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Editor's note

Pakistan faces an assortment of conflicts including militancy and terrorism, expanding sectarian strife and violence, a nationalist insurgency in Balochistan, ethno-political violence particularly in Karachi, political turmoil in governance, and inter-state conflicts with its neighbors. There are considerable gaps in context-specific understanding and empirical evidence base of these and related issues in academic and policy-level research and analysis. This not only confuses the entire discourse on conflict de-escalation and peacebuilding but also questions the context and relevance of the policies and interventions implemented regarding that on the level of state and society.

Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) has been striving to fill this gap by carrying out empirical, grounded-in-field research on the cited issues and by disseminating its research findings and based on it policy recommendations through this quarterly research journal. Started in the last quarter of 2008, as many as 14 issues of the PIPS research journal have been published so far with their primary focus on conflict, insecurity, militancy and militants' media, religious extremism, radicalization & de-radicalization, terrorism & counterterrorism, human rights and regional strategic issues.

In 2014, PIPS sought collaboration with and financial assistance from the Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) to publish two biannual issues of the journal. PIPS is thankful for this assistance and hopes to continue this partnership. With one issue coming out in the spring and the other in the autumn, the joint PIPS-NOREF publication of *Conflict and Peace Studies* is meant to achieve the following objectives:

- To produce and publish context-specific research work on subjects of conflict, religious extremism, violent radicalism, militancy and terrorism, etc., in local and regional perspectives and disseminate to analysts, research institutes, institutions of higher education, policymakers, media and civil society organizations and others;

- To enhance the empirical knowledge-base and scholarship on interstate and intrastate conflicts and viable options of achieving peace, security and stability in the South Asian region, with particular focus on Pakistan;

– To increase understanding among policymakers and regional and multilateral institutions about situation-specific needs, early warnings, and effective options or strategies to prevent/de-escalate conflict and risk of violence; and

– To improve the effectiveness of local, regional and international partners by strengthening the evidence base and conceptual foundation for engaging in conflict prevention and de-escalation interventions in Pakistan.

Muhammad Amir Rana

Abstracts

2014 withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan: implications for regional security

Safdar Sial and Talha Saeed Satti

Afghanistan's major post-2014 concerns vis-à-vis its counterterrorism and counterinsurgency efforts would be related to: sustaining economic viability and enhancing capacity of its security infrastructure; dealing with an emboldened Taliban; managing an intra-Afghan political reconciliation; and developing good relations with its neighbors and the international community. The insecurity and instability in Afghanistan will have serious implications for Pakistan's internal and Pak-Afghan border security and might increase the burden on the latter's counterterrorism efforts. Also, the US drawdown from Afghanistan will no doubt result in insecurity for the regional states. However it is fortunate that no country in the region including Pakistan wants to see the Taliban rising to power in Afghanistan again. In order to reduce the perceived threats to their respective security that could emanate from the post-2014 Afghanistan, the country's neighbors have a vital role to play in ensuring peaceful transition and political reconciliation there.

Post-2014 Afghanistan: prospects for Taliban's rise to power

Farhan Zahid

Although the Afghan Taliban remain a formidable guerilla force, Kabul is unlikely to fall to them after the withdrawal of foreign forces. Any scenario that comes to a contrary conclusion includes a concomitant renewed Al Qaeda threat. Al Qaeda relied heavily on the Taliban and this would not be different now, if Afghanistan enters a renewed civil war. During the past 11 years Al Qaeda has been able to launch international terrorist attacks through its affiliates. However, it could not pull off any spectacular attacks in Afghanistan. The destruction of its bases and a lack of safe havens for planning and training terrorists were the main cause of its diminished power. The biggest challenge for the US and its allies will be to maintain their

vigilance. Afghanistan must remain on the West's radar screen for the foreseeable future. This is the only way to prevent terrorism from rearing its ugly head in that hapless country.

FATA reforms: journey so far and the way forward

Asmatullah Khan Wazir

The FATA reforms process has been the victim of the geopolitical situation. However, it is not prudent to block the way of any positive change along the way. The winds of change have started blowing in the region. Therefore, there is a need to choose the available options wisely. The recent reforms were warmly welcomed by the residents of FATA, yet they were too little and came too late. Therefore, in order to bring FATA at par with the rest of Pakistan, the government needs to introduce further reforms. However, in this whole process the government needs to be respectful of the wishes and desires of all stakeholders. Reforms need to be devised through consultation and general consensus as the FATA population's input is fundamental. Similarly, reforms should be introduced in an incremental way as any abrupt change has the potential of rupturing the social fabric of the tribal region, which has already suffered a great deal.

Militant economy of Karachi

Zia Ur Rehman

As Karachi continues to be a victim of extortion, kidnapping for ransom and bank heists, neither the government nor the police have come up with effective policies to curb endemic crime that plagues the city. Although law enforcement agencies, and especially the Rangers, claim to have arrested several suspects belonging to banned militant outfits in an operation started in September 2013, leaders of political parties, especially the ANP and the MQM, and Pashtun residents say that law enforcement agencies have not focused on the TTP in the entire operation. The strengthening of TTP in Karachi could paralyze economic activity, undermining the national economy and, by extension, national stability. Therefore, it is necessary that law enforcement agencies launch selective and surgical operations in Karachi to not only shatter the network of the militant outfits, especially the TTP, but

also stop the funding that is supporting the militancy in the tribal areas and Afghanistan.

Islam and politics in Pakistan (1906-1985): a political perspective

Arsalan Bilal

The Pakistan Movement was triggered by westernized Muslim academics, aristocrats and secular elites; the founding father of the country, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was one of them. However, in the 1940s, the leaders of the Muslim League utilized the Islamic rhetoric to muster the support of the masses. The recourse to religion in the political domain in the pre-partition period had far-reaching ramifications for the future of Pakistan. Ambiguity about the very ideology of the country created horrid problems for the policy makers owing to the ferocious polarization between proponents and opponents of ideological politics in Pakistan. Political realities then compelled policy makers to metamorphose Pakistan into an Islamic state on an array of reasons ranging from a need for national cohesion to garnering political legitimacy for unpopular leaders. Resultantly, Islam permeated the political and constitutional realms of the country.

Sectarian ideological warfare through graffiti

Muhammad Asif

This research article has tried to determine the nature, objectives and impact of graffiti, often referred to as wall-chalking in Pakistan. An analysis of the messages chalked on the walls revealed four types of sectarian and one type of anti-sectarian graffiti. Every type represented the ideologies of a particular sect and did not display much tolerance for views of other sects. Two alliances have emerged as a consequence of this sectarian conflict in which Deobandis and Wahabis seem to have formed a coalition against Shias and Barelvis. These messages on the walls have grave implications for social cohesion and unity in the country, as graffiti related to sectarian issues heaps rancor, resentment and hatred against other sects. It can be stated that an ideological sectarian combat is under way among different sects of Islam in

Pakistan based on misinformation and propaganda through the medium of ideological sectarian graffiti.

Pak-Afghan ties: views of Pakistan's political and religious parties

Musa Javaid and Sara Meer

Political and religious parties of Pakistan have substantial convergence of views on the shape that Pakistan-Afghanistan relations should take. There is a general agreement that relations between the two states should be cordial not only because they are neighbors, but also since Afghanistan is a fellow Muslim country and both countries are linked in such a way that the security situation in one invariably affects the other. The parties believe that both countries should refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs, but help each other when and where needed. Meanwhile, some parties, particularly religious-political, suggest that all stakeholders, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and the US should formulate a comprehensive plan to deal with the situation after the withdrawal of NATO forces. All parties agree that the regional bloc needs to be strengthened and that can only be done through political, military and economic collaboration. Most parties agree that Afghan refugees pose a major challenge to Pakistan's security and economy, and their repatriation should be expedited.

Evolution of militant groups in Pakistan (4)

Muhammad Amir Rana

An important factor in the growing sectarian divide and the associated violence in Pakistan is the rise and empowerment of sectarian groups. This fourth part of the backgrounder on the evolution of militant organizations in Pakistan looks at the emergence of Shia sectarian groups and how violent tendencies grew among them. An effort has been made to consult and depend on primary sources, particularly literature produced by different sectarian organizations and associated groups.

Comment

A review of National Internal Security Policy (2013-18)

Muhammad Amir Rana

Pakistan's federal government announced the internal security policy 2013-18 on February 24, 2014. This was the first time that a political government announced its vision of internal security.

The federal interior ministry had been assigned the task of formulating the new policy and came up with the first draft which was presented to the federal cabinet in December 2013. The cabinet suggested changes to address neglected issues. A revised draft was presented to the cabinet on February 24 this year.

1. Key features of the policy

The policy has three major elements: dialogue with all stakeholders; isolating terrorists from their support bases; and enhancing deterrence through capacity-building to enable the security apparatus to neutralize threats to internal security.

This three-pronged approach appears to be built on two threat scenarios. First, internal threats are weakening national political, economic and psycho-social potential. Second, protracted internal conflict and weakening national power are shaping the environment for external aggression.

The policy framework to implement this approach is based on two components — soft and hard. The former entails research and understanding, and winning of hearts and minds. The hard component consists of a composite deterrence plan (CDP). The policy draft describes the soft approach at length but the CDP in a brief manner.

The National Counter-Terrorism Authority (NACTA) will implement both components. For the soft part, the body is to develop a national narrative and

facilitate a dialogue to strengthen tolerance in the country. NACTA will develop de-radicalization, reconciliation and reintegration programs. It will bring madrassas into the educational mainstream, develop a youth engagement strategy and undertake a comprehensive review of the legal framework.

The responsibility of crafting and implementing the CDP will lie with NACTA. Some major initiatives under the CDP would establish a composite arms control regime, regulate the movement of Afghan refugees (the draft describes Afghan refugees as a major factor in terrorism inside Pakistan) and create a directorate of internal security, a joint intelligence directorate and a rapid response force. The focus would also include cyber security, curbing terrorism financing, capacity building and reorganization of counterterrorism departments in the provincial police set-up.

NACTA will answer directly to the prime minister. This could help remove dichotomies, especially where these concern legal obstacles to coordination between ministries and agencies. Even so, there is no guarantee that the relevant agencies will be bound to share intelligence with NACTA.

Besides NACTA's capacity constraints, the implementation and monitoring mechanisms are missing. Serious questions have been raised about how a counterterrorism body can intervene to develop a national narrative, bring madrassas into the mainstream and deal with issues such as militants' reintegration into society, the promotion of democratic values and social cohesion.

It appears that the government's internal security vision is based on an approach that engages militants in talks and builds shields to guard major urban centers. The initial steps taken thus far, or the ones that the government appears to be serious in taking, relate to countering urban terrorism. These measures include the establishment of a rapid response force and a joint intelligence directorate.

2. Comparison with previous government's approach

Although the coalition government led by the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) (2008-2013) had not announced a national internal security policy, it

developed approaches to address the critical security challenges. The key challenge for the PPP-led government was to take political ownership of the war against terrorism in Pakistan and get public support for military operations against the militants, mainly in FATA and parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. That was not an easy job considering that the people's religious sensitivities had been exploited by militants through their media and publications and there was also a general disapproval among the masses for the US-led war on terror.

The PPP-led government's approach was based on countering terrorism and it did not try to institutionalize the responses to threats. Former Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani announced the formulation of a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy based on political engagement and economic development, backed by a credible military element.

One of the important aspects of the previous government's approach was the ownership of the war against terrorism. The government had declared the war on terror as its own war in an effort to influence the public opinion against the militants.

In this perspective, the PML-N government deservedly claims the credit to formulize the first internal security policy by conceiving the challenge in a longer-term perspective.

3. Framework and conceptual gaps

    i.   As far as the policy draft is concerned, the document reflects a defensive approach. It is largely silent on the threats persisting in FATA and Balochistan and focuses primarily on securing the urban centers. Although the government is talking to the Taliban, its written 'dialogue policy' is silent on the peace initiative.

    ii.   The dialogue component of the document, apparently conceived in a broader perspective, is too general. It talks about dialogue with all stakeholders for madrassa reforms, militants' rehabilitation and de-radicalization, etc.

    iii.   A primary feature of the announced security policy is related to isolating the terrorists. The concept of a terrorist is not clear in the policy document. Does it mean the Taliban with whom the

government is engaging in talks? Does it signify an attempt by the government to detach the Taliban from their support bases through peace talks?

iv. There is a disconnect among the civil society, the political parties and the security apparatus. A collaborated approach to deal with the major challenges on the terrorism and extremism fronts should be given primacy.

v. The internal security challenge for Pakistan has its regional and global dimensions but the policy does not try to touch upon this critical aspect of the challenge.

vi. The policy tries to give a holistic approach but does not offer solutions. A defense analyst rightly pointed out that the policy "touches various subjects but completes none" (Khan, 2014).

vii. An English-language newspaper sums up the debate on conceptual gaps in the policy thus: "the real test of the proposed NISP lies in its implementation. Terrorism, insurgency and extremism are non-traditional security threats that require an altogether different solution." (*Daily Times*, 2014).

4. Functional gaps in the policy

i. The major gaps in internal security responses still exist, which include a lack of coordination among different agencies and departments. The dichotomy in coordination among law enforcement departments and intelligence agencies has not been addressed.

ii. The role of the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) defined in the policy also includes law enforcement. The ISI is an intelligence gathering body and not a law enforcement agency (Khan, 2014).

iii. At the same time, incorporating existing responses in a comprehensive policy also remains to be done. Even some functionaries and specialized agencies are not under the command of the interior ministry (Yusaf, 2014).

iv. The policy has been conceived in an urban terrorism perspective, and its features are not different from Western policy frameworks. The interior ministry has not consulted the provinces. The government has not even discussed the policy in parliament.

v. The policy draft also sheds light on international liaisons for which NACTA would be responsible. It notes that the UK and US governments are keen to develop dedicated counterterrorism bodies in countries with higher radical tendencies. Many countries have taken similar steps. But it might create functional overlaps and coordination issues, further weakening the traditional security mechanism. Another troubling aspect is that when foreign assistance and collaboration stops, overlapping institutional functions would become a huge burden for the government.

vi. About establishing new institutions, security expert and former police officer Tariq Khosa believes that an attempt to raise a new counterterrorism force in a province under the bureaucracy instead of the police command is unwise (Khosa, 2014).

vii. The policy does not address the issue of monitoring and evaluation of the different initiatives.

The internal security policy is a beginning but parliamentary intervention could improve it.

5. An alternative policy option

NACTA has been declared the focal organization for internal security. As mentioned earlier, the policy framework is narrow and assigning NACTA all the important tasks including political and operational interventions gives the impression that the government is not serious in dealing with the challenge and believes that the alternative discourse, i.e. talks with the Taliban, would provide the remedy for the entire problem.

Gaps exist in the regional strategic approach. The policy fails to address the dichotomies in internal security challenges and regional interests. These critical challenges require an institutional mechanism to synchronize the civil-military contribution in the formation of a national security policy in order to remove the gaps.

At the same time, the decision-making mechanism on critical regional challenges linked with internal security is completely absent.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had taken a decision that could have provided that mechanism. That decision was the establishment of the Cabinet Committee on National Security (CCNS). The prime minister was to head the CCNS while the top military brass was to have a status equal to the civilian members on the committee. The office of a 'civilian' national security adviser was established to make this new body functional.

Experts believe that the CCNS could strengthen and deepen the consultative process between the political government and the military provided the committee functioned regularly and the civilians looked at security and defense affairs in a more professional manner.

Secondly, it would have started the process of civilian ownership of foreign and security policies in a country where defense and security affairs, including key foreign policy areas, have been off-limits to civilian governments.

The Pakistan Security Report 2013, released by Pak Institute for Peace Studies, has suggested that the key objective of coordination must be to connect both political responses and operational strategies and to evolve a monitoring and evaluation mechanism to keep an eye on the performance of different institutions and departments. That would be helpful in reviewing and amending the strategies in the context of the changing nature of threats.

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2014 withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan: implications for regional security

Safdar Sial and Talha Saeed Satti

1. Introduction

The withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan towards the end of 2014 would have implications for the ongoing war against terrorism in the region. Since the launch of this war after the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan and Afghanistan have been fighting against local and foreign militants in their respective territories and border regions as frontline allies of the United States and the international community. Despite these efforts, all indications suggest that tough times lie ahead for peace and security of both countries.

After more than 12 years of counterinsurgency operations in Afghanistan, the US and NATO forces, along with the Afghan security forces, have failed to eliminate the threat that the Afghan Taliban and other militants pose. The Afghan national security forces' capability to secure peace and stability in their country also remains debatable. The United States and the Afghan government are trying to evolve political reconciliation through negotiations with the Afghan Taliban; however, little progress has been made thus far.

The situation of militancy and terrorism in Pakistan is related more to the government's political will and approach to deal with it than the issues of security forces' capacity and capability. However, compared to Afghanistan, Pakistan faces diverse threats to its security and stability in the form of a nationalist insurgency in Balochistan, Taliban-led militancy mainly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and FATA, ethno-political and criminal violence in Karachi, and growing sectarian violence and religious extremism in the country.

Pakistan has launched at least 17 major military operations in KP and FATA thus far and made about as many peace deals with the militants. Almost every military operation has been followed by a peace agreement with the militants. After every agreement, the government declared its victory. The Taliban used these agreements strategically to their advantage. These deals

not only consolidated their control in certain areas but also helped them make new recruitments, vital for making further advances (Rana, 2013). The incumbent Pakistani government is engaged in peace talks with the Taliban, mainly the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in a bid to achieve peace and security in the country, a process that has not achieved success thus far and has earned criticism from scholars and more recently from political parties in the opposition.

This report examines the likely impact of withdrawal of international combat forces from Afghanistan on the militant landscape in Pakistan and Afghanistan and also on security and counterterrorism efforts by the two neighboring countries. It discusses possible post-2014 scenarios in terms of three variables: the international community's security and economic support for Afghanistan; intra-Afghan reconciliation including the Taliban; and the role of regional countries in achieving peace and stability in Afghanistan. The final section of the report focuses on security and counterterrorism implications of the foreign troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan for both Islamabad and Kabul and also other countries in the region.

2. Variables to affect post-2014 security scenario in Afghanistan

The pullout of international security forces from Afghanistan and the process of transition of security responsibility to Afghan forces have already begun and will conclude later this year. The prospects for peace and security in Afghanistan beyond 2014 largely depend on a few variables, which are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

- *International community's security and economic support for Afghanistan*

Peace, security and stability in Afghanistan ultimately depend on the war-torn country's capacity to generate revenue and the will to evolve a representative political system to govern the country. Experts on Afghanistan argue that the concept and framework for economic regeneration in the country need to be articulated by the Afghans, aided by support mechanisms from outside, where needed (Rana & Sial, 2013). Afghanistan essentially has four economies–the aid economy, driven by NGO, USAID and the

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Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) funding;[1] the war contracting economy, driven by massive expenditures on private security and military transportation and construction; the narcotics economy centered in the south, and the "real" Afghan economy (Maunser & Cordesman, 2011). Unfortunately, the "real" economy is by far the smallest of four, and the largest two of these economies are going to shrink drastically by 2014 and could then largely disappear (Ibid).

Against this backdrop, Afghanistan will need sufficient economic support from the international community in order to rehabilitate its war-torn economy. One of the key challenges ahead for Afghanistan beyond 2014 would be the sustainability and effectiveness of the oversized Afghan security forces (Podesta, Katulis & Caroline Wadhams, 2011). According to some accounts, the combined strength of the Afghan army and police stands at 352,000. According to NATO estimates, Kabul would require over $4.1 billion a year to maintain this force. But the Afghan government lacks funds even if the number of personnel was reduced to 228,500 by 2017 (Khan, 2012). The international donors have already pledged an amount of US$ 16 billion till 2015 as developmental aid to Afghanistan, but the money comes with conditions of anti-corruption measures and good governance. The major donors include Japan, the US and the United Kingdom (Dogan, 2014).

The US has been a major contributor to economic and security-related assistance to Afghanistan since 2001. At present, the stalemate between the US and President Hamid Karzai continues on account of the latter delaying the signing of the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA), which could force Washington to exercise the "zero option," which, although unlikely so far, could negatively impact a peaceful political and security transition in Afghanistan. It is expected that the new Afghan president after the 2014 elections would sign the BSA as the Afghan parliament and most of the political leaders want to do that.

- *Reconciliation with the Taliban*

Peace and stability in Afghanistan after 2014 would largely depend on an intra-Afghan reconciliation that entails all ethnic and political factions

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[1]   The funds for CERP come from the US Department of Defense.

including the Taliban. Although most political analysts and strategists believe that the Taliban cannot capture Kabul but they do not rule out the role of the Taliban as a destabilizing factor unless they are reconciled and accommodated in the Afghan political set-up.

Nonetheless, the process of political reconciliation in Afghanistan faces diverse challenges, including mainly: Afghan Taliban's unpredictable behavior; regional dynamics of the endgame in Afghanistan; Afghanistan's souring relationship with the US as the foreign troops' drawdown approaches; Afghanistan's domestic political issues and its relations with countries in the region; and the issues of socio-cultural and political acceptance of the Afghan Taliban in their country.

- *Regional context*

At the same time, Afghanistan's sustainability from the political and security standpoints hinges on the involvement of regional organizations and regional actors in the process. The regional context is still not conducive for a political settlement in Afghanistan. Owing to pervasive confusion and mutual distrust, regional and international stakeholders continue to assert their influence in Afghanistan. This in turn has generated cycles of allegations and counter-allegations. There is no clarity or unanimity among regional stakeholders about the evolving situation in Afghanistan. Nor is there a comprehensive regional roadmap about Afghanistan's future outlook. Washington has also been sending mixed signals since long. It seems everyone is in a wait-and-see mode and trying to adjust to the shifting US polices.

3. Withdrawal of foreign troops: security and counterterrorism implications for Pakistan, Afghanistan and the region

As mentioned earlier, the international community's post-2014 financial commitment to Afghanistan, security assistance such as expected under the proposed US-Afghan bilateral security agreement, and reconciliation with the Taliban will pave the way for peaceful and effective security and political transition in the country. Even if the process of reconciliation with the Taliban does not achieve the desired level of success, the former two factors, i.e.

international community's security and economic assistance, will largely impact the Afghan counterterrorism and counterinsurgency measures.

Nonetheless, counterterrorism efforts on both sides of the Pak-Afghan border after the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan will greatly reflect in internal security policies of the two countries and also their foreign policies vis-à-vis each other. In the past, the two countries have traded accusations of creating problems in each other's affairs. Continuity of such a blame-game after 2014 would mean that the internal security and foreign policies of both countries will not be in synch to deal with the largely shared threat of militancy and terrorism.

On the other hand, withdrawal of foreign troops will further 'mobilize the national (Afghan) and international (non-Afghan) actors in the region and the uncertain political vision of Afghan leadership may contribute towards chaotic future' (Grare, 2014). So far, Karzai's refusal to sign the bilateral security agreement with the US has served as a hindrance for Washington to acquire extra-territorial rights for the American troops that might stay in Afghanistan after December 2014 (Hussain, 2014).

3.1 Implications for Pakistan-Afghan border security

Managing security at the Pakistan-Afghanistan border and checking cross-border infiltration of militants to either side would be a huge challenge for both countries, particularly if Afghanistan drifts into increased violence and militancy after 2014. This would not only affect their respective counterterrorism efforts but also bilateral relations. Afghanistan blames Pakistan for sheltering and supporting the Afghan Taliban including the Haqqanis, who carry out cross-border attacks inside Afghanistan. Pakistan accuses Afghanistan of sheltering a faction of Pakistani Taliban in Kunar and Nuristan provinces and also of fueling the insurgency in Balochistan province of Pakistan in conjunction with India.

The TTP militants sheltered in Afghanistan have become a major threat for the security of Pakistani tribal areas and parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in recent years. The TTP's Swat chapter led by Mullah Fazlullah, who currently heads the group after the death of Hakeemullah Mehsud, has established its strongholds in Kunar and Nuristan provinces of Afghanistan. There is strong

likelihood that the group will increase its cross-border terrorist attacks inside Pakistan in case a heightened Taliban insurgency and civil strife are observed in Afghanistan after 2014. These militants had fled to Afghanistan after the 2009 Swat military operation and were reportedly involved in most of the 165 cross-border attacks launched in 14 districts and regions of Pakistan between January 1, 2010 and December 31, 2013. As many as 525 people were killed and 475 others injured in these attacks which mainly targeted civilians and security forces and their check posts in North Waziristan, Mohmand, Kurram, Khyber and Bajaur agencies of FATA, and Chitral and lower and upper Dir districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.[2]

At the same time, Pakistan has serious concerns that if political instability persists or civil war breaks out in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of US and NATO forces it would force large numbers of Afghans to take refuge in neighboring countries, including Pakistan. Pakistan considers Afghan refugee camps in the country a source of recruitment for militants and also a factor in insecurity.

Pakistan and Afghanistan will need to evolve and implement a common and cooperative border security mechanism in order to restrict the movement and cross-border activities of local and foreign militants operating in the border areas who pose a serious threat not only to the internal security of the two countries but also that of neighboring countries.

3.2 Implications for militant landscapes of Pakistan and Afghanistan

Afghan Taliban's spokesman Zabeehullah Mujahid claimed in a recent interview with BBC's John Simpson that the Taliban controlled most parts of Afghanistan, were present everywhere particularly in far-flung areas of the country, and believed that they would eventually gain victory over foreign forces there (*BBC Urdu*, 2014). This statement shows how the Taliban mindset is characterized by a sense of victory, which is expected to be further strengthened after the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. This mindset is probably also a factor behind the Taliban leadership's lax and

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[2]   Statistics are based on Pak Institute for Peace Studies' (PIPS) digital database on security available at http://san-pips.com/app/database.

contradictory responses to the offers for talks made by the US and Afghan government. At the same time, they understand that capturing Kabul is not an easy task. However, a lot depends on the approach of the Afghan government and the US to engage the Taliban in a reconciliation process. Following the presidential elections in Afghanistan, it is hoped that the new president would not only take the reconciliation process seriously but also work closely and constructively with regional and international partners to achieve peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Hizb-e-Islami, a major militant group in Afghanistan, has gradually become more amenable to the political process in the country. It has kept a hybrid face over the years. Some of its leaders took part in the 2014 presidential elections. However, the Afghan Taliban did not recognize the 2014 election and threatened to attack election-related targets; they launched a few attacks before the elections. But analysts are of the view that serious reconciliation efforts could force the Afghan Taliban to be part of the political process, particularly by offering them non-elected positions in the government such as governorship of a province or two.

Nonetheless, withdrawal of international security forces from Afghanistan without some sort of political reconciliation among different ethnic and political groups including the Taliban would have serious ramifications for security of Afghanistan, Pakistan and the region. Although most political analysts and strategists are convinced that the Afghan Taliban cannot take over Kabul, it is also true that they can increase instability and civil strife in Afghanistan after further strengthening their position in the southern and eastern parts of the country and far-flung rural areas.

A post-2014 scenario of heightened Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan will also increase the possibility of the Afghan Taliban's presence and activities in the Pakistan-Afghan border areas and its spillover effect on Pakistan's militant landscape. As in the past, the Pakistani militant groups mainly the Pakistani Taliban and other jihadi groups would increase their cross-border movement to aid the Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan. There exists widespread support among Pakistan's Islamic groups and religious-political parties for the Afghan Taliban, compared to a confused stance about the Pakistani Taliban. A rise in violence and tensions among different Afghan groups in Afghanistan after 2014 would encourage these groups and parties as well as

Deobandi madrassas to send militants to fight in Afghanistan alongside the Afghan Taliban, as some of them had done in the late 1990s (Rizvi, 2014). Pakistan is already facing the terrorist onslaught launched by the TTP, sectarian militant groups and splinter groups of jihadi militants including the Punjabi Taliban and cannot afford a rise in the jihadi sentiment in the country.

Some analysts believe that in such a scenario the security situation in Pakistan's restive Balochistan province could become more vulnerable if nationalist insurgent groups operating there taking advantage of the intensifying militancy and chaos in the country tried to seek external support for their struggle (Aftab, 2014).

3.3 Implications for security and counterterrorism efforts of Afghanistan and Pakistan

Afghanistan's major post-2014 concerns vis-à-vis its counterterrorism and counterinsurgency efforts would be related to: sustaining economic viability and enhancing capacity of its security infrastructure; dealing with an emboldened Taliban; managing an intra-Afghan political reconciliation; and developing good relations with its neighbors and the international community.

As mentioned earlier in the report, economic sustainability of its security forces will be a huge challenge for the largely donor-based Afghan economy. Some analysts claim that the Afghan government will need donors' money even to pay salaries to the Afghan security forces after the withdrawal of international troops in December 2014 (Dogan, 2014). The capacity and loyalty of the Afghan security forces, which reportedly have elements sympathizing with the Taliban, pose another challenge. Analysts assert that the US and NATO efforts to develop the security forces in Afghanistan focused more on quantity than quality. Secondly, about 70 percent of the recruits to Afghan security forces are illiterate for all practical purposes. Thirdly, Afghan National Police (ANP) is termed by many as massively corrupt and many elements of the ANP are tied to politics and power brokers, either in a bid to be effective or to win or retain popular support (Cordesman, 2009). Fourthly, although the Afghan National Army (ANA) has been portrayed by some as a rare success story, analysts argue that it is far from ready to take over operational command and tackle security responsibilities

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on its own. The US rapidly increased the number of ANA troops, without taking into account financial sustainability or tackling the persistent structural flaws that continue to hamper the ANA's ability to operate independently despite billions of dollars in US investment. Meanwhile, some analysts have raised concerns over the ethnic composition of the Afghan army which they say is dominated by non-Pashtun fragments of population, and thus cannot be fully trusted by the Pashtun segment of society (Khan, 2012). Also, the ANA suffers from the pitfall of an inadequate evolutionary process as it takes decades to raise an armed force.

Apart from efforts to sustain economic viability and enhance the capacity of its security forces, Afghanistan would also have to deal with an emboldened Taliban movement after the withdrawal of foreign troops. That would require strengthened military and political responses. For the former response, well-equipped, fully capable, non-politicized and financially sustainable security forces would be the main pre-requisite. For the latter, comprehensive reconciliation measures will be required. But unfortunately, the present status of ethnic and political reconciliation in Afghanistan is not quite dissimilar to the situation that existed during the post-Soviet withdrawal in the early 1990s and after the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001. A failure to achieve an intra-Afghan political reconciliation would yield similar results as seen in the past in the form of unrest and instability in the country and proxy games among the regional stakeholders, particularly India, Pakistan and Iran. One can only hope that the mistakes made in the past are not repeated.

Nonetheless, as cited earlier, the main post-2014 implications for Pakistan would be related to the security of its border with Afghanistan and the likely spillover effect of the situation in Afghanistan on the militant landscape of Pakistan. Islamabad is greatly concerned about the post-2014 security of its border with Afghanistan. Although it is almost impossible to monitor such a long border but the presence of NATO and US forces in Afghanistan and also the US drone strikes in border areas had partly contributed to the Pakistan-Afghan border security.

Islamabad is also mindful of the fact that insecurity and instability in Afghanistan will have serious implications for its own security and might increase the burden on its counterterrorism efforts. For that reason, Pakistan has been helping the US and the Afghan government in their efforts to reach

out to the Afghan Taliban. Pakistan was part of the international efforts that finally resulted in the Taliban opening an office in Qatar in June last year. Since late 2012 Pakistan has released a number of detained Afghan Taliban leaders on the request of the Afghan government in the hope that they could play a role in political reconciliation in Afghanistan. At the same time, over the years Islamabad has launched extensive efforts to reach out to non-Pashtun Afghans in an effort to demonstrate that Pakistan's Afghan policy was no longer exclusively focused on Pashtuns or the Taliban. Pakistan, like other countries in the region, cannot afford the rule of Taliban in Kabul as that would give impetus to Taliban-like movements in Pakistan.

However, a great deal of Pakistan's counterterrorism efforts in the post-2014 scenario will depend on how it addresses the larger security and radicalization challenges facing the country and also the way it approaches those local and foreign militant groups, particularly based in FATA and Punjab, which are not hostile to Pakistan but act as irritants in the country's relations with its neighbors. At present, the federal and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) governments seem confused on how to deal with the local Taliban-led militancy mainly in FATA and KP. One of the factors could be the flawed threat perception among most leaders of political parties ruling Islamabad and KP that the situation would normalize in Pakistan once foreign troops left Afghanistan. But most security and political analysts do not subscribe to this notion.

3.4 Implications for regional security

It is believed that after the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, the regional state actors would focus more on Afghanistan mainly due to the perceived threat of Afghanistan once again becoming a hub of transnational militant groups including Al Qaeda and those from Central Asia, and the danger of these militants spreading from Afghanistan to the neighboring countries like China, Iran, Pakistan and Central Asian states (Semple, 2013). The US drawdown from Afghanistan will no doubt result in insecurity for the regional states. The post-2014 period would be a time for the regional actors to learn lessons from the past and carefully examine the nature of threats and possible opportunities originating from the country (Ibid). It is fortunate, as mentioned earlier, that no country in the region including Pakistan wants to see the Taliban rising to power in Afghanistan again.

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In order to reduce the perceived threats to their respective security that could emanate from the post-2014 Afghanistan, the country's neighbors have a vital role to play in ensuring peaceful transition and political reconciliation there. This role could entail non-interference or constructive involvement in Afghan affairs, economic development, security assistance and bilateral trade and commerce.

In particular, Pakistan and India, which have remained engaged in proxy wars in Afghanistan along with other neighbors in the past, have the prime responsibility in this regard. Interestingly, it was revealed in a seminar on "Peace and stability in Afghanistan's region: 2014 and beyond" organized by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in Islamabad in January this year that the Pakistani and Indian governments had formally started negotiations on the future of Afghanistan while Track-II talks regarding that were already under way (Rasheed, 2014). A peaceful, proxy-free and stable Afghanistan is not only linked to internal security and economic prosperity of countries in the region but can also contribute towards fostering good relations between Pakistan and India, the two arch-rivals. Neither country can afford another civil war and a rise in militancy in Afghanistan. It is probably due to this growing realization that Pakistan and India, along with China and Russia, want President Karzai to sign a security agreement with Washington that allows US forces to stay in Afghanistan after 2014 (*Dawn*, 2013).

For China, the presence of ETIM, IMU/IJU and Uyghur militants in the Pakistan-Afghan border region has been a threatening factor. Over the years, these groups have developed relations with the local militant groups and also Al Qaeda. After the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, these Central Asian groups, in association with their local counterparts in Afghanistan and Pakistan, can not only put Chinese interests in these two countries at risk but can also make security in China's Xinjiang province uncertain. Similarly, Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov has expressed fears of the Taliban spillover in Central Asian states and his country in particular. According to him, that would be a permanent source of tension and instability in the region (Tolipov, 2014).

India thinks that a Taliban's resurgence in Afghanistan after 2014 can create an environment there that can host anti-India militants including those from Pakistan, who can use the Afghan soil to train and launch attacks inside India.

For Iran, the Taliban were never acceptable mainly due to their anti-Shia agenda and killing of the Hazara community in Afghanistan during their rule. The Taliban have developed strong nexus with Sunni militant and sectarian groups. Iran has traditionally remained close to leaders of northern Afghanistan. But unlike India, China, Russia and Pakistan, Iran is not in favor of the American forces' stay in Afghanistan beyond 2014.

Security and stability in Afghanistan after 2014 would not only have ramifications for regional security but also for regional trade and economy. Security, peace and stability in Afghanistan and Pakistan can provide an environment conducive for regional trade and business. Pakistan and Afghanistan can immensely benefit from their geostrategic location that offers great opportunities as an energy and trade corridor.

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Post-2014 Afghanistan: prospects
for Taliban's rise to power

Farhan Zahid

As the drawdown of the international security assistance forces approaches its conclusion, many questions remain unanswered. For instance, whether sheer opportunism will be ground enough to bring the Afghan Taliban to power again? Will the withdrawal of the NATO forces from Afghanistan scheduled for 2014 create a void? Will the foreign forces leave a power vacuum that would constitute a real, credible and sufficient reason for the Taliban to regain their former position? Is the incumbent Afghan government sufficiently prepared to govern the country on its own? What threat will the Taliban pose to the government, and can they stage a comeback by retaking Kabul?

Many experts and researchers foresee bleak prospects for the sustainability of Afghanistan's government. A 2012 report by the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) highlighted the government's weak organization and management. In the same year, *The New York Times* editorially painted a grim picture of the Afghan security forces. Inductive reasoning on the basis of catchy headlines makes pessimism look like a rational analysis. It is indeed relatively easy to construct doomsday scenarios by pointing at the Karzai government's corruption, ineptitude and nepotism.

Some argue that in the absence of the countervailing force, the Taliban would make a successful comeback to power. They are of the opinion that the coalition partners' unwillingness to invest in the socio-economic development of Afghanistan would help the Taliban. Such factors were present in the past and did support the Taliban insurgency.

This paper will discuss factors that will hinder Taliban's takeover of Kabul. Any explanatory model that sacrifices multi-variant input for prime-time oversimplification will do grievous harm to the fact that Afghanistan is a highly polarized, complex, and heterogeneous society that has multiple ethnicities, races and sects. This makes any analysis infinitely more challenging. It is probably also the reason that no government, including that of the Taliban, has ever been able to consolidate its grip over all parts of the

country, either by attempting to rule it through a centralized government, or by administering it in a decentralized manner.

This paper attempts to show that capturing Kabul will not be smooth sailing for the Taliban. Although things may not be very rosy, they are also not quite as bad as they became in April 1992 when the mujahideen took over Afghanistan. The following reasons explain why it will be unlikely for the Taliban to come to power again.

1.   Military strategies: the Taliban's reliance on unconventional warfare

The Taliban rely on hit-and-run tactics to fight conventional forces, or in a more formal language: they excel in asymmetric warfare. It would be unwise for them to take on a well-trained and well-equipped conventional force. Moreover, they are ill-prepared to hold territories for any length of time.

Two phases of the Afghan civil war can be distinguished in the emergence of the Taliban militia. The first phase started in 1989 when the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan, and ended in 1992 with the toppling of the pro-Soviet Afghan government of President Najibullah. During the Jalalabad offensive (March-April 1989), mujahideen factions were together as a single force with a common goal and they were largely a conventional force instead of the hitherto haphazard gathering of parties that fought a 10-year asymmetric war against the Soviets (Stenersen, 2012: 25). But the mujahideen forces that were trained and equipped to wage asymmetric warfare could not bear the brunt of a pitched battle, and lost (Yousaf & Adkin, 2003: 215-219).

It took the mujahideen forces three more years to enter Kabul triumphantly and they only succeeded because Boris Yeltsin, the first president of the Russian Federation, decided to stop supporting the Afghan communist government. The second phase of the Afghan civil war (1992-96) saw the rise of the Taliban and their seizure of Kabul in 1996. The endemic power struggle among mujahideen groups during this period provided a propitious environment for the Taliban to capture Kabul.

The author believes that the post-2014 situation will not resemble the one that existed either in 1989 or in 1992. First, the mujahideen groups—commonly

referred to as the Peshawar Seven (Ruttig, 2006: 10) that operated in the 1980s under the umbrella organization known as the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan—were better armed, trained, and equipped than the present-day ragtag Afghan Taliban groups, scattered around Afghanistan. The mujahideen groups had a base in Peshawar to prepare their operations, and though not unified, they had at least a single umbrella organization. The Taliban insurgents are barely under effective unified command. Their supreme commander Mullah Omar is not in direct contact with decentralized and autonomous Taliban field commanders and the only way of obeying his orders is through a tribal oath-taking system in his name. The Taliban command structure is much weaker than that of the Afghan security forces. The same is the case with the Taliban *shuras* or consultative councils that are believed to be based in the Pakistan-Afghan border region, and are only occasionally in formal contact with each other (Afsar et al., 2008).

Secondly, the Taliban can be regarded as second generation mujahideen (Heineman, 2012). Only a few Taliban leaders are children of the First Afghan War (1979-89) during which the current top figures such as Mullah Omar and his associates had been lower level mujahideen commanders who fought the Soviets. The mujahideen had received their combat skills training from Pakistan's Special Services Group who had been trained at the US Special Forces academy at Fort Bragg, North Carolina (Coll, 2004). They had learned to wage asymmetric warfare against the Soviet troops but with little overall success, and failed to damage the formidable Soviet war machine, even with Stinger missiles although it provided them with some strategic edge.

Thirdly, the Taliban have not come up with an alternative governance model, but merely taken advantage of corrupt practices and weaknesses of the incumbent Afghan regime. Their strength stemmed from dissatisfaction rather than an alternative for the population. Fourthly, the Taliban are not equipped to govern a territory. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that with the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001 there are no longer Al Qaeda-run camps in Afghanistan. Some training facilities are available in the semi-autonomous tribal areas of Pakistan, being run by the Haqqani network, but the quality of the training cannot be compared to that of mujahideen in the 1980s.

2.   The number of Taliban militants and command structure

The strength of the Afghan Taliban insurgents is around 40,000, including 10,000 hardcore fighters, whereas the rest can be described as part-time or reconcilable (Papa & Feldman, 2010). The number of mujahideen fighting in the Soviet-Afghan war was estimated at 45,000 by 1983 and inflated to 180,000 by 1986 (Oliker, 2011: 76).

The number of militants has to be seen as an insurgent/population ratio in a given area. During the 11-year-long Vietnam conflict (1964-75) for instance, the allies faced a formidable foe in the Viet Cong, which comprised roughly 500,000 insurgents (GlobalSecurity.org). This means about 1 out of 350 Vietnamese was involved in the armed struggle with sanctuaries in Cambodia, Laos and North Vietnam. Moreover, they benefitted from a perennial supply of arms and logistics from China. The Taliban insurgents in Afghanistan do not enjoy such support. They are not a monolithic entity. Unlike the Viet Cong or Sri Lanka's Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), they lack a formal command structure. Apart from a loose command structure, commanders are locals, and the groups can be more appropriately described as Taliban-inspired rather than as part of the movement per se. By and large, local people join the insurgency with only one idea in mind: to drive out the foreign forces from Afghanistan as this has always been the norm in the Afghan culture.

As for the "Taliban councils", they have rudimentary organizational structures, and lack the discipline to contain violence within their ranks. The uncoordinated outbursts of sporadic violence claim many victims, because of which more Afghan civilians have been killed by local Taliban insurgents than by foreign and Afghan security forces combined.

3.   Absence of the element of surprise

The Taliban militia emerged in 1994 as an indigenous phenomenon (Heineman, 2012). Only later the movement accepted logistical support and manpower from Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Within no time the movement gained momentum because it could provide relative stability and order amid the chaotic upheaval created by the warlords of mujahideen factions (Rashid, 2000:1).The Taliban garnered the support of the Afghan people who were

tired of the ceaseless factional fighting. Helped by popular support and logistic supplies, the Taliban began their conquest of Pashtun-dominated areas in southern and south-eastern Afghanistan. The Taliban's march to victory over the mujahideen was swift, mainly because of their popularity and unexpected logistic support. No mujahideen leader had anticipated the emergence of a new militia that would challenge them, and certainly not with the support of neighboring Pakistan. The post-2014 scenario does not offer a stage for such surprises. Popular clamor will not call out for a stabilizing factor because the security apparatus that the NATO will leave behind, albeit imperfect, will prevent the chaos that existed when Taliban rose to power. The Taliban march to Kabul in 1996 did not face any opposition worth the name. In the past, no militia, either former mujahideen groups or paramilitaries led by former Afghan Army generals, gave any importance to the lightly armed Taliban. Today, however, the situation is being pretty much analyzed by both the incumbent Afghan government and the coalition forces.

4. Rifts among the Taliban ranks and loss of leaders

According to Thomas Ruttig, co-director and senior analyst of the Afghanistan Analysts Network (AAN), the current insurgency in Afghanistan can be divided into six segments: the Islamic Movement of the Taliban; the networks of the Haqqani and Mansur families in the southeast; the Tora Bora Jihad Front led by Anwar-ul-Haq Mujahed in eastern region; HIG (Hizb-e-Islami, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar faction); Salafi groups in Kunar and Nuristan provinces (eastern region); and inter-related local former mujahideen, and criminal groups, adopting Taliban-like language and behavior (Ruttig, 2009: 10).

Considering the Taliban as a movement, it is composed of fragmented units, scattered across the Pashtun belt, i.e. the eastern and south-eastern Afghan provinces, without any formal command structure. Moreover, the units are very diverse and divided, which leads occasional fierce gun-battles between different Taliban groups and Hizb-e-Islami (Hekmatyar) in different parts of Afghanistan (Rogio, 2010).

Seth Jones, associate director of the International Security and Defense Policy Center at the Rand Corporation, concluded in his study of 36 former Taliban fighters under the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR)

program that three factors contributed to its success: a perception among the Taliban fighters that the government forces are winning at national and local levels; coercion in the implementation of the program; and recognition of local grievances (Jones, 2011: 1-3). One report mentioned that some 5,000 Taliban fighters joined and were rehabilitated under the DDR program (Peter, 2012). Before his assassination in 2011, Burhanuddin Rabbani, president of the Afghan High Peace Council, was able to develop contacts with reconcilable Taliban groups and forge ties with the former Afghan Taliban leadership. Among those who became part of the peace process were Arsala Rehmani, Habibullah Fawzi, Sayeedur Rehman Haqqani and Faqir Mohammad (Jones, 2011). Some of those leaders became members of both upper and lowers houses of the Afghan parliament.[1]

Apart from defections, political engagement, laying down of weapons, and joining the High Peace Council, many high-profile and experienced Taliban leaders were either killed or captured during the fighting (Jones, 2011). The lack of capable leadership will have a serious impact on post-2014 perspectives.

5.   The US post-withdrawal strategy

Soviets' counter-insurgency strategies were ruthless. Thousands of Afghan civilians lost their lives as a result of indiscriminate Soviet bombings. In fact, the Soviets had caused their own defeat by making the Afghans rise against them and the Afghan communist regime. During the 10-year Soviet occupation, the strategy was to drive out a population that was deemed to harbor anti-government sentiment. The Soviet strategy was doomed from day one and so was the communist regime that did not by any means try to win the hearts and minds of the population (Oliker, 2011: 74).The CIA-ISI-GID alliance took full advantage of that situation that was entirely of the Soviets' making and recruited thousands of insurgents from the refugee camps.

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[1]   Some high level defections include leaders such as Mullah Turabi, Taliban Minister of Justice), Mullah Qalamuddin,Taliban chief of religious police and now a member of parlement, Abdul Wakil Mutawakil, Taliban forgien minister, Mullah Abdul Salam 'Rocketi', commander of eastern Afghanistan), Mullah Khaksar Akhund, Taliban chief of intelligence, and Abdul Salam Zaeef, Taliban ambassador to Pakistan.

During the last 11 years, however, no such deliberate killing spree has been reported. There have certainly been incidents where hundreds of Afghan civilians lost their lives in bombings but there was no mass exodus of refugees to neighboring countries.

The objective of the US counter-insurgency (COIN) strategy has not been to exasperate the Afghan population. First, the Americans' reason to invade Afghanistan was different from that of the Soviets. The Soviets were motivated by geopolitical considerations. The US sought to destroy Al Qaeda and the Taliban regime. Al Qaeda had claimed responsibility for the 9/11 attacks in the US and the Taliban regime was harboring it. Secondly, the raison d`être of the prolonged presence of NATO forces in Afghanistan was to keep it out of Al Qaeda's tentacles (White House, 2011). From the beginning, the US and the coalition partners kept a light footprint for many years. The US troop level started from 10,000 in 2002 and gradually rose to 68,000 by 2009 (*The New York Times*, 2009). It was only after the resurgence of the Taliban that the surge initiative raised the troop levels close to 100,000 in 2012 (Nordland, 2012). Coalition partners also contributed another 50,000 troops. The US COIN strategy was based on 'shape, clear, hold, build, and transfer' (Cordesman, 2009: 40-44). By August 2012, the US and coalition partners had transferred 75% of the Afghan territory to the newly developed Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). The withdrawal timetable demands foreign forces to stop being operational by the end of 2013 and withdraw all forces by the end of 2014 (Lisbon Summit Declaration, 2010). During the Chicago Summit, pledges were made by the US and its allies to aid the Afghan government with $4.1 billion every year for the next 10 years (2014-24) in order to keep it operational (Chicago Summit Declaration, 2012). The decision was crucial and it clearly showed that the policymakers were well aware of the mistakes that the Soviets had made (Ahmad, 2012).

Furthermore, the Soviets and their allied Afghan military losses were huge in comparison with those of the US and its allies. During the nine-year conflict, the Soviets lost 13,310 troops whereas the US and allies lost 3,000 troops in 11years (Taubman, 1988).

The situation that the US will leave behind is therefore much less susceptible to be exploited by Taliban propaganda against the Afghan government, and is unlikely to find a population that is itching for revenge.

6.   The Pashtun factor

The Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan got most of its support from the Pashtun belt. As Ruttig (2009) has put it: "Most of the Taliban are indeed Pashtun. This reflects patterns of ethnicization that emerged during the civil wars between the late 1970s and 2001. As a result, it is justified to call the Taliban a (predominantly) Pashtun movement. But they are not 'the movement of the Pashtuns' representing as they do only a minority of Afghanistan's largest ethnic group."

The Taliban rule benefited the Pashtuns, but it created a huge trust-deficit among other ethnic groups. During the current insurgency the Taliban have once again been able to get reasonable support from the Pashtun community. Other ethnicities are aware of this relationship and are quite concerned about the possible repercussions for them after 2014. They have already started to seek support from Iran, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan to ensure their future and survival.[2]

Another question is related to the reliability of the Taliban support base emanating from the Pashtun community, and whether the Islamist insurgency serves the Pashtun cause.

Even though the supportive Pashtun community represents a large portion of the Afghan population, many among the Pashtuns support stability in Afghanistan and reject the Taliban version of Islam. The number of Pashtuns on the payroll of the Afghan security forces and of other civilian institutions is considered to be in proportion with Pashtun demographic strength. Simply put, the Taliban seem to ignite Pashtun nationalist feelings, and a significant proportion appears to sympathize with their cause, but when the Taliban try to impose their harsh version of Islam, the support base is not substantial.

Michael Semple, a research fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard Kennedy School, describes Pashtun-dominated areas as the

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[2]   Iran is sympathetic to ethnic Hazara community (9%) because Hazaras are adherents of Shia Islam, Uzbekistan naturally supports Uzbek ethnic group (9%) in Afghanistan and Tajiks (27%) could bank on Tajikistan, though it is too poor to render any support.

primary recruitment centers for Taliban insurgents. Bushra Gohar, a staunch opponent of Taliban and leader of Pashtun-dominated Pakistani political party Awami National Party, says, "Not all Pashtuns are Taliban…We are Pashtuns too. Taliban is a mindset. You have Punjabi Taliban too" (Chishti, 2012).

The fact of the matter is that Taliban capitalized on serious Pashtun grievances for which the US was held responsible in the garb of ethno-nationalism. Examples of such instances are the harsh treatment of Pashtun Taliban prisoners at the hands of Tajik/Uzbek-dominated Northern Alliance during Operation Enduring Freedom, the under-representation of Pashtuns in government institutions under the Karzai administration, illegal seizures of Pashtun lands in northern Afghan provinces by other ethnic groups, removal of Taliban era Pashtun officials from posts in the new set-up, and a lack of fair trial for Taliban combatants by the incumbent government (ICG, 2013: ii-iii). Addressing the Pashtun grievances is essential to reverse the Taliban momentum.

7. Geopolitical environment

Afghanistan's geopolitical environment is not conducive to the rise of the Taliban to power.

Afghanistan lies in a neighborhood that puts a high existential pressure on the government of each state. External actors have been on their guard over the future political set-up of Afghanistan.

Central Asian states are concerned about the growing Islamist militancy within their borders. Iran is watchful because it cannot tolerate an anti-Shiite regime back in Afghanistan.

The Russians have their own fears about the post-2014 scenario because the reinstatement of an Islamist government would likely encourage power aspirations of Muslim insurgents in the Muslim-majority Russian states of Chechnya, Ingushetia and Dagestan. For Russian defense analysts, a Taliban takeover would be similar to reopening a barely closed Chechen chapter (Rotman, 2011). Thousands of Chechen Islamists received training in Al Qaeda-run training camps in Afghanistan during the Taliban regime. But

India may be the most concerned. Competing with Pakistan's $300 million (PILDAT, 2012:15), Indian investment in Afghan development projects had reached $1.2 billion by 2009 (Bajoria, 2009). India thinks that the reemergence of the Taliban would turn Afghanistan into a safe haven for anti-India militants.

A cash-starved and militancy-hit Pakistan is also in no position to pursue any future policy objectives in Afghanistan, which brought the Taliban to power. The Taliban's military victory will have serious implications for Pakistan's own security and militant landscape.

The Chinese have invested heavily in the Aynak copper mines south of Kabul and in the exploration of oilfields located in northern oil-rich provinces Sar-e-Pul and Faryab, which are estimated to hold around 87 million barrels (Simpson, 2011). In other sectors of the Afghan economy the level of Chinese investment would increase after 2014.A stable and peaceful Afghanistan is absolutely essential for the completion of such economic projects. In a nutshell, Afghanistan's neighbors would not be willing to let Taliban come to power again.

8.   The emerging Afghan security apparatus

One notable achievement of the rebuilding process in Afghanistan has been the raising of the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF): the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP). Both institutions have been suffering from setbacks such as desertions, absence without authorized leave, low-quality training, high illiteracy rate, corruption, highhandedness, green-on-blue attacks, and occasional defections (*The Telegraph*, 2012). Despite all this, the ANSF appear capable of withstanding the conventional Taliban assaults.

The bigger picture seems to give cause for optimism. With a 200,000-strong ANA and 150,000 ANP the Afghan forces took control of 75% of the Afghan areas and are able to conduct independent operations against Taliban insurgents (Blenkin, 2012).

The impact of this buildup is felt in Taliban ranks. It is developing infiltration strategies to launch the so-called green-on-blue attacks that escalated in 2012.

The ANP's highhandedness and corruption are important issues that Taliban successfully capitalized on (Brady, 2012). The ANA has fared much better in this regard (Lyle, 2012).

Another key achievement is the National Directorate of Security (NDS), the Afghan premier intelligence agency that has been quite successful in preventing some Taliban attacks. Established in 2002, the NDS has developed into a full-fledged organization with 15,000-30,000 active duty personnel. Many of the military operations and night raids are conducted on the basis of intelligence provided by the NDS. The NDS network has widened during the last 10 years. It has thwarted some insurgent attacks, proving its effectiveness (Zaheer, 2012).

Conclusion

Although the Afghan Taliban remain a formidable guerilla force, Kabul is unlikely to fall to them after the withdrawal of foreign forces.

Any scenario that comes to a contrary conclusion includes a concomitant renewed Al Qaeda threat. Al Qaeda relied heavily on the Taliban and this would not be different now, if Afghanistan enters a renewed civil war.

During the past 11 years Al Qaeda has been able to launch international terrorist attacks through its affiliates. However, it could not pull off any spectacular attacks in Afghanistan. The destruction of its bases and a lack of safe havens for planning and training terrorists were the main cause of its diminished power. The biggest challenge for the US and its allies will be to maintain their vigilance. Afghanistan must remain on the West's radar screen for the foreseeable future. This is the only way to prevent terrorism from rearing its ugly head in that hapless country.

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FATA reforms: journey so far and the way forward

Asmatullah Khan Wazir

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) are governed through the 1901 Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR), which was enacted by the British to promote their own interests. This system was once lauded as a success and liked by the tribesmen. However, at present the system is widely seen as authoritarian—both in its form and essence—resulting in socioeconomic and sociopolitical stagnation of the area. It has engendered serious problems relating to governance, social change, human rights and democratization.

After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, FATA's special status was given constitutional protection and no serious efforts were made to allow for the organic growth of this important document. Hence the entire area remains outside the mainstream. The apathy of successive governments towards FATA could be blamed for the chaos that reigns there today. Although some modifications were made to the FCR, they did not seriously change its essence.

Since 1947, the FCR has been amended on 11 different occasions. However, all these amendments have been devoid of real substance. For instance, the word "commissioner" was substituted for "court of the commissioner" and the definition of the word "governor" was added to it in 1997. Likewise, in 1962, punishment by confiscation of property in case of conviction under sections 302 or 306 of the Pakistan Penal Code (XLV of 1860) was added to the FCR.

1. Exploring the FATA reforms journey

The FCR was given constitutional protection in all three constitutions that Pakistan has had. In the 1956 constitution the protection was given via articles 103 and 104. The two articles provided for the administration of "Excluded Areas" and "Special Areas", referring to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas and Federally Administered Tribal Areas, respectively. Article 104 empowered the President of Pakistan with administrative control. The governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), then called the NWFP, was the

representative of the president and exercised the executive powers in FATA (Chaudhry, 2011).

The federal government appoints political agents (PAs) to all seven agencies or tribal districts of FATA. The PA is the senior-most bureaucrat in the agency. He works under the KP governor and enjoys extensive judicial, executive and revenue powers. Under a preventive clause that provides for "security and surveillance for the prevention of murder or culpable homicide or the dissemination of sedition," the PA can require an individual believed to pose such a threat to provide a bond or surety "for good behavior or for keeping the peace." If the bond is rejected, the PA can impose a three-year jail term (ICG, 2009).

The PA also has the authority to penalize an entire tribe for a crime in its territory by imposing huge fines, making arrests and seizing property. He can order the detention of a member or the access of the whole tribe to the settled areas if he believes that they are acting in a suspicious or unfriendly manner. His decisions cannot be challenged in any court of law. This is a gross violation of human rights. Neither the National Assembly nor any of the provincial assemblies have any legislative authority over FATA. Until the introduction to adult franchise there in 1997, the FATA residents did not even have the right to vote.

In the 1970s, a few more minor amendments were made to the FCR. The word "centrally" was replaced by "federal" in the 1973 constitution. However, the system and mechanism of governance remained unchanged. In the 1970s, the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) government introduced some development schemes in the tribal region resulting in the improvement of physical infrastructure and establishment of schools and colleges in FATA. The Federal Ministry of State and Frontier Regions (SAFRON) and the FATA Development Authority were also established. The FATA residents' share in government jobs and educational institutions in the rest of the country was also increased. General Zia's military government (1977-1989) did not start any major developmental projects in FATA. Instead, religious radicalization was injected into the region with the assistance of the US and Saudi Arabia with a view to promote a proxy war against the Soviet Union. The lack of development schemes, deprivation of locals of basic human rights and the interests of the army in utilizing the strategic importance of this region for the

proxy war in Afghanistan made FATA a breeding ground for militants (ICG, 2009).

The PPP government pursued the reforms agenda but it failed in creating a real impact. Consequently, FATA could not be brought into the national mainstream. A lack of legal and political reforms from 1970 to 1990 not only kept FATA out of the mainstream but also resulted in exacerbating militancy and extremism in the region.

The promulgation of the 1996 Adult Franchise Act was the first real reform aimed at political empowerment of the FATA residents. For the first time in history, the people of FATA were given the right to vote. The 1997 elections were indeed unique in the history of this trouble tribal region. Unfortunately, elders and religious leaders tried to prevent female participation by threatening punishment against tribesmen whose women registered, leading to under-registration among the women population (Talbot, 1998: 2-3). In addition, political parties were not allowed to operate in FATA (Sajjad, 2013).

Before the introduction of the 2011 reform package, the political parties were not allowed to engage in any activities in the tribal belt of Pakistan and independent candidates were directly elected to the National Assembly. This system had helped the *maliks* (tribal elders) to exploit the situation to their advantage. It was in their interest to keep FATA away from the national mainstream so their utility continued. Moreover, the independent parliamentarians from FATA in the National Assembly could not influence any legislation regarding FATA. According to Article 247 of the 1973 constitution, the legislative authority for FATA rested with the president of Pakistan. However, the PPP government extended the Political Parties Act to FATA in 2011. The lifting of curbs on political campaigns in FATA not only allowed the political parties to offer their manifestos to the people, they also brought the deprived people into the national mainstream (Ibid).

Although the legislative authority still rests with the president of Pakistan, the parliamentarians can now influence the legislation regarding FATA by using their party platforms. Moreover, the FATA parliamentarians can now stand up for the prosperity of their people and can mobilize them over their socio-economic problems (*The Express Tribune*, 2012). The role of political parties in mobilizing the FATA residents can be judged from the fact that in

2013 the overall turnout was 36% of the total registered voters in FATA, illustrating a 5% increase from the earlier elections with enhanced female participation (fatareforms.org, 2013b).

Moreover, in continuation of the reforms package for FATA, the government of Pakistan has decided to introduce the local government system to FATA as Article 140 of the 1973 constitution supports the implementation of the local government system (FISP, 2012). The introduction of the local government system will help ensure the transfer of power from the tribal elite to the marginalized sections of society. This can play a vital role in mobilizing the locals. Similarly, they can also play a vital role in effective utilization of the developmental funds and can also pressurize the federal government for more reforms for the region's prosperity.

Most of the real reforms in this region were introduced during the late 1990s and after 2000. Some of the reforms led to the creation of institutions which will go a long way in promoting the interests of the tribal people. The following are some of the reforms introduced after 1999.

- **Establishment of FATA Secretariat**

  Prior to the 2002 reforms package, the governor's decisions with regard to FATA were routed through the KP Secretariat and were implemented by the provincial government's line departments. However, in 2002 the FATA Secretariat was established, and in 2006 it became the Civil Secretariat of FATA for the implementation of different development projects. The KP governor plays an intermediary role between the federal government and the FATA Civil Secretariat.

- **Establishment of Agency Council**

  Another important development in 2000 was the establishment of the Agency Council as a local representatives' body. The members of the Agency Council were selected and nominated by the political agent without any executive powers and the council's term expired in 2007— without any announcement regarding its future (Safi, 2013).

- **Extension of federal ombudsman's authority to FATA**

  In 2013, the federal government introduced another important reform by extending the authority of the federal ombudsman to FATA. This enabled the FATA residents to approach the ombudsman against the FATA Secretariat and its subsidiary organizations (fatareforms.org, 2013c).

- **Establishment of FATA tribunal**

  In FATA, the political agent is the judicial authority and criminal and civil cases are decided by him. After the initial inquiries and investigations, a jirga is called with the consent of both parties. The political agent or his representative heads the jirga and hands down the judgment.

  Before the introduction of the FATA tribunal, the PA's decision used to be final and the aggrieved party could not challenge it. Thus the residents of FATA were deprived of their right to lodge an appeal against the decision in any judicial forum. However, in 1997 the FATA tribunal was created, amending the FCR. The 2011 reforms—instituted by the PPP government—increased the independence and visibility of the tribunal. The reforms made in 1997 and 2011 empowered the locals to challenge the decisions made by the political agent in appeals to the commissioner of the adjacent district. Moreover, the reforms empowered the locals to challenge the commissioner's decisions in the FATA tribunal (*Dawn*, 2011).

  According to Section 48 of the 1997 FCR, the membership of the FATA tribunal was limited to the federal interior and law secretaries. However, the 2011 reforms took the court out of direct administration of the federal government. The reforms specified that the FATA tribunal must consist of a chairman, who had to be a civil servant at least in basic pay scale (BPS) 21, having the experience of tribal administration, and two other members out whom one should be qualified enough to be a high court judge and should be familiar with the local traditions and the other member should be a civil servant at least in BPS-20 (Chaudhry, 2011).The reforms also empowered the FATA tribunal to review its own decisions, if requested by any individual.

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- **Qaumi Jirga**

  The 2011 package also included reforms regarding the Qaumi Jirga, which says that "the political agent or district coordination officer may take knowledge of any offence or civil dispute in exceptional situations, if so recommended by a Qaumi Jirga of the tribe in the interest of justice and public peace" (*The Tribal Times*, 2013).

  The 2011 reforms do not, however, transfer any of the political agent's judicial powers to the Qaumi Jirga. Rather, it recommends the political agent to take into consideration any of the recommendations or suggestions of the tribes in a particular dispute.

- **Civil Power Regulations**

  In 2011, another vital reform was introduced which was warmly welcomed by the residents of FATA. The reform exempted the elderly and children from arrest under the FCR. They were equally satisfied with the new ban on sealing off or confiscating residential and commercial properties under the same clause.[1]

  In June 2011, the Actions in Aid of Civil Power Regulation was decreed which provided legal cover to the armed forces for unlawful acts committed during the military operations in both FATA and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) with retrospect effect from February 2008. This regulation shattered the confidence of those who were quite optimistic about the reform process.[2] The regulation tarnishes the reforms introduced by the PPP government. The present government needs to come up with an accountability mechanism because in case the authority under this regulation is misused, the tribesmen would be further alienated. This will indeed be an irreparable loss.[3]

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  [1] Yousafzai, Naeemullah, television host. Interview by author, Peshawar, December 27th 2013.

  [2] Ibid.

  [3] Marjan, Malik Khan, chief patron, FATA Grand Alliance. Interview by author, Peshawar, January 4th 2014.

2. Socio-economic impact of FCR

The slow pace of the reforms process could be easily linked to the below par performance of FATA vis-à-vis social and economic development. This region is one of the most underdeveloped in the country, with 60% of its population living below the poverty line and the unemployment rate ranges between 60-80%. Only 62% of the FATA population has access to electricity, the average road density is 0.17 compared to the national average of .26 kilometers. Although agriculture is the main source of income, only 7% of the total area is cultivable (Government of Pakistan, 2006).

Likewise, due to the absence of the state's writ in large parts of the tribal region, the healthcare conditions are abysmal. According to a study, there are 577 doctors for a population of four million and 280 lady health visitors (LHV) for 1.8 million women (PRDS, 2011).There are 33 hospitals, 302 dispensaries and 56 mother-and-child healthcare centers in FATA (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Bureau of Statistics, 2011).

The literacy rate is the lowest in the country. The overall literacy rate is 21.40%; the ratio of male literacy being 33.80% and of women a mere 7.50% (Fata.gov.pk., 2012). The increased militancy in the region has further weakened the education system in FATA. In 2013, around 485 schools were ravaged along the western border of Pakistan, depriving 500,000 children of the opportunity to get educated (*Pulse*, 2013).

The state's failure to provide these basic services and economic opportunities, i.e. infrastructure, hospitals, irrigation facilities and electricity has exacerbated poverty, which has in turn fueled the militancy. In the absence of proper courts and economic opportunities FATA has become a hub of black marketeering and weapons and drugs' trade. The war on terror has further deteriorated the economic backwardness of the region as violence has reduced the economic opportunities, making the people even more susceptible to the militancy. According to a FATA analyst, "ideological recruitment [in the tribal region] is few and far between. Most of the reasons [for recruitment] are related to economic and political marginalization" (ICG, 2009).

At present, it is the security situation that is impeding the development process in FATA. In real terms, it is the FCR that has been obstructing the process of development by limiting the freedom of choice. For example, the political administration has been enjoying unfettered financial powers, resulting in massive embezzlement of the developmental funds. Although the funds utilized by the political agent are audited, the question is whether the auditor general would be able to put an end to the practice of giving development work contracts to Taliban and their sympathizers. This seems unlikely as the Taliban networks are deeply rooted. This situation leads to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few people, widening the gap between the rich and the poor rather than alleviating poverty.

The FATA Development Authority (FDA) was established in 2006 to implement development projects. This was supposed to attract public and private investment. So far, it has not been able to achieve the desired objective. The lack of cooperation between the FATA Secretariat and the FDA is a big hurdle in developing the region. It is generally said that huge funds were allocated for the tribal region, but they were never used for the prosperity of the people. In order to ensure the proper use of the allocated funds, the audit mechanism should be extended to all public institutions working in FATA, including the FDA, FATA Secretariat and security forces such as the FC. Commercial banks are not allowed to operate in the tribal region. Consequently, the informal banks and money lenders exploit the residents by sometimes charging more than 100% interest annually and commercial contracts are enforced by local jirgas (ICG, 2009).

In 2003-2004, a few economic reforms were introduced in FATA. For instance, industrial estates were exempted from the jurisdiction of the FCR to promote industrial development in the region. Similarly, in 2005 the US government proposed a reconstruction opportunity zone (ROZ) for the economic prosperity of the region as 80% of the economy of FATA had been destroyed after 9/11. But so far no concrete measures have been taken for the establishment of the ROZ. In 2006, the Pakistan government in collaboration with the US and other international donors initiated a sustainable development program to improve the socio-economic conditions of the tribal region. A sum of $2.46 billion was pledged for the nine-year sustainable development program with five years of actual development and four year of consolidating development to improve the literacy rate from 17% to 30-40%

by 2015. But no concrete steps have been taken by the government of Pakistan to realize these goals (Orakzi, 2009).

3. Building case for furthering the reforms agenda

The announcement of a presidential ordinance regarding a reforms package, including amendments to the FCR on August 12, 2011, was an important event. The reform package will not only help the FATA residents join the national mainstream, it will also guarantee their constitutional, legal and basic human rights. The 2011 package brought some positive changes to the FCR, but much work needs to be done to bring FATA into the mainstream and to ensure economic development in the region.[4]

The most significant problem that the FATA residents face is the lack of access to an independent judiciary as the executive and judicial powers rest with the political agent. He is the final dispenser of justice in all cases, including those in which he himself is involved. Therefore, more reforms are needed with regard to the extension of jurisdiction of the higher courts to the tribal region (fatareforms.org, 2013a).

Likewise, Article 247 of the 1973 constitution is a big hurdle as it prevents the FATA parliamentarians from participating in the legislative process for their own region. Moreover, under this article FATA is beyond the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the high court. So the 2002 Political Parties Act in this case becomes useless as the residents of this region do not have any decision-making power (*Dawn*, 2012).

The FATA residents are of the view that the FCR has deprived them of their democratic, economic and other human rights and forced them to live in the Stone Age.[5] Therefore, they demand the government to give FATA either the status of an autonomous province or integrate it into the KP so they can get rid of the notorious FCR.[6] Although an autonomous status can bring FATA

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[4]   Khan, Raza Shah, Executive Director, Sustainable Peace and Development Organization (SPDO). Interview by author, Islamabad, January 3rd 2014.

[5]   Wazir, Ajmal Khan, senior vice president of the Pakistan Muslim League-Q. Interview by author, January 5th 2014.

[6]   Marjan, Malik Khan, interview.

into the national mainstream and possibly bring prosperity to the region, there is a possibility that the area might further go into the hands of non-state actors.[7]

The tribal areas of Pakistan can achieve a degree of prosperity if the government introduces some further reforms, which would also be suggested in this paper. The government should also ensure the availability of basic necessities of life to the FATA population.[8]

4. Conclusion and recommendations

The FATA reforms process has been the victim of the geopolitical situation. However, it is not prudent to block the way of any positive change along the way. The winds of change have started blowing in the region. Therefore, there is a need to choose the available options wisely. The recent reforms were warmly welcomed by the residents of FATA, yet they were too little and came too late. Therefore, in order to bring FATA at par with the rest of Pakistan, the government needs to introduce further reforms. However, in this whole process the government needs to be respectful of the wishes and desires of all stakeholders. Reforms need to be devised through consultation and general consensus as the FATA population's input is fundamental. Similarly, reforms should be introduced in an incremental way as any abrupt change has the potential of rupturing the social fabric of the tribal region, which has already suffered a great deal.

1. The current administrative system is law-and-order-oriented, exploitative, non-participatory and unaccountable. It lacks all the ingredients of good governance. It has to be reformed to ensure the rule of law, transparency, accountability, responsiveness, and common citizen's participation in the decision-making process. In that regard, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and the Peshawar High Court should be extended to FATA forthwith.

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[7]   Daraz, Umer, correspondent for Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty. Interview by author, January 5th 2014.

[8]   Khan, Muhammad Nazir, Member National Assembly (MNA) from North Waziristan Agency. Interview by author, January 5th 2014.

2. Under Article 247 of the 1973constitution any laws passed by the parliament do not automatically apply to FATA. However, on the president's direction these can be made applicable to FATA. The authority of the parliament should be extended to FATA.

3. The people of FATA should be given a say in all major decisions relating to the region. They have been kept marginalized and seldom get access to their political representatives, obliging them to seek relief from non-state actors. Therefore, political parties and political representative should take a proactive approach to resolving the issues of FATA and its people. They should truly represent the aspirations of the local residents. This will curb the militancy in the area and help improve the socioeconomic conditions of FATA.

4. The security vacuum often gives impetus to violence. Therefore, the government shall develop efficient conflict-prevention and conflict-transformation tools in FATA in order to fill the current security vacuum in the region. Conflict-transformation initiatives are often characterized by long-term interventions at multiple levels, aimed at changing perceptions while addressing the roots of conflict, including inequality and social injustice. Besides conflict transformation there should be parallel conflict-prevention mechanisms through functional governance in the area which should actively function in making and enforcing rules and delivering services.

5. The media should play a positive role in the peace-building efforts by painting a true picture of what is happening in FATA. The government shall provide security to journalists, and they should be regularly briefed on the policies and initiatives on FATA. The government should also take policy input from the civil society organizations. This will help boost the acceptability and endorsement of any state policy by the FATA residents. The civil society organizations also need to reform their conduct to match the social and cultural atmosphere of FATA.

6. The FCR clause dealing with collective responsibility and collective punishment needs to be repealed.

7. The traditional institutions shall be revitalized because they can play an important role in the mobilization of public to act collectively against social evils in FATA.

8. In accordance with the federal government's rules of business, the Federal Ministry of State and Frontier Regions (SAFRON) is responsible for the overall administration of FATA. However, it only has a limited role in channeling funds to FATA. It also has virtually no role in policy formulation and implementation. Therefore, it is recommended that necessary steps should be taken to allow the ministry to play its due role in the affairs of the tribal belt.

9. The system which is currently in vogue is not based on the principle of separation of power. It bestows enormous powers on the political agent, which are often abused. He acts as an executive officer, as a magistrate and also as a revenue officer. These powers need to be separated to make the system more accountable and responsive.

10. The decision-making process for development activities is too centralized. The public needs to be involved in the process, so that the locals have ownership of the decisions. Moreover, the audit mechanism for the funds utilized by the political agent must be strengthened.

11. In 2004, the government established the Agency Councils as local government institutions in the region to facilitate the participation of people in governance and development schemes. However, political agents were made the chairmen of these councils, making a mockery of the whole process. The previous arrangement should be reviewed and local bodies' elections held in FATA under the Revised Local Bodies Act.

12. The National Accountability Bureau Ordinance should be extended to FATA and accountability through elected representatives of the area should be instituted.

13. The Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) laws should be extended to the tribal region so that access to information, which is the basic democratic right of all citizens, is ensured.

14. In order to attract investment, the ambit of laws such as the 1984 Companies Ordinance should be extended to FATA.

15. An elected body or FATA council should be set up on the basis of adult franchise. It should be given the power to spend development funds and oversee the affairs of the FATA Secretariat.

16. There is an urgent need to improve the education system in FATA. The practice of awarding schools to tribal elders as a bribe must be stopped forthwith.

17. The Levies force needs to be reformed and organized at the FATA level. The FATA Secretariat should control it.

18. In order to mainstream FATA, a package on the pattern of the 2010 Balochistan package should be extended to it.

19. The quotas in job as well as the share in different educational institutions for FATA residents should be increased.

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Militant economy of Karachi

Zia Ur Rehman

Karachi is Pakistan's financial hub and its most populous city with an estimated population of 23.5 million as of April 2013 (Khan, 2012a). While Islamabad is the political capital, Karachi is the country's foremost commercial and financial centre. It accounts for the lion's share in Pakistan's gross domestic product and generates at least 60 percent of national revenue. The city is also home to the central bank or State Bank of Pakistan, the Karachi Stock Exchange and head offices of national and multinational companies including financial institutions and real estate companies.

Karachi is a key port city strategically located on the shores of the Indian Ocean and serves as a major port and shipping and maritime hub of the country. It offers the primary entry point for supplies to US and NATO troops in neighboring Afghanistan. Three quarters of NATO's supplies — everything from weapons to spare-parts and fuel — land at the Karachi port and are trucked via two routes through Pakistan into Afghanistan.[1]

Ethno-political and sectarian violence has bedeviled Karachi for the last three decades. Unabated targeted killings on ethnic, political and sectarian basis, turf wars between militant wings of political parties and criminal groups, activities of land grabbing, extortion, kidnappings for ransom, robberies and other criminal acts are legion. The arrival of Taliban militants in Karachi from the tribal areas has further aggravated the law and order situation, which is not only taking a punishing economic toll on the city but also has a substantial social, psychological and political impact. The situation has assumed such an alarming proportion that industrialists are relocating their units to other countries, such as Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia and the United Arab Emirates.[2] Businesses in Karachi are facing a surge in extortion demands from criminal gangs, forcing many entrepreneurs to delay new

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[1]   Niazi, Dil Khan, a leader of Karachi's trucking association. Interview by the author, May 10th 2013.

[2]   Mir, Ateeq, head of Karachi traders' alliance. Interview by the author, January 26th, 2014.

investment or to relocate their families to escape the sense of insecurity gripping the urban heart of the country's economy.

Karachi and the militants' economy

Karachi, with its moneyed residents and big business, has proved fertile ground for financing activities of Taliban groups, both Pakistani and Afghan. Police officials say that Pakistani Taliban are generating funds through extortion, bank robberies and protection rackets because they are facing severe shortages of funds after the government's moves to cut off foreign sources of their funding. Similarly, kidnapping high-profile figures and businessmen for ransom is a regular source of funding for Taliban groups.

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan

Karachi provides Pakistani Taliban groups, especially the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), a vital financial lifeline, says a February 14 Wall Street Journal report citing officials (Shah & Hasan, 2014). As TTP militants moved into Karachi, they organized into factions according to where they had come from. In Karachi, three factions of TTP—from the Mehsud tribe of South Waziristan, and from Swat and Mohmand—are active and running their network in various Pashtun neighborhoods of the city (Rehman, 2013a).

In the beginning, the militants from the tribal areas did not get involved in subversive activities in Karachi. This was in line with the TTP policy to use Karachi only for fundraising and rest and recuperation but in June 2012 they changed their strategy. With an adept team of militants, the TTP became active and started extortion and charging protection money from Karachi-based Pashtun traders and transporters. A cleric in South Waziristan had reportedly issued a *fatwa*, or religious edict, declaring it legal to engage in criminal activities to fund the fighting (Khan, 2009a).

Extortion

All three TTP factions have been involved in extorting money from Pashtun traders and transporters, private school and hospital owners and even madrassa organizers for the last two years in Karachi. A number of Pashtun traders interviewed for this report revealed that increasing incidents of

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extortion remained unreported because of immense TTP pressure. Hurling of hand grenades at business establishments and killings over failure to meet extortion demands are now common in Pashtun areas. "They have a very precise idea about the wealth of everyone belonging to their own tribe," said a transporter from the Mehsud tribesman about the militants.

Analysts are of view that the militant groups operating in Pakistan's tribal areas have been facing a severe financial crisis and a shortage of funds following the measures by Pakistani authorities to cut off their main sources of income, especially from abroad. Now Taliban leadership based in the tribal areas has directed their Karachi members to raise resources through extortion, bank heists and kidnapping for ransom, especially targeting the businessmen and transporters belonging to the tribal areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, to prop up their diminishing resources for equipment, weapons and the expenses associated with the militancy.

Dozens of transporters based in Karachi, who belong to South Waziristan, Mohmand and Khyber tribal agencies of FATA, have paid billion of rupees to secure the release of their relatives from the captivity of Taliban militants during the last one year. Ransom demands range from about $10,000 and to $50,000 (Walsh and Rehman, 2013). Also, Pashtun businessmen associated with the trucking industry carrying NATO supplies to Afghanistan regularly pay millions of rupees to the Taliban leadership based in Karachi. The TTP had been demanding billions of rupees in extortion money from certain big businesses, especially cellular phone companies (Khan, 2012b).

The TTP Mehsud faction has systematically occupied the representative bodies of heavy-duty vehicles, and local truck and mini-bus associations of Sohrab Goth and imposed fixed 'taxes' on traders and transporters associated with the bodies. Mehsud tribesmen are largely engaged in these businesses.[3] The TTP has also set up private jails in Sohrab Goth, Manghopir and Ittehad Town areas of the city where they keep the people kidnapped for ransom as well as local criminals in order to force them to join the TTP. Getting these criminals on board has helped the Taliban procure trained people who know how the law enforcers in Karachi work (Rehman, 2013b).

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[3] Author's interviews with Mehsud transporters in Karachi.

The TTP Mohmand faction has been collecting extortion money from Mohmand tribesmen based in Karachi, who are well-off and mainly deal in timber and construction material; the militants have fixed forced donations for Mohmand businessmen and traders.[4] For instance, the TTP takes a levy of 1,000 rupees on a monthly income of 40,000 rupees. Concentrate blocks made for use in construction—a major business in the Pashtun areas—are sold for 18 rupees apiece, of which three rupees go to the Taliban (Shah & Hasan, 2014).

The TTP leadership closely monitors the fund-raising and embezzlement is not tolerated. A year ago, the Mehsud TTP militants, on orders from then TTP chief Hakimullah Mehsud, killed their former Karachi leader Sher Zaman Mehsud for stealing the money raised through extortion and bank robberies (*Express*, 2013). According to a local Urdu daily, the TTP had hired chartered accountants to manage the money raised in Karachi, who oversaw the financial affairs of the TTP, monitored the flow of extortion money as well as transparency and allocation of funds to different 'projects'. Reports suggested that the TTP had engaged six chartered accountants for Sindh, including Karachi (Malik, 2013).

Kidnapping for ransom

There has been an alarming increase in kidnapping for ransom in Karachi over the last few years. Organized crime syndicates and terrorist organizations both engage in kidnapping and often work in tandem across provincial borders. Coordination among law enforcement authorities, on the other hand, remains lacking and complaints of 'bottlenecks' in the system are widespread.

The Taliban factor is believed to have a growing role in kidnappings for ransom in the city. **At least five out of over a hundred kidnappings in 2011 were known to have been committed by Taliban-linked jihadi groups, according to the Citizen-Police Liaison Committee (CPLC), from just one or two the previous year (Mirza, 2012).** The CPLC chief, Ahmed Chinoy, said it was hard to establish which groups were responsible, adding that the militant groups carried out reconnaissance of their targets but did not necessarily

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[4]   Author's interviews with Mohmand traders in Karachi.

target members of certain communities. The rise in kidnappings had been quite sudden and these groups were commonly referred to as the "Punjabi Taliban", according to security experts and police officers (Ibid).

Three militants belonging to Punjabi Taliban including its Karachi head Qari Shahid were killed on December 5, 2011 when police raided a house during the successful rescue of kidnapped local industrialist Riaz Chinoy. The militants had demanded Rs 70 million in ransom, but agreed to release him in exchange for Rs 20 million after negotiations, according to media reports (Rehman, 2012). Police officials said that the main function of Al-Mukhtar group, which was a cell of TTP's Badar Mansoor group deployed especially in Karachi, was to collect extortion money, and carry out bank heists and abductions for ransom (Ibid).

Irrespective of the extent of "jihadi" groups' involvement in kidnapping for ransom, an issue of concern is the growing involvement of militant groups in such cases and a large number of instances not being reported. This is mainly because relatives of the kidnapped persons usually do not inform the police and pay the ransom for fear of repercussions from Taliban militants.

Prominent Pakistani filmmaker Satish Anand, who was kidnapped from Karachi in October 2008, was released in March 2009 in Miranshah area of North Waziristan from the captivity of Taliban militants. He was released after his family paid Rs 16 million following negotiations with the kidnappers, who had initially demanded Rs 50 million for his release (Khan, 2009b).

Bank heists

There has been a new tendency among militants groups for bank robberies and dozens of incidents have been reported in the past three years. Not only have all those involved managed to escape with the loot, but in most cases they have also taken away the CCTV recording and weapons of bank guards.

Police officials say that three types of criminals are robbing banks in Karachi: Taliban groups, organized gangs and professional criminals. The TTP-linked militants rob banks to raise money for the outlawed group's terrorist activities. Police claim that TTP militants robbed Karachi banks of US $18m

from 2009 until May 2012 in a bid to generate funds for terrorism (Mehmood, 2012).

A police officer said that the militants were feared as skilled fighters, and their modus operandi included giving guards or police little time to react. According to Raja Omar Khattab, a senior police officer, Taliban militant outfits had been robbing banks for a generation, but the trend had spiked since 2009. "This is an alarming situation that the earnings of the Pakistani people are being used to accomplish terrorist activities," he said. Police found during interrogation of some arrested robbers that those targeting bank were associated with the TTP and the banned Lashkar-e-Jhangvi group in many cases. Police officers believed that the militants' involvement in organized crime had grown recently, following the government ban on jihadi groups and the seizure of their bank accounts.

Afghan Taliban

Karachi is also very important for Afghan Taliban for fund-raising and other financial affairs. In January 2013, English daily The News published a report describing the shifts in Taliban funding over time, stating that prior to 9/11, the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban militants relied heavily on funding from the Middle Eastern states and private donors. Taliban militants allegedly acquired around US$6 billion through the end of the 1990s from these sources (Hasan, 2013). After 9/11, funding from states and private donations were dispersed as Western countries took measures to repress Afghan and Pakistani militant groups. In response, the Taliban greatly diversified their funding to generate resources. They allegedly established businesses in Pakistan, especially in Karachi, and the United Arab Emirates, including construction and transportation firms, which were used to launder money and to generate funds for the insurgency. After the US invasion of Afghanistan, Afghan Taliban leader Mustaqim Agha Jan fled to Karachi and was made in-charge of dealing with the biggest donors in the Gulf region and Pakistan.

The UN Security Council and the US Treasury listed two Afghan brothers—Haji Faizullah Noorzai and Haji Malik Noorzai—living in Karachi as Taliban financiers. Faizullah collected more than $100,000 for the Taliban from donors in the Gulf and in 2009 gave a portion of his own money to the Taliban. He

also financially supported a Taliban commander in the Kandahar province of Afghanistan and provided funding for training Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters. In Late 2008, Taliban representatives approached Malik to invest Taliban funds. According to reports, Malik collected money from donors in the Gulf region and Pakistan and opened a *hawala* account in Pakistan that received tens of thousands of dollars from the Gulf every few months to support the Afghan Taliban (US Department of Treasury. 2011).

Karachi's trucking industry, dominated by Pashtun businessmen, carries almost all supplies that the NATO forces use in Afghanistan — weapons, vehicles, fuel, food and water. A large amount of money involved in that transportation goes to Afghan Taliban (Perlez & Shah, 2010). Truck drivers who transport NATO supplies from Karachi to Afghanistan regularly pay protection money to the Afghan Taliban to prevent attacks on their convoys. Moreover, the Afghan militants are also directly engaged in trucking, carry drugs from Kandahar to Karachi, and return with weapons (Ibid).

Several militant charities based in Karachi, such as Al-Akhtar Trust and Al-Rasheed Trust, have also played a key role in financing the militancy in Afghanistan. Sources in religious circles in the city say the Taliban fighters are still getting financial support from the banned Al-Rasheed Trust and Al-Akhtar Trust, which worked in Afghanistan during the Taliban regime, and other similar organizations, besides raising huge amounts in donations from the rich and influential traders in Karachi. Many of these traders donate to the Taliban on a monthly basis (Balouf & Tohid, 2003). Following the ban on these charities by the Pakistani government, the militant groups quickly created fictitious foundations to solicit funds. Prominent among them are the Maymar Trust, a front for the banned Al-Rasheed Trust; Al-Rehmat Trust, a front for Jaish-e-Muhammad, and Pakistan Relief Foundation, a front for the banned Al-Akhtar Trust (Rehman, 2011).

Conclusion

Karachi is considered a key area in terms of terrorism in the country because it has become the main location for Taliban militants' fundraising and alliances. As Karachi continues to be a victim of extortion, kidnapping for ransom and bank heists, neither the government nor the police have come up with effective policies to curb endemic crime that plagues the city.

Although law enforcement agencies, and especially the Rangers, claim to have arrested several suspects belonging to banned militant outfits in an operation started in September 2013, leaders of political parties, especially the ANP and the MQM, and Pashtun residents say that law enforcement agencies have not focused on the TTP in the entire operation.

Experts suggest that the strengthening of TTP in Karachi could paralyze economic activity, undermining the national economy and, by extension, national stability. Therefore, it is necessary that law enforcement agencies launch selective and surgical operations in Karachi against the militants who have migrated to this port city to not only shatter the network of the militant outfits, especially the TTP, but also stop the funding that is supporting the militancy in the tribal areas and Afghanistan.

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Islam and politics in Pakistan (1906-1985): a political perspective

Arsalan Bilal

A. The Pakistan Movement

The continuously exacerbating concerns of Muslims vis-à-vis Hindu domination, together with domestic and international environment of decolonization, eventually led to the demand for a separate homeland for Muslims in India (Cohen, 2005: 25-37). It was the realization amongst the Muslims of their ebbing political and cultural status in the face of Hindu domination over Indian politics that ushered in nationalism on the basis of religion, rather than territory. This became the underpinning of the "two-nation" theory (Pande, 2011), which should be considered a direct outcome of the following three political developments in the Indian subcontinent before 1940.

1. Partition of Bengal and creation of the Muslim League

The Muslim League was formed by concerned Muslim Indian leaders as a direct fallout of events that unfolded amidst the short-lived partition of Bengal, which is discerned in this research as the first watershed in India's history that prepared the ground for exclusivist Muslim political struggle in the 20th century.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 was not well received by the Hindus. They accused the government of favoring the Muslims by affording them a province where they formed a majority. The educated Hindus were loath to relinquish the opportunities they enjoyed in the undivided Bengal, which was a Hindu-majority province. They feared that creation of a Muslim-majority province out of Bengal would diminish the monopoly and influence they enjoyed throughout the region. Thus, ferocious Hindu agitation against the partition of Bengal ensued as a result of which the Muslims were alienated (Aziz, 2009: 25-26).

The agitation against the partition of Bengal degenerated into violence. Four attempts were made to assassinate the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Lord

Minto, the viceroy of India, too, escaped an assassination attempt in Ahmedabad, while his political secretary was shot dead in London. A bomb targeting a district magistrate in Bengal left two English women dead, while a Bengali prosecutor was gunned down (Sayeed, 2012: 26). The Hindu Mahasabha, which was a manifestation of violent Hinduism, violently resisted the partition of Bengal and ultimately forced the British to revoke it. Meanwhile, Indian National Congress also did little to thwart the social disorder in Bengal (Ziring, 2005: 4). Mired by insecurities vis-à-vis the Hindus, the Muslims were compelled to form an exclusivist political party, the All-India Muslim League, in 1906 (Aziz, 2009: 29).

2.   The Khilafat Movement

The second defining moment that eventually compelled the Indian Muslims in general and Muhammad Ali Jinnah in particular to part ways with the Indian National Congress was the Caliphate Movement. Gandhi became one of the flag bearers of the movement. Meanwhile, Jinnah viewed the Caliphate Movement with disdain, and decried Gandhi's tactics as leading the masses astray. Moreover, the period following the failure of the Caliphate Movement broadened the cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims of the subcontinent as both religious groups viewed each other with suspicion (Akbar, 2011: 166-189). Events that unfolded after the movement inclined Jinnah towards the "two-nation theory" (Ziring, 2005: 8).

Although it initially appeared that the movement would come to fruition, it fizzled out as a result of three untoward or unforeseen incidents. First, deeming national liberation as social emancipation, the Muslim Moplahs of Malabar killed and looted their Hindu landlords in August 1921. This had adverse effects on the Hindu-Muslim unity, which was seen as a product of the Khilafat Movement. Second, the Chauri Chaura incident took place on February 5, 1923. After the police opened fire on unarmed protesters in the village of Chauri Chaura, 22 policemen were burnt to death in retaliation. Gandhi announced to call off his Non-Cooperation Movement after the incident, leaving the Khilafat cause in the doldrums. Third, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey abolished the institution of Caliphate in October 1924. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was one of the most prominent leaders of the Khilafat Movement, subsequently advised the

Muslims of India to leave Turkey to its own fate and focus on issues closer to home (Kazimi, 2009: 103).

The Khilafat Movement had adverse implications for Indian politics. First, the movement politicized religion as Gandhi, along with Muslim leaders, appealed to the religious sentiments of the masses. Second, the movement led to grim apprehensions of the Muslims about Gandhi and his sincerity with the community. They felt abandoned and betrayed as they had to bear the brunt of the failed movement. Meanwhile, suspicions emerged that Hindus did not suffer as much as Muslims did for a cause which was deemed 'Indian' in essence. Third, Muslim nationalism was stirred up as a result of the events that surrounded the Khilafat Movement. Muslims, who participated in the movement in an organized manner, were awakened from their slumber.

3. Defeat of the Muslim League in the 1937 elections

The ignominious defeat of the All-India Muslim League in the 1937 elections marked the third watershed in Muslim struggle in the subcontinent during the 20th century. Jinnah remained a profound student of liberal Hindu thinkers; he championed Hindu-Muslim unity and heterogeneous cultural traditions. He believed in inter-religious harmony and cooperation. After the 1937 elections, Jinnah insisted on Congress acknowledging the Muslim League as an "equal" counterpart. However, the Congress ruled out any such possibility and argued that it was the sole genuine national party in India. Controlling all ministries in the provinces, Congress accorded opportunities to Muslims only as long as they were members of the party. Hoping that the Muslim League would soon cease to exist, the Congress turned down its demands of inclusion in the government. Dismayed by the attitude of the Congress, the Muslim League reckoned it to be vindication of the qualms about the former's propensity for secularism. Therefore, the Muslim League rekindled the "Islam in danger" pronouncement in face of suspicions that Congress was merely a vanguard of Hindu hegemony in Indian national politics (Ziring, 2005: 17-21).

The aforementioned three events dissipated the prospects of political reconciliation between the Muslim League and the Congress. The end of the Congress rule prepared the ground for the passage of the famous Lahore

Resolution of 1940. Soon afterwards, the Muslim League endeavored to create a separate homeland for the Muslims of India in the form of Pakistan.

The politics of Islam

It is paramount to conceptualize that Islam was used by the Muslim League as a means for uniting the disparate Muslim community in the subcontinent. This eventually paved the way for the party's electoral victory in the 1945-46 elections. Ziad Haider produces the following excerpt from historian Ayesha Jalal's book to elucidate the role of Islam in the politics of the Muslim League:

> "Jinnah's resort to religion was not an ideology to which he was ever committed or even a device to use against rival communities; it was simply a way of giving a semblance of unity and solidity to his divided Muslim constituents" (Haider, 2011: 114).

While the independence of Pakistan can be considered the triumph of the two-nation theory, it must also be borne in mind that Jinnah was able to create cohesion amongst the Muslim leadership in India as well as drum up support of the masses by utilizing the Islamic rhetoric and keeping the ultimate goal of Pakistan obscure and imprecise. One of the results yielded as a consequence of this strategy was that "India's Muslims demanded Pakistan without really knowing the results of that demand." (Haqqani, 2005: 5-6)

The main support for the Muslim League originated in the Hindu-majority areas. It was essential for Jinnah and the Muslim League to prove that they represented the Muslim-majority provinces if they were to play a meaningful role in framing the future constitution of India. Such support would have been difficult to garner with a too precisely delineated political program since the Muslims of India constituted a heterogeneous and disparate group. A socio-economic program aimed at mobilizing the masses could also not be useful as it would have ensnared the powerful Muslim landed gentry. Jinnah's only option was recourse to religion for mobilization of the Muslim masses. However, Jinnah's decision did not predicate on his ideological or religious proclivities owing to the fact that he was a politician known for his secular leanings because of which he had earned the title of 'ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity' and also invited the wrath of the religious clergy on

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several occasions. In fact, Jinnah used religion to bring about a semblance of unity and solidity to the divided Indian Muslims. (Jalal, 1999: 16-17).

It was against this backdrop that the Muslim League enlisted support of the religious clerics in a move to woo the masses. For instance, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani joined the Muslim League bandwagon and exhorted the Muslims to support Jinnah in his struggle to form an Islamic state. Slogans were raised that held opponents of the League as enemies of Islam and the true interest of Muslims. Maulana Osmani was reported to have announced during a conference in Meerut that:

> "Any man who gives his vote to the opponent of the Muslim League, must think of the ultimate consequence of his action in terms of the interests of his nation and the answers that he would be called upon to produce on the Day of Judgment." (Sayeed, 2012: 202-206)

Other religious figures like the Mir of Manki Sharif, Maulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari and Maulana Abdul Khan Niazi also supported the cause of the Muslim League. Later, Jinnah also acknowledged the service rendered by the *ulema* for the Muslims of the subcontinent (Ibid).

B. The post-independence narrative

Although there was disjunction between Pakistan's political structure and religion at the time of the country's inception in 1947, religious powers began exerting pressure to ensure that the newly formed state was declared an Islamic republic (Hashmi, 2009). The state of Pakistan soon embarked upon the policy of transforming itself into an Islamic ideological country (Haqqani, 2005: 16). The military and political elite of Pakistan asserted the Islamic ideology to orchestrate cohesion amongst the general population vis-à-vis external threats, and cope with internal threats ranging from political dissidents to divisive factors (Haider, 2011: 115-118). Pakistan faced threats from India immediately after independence; therefore, the country's leaders used religion for national identification and integration (Haqqani, 2004-05).

Apart from the above-mentioned factors that have exacerbated politicization of Islam, domestic circumstances like vulnerable political and economic resources as well as the military's compulsion to legitimize itself have contributed towards the fortification of political Islam in the country.

Furthermore, external engagements like recruitment of the Mujahideen in Afghanistan as well as Kashmir added fuel to this fire (Wirsing, 2004: 170).

The Objectives Resolution

The Objectives Resolution was the first legal document in Pakistan's history that incorporated religion into the country's governance structure and politics. It laid the basic foundation upon which the Constitution was to be framed, and broadly outlined its structure. The resolution was floated before the country's first Constituent Assembly on March 7, 1949. It created polarization in the House along religious lines as all non-Muslim members vociferously opposed it; while all Muslims members, except one, clamored for its adoption. The resolution encapsulated various references to Islam; for instance, it declared that sovereignty of the entire universe belonged to God, who had delegated this authority to the State through its people for being exercised within the restraints prescribed by Him as a sacred trust. Moreover, the resolution obliged the State to embark upon "principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam". The resolution also called for provisions to enable Muslims to order their lives in accordance with Islamic injunctions (Mehdi, 2012: 11-12).

Since its very inception, the Constituent Assembly faced immense pressure to metamorphose Pakistan into an Islamic state; this demand emanated from religious clerics from both within and outside the government, as well as religious parties like the Jamaat-i-Islami and Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam (Parveen, 2010). As the country was beset with a range of problems, including strained relations between the centre and provinces, the role of Islam was amplified for nation-building. As a corollary, the flag-bearers of Islam were emboldened after the independence of the country (Nasr, 1994: 116). Moreover, it was imperative for the policymakers to mitigate—if not exterminate—the external real and perceived threats vis-à-vis India that marred an ethnically fragmented Pakistan. Thus, religion was employed as an instrument to carve out internal cohesion in the face of real and perceived internal and external threats (Haider, 2012: 115).

It is worth mentioning that then Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, who was the architect of the Objectives Resolution, did not have roots in the newly formed Pakistan as he had spent most of his time in north India before 1947

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(Cohen, 2005: 7). Likewise, many members of the Constituent Assembly were elected from constituencies in which they were not even domiciled. Example included Sardar Nishtar, who was elected from Punjab, and Liaquat Ali Khan, Maulana Shabbir Osmani, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, Dr Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Malik Ghulam Muhammad and Dr Mahmud Hussain, who were elected from East Pakistan (Afzal, 2011: 11). Thus, it can be argued that it was pivotal for these politicians to rally public support through ramping up the Islamic rhetoric.

The Muslim League comprised two groups of Muslims; the first was the leadership cadre which was elitist and westernized, while the second was made up of masses that were amenable to the religious rhetoric of the clerics. Before the creation of Pakistan, the Muslim League was gratifying the wishes of both the groups. The elitist group was being served the opportunity to capture power and influence sans Hindus, while the vague religious urge of the common supporter of the party was also accommodated (Sayeed, 1998: 180). This picture changed profoundly after Pakistan became a reality. The elitist group of the Muslim League assumed leadership of the new country; however, the aspirations of the group of people that wanted to establish an Islamic state remained unfulfilled in the holistic sense. That was why pressure groups within and outside the nascent government started to embark upon endeavors to Islamize the state of Pakistan.

As early as March 1948, the Barelvi group[1] of Islam's Sunni sect established Markazi Jam'iyyat ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan (MJUP), the first religio-political group of Pakistan after 1947. Though the MJUP kept itself aloof from electoral and parliamentary politics due to dearth of organization, the group demanded an Islamic Constitution in the country on September 22, 1947. In pursuit of the same, the religio-political party presented three drafts to Jinnah and subsequently to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on different occasions (Ahmad, 2007).

Other religious groups were quick to follow suit. The Jamaat-i-Islami, which had opposed the Pakistan Movement, spearheaded the campaign aimed at enacting an Islamic constitution in Pakistan (Ahmad, 1967). Maulana

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[1] Barelvis actively participated in the Pakistan Movement on purely religious basis, hoping that the new state would be religious in character.

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Maududi, the leader of Jamaat-i-Islami, urged his disciples to refuse to pledge allegiance to Pakistan until the state adopted an Islamic constitution (Jackson, 2011: 71). By the start of 1948, Maududi initiated a concerted campaign for Islamization of Pakistan. On January 6 and February 19, 1948, Maududi delivered two lectures at the Law College in Lahore, putting forward a coherent plan to frame the constitution in line with the teachings of Islam. Subsequently, in April and May 1948, Maududi delivered a series of lectures on the same theme across the country. On top of these ventures, he also attempted to exert pressure on the Constituent Assembly to Islamize the country and its impending constitutional structure (Nasr, 1994: 116-122).

Moreover, a Shariat group was formed in the Muslim League in 1948 to work for establishing an "Islamic order" in Pakistan (Malik, 2011: 41). Although the Muslim League maintained a secular outlook, Islam was acceptable to it on the premise that it was deemed *sine qua non* for nation-building in Pakistan (Cohen, 2005: 167).

It was in this context that the Constituent Assembly made headway towards drafting a constitution in March 1949 by adopting a resolution on the "Aims and Objects of the Constitution," commonly known as the Objectives Resolution. It was unfortunate that the Objectives Resolution split the House along religious lines. It is believed that the resolution stirred up feelings of suspicion, alienation and distrust amongst the religious minorities against the majority. Accepting some of the amendments put forward by the minority members would have proved instrumental in reaching consensus on the issue. It must be mentioned here that some of the 17 amendments put forward by the religious minority members were reasonable and prudent with respect to the broader national interest (Khan, 2011: 59).

Rise of vigilantism

A full-fledged anti-Ahmadi agitation erupted in Pakistan, particularly in the most populous province Punjab, where Ahmadiyya community's claim with regard to founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was seen as contrary to the orthodox Islamic belief that Prophet Muhammad was the last messenger of God (Nawaz, 2008: 86). The agitation movement was spearheaded by the clerics, who demanded that Ahmadis should be declared as a non-Muslim minority; Zafarullah Khan, a staunch Ahmadi, should be dismissed as

Pakistan's foreign minister; and Ahmadis should be removed from all key positions in government. The government refused to cave in to the demands, arresting the clerics and imposing martial law in Lahore, the nerve centre of anti-Ahmadi disturbances, which were quelled (Saeed, 2007).

Islamizing the laws

As the religious forces were emboldened, a series of Islamic provisions were systematically incorporated into the constitutions of 1956 and 1962, both of which were abrogated as a result of martial laws. The following Islamic clauses were incorporated into the 1973 constitution, which is legally enforceable in Pakistan hitherto: (Rehman, 1997).

> **Article 1** of the constitution pronounces the country as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
>
> **Article 2** declares Islam as the state religion of Pakistan.
>
> **Article 2A** encapsulates the Objectives Resolution of 1949, and was incorporated into the constitution as its integral part on March 2, 1985 by then President General Zia-ul-Haq.
>
> **Articles 31, 37 (h), 38 (f) and 40** pertain to responsibilities of the State with respect to the religion of Islam.
>
> **Article 31** obligates the state to embark upon steps to enable the Muslims of the country, individually and collectively, to order their lives in consonance with the basic concepts and teachings of Islam.
>
> **Article 37 (h)** mandates the state of Pakistan to eliminate the consumption of alcoholic liquor. However, usage of alcohol for medical and, in case of non-Muslims, religious purposes is permitted.
>
> **Article 38 (f)** declares it a duty of the state to abolish *Riba* (interest) at the earliest.
>
> **Article 40** emphasizes consolidating relations with Muslim states as well as promotion of international peace.
>
> **Article 41** declares a non-Muslim citizen ineligible to become the President of the state.

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Article 62 (d) stipulates that a person, who is known to have contravened Islamic injunctions, shall not be elected or selected as a member of parliament.

Article 62 (e) propounds the prerequisite for a Muslim, striving to be elected or chosen as a parliamentarian, to possess sufficient knowledge of Islamic teachings as well as rituals, and refrain from major sins.

Article 227 (1) obliges the state to bring all existing laws in consonance with the injunctions of Islam as enunciated in Quran and the *Sunnah*.

Article 227 (2) pronounces that no law, which is inconsistent with Islamic injunctions, shall be enacted.

Article 228 provides for the establishment and balanced constitution of the Council of Islamic Ideology by the President.

Article 229 entitles the President of Pakistan, Governor of a province, parliament, and a provincial assembly to file a reference before the Council of Islamic Ideology, asking the body to ascertain any discrepancy between a proposed law and Islamic injunctions.

Article 230 enlists the Council of Islamic Ideology's functions, which include making recommendations as to how Muslims should be enabled and encouraged to mould their lives in accordance with Islamic values and teachings.

Bhutto's era

The 'Ahmadi question' resurfaced at the national level in 1974 when clerics, religious organizations and religious-political parties revived their agitation against the Ahmadi community. As pressure on Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto mounted, he budged and announced that parliament would offer deliberations on the issue. The parliament passed the Constitution (Second Amendment) Act in September 1974, which declared Ahmadis as non-Muslims. It added a new clause (3) to Article 260 of the constitution providing that a person who did not believe in the absolute and unqualified finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (PBUH), the last of the Prophets, or claimed to be a prophet in any sense of the word or of any description whatsoever after Muhammad (PBUH), or recognized such a claimant as a prophet or a religious reformer, was not a Muslim for the purposes of the constitution or law (Mahmood, 1990: 1038).

Bhutto's political slogan had been 'Islamic socialism'. He had stressed that "Islam is our faith, democracy is out polity, and socialism is our economy." (Jafri, 2011: 70-71) However, Bhutto soon found himself capitulating to the *Mullah*, as a result of which he had to compromise on the last two in favor of the first. Even before the Ahmadiyya controversy surfaced, Bhutto had started appeasing the religious lobby as his popularity amongst the masses declined. For instance, Kausar Niazi, who had become prominent as a member of the Jamaat-i-Islami, was appointed as Bhutto's information minister and advisor on religious affairs (Nasr, 1994: 172).

Zia's Islamization

After taking over the government in July 1977, military ruler General Zia-ul-Haq initiated the process of Islamization of the legal system in a bid to garner political legitimacy for his regime. Punishment for *hadd* offences was prescribed in the criminal law through four ordinances, which were collectively known as the *Hudood* Ordinances. Moreover, the Federal Shariat Court, with the exclusive jurisdiction of determining whether a law was in conformity with Islam, was established (UNHCR, 2012: 10). Initially, Shariat Appellate Benches were integrated in Pakistan's four high courts in 1978. These benches were granted appellate jurisdiction in cases of *hudood* law convictions, and original jurisdiction to take up "Shariat petitions". Later in 1980, these benches were dissolved and the Federal Shariat Court (FSC) was set up. The verdicts of the FSC could be challenged in the Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court, which comprised three regular judges of the apex court and two ad hoc judges selected from the FSC or the clergy (Kennedy, 1990).

During Zia's rule in the 1980s, numerous criminal law ordinances were approved by parliament. These included five that directly targeted religious minorities and declared blasphemy a punishable offence: a law fixing punishment for desecration of Quran; a prohibition against insulting Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), his wives, family, or companion; and two laws curbing the activities of Ahmadis. General Ordinance XX of 1984 made amendments to the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) by inserting sections 298B and 298C and to the Press and Publications Ordinance. The newly incorporated sections of the PPC were referred to as "anti-Ahmadi laws" as they forestalled Ahmadis from professing to be Muslims or adopting Muslim practices in their worship

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or in propagation of their faith. Each of these offences was punishable with up to three years in jail and a fine. The incorporation of blasphemy laws in the penal code reportedly developed an environment fraught with religious intolerance and led to institutionalization of discrimination against religious minorities. The inherent discrimination in the provisions as well as the severity of punishments attached to violations, and the subsequent exploitation by religious fanatics have drawn pervasive criticism at the international level. The former UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities warned that the plight of religious minorities in Pakistan could lead to mass exodus. It deemed Ordinance XX as a:

> "prima facie violation [...] of the right of religious minorities to profess and practice their own religion", and "expresse[d] grave concern that persons charged with and arrested for violations of Ordinance XX have been reportedly subjected to various punishments and confiscation of personal property, [...] discrimination in employment and education and to the defacement of their religious property." (UNHCR, 2012: 11)

Conclusion

The Pakistan Movement was triggered by westernized Muslim academics, aristocrats and secular elites; the founding father of the country, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was one of them. However, in the 1940s, the leaders of the Muslim League utilized the Islamic rhetoric to muster the support of the masses. The recourse to religion in the political domain in the pre-partition period had far-reaching ramifications for the future of Pakistan. Ambiguity about the very ideology of the country created horrid problems for the policy makers owing to the ferocious polarization between proponents and opponents of ideological politics in Pakistan. Political realities then compelled policy makers to metamorphose Pakistan into an Islamic state on an array of reasons ranging from a need for national cohesion to garnering political legitimacy for unpopular leaders. Resultantly, Islam permeated the political and constitutional realms of the country.

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Sectarian ideological warfare through graffiti

Muhammad Asif

1.   Introduction

Banned religious and sectarian organizations carry on transmitting extremist messages with the aim of fomenting violent behavior and gaining support for their actions in Pakistan. These organizations have long been using graffiti to achieve these objectives. Since 1990, the use of graffiti along with jihadi print media has grown spectacularly and become a primary force in breeding extremist religious and sectarian thought, raising funds for banned groups like Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Sipah-e-Muhammad, and enlisting news recruits for these groups.

Banned sectarian and religious organizations have been using their discursive power to preach radical ideologies in order to achieve their religio-political, socio-economic and ideological interests in Pakistan.

The religious and sectarian print media has also become a vital force in Pakistan over the past two decades and contributes significantly to the spread of extremism in the country. During the years of the Afghan jihad against the Soviet occupation, the government of Pakistan either supported the creation of the messages of hatred by religious and sectarian militant groups or ignored the growth of extremist religious and sectarian writings and messages.

This study was conducted with the following purposes related to the growing roadside graffiti across the country. It examines the content of the graffiti observed during the years 2011 to 2013.

— Analysis of the nature of graffiti
— Ideological objectives of graffiti
— Impact of graffiti in terms of ideologies

Previous studies also endorse that the media and propaganda wings of religious and sectarian organization have a considerable role in creating

religious extremism and radicalism. They consistently produce radical literature, including publications and other material, for propagation of their ideologies and agendas. Some analysts argue that the current sectarian terrorism has its roots in the sectarian ideological narratives prepared by sectarian militant groups and parties in mainland Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria (Rana, 2011).

Rabasa (2006) is among the scholars who have asserted that the messages and rhetoric of radical religious and sectarian organizations highlight their grievances and extol the effectiveness of their actions. A great deal of their communications focus on garnering religious and sectarian legitimacy. These clusters strive to spread their ideas along with the sectarian terrorist attacks that they conduct and inspire.

Mohanty and Mahanty (2010: 142) found that the Islamist radicals in Pakistan had emotional temptation towards the ideological appeals of extremism in the absence of competing ideologies and confused religiosity with religion. The militants have transformed the rhetorical messages of jihad into actual violence that they have sought to justify in the name of religion.

Puri (2010) has revisited the relationship between Pakistani religious seminaries and terrorism. His work strongly asserts that these seminaries are preaching an ideology of extremism on religious and sectarian basis.

A report by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS, 2002) indicates that banned religious and sectarian organizations in Pakistan spread intolerance and vigorously denounce Jews, Christians, Hindus, other non-Muslims, secular Muslims and also other Muslim sects.

Material and methods

This study analyzed the content of the Urdu-language roadside graffiti by banned sectarian organizations from January 1, 2011 to December 31, 2013. A sampling was done within the target population of five administrative units of Punjab; Lahore, Faisalabad, Sahiwal, Multan and Bahawalpur. Qualitative content analysis was then made based on the data collected. The strategy of overt observation was used for the collection of data by giving a written form in the shape of field notes regarding the facts observed during this process.

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The author travelled on the main roads linking the five administrative units of the Punjab cited earlier in order to collect the data on graffiti by the banned sectarian organizations. This process took a total of two weeks of intermittent field work between 2011 and 2013.

The collected data was analyzed qualitatively and thematically in the narrative form rather than in terms of statistics through critical reading in view of the textual nature of messages. After analyzing the messages individually, a holistic summary of the analysis of graffiti messages was made.

2. Content analysis and findings

The sectarian graffiti was categorized into four types, by Deobandi, Shia, Barelvi and Wahabi sects or organizations. A fifth type pronounced elimination of sectarianism.

2.1 Graffiti by Deobandis

The graffiti by Deobandi Muslims and organizations had two sub-types, anti-Barelvi and anti-Shia graffiti. The latter was found to be of more extreme in nature.

The core emphasis of anti-Barelvi messages revolved around Barelvis' visits to shrines and graves and their love for saints and *pirs*. A message that was frequently written on the walls was: *qabron ka ehtram magar unko sujda haraam* (respect the graves but do not worship them because that is forbidden in Islam).

The ideological objectives behind anti-Barelvi graffiti are stated below.

i. An expression of acknowledgement and respect for the saints' shrines and graves.

ii. Condemnation of the act of bowing before the saints' tombs and graves by Barelvis as contrary to the principle of oneness of God in Islam.

iii. Use of less severe tone against Barelvi Muslims as compared to Shia Muslims.

The anti-Shia graffiti by Deobandi organizations was found to be more diverse and intense. Examples include the following messages on the walls:

— *Shia kainaat ka badtreen kafir hay* (A Shia is the worst infidel in all creations)

— *Kafir, kafir, Shia kafir* (Shias are infidels)

— *Mein naukar Sahaba da* (I am a servant of the companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH))

— *Mein naukar Muawia da* (I am a servant of Muawia)

— *Zinda hay Jhangvi zinda hay* (Jhangvi[1] is alive)

— *Jhangvi teri azmat ko salaam* (Jhangvi! We salute your greatness)

— *Shioun ko Pakistan say nikala jayey* (Shias should be expelled from Pakistan)

— *Pakistan ko Sunni riasat declare kiya jayey* (Pakistan should be declared a Sunni state)

— *Pakistan ko Shioun kay najs wajood sey pak karein gay* (We will purify Pakistan of the filth that is Shia)

— *Madrassa Taleem-ul-Quran kay shohada ka khoon inqilab layey ga* (The blood of martyrs of Madrassa Taleem-ul-Quran will bring a revolution)

A review of these anti-Shia messages reveals the following ideological objectives:

— Negative presentation of Shia Muslims by calling them the worst of the infidels (anti-Shiaism).

— An attempt at instigating hatred, anger and animosity among Muslims of other sects against the Shias (anti-Shiaism).

— An expression of affection and love for Muawia and the *Sahaba*, or companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), (Muawiaism, Sahabaism).[2]

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[1]   Reference to Haq Nawaz Jhangvi, founder of Deobandi sectarian organization Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan. He was assassinated in 1990.

[2]   Deobandi sectarian groups allege that Shias have disrespect for the companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

— Glorification of late cleric Haq Nawaz Jhangvi, the founder of sectarian militant outfit Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan. Jhangvi had branded Shia Muslims as infidels or disbelievers.

— An effort to glorify the students of a Sunni madrassa in Rawalpindi who had died during a sectarian clash with Shias on the 10th of Moharram in 2013, and a pledge for bringing a revolution through the blood of the slain students.

— Pressing the government through graffiti to eliminate Shia Muslims from Pakistan and to make a formal declaration that Pakistan is a Sunni state (anti-Shiaism and Deobandism)

— An attempt to form the general public's opinion against Shia Muslims.

— An attempt to isolate Shia Muslims in the country.

2.2 Graffiti by Shias

The Shia graffiti contained the following main messages:

— *Mein naukar Hussain da* (I am a servant of Hazrat Hussain)

— *Mein naukar Ali mushkal kusha da* (I am a servant of Hazrat Ali, the problem solver)

— *Salam ya Hussain* (Peace on you, O Hussain!)

— *Rab janey ya Hussain janey* (Only God or Hussain knows and takes care of one's situation)

— *Kafir kafir Sunni kafir* (Sunnis are infidels). However, this message was found written on the walls in very few instances.

It appeared from these messages that the possible ideological objectives behind Shia graffiti were: an expression of affection and love for the fourth caliph of Islam, Hazrat Ali, and his son, Hazrat Hussain; and positive presentation of Hazrat Ali and Hazrat Hussain in order to evoke sentiments of love and affection for them in the minds of the reader.

It was also noted that Deobandis' condemnation for the Shias was much more extensive than Shias' condemnation for Deobandis. Also, as suggested by the frequency of graffiti, Deobandi Muslims or organizations were more actively engaged in leaving their messages on the walls than Shias.

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2.3 Graffiti by Barelvis

Barelvi Muslims, mainly their religious scholars, madrassas and shrines of saints, have been targeted many times by Deobandi militant groups, including the Taliban, in Pakistan. Barelvi graffiti messages condemn the 'terrorists' without mentioning any particular group or sect. The following messages by Barelvi organizations were frequently found on the walls:

— *Dehshat gardon ka jo yaar hay, Pakistan ka ghaddar hay* (Whoever is a friend of terrorists is a traitor to Pakistan).

— *Dehshat gardon ka mulk say khatima kiya jayey* (Terrorists should be banished from the country).

— *Dehshat gardi kay khatmay kay liyay Shumali Waziristan mein operation naguzeer hay* (A military operation in North Waziristan is unavoidable for eradicating terrorism).

Although not explicit in their words, the messages by Barelvi organizations are implicitly targeted at Deobandi and Wahabi militants groups who are involved in militant activities in Pakistan and also occasionally target Barelvis. Therefore, these messages can be described as explicitly promoting an anti-terrorism narrative and implicitly criticizing the Deobandi and Wahabi sects, at least for being silent on terrorist activities being carried out by some groups from within their sects. Besides nationalism and anti-terrorism, the messages also carry the ideological narratives of anti-Deobandism and anti-Wahabism. Also, these messages can be seen as an attempt to form public opinion against the Deobandi and Wahabi sects for their perceived support to some violent Deobandi and Wahabi groups.

2.4 Graffiti for elimination of sectarianism

At the same time, some members of both Deobandi and Shia sects try to remove the differences between the sects by playing a more positive and cohesive role. Examples of their messages on the walls include the following:

— *Allah ki rassi ko mazbooti say thaam lo or tafarqey mein na paro.*—The Holy Quran (And hold fast, all of you together, to the rope of Allah (i.e. this Quran), and be not divided among yourselves)

— *Mein naukar Sahaba tey ahl-e-bait da* (I am a servant of the companions of the Prophet and the Ahl-e-Bait[3])

— *Ali, Muawia bhai bhai* (Ali and Muawia are brothers)

These messages attempt to bridge the sectarian divide by expressing affection and love for both the companions of the Holy Prophet and the Ahl-e-Bait. Secondly, there is an appeal of unity and cohesion among Muslims with reference to a verse from the Holy Quran that calls for avoiding internal divisions.

2.5 Graffiti by Wahabis

Graffiti by Wahabi organizations had one primary message: *Ahl-e-hadith youth force ki awaaz, Quran-o-Sunnat ka nifaz* (Voice of Ahl-e-Hadith youth force, enforcement of the Quran and Sunnah, or Shariah). Other similar messages called for enforcement of Islamic law in Pakistan. Some messages by Wahabi organizations were anti-India, or against Jews and the United States.

That implied that the Wahabi graffiti was not against any Islamic sect but focused on the implementation of Shariah in Pakistan based on the Holy Quran and Sunnah. These messages also targeted and condemned some non-Muslim communities (Hindu, Christians and Jews) and countries (India, the US and Israel).

Thirdly, these messages focused more on the concept and promotion of jihad against non-Muslim communities and countries.

Conclusion

Deobandi organizations are clearly leading in the ongoing ideological warfare in the form of graffiti, including in southern Punjab. Their prime focus seems to be anti-Shia and anti-Barelvi messages. Banned Deobandi militant organizations like Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (the militant wing of SSP) and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan are also extensively involved in the ongoing wave of violence in the country. Bomb blasts by

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[3]   "Ahl-e-Bait" literally means "the people of the house" and refers to the Holy Prophet (PBUH), his daughter, Fatima, his son-in-law Hazrat Ali, and their two sons, i.e., Hazrat Hassan and Hazrat Hussain.

Deobandi militants have targeted the shrines of Sufi saints of Barelvi order like Baba Fareed Ganj Shakkar (Pakpattan), Data Ganj Bukhsh (Lahore), Bari Imam (Islamabad), Sakhi Sarwar (D.G. Khan) and many others.

The graffiti messages can be summarised as follows:

— Graffiti by Deobandi organizations tends to promote anti-Shiaism, anti-Barelvism and love and affection for Muawia, and the companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

— The Shia graffiti preaches and promotes the ideologies of and respect for Hazrat Hussain, Hazrat Ali, and the *Ahl-e-Bait*.

— Barelvi organizations seek to promote the ideologies of anti-Deobandism, anti-Wahabism, anti-terrorism, and also nationalism.

— The ideologies propagated through Wahabi graffiti include calls for implementation of Shariah, jihad, and opposition to 'infidel' communities and countries, mainly India, the US and Israel.

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Pak-Afghan ties: views of Pakistan's political and religious parties

Musa Javaid and Sara Meer

Introduction

Relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan go back to 1947 when Pakistan came into being. These relations hold special importance due to the shared geostrategic, ethnic, cultural and religious bonds. In a televised speech on October 3, 2011, Afghan President Hamid Karzai described the two countries as "inseparable brothers," primarily due to the shared religious and ethnic connections. This, however, does not mean that there has always been smooth sailing in bilateral ties. They started on a low. Afghanistan was the only country to oppose Pakistan joining the United Nations in September 1947. In the 1970s, the relations nosedived when Afghanistan accused Pakistan of supporting rebels such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Ahmad Shah Massoud and Jalaluddin Haqqani.

Soon after the assassination of Afghan President Daoud Khan in 1978, and the execution of Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan.[1] The United States and Pakistan joined forces to counter the Soviet influence in the region by training guerillas to fight the Soviet army (Jamestown Foundation, 2006). The Afghans crossed the Durand Line in big numbers to flee the war in the 1980s. The mujahideen insurgent groups also crossed the Durand Line back and forth. In February 1989, the Soviet troops completed their withdrawal after a decade-long campaign in Afghanistan. Contrary to popular expectations, the mujahideen were unable to take Kabul for a number of years. In April 1992, the mujahideen managed to overthrow the Moscow-backed Najib government in Kabul. The main reason for the collapse of the Najib government was the discontinuity in political, economic and military support from the Soviet Union after the latter's dissolution in December 1991 and continued outside support for

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[1] For details see Ewans, 2002.

mujahideen from Pakistan and elsewhere (Grau, 2004). However, the mujahideen were at each other's throats almost instantly and failed to establish peace, something that gave rise to the Taliban.

After capturing important cities such as Kandahar and 12 Afghan provinces in 1994 through assistance from Pakistan, the Taliban successfully managed to create the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in 1996 after gaining control of most of the Afghan territory. They maintained close ties with the Pakistan government. However, these relations deteriorated when the Taliban refused to recognize Durand Line as an international border, arguing that there should be no borders between Muslim countries (Roashan, 2001). The 9/11 attacks changed the relationship between Pakistan and the Taliban as Islamabad decided to side with the West in its war on terror. With the invasion of Afghanistan and collapse of the Taliban government, the US-led transitional government was put in place in 2002. It was headed by Karzai, who was made president in 2004 after the creation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. The new political administration refused to recognize the Durand Line with Hamid Karzai describing it as "a line of hatred that raised a wall between two brothers" (Harrison, 2009).

Border security became a major source of tension between the two countries. A new and worrying development for Pakistan on its western borders was cross-border attacks by Afghanistan-based Pakistani Taliban militants on Pakistani security forces' posts. At least 30 such strikes were reported on the Pak-Afghan border at Chitral, Dir, Bajaur and Kurram, resulting in the killing of 250 Pakistani security personnel and civilians in 2011 and 2012 (Rana & Sial, 2013). These militants were part of the Taliban factions that fled to Afghanistan's border provinces, mainly Kunar and Nuristan, in the face of military operations at home and their attacks contributed to deterioration in bilateral relations.

Millions of Afghan refugees had poured into Pakistan following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and about 1.7 million refugees remained in Pakistan in early 2014. The repatriation process remained problematic as the Afghan government repeatedly admitted that it lacked the capacity to absorb the returning refugees (Ali, 2014).

With the withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan in sight, the relations between the two states hold great importance as both are engaged in internal conflicts.

This study is aimed at evaluating how the political parties in Pakistan, including the religio-political ones, view the relations between the two states in the prevailing circumstances and what strategies, if any, they have devised to counter the problems being faced by the two states. The study was conducted through a critical evaluation of the party manifestos and published material on foreign policies of these parties. Interviews with party representatives were also conducted to fill the gaps in information collected through secondary sources.

The party representatives were asked the following questions in the interviews.

1. What is the party's position on Pak-Afghan relations and where does Afghanistan stand in the party's policy?
2. How do you see relations between the two countries after the withdrawal of NATO forces?
3. What constraints and opportunities are there in Pak-Afghan ties and how does the party plan to use them to improve relations?
4. How does the party look at the various issues between Pakistan and Afghanistan?
   - Cross-border infiltration and militancy
   - Pak-Afghan joint security issues
   - Afghan refugees
5. How can trade between the two countries be improved?
   - Formal trade
   - Informal trade (smuggling of weapons and narcotics)

Views of political parties

Pakistan Peoples Party

The Pakistan Peoples Party is one of the largest political parties in Pakistan. Founded by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1967, the party has come to power in the centre four times (1971-1977, 1988-1990, 1993-1996 and 2008-2013). The PPP is

currently in power in the province of Sindh. Known to be center-left, progressive and a social democratic party, it has supported military operations against extremists. The party's 2013 manifesto makes the commitment to "Undertake targeted military operations against all militant and terrorist outfits that challenge the writ of the state." The party takes credit for counter-terrorism initiatives such as the Swat operation in 2009. Pakistan Army has played a leading role in shaping the foreign policy towards Afghanistan and the US-led war on terror. Pakistan maintained a soft spot for Afghan Taliban during the PPP regime, which drew criticism from the international community and the Afghan government. This approach was due to Pakistan's constant suspicion of growing Indian interest in Afghanistan. During the last days of the PPP government, issues concerning Pakistan-Afghanistan border continued including the US operation that killed Bin Laden and the NATO airstrikes on Pakistani military checkpoints. Repeated infiltration into Pakistan's territory by NATO forces, Afghan security forces and the Taliban were some factors complicating relations between the two countries during the PPP government.

Realizing that cross-border militant infiltration from Afghanistan was allowing the militants to regroup, the party supported a policy of coordinated assaults on the militants by both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The party proposed joint operations based on collective intelligence from both states to tackle extremist elements hiding in areas along the Pak-Afghan border (PPPP, 2013). The PPP also takes credit for deploying 151,000 troops along the western border to protect the country from cross-border infiltration of militants, criminals and narcotics smugglers. It also claims to have set up over 800 border security posts to monitor the movement of these elements (Ibid). The PPP's young chairperson, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, has been vocal on social media in supporting what he calls "jihad against the [Pakistani] Taliban" (*The Nation*, 2014). He has also actively criticized right-wing political parties in Pakistan that have a soft spot for the Taliban. The PPP supports the Afghan-led process for achieving peace and stability in Afghanistan (*Dawn*, 2012). The focus on an Afghan-led peace process is important as Pakistan has been criticized by the Afghan government and some international actors for supporting the Taliban. Realizing that the return of Afghan refugees in Pakistan is an important matter in terms of the state's economy and security, the party supports a comprehensive plan for the repatriation of Afghan

refugees, in close coordination with the Afghan government and international organizations. The party also encourages voluntary and safe resettlement of Afghan refugees and favors cultural, commercial and people-to-people cooperation between the two states (PPPP, 2013).

The party also calls for better economic relations with Afghanistan by initiating free trade agreements, comprehensive economic partnerships, financial and banking systems, trans-regional and intra-regional energy supply and energy security arrangements, and secure transport and freight corridors (Ibid).

The party reaffirms the fact that Pakistan's alliance with the US and Afghanistan is critical to ensuring peace and stability in the country, and supports a trilateral policy to carry out joint efforts to curb militancy by formulating coordinated anti-terrorism strategies. However, the party is committed to non-interference in Afghanistan by supporting only Afghan-led path to stabilization, reconciliation and peace, without favoring any group, faction or tribe (Ibid).

Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz

Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) is currently the most important political player in the country. In the 2013 elections, the party managed to secure 186 seats in the National Assembly, and formed the government at the federal level. It is a center-right and socially conservative party. Earlier, it had twice remained in power in the centre; from 1990 to 1993 and from 1997 to 1999. It had served as a powerful opposition when not in government. Punjab, the most populous province, is its stronghold.

The party has managed to engage strong militant groups in the country to sit on the negotiation table for peace talks. Whether this approach would succeed is yet to be seen as militants continue to attack the security forces and civilians while seemingly remaining interested in talks.

Understanding that the situation will be critical after NATO forces pull out of Afghanistan, the PML-N calls for inclusive political engagement with the Afghan Taliban as a key to lasting peace in the country. The PML-N also emphasizes an Afghan-led, Afghan-owned peace process, in which Pakistan

can act as a facilitator (*The Express Tribune*, 2014). Known for its emphasis on economic development, the party has expressed its commitment to improving trade relations with Afghanistan. It recently signed an agreement to boost the trade volume and strengthen economic ties with Afghanistan (*The Nation*, 2013a). The party manifesto emphasizes the importance of achieving peace by strengthening regional cooperation (PML-N, 2013).

Realizing that addressing the Afghan refugee issue is proving problematic for the state, the PML-N government is determined to carry out a coordinated repatriation program. Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan stated that "some 98,000 illegal residents, mostly Afghan refugees are living in the slums of Islamabad, many of them criminals" (Pakistan News Day, 2013). The government is focused on carrying out the registration process of these slums and hopes that the repatriation will pick up pace after NATO forces leave Afghanistan.

The PML-N has called for an effective border management system in coordination with Afghan security forces to curb cross-border infiltration. During a visit to London, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said in October 2013: "Pakistan does not want its soil or that of Afghanistan to be used by enemies against the other" (*Dawn*, 2013).

It seems clear that the party is determined to maintain good relations with neighboring countries, and is focused on resolving issues through collaboration and cooperative means. It emphasizes the importance of greater regional cooperation to not just fight off internal threats but also engage with the international community.

Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf

Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI) is a centre-right progressive party. It has markedly grown in popularity in recent years. Imran Khan, a former cricketing hero, is its chairman. The party is particularly popular among the youth and its emphasis on fighting corruption is appreciated by a great deal of people. It strongly believes in friendly relations with neighboring countries. It emphasizes strong relations with all the Muslim countries. In its 2013 election manifesto, the PTI advocated Pakistan's friendly relations with Afghanistan and a policy of non-interference. It stressed that neither country

should interfere in the other's internal affairs; Pakistan should not fight Afghanistan's war and should only help Kabul when help is sought (PTI, 2013).

On the issue of cross-border infiltration and militancy, the PTI promises to take strong action against those who use Pakistan's soil for carrying out terrorist activities. It believes that it is the responsibility of every country to prevent such activities. It is of the view that Pakistan Army has done enough to fight extremism and that it is now the duty of the government to have dialogue and settle issues with extremists (Ibid).

The PTI strongly opposes the CIA targeting militants through drone strikes. It says that most casualties of drone strikes are innocent civilians and not wanted terrorists and that through drone attacks the United States is committing a war crime against Pakistani citizens (Ibid). To protest repeated drone strikes, PTI has blocked the NATO supply passing through Pakistan on a number of occasions. According to PTI, peace cannot be attained in the country unless drone strikes are stopped (*The Nation*, 2013b).

It does not think that there is any military solution to the Afghan imbroglio and the war on terror is destroying Pakistan. The PTI believes that American presence is fueling extremism in regional countries and Pakistan will implode if the US does not leave Afghanistan. If NATO forces leave Afghanistan, Pakistani security forces will get rid of terrorism. But as long as the Americans are in Afghanistan and ask the Pakistanis to do more in the tribal belt, the situation in Pakistan will worsen (PTI, 2013).

On the matter of trade, the PTI supports and welcomes trade with Afghanistan as it will benefit Pakistan. The party also says that it wants to connect the regional countries via rail and road for carrying out legal trade and that it will work to stop the illegal trade in the region (Ibid).

Awami National Party

Led by Asfandyar Wali Khan, the Awami National Party (ANP) is a secular and left-leaning political party based in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. The party has its following in the Pashtun belt and after the 2008 elections it was part of the coalition government with the PPP in the center and in

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It has a policy of maintaining cordial ties with Afghanistan as it believes that neighbors cannot be changed and good relations with all neighboring countries will help Pakistan.[2] In its view, Pakistan should not interfere in the internal matters of regional countries, including Afghanistan. Pakistan has tried to bring someone else's war into its own land and has to pay for that in the form of terrorism, which is a growing problem for the region, the party holds.[3]

The ANP believes that it is imperative for both countries to take action against cross-border militant activities. If a terrorist activity is carried out from Pakistan's territory, Islamabad should take responsibility and take strict action against the offenders. Similarly, if militant activities are carried out from the Afghan soil, the Afghan government should put its foot down and respond firmly.[4] The party supports peace talks as the first option to counter religious extremism in Pakistan. However, in case the dialogue fails the military option should be used against groups that engage in violent activities against the state.[5]

The party wants Pakistan to promote trade with Afghanistan. It advocates that there should be economic, commercial, educational and cultural cooperation between the two countries. It is for expanding bilateral road and rail links. It says that the Torkham and Spin Boldak road links are not enough; ten more road and rail links should be created.

The ANP does not support a complete withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan. It believes that foreign troops should stay until Afghan forces are fully capable of taking over security duties. Afghanistan and Pakistan should come up with a mutually-agreed policy before a complete withdrawal of US and NATO forces. The absence of such a policy would lead to more bloodshed in the tribal belt and revival of the Taliban rule in Afghanistan.[6] It believes that a rapid departure of Western forces from Afghanistan would

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[2] Marwat, Sadar-ud-din, ANP spokesperson. Telephonic interview by the authors. March 6th 2014.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

benefit extremists not just in Afghanistan but also in Pakistan, who have been waiting for such an opportunity so that they can make a comeback. The United States should keep its promises of combating extremism and bringing stability to the region (Kakar, 2011).

Muttahida Qaumi Movement

Founded and headed by Altaf Hussain, the MQM is largely the party of descendents of Urdu-speaking émigrés who had migrated from India when Pakistan became an independent country. The party has its support base mainly in Karachi and Hyderabad. It is the second biggest party of Sindh in the parliament in terms of the number of lawmakers. It believes that Pakistan should reshape its foreign policy by looking eastwards, particularly towards its neighbors and it should reduce its dependence on the West. The MQM says that being a brotherly country, Afghanistan is of great importance. It believes in a policy of peaceful coexistence and holds that all disputes among countries should be resolved through dialogue. On the issue of joint security and cross-border militancy, the party believes that the Taliban and Pakistan are opposed to each other and cannot coexist. The Taliban's ascendency will put the country's security and sovereignty in jeopardy. Pakistan should take strict action against the militants, it says. The MQM supports military action against the Taliban and expresses solidarity with Pakistan army. Force is the only option left to deal with the extremist groups and Taliban sympathizers are traitors, the party advocates. Appreciating the MQM's stance, President Karzai wrote a letter to Altaf Hussain saying Pakistan and Afghanistan would have to take joint action against terrorism and extremism as these posed a big threat to both countries now and in the future (The News, 2012).

The border between the two countries remains porous. As the Afghans do not accept Durand Line as international border, stopping smuggling and Afghans from crossing the frontier is difficult, MQM says and wants both governments to act against cross-border militancy. Terrorism has caused a lot of instability in the country and the biggest threat to Pakistan are its internal conditions.

Efforts should be made to bring stability to the region by combating this menace.[7]

The party thinks that although US forces are withdrawing from Afghanistan in 2014, no specific date has been given. So drawing a conclusion on the future situation would be premature. Pakistan should not interfere in Afghanistan's internal affair, but being a brotherly neighbor Pakistan can provide assistance, if that is sought. Afghanistan should rebuild itself once the American troops depart.[8]

The MQM favors trade with Afghanistan and believes that in this era of regional development countries do not progress alone and no country can grow in isolation. It says that Pakistan and Afghanistan should strengthen their brotherly bonds and trade would strengthen bilateral relations, benefiting Pakistan's economy. However, dependence on any state weakens sovereignty in terms of foreign policy. Pakistan should opt for numerous options for growth of its economy and energy and promote its national interest.[9]

Balochistan National Party

Formed in 1996 by Sardar Attaullah Mengal, the Balochistan National Party (BNP) is a nationalist and secular political party. It believes in greater provincial autonomy through peaceful and democratic means. Sardar Akhtar Mengal, former chief minister of Balochistan, is the president of the party. The party believes that it is imperative to have friendly relations with the neighboring countries and Pakistan and Afghanistan should not interfere in each other's internal matters.[10] Both countries should take strict action on terrorist activities carried out from their soil, it stresses. The first and foremost step that the Pakistan government should take when the US troops leave

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[7] Jaleel, Wasay, deputy in-charge of Central Information Committee of the MQM. Telephonic interview by the authors, March 8th 2014.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Baloch, Agha Hassan, a BNP leader. Telephonic interview by the authors, March 10th 2014.

Afghanistan is to send the Afghan refugees back to their country because illegal trade has prevailed because of these people.[11]

With the number of Afghan refugees rising in the country, smuggling had become big business, and human trafficking, drug trafficking, religious fundamentalism, terrorism and the Kalashnikov culture had taken root in the region. After Peshawar, Quetta hosts the highest number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and the federal government should help the provincial authorities expel Afghans from the city.[12]

Militants from Afghanistan come to Pakistan's border regions for refuge from time to time. The porous border makes it difficult for the authorities to keep a full check on the movement of people crossing the border. The party says that the American drones often target militants hiding in Pakistan's tribal areas. The security authorities believe that many Afghan refugees are involved in terrorist activities in Pakistan. Some of the refugees have also been arrested.

The BNP supports legal trade, which strengthens bonds between the two countries. However, it emphasizes that primary importance should be given to Pakistan's internal security rather than the security of neighboring states. It considers internal security vital for national and regional security.[13]

National Party

Headed by Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch, the current chief minister of Balochistan, the National Party is a left-wing nationalist party. It is one of the largest parties active in Balochistan. It won 10 seats in Balochistan Assembly in the 2013 elections, and also has a seat in the National Assembly.

Dr. Baloch believes that a complete withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan could result in the Taliban gaining control of the state. This would be an unmitigated disaster not only for Afghanistan but also for Pakistan. Therefore, in his view, all stakeholders, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the United States should collectively formulate a policy to

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

ensure that they stay on until the Afghan security forces are capable of tackling the Taliban and other extremist groups in Afghanistan (Malik, 2013). He is of the view that currently the Afghan security forces are not capable of preventing the Taliban from taking over Kabul. He believes that the West's military engagement in Afghanistan would go to waste if the Taliban regained control of the state from the democratically elected government (Ibid).

Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party

Headed by Mahmood Khan Achakzai, Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP) is a nationalist political party representing largely the Pashtun population of Balochistan. The party's ideology is to reunite the Pashtuns of Balochistan, KP and FATA in order to make them a strong force in national and international politics (PkMAP, 2013).

The party supports the present government in Afghanistan and its efforts to rebuild the state. It strongly advocates that Afghanistan is a sovereign state and, therefore, should have control over its external and internal affairs free from outside interference. They PkMAP also supports a non-interference policy for Afghanistan after the withdrawal of NATO forces (Ibid). The party condemns interference by Pakistani agencies in Afghanistan and believes that this interference can prove counterproductive for Pakistan in the future, as it has been in the past.

Jamaat-i-Islami

The Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) is the best organized and arguably the most powerful religio-political party in Pakistan. Currently headed by Sirajul Haq, it supports the idea of brotherly relations with Afghanistan and other Muslim countries. Its objective is the establishment of an Islamic state, governed by the Sharia law. It opposes ideologies such as capitalism, socialism and secularism.

It vehemently opposes Pakistan's support for the war on terror and condemns General Musharraf for casting his lot with the US. It holds that Pakistan does not need any problematic alliances and that it is about time that Pakistan

breaks off ties with the United States.[14] Pakistan should strengthen ties with the Muslim world, the JI says, and advises the government to remain focused on peace talks with the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). The party prefers talks over military action against extremist groups, arguing that the use of force would exacerbate the problem.[15]

On the question of joint security efforts and the presence of US troops in Afghanistan, the JI says that imperial powers follow their own interests and divide nations to manipulate them; it says that that is exactly what the US is doing in Afghanistan. The party says that there would be a civil war in Afghanistan if the US leaves now. It holds that it is the responsibility of Iran, Pakistan and all the stakeholders to set up an interim government in Afghanistan, and the armies of the Muslim world should stay there to support such a government.[16] It also believes that the US has its eye on Central Asia's natural resources. It favors severing relations with the US and working for better ties with China. The US is responsible for the killing of Muslims in Palestine, Kashmir, Iraq and Afghanistan, the JI says. It supports the Afghan Taliban and considers President Karzai a US puppet and a major hurdle to peace talks between the Taliban and the US.[17] The party says that Karzai's non-serious attitude would obstruct the withdrawal of NATO forces. The party supports trade not only with Afghanistan, but also with the rest of the Muslim world. It bemoans the fact that only 11% of Pakistan's imports and 17% of its exports are with Muslim countries and says that the government should not give control of national resources to the West. It believes that trade with Afghanistan is in favor of Pakistan, and the government should also strive to curb illegal cross-border trade in the region.[18]

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[14] Azeez, Abdul Ghaffar, director, Foreign Affairs, JI. Telephonic interview by the authors, March 7th 2014.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl

Headed by Maulana Fazlur Rehman, the JUI-F is arguably the most popular religio-political party in Pakistan. It is currently the fifth largest political party in Pakistan, with seven members in the National Assembly from southern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and northern Balochistan.

The party believes in cordial relations with Afghanistan. In order to find a peaceful solution to the ongoing conflict, the party supports dialogue with those who want to have negotiations. The party spokesperson says that it has a zero-tolerance policy for those who continue to stage attacks.[19] The JUI-F sees peace in FATA as vital for peace in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The groups fighting against the state of Pakistan in FATA not only carry out frequent attacks targeting Pakistani security forces and civilians, but also help the Afghan Taliban find refuge from security forces in Afghanistan. Similarly, the Pakistani Taliban also go to Afghanistan to find hideouts and stage attacks on Pakistani security forces personnel and civilians.

Even though the party regularly criticizes American intervention in Afghanistan and supports the withdrawal of NATO forces, it believes that a sudden departure would create a power vacuum and cause further instability in the region. Therefore, it believes in a well-planned and coordinated withdrawal of NATO forces, enabling the Afghan security forces to take over. The party also supports provision of assistance (military and political) by the Pakistan government to Afghan authorities in this critical period of transition. It firmly believes that a comprehensive withdrawal plan needs to be formulated based on coordination among Afghan, American and Pakistani authorities. It believes that unless that happens there is a strong possibility of the Taliban regaining control of important areas and causing total chaos in the country.[20]

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[19] Achakzai, Jaan, JUI-F spokesperson. Telephone interview by the authors, March 7th 2014.

[20] Ibid.

The party supports robust trade relations with Afghanistan to help the economies of both states. It believes that increase in formal trade would not just help the two countries, but also the region.[21]

Conclusion

Political and religious parties of Pakistan have substantial convergence of views on the shape that Pakistan-Afghanistan relations should take. There is a general agreement that relations between the two states should be cordial not only because they are neighbors, but also since Afghanistan is a fellow Muslim country. The parties believe that both countries should refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs, but help each other when and where needed.

While discussing terrorism, the most important problem being faced by the two states, most political parties opted for a peaceful resolution of conflict through dialogue between the Afghan government and the Taliban. However, some parties including the ANP, PPP and MQM believe that in case of failure of talks, military operations should be used as the final option to resolve the ongoing crisis. While advocating a policy of non-interference in Afghanistan's affairs, most parties argue that interference by Pakistani agencies in Afghanistan has been disastrous for both states. Meanwhile, some parties, including Jamaat-i-Islami and the JUI-F believe that interference would result in further bloodshed in Afghanistan. Therefore, they suggest that all stakeholders, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and the US should formulate a comprehensive plan to deal with the situation after the withdrawal of NATO forces.

All parties agree that the regional bloc needs to be strengthened and that can only be done through political, military and economic collaboration. Some believe that alliances should be formed on a religious basis, i.e., relations with Muslim countries should be improved, while other political parties follow the more pragmatic approach of regional cooperation with neighboring states irrespective of religion to help make the bloc stronger.

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[21] Ibid.

Furthermore, most political parties agree that trade with Afghanistan should be welcomed. The ANP believes that the current trade routes are not sufficient and more rail and road links should be created to boost trade with Afghanistan. Meanwhile, efforts should be made to stop illegal trafficking of smuggled goods, drugs, weapons, material used for making explosives, etc. Both countries have to figure out how their mutual border can be secured. Border security is also considered important by all parties to stop movement of militants between the two states, posing security challenges for both and helping militants find sanctuaries.

Most parties agree that Afghan refugees pose a major challenge to Pakistan's security and economy, and their repatriation should be expedited. Members of leading political parties also claim that most Afghan refugees are engaged in criminal activity, and therefore should be sent back immediately.

Almost all the parties believe that both countries are linked in such a way that the security situation in one invariably affects the other. Therefore, political and military establishments of both countries should collectively come up with policies to bring peace to the two countries and the region.

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Evolution of militant groups in Pakistan (4)

Muhammad Amir Rana

The sectarian divide is increasing in Pakistan, which manifests itself in three major forms:

1. Sectarian-related terrorism
2. Community- and tribal-level sectarian violence
3. Irregular sectarian violence

It is obvious that sectarian-related terrorism is a form of organized and structured violence in Pakistan, while the other two represent a non-structured pattern of sectarian violence, which mainly arise out of hate speech, increasing sectarian intolerance and attempt to secure sectarian interests at the community, tribal or group levels. All three forms of sectarian violence complement each other and if one is triggered by an incident there are chances of the other two getting activated as well. If triggered, the second type of sectarian violence has long-term impact and can activate the other two forms of violence. For instance, it took four years for the tribal sectarian tensions in Kurram Agency of FATA to return to normalcy (Rehman, 2011).

The third form is a new phenomenon. A sectarian incident taking place anywhere can trigger attacks on mosques, shrines and religious symbols of rival sects. A recent example are the sectarian clashes in Rawalpindi on November 15, 2013 amid a Muharram possession, which caused sectarian tensions and violence across the country (*The Express Tribune*, 2013).

An important factor in the growing sectarian divide and the associated violence is the rise and empowerment of sectarian groups, which are not only changing the socio-cultural patterns of the country but have also transformed the hate discourse in society. The hate discourse, which was historically nationalistic and regional in character and more precisely Indian-centric in its essence, is gradually being replaced by sectarian hatred. Discrimination based on sectarian identity is increasing in everyday life and leading to a trend of ghettoization. Various sects and sectarian groups are encouraging establishment of separate housing societies and localities (Rana, 2014).

Although sectarian violence is not a new phenomenon in Pakistan, sectarian groups are a major factor in triggering and exploiting sectarian tendencies. For instance, the first major anti-Shia riots in Pakistan took place in Khairpur district of Sindh during Muharram in 1963 (Abbas, 2002), but the government and religious scholars overcame the crisis through dialogue. Based on scattered sectarian incidents in the 1970s, a poster campaign was launched throughout the country inciting Sunnis to 'takeover' Pakistan with the slogan *'Jag Sunni jag, Pakistan tera hai* (Wake up Sunnis, Pakistan is yours) (Abbas, 2002: 18). The campaign failed to attract not only the people but also the major Sunni religious parties, since sectarian organizations were absent from the national scene. But when similar sectarian tensions rose in Karachi in 1983, it became a difficult task for the police to overcome the violence. By then not only the religious communities had become conscious about their sectarian identity but sectarian-based groups had also started to emerge on the national scene.

Foreign players moved in at that stage. In Karachi's sectarian violence of 1983, Deobandi Sawad-e-Azam Ahl-e-Sunnat, led by Maulana Samiullah and Maulana Asfandyar, was an anti-Shia movement launched in the city with financial support from Iraq (Ibid). However, the movement was overshadowed by the establishment of Anjuman Sipah-e-Sahaba (ASS), later renamed as Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), by Maulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi.

This fourth part of the backgrounder on the evolution of militant organizations in Pakistan looks at the emergence of Shia sectarian groups and how violent tendencies grew among them. An effort has been made to consult and depend on primary sources, particularly literature produced by different sectarian organizations and associated groups.

Shia activism in Pakistan

In 1977, before military ruler General Ziaul Haq imposed martial law, the following organizations of Shia school of thought were active in Pakistan:

1. All Pakistan Shia Conference, led by Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash
2. Idara Tahaffuz-e-Huqooq-e-Shia (Organization for protection of the rights of Shias)

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3. Shia Political Party
4. Wafaq Ulema Shia (United Shia Ulema), led by Mufti Jafar Hussain

Among these, Wafaq Ulema Shia was the most effective organization and was considered the representative Shia party in mainstream politics (Rana, 2002: 321). Other parties had less influence and preferred to be part of mainstream parties. Their role was confined only to being supportive groups for mainstream parties to mobilize the Shia community in their favor. When Ziaul Haq promulgated the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance in 1980, [1] Wafaq Ulema Shia came out and demonstrated against it. Imamia Students Organization (ISO), a pro-Iranian student organization in Pakistan, planned to occupy the parliament and organized a huge demonstration in Islamabad. They won the support of Wafaq Ulema Shia head Mufti Jafar Hussain and succeeded in mobilizing the Shia community and demonstrated for their demands in Islamabad. Eventually, the government had to accede to their demands. This was the first major victory for the Shia community.

It was also the first show of strength by the community. Before that, when the first Shia-Sunni clash took place in 1963, the Shia community was not organized. After those clashes, it had started organizing itself.

The ISO factor

The ISO occupies a central role in triggering Shia activism in Pakistan and the 1979 revolution in Iran was a major source of inspiration behind that. When the ISO was established the revolutionary movement in Iran was at its peak. ISO was the only Shia organization in Pakistan that first came out in support of the movement and provided it with human resource from Pakistan. When the Shia ulema supporting Khomeini were violently suppressed in Iraq, ISO initiated a protest movement in Pakistan and printed posters with the statement: 'There was a bloodbath there, and we were silent here' (Khan, 1996: 68).

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[1] Under this law the government made compulsory deduction of 2.5% Zakat annually from mainly interest-bearing savings and shares. The ordinance was severely criticized by Shias. Even Sunnis were critical of the compulsory deduction and the way the deducted amount was distributed or spent.

In 1978, when Pakistan invited the Shah of Iran to visit the country, ISO printed posters with the statement, 'We do not welcome the Killer Shah.' In that year ISO established direct links with Khomeini in Paris, and wrote a letter to him supporting his movement. Khomeini replied: 'I had expected this from sons of Muslims. I appreciate your feelings, and hope that you will also root out the vestiges of colonialism from your country' (Ibid).

After this, ISO began a protest movement in Pakistan, supporting Khomeini and opposing the Shah. When the Islamic Revolution became a reality in Iran in 1979, the ISO declared that they must imitate Khomeini. During the Iran-Iraq war also, the ISO continued to support the revolutionary government in Iran. It sent several doctors from Pakistan to Iran and other delegations also continued to visit that country. In 1982, when Khomeini sent a message to the Shias of the world to join the military action against Iraq, several ISO delegations reached Iran.

The first Shia students' organization in Pakistan was formed in 1966 by Dr Syed Haider Husain Shamsi, a student of King Edward Medical College, Lahore but it had failed to attract Shia youth. The organization was confined to that college only. However, it inspired students in other educational institutions and a few other organizations emerged; the important ones included Jamiat Tulaba Asna Ashariya, Shia Students Organization, and Ja'fariya Students Organization. However, the networks of these organizations were limited to a few local colleges in Lahore (Khan, 1996). In 1967, these organizations had a general meeting in which all of them came together to form Shia Students Association (SSA). In 1969, the second annual conference of SSA was held in Lahore. It was presided over by Syed Mubarak Mahmud Ali Gilani and Madame Maryam Bahnam, director general of Iranian Culture Centre (Khana-e-Farhang Iran), was the chief guest (Ibid). The conference agreed upon a three-point program:

1. To unite Shia students on one platform
2. To help them in education
3. To inspire them to follow the ways of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the *Ahl-e-Bay'at*

Until 1972, this organization was not too active, divided as it was into different groups. In that year, Ali Reza Naqvi and Niaz Naqvi, students of

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University of Engineering and Technology (UET), Lahore, Babar Naqvi of King Edward Medical College, and Dr Syed Majid Nauroz Abidi, a founder member of SSA, called a meeting of all Shia students' organizations at the UET. Once again, an organization called Shia Students Association was formed. On June 11, 1972, the leadership of the group met at the residence of Nauroz Abidi. Three Shia religious leaders—Maulana Syed Sadiq Ali Najafi, Maulana Syed Murtaza Husain, and Maulana Agha Ali Moosavi—also attended the meeting. In consultation with the three religious leaders, the association was named Imamia Students' Organization (ISO) and its cabinet was announced (Ibid).

Formation of TNFJ

Mufti Jafar was a member of the state-run Council of Islamic Ideology. He resigned in April 1979 following a disagreement with Gen Ziaul Haq over enforcement of Shariah laws in Pakistan according to the Hanafi faith. He started a movement against the government from the platform of Wafaq Ulema Shia. On April 13, 1979 in order to take a clear stand on the issue All-Pakistan Shia Convention was held in Bhakkar, where the foundation of Tehreek-e-Nifaz Fiqa-e-Jafaria (TNFJ) was laid and ISO was declared its youth wing. Mufti Jafar Husain and Allama Mirza Yusuf Husain Lucknowi were candidates for *amir* or head of the TNFJ. The overwhelming support of ISO led to Mufti Jafar Husain's victory, and ISO began to have much clout in TNFJ's affairs. This was opposed by many Shia scholars, which led to dissensions.

It is a fact that the ISO remained the main lever of power in TNFJ for a while. It drafted the 'constitutional structure' of the organization. In 1980, when Ziaul Haq promulgated the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance, the TNFJ announced its convention in Islamabad, on July 5, 1980. The ISO raised the manpower for this convention, and laid a siege of the federal secretariat in Islamabad. As a result, the 'Islamabad Pact' was reached and the government agreed to introduce separate Islamic studies courses for Shia students and keep the Shias outside the purview of the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance. Khomeini had played an important role in this pact and had got an assurance from Ziaul Haq about these measures. A message from Khomeini was also read out in the convention in which, he exhorted the Shias to keep a high morale (Khan, 1996).

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After this convention, the TNFJ came to be regarded as the representative Shia organization on the national scene. It also received support from the government of Iran. When Mufti Jafar Husain died on August 29, 1983, the TNFJ was thrown into disarray. Maulana Hamid Ali Moosavi put his name forward as the candidate for *amir*; he was elected by an assembly of Shia ulema in Ali Masjid, Rawalpindi.

However, a group of TNFJ members who were not satisfied with the new developments called a conference on February 10, 1984 in Bhakkar and elected Allama Syed Ariful Husaini as the chairman of their faction of TNFJ. The leaders of Wafaq Ulema Shia, ISO, Asghariya Organization, and Asghariya Students Organization attended the conference. The last two organizations have considerable influence in Sindh and have been involved in sectarian clashes. Later, efforts to unite the two groups began and a convention was held near Rawalpindi. But Moosavi did not attend; it is alleged that he had entered into an understanding with the government whereby his group was recognized as the representative Shia organization (*The Herald*, 2000). Thus, the TNFJ was split into two parts, which sometimes came close to clashes. Both groups sought Iran's backing. Eventually, Ariful Husaini got the support of Khomeini and was appointed as his representative in Pakistan.

Tenure of Allama Ariful Husaini

During Allama Ariful Husaini's tenure as the TNFJ head, Iran's influence further grew among the Shia community in Pakistan. After receiving endorsement from Khomeini, Husaini's group emerged as the representative Shia organization in the country and spread its network everywhere. Husaini had the support of ISO whereas Maulana Moosavi had the backing of the majority of Shia ulema. ISO played a seminal role to project Ariful Husaini as the representative Shia leader. Husaini was opposed by a group of Shia ulema, known as Wafaq Ulema Shia, which had become active once again. Further, he and his TNFJ were also opposed by Shia *zakirs*, or clerics. But the incident that gave a new fillip to his support is known as the 'Quetta Incident'.

The 'Islamabad Pact' between Ziaul Haq and the TNFJ under Mufti Jafar Husain had not been implemented fully till 1985. The TNFJ led by Husaini decided to observe July 6, 1985 as a day to exert pressure on the government, and demonstrations and rallies were held in Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta. The demonstration in Lahore and Peshawar were peaceful, but the demonstrators in Quetta turned violent. The police resorted to firing in which 20 demonstrators died, and dozens were arrested. Quetta's Alamdar Road was blocked where TNFJ's big madrassa, Jamia Imam al-Sadiq, and the office of the organization were located. Following this incident, Shia youths entered the madrassa and began to manhandle the people there. They accused TNFJ of getting Shia youths killed. The TNFJ said that the youth who attacked the madrassa belonged to the rival group and were sent by the intelligence agencies (Khan, 1996). Ariful Husaini announced a long march on May 1, 1986 to get those arrested on July 6, 1985 released. The government released them before that date. Ariful Husaini himself welcomed them upon their release. As a result of this agitation, the majority of the Shia community began to support him.

Husaini had stayed in Najaf with Khomeini who had appointed him his representative in Pakistan. He also had links with Hezbollah in Lebanon, and had sent several Pakistani youths there with the aim to build the ISO along Hezbollah's lines.

Husaini was assassinated at Madrassa Maraful Islami in Peshawar on August 5, 1988. Fazle Haq, a former military governor of what was then known as the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), was blamed for his murder. The TNFJ not only mentioned his name in the case it lodged for the murder, but also accused him in statements in newspapers and assemblies. Haq was shot and killed in 1991.

After Husaini's assassination, dissensions in the TNFJ triggered violent trends in the organization. Allama Sajid Naqvi was made the organization's chairman, but a big group did not agree with that decision even though it had to abide by the decision of the *Shura*. The same group later opposed several decisions by Naqvi, and factionalism began to affect TNFJ's functioning.

Throughout those years, ISO was the main source of strength for the TNFJ as its student wing. Both organizations had the moral and material support of

the government in Iran. Renowned writer Nazir Ahmad referred in his book titled *Iran: Afkar-o-Azaim* (Iran: Thoughts and Objectives) to a decision made by the Iranian cabinet in a meeting that Iran would use its influence to bring about a government of its choice in Pakistan.[2]

This hints at how foreign interests were at work in the growth of sectarian organizations and their violent clashes in Pakistan. It is also no secret any more that the Iranian government had provided financial assistance to Shia organizations, which had internal discord about the use of funds.

But this trend was not limited to Shia organizations alone. The organizations owing allegiance to Ahl-e-Hadith and Deobandi schools of thought had been getting funds from the Arab states. They used these funds to not only propagate Deobandi and Wahabi thoughts, but also strived to acquire power to implement their ideology.

Foreign interests—religious and political—have often come in the way of resolving sectarian tensions in Pakistan. Most sectarian organizations have showed greater loyalty to foreign interests and their own sect than to the nation. The situation gets more complicated when this attitude is not objected to in the name of non-interference in matters of faith. Khaled Ahmed, a prominent scholar, counts regional influences as an important factor but he considered internal dynamics more important as sectarian violence draws its strength from the past (Ahmed, 2011: xi).

Establishment of Jafaria Students Organization

TNFJ leader Sajid Naqvi secretly married a model, Shazia Qurban, in 1994. The marriage was kept a secret for a year, but the TNFJ leadership got wind of it and it added to difficulties for Naqvi. His supporters in Tehreek-e-Jafaria Pakistan (TJP), new name given to the TNFJ in 1993, opposed the actions of ISO and formed a rival student organization named Jafaria Students Organization.

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[2] The book does not contain the place and year of publication. However, about the writer it is written that he was the manager National Press Trust, Islamabad, from 1981 to 1985. Besides, he was also a member of the cultural attaché office attached to the Pakistan embassy in Tehran.

Besides Naqvi's second marriage, another incident that rocked the TJP was the hanging of Mahram Ali, a man convicted for a bomb explosion in the sessions court, Lahore, in January 1997, in which Sunni sectarian group SSP's leader Maulana Ziaur Rahman Faruqi and 19 police personnel were killed. Various Shia organizations claimed that Mahram was not involved in the incident and demanded that Sajid Naqvi should come out in his support. But Naqvi declined to do that. Following the bombing, 25 Shias were killed in terrorist violence in Mominpura, Lahore on January 11, 1998. Shia activists were so upset that they did not allow Naqvi to attend the funeral rites. Ahead of his hanging, Mahram Ali stated in his will that Naqvi other TJP leaders and should not be allowed to join his funeral prayers.

Founding of Shura Wahdat Islami

In September 1999, a number of Shia ulema met in Islamabad. Led by renowned TJP leaders Allama Javed Hadi and Allama Abid Husain Husaini, the meeting decided to dissolve the TJP Shura. It concluded that in view of Naqvi's second marriage, his attitude that had hurt the community, and on account of the growing oppression of the Shias, the community needed new leadership. A 14-member preliminary search committee was formed to choose the new leadership on October 31. However, before that date, Sajid Naqvi was removed from office by the Shura and Allama Fazal Moosvi made the new leader. The new Moosvi-led group was named Shura Wahdat Islami. Both Naqvi and Moosive groups claimed to be the real successors of TJP.

Jafaria Alliance

The differences did not stop there. The erosion among Shia parties continued and some Shia scholars from Karachi and Quetta led by Allama Abbas Kameeli parted ways with other Shia groups and formed the Jafaria Alliance. Allama Kameeli enjoyed the support of the Shia community in Sindh and Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), a political party with strong support in Karachi and Hyderabad, got him elected as senator. The party is still active in Karachi and parts of Sindh.

On January 13, 2002, the federal government proscribed the TJP and Sajid Naqvi renamed his organization as Tehrik-e-Islami Pakistan (TIP). He also

made his party part of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) in 2002 and got two party members elected to provincial assemblies in the 2002 general elections. Sajid Naqvi also led Shia Uelma Council, a non-political body of Shia clerics.

Majlis Wahdatul Muslimeen

In the 2008 elections, Shia organizations were divided into many factions and these groups failed to make electoral alliances with any mainstream political party. The MMA was facing crises and Naqvi had lost his influence not only in MMA but also among the majority of Shia scholars in the country. In these circumstances, ISO and its former affiliates once again intervened and tried to gather all Shia groups on one platform but these attempts failed.

Former ISO affiliates along with an alliance of Shia scholars later formed a new party called Majlis Wahdatul Muslimeen (MWM) on August 2, 2009. Maulana Amin Shaheedi was nominated as its first president. With ISO's efforts, MWM became a mainstream Shia party within months and in the 2013 general elections secured one provincial assembly seat from Balochistan. At present, MWM is considered the major Shia party in Pakistan.

Violent trends in Shia activism

Formation of Pasban-e-Islam

Dr Muhammad Ali Naqvi, former president of ISO, founded Pasban-e-Islam (PI) in 1992 after becoming disillusioned with the TNFJ for its failure to respond to Shia scholars' killings. The PI was the first underground violent Shia group to counter the Sunni sectarian militant group SSP. Dozens of its activists had received armed training in the Parachinar and Muzaffarabad camps of Hizbul Mumineen, a Kashmir-based Shia militant group fighting in Indian-held Kashmir (Rana, 2002: 323).

Dr Naqvi organized the group on the pattern of the Lebanon-based Hezbollah, but he died in 1994 (Rana, 2002: 340). After his death, the organization split into two groups, one of which accepted the leadership of Sajid Naqvi. Rashid Abbas Naqvi, a former president of ISO, who committed that he and his group would promote Dr Naqvi's mission, led the second group. The PI received a severe setback when Hamad Raza, one of its

important members, was arrested by the police in Sahiwal district of Punjab in January 1996 along with a large quantity of weapons. He was charged with several counts of robbery. During interrogation, he gave the police information about the organization's network and about its active members who were involved in incidents of violence (Abbas, 2002). Based on the information supplied by him the police conducted raids and three leaders of the organization–Faiz Haideri, Shabbir Jafri, and Tauqeer Husain alias Bawa– were arrested. Haideri died in police custody in the Nawakot police station in Lahore. The police tried to paint it as a suicide. Buckling under pressure amid protests, they released the other two leaders who, the police had claimed, were involved in several incidents of terrorism. Hamad Raza was released for cooperating with the police, but he was killed in mysterious circumstances in 1997 (Ibid).

Both Pasban-e-Islam groups were beset by internal differences and tried to paint the other as a terrorist group. They informed the police on each other's leaders and a number of them were arrested and cases filed against them. Several cases were filed against Rashid Abbas, leader of Dr Naqvi group, and Imran Chaudhry, leader of the Sajid Naqvi group. Both absconded. In 1997, Sajid Naqvi disbanded the PI group allied with him (Ibid).

Sipah-e-Muhammad Pakistan (SMP)

In March 1993, during a Faisalabad Convention of Tehreek Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria the party was renamed as Tehreek-e-Jafaria Pakistan (TJP) and it was decided to launch it as a political party. The logic of changing the name was the word "*nifaz*" (promulgation), which indicated that the group wanted implementation of the Shia *fiqh*, or Islamic law, in Pakistan.

This decision was not unanimous. Some argued that the organization was shedding its religious identity in pursuit of power. This decision sowed the seeds of emergence of another Shia violent group, Sipah-e-Muhammad Pakistan (SMP). Allama Murid Abbas and Ghulam Raza Naqvi led the group. Many youths from ISO joined it immediately. Another view about the formation of SMP is that in 1992 when Sunni group SSP had threatened to kill former prime minister Benazir Bhutto's spouse Asif Ali Zardari, Murid Abbas had decided to form the SMP to confront it and supplied it not only with

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money but weapons as well. He did not announce formation of the group until 1993, waiting for the proper time. The SMP held its first general meeting at Mochi Gate, Lahore, in which about 2,000 people participated, most of them armed. Dr Naqvi, the PI leader, also attended. After the meeting, the leaders of SMP called a press conference in which they stated publicly: 'we are weary of carrying corpses. God willing, we will settle all scores now. We will erase the name of the SSP from history' (Rana, 2002: 331).

Initially, the SSP leadership and the law-enforcement agencies did not take any notice of this new group. It attracted attention after claiming responsibility for an attack on SSP leader Azam Tariq in Sargodha. By 1994, it had already established its strong centre at Thokar Niaz Beg, Lahore (Ibid).

Violence by SMP

From 1993 to 2001, the SMP was involved in 250 incidents of violence. This was the only organization during that period that forced newspapers to publicize its stance. For example, in December 1994, its members attacked the office of *The Pakistan Observer* in Islamabad, saying that it did not give them sufficient coverage; it accused the newspaper's owner of close links with the SSP leadership, and also that the SSP published its anti-Shia literature from the newspaper's printing press. The management of the newspaper talked to the SMP leadership, but some SMP workers opened fire and destroyed furniture in the office. After this incident, SMP leader Allama Murid Abbas Yazdani came to apologize to the editor of the newspaper, calling the incident the work of a few impulsive youth. During his trip to Islamabad, he was arrested outside the Rawalpindi Press Club. The arrest followed a case lodged against him after the murderous attack on SSP leaders Ziaur Rahman Faruqi and Azam Tariq. The following day, Rawalpindi police arrested dozens of SMP members.

SMP's intimidation of newspapers was not confined to Islamabad. Immediately after this incident, some leaders of the organization addressed a conference at the Quetta Press Club and threatened that "the newspapers that do not give us sufficient coverage will have their offices gutted."

In December 1994, a police raid on the SMP headquarters in Lahore to round up its leaders resulted in a clash in which the police came under fire and five

police vehicles were gutted. After this, the police made an elaborate plan to eliminate the SMP. By the end of 1995, the SMP was divided into two groups. The cause of this break-up was Ghulam Reza Naqvi's active role in Milli Yekjahti Council, a platform to resolve sectarian tensions between Shia and Deobandis, and his consent to its program of ending sectarian violence. Allama Yazdani accused Ghulam Reza of compromising with the SSP and straying from his religious beliefs. A few months later, both groups came together, but the internal dissension continued. Finally, SMP pulled out of Milli Yekjahti Council (Rana, 2002: 332).

In August 1996, Yazdani was killed in Rawalpindi. Police investigations concluded that his assassination was the result of his disagreements with Ghulam Reza Naqvi who openly admitted to his crime (Ibid). The people of Thokar Niaz Beg locality in Lahore who had gave refuge to the SMP leadership turned against it and began expelling them. The police took advantage of the situation, raided the place and arrested Naqvi and dozens of SMP members (Rana, 2002: 332).On August 14, 2001, when the government banned the SMP, it was a very different organization from what it had been in 1996. It strength had substantially diminished.

Reemergence of SMP

A separate group, also calling itself SMP, has been found involved in targeted killings of religious leaders of the rival Sunni sect in Karachi in recent years. Three factions of SMP, led by Baqar Zaidi, Mohsin Mehdi and the Balti group, have been active in Karachi and Quetta for the last few years. These groups have no direct link with the Punjab-based SMP, which has been dysfunctional since an effective police operation against the group in the late 1990s. (PIPS, 2013: 4).

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LAST ISSUE

Abstracts

Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Common Security Perspective

Muhammad Amir Rana and Safdar Sial

Already struggling for stability, security and peace, neither Afghanistan nor Pakistan can afford to sink further into militancy and conflict. The Taliban insurgency and border security are two major and interconnected issues that have had an impact on security and the political situation in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Both countries are struggling to revive bilateral engagements for evolving joint and regional frameworks to manage border security, counterterrorism, and political reconciliation with the Afghan Taliban. The authors argue that the political reconciliation with the Mullah Omar-led Taliban and exit of international forces from Afghanistan would not resolve all problems related to border security, militancy and terrorism and the two countries in particular and the wider region in general would still face threats from the groups that seek to enforce their own versions of Islamic law and have a global jihadist agenda. Pakistan and Afghanistan have many compelling reasons to perceive and jointly respond to the diverse challenges to their respective but interlinked security and stability. However, it would not be an easy and smooth process to evolve a common perspective.

Culture of Violence versus Culture of Silence: Civil Society Responses to Extremism and Terrorism in South Asia

Arshi Saleem Hashmi

There are many factors for the rise in violence in South Asian countries, including human security deficit, want and fear syndrome, a state-centric approach, local conflicts combining with international ones and confusing ethnic and ideological matters with religious considerations. The culture of not challenging the violent discourse is the real problem in creating an intolerant society. One of the most important ways to fight the culture of violence is to demonstrate the importance of respect for diversity and pluralism and the benefits to society of developing a culture of religious freedom. What civil society can do to challenge and reduce the appeal of violent extremism has come to the fore in recent years. The role of civil society organizations in South Asian countries in countering extremism and terrorism can be

significantly increased by enhancing their capacity and empowerment and by them focusing on empirically assessed needs and typology of the interventions required for that purpose in their respective countries.

Factors of Anti-Americanism in Middle East and Pakistan

Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi

Opinion polls demonstrate that American foreign policies or actions, particularly the perceived US-Israel nexus, have significantly contributed to a rise in anti-Americanism in the Middle East. The American culture however is not that much a factor in this sentiment since the US is still the style icon for the Middle East, and it still attracts a large number of Arab immigrants. It is also significant that anti-Americanism is about the only common ground or agenda that the masses in the Middle East share with the Islamists. There is a theory of there being a tendency on the part of various Arab Muslim regimes to allow anti-Americanism to flourish as a means to demonstrate to their people that the regime is not an American 'puppet.' It certainly seems otherwise in Pakistan today. The anti-Americanism has not appeared all of a sudden among the Pakistani populace, but has been a gradual process; anti-Americanism has arguably been a constant feature of Pakistani politics, but the widespread anti-American sentiment currently prevailing amongst the population is a phenomenon best explained in the context of Pakistani leadership's support for the US-led war on terror.

Role of Religious Scholars in Counter-Radicalization and Deradicalization Strategies in Pakistan: The Need and the Scope

Safdar Sial

Pakistan needs to learn from how soft approaches for both deradicalization and counter-radicalization in world rely on and engage clergy. Religious scholars and clerics not only lead the prevalent larger religious discourse in Pakistan but in most cases the public's views resonate with those held by the clergy in the political, socio-cultural, economic and other areas, both in terms of national and international perspectives. At first, the government will have to ensure security for religious scholars so that they can work independently and without fear in state-led deradicalization programs. At present, there are extensive threats to those moderate religious scholars across Pakistan who raise their voice against the militants and acts of terrorism. Secondly, Pakistan should guide, encourage and support religious scholars vis-à-vis their role in countering radicalization and extremism. Thirdly, Pakistan should evolve a comprehensive deradicalization program borne out of

political and institutional consensus. The role of religious scholars in such a program can comprise different elements including counseling, re-education, dialogue and creation of counter-extremism arguments to disengage militants from violent groups and ideologies.

Pak-Iran Relations: Views of Political and Religious Parties

Najam U Din and Maryam Naseer

After Pakistan gained independence from British rule, Iran was the first country to recognize it. Both countries signed a number of important trade treaties in the 1950s and '60s. However, bilateral ties have ebbed in the last three decades over issues ranging from security to politics and sectarian belief. This report is based on the findings of a survey of mainstream religious and political parties in Pakistan to assess their views on Islamabad's ties with Iran. The survey notes that the political and religious parties in Pakistan have considerable convergence of opinion on the shape that Pak-Iran relations should take. There is a general agreement that Pakistan's ties with Iran should be determined by national interest and not by the dictates of the US or any other country. The political parties support by and large Iran's right to pursue a peaceful nuclear program. However, with the exception of some religious political parties, there is substantial opposition to Tehran's pursuit of nuclear weapons. The survey finds clear consensus that Pakistan and Iran should work together because many of the challenges that confront them are shared and because a collaborative approach would lead to more concrete impact.

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