Militancy in Pakistan: Rebottling the Genie

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**Militancy in Pakistan:
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Militancy in Pakistan:
Rebottling the Genie

Although born in 1947 with the hope of a peaceful future, Pakistan has long

struggled to reach that goal. A number of problems from the outset, including the initial

distribution of assets between Pakistan and India, the biggest migration in human

history, and the unresolved issue of Kashmir, were all contributing factors. These

enormous challenges were exacerbated by various leaders' imprudent handling of

national issues that took the country away from the right track and fueled centrifugal

tendencies among various ethnic, tribal and socio-economic groups in Pakistan.

Pakistan is very different today from what was envisioned by its founding father,

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.[1] A culture of ruling with absolute power, but

without accountability,[2] has divided the society on ethnic, religious and sectarian lines

and poses a threat to the state. "The weak judicial system and the deterioration of law

and order are only the result of the state's failure to fulfill its responsibilities."[3]

The dispute over Kashmir first gave rise to the problem of militancy. However,

the true explosion of militancy was the result of the encouragement of jihad to fight the

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s. This jihad occurred at the behest of the

West to counter Soviet influence in the region and to ultimately force the Soviets to

abandon Afghanistan. After the Soviet withdrawal, poor governance, deprivation, and

injustice all contributed to the problem of militancy in Pakistan. When the attacks of

9/11 prompted the U.S. to invade Afghanistan with Pakistan's support, the problem

grew exponentially. The war came to Pakistan, which was unprepared to deal with the

situation.[4] Hundreds of foreign militants entered in the country to establish their

operational bases.[5] However, this was not just Pakistan's problem. "Pakistan's nuclear

status and the presence of international terrorist organizations, such as al Qaeda, Pakistan's counterinsurgency campaign significantly affects the security of countries across North America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East - including the United States."[6]

This paper argues that Pakistan can overcome this problem through a comprehensive approach by redefining its policy for dealing with militancy in Pakistan. The paper by first defining militancy and clarifying how the paper uses the term. It then examines the causes of militancy in Pakistan, ranging from internal to external factors and how militancy has affected the state at home and abroad. Based upon the paper's analysis, it then recommends ways Pakistan can address these factors to allow it to put the genie of militancy back in the bottle. These recommendations include the resolution of the Kashmir issue, the improvement of Pakistan's governance, and the provision of international support. The country can then refocus on the peaceful future envisioned by its founders.

What is Militancy?

As Kiran Firdous states, one must "understand the concept of militancy in its current form"[7] before proceeding further. Webster's New World Dictionary defines militancy as a derivative of militant, which means combative or aggressive person.[8] Firdous, a renowned writer from Pakistan, argues while defining "militant" that it is synonymous with "terrorist".[9] Mariam Mufti writes that militant or militancy means the use of violence to achieve "some end or to express hatred or contempt for some group of people."[10] Dr. Jatin Kumar Mohanty, while quoting George Houghton's definition of "militancy," writes

It springs from one's values, is expressed as an attitude, and results in certain behavior. One's values are those things in which one strongly believes. They are what one believes to be fundamentally important and true. From this comes an attitude which is unwilling to tolerate any divergence from these fundamentally important truths and which seeks to defend them. It results in behavior which speaks when these truths are attacked or diluted and which refuses to cooperate with any activity which would minimize their importance.[11]

For the purposes of this paper, militancy is defined as an aggressive and hostile action or an armed struggle by an individual or a group to enforce their will upon others, irrespective of the latter's acceptance. Militants believe in violence to defend what they believe to be true or their right. The struggle may be against a group, community, occupation forces, or the established authority of the state who they believe are against their self-proclaimed ideology.

<center>Causes of Militancy in Pakistan</center>

How did Pakistan reach its current stage of militancy? There are generally two points of view. One holds that the Kashmir issue, followed by the Afghan war, cultivated the militancy, while the other blames poor governance and social factors as a major cause. Therefore, most of the material available on the subject supports one of these two explanations. This paper argues that both of these factors have contributed to the promotion and sustainment of militancy in Pakistan. "A close look at the phenomenon of militancy in Pakistan reveals that militancy is not something new for this State."[12]

The unresolved issue of Kashmir at the time of partition gave birth to the armed struggle to liberate Kashmir. It was entirely an effort by the people of Kashmir to support their oppressed brothers in Indian-held Kashmir (IHK). The roots of militancy may predate the Afghan war of 1980s, but "the war in Afghanistan played a major role" in fueling the militancy in the state.[13] That war, coupled with poor governance, sectarian

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strife, the tragedy of September 11, an ineffective police and judicial system, poor education, economic deprivation, and external factors, all contributed to militancy in Pakistan.

<u>Kashmir Issue</u>

The disputed issue of Kashmir was a starting point for the armed struggle after the 1948 war ended in a stalemate. Kashmir was divided between India and Pakistan, called Indian-held Kashmir and Azad Kashmir, respectively. "[W]hen India reversed its pledge to the United Nations to allow a plebiscite in which Kashmiris could choose between India and Pakistan."[14] The people of Kashmir on either side of the Line of Control started a peaceful struggle against the oppression. "Abductions, rapes, and killings by the Indian security forces and political meddling" in Kashmir only serve to "create a pool of recruits for terrorist groups."[15] Indian atrocities turned the movement into an armed struggle and "[s]everal indigenous Kashmiri militant groups formed in response."[16] As others have noted, this freedom movement had support from Pakistan, almost all the Muslim countries, and even some of the western countries. Unfortunately, the tragic incident of 9/11 has labeled this freedom struggle as terrorism.[17]

Several prominent militant groups known as Askari Tanzeems[18] support the Kashmir freedom struggle.[19] Unlike Bin Ladden's al Qaeda, these militant groups do not have an international agenda of establishing a global Islamic Caliphate. They simply want the liberation of Kashmir.[20]

In view of the regional situation, and under international pressure during President Musharraf's government, Pakistan banned these groups.[21] Consequently,

these groups also turned against Pakistan and joined hands with al Qaeda to make the country more unstable.

<u>The Afghan Jihad</u>

Militancy gained momentum when the U.S. and the West decided to support the Afghan people in armed resistance to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. "The Afghan 'freedom struggle' (latter renamed as Afghan Jihad) was planned, organized, and launched from Pakistan (benefitting from significant Western support), with FATA acting as the base camp."[22] Some Arab countries provided monetary support and manpower to wage the Jihad.

"A madrassas (seminary) network also popped up quickly to cater to the education and religious needs of approximately three million refugees"[23] in Pakistan. These madrassas espoused the narrow interpretation of Jihad. "The proliferation of jihadist organizations in Pakistan over the previous two decades had been the result of a militant culture espoused by radical madrassas."[24] Consequently, these madrassas became the major breeding ground for the militancy in Pakistan. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, followed by Iran's revolution, totally changed the landscape of the internal security situation and precipitated increased sectarian violence in Pakistan.[25]

General Zia's regime effectively used media, along with the mosques, to promote Jihad. This completely changed the culture of Pakistan. "Until the late 1970s and early 1980s, militancy was an isolated phenomenon and was usually associated with periodic violence."[26] The present generation grew up under the supreme influence of Jihad. Religious parties took advantage of the situation to gain votes and the availability of weapons for the Afghan war gave them an opportunity to establish a militant wing in their parties. In Pakistan, it was the partly unsettled issue of Kashmir and mainly the

Afghan war which cultivated the militancy. Stephen P. Cohen writes in his book, *The Future of Pakistan*, "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 gave a whole different tenor and momentum to the many militant groups that were soon to operate in Pakistan."[27]

Much of the research work undertaken on the causes of militancy in Pakistan has focused on the Kashmir issue and Afghan war. This paper looks into other factors that have promoted the development of the militancy in Pakistan. Their consideration is necessary to form a complete picture.

Poor Governance

The early death of the founder of Pakistan created a crisis. The country was highjacked by incompetent leadership which was soon replaced by a military dictatorship. "Governance is the exercise of power or authority– political, economic, administrative, or otherwise– to manage a country's resources and affairs."[28] Pakistani society, prone to ethno-sectarianism, gave a free playing ground to the militants after the Afghan Jihad. The militants consciously take advantage of the volatile environment. Governance challenges are the major cause of instability in any country.[29] Pakistan is no different.

The state is responsible to provide services and ensure maintenance of public law and order. These services include justice, an efficient police system, social and economic opportunities, and religious harmony. Weak states have no control over their population, which results invariably in an insurgency. Governance in Pakistan was rated "in the bottom 25 percent of the world" by the World Bank.[30]

The support for Islamic laws (*Sharia*) in Pakistan has been a major concern for western countries, as they believe it to be a cause or indicator of militancy. There is

widespread support for *Sharia*[31] in Pakistan, but this does not mean support for militancy. The latest survey carried out by foreign analysts undermines the conventional wisdom that *Sharia* means supporting militancy. The survey reaffirms "Pakistanis associate *Sharia* with the aspects of good governance that citizens in other democracies also want."[32]

Militants found support for Sharia in the society and tried to associate it with their agenda. A detailed survey reveals the truth that "the vast majority of Pakistanis see militant Islamic organizations as a threat."[33] The West and the U.S. need to understand that "support for Islam as a governing principle in Pakistani politics does not predict support for any of the militant groups of concern to Western policymakers."[34] The result of the last election is a case in point. Religious parties having covert support for militant groups lost badly, even in their home constituencies. The victory of mainstream politicians over the religious parties confirmed that religion cannot be used any more as a tool in Pakistan's politics.

Successive governments have introduced reforms to improve governance "but each attempt faced its own issues, including provincial and national politics, entrenched bureaucratic interests, and inadequate resources."[35] The issue of governance became further complicated with the rise of militancy. Poor services, a weak judiciary and an ill-equipped police force failed to take notice of militancy in the society. Strong state institutions can control and contain these groups while weak ones invite exploitation by the militants.[36]

Sectarian Strife

Prior to 9/11, militants groups were organized either on ethnic or sectarian lines or in the form of Askari Tanzeems (Militant Groups) focused on Kashmir.[37] When Iran

supported the Shia sect in Pakistan after the revolution of 1979, the Arab world started

supported the Sunni faction in Pakistan. Sunni and Shia communities[38] established

new madrassas as their training centers. Tehreek-e-Jafriya Pakistan (TJP), a

movement of the Shia sect, was established in 1992 for the "protection of social,

political and religious rights of Shias."[39] In response, one Sunni group, Sipah-i-Sahaba

Pakistan (SSP), a formerly non-militant organization of the Dehobandi School (Sunni

Faction), suddenly gained prominence. Today, it is the "most powerful sectarian militant

organization" in the country.[40]

The country witnessed terrible clashes between the two sects, including the

assassination of prominent leaders and the burning of the mosques of the other's

faction. During President Musharraf's rule TJP and SSP, including their sub-

organizations, were banned.[41] However, they remain the leading cause of militancy in

Pakistan. Most of them "shifted to anti- Pakistan rhetoric and their stated goals now

include undermining the government, the army, and other state organs."[42]

<u>Tragedy of 9/11</u>

The events of 9/11 fundamentally changed politics at both the regional and global

levels. "Pakistan faced the stark option of abandoning the Taliban and supporting the

United States or becoming the target of an American war."[43] The Pakistani

government's decision to support U.S. efforts against terrorism turned these militant

groups against Pakistan. The government support to U.S. military campaigns and

banning of militant organizations resulted in open violence, suicide bombing, and

targeted assassination of military persons and civilians. To support American

counterterrorist operations in Afghanistan and to forestall an incipient insurgency within

Pakistan, the government of Pakistan finally decided to launch military operations in the

Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) in late 2001.[44] There are mixed opinions

about the efficacy of the operations in FATA by the Pakistan Army.[45]

Formulation of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)

Strong government action in banning all militant organizations and successful

operations by the Pakistan army greatly disrupted militant activities. In 2007, around

"27 individual tribal militias"[46] were "united under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud to

form Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) to attack U.S. and NATO [North Atlantic Treaty

Organization] forces in Afghanistan and targets within Pakistan."[47] In the beginning, the

TPP had support only in North and South Waziristan, but subsequently gained

popularity in the entire FATA. Local militant commanders pursued their agenda by

providing social services and establishing security and a system of justice. "Indeed,

local populations were more likely to acquiesce to the Taliban because of the benefits

they conferred and the high cost of confronting or opposing them."[48]

When sectarian and other militant organizations were banned by the Pakistan

government, they also joined TPP for their own survival and protection. Most of the

leaders of these banned organizations found asylum in the FATA. The Pakistan Army

carried out successful operations in Bajaur, Swat, Dir, South Wazirisatn and other

agencies and captured or killed prominent leaders of al Qaeda and the Taliban. To

release the pressure from the FATA, militants changed tactics. With the help of

sectarian groups, they started attacking urban targets. Urban terrorism posed a serious

challenge to the federal/ provincial intelligence agencies, especially to the police

departments.

<u>Ineffective Law Enforcement</u>

The police play a vital role in ensuring the safety of the people of Pakistan. They are critical to maintaining the law and order in their both urban and rural areas. The effectiveness of the Pakistan police is a long-standing problem including the inability to properly investigate and provide sufficient evidence that can be upheld in the court. The police department has been misused by politicians to suppress their opponents and corruption is rampant. These problems erode public confidence, undermine legitimacy of the government and thereby help the militants.

<u>The Influence of Al Qaeda</u>

Al Qaeda and its allies have become the biggest threat to Pakistan as they are involved in training and supporting several militant groups in Pakistan. Al Qaeda is using TTP for its proxy war in Pakistan to exact revenge for Pakistan's support to the war on terror. TTP tactics of attacking mosques, schools and military and civil installations has discredited al Qaeda.[49]

The presence of al Qaeda in the FATA has prompted the West to demand Pakistan do more to combat the threat. "Criticizing Pakistanis for failing to do what they do not have the capacity to do, and threatening to take away the aid they would need to build that capacity does not seem to be a sound approach."[50] The approach should be to support the segment which is against the militancy and has become a hostage in the hands of the mullahs and militants. The majority of Pakistanis do not want Islamic extremists telling them about Islam. Instead, "they want their country to have laws that respect Islam without limiting their democratic freedom."[51]

An Ineffective System of Justice

Failure to provide justice has compelled a large segment of the society to look for alternatives to the government. Militants exploited the existing weak judicial system in FATA to gain support by providing a parallel system based on Islamic law. It was lawlessness and a lack of justice in the society which brought the Taliban to power in Afghanistan. "[T]he way the leader of the Taliban, Mohammad Omar, made the transition from mullah to militant was in response to the ugly tyranny of the local Qandahari warlords."[52] The concept of the law as supreme is generally not respected in Pakistan and power politics play a major role in denying justice. District criminal and civil courts are responsible to provide justice at local level. Militants often go free from poorly prepared cases in the courts.

Education

The regions from which Pakistan sprang had very low educational levels as the British fostered "the spirit of religious discord and controversy."[53] There is still no serious effort at a correction even after more than six decades of independence. The public education sector remains neglected in Pakistan. An average of 2.7 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) devoted to education has kept literacy rates as low as 54.9 percent.[54] Lack of public education facilities in the FATA and rural areas has forced the populace to send their children to madrassas, which offer free education and boarding facilities.

Madrassas were not always as we know them today; they were a great source of education and harmony based on the positive tenets of Islam. The Afghan war turned this great institution into a militant nest. Not all, but most of the madrassas are producing extremists. Pakistan needs an advanced education system to bridge the

sectarian and civilization gap which it cannot afford without the support of the international community.

Economic Factors

At the time of independence, the areas that comprised Pakistan were underdeveloped and lacked infrastructure and industrial capacity. A paucity of natural resources and poor management has ruined many attempts to promote development. Pakistan's economic state is one of great contrasts. Bhutto's extensive nationalization program, the Zia regime's poor economic policies, and extravagent spending by subsequent military and civil governments have combined to all but destroy Pakistan's economic prospects for the future.[55] Poverty and unemployed youth make suitable targets for exploitation. Unequal distribution of resources and the gap between the rich and poor is successfully exploited by the militants. The separation of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) in 1971 made clear the error of believing that a "common religious belief could hold people together in the face of injustice and oppression."[56]

The Indian factor

Tensions with India divert Pakistan's attention and resources from fighting militancy. Indian efforts of blaming Pakistan for any act of terrorism inside India are counterproductive. The strategy of threats and punitive action has forced Pakistan to emplace necessary safeguards on its eastern border. The Indian attitude of mistrust is limiting Pakistan's abilities to handle militancy effectively.

Implications of Militancy

Militancy has not only weakened the state internally, but has isolated us internationally. "Religious extremism and militancy are the most formidable internal threats to political stability, social harmony, and socio-cultural pluralism."[57] Pakistan's

image has been tarnished as Pakistan and militancy have become synonymous. The challenging internal security situation and increased violence have resulted in "poor governance on the part of federal and provincial governments, which are finding it difficult to effectively address the socioeconomic problems."[58]

Apart from Kashmir issue and Afghan war, it is the poor governance and social factors which have contributed most in encouraging militancy. There is no denying how badly militancy itself has impacted the state organs. "Social, cultural, and religious intolerance and violence have caused irreparable damage to Pakistan social fabric."[59]

Despite a 17.75 percent reduction from the previous year, terrorism produced a bloody blowback at home. "At least 6,142 persons, including of 2,797 militants, 2,580 civilians and 765 Security Forces (SFs) personnel [were] killed in 2011."[60] Indeed, "[t]argeted killings still continue in most parts of the country and major reasons behind these are sectarian, demographic changes, easy access to illicit weapons, mistrust among ethnic groups, family enmities and business rivalries."[61]

Sectarian divisions, whether by sect or ethnic group, weaken the concept of nation state and citizenship. Militancy has overpowered universal values such as individual freedom, political openness, human rights, and respect for religious and cultural diversity. Lack of infrastructure, inadequate teaching staff, and administrative issues in Pakistan's schools have caused a virtual replacement of the public schooling system with madrassas. Militants are destroying the schools and kidnapping teachers in the FATA to create space for madrassas. These madrassas are sponsored by Iran and Arab countries to promote their respective sects in Pakistan.[62]

Uncertain environments have restrained foreign and local investors from any purposeful venture. Suicide attacks, burning of markets and strikes have closed business opportunities. "A rising economic crisis is adding to the political instability in the country, with GDP growth stagnating at 2.4 per cent in fiscal year 2010-11, barely offsetting population growth, as compared to 3.8 percent in the preceding year."[63] Business opportunities have been further reduced by criminal and drug mafias. Robberies and kidnapping for ransom have become a common practice to finance terrorist organizations.

The wave of militancy that has hit Pakistan like a tsunami is taking a heavy toll on Pakistan's meager resources. The government is spending beyond its resources. If the situation is not reversed, soon Pakistan will collapse economically. Under these adverse circumstances, the chances of war between India and Pakistan have heightened the tension. An economically weak Pakistan would be a tempting target for others. Additionally, militancy has caused Pakistan to concentrate its forces on the Western border to deal with the militants, thereby making its Eastern border more vulnerable. Any repeat of a Mumbai-like terrorist incident will not merely end the Indo-Pak peace process, but may trigger a war between the two nuclear rivals. [64] The war will further destabilize the region and will also challenge international community efforts to fight the international terrorism. And should such a conflict spiral out of control for any reason and go nuclear, the consequences are too terrible to imagine.

Policy Recommendations

In order to end militancy in Pakistan a number of actions must occur. Some will have to be undertaken by Pakistan domestically. Others will require the assistance of

the international community. To this end, the following policy recommendations are put

forth.

Policy Recommendations for the Government of Pakistan

Improve Good Governance

The government of Pakistan should improve governance and invest in human

resources and social development and adopt a people centric approach for dealing the

militancy. Pakistan has to take measures that engage a vast majority of its people in

supporting democracy and the rule of law. In short, Pakistan's leaders need to promote

measures that legitimize the state and directly and positively affect the lives of ordinary

Pakistanis. Support for Islamic law or *Sharia* does not mean support for militancy.

Education, provision of justice and economic opportunities can greatly help in fighting

militancy. Good governance is vital to defeat the militancy. State institutions have to be

strong enough to develop short and long term policies that address the root causes of

the prevailing militancy. One such step has recently been taken by the present

government. The cabinet has approved the National Counter-Terrorism Authority bill,

which suggests changes to counter the growing militancy. Pakistan requires a strong

rule of law foundation based upon an impartial and effective legal system. The West

and U.S should support and empower moderates and true democrats to marginalize

hardliners who believe in the policy of violence and extremism.

Improve the Transition Process from Military to Civilian Control

The Pakistan Army should expedite the transition process to effective civilian

control of the military. It must hand over the stabilized sector to the civil administration

and clear remaining pockets of resistance. Capacity building for law enforcement

agencies and especially the police is essential in checking the growing militancy. These

measures also contribute to promoting legitimacy as do measures to instill good governance.

Target all Militant Groups Equally

Finally, military operations should be against all militant groups, without differentiation between "good" and "bad" Taliban or militants. These operations must be conducted in urban and rural areas simultaneously ensuring minimum collateral damage. By targeting all militant groups equally, Pakistan will send a message to all that rule of law is the standard for political discourse in Pakistan rather than "might makes right." This, in turn, will help prevent the groups from playing off one another for support of the government and lead them all to the negotiating table with the government to lay down their arms and engage in the political process peacefully.

Develop Measures to Secure the Civilian Population

Pakistan needs to adopt a population-centric approach to counter violence and extremism on its soil. The general public must be taken on board through their local leaders before launching an operation. The policy of forcing local inhabitants out of the area has backfired. It has generated more support for the militants, as attempts to rehabilitate them often failed. Sectarian issues must be resolved as a priority to end the support for militant groups. In their work, Jones and Fair quote John Nagl's argument, "Population security is the first requirement of success in counterinsurgency."[65]

Strengthen the Competency and Independence of Pakistan's Judicial System

The functioning and performance of the judiciary has remained a major concern due to its inept practices. Powerful individuals are above the law and can commit crimes and go unpunished, while leaving the aggrieved parties to resort to violence.

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The state is responsible for the restoration of law and order through its ability to provide justice. An independent judiciary is a prerequisite for the provision of justice.

Improve Public Education in Pakistan

Another neglected field is education, which needs revolutionary changes. The syllabi and text books should be revised and replaced with more moderate and tolerance-based literature. The sectarian and ethnic diversity gap should be bridged through a Pakistan-centric approach. Pakistan must view strong, effective public education as a necessity not only for economic growth but as a measure of domestic legitimacy and national security. That means that this effort must be resourced as a national priority.

Mount a Public Relations Campaign to Discredit the Militants

On the home front, al Qaeda and TTP have lost their credibility by attacking civilian targets. The TTP is a disparate group of tribal militias and suffers from internal disharmony and power struggles. Some of the TTP's leaders have serious reservations about al Qaeda and its role in Pakistan, as both the groups have different ideologies and objectives. These vulnerabilities must form part of the counterterrorism strategy and a nationwide campaign must be mounted to discredit the militants.

Support Governance by Local Officials in FATA

The army, along with civil administration, should work out the local security concerns and development priorities with the local leaders. Swat, Malakand and South Waziristan have been cleared, while Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram and Bijaur have been stabilized. The civil administration must take over the control of these areas, relieving the army for operations in the North Waziristan. However, it is important to ensure that areas once cleared by the army do not fall again to the militants. The history of Swat

should not be repeated. There, the army had to go in again due to the failure of civil administration. Sufficient presence may be kept in troublesome areas to maintain stability.

Strengthen Local and Federal Law Enforcement Agencies

Law enforcement agencies, especially police departments, must be trained and organized on modern lines. The investigation and the preparation of evidence should be carefully completed to allow convicting the criminals. The training must include the basic characteristics like initiative, investigation skills, collection of intelligence, and an ability to understand and handle the evolving threat.

Introduce New Customer-Friendly Banking Laws

To improve the social and development sectors and thereby gain public support of good governance, the government must introduce new customer-friendly banking laws. However, overseas transitions should be monitored to ensure no foreign country is supporting any sectarian group. Unusual and extraordinary transactions should be carefully monitored to keep a check on the hardliners.

Offer Amnesty to Militants who Disavow Militancy

Pakistan has taken a bold step of banning all militant organizations, irrespective of their motives or linkages. Pakistan must take forceful action against all the groups without any reservation. There is no question of "good" and "bad" Taliban. It is the question of Pakistan's survival as a viable state. There should be an amnesty for those who surrender and join in positive political activity.

Policy Recommendations for the International Community

Pakistan is not solely responsible for the militancy that threatens its stability and sovereignty and it cannot solve the problem alone. While there are certainly measures

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that Pakistan must take herself, she will also need to the help of her friends in the international community. The following recommendations are offered to that effect.

Take Serious Measures to Finally Resolve of the Kashmir Dispute

The disputed issue of Kashmir is often referred to as a tipping point for the militancy in Pakistan. It is a simmering problem and needs to be resolved as a priority. Kashmir is so close to the hearts and mind of the Pakistanis that any effort to freeze the issue will cause resentment and frustration. As illustrated earlier, "Kashmiri Groups" had no international agenda or a dream of establishing an Islamic Caliphate. Their focus was to liberate Kashmir in accordance to the United Nations' resolution of 1949.

Under the international pressure and Indian blame game, Pakistan banned Kashmir sympatric groups. Consequently, these groups not only turned against Pakistan, but have further strengthened TTP and al Qaeda. Resolution of the Kashmir issue will bring peace in the region and will help in fighting international terrorism. This settlement should occur in the form of compliance with the 1949 United Nations' resolution.

Support Pakistan's Efforts to Restore Confidence in its Public Schools

Restoring the quality of, and confidence of the Pakistani people in, Pakistan's public schools is essential as a foundation for democracy and the rule of law. The international community should make support of this effort a priority and provide the necessary, substantial resources to ensure its success. This measure more than any other will underwrite the essential elements of democracy in Pakistan.

Take Measures to Reduce Tensions between Pakistan and India

The Pakistan war against militancy is important for international peace and stability due to Pakistan's geographic location and its status as a nuclear power. As a

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corollary, the international community's moral and material support is vital for Pakistan to fight militancy. Paradoxically, India started developing a cold war doctrine[66] to coerce Pakistan on the settlement of the Kashmir issue. The new doctrine forced Pakistan to review its deployment along the Indian border at the cost of counterinsurgency operations. India often blames Pakistan for fighting a proxy war. If India wants Pakistan to fight militancy effectively, it must reduce Pakistan's external security concerns. This will give an opening to Pakistan to concentrate on counter terrorism. The U.S. and West must play a role in resolving Indo-Pak disputes and developing bilateral relations between the two neighboring countries. The heavy military expenditures thus saved can be used by a competent government for education and social well-being.

Challenge the Ulama to Discredit the Militancy

The Ulama, or worldwide group of recognized Islamic scholars, must use their influence to control their sects and mobilize the general public against the militancy. The nation needs to understand that it is at war – war against militancy is a war for Pakistan's survival. Every aspect of national power must be used to defeat militancy. On the diplomatic front, Pakistan should build its image as a peaceful county through the exchange of high level delegations. Any case of a terrorist act abroad having link in Pakistan must be dealt with severely, providing full cooperation to the victim country. Visa and immigrations rules must be reviewed to curtail the traveling of suspected militants.

Convince the U.S. to More Strongly Support Pakistan

U.S. and Pakistan relations are passing through the most difficult time of their history. Current relations are plagued by mistrust and misunderstandings. There is a

need to build trust and improve relations for the sake of common interests. Pakistan

has repeatedly asked for the transfer of drone technology to hit high-value targets in the

FATA. This transfer of technology will resolve the issue of violations of Pakistan

sovereignty. Continued support of the U.S. will greatly help in controlling militancy.

Improve Pakistan's Economic Position through International Trade Agreements

The international community has a major stake in Pakistan due to its strategic

location and nuclear weapons. It is interested in its survival and return to normality. If

so, the international community must help Pakistan in economic development and

growth through a combination of direct assistance and favorable terms of trade. There

is no dearth of natural resources, but Pakistan must better manage its national

economy. This will require investments in infrastructure and development of these

resources. This is vital to promote the economic and social sectors.

Promote Measures to Increase International Investment

Despite the presence of large natural and human resources, Pakistan has failed

to attract foreign investment due to its prevailing security environment. The U.S and

West should continue to build the capacity of civil institutions as service providers and

invest in public and civil sectors. Such engagements would foster growth and

encourage the public to greater participation in governance. These measures must be

bold. The international community must send a message and one good way to do this

is to promote the importance of Pakistan to the world community. Bringing Pakistan into

the fold of the G-20 with some sort of special affiliation status or some other such

measure should be given the most serious consideration. This will send a powerful

message to the people of Pakistan, both those who support civil society and those who

oppose it with militancy. It will raise the stakes for choosing sides in a powerful way.

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And, of course, this kind of highly pragmatic and symbolic action will be all the more effective with adequate resourcing.

Conclusion

Today's militancy threatens the viability of the Pakistan state, diverts resources that could be directed to internal development and threatens regional stability. Pakistan has been in crisis since its birth. Three wars with India, the fall of East Pakistan (Bangladesh), a number of military clashes, and four military coups have shaken the county's foundation. Each time, Pakistan emerged much stronger from these crises, despite its weak political system, poor economy, weak education system, and worrying demographic trends.

Despite governance challenges and instability, there is no chance militants can take over the government in Pakistan. It is a country of 180 million people run by an elected civilian government and possessing one of the world's largest armies. The people love Islam, but hate Islamic extremism and consider militancy a serious threat to the country. Addressing the problems associated with militancy will be extremely difficult. It will require decisive action on the part of Pakistan and require support from the international community. Pakistan can effectively address militancy through decisive actions and by gaining internal and external support for counterinsurgency.

This essay has examined the causes of the militancy that plagues Pakistan and which threatens regional and global stability and has offered a number of policy recommendations for Pakistan and her friends in the international community. With a concerted effort by all, this scourge can be defeated and the destiny of peace and prosperity can finally be realized for the Pakistani people.

Endnotes

[1] Laila Bokhari, "Radicalization, Political violence, and Militancy," in Stephen P. Cohen *et. al.*, *The Future of Pakistan* (Washington, DC: Bookings Institution Press, 2011), 84.

[2] Ali Ashraf khan, "Good Governance," *Defense Journal,* November 1999, http://defencejournal.com/nov99/governance.htm (accessed on November 22, 2012).

[3] Bokhari, "Radicalization, Political violence, and Militancy," in Stephen P. Cohen *et. al.*, *The Future of Pakistan*, 84.

[4] Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militants* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 120.

[5] Ibid., 125.

[6] Seth G. Jones and C. Christine Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2010), xi.

[7] Kiran Firdous, *Militancy in Pakistan* (Islamabad: Strategic Institute of Strategic Studies): 112, www.issi.org.pk/publication-files/1299825170_97247252.pdf (accessed on December 11, 2012).

[8] *Webster's New World Dictionary* (New York: The World Publishing Company 2000), 5.

[9] Firdous, *Militancy in Pakistan*, 112.

[10] Mariam Mufti, *Religion and Militancy in Pakistan and Afghanistan: A Literature Review* (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 2012): 4, http://csis.org/publication/religion-and-militancy-pakistan-and-afghanistan (accessed on December 10, 2012).

[11] Jatin Kumar Mohanty, *Terrorism and Militancy in Central Asia* (Dehli: Kalpaz Publications, 2006), 5.

[12] Kiran Firdous, Militancy in Pakistan, 113.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2004), 51.

[15] Ryan Clarke, *Crime-Terror Nexus in South Asia: States, Security and Non-State Actors* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 44.

[16] Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*, 13.

[17] Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Sword: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars Within* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Seth G. Jones and C. Christine Fair, *Counterinsurgency in*

Pakistan (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2010), 6-12; and Sumit Ganguly, *The Crisis in Kashmir: Portents of War, Hope of Peace* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[18] Askari Tanzeems included those militant organizations working for the freedom of Indian Held Kashmir. They had no international agenda or link with al Qaeda.

[19] Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*, 23. These groups include: Jaish-e-Muhammad, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen and Lashkre-e-Tabia apart from Al Badr and Hizbul Mujahideen, the majority of which are ethnic Kashmiris.

[20] Mufti, Religion and Militancy in Pakistan and Afghanistan, 18.

[21] Kiran Firdous, *Militancy in Pakistan,* 116.

[22] Hassan Abbas, *Militancy in Pakistan's Borderlands: Implications for the Nation and for Afghan Policy* (The Century Foundation Report, 2010), 12, http://tcf.org/publications/2010/10/militancy-in-pakistan2019s-borderlands-implications-for-the-nation-and-for-afghan-policy/pdf (accessed on December 11, 2012).

[23] Ibid.

[24] Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militants*, 77.

[25] Kiran Firdous, Militancy in Pakistan, 113.

[26] Ibid., 114.

[27] Bokhari, "Radicalization, Political violence, and Militancy," in Stephen P. Cohen *et. al.*, *The Future of Pakistan*, 83.

[28] The Australian Government's Overseas Aid Program, "Good Governance Guiding Principles for implementation," http://www.mekonginfo.org/document/0002167-economy-good-governance-guiding-principles-for-implementation (accessed on December 10, 2012).

[29] Doyle and Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace*, 5, quoted in Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan,* 91. Political Scientists Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, after carrying out the analysis of 151 insurgency cases in last 54 years, concluded that "governance is critical to prevent and end civil wars and insurgencies."

[30] Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan,* 93.

[31] In its simplest definition *Sharia* means enforcing Islamic laws or running the country affairs in accordance to Quran and Sunnah of prophet.

[32] Ibid., 517.

[33] Jacob N. Shapiro and C. Christine Fair, "Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan," *International Security*, 34:3 (Winter 2009-10): 96, http://ezproxy.usawcpubs.org/login?url=http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/isec.2010.34.3.79 (accessed on November 19, 2012).

[34] Ibid., 102.

[35] Robert D. Lamb and Sadika Hameed, *Subnational Governance, Delivery, and Militancy in Pakistan* (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 2012): 11, http://csis.org/files/publication/120610_Lamb_SubnatGovernPakistan_web.pdf (accessed on November 10, 2012).

[36] Joy Aoun *et. al.*, *Religious Movement, Militancy, and Conflict in South Asia: Cases from India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan* (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2012), 19, http://csis.org/files/publication/120713_Aoun_ReligiousMilitancy_Web.pdf (accessed on November 10, 2012).

[37] Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*, 23.

[38] Sunni and Shai communities are divided over the question of succession after Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him): Sunni believe in the authority of four Rashideen Caliphate while Shia only accept the authority of Hazrat Ali, who was a nephew and son in law of prophet Muhammad.

[39] Kiran Firdous, *Militancy in Pakistan*, 119.

[40] Kiran Firdous, "Militancy in Pakistan", 117. These militant organizations have many smaller militant sub-groups; TJP has Sipah-e-Abbas, the Imamia organization, and Sipah-e-Muhammad, while SSP has Lashker-I-Jhangvi and Millat-e-Islamia.

[41] Ibid., 116.

[42] Shapiro and Christine, Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan, 88.

[43] See account in Pervez Musharraf, *In Line of Fire* (New York: Free Pass, 2006) quoted in Seth G. Jones and C. Christine Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2010), 17.

[44] Jones and Fair, Counterinsurgency in Pakistan, 34. Operations to date include:

- Operation Enduring Freedom 2001-2002.

- Operation Al Mizan 2002-2006.

- Operation Zalzala 2008.

- Operations Sher Dil, Rah-e-Haq, and Reh-e-Rast 2007-2009.

- Operation Rah-e-Nijat 2009-2012.

[45] The author has served in the area and remained part of the operations and believes most of the operations were fairly successful, as they generally achieved the laid out objectives. He also had the honor to lead an infantry brigade in Operation Rah-e-Nijat from 2010-2011 in the most challenging environment of North Waziristan.

[46] Ryan Clarke, *Crime-Terror Nexus in South Asia,* 158.

[47] Mufti, Religion and Militancy in Pakistan and Afghanistan, 42.

[48] Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*, 28.

[49] Ryan Clarke, *Crime-Terror Nexus in South Asia,* 158-166.

[50] Robert D. Lamb and Sadika Hameed, *Subnational Governance, Delivery, and Militancy in Pakistan* (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 2012), vi , http://csis.org/files/publication/120610_Lamb_SubnatGovernPakistan_web.pdf (accessed on November 10, 2012).

[51] Ibid.

[52] William R. Polk, *Violent Politics: A History of Insurgency, Terrorism and Guerrilla War from the American Revulsion to Iraq* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 215.

[53] Ali Nawaz Memon, *Pakistan: Islamic Nation in Crisis* (Lahore: Vanguard Book, 1997), 29.

[54] Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), "World Factbook: Pakistan," updated September 27, 2011, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/ (accessed on December 10, 2012).

[55] Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, 249.

[56] Tariq Fatemi, "Looking Ahead," in Stephen P. Cohen *et. al.*, *The Future of Pakistan* (Washington, DC: Booking Institution Press, 2011), 115.

[57] Askari, "At the Brink," in Stephen P. Cohen *et. al.*, *The Future of Pakistan*, 187.

[58] Ibid., 188.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Pakistan Assessment 2012, "South Asia Intelligence Review," http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/index.htm (accessed on November 24, 2012).

[61] Ibid.

[62] Iran, after the 1979 revolution, started funding Shia's madrassas in Pakistan to promote Shia sect. Fearful of Iranian influence, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq and some other oil-rich Muslim countries started funding Sunni Madrassas in Pakistan to counter the supposed Shia threat. For further details view ICG report, The State of Sectarianism In Pakistan, April 2005 and Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militants* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2007)76-88.

[63] Pakistan Assessment 2012, "South Asia Intelligence Review."

[64] In 2008, militants carried out shooting and bombing attacks across Mumbai. India blamed that the terrorist had support from Pakistan while the latter denied any link with the terrorist and asked for international panel to investigate the incident.

[65] Jones and Fair, *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*, xv.

[66] Cold war doctrine refers to limited gains through defensive formation at short notice while remaining below the nuclear threshold.