



ONLINE

DOKUMENTATION

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.
November 2008

www.kas.de/pakistan

Terrorism as a Challenge to Nation Building – Bilateral Approach for Solutions

AFG-PAK DIALOGUE FORUM 2008, 11 - JUNE 14, 2008, ISLAMA-
BAD, PESHAWAR

CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

Mr Babak Khalatbari

GERMAN TERRORISM IN THE PAST AND CURRENT AND LATEST TRENDS IN JIHADI NETWORKS IN EUROPE

Mr Rolf Tophoven

DEFINING TERRORISM – AN AFGHAN PERSPECTIVE

Dr: Hamidullah Noorebad

FIGHTING TERRORISM -AN AFGHAN PERSPECTIVE

Mr Nassrullah Arsalai

OVERCOMING MILITANCY - A COMMON PAKISTANI'S PERSPECTIVE ON TERRORISM

Mr Alauddin Masood

FIGHTING TERRORISM - PAKISTANI'S PERSPECTIVE

Ms Humera Iqbal

WRAP UP

Mr Ross Massud Husein



Konrad
Adenauer
Stiftung



INTRODUCTION

By Dr. Babak Khalatbari

Excellencies, Generals, Ladies and Gentlemen, dear friends, today we are here to discuss a topic which definitely has to be described as difficult. First of all because no common definition of "terrorism" exists.

Trying to define this term, I quote a definition figured out by the United Nations. In November 2004, a United Nations Security Council report described terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act." Please note that this report does not constitute international law.

Before we start with our roundtable discussion, please allow me a small excursion before I introduce our today's guests. In the philosophy of science, dualism often refers to the dichotomy between the "subject" (the observer) and the "object" (the observed). Criticism of Western science may label this kind of dualism as a flaw in the nature of science itself. In part, this has something to do with potentially complicated interactions between the subject and the object.

Coming from this scientific approach I would like to talk about coins. As you know – a coin in general has two sides. Bearing that in mind and in terms of our today's working title, "Terrorism as a challenge to nation building" we should remember also the wisdom that "One man's terrorist is the other man's freedom fighter, and one man's peace may be the other man's threat.

Knowing that we host an international roundtable, I would like to come from coins to borderlines. What do they have in common? Not too much, but like coins, border lines have at least two sides. The second working title "bilateral approach for solutions" includes that. Moving from borderlines to coins and especially welcoming our Afghan and Pakistani experts we can proudly say the coin, we are dealing with today, is complete because both sides are represented. Even a third one – the German side, is there.

In the first part of our Roundtable Mr. Rolf Tophoven, the director of the German Institute for Terrorism Re-

search and Security Policy will focus on "German Terrorism in the past and current Trends in Jihadi Networks in Europe".

Thereafter, Dr. Hamidullah Noorebad, director of the Afghan National Centre for Policy Research gives a presentation on "Defining Terrorism – An Afghan Perspective". Mr. Alauddin Masood, a former Director General from the Upper House of Pakistan's Parliament, will be his counterpart and delivers the Pakistani view on that topic.

In the third part, Mr. Nasrullah Arsalai, member of a famous family from Nangarhar will focus on the topic "Fighting Terrorism – An Afghan Perspective" followed by his counterpart Ms. Humera Iqbal who reflects the topic from a Pakistani's Perspective.

After food for thought, there will be a working lunch and then the floor will be open for the discussion. An agenda setting will follow, and last but not least our rapporteur, Mr. Ross Masood Hussain, will contribute one of those wrap-ups he is famous for.

Today all of you are here – even despite all the difficulties. Again I want to welcome you and it is a pleasure to hand over to our expert from Germany, Mr. Rolf Tophoven who will start with his paper.



GERMAN TERRORISM IN THE PAST AND CURRENT AND LATEST TRENDS IN JIHADI NETWORKS IN EUROPE

By: Mr. Tophoven, Germany

PART A: TERRORISM IN GERMANY

The Threat and the Response

Germany, like other European nations, has faced a terrorism challenge since the 1970s, although its character has changed over the years. In the years 1970 upto 1990 the threat of terror came from left-wing groups, such as the Red Army Faction (RAF), which was the most dangerous and the most "prominent" terrorist organization. The RAF carried out attacks against United States and NATO military officials and bases and against known and prominent German officials and business executives. In August 1992, however, the RAF renounced armed struggle. But except the Red Army faction, which committed the most acts of terror, there were two other terrorist organizations operating in Germany: the 2nd of June Movement (Bewegung 2.Juni) and the Revolutionary Cells (Revolutionäre Zellen).

History of German Terror-Groups (1970 - 90)

The RAF was the oldest, the most political and the most dangerous of the three mentioned groups. The Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion) had its origins in the students' unrest and rebellion of the late 1960s. This group founded by Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin, was known as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" in its early years. The gang mounted a campaign of "armed Resistance to U.S. imperialism and West German complicity". The RAF as a left-wing terror group saw itself as a part of an international movement aimed at bringing about a worldwide revolution that would topple the existing power structures in the capitalist world.

In 1972 six important people, members of the founding crew of the RAF (Baader, Meinhof, Raspe, Ensslin and Gerhard Müller) were arrested as a result of information received from the German public. Their arrest followed six serious bomb attacks in several West German cities in May of 1972. One year later, in the summer of 1973, the group began to rebuild, establishing strongholds in Hamburg and Frankfurt. This group, whose main goal was the release of the imprisoned RAF members, was destroyed on February 4, 1974, by concerted action of

security forces. Nine RAF members were arrested and condemned to longer prison terms.

A year later, a third RAF group was formed. Its tactic was to murder senior West German officials and diplomats. In April 1975 the terror crew seized the German embassy in Stockholm, killing the military and the commercial attachés. The purpose of this attack was to force the German government to release jailed RAF prisoners.

The failure of attacks and operations did not frustrate the group. New perpetrators came into the picture. The year 1977 witnessed the biggest threat to the Federal Republic of Germany because RAF commandos carried out a chain of serious violent actions. These included the murder of Attorney General Siegfried Buback and his guards, the murder of banker Jürgen Ponto and the kidnapping and murder of the industrialist Hanns-Martin DSchleyer after killing his guards. In the context of the Schleyer case a four members of a Palestinian terror group hijacked the Lufthansa aircraft "Landshut" on the flight from Mallorca to Frankfurt. It was a support operation of the Palestinians for their German revolutionaries to force the government under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to release the imprisoned leadership of RAF at Stuttgart/Stammheim. The German government demonstrated steadfastness and rather than yielding to the terrorists' demands as they expected, the government sent an anti-terror-unit GSG 9 of the Federal German Border Guard to Mogadishu/Somalia where the specialists overpowered the hijackers. The hijacked passengers were freed, but on realizing that the German government was not going to yield to their demands, Schleyer was murdered by his kidnapers.

Undoubtedly, this event had a marked demoralizing effect on the terrorists in jail. Four of the jailed RAF members, whose release was demanded by the kidnapers of Schleyer committed suicide in Stuttgart/Stammheim prison after they got the news of the successful rescue in Mogadishu (18. October 1977)

Still, after heavy setback the RAF was able to continue functioning even after the arrest and later on suicide of its most important members because of its reliable circle of supporters, who maintained links between the arrested terrorists and the operational ones. We should also note that RAF's considerable success in attracting the support of persons hitherto not involved in illegal activities. For example, several lawyers played important roles in linking the jailed terrorists with their free colleagues. The lawyers also succeeded in recruiting new



members, mostly other young lawyers. The lawyers now constituted one of the three central groups within the organization.

In addition, there were around 20 – 30 combatants, operating terrorists, of whom more than half were women. The hard core nucleus of RAF was surrounded by supporting groups that organized campaigns to mobilize RAF sympathizers inside Germany and abroad.

The RAF Organizational Structure consisted of the following levels:

1. Level – I, RAF Commando, (Hardcore, Guerrilla; 20-30 Persons)
2. Level – II Fighting Units, (“illegal Militants” (20-50 Persons) also Prisoned Members of the RAF
3. Level – III, Militant RAF Supporters, (200 Persons)
4. Level– IV, RAF Sympathizers

The RAF leadership underwent many transformations in the history of the group spread over two decades. Many leaders were well educated and had medical, legal or technical trainings. Each major RAF operation was the result of detailed planning and generally the execution of an attack was done in a “professional” manner. The RAF organizational concept called for a multilevel structure. The “hard core” who lived underground and conducted most of the lethal terrorist activities also directed the operations of “illegal militants”, who carried out bombings and lower-level attacks. The “periphery”, which consisted of perhaps as many as several hundred people, formed the vital support base that provided necessary funding, shelter and communications for the operatives, that was the logistic infrastructure. A larger number of legal sympathizers assisted in propaganda activities.

In the mid-1980s the RAF-group once again appeared to shift its emphasis and displayed a high level of sophistication in its attacks on US, NATO and West German political and military targets. These targets also included US military bases in Frankfurt, Heidelberg and Ramstein. In one attack six US servicemen were killed, while assassination attempts against the generals Alexander Haig and Frederic Kroesen were foiled. In August 1985 the RAF murdered a US soldier, Pimental, and used his military identity card to gain access to Rhein-Main Air Force Base, where they detonated a car bomb. This operation, especially the killing of the US serviceman, was severely criticized among RAF circles and was the begin-

ning of the end of RAF because at that time the group members had changed to killers, and their intended myth of social revolutionaries has gone. But anyway, the RAF cells continued senseless killing of prominent businessman, bankers and diplomats.

As mentioned at the beginning of the lecture that in August 1992 RAF had given up and renounced the armed struggle. In one of their declarations we can read: “Today we finish the experiment!”

After the reunification of Germany (1989/90) several terrorists of the RAF and other groups were arrested in East Germany where they had got cover by the former East Germany's Intelligence Service (Stasi). Furthermore, it came to light that the RAF was trained, operated and controlled, rather strictly controlled, by the Interior Ministry of East Germany.

Dealing with left wing terrorism in West Germany between 1970 – 90 we must also take a short look at two other groups, generally not so important. Internationally these groups were also known as the Red Army Faction, engaged here and there in spectacular terrorist operations - a real threat to the then German government. Some insight into such groups follows:

The Berlin based 2nd of June Movement had never the consistency of the RAF, nor had it formulated clear political aims. In practical tactics, however, the movement had often been ahead of the RAF. This was shown in the kidnapping of the Christian Democratic politician Peter Lorenz in Berlin on March 27, 1975. Unaware of Lorenz's location, the federal government gave in to the terrorists' demands to release five prisoners, who were flown to South Yemen. Following the Lorenz incident, the movement was essentially destroyed. Then, four female members of the group escaped from a Berlin prison in 1976, in 1978 another terrorist (Till Meyer) was freed from the same prison. But these individuals have not committed any further terrorist operations in the name of their group. On June 22, 1978, Till Meyer and three other terrorists were arrested in Bulgaria and returned to the Federal Republic of Germany.

“Revolutionary Cells” (RZ = Revolutionäre Zellen), a left-wing West German terrorist group was formed in 1973. The group concentrated itself on the cities of Berlin and Frankfurt. It conducted “urban guerrilla” terrorist activity in support of “anti-fascism”, “ant-imperialism”, “anti-



zionism" and "anti-militarism". The credo of RZ was: "The whole ruling class will be made to feel insecure!"

These "Revolutionary Cells" occasionally had been linked with the Red Army Faction but normally tried to keep their distance. The RZ believed in a decentralization form of terrorism, directed at targets within the immediate vicinity of each cell. To achieve maximum security, the cells typically were composed of less than ten members with minimal contact between cells. The RZ sought to establish a pool of semi independent strike teams to be spread across Germany, carefully covered under the appearance of normal civilian lifestyles. From this position, they could operate quickly and without warning from a variety of locations and without the need to set up elaborate chains of support. West Germany's authorities spoke of RZ, perpetrators as a kind of "part time terrorists". The RZ had contact to other left-wing European groups and unlike the RAF, these cells did not operate entirely underground; that was the reason that the majority of their members were not known to the German security services and police agencies for a long time. Therefore there had been no simple way of obtaining an advance warning of RZ attacks.

Since the 1970s the RZ has had an international section, with extensive links not only to the Palestinian Arab organizations but to the IRA and other left-wing extremists in Europe as well. Its members took part in well-known international acts of Arab terrorism, including the raid on the OPEC conference in Vienna in 1975.

German Countermeasures, Lessons and general Experiences in fighting the Left-Wing Terrorism

The German parliament passed several new laws strengthening the security forces' abilities to deter terrorism. Since 1971, hijacking of or attack on an airplane carries a penalty often not less than five years imprisonment; manslaughter in this context not less than ten years. Another law makes it no longer possible for one attorney to defend several accused terrorists. In 1974 the right to carry on a trial in the absence of the accused (during a hunger strike – as done by jailed RAF-Commando members – for example) was extended. In 1976 a law was passed concerning the arrest of terrorists and control over written communication between the defending lawyer and his client was made possible. In 1977, another law was passed preventing contacts between arrested terrorists and their defending lawyers if such contacts were used to enhance the prisoner's chances of escape. In 1978, by law it was made possible

that all apartments in an apartment block could be searched, and the police may establish control posts and check-points during large scale searches.

The above mentioned laws were only a small segment of other regulations and practical measures adopted as well by the security authorities. While fighting terrorism one needs a large scale of counter activities on all levels.

Aided by the information obtained from the public, the security forces used surveillance, wiretapping and other technical devices. All these activities may facilitate a rather good chance for penetration into a terrorist organization at least could let know what the next plans of the terror-cell could be.

In addition to the search apparatus, there are three measures which – except for looking on the root causes of terrorism – are important in combating the phenomenon of terrorism:

1. Adoption of special security measures for vulnerable persons and institutions (guards etc.)
2. Constant use of intelligence resources to monitor terrorist organizations and their supporters.
3. Consistent demonstration of decisiveness on the part of the government, especially during and after a terrorist attack.

The Failure of Left-Wing German Terrorism:

To sum up, the following reasons could be mentioned for the failure of the RAF and other left-wing extremists in Germany from 1970 – 1990:

- the terrorists were finally completely isolated – there was a big gap between their ideas and the reality
- the counter measures of the Federal Government of Germany became more and more effective
- the Communist Bloc was at its end, was finally finished and so the left-wing
- theories were no more attractive to the young people
- the terrorists lost their "support power – the former Soviet Union
- the public opinion in Germany rejected the leftist theories of the RAF and the killing of innocent citizens, and finally
- the RAF lost the sympathy of specific left orientated media because of senseless killing of people.



Germany's Initiative to Fighting Terrorism After 9/11

After the attacks of 9/11, the German Government established a couple of counter-measures to handle especially the increasing phenomenon of militant Islamic terrorism.

Among other counter activities for fighting the "new" terrorism, three initiatives of the Federal Government are the most important.

1. On 14th December 2004 the Joint Counter-Terrorism Centre took up activities in Berlin. The Centre brings together analysts from the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) and the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV). The Centre provides excellent conditions to share information in real time, to produce fast and targeted analyses of potential threats, and to coordinate operational measures to combat Islamist terrorism. Other bodies involved in that framework, aside from BKA and BfV, are:

- a. the Federal Intelligence Service (BND),
- b. the Criminal Police Offices of the 16 Federal States of Germany (LKA),
- c. the Military Counter intelligence Service (MAD)
- d. the Central Office of the German Customs Investigation Service (ZKA)
- e. the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) and
- f. the Public Prosecutor.

Currently 190 persons work at the Joint-Counter-Terrorism Centre. The Joint Centre ensures a smooth flow of Information in all directions and is an intelligent way of sharing knowledge and evidence. With the Joint Counter-Terrorism-Centre, Germany is able to play an important role also at international level. Terrorism today is spread the world over and therefore international cooperation is vital in combating international terrorism. From time to time foreign experts too participate in certain suitable projects and they are also involved in actual cases of a terror threat.

2. Another important instrument against terrorism is the establishment of an Anti-Terror-Database. Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble, the Federal Interior Minister, especially pushed this project, just three weeks after a failed plot by two Lebanese terrorists to blow up German regional trains in summer 2002 (suitcase bombers!).

The federal and state interior ministers agreed to create an anti-terrorism database to help security officials catch potential terrorists before they can act. The names, birthdates and addresses of suspected terrorists would be placed in a database accessible by law enforcement, intelligence and border agencies. After finishing the legislation allowing the federal and state police and intelligence agencies to set up joint databases, Interior Minister Wolfgang Schäuble said:

"The counter – terrorism database is an essential instrument in the fight against terror. Now each agency can enter the key information into the counter terrorism database, ensuring that all agencies have access to the most important background information for the purpose of fighting terrorism and that they can contact each other quickly to get further information."

3. In September 2007 three Islamists were arrested in the region of Sauerland in the Federal State of North Rhine Westphalia charged of planning terror attacks in Germany. This case gave the politicians a final push to install more powers to detect would-be-terrorists. Interior Minister Wolfgang Schäuble has been pushing for increased online surveillance, including the use of "Trojan" software sent by e-mail to secretly search terror suspects' hard drives. Also on the agenda of Schäuble was the possible criminalization of visits to terrorist training camps. For Schäuble the practice of online surveillance is important for the fight on terrorism.

After a controversial debate among politicians concerning the extension of surveillance to online privacy, a verdict by Germany's highest court on February 2008 as to whether the government has the right to sift remotely through a citizen's hard drive has not only paved the way for an upcoming law. According to German observers, the court has established a new "fundamental right" for the 21st century. After the verdict of the court, lawmakers and police have some idea of where a person's "private sphere" starts and ends – even if the suspect is surfing a wireless connection, outdoors, on a laptop.

The new verdict sets guidelines for how far the government can intrude in Germany. And it establishes a civil right that may not be so clearly defined anywhere else in the world. German federal judges have declared it illegal for government snoops to use virus software by the security agencies to gather data from an individual's hard drive – except for in extreme cases such as a terrorist threat. Court president Hans-Jürgen Papier mentioned a



few exceptions: In cases of concrete threat to "life and limb or personal liberty", or the existence of state institutions – a loophole for terrorism investigations – authorities can apply for a warrant to snoop a hard drive.

After all the above mentioned laws and activities, the institutions urged Interior Minister Dr. Schäuble to say: "Our security architecture in Germany is very good!"

Final Remarks:

There is no so called "King's Road" combating terrorism! Therefore fighting terrorism requires an extensive understanding of extremist behaviour. For terrorism cannot be viewed as detached from other expressions of extremism. We should seriously and sensitively analyze publications of terror groups, thereby identifying their unique ideology, political arguments, logistics, targets and actions. But we must begin with the understanding that, for terrorist groups, all perpetrators have different motivations either political or individual actually more and more religious.

PART B: CURRENT TRENDS IN JIHADI NETWORKS IN EUROPE - FOCUSING GERMANY

The last terrorist related events in Europe have confirmed that Europe is a key staging ground for Jihadi activities. Although major differences can be identified from country to country it is possible to identify some current trends that are more or less common to the whole of Europe.

Jihadism is a global movement whose characteristics mutate rapidly. While today some trends are still in a developing phase or can be noticed only in some European countries, it is likely that they will become into picture with greater intensity and in more countries in the near future. During the last few years the phenomenon of "home grown networks" and "home grown terrorism" is becoming more noticeable in Europe.

They can be defined as small groups of European-born, radicalized and fanatical Islamists that have sprung up in most European countries. The picture of Jihadi networks in Europe is quite complex. On one hand we can say that "home grown groups" are often small local Europe born and bred clusters of radicals that have no ties to groups outside Europe and act in complete operational independence. On the other side of the spectrum we have cells that respond to the traditional model used by al-

Qaeda- affiliated groups in the 1990s; compartmentalized cells inserted in a well structured network and integrated in a hierarchy whose masterminds are often outside Europe. To this model belong various cells of the Algerian GSPC – the current face of Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb.

The profile of "home grown terrorists" in Europe starts with small groups of young men, most of them born and/or raised in Europe. They are excellent sources for recruitment by the militant Islamists, because they know the language, the culture and have sufficient understanding of the European societies. European "home grown terrorist" cells are different from cells controlled by GSPC, GIA or Al-Qaida in the sense that their character is more "European" as far as sociology and motivation is concerned. Cell members belonging to the second and third generation of immigrant converts are for example fully familiar with European local policies affecting Muslims.

The examples of most important motivational driver for "Jihadi Networks" are with reference to European immigration policies, the mocking of the Prophet Mohammed in the Danish caricatures, the globalization and especially European military contributions in Afghanistan and Iraq. All these mentioned details appeared to be of concern to German converts. In general terms most of the converts are peaceful people who have discovered Islam as part of a personal search for meaning but converts that end up in extremist circles often have a tendency toward absolute intolerance and a high degree of radicalism. This makes them especially valuable for militant Islamic networks. In the specific German case the intelligence agencies are keeping a close eye on these persons. Specifically noted are travel routes, meetings points, what type of a mosque do they visit, is the imam in whom they confide a recognized religious scholar, are the sheiks or imams with whom they are in contact radical preachers, preachers of violence etc.

The radicalisation of such persons takes place in Europe and only a couple of them travel out of the country to link up with foreign-based, well organized groups ideologically or operationally affiliated with Al-Qaeda. This is totally different to the situation before 9/11. Today as I mentioned most European Jihadis do not travel out of the area for training or to fight. However, the German intelligence authorities are worried about the travel of a small but significant number of young converts and potentially future "Jihadis" to places where they can join training camps or guerrilla units. Pakistan/Afghanistan



and Iraq are the primary destinations. The BND – the German Foreign Intelligence Community – know of more than a dozen people, including converts, who have travelled to Afghanistan and Pakistan (Tribal Areas, NWFP) in recent years, looking for contacts with like-minded people.

Radical Islam in Europe has traditionally been an urban phenomenon. Many of the potential terrorists feel marginalized. As a reaction to this, the second and third generation of immigrants reverts much more strongly to its roots. Religious belief becomes decisive. A process of isolation begins that starts with non-integration and leads to a parallel society.

At the end of this development many young Muslims are convinced that they must defend their own religion and values against the mainstream Western society. The process of radicalization is often initiated by wanderings imams, often linked to Tablighi Jamaat (so thinks the German intelligence) and small makeshift mosques run by radicals. In Spain, Italy and France this development has resulted in a noticeable expansion of radical activities.

German Scenarios and Lessons Learned from German Terrorist Plots

Although there has never been a major Islamic terror act in Germany or on German soil, nevertheless the security agencies keep a watchful eye on the activities of Muslim extremists in Germany and abroad. Such initiatives are necessary because a number of terrorist plots have been planned in the country – the most famous being the 9/11 attacks, which were partly planned by the cell of Mohammed Atta in Hamburg (the master plan of 9/11 was the work of Khaled Sheik Mohammed located at that time in Afghanistan).

In recent years Islamic militant terrorists have already planned attacks seven times. According to evidence gathered by Germany's Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA) we must assume that further attacks are intended and planned.

The most spectacular plots to carry out attacks in Germany occurred in 2006 and in the following year 2007. Both of the attacks failed for different reasons.

In 2006 – during the World Football Championship – two Lebanese men – known as the suitcase bombers – tried

to detonate bombs in trains in Germany. The plan failed because the bombs failed to explode due to malfunction. The two bombers worked alone, they were not affiliated to an Islamic network or to Al-Qaida. They radicalized themselves during staying in Germany during studies at university.

In September 2007 German authorities foiled a plot by a three member terror cell in the Sauerland region in the western part of Germany. Two of cell members were German converts to Islam and had planned to target US-Army bases (mainly Ramstein military airbase) and Frankfurt International Airport, the third activist was a Turkish immigrant with German passport. They were in contact with, and received training, support and instructions from a Pakistan based Uzbek jihadist group called the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU).

The suspects had gathered large quantities of chemicals and military detonators. At the time of the arrests, they were in the process of manufacturing explosives (based on internet information) in a cabin in Sauerland. The chemical hydrogen peroxide was to be the main component of the explosive. A similar chemical was used by the London bombers and by a number of Al-Qaida affiliated terrorists worldwide. The chemical had a concentration of 35% and theoretically it could have created an explosive force equivalent to 500 kilograms of TNT.

The anti-terrorism operation to catch the perpetrators was launched in October 2006 when the US National Security Agency (NASA) and the CIA informed their German counterparts about internet communications between IJU (Islamic Jihad Union) in Pakistan and the suspects in Germany. From that time on, 45 individuals were put under surveillance during the operation.

Conclusion:

From the counter-terrorism-perspective, the case of the terror arrests of last September shows several useful evidences for a better understanding on how this actual Islamic "terrorist system" works:

The home grown cells are inspired and radicalized by militant preachers and audio-visual propaganda. A prominent aspect of the failed Saurland attack was that the cell members by themselves took the initiative to link up with organized militant networks for additional guidance and training. The German case of the so called Sauerland-group shows a strong element of command



and control by an organized global jihadist group (IJU). This is a clear indication that jihadist organizations based in the Muslim world have regained capabilities to run operations inside Europe on the spot.

Another lesson learned from the most recent development concerning German Islamists and the case of Gerlowicz is that personal, face to face interaction between recruits and experienced activists still plays an important role during the radicalization processes.

This element is visible despite the possibilities for recruitment, radicalization and training via the increasingly sophisticated internet infrastructure used widely by the Jihadists. Today the internet is established as an extremely important tool by Islamists activists as a kind of special infrastructure on the web through which they can communicate, spread propaganda, ideological indoctrination, strategic texts and material, tactical advice and other activities. The most prominent example on how jihadist terrorist cells in Europe have utilized the internet when preparing for terrorism was the Madrid cell which was responsible for the tremendous terror operation on March 11, 2004.

Back to the German experience: Although the perpetrators had the opportunity to download a terrorist package from the internet, they took the risk of mingling with other German jihadists and international networks. They operated in this fashion even in the period leading up to the alleged time of the attack. They conducted extensive travel, attending religious training, languages courses consulted and got trained with experienced mujaheddin.

From a counter-terrorism perspective, the German case shows that despite the complexity of the threat, the security services, police and intelligence agencies have become better equipped to monitor and intercept jihadists. The tactical behaviour of the security authorities is characterized through intensive surveillance of travel and internet communications, in addition to monitoring Europe's extremist communities more closely. The interception of the IJU cell last September also shows that the security services have improved international cooperation and the capacity to deal with transnational networks and jihadism.



DEFINING TERRORISM – AN AFGHAN PERSPECTIVE

By: Dr: Hamidullah Noorebad

Ladies and Gentlemen! I'm glad to speak to this gathering about terrorism as a challenge for Nation Building organized by KAS under the AFG-PAK Dialogue forum 2008

I would like to thank also the KAS Pakistan Office for its activities for better and close relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

As we know terrorism is a serious treat for all countries and all people around the world, especially for developing countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Terror attacks are against all human rights' principles and against the international law. All the countries should be united against the threat of terrorism especially countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan, which are living beside each other and have suffered many terrorist attacks.

I want to discuss about following issues:

1. Problems of finding a clear definition of terrorism which could be accepted universally
2. Terrorism definition from Afghanistan's perspective.
3. Role and understanding of terrorism in Afghanistan.

1. Problems for finding a clear definition of terrorism which could be accepted universally:

About the first point I must tell that nobody is in favour of terrorism but the terrorists. The United Nation's Security Council came out against it after little or no debate.

However why it is necessary to find a definition for this word? Because after we all we have agreed that the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre was an act of terrorism, the UN, and rest of us still need a definition of this word to specify this particular action from the rest of such events. That is why definition of terrorism is difficult.

The Islamic countries held conference in Kuala Lumpur in 2002 for this purpose but, could not succeed to find a universal definition.

The European Union and even G-8 faced lots of problems to find an acceptable definition of terrorism for its member states.

Even writers with much expertise held sessions to find a definition for terrorism which will be acceptable to the majority, but could not succeed.

So as a result we can say that there is no complete definition of terror to be acceptable to all and sundry.

2. Definition of Terrorism

With all these problems to find a clear definition of terrorism the question then arises, what is the way out?

Of course, we could shrug our shoulders and admit that in a world that asks, "what is the definition of a definition?" there is little chance of defining terrorism in universally acceptable manner. After all, there are many facts and realities in life that we can not define in such terms but we deal in on daily basis.

Or we could approach terrorism as a method, a form of action, and refrain from giving even the slightest hint of ethical judgment when proposing a definition.

Such an approach could provide us with possible definition, like:

"Terrorism is any act or series of violent acts against civilians designed to persuade a part or the whole of a community or a group of communities to do something that the terrorists like, or to stop doing something that the terrorists do not like".

Briefly, terrorism, stand alone, seems to involve some or all of the following elements:

1. An ideological or political purpose (not conventional criminal acts)
2. The desire to cause "terror" aimed at as much as human or physical destruction possible
3. Attack on specific, or random, persons
4. Destruction of essential infrastructure or other physical property
5. A desire to die in the effort for a cause (unlike military personnel)



The difference of terrorism in comparison with other acts of violence and with war can be seen in these four characteristics:

- Terrorists violate the rules of modern warfare, established in such acts called Geneva Conventions and the Hague Conventions; or they are actors (e.g., sub state groups) who can't declare war legitimately
- Their goal is to achieve political change
- Their targets are symbolic of the political issues in question
- Acts of terror are also designed to get attention from the public and media

However there is no general definition of terrorism and there will not be one in the near future. To claim that terrorism can not be analyzed without such a definition is obviously absurd.

3. Role and understanding of terrorism in Afghanistan

Till 1990s, Afghanistan had never witnessed any of terrorist attacks. Afghan people had suffered lot of difficulties during the former Soviet Union occupation in the 1980s but never a terrorist attack occurred and finally they succeeded and the Russian troops were pulled back from Afghanistan.

The worst type of terrorist attacks is a suicide attack that kills innocent people, children, women and old ones who are not involved with war and also it damages economic facilities.

The first suicide attack in Afghanistan was in 1992 by an Egyptian Terrorist, who worked with Hekmatyar's Party and killed Mullah Jamil Rahman one of the Hekmatyar enemies in Konar province.

However, suicide attacks increased in Afghanistan after the murder of Ahmad Shah Massoud on 9th September, 2001. He was one of the jihadi commanders who fought against Taliban. So far all the suicide attackers were Arabs.

Till 2005 the suicide attacks in Afghanistan were done by none Afghans, however, afterwards they were also committed by Afghans armed with suicide bombs under motivation and financing by the Taliban.

The Taliban motivate people against the Afghan government and the international coalition. With suicide attacks, they want that Afghan people to blame the current government and the coalition forces lead by the USA, for the lack of security in the country. But the ultimate benefactors from the suicide attacks are the Taliban who take maximum advantage of such gruesome acts of violence.

For example, a suicide attack that claims the lives of many people can put certain group in the headlines of international media.

Motivating an Afghan to perform a suicide attack is not a simple task. The leaders of Taliban motivate insurgents in the name of "Afghanistan's occupation" and the obligation to perform Jihad. However there are many differences between an occupied country and a country who requested help for political and military system stability.

Mukhtar Pidran, an Afghan analyst says that the Taliban need to have an instrument for imposing their religious influence on people who resist their position. Insurgents brought suicide terrorism to Afghanistan since it had worked in Iraq. Mostly in Afghanistan, people are illiterate and know less about the complex issues of Islam like Jihad, therefore can be easily duped into adopting them.

Taliban have published books for their followers in which they call upon men to join the Taliban because they are based on the Islamic Sharia Laws. One of the books of the Taliban bases the legitimacy of suicide attacks in Al-Buruj, a chapter of the holy Quran, which focuses on Jihad, bravery and the toleration of difficulties in the name of Islam. The author references suicide attacks to a part of Al-Buruj which states that Allah prefers those Muslims who fight against threats to their religion. He also quotes a Hadis and a story about one of the Prophet Mohammad's companions who asked the Prophet whether a person would be martyred if he was slain fighting infidels. The Prophet answered, "He would enter Paradise." In response, his companion went to the scene of the war until his death.

These factors make clear that there are religious reasons driving the attackers to sacrifice themselves for the "benefits of others". The majority of Afghans who have attended religious schools in Pakistan or in other Muslim countries are easily indoctrinated by the religious propaganda issued in these madressahs. Unfortunately, many begin their studies at a young age and therefore their



knowledge of Islam is confined to the often misguided teachings they receive.

In fact in Al-Buruj verses in Quran there is a story about a Jewish king who in his time made a huge fire and told the Christians that any body that is faithful to his God and religion would be thrown into the fire, sparing those who thought the other way round.

Many of the Christians selected the fire and in this manner they killed themselves, just themselves and not the others. This story is not in accordance with the suicide bombing which kills other innocents along with the perpetrator.

In mentioned Hadis it is a matter of Duel War. It is not related to secret suicide attacks which happen out of the war field.

The people who explain the Holy Quran verses and Hadis as they want do not pay attention to the verses which forbid suicide attacks, for example when God tells the story about murder of Habil by Qabil He mentions if a person saves one life he saves all humanity and if he kills one innocent life it means he killed all people. (Al Ma'hida, 32). In the same way, if the Prophet ordered his companions for fighting, he emphasized to particularly avoid killing children, women and elders even the bushes and the trees should be not be damaged by war.

Do not those verses and Hadis forbid the suicide attacks? Of course they forbid such attacks and see such acts as a big crime against humanity.

At the end I must recall that the word Islam has been taken from "Sallama" that means peace and when Muslims say "as salam u alaikum", it means "peace and health be on you". With these explanations we know that the Islam as a Religion is concerned with peace and health and not with war and terror.



FIGHTING TERRORISM -AN AFGHAN PERSPECTIVE

BY: Nassrullah Arsalai

Introduction:

The war against terrorism in Afghanistan is a fact, but it is not the only fact about Afghanistan that concerns all those who are willing to build a sustainable and peaceful Afghanistan. Afghanistan is one of the world's poorest countries. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2007 ranked Afghanistan 174th out of 178 countries on its global Human Development Index (a composite of education, health and economic indicators). The reason for this low ranking as indicated by UNDP Report is that 6.6 million Afghans do not meet daily minimum food requirements. Gender discrimination remains pervasive; the illiteracy rate among women has been put at 87 per cent, as against 57 per cent among men. And Afghanistan reports one of the world's highest rates for tuberculosis infection, another common marker of severe poverty.

Despite all these difficulties Afghanistan's economy has recorded impressive growth rates since the removal of the Taliban regime from power in 2001. Incomes, investment, currency reform, inflation control, government revenues, cross-border trade, access to health care and schooling—all these and other indicators give evidence of real and widely-shared development.

However, still, Afghanistan remains a shockingly poor and dangerously volatile place for most of the Afghans mainly because of the poor institutional capacity of the Afghan government and lack of its writ over large parts of the country. The mounting insurgency and violence, rampant corruption, particularly in the public institutions, criminality and poppy production add more danger and confusion to Afghanistan's foreseeable future. Difficult neighborhood, in which Afghanistan is situated, worsens the already volatile situation especially the escalation of violence and instability in Pakistan in the recent past.

The current efforts of fighting terrorism could bear fruit only if we as Afghans chalk out comprehensive plans by taking confidence building measures with our neighbors, specifically Pakistan. The success is possible only if we share and implement a coherent plan with the international coalition forces.

In the meantime, achieving a genuine and stable peace in Afghanistan will necessitate more thorough going political and social changes among Afghans themselves (citizens who have been divided for generations on differences of tribal, regional and political identities) through empowerment of the Civil Society that would establish advocacy groups engaged in the long and tedious work of nation building and national unity.

Furthermore, improving governance is an essential component for bringing peace and security to Afghanistan. Indeed, speeding up establishment of sustainable institutions for governance counts among the most valuable and urgent contributions to the well-being of Afghans and their families. Afghan authorities, at the central government and in Afghanistan's 34 provinces, will only earn legitimacy and public confidence by demonstrating an improved capacity for accountable, honest and effective governance.

2. Important Factors for Peace Keeping:

The important challenges for all the stakeholders in the current Afghan situation are two folds. On one hand fighting terrorism and on the other, maintaining the process of nation building and economic restoration of the country .

It would be more judicious to highlight challenges facing each actor/stakeholder in the current political and social environment according to its respective role and responsibility.

1. The Role and Support of the Afghan Civil Society
2. Afghan Government's Role in the Process of Nation Building and Peace Building
3. The role of neighboring countries (Pakistan, Iran, Central Asian Countries and Russia) on fight against terrorism
4. The role of the international coalition forces

The Role and Support of the Afghan Civil Society

Decades of war, political instability and social unrest have destroyed the traditional Afghan communities' structures which became polarized along ethnic, religious and political lines during the protracted period of conflict. The consequences of this destruction are the following:

1. A culture of violence
2. A sense of impermanence and mistrust



3. Psychological trauma
4. Thriving criminal elements
5. Displaced populations
6. A strong gender imbalance

These problems can only be solved through the empowerment of civil society which needs special support from the government as well as from the international agencies and foreign governments. That would be realizable through the following processes:

a. *Creation of independent news agencies:*

Currently there are news agencies which are extremely polarized along ethnic and political groups who serve only their own interests instead of the Afghan Nation.

b. *Establishment of genuine and professional local humanitarian aid agencies.*

There are some local NGOs working in the field and on sub-contract for other international agencies. The majority of these NGOs do not have any social basis and they lack financial transparency as well as clear mission in the process of nation building. Therefore there is a real need to initiate formation of political advisory groups and think tanks ;social advocacy groups and government watchdog groups.

An important point to remember is that community organization and development are fundamentally a grass-roots' process. It is not about an outside "expert" coming in and telling a community what they should work on. Instead, it's about members of the community getting angry, getting sad, or getting excited about something, and using that energy to take steps to make things happen. In short, community organization is all about empowering people to improve their lives by changing their behavior and their environment so that they get maximum benefits of a healthy community.

Afghan Government's Role in the Process of Nation Building and Peace Building

After seven years of establishment, the current Afghan government has the following weaknesses which need to be urgently addressed:

1. Vigorous competition for power by different interest groups, polarized along ethnic and political divides

instead of taking into consideration the priority of the country towards nation building.

2. Limited legitimacy of the government, therefore, source of instability and lack of support from people.
3. Extreme polarization at all level of the government worsening instability and security
4. Lack of consensus on the future direction of the country

The Role of Neighboring Countries - Mainly Pakistan

In this regards we should say that fighting against terrorism cannot be achieved without strong commitment and joint cooperation of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Pakistan is facing the same problems as Afghanistan regarding the empowerment of civil society. The recent escalation of violence and instability in Pakistan such as Lal Masjid incident, Swat valley insurgency, suicide attacks in NWFP, Karachi and Lahore show the real potential of terrorism to destabilize Pakistan's social and political stability. Therefore, there is an urgent need for long term sustainable plan.

The terrorist groups are exploiting Pakistan's weaknesses to grip their power inside the civil society and they are using the territories along the border on both sides as a safe haven. The real reason of their presence in these territories lies on the lack of active reaction of the civil society against them.

One should ask the question why local communities are not trying to root out these groups from their areas even though the majority of them are not supporting them. The answer to this question is that beside the lack of economic development and other public facilities in these areas, there are no such civil society groups which can play a responsible and positive role towards nation building, peace and stability. In these areas the old British rules of FCR are still in application and there is no federal justice system. The economic system in the area is based on smuggling and there is not enough public health and educational system, particularly in the tribal belt. All these developmental factors combined with high rate of unemployment create an attractive environment for terrorists groups. Therefore, in the global strategy of fighting against terrorism there is an urgent need to promote civil society empowerment in order to bring about change in the society, increasing self-sufficiency of the local communities and gaining support of the local population regarding the policy of the government as well as mobilizing their struggle against terrorism.



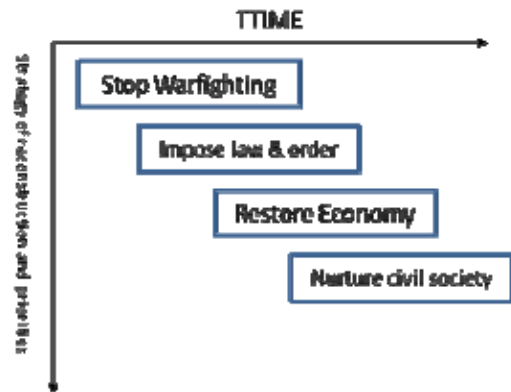
Parallel to the first initiative there is a strong need for cooperation between the two governments' officials. It's worth mentioning that the Pakistan government has in place qualified administrators and benefits from qualified and highly professional civil servants. On the contrary, the Afghan government has no professional civil servants and those who are in charge of the Afghan foreign policy, lack professionalism and react much more emotionally than looking for rational solutions for the current insurgency and terrorism in cooperation with their Pakistani counterparts. There is evidently a win-win solution for both the countries, if both sides focus on the issues of maintaining permanent dialogue through the creation of joint working groups on matters concerning the security and a common understanding on the strategy of fighting against terrorism. It's time for both sides to avoid irrational behavior by accusing each other doing nothing against terrorism. It should be clear to everyone that terrorism is a common enemy for all those people who cherish democracy, justice, law and order without any distinction of race, ethnicity or religion. Need for creation of different working groups jointly with Afghans to fight terrorism and sharing security information at different level.

The role of the international coalition forces

The coalition forces have greatly contributed to the process of normalization of the situation and they are continuing to ensure the security of the fragile Afghan government. Building the Afghan police and the ANA and fighting against terrorism are among their activities that should be appreciated greatly. However, it seems that there is a lack of common vision among different coalition partners on the type of Afghan Government structure. There should be a coherent set of initiatives which has to be accepted and agreed upon by all forces that can help everyone to achieve sustainable peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Conclusion and summary of recommendations

Operational priorities in peace-building



Graham Day model

In his model of peace building in a Post-Conflict country, Graham propose a strategy prioritizing the intervention of the government as well as the support of international community according to the time period. Therefore, seven years after the creation of an elected Afghan government the political and security issues of the country are still in jeopardy; the numerous problems related particularly to security may rise if a strong emphasis is not placed on the empowerment of civil society and fighting terrorism with a bilateral approach to solution with Pakistan.

In order to avoid any wrong direction which can lead to the escalation of violence and increase of insurgency, we recommend that a prompt and practical program should be established at two different levels:

There is a strong need for action for empowering civil society groups in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, and there is also an urgent need for creation of civil society groups among the communities along the border, such as:

- i) Independent political advisory groups
- ii) Think Tank groups
- iii) Social advocacy groups
- iv) Government watchdog groups:



For this purpose we recommend that a special program of community empowerment should be developed. For instance, the creation of community groups in Jalalabad at the beginning of the new Afghan government establishment in 2002 can be taken as a model for the Afghan environment. These civil society groups are composed of independent influential personalities that are democratically elected by the population. However, these local and Regional Shuras (civil society groups) could not benefit from the support of the government and much has been done by different political instances as well as the government to isolate their action. They are still working in the area but only as a traditional local Jirga, sort of private social advocacy to solve problems between individual families or members of the communities.

Also, Pakistan can contribute in rebuilding a system of core civil servants through creation of a civil servants' school to help and support Afghan government administration. Creation of independent panels on different issues to facilitate cooperation and communication.

Why organize?

1. To bring about change
2. Empower civil society
3. Increase self-sufficiency
4. Increase social support to government policy or other programs
5. To watchdog governmental actions

Strategies for organizing

1. Local development
2. Social planning
3. Policy change
4. Systems' advocacy
5. Coalitions

How to create change?

1. Involve the community
2. Identify the problem
3. Reframe as an issue
4. Develop a strategy
5. Develop tactics
6. Choose action steps
7. Create short-end wins
8. Continue working



OVERCOMING MILITANCY - A COMMON PAKI-STANI'S PERSPECTIVE ON TERRORISM

By: Mr Alauddin Masood

One of the biggest threats of the present era, terrorism has assumed such a gigantic dimension that it has made the entire human civilization vulnerable. What is terrorism? Defining terrorism is a ticklish question as scholars have divergent views about its definition. Though a too complex theme to be candidly defined, it can be said that "terrorism is the deliberate and intentional use or threat of violence by a certain group or entity to forward or achieve its political, social or ideological objectives by targeting the members or national assets of a state".

No one can justify acts of terrorism, but it is a fact that these are often the result of state terrorism, suppression and injustice. Experience tells that people become desperate and start offering supreme sacrifices only when someone tries to suppress their genuine freedom struggle with military might. Thus, the solution lies in recognizing the right of people to decide their fate and not in seeking discourse in armed repression.

Like other religions, Islam forbids terrorism in the strongest terms and there are severe punishments prescribed for those who engage in violence against people, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. In Islam, terrorism is a crime against humanity and warrants capital punishment. The holy Quran says: "The recompense of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and spread mischief in the land is only that they shall be killed or crucified, or their hands and their feet be cut off from opposite sides, or they be exiled from the land. That is their disgrace in this world, and great torment is theirs in the Hereafter". (Surah 9, Verse 29).

Before 9/11/2001, terrorism was confined to a few pockets on the globe. However, the ripple effect of the unimaginative response to the 9/11 acts of terror has now transformed a major part of the world in a living inferno. In other words, the hydra-headed monster of terrorism now seems to have become a worldwide phenomenon, requiring careful handling.

Pakistan is one of the countries that have been hit the hardest by terrorism and which have paid a huge price for offering the services in a war that appears less to root out terrorism than to promote it. The areas constituting Pakistan have been a multi-religious region for

over 10 centuries. The clerics were never a source of violence in this region. They preached the value of love and tolerance and spread the word of God by personal examples of piety, humility and selflessness, using Madaris (religious seminaries) as their base. The one thing farthest from their methodology was militancy. However, the US-sponsored 'Jihad' against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan gave some Madaris a militant outlook, turning them into training and recruiting centres for Mujahideen fighting America's war in Afghanistan.

Some areas along Pakistan-Afghanistan border are now perceived by the West to be one of the main centers of terror. However, till the Soviet inspired coup¹ in Afghanistan, on 28 April, 1978, these areas were free from terrorist activities. The ascendancy to power of the communists in Afghanistan in 1978 and direct Soviet occupation of that country in December, 1979 was considered by the international community to be a great threat to the Free World. For the liberation of Afghanistan, the international community motivated the inhabitants of that country to wage a Jihad². It also encouraged the Government and the people of Pakistan, in particular the tribesmen living along the Durand Line, to lend their support to their Afghan brethren in their war of liberation.

With material support of the USA and some other countries, volunteers were recruited from Pakistan and elsewhere, provided guidance, training and briefings, given arms and equipment and sent to Afghanistan to help the Afghans in their liberation war. During the decade long struggle for the liberation of Afghanistan, the tribesmen received high profile visits, both from within and outside the country, and innumerable briefings, exhorting them to join the liberation struggle of their Afghan brethren and expel the Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The areas of Pakistan across the Durand Line, during those times, served with collaboration of the US-led coalition, as the

¹ In the coup (Saur Revolution), Afghan President Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan and members of his family were killed. Afghanistan was declared to be a Democratic Republic under the leadership of Nur Muhammad Taraki and Babrak Karmal. Abetted and supported by the West, the Afghans took up arms to topple the new government. When the communist regime was about to be toppled, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, in December, 1979, with 150,000 fully equipped soldiers. The Afghans rose up to expel the foreign aggressors. Despite brutal use of force, the Soviet Union could not subdue the Afghan people. The Afghan resistance and strong reaction of the world community, finally, compelled Kremlin to withdraw from Afghanistan in 1988.

² Freedom struggle, war of liberation



main base for the training and dispatch of the Mujahideen (freedom fighters) to Afghanistan.

In April 1999, US Republican Congressman, Dana Rohrabacher himself involved with policy in Afghanistan for 20 years, gave this testimony³ to a Senate sub-committee: "There is and has been a covert policy by this administration to support the Taliban movement's control of Afghanistan....This amoral or immoral policy is based on the assumption that the Taliban would bring stability to Afghanistan and permit the building of oil pipelines from Central Asia through Afghanistan to Pakistan....I believe the administration has maintained this covert goal."

However, after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the international community did not bother to demotivate or debrief the Mujahideen, ensure their return to their places of origin and rehabilitation in the mainstream. During their prolonged stay, some of the Mujahideen entered into matrimonial relations with the local tribesmen. Till 9/11, it seemed, the world community had forgotten about the tribesmen and their foreign guests. In the absence of proper de-orientation, it is possible that even after achieving the goal, some elements amongst the tribesmen might be inculcating feelings as if they were still in a state of Jihad! In nutshell, lack of proper guidance and counseling to the Mujahideen, after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, has compounded the problem.⁴

For over a decade, the Mujahideen were heroes and darlings of the West, but within months after the Soviet withdrawal their position changed and they were dubbed as villains. Nobody cared to educate even the common citizens about the reasons for this transformation in the role and status of the freedom fighters. Resultantly, some people, inhabiting the region, believe that Afghanistan was earlier occupied by the Soviet Union and now the allied forces are occupying one of its parts. They fail to understand if Jihad was justified to expel the Russians from Afghanistan then why is it not so to expel people of some other nationalities who are ruthlessly killing their brethren. For want of proper de-briefings, some among the tribesmen failed to reconcile with what was now being urged.

³ Haider, Alizeh, *America, Pakistan and their very own Frankenstein*, *The News on Sunday*, 25 May, 2008

⁴ Masood, Alauddin, *A Problem of Communication*, *The News*, 9 July, 2004

If the tribesmen were timely and properly debriefed/demotivated, the situation might have been different! It may be noted that a vast majority of the inhabitants of FATA had become wary of the prolonged presence of outsiders, whether Pakistanis or of foreign origin, on their soil, especially when they had devastated their pastures and orchards and ruined their economy. The best course would have been to secure isolation of those few persons who were harbouring the Mujahideen, from the mainstream by making a judicious use of the channels of communication and peer groups that enjoyed credibility, esteem and respect in those areas, and then persuade the tribesmen to surrender before the authorities the member of Al-Qaeda, if they had given asylum to any. However, this was not done timely.

Despite heavy deployment of troops⁵, the areas along Pak-Afghan border have witnessed turmoil for the last many years, adding to the woes of the inhabitants. The turmoil/conflict ridden situation is proving detrimental not only to the interests of Pakistan and Afghanistan, but also other countries in the region. For example, completion of Iran-Pakistan-India and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India gas pipeline projects hinge on peace in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan respectively; while increase in trade between ECO and SAARC countries depends upon a conflict free environment in the region. Further, the region is not attracting new investments in considerable quantity due to the fear of terrorism.

But, despite the inhabitants yearning for peace, prolonged presence of troops and intermittent action against the militants, is why peace still eludes those areas? This is a question which often boggles one's mind. A simplistic answer to this question would be that this region, located along the historic silk route, has always remained the nerve centre of super power rivalry, which Kipling called 'the Great Game,' due to its geo-strategic location⁶.

⁵ *On the Afghanistan side of the Durand Line, there is a heavy concentration of Afghan security forces and NATO troops; while on the Pakistan side some 90,000 soldiers are manning the 24,000 kilometer long Pak-Afghan border, but the situation in that region remains far from satisfactory because Pak-Afghan border lies in a mountainous region, riddled with deep gorges and 141 natural passes, some of which can be used to cross the border undetected.*

⁶ *Both Pakistan and Afghanistan serve as a gateway to various regions of the world, Pakistan to the South Asia and Afghanistan to the Central Asia and the Middle East. Since the days of Alex-*



Furthermore, in various regions of Pakistan, including FATA, political analysts do not rule out the possibility of foreign hands in militancy or acts of terrorism. Thus, Pakistan has to counter not only Al-Qaeda, but also other inimical forces in its war against terror. As peace and security is imperative not only for the socio-economic progress of Pakistan, but also of South Asia and the world at large, therefore, Pakistan cannot allow presence of miscreants and terrorists on its soil.

Pakistan has taken special measures to curb extremism and terrorism. Amongst others, these include making the anti-terror law more stringent and funding of terrorism a non-bailable offence with jail terms ranging from four to ten years.

While rivalry between powers to expand influence in this region remains one of the major reasons for constant turmoil/conflict, in the present era some other factors have added to its geo-strategic importance, and resultant making it the hot-bed of international intrigues and rivalry. These factors include:

1. Proximity to large deposits of untapped fossil fuels in Central Asia/Caspian Sea when viewed in the context of fast depleting oil reserves of the Middle East.... He who controls energy, controls the globe.
2. Location of the region close to four known nuclear states (Russia, China, India and Pakistan), neighbouring Iran's nuclear ambitions and presence of Russian nuclear facilities in nearby Kazakhstan.
3. Potential of some states around this region to form rival power blocs.
4. Emergence of the region as a hub of narco trade, initially with the tacit approval of secret agencies to enable the warlords to maintain their militias battle-worthy for the Afghan Jihad. And, above all,
5. Salvaging sinking economies of some leading developing countries.

For fulfilling of their designs, it suits the vested interests to keep the pot boiling so that they could carry on their activities, on one pretext or the other. Though one would not deny the existence of some religious fanatics in that belt, but taking advantage of the Afghan Jihad, this time, the smugglers cleverly tried to camouflage their activities and give it a religious cover. Like their counterparts elsewhere, the drug barons and smugglers

operating in this region have their own private militias to blunt operations by the official agencies. One cannot, therefore, rule out the possibility of involvement of smuggling syndicates entrenched in the Afghan transit trade or heroin production and smuggling, in the current state of turmoil in areas along Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

The problems of ruling the tribal areas through Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) and the threat of collective punishment, on which their autonomy was based, are intractable. Pakistan inherited what the British had created as a buffer zone.

The tribesmen inhabiting the areas along Pakistan-Afghanistan border in Pakistan have a long history of fiercely resisting foreign intrusions, a trait which earned for them the admiration from a historian, who said⁷: "tribesmen were like tigers in a national park and omnipotent political agents acted as gamekeepers."

In the past centuries, invaders familiar with the traits of these tribesmen, never wasted their energies in subduing them, rather they tried to befriend with them and enlist their support before embarking on adventures in South Asia. History is a witness that most of the past rulers, including Mughals and the British, tried to keep these "tigers" happy and well-disciplined. The Mughal army largely comprised of these tribesmen; while the British dealt with them through the Governor and the political agents. This system of carrot and stick – rewards for maintaining peace and imposing penalties for breach of peace, worked well in the past. Given a chance, it could achieve positive results even now, if peace was negotiated with a whole tribe and, with the help and support of the tribe, an effort was made to isolate the militants.

For achieving this objective, as Paul Staniland asserts⁸: "Negotiations and cease-fire, or their offer, should be seen as one of a range of tools for overcoming militancy. Indeed, there are three good strategic reasons to talk to these kinds of armed organizations. First, and most ambitiously, it is possible that an arrangement can be made with militant groups to end violence. The Provisional IRA in Northern Ireland, African National Congress in South

ander, every conqueror or great power had tried to dominate this region due to its geo-strategic importance.

⁷ *Weekly Economist, London (UK), 5th April, 2008*

⁸ *Staniland, Paul, When Talking With Terrorists Makes Sense, The Christian Science Monitor (Reproduced by National Herald Tribune, Islamabad, 30th May, 2008)*



Africa, Mizo National Front in India" and Maoist rebels in Nepal "have all been fully brought into the political system. One of the most striking, if tentative, recent examples comes from Iraq, where the US military has come to understandings with Sunni armed groups to cooperate against Al-Qaeda in Iraq. Washington initially denounced these groups in the most vitriolic terms as ruthless and blood-thirsty terrorists, yet engaging with them has provided some measure of peace and stability in a troubled society. Second, the prospect of negotiation can weaken armed groups, leading to splits and internal dissension that reduce the threat they pose. Most terrorist and insurgent groups are not monolithic – they have multiple factions, competing leaders, and a diversity of individual motivations for fighting. The possibility of cease-fires or peace settlement often brings these internal contradictions and disagreements to the fore. Even the extraordinarily disciplined Tamil Tigers suffered a major split in 2004 during a peace process, as internal tensions intensified that had been submerged during full-scale war. In Kashmir, the largest insurgent group, Hizbul Mujahideen fractured into rival factions between 2000 and 2003 due to internal disagreement about a cease-fire."

The argument for negotiations and cease-fire carries a lot of weight, in particular when it is reinforced by the fact that "some Muslim countries have already undertaken credible initiatives⁹ in this regard by engaging in an extensive "hearts-and-minds" and "out-reach" campaign to win over the former ideologues of radical movements and their followers. It is a strategy aimed at turning extremists against extremists, and it is making a difference." In Egypt, "under the de-radicalization programme, the detainees serving sentences on charges of inciting or undertaking terrorism are allowed by the Egyptian authorities to meet and consult each other in prison and hold dialogue with clerics from Al-Azhar University, which is one of the leading authorities on Islamic jurisprudence in the Muslim world. The programme has successfully converted and rehabilitated members of the Gama'a Islamia, once the largest deviant organization in the Arab world, and which mounted countless armed attacks starting in the 1980s until agreeing to a ceasefire with the Egyptian government after the Luxor massacre.

"Saudi Arabia has pursued a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy. As part of this strategy, for those among the deviants who are arrested and jailed on the

charges of inciting or committing terrorism," the "government has put in place an extensive "out-reach" campaign, whereby religious scholars engaged in a productive discourse with the detainees and their families, who are likewise taken care of. The government has also attempted to make former detainees responsible and useful citizens of the state, by offering them incentives such as jobs and facilities for learning a variety of skills of their liking. The "out-reach" campaign has produced results, as many of the detainees suspected of inciting or committing terrorism, during their trial in court or prison term, repented their past deeds, and declared never to encourage terrorist activity or take part in it.

"In Indonesia, another success story of counter-terrorism in the Muslim world, there is increasing recognition on the part of the government that words of militants matter more to other potential militants – say, young men thinking of joining a terror group – than some sermon from Muslim moderates. In order to emphasize the seriousness of the terrorist threat, the government televises the videos of local suicide bombers and has recruited top Muslim clerics to issue public messages against the terrorists. Jakarta has even employed former terrorists to preach that violence has no place in Islam. As part of this campaign, the government has succeeded in building up an extensive web of former militants working to persuade hard-liners to change sides. The Indonesian government co-opts those among the terrorists, suspected or convicted of terrorism, who show a commitment to helping authorities and express regret for their terrorist actions. In engaging the terrorists, Indonesian authorities often exploit a long-standing rift in the militant movement over the morality and strategic benefit of bombing soft targets such as the Bali night-clubs, which saw a terrorist bombing in October 2002. Those cooperating with authorities can expect shorter sentences, cash payments and medical care for themselves or relatives."

When viewed in this context, the multi-faceted strategy adopted by the present elected government in Pakistan seems to be a step in the right direction. Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani has outlined¹⁰ several times; that talks will be held with the tribal elders of areas where they have great influence, and only with those who publicly put down their arms and renounce violence; that they will have no track with terrorists and will not let

⁹ Dr. Ahmad, *Ishtiaq, Repenting and Recanting Radicalism, Weekly Pulse, Islamabad (Pakistan), May 23-29, 2008*

¹⁰ Baabar, Mariana, *Durrani briefs Nato envoys on peace deals, The News, 30th May, 2008*



these terrorists use Pakistan's territory, and most important, that no shelter is given to foreigners on Pakistani soil. The strategy would have achieved excellent results if implemented when the very first signs of the malice had started to surface in those areas. Any how, it is never too late to mend. But, since the problem has become more complex due to past blunders, it would now require concerted and greater efforts to achieve the desired results.

However, the shift in Pakistani policy has not found favour with Afghan and US leaders. An overview of some recent statements made by American and Pakistani officials on the issue of terrorism and militancy reveals frighteningly wide chasm between the two country's understanding and preferred way of dealing with this problem. At a special hearing on FATA at the US Foreign Relations Committee, in May 2008, Senator John Kerry reportedly said¹¹ that during his meetings with Pakistan's new leaders in February he realized that they had a very different understanding of the nature of the terrorist threat in FATA than the US....Furthermore, while appearing before the said Senate committee, John Negroponte commented that "we are not advocates of negotiations with terrorists" and that "we have real reservations about negotiated agreements" with terrorists.

NATO brass and US military sources all say¹² there's been a "significant increase" in cross-border attacks and traffic since March 2008 and it worries them....The Pakistanis deny condoning cross-border attacks, even tacitly. They say they're negotiating with the tribals from a position of strength.

But, persons familiar with the tribal areas and the nature of militancy support Pakistan's policy of negotiations to curb terrorism. Daniel Markey, Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the US Council on Foreign Relations is one of the supporters of talks. He writes: ¹³ "Despite appearances, Islamabad is not stabbing Washington in the back, acting irrationally, or being willfully ignorant to the threat posed by militants. Although Washington has reason to be wary of any truce blessed by Pakistani politicians and Islamist militants, there are valid reasons why Washington should support the deal ma-

king – at least for now. First, although the specific conditions of the latest deal are not yet public, the Pakistani government appears to have learned something from its mistakes. In the past, Islamabad failed, for instance, to recognize that a deal must be made with tribal leaders, and instead blundered in signing arrangements directly with militant organizations. This time, rather than negotiating with militants directly, tribal elders have been the primary interlocutors. Moreover, the Pakistani government now understands it must negotiate from a position of strength. This deal comes at the end of a lengthy army-enforced blockade of the Mehsud territories....By demonstrating the punitive capacity of the state, government negotiators probably strengthened their position vis-à-vis the tribes.... A number of recent US-supported initiatives to train and equip units of the Frontier Corps as well as to establish border coordinating centres along the Pakistani-Afghan frontier would benefit from even a few months of relative calm. Finally, the cease-fire could offer a range of new development projects the chance to get started in parts of the country that have been plagued by violence."

One wonders that when America supports or endorses talks or is ready to talk with militants elsewhere, including with Maoists or communists in Nepal then why are they so vehemently opposed to negotiations with the Muslim militants in FATA. The case for talks with the militants in FATA is further strengthened by the findings¹⁴ of the Hague-based European Police Office maintaining that Europe has a marginal threat of Islamist terrorism as compared to other forms of terrorism. Presented to the European Parliament in Brussels, on 7th April, 2008, under the title "European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report" (TE-SAT 2008).

The report pointed out explicitly that the people involved in four Islamist terrorism acts in EU states had received training in FATA. The report, however, did not mention when those people did receive the training. Probably, they could be the remnants of the Afghan Jihad, who were trained by US-led coalition!

Logically, it ought to be the choice of a country to decide how best to fight the terror threatening her. However, if a country is asked to blindly follow the policies chalked out by others, then it would invariably be conceived by the people of that country to be a foreign war. Already,

¹¹ Haider, Alizeh, *America, Pakistan and their very own Frankenstein*, *The News*, 25th May, 2008

¹² Yousafzai, Sami & Moreau, Ron, *A Jihad Between Neighbours*, *Newsweek* (Reproduced by *National Herald Tribune*, Islamabad, 26th May, 2008)

¹³ Markey, Daniel, *Pakistan's 'New' Deal*, *The News*, June 3, 2008

¹⁴ Jaspal, Zafar Nawaz, *Terrorism in Europe & FATA*, *Weekly Pulse*, Islamabad, May 23-29, 2008



most people in Pakistan perceive¹⁵ the 'war on terror' as an American war, with little connection to the life of ordinary citizens.

An overwhelming majority of Pakistanis, including those living in FATA, lend their support to efforts aimed at curbing terrorism from the region. However, it goes without saying that political dialogue and outreach needs to be integrated with other efforts, security measure as well as economic and development programmes. One believes that a recent measure might greatly help in curbing terrorism. The new measure relates to a decision by the governments of Pakistan, Afghanistan and the USA to set up six military communication and coordination centres along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border to rid the region of the scourge of terrorism and, in particular, to combat the Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters. The first of these centres is already functional. To cost around \$3.00 million per centre, each military centre would be staffed by about 20 personnel from the three countries. These military communication and coordination centres are meant to let the Afghan and Pakistani officials use US intelligence gathering resources. The officers can watch live video feeds from US spy planes in the centres, giving them real time information that can be relayed back to the ground forces on both sides of the Durand Line. Three¹⁶ of the coordination centres are to be built in Afghanistan and three in Pakistan. The macro view is to disrupt insurgents from going back and forth, according to US military sources. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan also need to explore other options to tackle this problem in a way that is acceptable to their two countries and the world at large.

However, the success of the new strategy would largely depend upon its execution, which demands careful planning and execution. For planning, there is a need to associate historians, psychologists, seasoned political agents/administrators, communication strategists, who are well conversant with the history of the region, the norms/traits of various tribes inhabiting there, to recommend logical steps necessary for enlisting the support of tribesmen and then with their support capturing/eliminating those terrorists who refuse to surrender or lay down arms.

If the tribesmen themselves identified schemes for their areas and executed these, in collaboration with the local authorities, with the money provided by the state to each tribe through a fair and transparent system, it would keep them engaged in positive pursuits and also give them a sense of ownership of the projects that they complete. This could become the beginning of a race for development amongst the tribesmen.

There is also need to devise a strategy for dealing with militants, who surrender, lay down arms, repent and want to return to normal life. A better course would be to channelise their energies for social uplift and development, as was done by the Philippines when some former communist guerilla commanders surrendered in mid-1980s and wanted to devote their time/energy for ameliorating the lot of their countrymen. Manila provided them 'seed money' to start village cooperatives and thus contribute to the well-being and prosperity of the rural folks.

Before concluding, permit me to reiterate that a just world order is the best solution to defeat terrorism. It is the responsibility of all states to see that the legitimate rights long denied to people are granted to them. Eradicating the main causes for anger of the aggrieved communities is bound to promote global peace and stability.

¹⁵ Hayat, Kamila, *Fortune Terror, The News on Sunday, 1st June, 2008*

¹⁶ *Daily Times, Lahore, March 30, 2008*



FIGHTING TERRORISM - PAKISTANI'S PERSPECTIVE

By: Ms Humera Iqbal

Introduction

Today, terrorism is globally recognized as a menace spreading violence and hostility in states and societies. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon but post - 9/11 its threats and impacts globally to each and every society had gone beyond alarm. West defines post – 9/11 terrorism or terrorist activities different from the violence that traditionally has been seen in various states. They define it primarily as a violence pursued by networks like Al-Qaeda which essentially does not have a regional or national agenda.

Regional states of South Asia have experiences of global terrorism as well as regional and local terrorism. However, today global terrorism is evident along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Terrorism for Pakistan is a harsh reality since 1973. However, the attention this matter has received at this point in time is due to post-9/11 global developments.

This paper aims to look at the problems of terrorism, its impacts on Pakistan and the measures taken by the Government of Pakistan in combating such threats.

Pakistan's introduction to Terrorism

The series of bloody coups, counter-coups, executions, eliminations and accompanying instability right at the door of Pakistan in Afghanistan since 1973 laid the foundations of International terrorism within Pakistan. Due to the strong historical, cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic ties with Afghanistan the destabilizing spillover came to the North West regions of Pakistan. This even contributed in fostering sectarian and communal disturbances in the country. The overall consequences of all these developments resulted in unprecedented involvement of a number of international actors and their respective proxies engaged in highly destabilizing activities in the entire region around Pakistan. The years of partnership in a war against the Soviet Union brought large number of mujahideen turned militants from other Muslim countries together and most of them used the tribal

areas / western border areas of Pakistan for further movement into Afghanistan.

Militants – Main Concern

Post-9/11 developments have shown an increase in violence due to a rise in the religious violent behavior and its negative implications for Pakistan and its people everywhere. The main concerns in Pakistan are the linkages between local networks / groups and Al-Qaeda; and their violent struggle for imposing a peculiar politico-religious ideological system on the rest of the society. The impacts of religious ideology as a source of violence have made the society very complex. There are a number of local militant groups in Afghanistan who have links within Pakistan. Pakistan is paying a very high price in terms of its national cohesion while crushing out this handiwork of multifaceted international terrorism.

In the light of the above disturbing national experience, Pakistan joined the International Coalition to combat global terrorism because it was in its own national interest. President Musharraf said that,

"Terrorism threatens the whole world and everyone directly or indirectly gets affected. Therefore, we owe it to the whole world and more so to our future generations to combat terrorism and to suppress it".

Domestic Response to Terrorism

Terrorism has made strong impacts on the thinking of states and civil societies of the world. In case of Pakistan there are mixed reactions by the government and the people due to awareness of terrorist threats. On terrorism and fighting this menace people accept the threats of terrorism and violence and realize the fact that it is damaging to the peace and security of the individual, states and the region. However, they differ with the kind of terrorism counter measures carried out by the US.

Pakistan's concern over Cross Border threats

Geographically, the long stretch of Pak-Afghan border i.e. 2,560 km is mostly un-demarcated and highly porous. There are about 362 illegal or irregular crossing points along Pak-Afghan border. It becomes very difficult to monitor the exact number of people crossing from



these routes. Mainly the movement takes place at Torkham and Chaman. The vast majority of Afghan travelers who cross border do not possess identity documents, passports or visa etc. During the past three decades there is a frequent movement of people almost 200,000 on daily basis, belonging to various tribes, living on either side of the border, and it is very complex to handle.

Steps taken by the Government of Pakistan

The Government of Pakistan has realized that to deal with the situation merely at the administrative level will not produce lasting results. While there is no looking back in fight against terrorism there were certain areas where Pakistan took initiatives unilaterally as well as with the international community in fighting terrorism both in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan believes that its stability depends on the stability and security of Afghanistan. In order to support Afghanistan in its efforts to bring stability, Pakistan has taken lots of steps. These are:

a. Deployment of Troops

Pakistan has deployed 80,000 military/ paramilitary troops along the Pak-Afghan border and has established around 1,000 posts, to monitor 362 frequented or unfrequented routes.

b. Monitoring Border with Equipments

Use of Aviation assets and electronic surveillance equipment are being put in place to monitor / check border crossing.

c. Installation of Biometric Border Crossing Control System (BBCCS) at Entry / Exit Points

Recently, Pakistan has installed BBCCS at Chaman crossing point and through other designated points to regulate cross border movement of people. However, the system worked only for three days due to inexperience and non cooperation by the Afghan authorities, who have been trying to make it meaningless by sponsoring a protest campaign by Afghan populace against this system. Each day, around 38,000 people pass the 960 border posts along the 2,560 km long border with Afghanistan back and forth. This way the Pakistani gov-

ernment wants to manage and control its border crossing traffic to combat acts of terrorism.

d. Selective Mining and Fencing in Own Territory

Pakistan has unilaterally decided to mine and fence unfrequented routes on its own side of the border. So far Pakistan has just fenced a little area of 35 km. However, Pakistan is also considering use of other border control measures offered by the friendly countries.

e. Registration of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Due to the Soviet invasion and then Taliban's strict regime, millions of innocent Afghans crossed the border into Pakistan and later on nearly 3,000,000 sought refuge following the US led bombings in 2001. This huge influx of Afghan refugees and transit trade got entwined with smuggling and Afghan jihad. About 2.7 million Afghans are still in Pakistan which has become a home to the world's largest refugee population for more than two decades. The US led war in Afghanistan has added to the complexities of cross border movement as it has become difficult to differentiate between real refugees, militants, smugglers and drug traffickers. With the mutual consent of the three parties i.e. Pakistan, Afghanistan and UNHCR, a process of registration of Afghan refugees has started from 1st October, 2006. The progress in this regard has made some headways. The registration of approximately 2.1 million refugees has been completed. Pakistan has also introduced Machine Readable Passports so that Pakistani passport could not be misused by extremist and unwanted elements. The Afghan refugees holding proof of residence cards (issued by NADRA) are required to denounce possession of their cards by the Afghan authorities at the time of coming to / going from Pakistan.

f. Shifting of Refugee Camps

Pakistan understands that Afghan Refugee camps near the border are a possible source of support to Taliban. So, for this reason, with the help of the UN the Government of Pakistan is trying to close such camps and move some other camps to more distant locations.



g. Intelligence Gathering and Operation

Once confirmed signals are received of the presence of Al-Qaeda or Taliban in an area, carefully planned military operations are launched to destroy the site and eliminate or apprehend the terrorists / extremists.

h. Engagement of Tribal Elders to Assure Writ of the State

The Government of Pakistan is trying to engage the tribal elders in order to ensure the writ of the government in various tribal agencies. Previously, during the British times, engagement with the tribal elders has proved to be a factor of stability. Lately the treaty signed with the tribal elders in Waziristan is important as it can promote law and order, development of the tribal areas and help Pakistan extend its writ into the tribal belt. The treaty can be reviewed and rectified if the tribal elders do not ensure its absolute implementation.

Suggestions given by Pakistan to the Government of Afghanistan

The Government of Pakistan believes that it is a joint responsibility of Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Coalition Forces to prevent cross border movement of militants. An adequate planning is required on Afghanistan's part also to match Pakistan's deployment efforts where about 100 border control posts exist along the border with insignificant deployment of troops. In June 2006, Pakistan suggested certain measures to the government of Afghanistan for cross border control. These included:

1. Institutionalization of a system of proper documentation at the crossing points.
2. Installation of computerized database system to record each crossing and sharing of data on required basis.
3. Timely sharing of actionable information.
4. Opening of more authorized routes, having adequate security and immigration staff on both sides.
5. Sealing of Pak-Afghan border in concert with Afghan Army / Border Militia.
6. Fencing of border at selected points.
7. Laying of mines on suspected / illegal crossing places.

However, positive response has been slow from the Afghan Government. This indifferent response has compelled the Government of Pakistan to take certain unilateral steps:

1. Increase the number of check posts.
1. Use of available means and firepower to plug in the suspected infiltration routes.
2. Mining and selective fencing of gaps.
3. Use of aerial platforms to survey border.
4. Proactive use of Frontier Corps / Law Enforcement Agencies.
5. Imposition of night curfew in 3 km belt of Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

Repatriation Policy given by Pakistan

Pakistan is working with the international community towards a common goal - to develop a self-sustaining, stable and democratic Afghanistan. Government of Pakistan also advocated a three pronged Repatriation Policy strategy to address the issue. It included,

- a) International community must support and assist Government of Pakistan in ensuring sustainable repatriation of Afghan refugees – the most preferable option.
- b) To contribute generously towards the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan, in order to bring peace, security and socio-economic development.
- c) Develop refugee impacted areas and host communities that have been adversely affected by the presence of Afghan refugees.

Pakistan fighting Terrorism

It is important to understand present day Afghanistan before starting the blame game. We must know the exact situation and then study the root causes of the whole situation. It is very sad that media does not highlight this scenario.

Pakistan has done the maximum in fighting terrorism. It will continue fighting it till it is successful in combating terrorism significantly. Pakistan has been fighting against terrorists even in its own cities where the government has caught more than seven hundred terrorists, Al-Qaeda members, either eliminated or deported from Pakistan. It also shared information that it got from them with many countries. Some of the notable Al-Qaeda figures captured or killed in Pakistan are:



- A Saudi-born Palestinian, Abu Zubaydah captured in March 2002.
- A Yemeni, Ramzi bin al-Shibh captured in September 2002.
- Khalid Sheikh Mohammad captured in March 2003.
- A Saudi-born, Mustafa al-Hawsawi captured in March 2003.
- A Yemeni, Walid bin Attash captured in April 2003.
- Masrab Arochi captured in June 2004.
- A Tanzanian, Ahmed Khalfan Ghailani captured in July 2004.
- A Pakistani, Muhammad Naeem Noor Khan captured in July 2004.
- A Pakistani, Amjad Farooqi killed in September 2004.
- A Libyan, Abu Faraj al-Libbi captured in May 2005.
- A Yemeni, Haithem al-Yemeni captured in May 2005.

That is a big contribution of Pakistan in helping the US and the countries from Europe to address terrorism and extremism issue. Pakistan has also attacked terrorists in its mountains. It was very complicated and tricky to get there where neither the soldiers nor the Britisher's went during the centuries of their colonial period. The whole of the Pakistani Army entered in all the seven Tribal Agencies to launch an operation. It captured and seized all the valleys in South Waziristan Agency where the terrorists had established sanctuaries. These sanctuaries were their command bases, logistic bases, propaganda bases and their communication bases. Hence, it is due to Pakistan's efforts that the Al-Qaeda's support has weakened.

Fight against Religious Violence

Pakistan being an Islamic country has a religious population but not an extremist population. People in Pakistan are moderate and support their government in curbing such kind of tendencies. They believe in curbing all those organizations and individuals who provoke militancy and extremism in society. Though, it is not easy to deal with this in a few months or a year rather it will take many years as it will be a long drawn process and for this people have to unite. There are six areas that Pakistan have identified and addressed. These are:

1. Banned Organization

These are all extremist organizations that should be stopped from re-emerging under new names, also they must not be allowed to collect money.

2. Confiscation of Written Material

About 22 magazines, pamphlets and handbills were found which were being distributed to create hatred and militancy, and urging people for fighting jihad. Therefore, the government of Pakistan banned the publication of these materials, it acted against the printers, publishers and their distributors. This was done to stop the militancy campaign and promote harmonious environment.

3. Prevent the misuse of Mosques

An immediate step has been taken against Mosques that were being misused by the clerics and ritualists to spread radicalism and hatred. Strict action has been taken against these people.

4. Revision of Educational Curriculum

The government of Pakistan has taken measures to revise the educational curriculum and syllabus. But, this is a long-term strategy.

5. Madrassah System

The word, "Madrassah", has become much maligned all over the world. There are positive and negative aspects of it. On the positive side, it acts like an institution which gives free education and shelter to the poor. But the negative part is that some of these madrassahs are used as a platform for spawning militancy and indoctrinating the minds of the young. Some of these madrassahs in the tribal areas are also harboring terrorists. Another concern is that only religious teachings are given here and other subjects are not taught. Therefore, the government of Pakistan is addressing this issue through mainstreaming the students, teaching them various other subjects and taking board examinations. This will improve the educational standard. There are five Wafaqs of these Madrassah. All of them are on board to teach subjects which we are demanding. Furthermore, to take examinations of our boards so that the children can be mainstreamed into life and not just become clerics.

6. Real values of Islam

The government of Pakistan has realized that while there is no looking back on fighting terrorism it is not enough to deal with the situation at merely the administrative level to get lasting results. So, most importantly for combating terrorism effectively, the socio-political distortion created by the misinterpretations of Islam by vested interests both – home-grown and those with foreign roots – required to be



rectified through a comprehensive strategy. Therefore, a national discourse is to be opened within Pakistan, an organization to carry out this national discourse on the real values of Islam. These basic values include tolerance not hatred, brotherhood not enmity, peace not violence, and progress not chauvinism. Still there are concerns because little progress has been made in the last few years. There is a need on part of Kabul's allies, particularly the U.S. and NATO, which is now responsible for security in the bordering areas, to apply greater pressure on Afghan Government to clamp down on the pro-Taliban militants. The military operations Pakistan has launched since 2004 in South and North Waziristan Agencies to deny al-Qaeda and the Taliban safe haven and curb cross-border militancy have failed, largely due to an approach alternating between excessive force and appeasement. In Pakistan the government reached accords with pro-Taliban militants in April 2004 in South Waziristan and on September 05, 2006 in North Waziristan. These were brokered by the pro-Taliban Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-F), the largest component of the Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA), the six-party religious alliance in Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) and Musharraf's coalition partners in the Balochistan provincial government. When force has resulted in major military losses, the government has amnestied pro-Taliban militants in return for verbal commitments to end attacks on Pakistani security forces and empty pledges to cease cross-border militancy and curb foreign terrorists. It needs:

1. Comprehensive Planning for Root Causes
2. Economic Development and Dialogue

Since the outbreak of the Afghan civil war, there has been enormous growth in drugs and weapons trafficking. Militancy and extremism in tribal agencies cannot be tackled without firm action against unlawfulness. But for this, economic grievances must be addressed and the law of the land extended over and enforced in FATA. The world has to understand the real issue behind terrorism. "It is not related to any religion, culture or areas. It is related to poverty, suffering, a sense of deprivation and injustice in the world." The UN Secretary General's Report made an important observation about the terrorists / extremist's recruitment details by pointing out that these recruits are Afghans recruited from within Afghanistan. The report maintains that they are recruited, driven by poverty, poor education and general dissatis-

faction with their place in society. Thus, if rightfully motivated through incentives, these individuals could disengage from the Taliban. The emphasis of the coalition forces / NATO is on the military operations, where dialogues and development have been totally ignored. The nexus between narcotics production and terrorism is very dangerous and should be tackled by the world community with joint efforts.

Awareness among People

Another important step which is needed to be launched, with the help of domestic Islamic organizations, a public awareness campaign to dissuade expatriate Muslims from funding jihadi madrasahs and to dispel misperceptions that Islamic education per se is a target of the anti-terror financing laws.

Conclusion:

Pakistan has paid a high price for not confronting the terrorists in the past. They brought their battles to Pakistan, while holding out the promise of helping in Pakistan's conflict with India. Hence, there are lessons to be learnt from this. It is very important that the international community includes Kabul in all matters of Afghanistan politics, dialogues, development, reconstruction and train Afghans in various fields. Instead of the blame game coordinated efforts are needed with the neighbors for framing a comprehensive plan by all in bringing peace and security to Afghanistan and the region. The use of military means should be minimal except against diehard extremists / terrorists else the focus must be on development and reconstruction side. The problems and solutions lies in Afghanistan. Pakistan has been trying hard to convince the International Community that they need to understand this part of the society and its cultural values. Like Afghans believe that carrying arms is not just a necessity but also a matter of honor and the international community thinks that weapons free society will lead to security thus, undermining the very way of life of the Afghan citizens. Like Pakistan, they must also ensure their total commitment to Afghanistan until it regains stability and governance by the Afghans themselves.

Richard Boucher, the US assistant secretary of state for South and Central Asia, told reporters in the Afghan capital that, "*Pakistan wants to create a modern society*



that is free of extremism and terrorism that has beset Pakistan and some of its neighbors. Also that Pakistan does not want to see Al-Qaeda, Taliban operating in Pakistan and they are taking a series of steps to try to control those areas better and we are supporting that".



WRAP UP

By: Mr Ross Massud Husein

It is now time to wrap up the proceedings of this Afg-Pak Dialogue Forum 2008 on, "Terrorism as a challenge to nation-building, bilateral approach for solutions".

Five papers have been presented by five learned scholars, one by a guest speaker from Germany relating the German Past and current experience of the terrorist phenomenon, and two distinguished speakers each from Afghanistan and Pakistan on the issues of defining terrorism and fighting terrorism. This one day meeting on the issues of terrorism constitutes a very encouraging start to this Afg-Pak Dialogue series which would go a long way in removing the misunderstandings and misconceptions that continue to plague the Afghanistan Pakistan relationship. The credit for this goes to Dr. Babak Khalatbari, Resident Representative, KAS, Islamabad, for organizing and collecting at such a short notice a galaxy of scholars from Afghanistan and Pakistan to participate in the Forum. I would like to place our appreciation on record.

Violence or threat of the use of violence to intimidate a people or a government in order to make them do or abstain from doing something has been used by individuals, groups, and even states since antiquity- Chingez Khan, the Bolsheviks in Russia, Prime Minister Begin of Israel, Yasser Arafat of the PLO, HO Chi Minh in Vietnam are just a few prime examples. The violence resorted to by them has been loosely lumped under the term, "Terrorism".

However from the legal point of view (and legal terminology has to be precise), it is difficult to define terrorism in a manner that is comprehensive in scope and universal in acceptance. The reason is that the criteria employed to brand some violent activity as terrorism has historically been subjective in nature and often based on political considerations. A terrorist act is as much an outcome of political opinion and experience as of religious and cultural outlook. It takes different forms but is generally equated with political subversion. Indeed, it could be motivated by ideological and even criminal purposes.

Lately the UN Ad Hoc Committee against terrorism (established vide UN General Assembly Resolution 51/210 of December 17, 1996) has been elaborating a Draft Convention on International terrorism. The "Scope" provisions of this Draft Convention could not be finalized

due mainly to differences of perception on the question of whether violent actions against alien or foreign occupation or hegemony constituted the crime of terrorism or was a freedom struggle for liberation. In our own region, the freedom fighters of yesterday who waged an armed struggle against foreign occupation are seen by their very sponsors/trainers/equippers/financiers as the terrorists of today.

In this context two schools of thought are currently prevalent:

The UN General Assembly has emphasized the importance of dealing with the causes of international terrorism, and has especially underlined the need to eliminate situations of hegemonic domination and alien occupation which are universally considered as being conducive to the growth of this menace. In recent years, however, especially after 9/11, the emphasis has shifted to the suppression of terrorist activity by force rather than eliminating its root causes. A holistic approach to the problem is the crying need of the hour, and such an approach would entail a compromise between the two.

What then are the root causes of terrorism? I list them:

- a) Lack of democracy, civil liberties and the rule of law;
- b) Failed and failing or weak states lacking the capacity to exercise territorial control;
- c) Rapid modernization and globalization with high economic growth, and the resultant widening of the gap between the haves and have-nots;
- d) Extremist ideologies of a secular, religious, political, sectarian nature;
- e) Historical antecedents of political violence, political polarization, civil wars, revolutions, military take-overs, dictatorships and the like which impede the development of non-violent norms among all segments of society;
- f) Hegemonism and inequality of power in the new world order;
- g) Illegitimate and /or corrupt governments with external actors supporting them;



- h) Repression and suppression by foreign occupation forces;
- i) Discrimination on the basis of ethnic or religious origins (ethno-nationalist terrorism);
- j) Social injustice generating social revolutionary terrorism;
- k) State failure to integrate dissident groups or the emerging social classes;
- l) Charismatic, ideologically- motivated leaders capable of transforming widespread grievances and frustrations into political agenda for violent struggle;

The list is open ended.

Fighting terrorism entails tackling these root causes in a manner that eliminates or, at least, reduces these basic motivations to terrorist activity. I would like to conclude by endorsing fully the opinion expressed by our guest speaker from Germany, Mr. Tophoven, namely:

“There is no single strategy or a single common model for fighting terrorism. Terrorist motivations vary from group to group and from country to country. These motivations and the socio-psychological basis underlying them need to be studied and critically analyzed before a strategy can be devised to successfully combat the menace of terrorism”.