenomenon did not take long. After the fall of the Taliban regime in Kabul, their only option was either to relocate to far-flung areas of Afghanistan or to move their support bases into Pakistan. For two long years, from January 2002 until the spring of 2004, the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and Central Asian militants continued pouring into Pakistan's tribal areas, mostly into South Waziristan. Pakistani intelligence agencies believe that two assassination attempts on former president Pervez Musharraf in 2003 had been planned in South Waziristan. In March 2004, Pakistan Army launched a security operation in these areas. According to official sources, 46 soldiers lost their lives, while 63 militants were killed and another 166 captured in the operation.[21] The Wazir militants emerged as heroes after the operation, and their leader Nek Mohammad became an icon. He had fought with the Taliban in Afghanistan and then made his mark by helping Al-Qaeda leaders escape from the Tora Bora cave complex. A few weeks later he provided an escort for Mullah Dadullah, who arrived from Quetta to reorganize the Taliban in South Waziristan.

In an effort to re-establish the Taliban regime that existed in Afghanistan before the US attack, the Pakistani Taliban used multiple tactics for managing local support and operational capabilities in South and North Waziristan. The Pakistani Taliban occupied one tribal agency after another, moving from

South and North Waziristan to Bajaur and Mohmand. Each and every offensive by the army led them to find new territory to occupy and spread their ideology.

The government reached another agreement with Taliban militants in North Waziristan on September 5, 2006. Although the militants agreed in the new deal not to launch attacks across the border into Afghanistan, Pakistan had no means to challenge or punish the Taliban when they continued their attacks across the Durand Line. The other prime target of the Taliban was the Pakistani security forces. FATA had by then become center of the Taliban militancy, providing training and human resource for the insurgency in Afghanistan and expanding Talibanization to the NWFP.

The Taliban rule in Afghanistan had, indeed, been a strong appeal for fellow madrassa students, militants and supporters on the Pakistani side of the border. Their copycat act in Pakistan had started just two years after the Taliban captured Kabul. Mullah Muhammad Rahim formed the first Tehreek-e-Taliban in Orakzai Agency in FATA in 1998 on the pattern of the Taliban in Afghanistan.[22] Instantly after its inception, the Tehreek banned TV, VCR and music in the agency. On 13 December 1998, its '*Shariah* court' publicly executed a man accused of a murder. The Tehreek-e-Taliban leaders had soon managed to spread the movement into 18 tribes in Orakzai Agency and also to some semi-tribal areas.[23]

But until 2001 the Taliban on both sides of the border focused mainly on Afghanistan, the center of their "Islamic caliphate". The Afghan Taliban had a strong support base in Pakistan's tribal areas, which provided the human resource for their fight, first against non-Pashtun warlords and then against the US forces. If one looks at the composition of the major Pakistani Taliban groups in FATA, it is clear that most Taliban leaders, including Nek Mohammad, Abdullah Mehsud, Baitullah Mehsud, Maulvi Faqir, Gul Bahadur and Mullah Nazir, among others, had been affiliated with the Afghan Taliban even before the September 11 attacks in the US.

## Security Implications

The Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan today pose the greatest threat, not only to these two countries but also to the whole region, if not to the entire world. Already struggling for stability, security and peace, Afghanistan cannot afford to sink further into war. Pakistan also cannot afford a volatile security situation. But ground reality indications are undesirable. Neither NATO-US forces have been able to dilute the threat of the Taliban, nor the Afghan security establishment has been capable of securing the law and order situation in the country. Social security in Afghanistan is decaying day-by-day, providing more space to Taliban militants. The situation in Pakistan has

become even more disturbing where the Taliban have been able to expand and consolidate their strength. They have successfully multiplied their human resource, strengthened their infrastructure, deterred the people and demoralized the Pakistani security forces across the tribal belt and the NWFP.

The rising Taliban threat in both countries can be analyzed at three levels; strategic, operational and tactical. Be it in Pakistan or in Afghanistan, the Taliban have proved resolute in pursuing their strategy and ideological propaganda. They have well-defined targets in both countries in pursuance of imposition of their "Islamic code of life". And they are trying to widen their ideological sphere by convincing the people in the name of religion and ethnicity, offering temptations and deterring them from siding with the 'enemy'. They are not willing to tolerate their perceived 'ideological enemies' which can be put into two broad categories: first, people following and supporting "un-Islamic practices," and secondly "infidels and friends of infidels." The former category includes a wide range of people and activities such as girls' education, women's movement and employment, music and video shops, barbershops and shaving of beards, mobile phone shops, Internet cafés, NGOs and Western concerns, etc. But the list does not end here. They define what is un-Islamic and punish the "culprits" on the spot. Besides pamphlets, leaflets, letters and phone calls, they have illegal FM radio channels and other outlets to propagate their ideology and terrify the people. Their enemies include the US, the West, and their allies—be it Pakistani and Afghan security forces or local/tribal people who support those pro-West and anti-Islamic elements.[24]

The Taliban on both sides of the border have remained very active on the propaganda and ideological fronts in the past four years. Tens of thousands of tapes and DVDs produced by the Taliban media outlets, *Ummat* (Nation) Productions and *Manbaaul-Jihad* (Origin of *Jihad*), were sold for a few pennies in the bazaars of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Meanwhile, starting in 2007, 151 audio and videotapes have been released by Osama bin Laden and other Al-Qaeda leaders so far.[25] In 2006 alone, the Afghan Taliban killed 85 teachers and students and burned down 187 schools, while another 350 schools were shut down in southern Afghanistan because of Taliban threats.[26] In the NWFP of Pakistan, the Taliban targeted as many as 111 girls' schools, six co-education and two boys' schools during 2008, mostly in Swat, Kohat, Peshawar and Dir. About a dozen schools were also targeted in Mohmand, Bajaur, Orakzai and Khyber tribal agencies in FATA. The Taliban destroyed more than 100 music, barber and mobile phone shops in the NWFP and FATA during 2008.[27]

At the same time, the Taliban have become operationally active in Afghanistan and Pakistan, particularly since 2006. Counterinsurgency

operations in Afghanistan and security operations in Pakistan have failed to deter them. The Taliban's recruitment, training and deployment facilities remain intact in both countries.

Between 2002 and 2005, the Taliban consolidated their power in four southern Afghan provinces. This was the time when Quetta link of the Taliban was not being monitored properly and the focus of security forces and law enforcement agencies was more on Pakistan's tribal areas. Over several days, starting May 18, 2006, the Taliban launched attacks in the four Afghan provinces, involving up to 1,000 fighters, storming towns within 25-minute drive from Kandahar city. Dadullah, the Taliban commander in the south, claimed he had control over 20 districts in the south and 12,000 armed Taliban.[28] They had by then started to establish a parallel government in the south. The Pashtun affinity and absence of justice and security helped the Taliban challenge the writ of the state.

Since 2006, suicide and conventional attacks by the Afghan Taliban have been widespread, with targets including key political figures. The Afghan police remained a prime target for the Taliban during 2007; some 900 policemen were killed.[29] Meanwhile, US military deaths in Afghanistan started to increase during and after 2005 and 468 US fatalities were reported in four years from 2005 to 2008, compared to 149 from 2002 to 2004.[30]

There was also a spike in the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) by the Taliban—from 530 such attacks in 2005 to 1,297 in 2006—a strategy which took NATO completely by surprise.[31] According to another report, there were 1,931 and 2,615 IED attacks in 2006 and 2007 respectively.[32]

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that the Taliban have regrouped and reorganized as a viable guerilla force in Afghanistan and in Pakistan. By 2006, potential suicide bombers traveling from Europe and North Africa to join Al-Qaeda operations in Iraq were increasingly being directed to Afghanistan. French intelligence monitored a new route for militants from North Africa that ended up in Peshawar.[33] Between 2001 and 2005, some 23 suicide attacks were reported in Afghanistan but the number rose in the subsequent years. There were 123 suicide attacks in 2006, 140 in 2007 and 84 in 2008 (*see* Chart 1).[34] Suicide attacks also increased in the NWFP and FATA region in Pakistan during and after 2007, with 42 and 48 suicide attacks reported in the two regions during 2007 and 2008 respectively.[35]
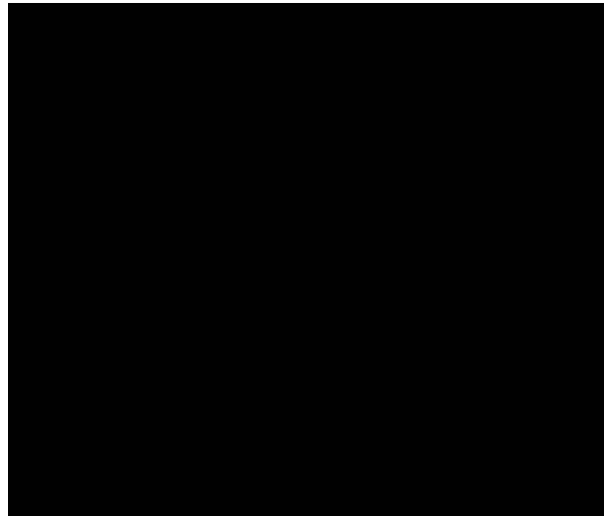
The Afghan Taliban brought the war into the heart of Western policymaking process when a group of suicide attackers stormed into Kabul's Serena Hotel on January 14, 2008, and killed six people, including a Norwegian journalist.

Such tactical successes emboldened the insurgents and further cowered the population.[36] The Taliban insurgency has indeed increased significantly in Afghanistan not only on the southern but also the central and northern fronts. This phenomenon is directly and indirectly increasing the human and material cost for US and NATO forces.

The expanding Taliban offensive and the inability of the Karzai government to provide peace to the Afghan people while winning their support , is adding to security deterioration in Afghanistan, which, coupled with civilian casualties in counterinsurgency attacks, is expanding the risk matrix of the country and the region at large.

Civilian casualties have posed a dilemma for the United States and its coalition partners in Afghanistan. On one hand, they want to win Afghan population's sympathies, and on the other, they cannot help but bomb the militant insurgent forces and their hideouts among civilian population. The bombings cause extensive civilian casualties which lead to increase hatred and to fuel feeling of vengeance among the general public against the US and it allied forces in Afghanistan. In total, 4,991 civilian fatalities were reported from 2006 to 2008.[37] The way the US approaches the Afghan problem and the events taking place in the country show that the war may continue for much longer than initially anticipated.[38]

According to a report by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), "children in Afghanistan suffer more than in any other country in the world from violence, war and poverty, and sometimes become suicide bombers."[39]

The overall casualty figures have also increased in the recent past in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, much more so in the latter. A comparison of casualties in Pakistan and Afghanistan during a period of six months, from August 2008 to January 2009, reveals that in total 5,408 people were killed and 5,383 injured in Pakistani tribal areas and NWFP whereas 2,529 people were killed and 1,193 injured in Afghanistan during the same period (*see* Chart 2).[40]

**Chart 2: Total Casualties (August '08 to Jan '09)**
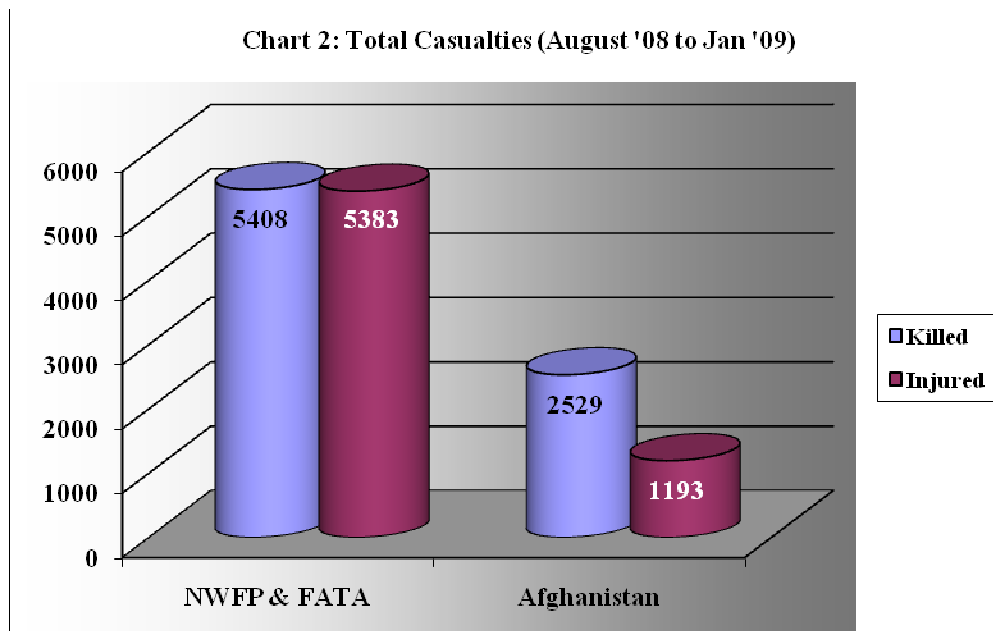
Militant activities of the Pakistani Taliban, which were confined to South and North Waziristan and Bajaur tribal regions until 2006, gradually spread to all seven tribal agencies of FATA, and to the NWFP's settled districts of Bannu, Kohat, Karak, Dera Ismail Khan, Dir, Lakki Marwat, Swat and Tank. As the year 2008 drew to a close, frequent Taliban attacks had spread to NWFP's capital Peshawar as well as to Charsadda, Shabqadar and Mardan.[41] In Swat, the government's writ had virtually ended when the government launched a military operation there in last week of April 2009. And more dangerous is the mushroom growth of Taliban groups in settled districts of NWFP. Every group is largely independent in operations, which makes it difficult for the government to identify and target them in its counter operations. Kohat and Swat are vivid examples for this situation. At the same time, the Taliban have

increasingly got involved in sectarian clashes in Kurram Agency, Hangu, and Dera Ismail Khan. Their old *jihad*i associates, Sipah-e-Sahaba and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, are part of their activities leading to sectarian violence.

The Taliban in the NWFP and FATA disrupt NATO supply lines to Afghanistan that pass through Pakistan. Repeated attacks in 2008 on parking terminals of companies which transport supplies to Afghan based NATO forces hinted at a change of tactics by the militants. These terminals were situated in the militancy-plagued suburbs of Peshawar and in the adjacent tribal regions. Sporadic attacks on trucks supplying fuel, food and equipment, etc. to coalition forces in Afghanistan via the historic Khyber Pass in Khyber Agency had been occurring for many years, but the first two weeks of December 2008 witnessed organized attacks on the parking terminals in Peshawar in which scores of trucks, other vehicles and supplies were torched.[42] In the last three or four months of 2008, the TTP militants established their base near Jamrud and after an armed clash with the Amr Bil Maroof militants ended the latter's practice of extorting money in exchange for protection from the contractor of the supplies. The TTP militants are stated to be behind most of the attacks targeting NATO supplies now.[43]

Pakistani Taliban groups provide opportunities to foreign and other terrorist groups in FATA and NWFP to expand their influence and training facilities across northern Pakistan. Baitullah Mehsud was in regular contact with Al-Qaeda, which increasingly seemed to be giving strategic direction to the Pakistani Taliban movement.[44] Militant group Jundullah, established in Pakistan on pattern of the Iran-based group of the same name, has also maintained close links with Al-Qaeda and the Taliban.

Beijing, too, has in most occasions expressed its concern on presence of Chinese Muslim separatists in Pakistan's tribal areas. Since the beginning of the war in Afghanistan in 2001, Chinese officials have at various times estimated that between 500 and 1,000 Uighurs were fighting alongside the Taliban.[45] Three hundred Uighurs Muslims from China's western province of Xinjiang were captured fighting alongside Taliban forces in Afghanistan, and hundreds more Chinese Muslim separatists remained in hiding in Afghanistan and Pakistan.[46]

The East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) and Tahir Yuldeshev's Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) have been associated with the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban, one way or the other, since the Soviet war in Afghanistan. Although IMU is an Uzbekistan-based militant group, during the Taliban regime in Afghanistan it was combined with Chechen, Tajik, Turkmen, Uighurs and Burmese groups because of their similar facial features, general outlook and food preference. The Taliban were very conscious about Central

Asian groups because of their ethnic and cultural bonds with Taliban's opponent Northern Alliance. To monitor their activities and ensuring loyalty, the Taliban had put all these groups under one formation and barred them from using their groups' identities. After 9/11 when these groups infiltrated into Pakistan's tribal areas, the same formation remained intact and they chose Tahir Yuldeshev as their Head. Since October 2007, there has been growing resentment against Uzbeks and other Central Asian militants, including Uighurs, in the Mirali area of North Waziristan Agency. It seems that the Central Asian militants—Uzbeks, Uighurs, Tajiks and Chechens—are trying to find new sanctuaries following their falling reputation with the North Waziristan tribes. Their attempts to move further north (Malakand, Bajaur, Mohmand and Darra Adamkhel), points to the fact that they want to remain closer to the Central Asian and Xinjiang borders.[47]

## Conclusion

Eight years after the war against the Taliban was launched in Afghanistan, the number and intensity of Taliban attacks, including suicide attacks, is increasing in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The number of civilian casualties in Taliban attacks and the 'war on terror' is on the rise since 2006 on both sides of border. As counter-terrorism strategies evolve, the Taliban are also changing their targets and tactics. The defensive war they started in 2001 has gradually transformed into a brutal offensive. The Afghan Taliban still remain a security threat for Afghanistan with their *Shura* still intact. They have increased their areas of influence in Afghanistan. Taliban leaders including Mullah Omer still remain at large and play an active role across Pak-Afghan border, not only in FATA but also in Balochistan.

The transnational milieu of the Taliban will go on expanding as the war along Pak-Afghan border spreads further. The Taliban's growing strength and weakening writ of the states on both sides of the border do not augur well for the region's and also the world's future. The militancy, which has been bleeding Pakistan and Afghanistan for several years, has the potential to spread across the region.

## Notes

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[4] Aqeel Yousufzai, *Talibanization* (Urdu), (Lahore: Nigarishat Publishers, 2009), p. 62.

[5] Ibid., p. 78.

[6] *Pajhwok,* Oct. 9, 2008.

[7] Ahmed N. Shinwari, *Understanding Fata*, 2008, p. 40.

[8] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, (London: Penguin Group, 2008), p. 268.

[9] J. M. Gohari, *The Taliban: Ascent to Power*, (Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 118.

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[11] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 7-8.

[12] Rasul Bakhsh Rais, *Recovering the Frontier State: War, Ethnicity, and State in Afghanistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 3 and 45.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Gohari, *The Taliban,* p.103.

[15] Ibid., p. 106.

[16] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 12.

[17] Ibid., p. 13.

[18] Rasul Bakhsh Rais, *Recovering the Frontier State,* p. 73.

[19] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 16.

[20] Rasul Bakhsh Rais, *Recovering the Frontier State,* p. 72-73.

[21] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 271.

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[22] Muhammad Amir Rana, *Gateway to Terrorism*, (London: New Millennium Publication, 2003), p.169.

[23] Monthly *Newsline* (Karachi), January 1999.

[24] Pro-government tribal elders and groups, government officials, foreigners, and even tribal people (termed as 'US spies') are some examples of such 'enemies'.

[25] Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, *The Washington Post*, February 15, 2009. Complete data is available at New America Foundation website: http://newamerica.net/publications/articles/2009/obamas_war_10845, retrieved on February 16, 2009.

[26] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 363.

[27] *Pakistan Security Report 2008,* (Islamabad: PIPS, 2009).

[28] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 359.

[29] Ibid.*,* p. 367.

[30] Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, *The Washington Post*, February 15, 2009.

[31] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 367.

[32] Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, *The Washington Post*, February 15, 2009.

[33] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 282.

[34] Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, *The Washington Post*, February 15, 2009.

[35] The statistics are based on Pak Institute for Peace Studies' (PIPS) annual security reports for 2007 and 2008.

[36] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 398.

[37] Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, *The Washington Post*, February 15, 2009.

[38] Adil Zareef, "The time for peace is now," *Dawn,* July 28, 2008.

[39] *The Frontier Post* (Peshawar), July 06, 2008.

[40] Statistics and information on Afghanistan are based on *Pajhwok* reports using the newspaper's archives available at http://www.pajhwok.com. Casualties in Pakistan's tribal areas and NWFP have been calculated by using the database and archives of the Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), Islamabad. The casualties include those of militants, civilians and the security forces' personnel in terrorist and counter-terrorist attacks/clashes.

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[41] *Pakistan Security Report 2008*.

[42] There were 19 such attacks in December 2008 alone. (Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann).

[43] *Pakistan Security Report 2008*.

[44] Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*, p. 386.

[45] Elisabeth Rosenthal, *New York Times,* January 22, 2002.

[46]Erik Eckholm, *New York Times,* May 28, 2002.

[47] Muhammad Amir Rana, interviewed by the author, Islamabad, January 2009.

# Radicalization and De-Radicalization in Singapore and Pakistan: A Comparison

*Ishtiaq Ahmed*

The upsurge of politicized religion and the concomitant salience of violence and terrorism have caused considerable anxiety all over the world. The common term being used to describe such phenomena is radicalization. The US-based Foundation for Defense of Democracies has a major project on terrorism and radicalization to study the emergence of "homegrown" terrorists among Muslims settled in the West.[1] The International Security Network at the Swiss Center for Security Studies also has a project on radicalization.[2] There are now several country-level institutes that network with international centers looking at extremism, violence and terrorism. Efforts to evolve de-radicalization strategies are also underway. Both Singapore, a tiny city-state in South East Asia, and Pakistan, the second most powerful nation in South Asia, have had to deal with radicalization though in vastly different contexts. Therefore, there is keen interest in both countries to understand radicalization and develop strategies and public policies that can bring about de-radicalization at the individual as well as collective levels.

Given the worldwide interest and concern over radicalization, it is important to elucidate the term radicalization and make explicit its connection to extremism and terrorism. The dictionary meaning of radical is simply "going back to the roots". As such it is a neutral term, and divested of political and ideological baggage it simply means the application of a principle or procedure in a specific situation with a view to achieving its original or proper state. Radicalization is, therefore, a process through which the movement towards the pristine takes place.

One can think of radical education as a commitment to education that considers the existence of illiteracy a negation of its meaning. Therefore, removal of illiteracy through free and compulsory education for all, including special classes for elders, may be a form of radicalization that many people would welcome. Similarly, a radical approach on social justice through constitutional means and the rule of law could mean a movement to establish a welfare state. More examples can be given. It is possible that purely religious radicalization may mean nothing more than the believers of a religion beginning to observe their religious duties strictly in accordance with some core ideas. As long as such radicalization is peaceful and does not harm others, a case for accepting such religious radicalization can be made. However, if the radicalization of religion entails politicization of it, so that it

becomes part of a power contest and evolves as an ideology that is intolerant of outsiders and of dissenters from within, then it forfeits its claims to being purely a spiritual transformation concerned with metaphysical concerns and objectives. It has instead become an ideology concerned with the distribution of scarce resources, power and status on earth and may even make tall claims to rewards in the hereafter. Such radicalization calls for a rational critique of its consequences and outcomes.

In political usage, the terms radical and radicalization have been associated with ideas and movements seeking to supplant a corrupt and defiled status quo situation with a pure form of it. The range of radical political undertakings can be limited to some specific change within a system that remains more or less the same. Thus, for example, one can argue that the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 years is a radical reform meant to empower young people, but it is within the framework of a liberal, pluralist democracy. However, a radical political project can also be all-encompassing so that the aim is to effect fundamental and comprehensive transformation of existing conditions in a way that a veritable societal metamorphosis or revolution takes place.

Now, radicalism purported to effect fundamental change that transforms society and polity into some pristine form of these is proverbially fraught with dangers. It is more of a rule than an exception that radical ideologies and the revolutions they set in motion on both the left and right have ended up as utopian undertakings which in practice turn into their opposite—dystopias. The reason is that realizing some pure futuristic society (Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime) or an imagined original form of it in the past (Taliban regime in Afghanistan) invariably involves an oversimplification of the imagined pure form. Oversimplification is unavoidable both because ideologies by their very nature as guides to action reduce complex realities to a set of idealized depictions and, because, the information about the past is always limited and not entirely reliable. Futuristic projections very often tend to be mere speculation. Consequently zealots often use intimidation and force in order to extract compliance from the people. In the process brutalization of the people takes place; hence utopias turning into dystopias. Nevertheless, in some circumstances radical challenges to the status quo become inevitable because the status quo is grossly unjust or at least the people perceive it to be so.

Therefore, any de-radicalization project would entail preventing abuse of religious sentiments and beliefs by political entrepreneurs, lay or clerical, for advancing a political agenda that is a negation of the equal rights and status of citizens. The state has to act as protector of all citizens and a guarantor of the right of citizens to enjoy religious freedom individually and collectively.

One more aspect of political radicalism and radicalization needs to be noted with regard to its contemporaneous currency. Roughly during 1945-1979, when the Cold War was lashing worldwide radicalism was associated with socialist ideas and movements. It was a broad category that included anarchists, independent Marxists and orthodox Communists. Such radicals were considered foes of capitalism and bourgeois values and dangerous champions of mass power. In contrast the term reactionary was used to depict rightwing ideas and movements. Among reactionaries were included a broad assortment of ultra-conservatives and ultra-nationalists, racists and religious extremists. Reactionary ideas and movements were associated with elitism, hierarchy, a general contempt for the masses but not mob power and violence.

The term radicalism began to be used for rightwing ideas and movements after the Iranian Revolution of 1979 presented a peculiar model of revolution: a mass based movement against dictatorship but laced with a medieval ideology prescribing the supremacy of the clergy. In other words, it was a strange synthesis of popular upsurge that combined street power to establish a novel type of censorial quasi-democracy. After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, leftwing radicalism greatly weakened as a world force and thereafter Islamism in its different sectarian garbs and regional manifestations became synonymous with radicalism.

It is important for not only ethical but also analytical reasons to distinguish between Islamism and Islam. Islam as a religious system and a civilizational, cultural force contains multiple traditions and interpretations. Islamism simplifies Islam to a set of beliefs and practices which are patently anti-intellectual, anti-modern, anti-liberal, and anti-democratic. Thus, as a political ideology, Islamism—also known as Islamic fundamentalism, militant Islam, radical Islam and so on—generates a mindset that is invariably hostile to non-Muslims, deviant sects, women and liberal Muslims. Such a mindset translated into political actions tends to be violence-prone and can give impetus to terrorism. That is why an increasing resolve to defeat it is now growing all over the world, including Pakistan which has been the citadel of Islamism since at least the 1980s. It is in this ideational and political context that a comparison of radicalization and de-radicalization is attempted between the Singapore and post-Jinnah Pakistani approaches to such phenomena.

One can of course wonder if such a comparison is worthwhile in that the two countries are vastly different from each other. Singapore is a tiny city-state while Pakistan is a big state in terms of its territory and population. Moreover, while Muslims constitute a minority in Singapore in Pakistan they

are in overwhelming majority. Other differences can also be pointed out. The similarities are of course that both emerged as independent states from British colonial subjugation after the Second World War. Therefore, both have been exposed to the same type of constitutional procedures and practices. It will also be argued that both states began their journey as independent sovereign states with nationalist ideals that were very similar. It is, therefore, intriguing to find out how Singapore and Pakistan dealt with the challenges of radicalization and what measures, if any, have been taken for de-radicalization.

## 1. The Singapore Approach to Radicalization and De-Radicalization

The religious composition of the 4.8 million-strong Singapore population is currently as follows: 42.5% Buddhist, 14.9% Muslim, 14.6% Christian, 8.5% Taoist and 4% Hindu. However, 14.1 percent do not subscribe to any religion at all. In 1963, Singapore achieved independence from Britain and merged with Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak to form the federation of Malaysia. However, the merger proved unsuccessful, and Singapore seceded from Malaysia and became an independent, sovereign republic on August 9, 1965. The separation had partly been expedited by the 'race riots' of July and September 1964. The rioting took place between the Chinese and Malay Muslims. In total, 36 people were killed and 556 were wounded. About 3,000 people were arrested. Such an experience greatly troubled the Singapore political elite. Consequently, when Singapore became independent, the government was determined not to let such conflict take place again. The fact that Singapore was surrounded by two large Muslim-majority neighbours, Indonesia and Malaysia, meant that racial and religious violence could threaten Singapore's security in the external domain as well.[3]

This fact was firmly grasped by the President of the Singapore People's Action Party and the main leader of the freedom movement, Lee Kuan Yew, who served as prime minister for a very long period—from 1965 to 1990. He realized that Singapore had to be consolidated as a multi-racial and multi-religious state. At the same time, it was imperative that pluralism should be strictly monitored and regulated by the state. This perspective was translated over the years into effective public policy. In his opening speech to the Singapore Parliament on December 14, 1965, Lee remarked:[4]

> So it is that into the constitution of the Republic of Singapore will be built-in safeguards insofar as the human mind can devise whereby the conglomeration of numbers, of likeness—as a result of affinities of race or language or culture—shall never work to the detriment of those who, by the accident of history, find themselves in minority groups in Singapore… the individuals shall not be penalized or discriminated against by reasons of race, language or culture, but

also that their views should always be taken into consideration when formulating policies which affect their collective interests.

Consequently, the centrality of religion to the lives of Singaporeans was recognized by the state at the very outset and constitutional measures as well as public policy were generated to express Singapore's multi-religious and multi-ethnic character. In symbolic terms, this was reflected in the main religious festivals of the major communities in Singapore being declared public holidays. Such a pronunciation was consonant with the political tradition of South East and South Asia: that the state and government proclaim in an unambiguous manner the role of protector of all religious groups. To give it a modernist interpretation compatible with the political ethics of the 20th century, political governance was made manifestly secular, though the constitution did not as such mention secularism. One clear way of expressing this was that from the very beginning all the religious communities were represented in the Prime Minister's Cabinet. In religious and cultural matters, the state does not interfere with the beliefs of its citizens. What the state has done, instead, is to ensure that no religious community is involved in politics as a religious community.[5]

With regard to monitoring and regulating religious freedom, Singapore's policy was premised on a realist assumption that religious harmony cannot be taken for granted. It had to be maintained through a diverse range of government measures including pre-emptive measures to see to it that social cohesion and harmony are not jeopardized. In the 1980s, liberation theology that developed in Latin America and reached Singapore through some activists was considered problematic. In this regard, the government became especially concerned with the aggressive proselytizing activities of some Christian sects. Later, the growth of Islamist ideas and movements in South East Asia impelled the government to take concrete measures to prevent the radicalization of Singaporean politics and social interaction.[6]

### 1.1. Constitutional and Legal Provisions

More crucially, while the constitution provided for absolute religious freedom, including the right to convert to another religion, the government maintained an important distinction between belief and action. The position taken was that whereas beliefs pertaining to spiritual values and principles were to be enjoyed by all Singaporeans without interference by the state, the citizens were to be held accountable for their actions they may claim were inspired by their beliefs. Any action, including verbal action that undermined loyalty to the nation or sowed discord among the citizens could legitimately be prohibited. Therefore, the government asserted that it had a right to curtail and constrain religion-inspired actions that adversely affected the integrity

and security of the state and subverted peace and harmony among the various religious communities. In this regard, the activities of the Jehovah's Witnesses church were proscribed because it opposed its followers doing military service. The belief-action distinction was elucidated in the Court of Appeal verdict which stated:[7]

> It is therefore not illegal to profess the beliefs of Jehovah's Witness per se, nor is it an offence to be a Jehovah's Witness. A citizen's right to profess, practice or propagate his religious beliefs, even as Jehovah's Witness, has not been taken away. It is the manner of carrying out these activities that is circumscribed by the relevant orders.

In other words, the point established was that with regard to loyalty to the state and compliance with the duties the constitution demands of its citizens, religious belief could not be invoked to compromise that obligation. On the other hand, several measures were undertaken to ensure that religious freedom was not abused to preach hatred or incite violence against other religious and ethnic groups. Under the Sedition Act, it was clearly laid down that it was an offence 'to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between races or classes of the population of Singapore.' In 2005, three bloggers were convicted under the Sedition Act for posting anti-Muslim comments.[8]

The principle that communal harmony and peace was paramount and enjoyment of human rights can be qualified and restricted with a view to maintaining communal amity was extended even to free speech. In other words, free speech that subverted social peace and caused discord was an abuse of that right. Thus, *The Satanic Verses* by Salman Rushdie was banned because the book was considered scurrilous to Islam. The government also banned Martin Scorsese's *The Last Temptation of Christ.*

Such proactive monitoring of freedom of religion and expression has earned Singapore the reputation of an authoritarian regime, but the government has always defended its policies by arguing that the overall advantages from such regulation of freedoms has been greater than the disadvantages of selectively restricting some freedoms.

### 1.2. Nation-Building and Social Integration

The government realized that given the disparate religious composition of Singaporean society, it was vital that nation-building should seek to integrate the various communities through enlightened education. Initially, students were given the option to study one of the six main religions through specific courses, namely Bible Knowledge, Buddhist Studies, Confucian Ethics, Hindu Studies, Islamic Religious Knowledge, and Sikh Studies. However, the evidence coming in from the schools soon suggested that the religious

knowledge program was proving detrimental to ethnic relations. It was realized that such courses emphasized differences while inadvertently encouraging teachers and students to interact with members of their own faith or begin proselytizing others. On the whole, it tended to encourage a religious revival. Therefore, it was decided that government schools should not impart religious beliefs. The religious knowledge program was discontinued. The Civil and Moral Education program replaced it.[9]

### 1.3. Mixed Neighborhoods

Perhaps, the most progressive and enlightened innovation that the Singaporean state has devised is the policy that all government-built apartments should be ethnically and religiously mixed. Ninety-five percent of Singaporeans live in public housing built by the government, which are sold at subsidized rates to citizens and permanent residents. The distribution of these apartments in a particular constituency or precinct corresponds to the overall racial and religious ratio of the various communities in that particular constituency or precinct. The apartments can be sold by the owners, but the overall religious balance has to be maintained and so the sale can be restricted to a particular community. Considering that Singapore has very large number of immigrant workers and the various indigenous communities are so varied such policy has proved to be a most effective way of preventing ghettoization.

Since people of all communities and ethnic origins occupy the same space socially as well as share facilities that are on offer, they regularly interact and have to learn to accommodate differences and variations in culture. Such a milieu also helps to institutionalize regular interaction between the various groups through elected bodies that represent their common interests. Multiculturalism, thus, practically necessitates mutual acceptance and not just toleration of one another. Such pre-conditions for qualifying to live in government-built apartments have a benign effect on religious and ethnic identities and to a large extent cultural exclusiveness can be kept in check. What the government wants to avoid at all costs is the alienation and insulation of any religious group from the rest of society.

### 1.4. Other Integrative Measures

Besides mixed neighbourhoods, the government strongly recommends that all sport and cultural organizations have among their members, people from a mix of religions. The President of the Republic is advised by a body of lay and religious advisers on measures needed to enhance religious peace and harmony. Only very recently at the time of Baisakhi (an ancient harvest festival in the Punjab region), Singapore's President S. R. Nathan, was the chief guest of an all-day event organized by the Singapore Khalsa[10]

Association. This writer, who was also invited, was later informed that this is the standard practice. At such events, people from the other religious and cultures are also invited. The idea is that communities should interact regularly. The ties and networks thus established strengthen mutual respect for each other's festivals and religious sentiments.

## 1.5. Limited Application of Religious Law

Although public life in Singapore is regulated by secular laws, religious law applies to the personal affairs of members of the various communities. With regard to Muslims, marriage, divorce and inheritance are regulated by Sharia injunctions. However, neither polygamy nor child marriage is permitted. In adopting such policy, the government seeks advice from enlightened sections of the Muslim community, but the overall principle is that religious law should not adversely affect the status and rights of any section of a religious community.

With regard to the Malay Muslims, the government offers some extra benefits. They are entitled to state funding for building mosques, and pilgrims leaving for Hajj are also offered financial assistance. However, some cause for worry has been expressed by the increasingly isolationist tendencies among Malay Muslims. The religious revival all over the world means that communities turn inwards. This is seen as problematic by the government that constantly evolves cultural and educational inputs that seek to integrate the youths of different communities.

## 1.6. Specific Measures to Deal with Radicalization

On the whole, Singapore's approach to prevent radicalization of society is to actively engage with the religious communities, maintain close link with their organizations, and allow unrestricted religious freedom to them yet put limits to such freedom when national interest is adversely affected. In this connection, the government overruled the wearing of headscarves by minor Muslim girls in secular schools, asserting that all children must wear the same uniform and learn to mix with each other. However, at the university level, Muslim girls are free to wear the headscarf. The assumption is that as grownups they have consciously chosen to wear the headgear and, therefore, it is an expression of free choice by a person who has already been groomed to appreciate and internalize the Singaporean approach to multiculturalism.

On the other hand, all religious communities can establish schools for religious instruction and education. In such places even very young Muslim girls can wear headscarves if their parents so wish.

### 1.7. Curbing Radicalization by Restricting External Interference

Singapore has been particularly vigilant with regard to monitoring the activities of foreign missionary organizations and states. The general policy has been to not allow any foreign power to use Singapore's territory to spread extremist and seditious ideas. However, Islamist activities in Indonesia and Malaysia had been going on since the 1980s when some individuals from these and some other South-East Asian countries were drawn into the Afghan jihad.[11] Such a development also affected Singapore.

Thus, in spite of Singapore's even-handed treatment of all religious communities the contagion of Islamic radicalism even infected Singapore. To the great surprise and shock of the people of Singapore and their government, in 2001 a terrorist plot by the *Jemaah Islamiah* to slam seven explosive-laden trucks into various locations around the city-state was uncovered. Mas Selamat, an Indonesian-born Singaporean, accused of planning the attack was arrested. He escaped from detention on February 27, 2008, but was eventually recaptured in Johor Bahru, Malaysia, on April 1, 2009 by Malaysian authorities after a tip-off from Singapore.

On the whole, the government watches very closely the activities of foreign missions whose reputation for promoting radical ideas is well known. The state maintains a sophisticated system of intelligence gathering to ensure that radicalization of society in general or of sections of society does not take place.

## 2. The Pakistani Approach to Radicalization and De-Radicalization

Pakistan emerged as a Muslim-majority state on the Indian subcontinent when the British Empire ceased to exist and power was transferred to the modernist elite organized in the All-India Muslim League. The 1998 population census put Pakistan's population at 132 million. The Muslim component (Sunnis and Shias) was given as 96.28 percent; Christians 1.59 percent; Hindus 1.60 percent; scheduled castes 0.25 percent; Qadianis or Ahmadis 0.22 percent; and others 0.07 percent. The Sunni and Shia proportions of the Muslim population are not given. This has been the consistent standard policy over the years. According to the Demographic Research Institute of Karachi University the Shia were 12-15 percent of the population.[12] The online CIA World Factbook gives the estimated current population of Pakistan as over 172 million. With regard to the Muslims, Sunnis are estimated to be 77 percent and Shia 20 percent.

The claim to a separate state was premised on the argument that Indian Muslims constituted a separate nation, and not simply a minority community.

Such a basis of nationalism was not territorial but cultural or religious, and it is not surprising that among conservative Muslims it was understood that Pakistan will be a model Islamic state, though initially such a model emphasized social justice, equality and the rule of law. Later, it was hijacked by the Islamists whose interpretation of Islam was heavily impregnated with medieval standards of morality and punishments and rewards in the hereafter rather than a just and fair society on earth.

In any case, the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, propounded a vision of state and society which was identical to the one that inspired Lee Kuan Yew. It was eloquently portrayed on 11 August 1947 when Jinnah was elected as president of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly:[13]

> You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State…. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State… I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in due course Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

A clearer and more categorical commitment to a religiously neutral state cannot be imagined. Jinnah was unequivocally calling for a strict separation between private religious belief and the rights of citizens. He assured all Pakistanis full religious freedom. Any sincere reading of his speech leaves no doubt that he wanted to supplant Muslim nationalism with Pakistani nationalism as the basis of nation-building. His Pakistan was going to be multi-religious and with equal rights for all citizens irrespective of their caste, creed, sect or gender. Indeed Jinnah never used the word secular in his speech to describe his vision of the Pakistani state but any familiarity with political theory should leave no doubt that he was prescribing a secular-democratic state. Jinnah died on 11 September 1948. One can only speculate how he would have fared in the actual politics of Pakistan. It is, however, clear that he would not have favoured the creation of a theocratic Islamic state.

His immediate successors did not remain steadfast to secularism though they were not seeking to establish a dogmatic ideological Islamic state. In any event, notwithstanding the fact that during 1948-1977 the governments in Pakistan were formed by modernist Muslims for various opportunistic reasons and in a bid to sharply distinguish Pakistan from India they set in motion a process that over time assigned Islam a definitive role in politics. Thus the Objectives Resolution moved in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan on 7 March 1949 proclaimed the novel

idea that sovereignty over the entire universe belonged to God. Democracy was to be practised, but within 'Islamic limits'. The minorities were assured that their legitimate interests would be safeguarded and that provisions would be made for them in accordance with Islam freely to profess and practise their religions and cultures.[14] Such proclamations sounded pompous and decorative and were not meant to create a theocracy, because the modernists were not practising Muslims in the strict sense and they had been educated to believe that Islam and democracy were compatible.

Thus the first constitution of Pakistan adopted in 1956 declared that Pakistan will be a constitutional democracy. Simultaneously a commitment to bring all laws into conformity with Islam was laid down. Pakistan was described as an Islamic republic. The constitution could not be put into operation because the government was overthrown in a military coup in October 1958. The second constitution given in 1962 by General Mohammad Ayub Khan prescribed the presidential system of government and introduced guided, tiered democracy. It too reiterated the commitment to bring all laws in conformity with Islam.

The third constitution adopted by the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1973 again revived the parliamentary form of government. It went some steps further towards Islamization. Unlike the first two constitutions that only required the President of the republic to be a Muslim, the third required the Prime Minister to be a Muslim too. It further obliged both of them to take an oath testifying their belief in the finality of Prophet Muhammad. And, more importantly bringing all laws into conformity with Quran and Sunnah was again reiterated. In 1974, the elected members of the Pakistan National Assembly declared the controversial Ahmadiyya sect as non-Muslim. Such a ruling greatly accentuated the confessional nature of the Pakistani polity.

**2.1. Radicalization from Above**

Thus far, the constitutional process had made mainly token concessions to Islamism. However, things changed fundamentally when on July 5, 1977, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq captured power by overthrowing the elected but increasingly corrupt and authoritarian government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. No doubt General Zia inherited a long tradition of relying on Islam to define national identity and the rights of citizens, although the fundamental rights of Pakistani citizens had continued to be defined in general liberal terms, and mainly symbolic restrictions had been imposed on non-Muslims. The coming into power of General Zia meant a significant expansion in the role of dogmatic Islam in the polity. He visualised a social order in which all sectors of life including administration, judiciary, banking, trade, education, agriculture, industry and foreign affairs were regulated in accordance with

Islamic precepts. Thus began a radicalization of Pakistan in religious terms which was referred to as 'Islamization'. In 1979 Zia announced the imposition of the Hudood Ordinance, i.e. punishments believed to be laid down in the Quran for the offences of adultery (death by stoning), fornication (100 lashes), false accusation of adultery (80 lashes), drinking alcohol (80 lashes), theft (cutting off the right hand), highway robbery (when the offence is only robbery, cutting off hands and feet; for robbery with murder, death either by the sword or crucifixion).[15]

In 1980 the Islamic welfare tax, Zakat, began to be collected from Muslim citizens. However, the Shias refused to pay Zakat to what they alleged was a Sunni government. The government initially dismissed the Shia protest. It resulted in widespread agitation. Finally, they were exempted.[16] In 1984 a new law of evidence, the Qanoon-e-Shahadat Order was adopted which reduced the worth of the evidence give by a female witness in a court of law to half in value of a male witness. The same year many restrictions were imposed on the Ahmadiyya group. They were prohibited from using Islamic nomenclature in their religious and social activities.[17] In 1985, separate electorates—abolished in 1956—were reintroduced, whereby non-Muslims were to constitute a separate body of voters and thus entitled only to elect non-Muslim legislators to the various assemblies. Their right to take part in ordinary law making was severely restricted. In 1982 an ordinance on blasphemy was enforced which made any derogatory remark about Prophet Muhammad a serious crime. In 1986, capital punishment was declared as the maximum punishment for blasphemy.

Besides such measures, the educational system was revised along radical Islamist lines. Instead of the pupils being imparted civic ethics the textbooks inculcated fanatical ideas. The Pakistan military was projected as the guardian of Pakistan and the general emphasis was on an uncritical adulation of Muslim conquerors and a demeaning of other religious communities, especially Hindus.

A campaign to impose an Islamic code of behaviour on women was also introduced. In 1980 a circular was issued to all government offices that prescribed proper Muslim dress for female employees. Wearing of a *chador* (loose cloth covering head) was made obligatory. Ulema, notorious for their opposition to female equality and emancipation, were brought onto national television to justify their misogynist opinions.[18]

### 2.2. Oppression of Women, Non-Muslims and Deviant Sects

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) has been publishing in its annual reports many cases of gross miscarriage of justice since the Islamic

laws derived from medieval sources are incontrovertibly inimical to equal rights and status of women. Moreover, the radicalization of law and the state as a whole was interpreted by fanatics as condoning violent crimes against women by religious fanatics.[19] It has been virtually impossible to prove that a woman has been raped because the Islamic laws related to rape require that four pious Muslim males must testify that they saw the act of rape with their own eyes. Moreover, a marked proliferation of so-called honour killings of females suspected of unchaste conduct by relatives incensed by a narrow and rigid view of their womenfolk virtually being their chattels has taken place.[20]

The blasphemy law introduced by General Zia has resulted in many non-Muslims being charged with that crime. Although nobody has been hanged for such an offence, the ordeal of going through a trial in which the lower courts hand down capital punishment but superior courts either acquit the accused or reduce the punishment to imprisonment has been extremely traumatic. Such individuals have often been forced to seek asylum in the West. In some extreme cases the court procedure did not even begin as fanatics simply took the law in their own hands and killed the accused. It is doubtful if such fanatics were punished severely. Moreover, the HRCP annual statements include many cases of forced conversion of Hindus and Christians, especially young women. There have also been cases of attacks on churches and temples.[21]

Although sectarian tension and clashes between Sunnis and Shias have been a regular feature of South Asian society, it was not until General Zia came to power and introduced his Islamization policies for which the Shias openly began to defy the government. This problem came to the fore when the state began to collect the alms tax, Zakat, from all Muslims. The Shias refused to pay Zakat claiming they would not pay it to a Sunni state. These difficulties were compounded further when in the late 1980s powerful external actors began to cultivate their lobbies in Pakistan. Thus Saudi Arabia and Iran were believed to be sending large sums of money, books, leaflets, audio and video cassettes and other means to propagate their views in Pakistan. Such propaganda offensives were backed by the inflow of firearms and other weapons. Sunni and Shia militias began to menace and terrorize society. Consequently, assassinations of several rival Sunni and Shia ulema and regular gun battles and bomb explosions have taken place in Pakistan in recent years.[22]

### 2.3. Jihad

Radicalization of Pakistan received the strongest boost when the country joined the US-Saudi sponsored jihad against the Soviet Union when the latter marched into Afghanistan in 1979 to help bolster a Communist regime in that

country. Muslim warriors were brought to bases in northern Pakistan where they were indoctrinated into a fiercely militant jihad ideology. The University of Nebraska prepared illustrated textbooks that made violence in the name of jihad appear entertaining and worthwhile for pious Muslims. After the Soviet Union withdrew in 1989 the Pakistani militants began to promote jihad in Indian-administered Kashmir, and in Afghanistan the Pakistan military sought close relations with the fanatical Taliban who had come to power in 1996. The Taliban were committed to holy war.[23]

However, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 by Al Qaeda in the United States resulted in Pakistan being threatened with dire consequences by the Bush administration. The Pakistani president, General Pervez Musharraf, decided to join the "war on terror" rather than expose Pakistan to an American military assault. It meant providing intelligence about Al Qaeda operatives and curbing the Taliban in Pakistan. This greatly angered the Pakistani Islamists. The more extreme sections among them, including a group called the Pakistani Taliban who had links with the Afghan Taliban, embarked upon terrorism directed against Pakistan. It included bomb blasts, suicide bombings as well as assassination attempts on Musharraf and other senior generals.

Terrorism reached alarming proportions in 2007 when almost every week, sometimes several times in a week, suicide bombings wreaked havoc in Pakistan. The terrorists targeted mainly government, especially military personnel and installations but many civilians were also killed. In 2008 alone, 2,148 terrorist attacks took place. The deaths caused by such attacks were as high as 2,267 and 4,558 injured—a phenomenal increase of 746 percent from 2005. If the total deaths from various types of violent activities are counted the number goes up to 7,997 killed and 9,670 injured.[24] The very existence of Pakistan seemed to be in jeopardy. The election of a civilian government in February 2008 did not bring the terrorist attacks to an end. Pakistan has been facing scathing criticism from the United States, the European Union and indeed neighbouring states such as India and Afghanistan for allegedly not acting firmly enough to crush terrorism. There can be no denying that Islamist radicalism has had a most vitiating impact on Pakistan's social and political systems.[25] The ultimate factor that finally compelled Pakistan to act against the Islamists was the expanding Taliban writ from Swat into other parts of Pakistan. Concerted and resolute military action began from early spring 2009 and the operation has now been extended to South Waziristan where the Taliban and Al Qaeda are believed to be ensconced.

The Pakistan de-radicalization policy is, therefore, now beginning to take shape. It is clear that crushing the militants would be necessary, but it would not be sufficient to realize comprehensive de-radicalization. De-

radicalization must begin with the state being declared a protector of all Pakistani citizens and indeed all individuals living in or visiting Pakistan. As long as individuals respect Pakistan's sovereignty there is no reason to impose any curbs on them. Medieval Islamic laws are the main ideological bases for radicalization. They have to be repealed. Also, a thorough review of school textbooks must be undertaken with a view to producing enlightened citizens rather than soldiers for holy war. All this is possible if constitutional, legal, educational and cultural reforms are undertaken in light of the August 11, 1947 address by Jinnah to members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

## Conclusion

Both Singapore and Pakistan embarked on a journey as independent and sovereign nations, after British colonial rule withdrew from South East and South Asia. The leaders of both the countries bequeathed visions of state and society which were strikingly similar, in fact, identical. Whereas Singapore remained consistent and constant in the realization of the vision of a state with equal rights for all citizens, in Pakistan the governments that followed deviated from Jinnah's vision. Such deviations helped the Islamists gain influence and power in Pakistan. The radicalization of state and society that took place assumed violent forms as demonstrated above.

Pakistan has now begun to extricate itself from the extreme type of Islamism but de-radicalization would require much more than defeating the Taliban and other extremist outfits that abound in the country. It would mean resuscitation of constitutionalism, the rule of law and equal and inclusive citizenship. Of course military and other actions to crush terrorism should continue so that such a menace does not shatter the lives of ordinary people and threaten the existence of Pakistan as a modern, moderate nation. In this regard, Pakistan can learn from Singapore how to balance the freedom of religion with restraints on the misuse of religion to sow discord among different religious and cultural communities. Radicalization of religion in the form of an oppressive political ideology has no place in the 21st century. It represents a form of Third World cultural fascism and nothing more.

**Notes**

[1] http://www.defenddemocracy.org/index.php?option=com_content& view=article&id=515778&Itemid=343, accessed on 30 July 2009.

[2] http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/? ots591=4888CAA0-B3DB-1461-98B9-E20E7B9C13D4&lng=en&id=90477, accessed on 30 July 2009.

[3] Azhar Ibrahim, "Discourses on Islam in Southeast Asia and Their Impact on the Singapore Muslim Public" in Lai Ah Eng (ed.), *Religious Diversity in Singapore, (*Singapore*:* Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008), pp. 92-102.

[4] *Speech made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, when he moved the motion of Thanks to the Yang Di-Pertuan Negara, for his Policy Speech on the opening of Parliament on 14th December 1965*, http://stars.nhb.gov.sg/stars/public/ starsDetail.jsp?&chkDVD_id=20059&keyword=, pp. 41-2, accessed on 30 June 2009.

[5] Seong Chee Tham, "Religious Influences and Impulses impacting Singapore" in Lai Ah Eng (ed.), *Religious Diversity in Singapore,* p. 17.

[6] Eugene K. B Tan, "Keeping God in Place: The Management of Religion" in Lai Ah Eng (ed.), *Religious Diversity in Singapore,* p. 58.

[7] Ibid., p. 63.

[8] Ibid., p. 64.

[9] Ibid., pp. 71-2.

[10] Khalsa refers to the collective body of all baptized Sikhs.

[11] Azhar Ibrahim, "Discourses on Islam in Southeast Asia and Their Impact on the Singapore Muslim Public" in Lai Ah Eng (ed.), *Religious Diversity in Singapore,* pp. 83-102

[12] Ishtiaq Ahmed, *State, Nation and Ethnicity in Contemporary South Asia,* (London and New York: Pinter Publishers, 1998), p. 170.

[13] *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, Vol. II*, (Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1976), pp. 403-4.

[14] Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Concept of an Islamic State: An Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan,* (London: Frances Pinter, 1987). pp. 218-9.

[15] Ishtiaq Ahmed, "South Asia" in David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg (eds.), *Islam Outside the Arab World,* (Richmond: Curzon, 1999), p. 231.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., p. 235.

[18] Mumtaz, K. and F. Shaheed, *Women of Pakistan: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back*? (Lahore: Vanguard, 1987), pp. 77-96.

[19] Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, *State of Human Rights in 1997 through 2008*, (Lahore: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 1997 to 2009).

[20] Asma Jahangir and Hina Jilani, *The Hudood Ordinances: A Divine Sanction?* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003).

[21] Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'Globalisation and Human Rights in Pakistan' in *International Journal of Punjab Studies,* Vol. 9, No. 1, January-June, 2002), pp. 57-89; *State of Human Rights* 1997-2007.

[22] Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'South Asia' in David Westerlund and Ingvar Svanberg (eds.), *Islam Outside the Arab World*, ( Richmond: Curzon Press*,* 1999), pp. 232-33.

[23] Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban, Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

[24] Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, *Pakistan Security Report 2008*, (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, 2009), p. 3.

[25] Ishtiaq Ahmed, 'The Spectre of Islamic Fundamentalism over Pakistan (1947-2007)' in Rajshree Jetly (ed.), *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics*, (London, New York, New Delhi: Routedge, 2009), pp. 150-180.

**Report**

# Profiling the Violence in Karachi*

## Contents

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  contributed to this report.

## Editor's Note

*Karachi, a megacity of 15 million people, emerged as a locus of ethno-political and religious-sectarian violence in the last three decades in Pakistan. At the same time the jihadist networks and criminal syndicates with regional links shape the security threats' contours. According to Gizewski and Homer-Dixon:[1]*

*Violence in Karachi stems from a variety of factors that interact to magnify the impacts each might produce separately. Criminal elements exploit state weakness and societal conflicts to their advantage and import small arms that raise the ability of all contending parties to engage in violence. All the while, the social fabric and economy continue to erode, and state and social capacities to address the plethora of problems further diminish.*

*In view of its national and regional economic and strategic importance, there was a need for an in-depth study on the roots of violence, mapping the threat level, profiling the players and to look in its security, political and economic implications. No exaggeration to say that scattered data—mainly media reports and academic papers—is available on different aspects of the issue. Among them are some threat assessments by several international and regional institutes and academic theses by students of Universities in Karachi, which are lying idle in libraries. There, however, is little hope that those findings will be published, if at all.*

*The Pak Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS) took this task to collect and arrange data on the violent landscape of the city of Karachi in order to facilitate the researchers, experts, analysts, policy makers and media in a bid to further expand the knowledge base on the issue. Following is the first report on the players involved in the conflicts in Karachi. The profiles of the organizations are extracted from the open source arena—media and academic reports—and the fieldwork was done by a team of PIPS researchers. The profiles may not cover all the complexities of the phenomenon, but PIPS will continue its efforts to develop the database. In the coming issues, PIPS will further elaborate on various facets of the subject. PIPS welcomes suggestions and recommendations from its loyal readers.*

## 1. A Sketch of the City

Karachi is the capital of the Sindh Province with the accompaniment of the provincial assembly, Governor's Seat, Sindh High Court and Sindh Secretariat. In addition to the Pakistan army's powerful corps headquarters, Karachi has a large presence of paramilitary forces, the Pakistan Rangers. Sindh province's police headquarters are also located in Karachi.

### 1.1. Demography

Karachi has a population of 15 million with an annual growth rate of 4.8 percent compared to the national growth of three percent.[2] Higher population growth in Karachi is mainly attributed to rural-urban migration from all provinces of Pakistan. An estimated 200,000 heads or 35,000 households are added to the metropolis every year so that by the year 2010, Karachi City will reach a population mark of 17 million. The latest demographic profile shows Muhajir population at 55 percent, Punjabis 14, Pakhtuns 9, Sindhis 7, Balochis 4 and others 12 percent.[3]

Occupying an area of around 3,366 square kilometers, Karachi is divided into 18 towns, six Cantonments and other agencies. The urban area of Karachi extends over 1800 square kilometers. The city enjoys the company of a vast coastline from Cape Monze in the west to Gharo in the east. Gadani and the Sonmiani Coast of Balochistan adjoining Karachi have picturesque beaches, which along with its embedded islands provide unmatchable locations for recreation and tourism.

### 1.2. Economy

The financial and commercial hub of Pakistan, Karachi contributes to almost sixty percent of the country's economy and is home to the central bank or State Bank of Pakistan (SBP), the Stock Exchange and head offices of national and multinational companies including banks, financial institutions and real estate companies. In addition, major media houses in Pakistan have their head offices in Karachi. According to Federal Government's figures, Karachi generates about 15 percent of the national GDP, 42 percent of value added in manufacturing sector and 25 percent of the revenues of the Federal Government.[4] The city's economy is large and diverse which is highly benefitted by the presence of the largest and most dynamic Industrial giants in the country like the Sindh Industrial & Trading Estate (SITE), Korangi Industrial and Trade Estate and North Karachi Industrial & Trade Estate. Their productions include a wide variety of goods from textiles to chemicals to steel and machinery. Because of its geo-strategic location, Karachi offers an ideal location for businesses and investment. It is predicted that the city will

maintain its dominant role as the major industrial and commercial center of the country over the next decade, provided peace and stability remain intact.

## 1.3. Strategic Importance

Being the only deep seaport of the country, Karachi serves as the shipping and maritime hub for Pakistan as well as for landlocked Afghanistan. The fact makes it the lifeline for the world's two strategically-located countries. Karachi is linked to other cities of Pakistan through air, metalled roads and broad gauge railway. Three-quarters of NATO supplies land at Karachi seaport[5] and are then lugged away to the North-Western city of Peshawar in containers passing through a 1200 kilometers long highway. Some supplies are sent to the Western city of Quetta—the capital of Balochistan. NATO containers pick up the supplies from Peshawar and Quetta and carry them over to their military bases in neighboring Afghanistan.[6] Although the Naval Headquarters is in Islamabad, Pakistani Naval Dockyard is in Karachi and all naval assets are located in and around Karachi sea. The Pakistan Navy (PN) Dockyard is a fairly comprehensive naval construction and fortified with state-of-the-art facilities. Since its inception in 1952, it has been undertaking repair works, modernization and rebuilding of Pakistan Naval Ships, Submarines and other sea crafts.[7]

## 1.4. Urbanization and Migration

Like many urban centers in the developing world, Karachi too is described as an "urban mess." Laurent Gayer, sums it up thus:[8] "Since Partition, Karachi is no longer divided between a "white" and a "black" city, but between "planned" and "unplanned areas". The former consist of residential and commercial areas developed by the Karachi Development Authority (KDA) or integrated into its development plans. The latter, which provide shelter to 50 percent of the 15 million inhabitants of the city, refer to squatter settlements developed through the illegal occupation or subdivision of public land, at the periphery of the city, along its natural drainage channels and its railway lines and inside its river beds. Housing conditions and access to basic utilities such as education and healthcare greatly vary between planned and unplanned areas.

In the unplanned areas health, education and recreational facilities are developed incrementally over time by the informal sector but remain inadequate and badly operated.[9] In this way, "the dominating position of the rulers was reflected in the spatial structure of the city in which separation was the main element."[10]

Table: Comparison between Planned and Unplanned Areas of Karachi

| Item | Planned Areas | Unplanned Areas |
|---|---|---|
| **Demography** | | |
| a) Average household size | 6.9 | 7.3 |
| b) Gender distribution (male) (%) | 54 | 65 |
| c) Population (under twenty) | 48.6 | 56.4 |
| d) Crude Birth Rate | 1.3 | 3.6 |
| | | |
| **Housing** | | |
| a) Permanent structures (%) | 70-90 | 20 |
| b) Semi-permanent structures (%) | 10-30 | 75 |
| c) Temporary structures (%) | - | 5 |
| d) Built Up M2 per person | 19.25 | 11.59 |
| e) Number of persons per room | 0.5 | 3.3 |
| | | |
| **Access to Utilities** | **83** | **50.3** |
| a) Water connections (%) | 98.4 | 75.8 |
| b) Gas connections (%) | 75 | 35.1 |
| c) Sewage connections (estimated) (%) | 85 | 12 |
| | | |
| **Education** | | |
| a) Population rate (under ten) | 76 | 48–67 |
| b) Population with primary education (%) | 9.5 | 21.7 |
| c) Population with intermediary education (%) | 19.8 | 16.3 |
| d) Population with Bachelor and above (%) | 19 | 13.1 |
| | | |
| **Employment** | | |
| a) Population employed (%) | 65 | 64.7 |
| b) Population unemployed (%) | 24.9 | 25.3 |
| c) Housewives (%) | 31 | 34 |
| | | |
| **Income / Expenditure** | | |
| a) Average Income (Rs. per month) | 3808–4930 | 1899–2158 |
| b) Earned through wages (%) | 50.8 | 77.7 |
| c) Earned through profit (%) | 20.2 | 16.8 |
| d) Average expenditure (Rs. per month) | 3083 | 1648–2109 |
| e) Spent on food (%) | 53 | 58 |
| f) Spent on rent (%) | 18 | 13 |
| g) Spent on savings (%) | 30 | 2.3 |

[Adapted in Laurent Gayer from Arif Hasan, *Understanding Karachi,* Based on data compiled by Arif Hasan and Asiya Sadiq for UNCHS *Global Report on Human Settlement*s, 1996]

According to Waseem (1998),[11] rural-urban migration from all provinces of Pakistan to Karachi shaped its urbanization process after partition in contrast to the natural growth. He identifies *four waves of population* comprising Muhajirs (1940s–50s), Punjabis and Pakhtuns (1960s–80s), Sindhis (1970s–90s) and foreigners including Afghans and Iranians among others (1980s–90s). The influx of Muhajirs of India was the first wave of migration and the largest in the country's history. While some influential Muhajir families occupied the houses and other buildings left behind by the Hindus who migrated to India fearing backlash, a large majority of poorer Muhajirs, however, settled in *Katchi Abadis* (slum areas) along the coastal belt in conditions of acute residential and financial insecurity, because they were unable to receive any help from the local government.[12]

The second wave of migration to Karachi in the mid sixties represented the Pakhtuns and Punjabis and it continued till the eighties.[13] Unlike the Muhajirs who cut off links with their relatives in India because of visa restrictions, the Pakhtun and Punjabi kept in touch with their relatives and supported them with the income from labor jobs in the new industrial units mainly set up by wealthy Muhajirs. A little less than half the total annual migration to Karachi (around 350,000) came from the North-West Frontier Province and Punjab.[14] Tough Pakhtuns occupied in the construction industry or worked as diggers and transport workers. Pakhtuns and Punjabis managed to keep their ethnic identity intact.

The third wave of migration comprised the Sindhis.[15] The federal capital had shifted to the newly founded Islamabad in northern Punjab and Karachi had been integrated into the Sindh province in terms of administration and Sindhi political affinity. The job quota system under the Sindhi nationalist leader Mumtaz Bhutto, ascendancy of Sindhi as the official language of Sindh and the rise of Sindhi-dominated Pakistan People's Party encouraged middle-class Sindhis, tenants and peasants to take up "prestigious" jobs in the "big city."

The fourth wave of migration began taking shape after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979.[16] This comprised a large number of political refugees from Afghanistan who became economic migrants searching for better opportunities in Karachi. Legally, they were not allowed beyond the UN's earmarked refugee camps in the NWFP and Balochistan. Registered political refugees from Iraq (Kurds), Iran (Bahais) Sri Lanka (Tamils) and economic migrants totaled a staggering 1.5 million. As a result, Karachi became a hub of underground criminal and other unlawful activities such as drug (including heroin) smuggling and human trafficking.[17]

## 2. Political Violence

Political violence continued to mar the security scenario of Karachi with the highest number of disturbing incidents taking place throughout 2008. During the year, 66 incidents of political violence were reported from Karachi and another four from Interior Sindh—the highest figure for political violence among all the provinces (*see* Table). In these 66 ethno-religious and political incidents 143 persons were killed and 333 injured.[18]

Table: Incidents of Political Violence in 2008

|                | Total Incidents | Killed | Injured |
|----------------|-----------------|--------|---------|
| Karachi        | 66              | 143    | 333     |
| Interior Sindh | 4               | 8      | 16      |
| Punjab         | 6               | 5      | 25      |
| NWFP           | 5               | 5      | 13      |
| Balochistan    | 1               | -      | 16      |
| Azad Kashmir   | 1               | 1      | 16      |
| Total          | 89              | 162    | 419     |

[Data was compiled through monitoring the Pakistani (national as well as local) print media throughout the year].

Most incidents of political clashes in Karachi were reported between the Sunni Tehreek (ST) and the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), the Awami National Party (ANP) and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) were also dragged into such violence on ethnic or political basis. Also, a considerable number of criminal groups in the city which enjoy political backing from one party or the other, too, were involved in violence.

## 3. Ethno-Political Conflicts

The highly complex nature of the ethno-political landscape of the city could be identified as the main reason behind the social unrest in Karachi. According to the history books of Karachi, the ethnic conflicts between Muhajirs and Sindhis started soon after the first wave of migration from India.[19] The problem of settlement, the question of distribution of Hindu evacuee property and competition over dominant positions within the Muslim League continued to be main points of contention.[20] Evacuee property distribution was the task of the Muslim League which had emerged as the de facto state of Pakistan.

Partition changed the face of socio-political course in Sindh. Prior to the partition, Hindus formed middle and urban class in the Sindh society. In 1947, they migrated to India and left a vacuum of middle and urbanized class in the province. Peasant and feudal lords were the remaining classes forming post-partition Sindhi society.[21]

Problems cropped up when the leadership of the only political party was divided on ethnic lines—Sindhi waderas versus Muhajir elders, particularly the religious leaders and the intellectuals.[22] In Karachi, however, Muhajirs did manage to dominate the Muslim League in the early years of independence but in Hyderabad they began thinking on the lines of setting up their own organization. The first Muhajir organization was set up in Hyderabad by a blind *hafiz* (who has memorized whole of the Quran) who had migrated from Jaipur, Mubarik Ali Shah. The Jamiat-ul-Muhajirin did not fare well in the Sindhi politics but the first chief minister of the province, Ayub Khoro expressed his displeasure against the emergence of such groups in his speech in 1954: "Formation of sectarian, social and political organizations, especially for the new settlers, has resulted in antagonizing the old Sindhis,"[23] he said.

The pro-ethnic messages continued to gain popularity in the Muhajir-dominated squatter areas of Karachi and in Hyderabad's Pakka Qila and Latifabad neighbourhoods. In the seventies, even the universities provided a platform for the crystallization of Muhajir Qaum consciousness.

Riots based on language policies and issues broke out in 1972 (*see* details infra) over the declaration of Sindhi the official language of the province and making it a compulsory subject in schools and colleges. Muhajirs resisted the government move and took to the streets. Two years later, semester system was introduced at the Karachi University. Some 27 students who failed to get admission raised the "Intermediate Students Action Committee" to demand mid-term admission. Altaf Hussain was its president. Students were admitted out of turn as the vice-chancellor resigned.[24]

On June 11, 1978, Muhajir students formed the All-Pakistan Muhajir Students Organisation or APMSO. The success of the action committee had provided a fillip.[25] Waseem (1996), however, argues that the APMSO was a product of the perceived Muhajir grievances in terms of non-delivery of promises of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) leaders to eliminate the quota system and to secure the lives of Muhajirs against the tyranny and violence. Regarding the ethnic question, Professor Moonis Ahmar of Karachi University writes:[26]

> During the Zia years, the Mohajirs had augmented their search for identity, and mobilization of their ranks along ethnic lines was only a matter of time. Their economic and political sense of deprivation reached its peak during this period

and by the mid-1980s there was enough fertile ground to raise the slogan of "Mohajir Nationalism" and promote the unity of Mohajirs under one leader and one party. The All-Pakistan Mohajir Student Organization (APMSO), formed in June 1978, took on the task of mobilizing young Mohajirs in the country to demand their rights. The MQM was formed in March 1985, six days after General Zia ul Haq had extended the rural-urban quota system for another 10 years, and in August 1986 in a public meeting in Karachi, the MQM chief, Altaf Hussain, vowed to unite the Mohajirs under the MQM banner and launch a struggle for the attainment of the rights of this community.

The ethnic rioting has been a hallmark of Karachi's checkered history. Some dismiss it as a natural part of urbanization in a city which lacked proper planning. Therefore, in an environment where the different ethnic communities tended to stick together in ghettos, getting hold of a place to live resulted in violence. MQM which consists of Urdu-speaking migrants set a platform for a face-off with Pukhtoons who control the transportation and construction arenas in Karachi.[27]

First ever language based riots—Urdu-speaking youth versus Pakhtuns — took place in 1965 soon after the elections.[28] Seven years later, in 1972-1973, Muhajirs in Karachi and Hyderabad clashed with Sindhis.[29] In April 1985 and October-December 1986, fresh riots broke out gripping the metropolis for two years when Pakhtuns attacked the Bihari migrant community in Orangi and Liaquatabad and MQM retaliated in their defence.

Two years later, in September 1988 and then in May 1990, Muhajirs clashed with Sindhis for the second time. In September 1988, the ill-fated Black Friday killed 200 people in Karachi and Hyderabad. MQM and Sindhi nationalists attacked each other's strongholds when the former renamed the centrally located Haider Chowk and replaced it with posters of Muhajir heroes. People of Hyderabad remember the last five years of the 1990s as the "Years of War."

During these years the newly formed Muhajir Qaumi Movement (Haqiqi) also became active and violence erupted between the MQM and its break-away faction. Inter factional violence seems to have ceased after the ill-fated May 12, 2007 incident which took the lives of some 48 people including Muhajirs, Pakhtuns, activists of the PPP and the police.

The General Elections in 2008 where the Awami National Party secured two seats for Sindh Provincial Assembly for the first time in its history rang the alarm bells for MQM.

## 4. Religious, Sectarian and Militant Conflicts

Dozens of sectarian groups and militant organizations exist in Karachi, but only a few of the multiple Islamic groups are militarily active. Among them are outlawed Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Jaish-e-Muhammad, Jamaatul Furqan, Harkatul Mujahideen, Jandullah, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami. Many sectarian organizations such as outlawed Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, Tehrik Jafrriya Pakistan and Sunni Tehreek are active on political fronts, too. Apart from sectarian and militant outfits, Karachi remains an important support base for mainstream religious parties, most prominently Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith, Jamiat Ghurba-e-Ahle Hadith, Jamaatul Muslimeen, Dawat-e-Islami and Tableegi Jamaat. Many religious charity organizations have their headquarters in the city; banned Al-Rasheed Trust, Al-Akhter Trust, and Al-Furqan Trust are among them. At the same time, the religious seminaries across the city contribute to the shaping of the religious landscape of Karachi. Not only do these religious and sectarian groups have contradictions of interest with each other but also play a role in ethno-political tensions in the city. Especially, JI and Sunni Tehrik have sharp political rivalry against MQM.

## 5. Organized Crime

Karachi has emerged as a major battleground for some 200 gangs involved in organized crime, says Abdul Sattar, a TV Journalist based in Karachi.[30] Crime syndicates such as Dawood Ibrahim Group and Lyari Gangs have exploited Karachi's weak governance systems and also growing commercial activities in order to gain a basis for their operations. Most of the commercially-driven criminal activities are politically-motivated and have links to terrorism, either directly or indirectly. Organized crime poses a serious threat to the security and social fabric of Karachi.

The criminal groups and syndicates in Karachi are involved in diversified crimes, tells Khurram Waris, Superintendent Police, Anti Violence Crime Cell (AVCC), Garden Town, Karachi.[31] One of their permanent sources of 'income' remains the *bhatta* (extortion money) collection. Underground criminal syndicates are behind the gangs involved in killing, kidnapping for ransom, robbery, theft, *bhatta* collection, dacoity, gambling, narcotics, terrorism and others forms of crimes and violence.[32]

One of their permanent sources of "illegal income" remains the *bhatta* collection. In perfect Chicago mafia style, the gangs simply send a slip of paper bearing the amount of cash. They demand protection money for holding a marriage ceremony and guarding the groom from kidnappers.

Flourishing drug dens sell contrabands—including *charas*, *kopi*, *tariaq* and heroin—to dealers and users, while teenagers and children are exploited to sell these illegal substances.[33] From December 1, 2005 to November 30, 2006, at least 30,000 incidents of theft, robbery and dacoity were reported in Karachi.[34]

## 6. Militant and Sectarian Groups

### 6.1. Jundullah

The self-styled Islamist terrorist group Jundullah came into limelight following the arrest of eight of its members in Karachi three days after an ambush on a corps commander's motorcade on June 10, 2004. Jundullah has been involved in the deadly terrorist attacks in the city besides being involved in the criminal activities like bank robberies, ransom and car snatching.

Jundullah was formed by Atta ur-Rehman, who was expelled from Jamat ul-Muslimeen in 2003. After the arrest of Atta ur-Rehman, Qasim Toori was leading the organization. The new organization was apparently inspired by the nomenclature of Iranian Jundullah, already active in Iran's Sistan and Balochistan province. The outfit comprised some disillusioned youths inspired by al-Qaeda, residing in the areas of Shah Faisal Colony, Model Colony and Landhi.

Soon after its inception, Jundullah carried out an attack on Corps Commander Ahsan Saleem Hayat in Karachi in which several soldiers were killed. Later, law-enforcement agencies arrested several members of the group, including Atta ur-Rehman, after which the network was thought to be largely shattered. Qasim Toori was given the task to reorganize the group after Atta ur-Rehman. He recruited young boys from Karachi and sent them to WANA for training. Last year (in 2007), Jundullah established its hideout in Karachi and allegedly committed several bank robberies including one in Saudabad in which seven policemen were killed. It was nearly two years after the pronouncement of court verdict that police raided a house in Shah Latif Town, a residential area in the outskirts of the city along the National Highway. After a heavy exchange of fire, which resulted in six casualties, police managed to arrest Qasim Toori, Tayab Dad and Talha and killed Junaid and Abdullah.[35]

Being a pure militant organization, one of the main objectives of Jundullah is to target the U.S. and U.K. assets and interests in Pakistan, as well as pro-western military leadership. Atta ur-Rehman told the investigators that his group was acting in retaliation against the government's campaign to

eradicate al-Qaeda-linked fighters from its northwest border regions. Some leaders have their affiliation with Jamat-e-Islami and Jamat ul-Muslimeen but these parties said that they expelled these members from their group and have no links with Jundullah.

Jundullah in its recruitment targeted youth in Karachi and also from religious seminaries. But the organization doesn't have any political support of any group or party except al-Qaeda and Taliban. Wasif Qureshi, Deputy Superintend Police of the Anti Violent Crime Unit Karachi, who was a member of the team in interrogating Jundullah terrorists, admitted that usually terrorist groups in Karachi use their traditional tactics to hit the targets, and the police can easily assess the group through these usual means of tactics. But in Jundullah's case it always remains confused, he said.

### 6.2. Lashkar-e-Jhangvi

There are more than six Lashkar-e-Jhangvi factions operating in Karachi including Qari Zafar, Qari Shakeel, Farooq Bangali and Akram Lahori groups. Qari Zafar group is more prominent because of its strong links with al-Qaeda. It operates in Karachi and targets Shias and the Western interests.

Muhammad Zafar alias Qari Zafar (34), belonging to Millat Colony, Orangi Town, Karachi, is the head of LeJ faction known as the Qari Zafar Group, which has links with al-Qaeda and the Taliban. The group hails from the Southern Punjab, but at present it is hiding in Tribal Areas of NWFP and FATA. Qari Zafar has allegedly remained involved in many suicide attacks in Pakistan. He was declared a proclaimed offender by Anti Terrorism Court in the US diplomat killing case. He fought in Afghanistan with the Taliban in the 1990s, and forged links there with al-Qaeda. After the fall of the Taliban regime, Zafar took refuge in South Waziristan and sometimes ventured into rural parts of Sindh Province.[36]

After the detentions and killings of major commanders of the outfit, Qari Zafar formed his own group. He started criminal activities in Karachi to collect funds in order to reorganize his group. The group activities surfaced when three of its major militants, Shahid, Farhan and Ghani Subhan were arrested in Karachi on February 16, 2007. Shahid, who hails from Hyderabad's upper-middle class of Latifabad, was arrested once in a house robbery case. A local Jihadi known as Qari Akbar in Hyderabad had tasked Shahid with robbing the Shia houses. Farhan (alias Nasir) also hails from Hyderabad where he joined the company of a local Jihadi known as Mushtaq. Farhan told the police during interrogations that he bought 60 kg of ball bearings and took them to Wana where he gave them to Qari Zafar. The third suspect Ghani Subhan went to Kabul in 2001 where he fought alongside the

Taliban and was injured, according to CID police sources. He in many occasions met some senior Taliban leaders during this period. He was also close to Al Qaeda's Nek Mohammad after whose death Ghani became close to Waziristan's Faqir Mohammad.[37]

The group members are involved in suicide attacks and criminal activities like dacoity, car snatching, bank looting and target killing in Pakistan. A member of Qari Zafar Group, Anwarul Haq has been sentenced to death on his involvement in suicide attack at the US consulate Karachi. A large number of cadres of Qari Zafar Group had spent time in Taliban ranks fighting against the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, and they also fought in Kashmir under the banners of Pakistani Jihad groups, Jaish-e-Mohammed and Harkat ul-Mujahideen.

Qari Zafar group is also accused of providing the manpower for Al Qaeda bomb attacks in Pakistan. The group killed two officials of Intelligence Bureau on arrest of Anwar who is Qari Zafar's brother and al-Qaeda operative wanted in several cases of terrorism.[38]

Qari Zafar is still at large and the group has enough activists in Karachi to launch an operation in less than no time. With its headquarters in Wana and links with al-Qaeda, the group activities still continue with a considerable effectiveness.

### 6.3. Harkat ul-Jihad al-Islami (HuJI), Arakan

One could find in Karachi a large concentration of Burmese Muslims from Arakan. The Korangi area is also known as the Burmese town and is called 'mini Arakan'. Thirty Arakani madaaris are working here. The Pakistani branch of Harkat ul-Jihad al-Islami, Arakan, has been established in Karachi through the efforts of the teachers and students of these madaaris.

Maulana Ahmed Hussain, principal Madrasa Islamia Aurangi Town, is the patron of Harkat ul-Jihad al-Islami in Pakistan. Its central emir is Maulana Abdul Qaddus, who is also in Pakistan, and deputy emir is Maulana Rauf ul-Alam Wafa. The organization has following departments in Pakistan:

- Military department: Secretary, Maulana Abdul Qaddus
- Communication and Publication: Maulana Sadeeq Arakani
- Department of Management and Bangladesh-Burma Relations

This management has links with Harkat ul-Jihad al-Islami Alami (World Huji). Of course, Arakani Mujahideen received their training at HuJI Pakistan's camp at Kotli. But most of them complain that members of HuJI Pakistan do not fully cooperate with them. In Karachi they have 48 madaaris

in total of which 30 are in Burmese colony. These madaaris impart special training for jihad also. The activists of this Karachi HuJI from Bangladesh and Burma have also been involved in sectarian violence and terrorism.

### 6.4. Harkat ul-Mujahideen al-Alami (HuMA)

Harkat ul-Mujahideen al-Alami is mere an offshoot of Harkat ul-Mujahideen (HuM). Some sources say that it was formed in 2002 after parting ways with the latter on a dispute over organizational affairs. Harkat ul-Mujahideen has enjoyed a long career in Afghan and Kashmir jihad. The HuMA is based in Karachi.

The Jihadi militias in Pakistan tend to change their names constantly when launching their activities. They also change names whenever an internal struggle results in the wrangling of leaders dividing the original organization into splinter groups. Harkat ul-Mujahideen al-Alami is the group that was formed after the outlawing of some groups by the government. Asif Zaheer was the founder of the organization who was trained as an explosives and chemical expert at al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan. He belonged to the Banori Masjid, was inspired by Harkat-e-Jihad-e-Islami of Qari Saifullah Akhtar, and made bombs for half a dozen Deobandi-based groups. Asif Zaheer was sentenced to death for masterminding the killing of French engineers but the activities of his organization continued. It blew up 21 Shell petrol stations in Karachi in May 2003.[39]

Most of its activists and its top leaders are currently under detention while Muhammad Imran as the emir (chief) and Muhammad Hanif as the deputy chief and in-charge of its *askari* (military) wing operated the outfit. Both Imran and Hanif were arrested on July 7, 2002, for their alleged involvement in the plot to assassinate President Musharraf. Subsequently, on April 14, 2003, Karachi Anti-Terrorism Court sentenced them to death.[40]

At least nine activists of the banned Harkat ul-Mujahideen al-Alami were arrested in March 2004. The police said these activists were intended to avenge upon the Macedonian government over the killing of eight Pakistanis who were killed at the Macedonian border in March 2002 on suspicion of being al-Qaeda members. The Anti-Terrorism Court in Karachi sentenced them for a 60-year imprisonment on August 25, 2004.

The group had the potential to carry out high-intensity attacks, as it was equipped with sophisticated weapons, including rocket launchers and detonators. However, following the arrest of its leaders the group lost its capability to carry on its activities. The group was involved in the murder of police constables, explosion at the honorary Macedonian consulate, target

killing and dacoity. The group also orchestrated the Agha Khan Flats blast in the limits of Pirabad Karachi, a suicide attack outside the Sheraton Hotel in Karachi in which 11 French engineers were killed and a suicide attack outside the US Consulate building, killing 12 Pakistani nationals.

### 6.5. Tehreek-e-Islami Lashkar-e-Muhammadi (TILM)

Tehreek-e-Islami Lashkar-e-Muhammadi (TILM) is another ruthless terrorist group that consists of ex-members of different defunct militant outfits. It aims at targeting non-Muslim and foreign NGOs.

The TILM was formed by the terrorists, who were from defunct Jaish-e-Muhammad and Harkat-ul-Mujahideen after the Lal Masjid military operation in 2007.[41] The group members, who were also involved in Jihad-e-Afghanistan, organized a new group after developing differences with the Jaish and other militant groups.[42] The main objective of the outfit was to target politicians whom they categorized as non-Muslims who supported the Lal Masjid and Jamia-Hafsa military operation.[43]

Although most of the group members are still at large, many of the outfit activists have been arrested. The hierarchy of the cadre positions of the organization has not yet been identified. It is, however, said that there are two major groups of the TILM and members of one group, who were allegedly involved in killing eight employees of a Christian NGO on February 26, 2008, had been arrested.[44]

Target killing, bomb blasts, abduction, dacoity, and use of explosive material are TILM's main tactics. The group has used latest ammunition and weapons for its targets. Police have seized explosives, electrical circuits, compact discs and hit lists of high-profile people including politicians, international and national NGOs and police officials from the captured militants.[45]

The group imported ammunition from Swat where the weapons were snatched from police constables. The group ran a chemical laboratory in Korangi Industrial Area where items were used for preparation of poisonous chemical materials and bombs. The laboratory was used for preparation of latest remote controlled and time bombs, Boobi Traps and chemical poisonous materials.[46] The group members hired big stores in Karachi where they kept abductees and challenged the government to meet their demands in exchange of captives. They kidnapped Liaqat Hussain (Vice President National Bank of Pakistan), Dara Ferooz Mirza and Dr Hameed Ullah. They tortured them and got information about the members of Rotary Club, Lions Club and Theosophical Society. Most of those individuals were killed by this group after receiving information about them.[47]

The group had the potential to carry out high-intensity attacks, as it was equipped with sophisticated weapons. NGOs working in Karachi continued to receive threats from the group.[48]

### 6.6. Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP)

Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan is the largest Deobandi sectarian outfit that was banned by the government on 12 January 2002. But it managed to carry out its activities under different names.[49] First, it changed its name to Millat-e-Islamia but it was also outlawed on 16 November 2003. The outfit has now been renamed as Ahle Sunnat wal-Jamaat Pakistan (ASWJP) but the name of Sipah-e-Sahaba is still being used by its activists. The wall chalking in the city explains the reality.

SSP was formed on September 6, 1985 in the Punjab city of Jhang. Maulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi, Maulana Ziaur Rehman Farooqi, Maulana Eesar-ul-Haq Qasmi and Maulana Azam Tariq were the original founders of the SSP. At the time of its inception, it was named "Anjuman Sipah-e-Sahaba" and Maulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi was declared its supreme leader. In February 1990, Haq Nawaz Jhangvi was killed in Jhang. His murder helped the outfit rise to power in Jhang as Maulana Eesar Qasmi was elected member of National Assembly. He was also assassinated in 1991 and Maulana Ziaur Rehman Farooqi took the lead. On 18 January 1997, Maulana Ziaur Rehman, along with other leaders of SSP died in a car bomb blast.[50] Then, Maulana Azam took the charge as the *Ameer* and tried to redefine the SSP as a moderate religious political organization, and earned the support of Deobandi organizations. He had already been elected three times to the National Assembly from Jhang. The assassination of SSP leaders continued and Maulana Azam Tariq was shot and killed in an attack on October 4, 2003 near Islamabad. Maulana Mohammed Ahmed Ludhianwi succeeded Azam Tariq.

Maulana Muhammad Ahmad Ludhianwi, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Nadeem, Maulana Ali Sher Hadiery, Khalifa Abdul Qayyum, Khadim Hussain Dhalon and Maulana Aalim Tariq are the prominent leaders of SSP. Maulana Aurangzeb Farooqi, who leads its Sindh chapter and Ilyas Zubair, who leads its Karachi chapter are also in the list.

The main objectives of Sipah-e-Sahaba (SSP) are as follows:

   a) to establish Pakistan as a purely Sunni Muslim state;
   b) to restore the Khilafat system (Khilafat-e-Rashida);
   c) to protect the Sunnis in Pakistan and uphold the Sharia law;
   d) to attack Shiites or Shias because they are considered "non-Muslims."

SSP was formed as a reaction to Shia organization "Tehreek-e-Nifaz Fiqh Jafria" that was set up in 1979. In the beginning, they aimed at damaging the Shia community through militant activities. However, following its entrance to the National and Provincial Assemblies Sipah-e-Sahaba tried to weed out terrorist elements from its rank and file. Though SSP claimed that they have a religious political ideology, they still work on their sectarian agenda. Members supporting violence broke away from SSP time to time and formed various organizations. Lashkar-e-Jhangvi is believed to be the armed wing of the Sipah-e-Sahaba. The two groups have similar goals. Many analysts in Pakistan believe that the so called 'split' between SSP and LeJ in 1996 was a tactical move to enable the SSP to concentrate more on political activities without having to defend itself against the stigma of sectarian violence.[51] In January 2009, the CID department released a Red Book of most wanted terrorists which included the names of those affiliated with the Sipah-e-Sahaba.

SSP has a strong network throughout the country. They get full support from the Deobandai Madrassas of the region especially Karachi. In 2008, SSP started its activities again through a protest against the blasphemous caricatures of the holy Prophet published in some Danish newspapers, and declared jihad against Denmark and the West if they continued to insult Islam. The protest took place at their headquarters at Masjid-e-Siddique Akbar in the Nagan Chowrangi area in Karachi. It was the first major public rally by the SSP since it was banned in 2001.[52]

According to media reports, defunct sectarian organization, SSP has resumed its activities across the province especially in the city. They are gaining strength day-by-day.

SSP organized three major gatherings in the earlier months of 2009. At the congregation held at Khuda Ki Basti Karachi they showed up in sizeable numbers (approximately five to seven thousands). They have reestablished their offices in different parts of the city including Mehmoodabad and Khuda Ki Basti.[53] The central information secretary of the SSP and ASWJP, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Nadeem said in an interview that they had started work in the name of the ASWJP because of the ban on the SSP. The leaders were released in 2003-04 and started work under ASWJP.[54]

After its reorganization, sectarian violence increased in Karachi. Many of its activists were killed, including two prominent legal advisors, Mazhar Hussain Ansari (on 15 April 2009) and Hafiz Ahmad Bakhsh (on 30 June 2009) by the rivals.

### 6.7. Sunni Tehreek

Sunni Tehreek (ST) is a sectarian organization of Barelvi school of thought of Hanafi Islam. The government put it under surveillance on 12 January 2002.

Muhammad Salim Qadri founded Sunni Tehreek in 1990. He was from Saeedabad, Karachi. After his matriculation examination Qadri started driving an auto rickshaw for livelihood. When Dawat-e-Islami was founded in I980, he became leader of its Saeedabad chapter. His rise commenced from then onwards. His incendiary speeches soon ensured a place for him in Dawat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan. In the 1988 general elections, Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan nominated him as its candidate for PA-75 in the Sindh Assembly but he was defeated. After the elections, Salim Qadri left his taxi driving job and started a fabric business and also a poultry farm. In 1990, he broke away from Dawat-e-Islami and formed Sunni Tehreek.

After Salim Qadri's murder, ST grew in strength in Karachi, rather than weakening. Its network spreads over fourteen districts of the country. However, Karachi remained its nerve centre. After its entire leadership was killed, a six-member committee was formed comprising Shahid Ghauri, Engineer Abdur Rehman, Qari Khalilur Rehman, Shahzad Munir, Sarwat Ejaz and Khalid Zia. Its central secretariat located in a huge building at the Baba-e-Urdu Road in Karachi. The building houses offices of the central emir and other leaders. There is also the office of Ahl-e-Sunnat Khidmat Committee, which is engaged in building new mosques and madaaris in Karachi, Hyderabad and other parts of Sindh. This committee has also established a hospital on a 2000-yard plot in Saeedabad, Karachi. Several departments like ambulance centre, computer institute, students' assistance, *jahez* (dowry) fund, and food distribution programs are under the supervision of this committee. A mosque and a madrasa are also attached to the secretariat.

The ST came into being as a reaction to the growing influence of Ahl-e-Hadith and Deobandi organizations. It received support from Jamat Ahle Sunnat, Anjuman Naojawanan-e-Islam and the leaders of Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan. The ST was funded by the Barkati Foundation to safeguard the rights of Ahle-e-Sunnat. However, the ST declared itself as a non-political organization and concentrated on four-points:

1) To safeguard the interests of the Ahl-e-Sunnat
2) To protect Ahl-e-Sunnat mosques
3) To protect common people from false beliefs
4) Handing over of the Ahl-e-Sunnat mosques and shrines by the administration to the Barelvis.

The ST complained that the Deobandi and Ahle-e-Hadith had monopoly over the administration, government posts, and religious and government institutions. The representation of the Barelvi sect was minimal. It asserts that Ahl-e-Sunnat cannot achieve their rights till they adopt the same tactics employed by Ahl-e-Hadith and Deobandi organizations.

From its very inception, ST styled itself as a violent sectarian organization and began to target Sipah-e-Sahaba and Lashkar-e-Taiba. It had a number of clashes with these two groups in Karachi, Hyderabad, Sahiwal (Punjab), and Nawab Shah in which seventeen Sunni Tehreek workers had been killed until 1998. Sunni Tehreek's main targets were Ahle-e-Hadith and Deobandi mosques. It maintains that these mosques belonged to Ahle-e-Sunnat earlier but were later encroached by others.

The ST made its first show of strength on 18 December 1992 when it organized a rally at MA Jinnah Road in Karachi. The objective of this rally was to put pressure on the administration to hand over Masjid Noor (Ranchorh Line) to it. Soon the rally turned violent and cars were put on flames. Dozens of people were injured; thirty-four ST workers were arrested. After this incident, the Tehreek caught public attention. After such incidents, Sunni Tehreek increased the frequency of attacks on Deobandi and Ahle-e-Hadith mosques in Punjab and Sindh.

Salim Qadri was killed along with five others on 18 May 2001 after which sectarian clashes broke out in Karachi. Sipah-e-Sahaba was blamed for this and Deobandi and Ahl-e-Hadith madaaris and mosques were attacked. One of the killers of Salim Qadri was killed on the spot in the cross firing. Later he proved to be a Sipah-e-Sahaba activist.

There was also a strong MQM connection, in the sense that both organizations have common enemies. Many of the elements of the ST were former MQM activists who had crossed over to ST after the army's crackdown on the MQM in the early 1990s. But ST emerged as a challenge to MQM in October 10, 2002 elections when ST leadership decided to adopt a political posture after January 2002 to avoid any sanctions.

### 6.8. Taliban

Taliban are trying to consolidate their position in Karachi. Karachi has already been one of their major sources of financial accumulations through criminal activities. And recently the leadership of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), MQM and Awami National Party in Karachi has been informed by intelligence agencies that they are at Baitullah Mehsud's hit list, who was the former head of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).[55] Meanwhile the MQM

chief, Altaf Hussain, has also claimed that a number of people from NWFP and FATA were being brought to Karachi in trucks.[56] Taliban in Karachi not only do have links with FATA militants but also with al-Qaeda and some banned militant outfits as well.

One of the major sources of the TTP is its reliance on bank robberies, thefts, car snatching, kidnapping for ransom. The TTP has sought the help of well-established criminal gangs in various cities of Pakistan, including Karachi. Similarly, the TTP has also recruited many criminals in to their ranks. The Taliban justify their actions by telling their cadres that it is not a criminal act to loot banks or offices and residence of wealthy people and private companies, since the banks, companies and such individuals have accumulated all this wealth through un-Islamic means, including charging an interest. The TTP also justifies by claiming they are in a state of war against the Pakistani security forces and the mighty armies of the US, NATO and ISAF, and it is incumbent upon them to resort to illegal ways for generating funds to fuel the "holy war."

To attain this objective, the TTP has organized "commando groups" of varying sizes that are dispatched to various parts of Pakistan to conduct bank robberies and other criminal activities. These 'commando' groups are assisted by the TTP agents based in various cities of Pakistan who select targets and conduct surveillance of various business organizations, including banks, and conduct basic arrangements for such criminal activities. These commando groups then successfully strike at the designated targets. After committing the crime, they at once leave the city and head to South or North Waziristan to handover the loot to the TTP leadership. According to various sources, the 'Commando' team receives a share of the 'income.'

### 6.9. Sipah-e-Muhammad

Sipah-e-Muhammad (SM) is a sectarian militant group of Shia school of thought. The outfit was banned by the government on 14 August 2001 but it is still active in Lahore and Karachi. It did not even change its name and functions in secret by using its original name.[57]

Sipah-e-Muhammad was formed as a reaction to Sipah-e-Sahaba and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. In 1993, under motivation by the senior leaders, president Tehreek-e-Jafria Jhang chapter, Ghulam Raza Naqvi, announced the formation of Sipah-e-Muhammad. Many youth from Imamia Students Organization (ISO) and Imamia Organization (IO) joined the group. SM held its first general meeting in Lahore in which about 2,000 activists participated. After the meeting, the leaders of SM called a press conference in which they said publically, "we are weary of carrying corpses. God willing, we will settle

all the scores now. We will wipe out the name of Sipah-e-Sahaba from history."[58] Sectarian clashes between Shia and Sunni started when Sipah-e-Muhammad claimed responsibility of the attack on Azam Tariq of SSP in Sargodha. Police and intelligence agencies have credible reports about the presence of the activists of Sipah-e-Muhammad in Karachi. Ali Mustehsan reportedly operates its network in the city.[59] The outfit has a strong hold in the areas with Shia population, including Shah Faisal Colony, Ancholi, Al-Noor Society, Jaffer Tayyar, Malir and Liaquatabad.

The outfit is backed by the Shia political and religious organization of Shia sect. The outfit is involved in killing of many SSP leaders and activists across the country.

### 6.10. Jafria Alliance

The Jafria Alliance consists of different small Shia groups. Muttahida Qaumi Movement's senator, Allama Abbas Kumeli is the chief of Jafria Alliance while the other leaders include Maulana Quratulain Abidi, Maulana Nisar Qalanderi, Maulana Hussain Masoodi, Allama Furqan Haider Abidi, Sulaiman Mujtaba, Maulana Munawwar, Allama Aftab Haider Jafri, Maulana Muhammad Aun Naqvi, Mujahid Abbas and Allama Nisar Qalandri, All Pakistan Shia Action Committee (APSAC) Chief Allama Mirza Yousuf Hussain were also prominent Shia leaders in Karachi.

Jafria Alliance has a strong network and influence among the Shia community in the city. It is the only religious group that demonstrates against the action of their rival groups in the city. The group enjoys a huge support by MQM and Peoples Party.

### 6.11. Tehreek-e-Jafria

Tehreek-e-Jafria headed by Allama Sajid Naqvi is a main Shia political party in Pakistan. The party was banned on 12 January 2002 due to its sectarian beliefs but is still active and renamed to Millat-e-Jafria. After the killing of Allama Hassan Turabi, head of Tehreek-e-Jafria Karachi, in 2006, the organization lost its political support.

## 7. Criminal Syndicates

### 7.1. Shoaib Group

The notorious gang known as the Shoaib Group had a strong network in Karachi but it disappeared following the mysterious death of Shoaib Khan who ran a large number of gambling dens in Karachi. He was familiar with gambling as his father Akhtar Ali Khan, was a *Satta* operator (gambler) in

Liaquatabad. He moved from petty crimes into the realm of big-time underworld operations and contract killings in Karachi and abroad.

Shoaib Khan known as Aka Shoaib Rummy walla[60], started his career from the slums of Karachi, a perfect environment for any wannabe gangster. Within a few years his underworld activities took him and his families from the slums to palatial houses in Karachi's Defence Housing Authority. The small-time gangster struck gold when he got in touch with the notorious Dawood Ibrahim, and started working for him in Karachi. 'In the mid '90s Shoaib started a gambling den in Dubai. It was in Dubai that Shoaib made contact with Dawood through their mutual passion for gambling. Both of them became friends and Shoaib took over Dawood's extortion operation in Karachi.[61]

**Differences with Dawood Ibrahim:** In 1998, Shoaib allegedly murdered a Pakistani businessman, Irfan Goga, who had won a lot of money through gambling in Shoaib's den in Dubai. Irfan's body was never recovered but his abandoned car was found in the parking lot in Dubai airport. Goga's family accused Shoaib of the murder, but before warrants were issued, Shoaib fled to Pakistan. Dawood also knew Irfan and as reported when the former questioned Shoaib about the killing, he admitted that he killed Irfan because the victim had been abusing Dawood, but he could not convince his explanation. Later on, Shoaib kidnapped Ibrahim Bholoo a closed collaborator of Ibrahim Dawood and killed him. Reportedly, on January 8, 2001, Ibrahim Bholoo visited the Defense residence of Shoaib Khan to settle monetary dispute involving USD 700,000 and was never seen again.[62]

In 2005, the government of Sindh decided to take action against the underworld syndicates.[63] Shoaib went underground. However there were reports that he was arrested from Lahore and later on shifted to Karachi. He expired on January 27, 2007 when he was being taken to hospital from Central Jail in Karachi owing to chest pain. During interrogation, Shoaib exposed police officials and politicians who had links with him. The police registered more than sixteen cases against Shoaib.[64]

## 7.2. Lyari Gangs

Lyari, one of the ancient towns in Karachi, has become epicenter of gang warfare and criminals resulting into a huge number of killings of innocent people. Different groups have been operating in the area, including Sheru, Dadul, Lalu, Allah Bukhsh alias Kala Nag and Iqbal alias Babu Dakait, Arshad Pappu and Rehman Dakait.[65] Gang war in Lyari flared up again recently and the crime rate has increased in the adjacent towns due to spill over affects, usually the gangsters get out of Lyari, steal, rob people and go

back to gangs, reveals Waseem Mohammad, Station Head Officer (SHO) Lyari.[66]

Lyari was a small town with limited population of fishermen but after construction of the seaport, the people of different areas of Balochistan migrated to Lyari. Number of cinema houses, bars and drug dens also increased. With the passage of time, the people developed affiliations with different groups.

Opening of distilleries had been increased in the locality and later on drug related business like hashish and heroin got momentum when people of the area became jobless after ban on liquor business by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1974 and restriction on film industry by Zia-ul-Haq. The personal vendetta converted into clashes between groups in these circumstances. In this situation, underworld managed to flourish in this area.

Lyari has become a stronghold of criminals whose networks also cover areas as far as Turbat, Khuzdar, Gwadar, Panjgure, Quetta, Thatta and Gharo. Bus service in the areas of Chakiwara, Sheedi Village, Picture Road and other areas has further strengthened the gangsters' network through smuggling. The smuggled items include garments and fabrics, dry fruit, narcotics, ammunition from Iran. Smuggling of drugs and ammunition has given new impetus to the wrongdoers. Beside, extortion of money, kidnapping for ransom and contract killing have become a routine matter.[67]

The transport network in Lyari adds fuel to the fire between rival criminal groups. Buses plying on routes from Chakiwara, Sheedi Village Road and Lee Market to Balochistan, NWFP and Sindh are parked on main roads of Lyari and they have to pay from Rs 100 to Rs 500 for each turn to these syndicates. Besides bus-drivers and conductors, at least six time-keepers were killed in fighting due to extortion of money.[68]

### 7.3. Rehman Dakait Group[69]

Until recently the group had a control over more than 85 per cent area of Lyari. Abdur Rehman known as Rehman Dakait, son of Haji Dad Muhammad alias Dadul, carries head money of Rs 5 million, and is allegedly involved in a number of cases like narcotics and ammunition smuggling, kidnapping for ransom and killing attempts.[70] Haji Lalu was also a notorious criminal in Lyari. Rehman Dakait was working under patronage of Haji Lal known as Lalu, father of Arshad Pappu. Previously he was working with Babu Dakait, from his age of 14 to 17, but a rivalry started between them when latter killed former's uncle Taj Muhammad which led to separation between them. After killing of his uncle, Rehman Dakait tried to establish his

own group but could not do so. Rehman Dakait killed Babu Dakait on June 23, 2004 on backing of Haji Lal in order to avenge his uncle's murder.

Rehman Dakait and Irfat, son of Haji Lalu, were arrested by the police. Irfat was released on bail whereas Rehman Dakait remained in jail that triggered differences between Rehman and Haji Lalu. After detention of Haji Lalu, Rehman Dakait gang warfare is led by Arshad Pappu, another son of Haji Lalu.[71]

Rehman Dakait was arrested from Quetta in June 2006 and was transferred to an unknown destination. After remaining around three months in the custody of police and intelligence agencies, Rehman Dakait escaped from police custody on August 22, 2006.[72] Rehman Dakait was planning to flee to Iran after escaping from the police custody but he could not do so owing to hemiplegia.[73]

Rehman Dakait formed a team consisting of thirty boys for controlling the areas of Darleen, Gabol Road, Lasi Nara, New Kamhara Warah, Cheel Chowk, Meerab Khan, Isa Khan Road, Faqir Muhammad Dar Khan Road, Dhoubi Ghat, Noor Muhammad Village, Mill Area and Nawaleen in Lyari whereas he has appointed different competent accomplices for different sectors to control his business. Noor Muhammad known as Baba Ladla, Mulla Nisar, Abdul Jabbar known as Jhengo and Sattar Baloch are his key gangsters. He has also Baloch and Iranian miscreants in his ranks.

The group operates drug-dens, casinos and extorts money from transporters and businessmen. They also earn money through kidnapping for ransom and smuggling. It is also involved in police encounters and clashes with their rival groups to maintain monopoly. The gang members also capture the properties of the opponents. [74]

Rehman Dakait gang enjoys monopoly in different areas and it also compromises with political leaders, different movements and personnel of law enforcement agencies of the area. Gang mates use different tactics to achieve their targets, including torture, killing, kidnap for ransom, explosives and firing with automatic weapons.

### 7.4. Arshad Pappu Group

It is the second biggest criminal gang operating in Lyari of which Arshad Pappu is the leader. He acquired expertise from his father Haji Lalo who is a notorious gangster of the area. Arshad Pappu has a mastery in using automatic weapons. He has a good reputation as a sharp marksman. He became victorious every time in achieving the targets at competitions his

father used to organize in Khuzdar. His father had good relations with the PPP leaders but was arrested later.

Haji Lalu used his son Arshad Pappu along with Rustum Barohi for kidnapping for ransom and collecting *bhatta*. Rustum Barohi had good links with Mashooq Barohi but after detention of Haji Lalu, he joined Rehman Dakait group.[75] Ghaffar Zikri invited Arshad Pappu in Lyari after arrest of Rustum Barohi and he persuaded a number of Rehman's collaborators to join him.[76]

Arshad Pappu collaborated with Majeed Aspeed and Hussain Irani, both drug smugglers, to run his drug-dens in Lyari after detention of Rehman Dakait. But after mysterious disappearance of Rehman Dakait from police custody, Majeed Aspeed and Hussain Irani did not contact Arshad Pappu and he closed his dens.[77] In an interview, he said that Rehman Dakait was on the top of his target, then Baba Ladla, Rauf Nazim, Sajid Tanda and Head Constable Anwar Kalya. He said that it was a difficult task to establish a gang and lead it as it requires a large sum of money. He has property in Gulshan Iqbal and Defecne Area, Pak Colony, Lyari, Veendar, Turbat, one bungalow in Quetta and two in the Hub, but no bank balances. He had to give money to the police in order to carry on the "business," he revealed.[78]

Carrying a head money of Rs 3 million, he is demanded in over 60 cases of murder, kidnapping for ransom and police encounters. He was arrested along with his accomplice policeman Imam Bukhsh from Karachi. Balochistan government has requested Sindh to hand over Arshad Pappu as he was involved in number of cases in Balochistan.[79] After detention of Arshad Pappu, Ghaffar Zikri is leading his group.

Ghaffar Zikri, Tariq Irani, Nasir Bengali, Hassan Hasso, Mullah Sultan, Muhammad Ali Tangou, Nadeem Irani, Haris, Aamar Dalmya, Mullah Nawaz, Shahzaib, Abdul Qadir, Hameed known as Mashooq, Asif, Abdul Hameed were members of Arshad Pappu group. Some of them were arrested whereas some others were killed but some of them are still working in the network.

Arshad Pappu had formed a number of teams to perform different duties. Abdul Dubai Wala has been appointed in Dubai Chowk Lyari and his duty is to restrict entry of Baba Ladla in the area. Second team consists of Mullah Mehboob and its duty is to control Gul Muhammad Lane. Similarly, Shoaib and Jabbar Langra head the third team and its duty is to control the area of Singulane. Ghaffar Zikri also heads a group. Aamar Dahobi rules the area of Dalmya.[80] Saeed known as Kalo Current, UC Nazim, his brother, Aamar Dhobi and Ayyaz Pathan work for Arshad Pappu. Arshad Pappu supports

his gang members through thick and thin. He pays Rs 500 to 1000 to each guy per day along with their intoxications. He has to pay the families of those colleagues who are in the jail or who expired during different clashes.

Arshad Pappu group conducts many types of criminal activities including killing, highway robbery, kidnapping for ransom, smuggling, drugs business, casinos, extortion of money (*Bhatta*). Arshad Pappu had a strong network in Mewa Shah Graveyard and he received Rs 500 from gravedigger for one grave otherwise they were subjected to torture in secret cells in Jehanabad. Nasir, a collaborator of Arshad Pappu, was appointed to collect money from the gravedigger.[81] They also collect money from transporters in Lyari.

### 7.5. D-Gang

The D-Gang is known for pirating CDs which are sold at cheaper rates. The gang is also involved in preparing CDs for terrorist outfits. Zubair Motiwala and Seth Dilawar are believed to be the gang's ringleaders. Zubair Motiwala is an important member of the D-Gang and is now reportedly in Malaysia. He escaped before the FBI raid in Karachi. Seth Dilawar owner of 'DC-Code Company' also escaped to Singapore and operates his international business from there and exports pirated CDs to Europe and the Middle East. The main profit source is the export of these CDs abroad where they are sold in USD 4 to 5 per CD. Some of the Karachi Airport officials were also involved in the CDs export. Dubai is the transit route for this illegal trade.

The group is very much capable to deceit the security agencies. The Federal Investigation Agencies (FIA) officials not only failed in arresting the owners of the factories involved in manufacturing pirated DVDs and CDs but were even reluctant to disclose the names of those engaged in the business, despite the claim of raids conducted at their residences in different parts of the city. According to an insider, persons arrested during the raids were mostly the agents and paid employees of the CD mafia who run their business from abroad.

Though, the group has no ideological links with the terrorist groups, it deals with them on account of business and trade.

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**Comment**

# FATA: Tribal Economy in the Context of Ongoing Militancy

*Asif Mian*

**Editor's Note**

*The writer is an experienced journalist. Despite the extremely difficult security circumstances he journeyed the area and collected invaluable pieces and bits of information and presented in this comment. No doubt, much more is needed to do in order to address the topic appropriately, this comment can be taken as a step forward to achieve the goal.*

In recent years, the semi-autonomous Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan, bordering Afghanistan—and of late, the Swat region—have increasingly been defined by the Taliban militancy that has now spread to large parts of the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and beyond. The tribesmen are frequently reported to have access to high-tech gadgets, sophisticated weapons, luxury vehicles and links not just across the border in Afghanistan but also internationally.

It is natural to wonder about the drivers of FATA's economy and, to some extent, how international links serve tribesmen's interests. These issues acquire significance not only with regard to the funding of the Taliban militancy in and from FATA, but also when the economic conditions of common residents of the seven tribal agencies of FATA—Khyber, Mohmand, Bajaur, Kurram, Orakzai, North Waziristan and South Waziristan—are considered.

The ongoing militancy may ostensibly be a war by religious extremists, or for control of areas, but money is a major consideration, both as a source for financing the militancy as well as an incentive for control over smuggling routes or trade in or through the region. A plausible explanation for the Taliban movement's convergence on Swat and Dir could be the money factor and the tribal system there. A number of actors in the conflict-hit areas are striving to safeguard existing economic interests and relatively new players

are fighting for a stronger position and to wrest control of economic resources.

When, in 1989, Sufi Muhammad, chief of the banned Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM), launched the *Shariah* movement in Malakand, many people joined it. But economic interests were generally believed to be a major factor for their decision to join the TNSM movement. Sufi Muhammad hails from Dir and his rallying call for prompt and inexpensive justice and *Shariah* implementation overwhelmingly became a movement of Dir traders associated with the transit trade between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Swat is home to a substantial silk cloth industry, for which the raw material was imported by local traders. People expected unprecedented benefits if Sufi's movement was implemented, including cheap raw material, cheap electricity, and tax-free vehicles, etc.

The economy of Pakistan's FATA region is deeply linked with that of Afghanistan due to a number of factors, the main ones being the geographic and ethnic proximity. Being a mountainous region, FATA does not offer vast agricultural land. The tribesmen mainly engage in business or trade—irrespective of the legality of their ventures. Illegal trade of arms and narcotics, transit trade to Afghanistan through Pakistan, foreign exchange transactions through *hawala*, *hundi*, and goods transport are among the major businesses in the tribal areas. Goods transport business is completely dominated by the tribesmen. Although most people involved in business in FATA are not militants or pro-Taliban, the roads used for the transportation business are in Taliban control and can only be used subject to payments to the militants.

Pakistani tribesmen's control on businesses in FATA has declined somewhat after the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan, because of their inability to compete with Afghans who had received massive amounts of funds in the name of anti-Soviet jihad and used the money to start businesses in FATA.

Around the same time, however, thousands of Pakistani tribesmen acquired Afghan passports and left for Europe and the United States. The expatriate tribesmen have since relied mainly on *hawala* transactions to send money home—improving or at least sustaining family income levels on the one hand, and also strengthening *hawala* system in the tribal areas.

Poppy cultivation has increased in Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban regime in that country in 2001. Pakistani tribesmen are closely involved in the trade of narcotic substances originating in Afghanistan. Though statistics on the volume of narcotics trade through the tribal areas are not available, the

FATA areas controlled by Pashtun militants and parts of Balochistan's border with Afghanistan, which are under Baloch militants' control, are known to be major narcotics trafficking routes to Europe and beyond.

Another question of vital importance is where the Taliban fighting in Pakistan and Afghanistan get their weapons from. The volume of earning in the arms trade and the number of people involved in this business are grey as well as crucial areas. Hundreds of thousands of people are associated with the weapons' manufacturing industry. These weapons are traded in huge markets in Darra Adam Khel, a town located between Peshawar and Kohat in the NWFP, Sakhakot (Malakand), Bara (Khyber Agency), Peshawar's Karkhano Market, Miranshah, the main town of North Waziristan Agency, and in Mohmand Agency. Though at smaller scale, weapons manufacturing and trade exists in all of FATA region.

According to Mohammad Tariq, Chief Operating Officer of Pakistan Hunting and Sporting Arms Development Company (PHSADC) set up by the federal government (*see* details infra), around 250 small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and 2,200 families are associated with the weapons' manufacturing business in Darra Adam Khel and Bara.[1] In hunting weapons arms, just in the two markets of Darra Adam Khel (Orakzai Agency) and Peshawar, 6,000 30-mm pistols are manufactured every month and 73,000 annually, tells Tariq. Miranshah (North Waziristan), Sakhakot (Malakand Agency) and Mohmand Agency are also well-known arms sale markets. Around 4,500 shotguns of different categories are manufactured here every month.[2]

According to data available with the PHSADC, the sale of pistols and shotguns in Pakistan amounted to US $16 million in 2006. In 2007, Pakistan exported hunting weapons worth US $1.2 million.

According to Maulvi Noor Muhammad, a former member of the National Assembly from Wana (South Waziristan Agency), when the Taliban get hold of an American or ISAF soldier in Afghanistan, they take away all his gear including helmet, bulletproof jacket, goggles, uniform, dagger, watch, gun and night vision gadgets, etc. All these articles are sold for approximately 8,00,000 rupees in the market. He says Afghan soldiers swap weapons for narcotics such as heroine or *charas (*the name given to hand-made hashish in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal and India).[3]

The federal government established the PHSADC in 2006 to facilitate arms manufacturers and traders. The company was aimed at building manufacturers' capacity and providing access to the international market. They were to be provided consultants for designing and metallurgical assistance to help them manufacture high-quality weapons according to

international standards. The PHSADC sought assistance from an engineering concern in Punjab's Gujranwala district to improve the arms' manufacturing machinery in order to overcome shortcomings related to weapons' fitting, calibration and vibration. The PHSADC has failed to meet the intended outcomes, in large part because of a lack of cooperation from weapons' manufacturers who have been hesitant to renounce traditional methods.

Chief Operating Officer PHSADC, Muhammad Tariq, says that the international market for hunting weapons was worth US $37 billion in 2007, with the biggest share, 45 percent, going to the United States. These are figures regarding hunting arms but the traders in FATA say that their major business revolves around assault weapons—whose volume in international trade is not available—and that they cannot earn enough from hunting arms alone.

Recently, increase in prices of weapons has been recorded in Darra Adam Khel's arms market. Explaining the reasons for the hike, a Darra shopkeeper said that Mujahideen used to sell weapons [in Darra Adam Khel] earlier, but were now buying arms and ammunition for themselves. Requesting anonymity, the shopkeeper said the price of a second-hand Kalashnikov had risen from Rs 20,000 to Rs 35,000 and that of a new one from Rs 25,000 to Rs 45,000. The price of bullets made in Egypt has risen 14 percent and those in China 19 percent. Previously, the arms market in Miranshah, in North Waziristan Agency, met militants' weapons needs but the supply has failed to keep pace with the growing demand.

Some income-generation avenues are specific to particular tribal districts in FATA. Proceeds from a well-established marble industry are one of the major sources of income in Mohmand Agency, while trade of timber from forests in North Waziristan Agency contributes substantially to the tribal district's economy. Protection money extorted during transportation of marble and timber through Taliban-controlled areas also fills the militants' coffers.

Smuggled goods are big business in all seven tribal districts, and traders in nearly every FATA agency have defined their niche market—if one agency is known as a trading hub for smuggled tyres, another deals exclusively in smuggled cars, weapons, or chemicals. Whenever the government of Pakistan introduces any changes in the taxation system that push up the prices of any such goods or cracks down more vigorously on the illegal weapons trade, smuggling of these articles into Pakistan through these routes begins.

Bara Market, also known as Karkhano Market, is situated in Peshawar's Hayatabad industrial area. The market was first established some 40 years ago in Landi Kotal, a city near Pak-Afghan border.[4] In 1975, it was shifted to

Bara, Khyber Agency, and then in 1985 to its present location in Hayatabad. The market has 4,857 shops where people from across Pakistan come to shop. Estimates suggest that around 40 percent population of Bajaur, Mohmand and Khyber tribal agencies is directly or indirectly associated with this market.[5] Washington Post correspondent Joshua Partlow highlights some interesting facts about Sitara Market, which is part of sprawling Karkhano Market:[6]

> Much of the stuff for sale here seems merely odd, but some is worrisome. For US $650, a correspondent for the GlobalPost Web Site earlier this year was able to buy a US military laptop that appeared to belong to someone from the US Army's 864th Engineer Combat Battalion and held e-mail addresses for hundreds of military personnel. There are ancient and modern guns and full sets of camouflage fatigues.

Goods are brought to Karkhano Market from Iran, Central Asia and China through different routes. Karkhano shopkeepers have contacts in the world's biggest markets. One can find electronics, cosmetics, clothes, household items, etc. of any international brand. Some of the distribution agencies' owners supply their merchandise to the whole of Afghanistan or Pakistan. Communication systems used by the Taliban can be purchased from Karkhano Market. One does not even have to go to the weapons' market in Darra Adam Khel to buy walkie-talkies, recorders, signal jammers, binoculars, night-vision goggles and telescopic gun sights—they can all be bought from Karkhano Market. At Karkhano, one can get such articles cheaper than one would even from the manufacturer.

Attacks on container terminals supplying NATO forces have frequently been reported in the media. Within days of such attacks, goods and items, including large amounts of tinned food looted from these containers, are on the shelves in Sitara Market. Militants operating from the tribal areas have been blamed for orchestrating the attacks and there have been scores of incidents of government forces acting against tribesmen for facilitating and sheltering militants. These actions have ranged from collective punishment for a whole locality or tribe, razing of tribesmen's houses and arrests.

With business on such a large scale in or emanating from the tribal areas, the need for channels dealing with monetary transactions is obvious. *Hawala* has filled the vacuum in FATA. Called by different names in different areas, in the tribal areas and Afghanistan, *hawala* dealers are known as *sarrafs* and the paper on which the transaction is made is called *hawala*.[7] Around two dozen *sarrafs* operate in Karkhano Market, catering to large business interests in the tribal areas, with each *sarraf* sending millions of rupees to foreign countries daily.

The tribes in FATA have a well-established *hawala* system, which is very efficient. Anyone wishing to make a financial transaction with an individual or institution anywhere in the world can do so in the tribal areas irrespective of the amount involved and without any concern over the transaction's reliability. Pakistan's former Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz, a banker himself, says that US $5 million are taken out of the country through *hawala* or *hundi* annually.[8]

Though, more than 50 percent Karkhano shopkeepers are Afghan nationals, but, on the whole, Pakistani tribal business community still holds sway over the Afghan transit trade.

Taliban share in the tribal economy is higher than understood in general. According to NWFP Governor Owais Ahmed Ghani Taliban collect around four billion rupees annually (approximately US $50 million).[9]

The militants are also not averse to benefiting from any source of generating money that presents itself. Media reports reveal an example in nearby Swat region in the NWFP where an emerald mine, one of Asia's biggest, remained in Taliban control for three months. The Taliban sold the mined emerald through bidding. Two-thirds of the proceeds went to the miners, and the rest to the Taliban. According to a media report, Taliban earned US $50,000 a month from the mine.[10]

According to a recent editorial by a national daily, three natural resources—gemstones, timber and marble—contribute substantially to the finances of militant groups:[11]

> The Afghan Taliban have long made their money in the opium trade, and to a small extent they do that in Pakistan…. Marble was their first target, starting in April 2008 when they took over the Ziarat marble quarry in Mohmand Agency. Around a million tons of marble a year are mined in FATA every year…. The emerald mines of Swat were next. By late March of this year reports began to be confirmed that militants had taken control of government-controlled emerald mines located in the mountains of Mingora. The occupation of the Mingora mine apparently took place sometime in February 2009, following the peace deal between the provincial administration and [TNSM chief] Sufi Muhammad. Taliban forces then seized the nearby Shamozai and Gujjar Killi mines and started mining and trading gems.

Siraj-ud-din, deputy chief of the TNSM, is associated with a vast timber business. He and numerous other individuals joined the TNSM and the Taliban to make money out of their timber business without any government restrictions. Besides profiting from illegal logging in the tribal areas, the

Taliban have chopped or facilitated the chopping of forests in Swat on a massive scale.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of money Taliban earn in this manner, but the Pakistan government has estimated that it suffers an annual loss of US $800 million as a result of deforestation and illegal trade of timber in Malakand Division.[12]

Taliban also raise money through levying 'toll taxes' and fines—for what they declare un-Islamic activities such as shaving of beards for adult Muslim males—Zakat and criminal activities such as kidnapping for ransom. Sometimes they charge ransom amounts as high as ten million rupees. John Solomon estimates that Pakistani Taliban generate between 85 to 90 percent of their revenue through criminal activities and dealing in drugs.[13]

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## Guidelines for Contributors

*Conflict and Peace Studies* is a quarterly journal published by the Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies. The journal is aimed at dissemination of research by the Institute in its key mandated areas. It also provides a forum for those around the world undertaking research in the areas of:

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The title of the submission may be center-aligned and all headings and sub-headings left-aligned. All headings and sub-headings, as well as the title, may be in lower case but first letter of the first word and of all other words except prepositions, articles, and coordinating conjunctions may be capitalized. Titles and subheads may not be underlined or italicized.

Citations for books may include full name of the book, city of its publication, publishing company or organization, year of publication, and the page number/s referred to. Citations for articles may include full name

of the article, name of the journal it was published in along with its volume and issue numbers, and, the page number/s referred to. Names of the books and journals cited may be italicized but may not be in quotation marks. Names of the articles cited may be in quotation marks but may not be italicized.

Manuscripts may be submitted to the editor electronically at editor@san-pips.com.

**Last Issue**

image

## Taliban Insurgency in Pakistan: A Counterinsurgency Perspective

*Muhammad Amir Rana*

Pakistan Army launched a massive offensive against Taliban in Malakand region of NWFP in the last week of April 2009. The operation was chosen as a last resort after two agreements by the provincial government with non-state actors failed to ensure peace in the region. However, the counterinsurgents have not benefited fully from insurgents' weaknesses nor built on their own strengths. To understand the factors that allowed the Taliban a foothold in the areas that they now control would go a long way in identifying ways to counter them. How counterinsurgents manipulate insurgents' disadvantage in their own favor would ultimately prove crucial. The task requires vision, will and capacity, but so far the state seems to lack effective strategy on this tactical front. The Taliban insurgency in the tribal areas has regional dimensions as well, with regional and global actors trying to secure their own interests in the area. But ignoring Pakistan's concerns and regional interests would frustrate the counterinsurgency effort. Pakistan cannot snuff out the insurgency alone. The international community asking Pakistan to do more must show its commitment to doing more itself on these counts.

## Inequality and the Militant Threat in Pakistan

*Muhammad Azam and Safiya Aftab*

Growing attacks point to militancy gaining ground in Pakistan. A combination of factors pushes young people into the embrace of militant groups. This paper examines inequality as one of the key factors influencing recruitment into militant organizations. Various forms of inequality and their link to militancy have been considered, with the main focus being on economic and income inequality. Most studies suggest a positive correlation between militancy and inequality. Differences in income, disparities in the education system, inequality of opportunity and gender are considered as possible factors behind militancy. In light of the cited empirical and non-

empirical research, it is argued that inequality is a strong contributing factor towards militancy in Pakistan.


**Deradicalization: Approaches and Models**

*Saba Noor and Shagufta Hayat*

Several terms are used to explain the phenomenon of deradicalization the world over. The war against terror, being a war of ideas as well, cannot be won solely through use of military force, and collecting intelligence and securing borders. Efforts are needed to eliminate hatred, intolerance and extreme interpretations of religion. Deradicalization and rehabilitation programs aimed at weaning away radicalized individuals from extreme ideologies are an important component of the strategy to defeat terrorism and extremism. This paper reviews multiple approaches to and models of deradicalization initiatives in place in various countries. Many of these approaches implemented by different states converge at some points, but also differ in crucial respects. The effectiveness and advantages of various models are discussed to facilitate distinction between successful and unsuccessful deradicalization strategies.


**Crisis of Political Development and Human Rights Violations**

*Dr. Mansoor Akbar Kundi*

There is a deep correlation between the crises of political development and human rights violations; the more acute the crises, the higher the incidence of human rights violation. Thus the hypothesis is that the absence of the crises of political development is tantamount to human happiness. The five major crisis of political development are those of identity, legitimacy, participation, representation and penetration. The growth of these crises can lead to disequilibrium in society and pushes it towards disintegration. The crisis of identity can lead to violence against minorities. The crisis of legitimacy, a conspicuous phenomenon in non-representative societies, results in bloodshed and destruction. Rule without public support leads to restrictions on public debate and political participation, which ends up in the crisis of participation. Mass revolution, insurgencies and clandestine struggles are largely witnessed in societies where curbs are placed on channels of public debate and people are not allowed to participate or popular leaders are

harassed or killed. Army's role in politics akin to a praetorian ruler has resulted in civil war, internal displacement and human miseries. The growth of pseudo politicians and undemocratic forces are a result of the crisis of political development and leads to infringement of human rights. Factors of instability are associated with the crisis of political development which ultimately infringes upon the promotion of human rights.

## Tablighi Jamaat: Discourse and Challenges

*Muhammad Amir Rana*

The role and impact of Tablighi Jamaat (TJ) have been under discussion for a long time. It has been a topic of discussion not only for the religious circles in the Muslim world, but for western scholars as well. Salafites not only object to the approach adopted by the TJ but also reject it, labeling it as an unlawful innovation (*bid'ah*).

The range of the TJ's activities, however, continues to expand. This paper looks at the TJ in the context of South Asia, particularly Pakistan, where it originated and expanded. The Jamaat's main emphasis is on making a man an example of a good character. It has deeply penetrated into South Asia's Muslim society.

Criticism against the TJ is leveled on two counts—its belief system, and, the method of its operations. In addition, objections are raised regarding the duration of visits, schedules, and the method of administering the oath of allegiance. Reservations and concerns are expressed in the West with reference to the TJ and its potential link to jihad, terrorism and political Islam.

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