PAKISTAN, TERRORISM AND ISLAM

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Abstract: Post nine eleven scenario resulted into all loss most dominantly for Pakistan as she became most terror-hit nation in the world. The National Internal Security Policy document (Dawn: February 24, 2014) says 48994 people were killed in 13721 incidents of suicide bombing, bomb blasts, target killing etc. from 2001 to November 2013. This toll is more than Iraq and Afghanistan in these years. Apart from the human loss worth billions of dollars properties and infrastructure of the country were damaged. Pakistan, although is titled to be Islamic Republic, with dominant majority (97%) of Muslims even then, almost 3975 citizens were victimized every year by their fellow Muslim terrorists. How and why this happened? Almost ten persons lost their lives every day. The killers are members of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan.

Emergence of Taliban in Afghanistan

Afghanistan had been battle field of Russian and US backed and sponsored forces for ten years between 1979 and 1989. Mujahidin designated defeated Soviet Forces and forced them to withdraw from the occupation of Afghanistan. US left Afghanistan putting her in the lurch. It became a no man's land and victim of the greed of neighboring countries. At least seven groups of Mujahidin, which played crucial role in the resistance against Russian onslaught, namely Jamiat Islami, Hizb Islami (Hikmat Yar), Hizb Islami (Khalis), Itihad Islami, The Afghan National Front, Harkat Inqilab Islami, Mahaz Milli Islami were involved in the tug of war for occupation and political rule of the country (Rais, 1994: 178-186). This drama continued for about five years. A small group of Madrasa students emerged in Eastern province of Afghanistan - Kandahar to mend law and order position in their surroundings. Their successes encouraged them to formally organize them in a warring group - the Taliban. Taliban is meant to be students of religious school. They were formally acknowledged by Pakistan as a power group in 1994 and Government of Pakistan pledged to co-operate with them rather

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helped them to establish their hold (Rashid, 2002: 17-30). This initiative of Pakistan was followed by a number of Muslim countries of Middle-East. Mujahidin groups and factions of foreign countries scattered in Afghanistan either were won over or forced to ally with this emerging power. All of the left behind arms and ammunition automatically came in their hands. It induced the Taliban to expand their control in the important cities and towns. They took over the control of Kabul in September 1996. They defeated almost all of big armies and groups headed by significant commanders like Gulbadin Hikmatyar, Ahmad Shah Masud and Rashid Dostum by1997. Taliban were controlling 90% of the country in 1998 (Marsdon, 1999: 69-80). Apart from local leaders all foreign commanders including Saudi billionaire Usama bin Ladin joined Taliban and surrendered to the leadership of Mullah Muhammad Omer, titled Amir-ul-Mominin.

Taliban after conquering Afghanistan were able to restore law and order position in the country. They administered the affairs in very rough and harsh way in the wake of their own understanding of the teachings of Shariah. A number of decrees were issued by Amir al Mominin Mullah Muhammad Omer in this regard to be followed by people. The Taliban imposed Islamic code for women, of their own understanding, demanding full veiling and barring them from work outside the home, and closing girl's schools. A directorate of Amar bil Maroof Wa Nahi Anil Munkar was established to execute measure for moral reforms and forbidding from the evils. It has been reported that 225 women were punished for not observing the rules of Islamic dress and hijab (Marsdon, 1999:76). Taliban banned poppy cultivation in July 2000. US and UN acknowledged in March 2001 that price of opium rose tenfold due to the enforcement of rigorous ban by Taliban. Such positive steps started winning hearts of international community and a number of states recognized political rule of Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The scenario totally changed after 9/11 incident. US waged crusade against Afghan administration when Taliban refused to hand over Osama bin Laden and other members of Algaeda to them. All kind of weapons of mass destruction, like diasy cutters - second to atomic arsenal, were used to compel Talibans to obey American dictates. US involved NATO forces in her war against terrorism in the wake of UN resolution. It caused total destruction of life in Afghanistan. Mujahidin had to flee to tribal areas of Pakistan for safety. Yesterdays Mujahidin re-designated as terrorist. Besides, at least three million Afghans migrated to Pakistan. These ex-Mujahidin and young refugees fertilized the yield of new energetic battalions of Pakistani Taliban.

Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan

'Silent Operation' on Red Mosque Islamabad by Pakistan Army in 2007 is most bloody incident in the history of the State with gruesome consequences. Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan was established after the operation. It is an umbrella organization of various Islamist militant groups based in FATA(Federally Administered Tribal Areas) along the Afghan border in Pakistan. About 13 militant groups united under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud to form the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan in December 2007. The objectives behind the establishment of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan were resistance against the Pakistani state, enforcement of *Shariah* and to unite against NATO-led forces in Afghanistan.

Khaled Ahmed in his analysis 'what really happened at Lal Masjid, wrote "British journalist Owen Bennett-Jones in his lengthy study Questions Concerning the Murder of Benazir Bhutto refers to one of the assassins of Benazir Bhutto named Husnain Gul who joined the gang of her killers because of Lal Masjid. Husnain Gul was a madrassa student who in 2005 had received small-arms training at a camp in North-West Pakistan. The Joint Investigation Team report says that when he was arrested he had a hand grenade and clothes belonging to his friend, Bilal. In his confession, Gul described how a friend of his had been killed when Musharraf ordered an assault on the Red Mosque in Islamabad in July 2007. The attack on the jihadis who had seized the mosque was a turning point in modern Pakistani history, persuading many Islamists that the Pakistani state was not their friend but an enemy that must be attacked. Gul decided to avenge his friend's death and persuaded his cousin, Muhammad Rafaqat, to join him. (Ahmed: 2009)¹

Although the TTP was organized in 2007 but its roots were sowed in 2002 when Pakistan military entered first time in the tribal areas. BBC reported that in July 2002 the Pakistani troops, for the first time in 55 years, entered the Tirah Valley in Khyber tribal agency. Soon they were in Shawal valley of North Waziristan, and later in South Waziristan. This was made possible after long negotiations with various tribes, who reluctantly agreed

to allow the military's presence on the assurance that it would bring in funds and development work. But once the military action started in South Waziristan a number of Waziri sub-tribes took it as an attempt to subjugate them. Attempts to persuade them into handing over the foreign militants failed, and with an apparently mishandling by the authorities, the security campaign against suspected al-Qaeda militants turned into an undeclared war between the Pakistani military and the rebel tribesmen.(Abbas: 2004)²"

The TTP is not directly affiliated with the Afghan Taliban movement led by Mullah Omar, due to the differences in strategic goals and interests. The Afghan Taliban, with the alleged support of Pakistani Taliban, operate against international coalition and Afghan security forces in Afghanistan but are strictly opposed to targeting the Pakistani state.

TTP is not a centralized organization. Its structure is a loose network of dispersed constituent groups that vary in size and in levels of coordination. The factions of the TTP are limited to their local areas of influence and often lack the ability to expand their operations beyond that territory. A number of significant groups are known with the reference to their areas of activities and their leaders. The biggest number of Taliban is active in South Waziristan. They belong to Baitullah Mahsud, Moulvi Nazir, Tahir Yaldiuv and Abdullah Mahsud groups and their number has been counted about 30,000. Second largest number of Taliban live in North Waziristan and are recognized as Hafiz Gul Bahadur, Baitullah Mahsud and Siraj Haqqani groups. Two main groups of Hakimullah, Hussain Ali and Abid Hussain's (Shia) are concentrated in Orakzai Agency. Qari Hussain of Kurram Agency leads the most fatal and brutal group having biggest contingent of suicide bombers. Khyber Agency is the nearest agency to Peshawar- the capital of KPK. Baitullah (Rahman group), Lashkar Islam Ansarul Islam and Amar bil Marof and Nahi anil Munkar groups are very active in this area. Omar Khalid organized a group in Mehmand Agency after Red Mosque episode in Islamabad. He leads about 5000 Taliban. Moulana Fakir Muhammad, Zia ur Rehman command their groups apart from Zarqawi and Al-Zawahiri groups of foreign origin in Bajur Agency. It has been reported that about 120,000 Taliban have been active under the command of different leaders in the Federally Administered Tribal Area of Pakistan (Ageel, 2009: 75-82). It has been repeatedly narrated that around 60 small and large groups are active against the state.

TTP was not confined in FATA but has been active in 16 districts of Khyber Pakhtun Khawah. Home department of the province reported that 172 registered members of TTP come from only the city of Peshawar (Ageel, 2009: 127). TTP agents have been involved in anti-state activities like bomb blasts, target killing, suicide bombings and kidnapping of foreigners etc. For example 210 people were kidnapped in 2008 only. Schools particularly girls schools have been special targets of Taliban. Asad Hussain of Aljazeera network reporting on October 15, 2012 wrote, "When the local chapter of the Taliban began challenging the state for control of the Swat Valley in 2007, children's education quickly turned into a battleground issue between the extremist group's fighters and the local populace. Between 2007 and 2011, the Tehrik-i-Taliban Swat, led by Maulana Fazlullah, destroyed more than 400 schools, many of them providing education for girls, the local administration says. Analysts say the focus on educational institutions was because government schools were public vestiges of the state, but were also not as secure as police stations or other government buildings. The Taliban also proclaimed that public and private schools in the area were providing "Western" and "non-Islamic" education to boys and girls, to which they are particularly opposed. The shooting of Malala Yousafzai, a 14-year-old activist who championed the cause of girls' education in the valley, by Taliban gunmen last week was a stark reminder of the extremist group's stance on the issue of education" (Hussain: 2012)³.

Health workers are attacked regularly because the Taliban see vaccines as a Western plot to sterilize Muslims. "Polio drops are not a vaccine against the disease," Azam Tariq, another Taliban official, told reporters alongside Shahid ullah Shahid as he clutched prayer beads in his hands. "It is a campaign to damage Islam" Aljazeera reported that 31 polio workers were targeted and killed by Taliban from July 2012 to December 2013⁵.

Among the most brutal methods executed by Taliban have been slaughtering alive persons like animals, shooting the targets in public, disgracing dead bodies, bombing churches and mosques. Taliban kidnapped 52 foreign diplomats, staff of foreign mission, international donors and NGO workers from March 2008 to March 2009. In the same period about 550 innocent citizens lost their lives in 63 suicide attacks.(Aqeel, 2009:143-144) Assaf Moghadam wrote suicide attack were a rarity in Pakistan until 2002, are now a common tactic against the Shia community, foreigners,

Pakistani government and military targets, and political figures. They increased drastically after 2007. Between 1995 and 2007, more than sixty suicide attacks took place in Pakistan, with fifty-six of these attacks occurring in 2007 alone (Moghadam, 2008: 179).

Ideology of Taliban

Taliban being students of Madrasa – the religious institution of Isalm, claim to be true in their understandings of its teachings. Some of their proclamations in their statements and activities, usually projected in the press and analysis, are narrated here.

- 1. They believe to be waging Jihad against enemies of Islam.
- 2. All kinds of methods like suicide bombing, killing diplomats, destroying worship places of non-Muslims to harm enemies are legitimate to them.
- 3. Democracy is against Islam so political system in Pakistan is un-Islamic.
- 4. Pakistan military is American agent and every soldier and officer should be killed.
- 5. Constitution of Pakistan is un-Islamic as it is based on the principles of anti Islamic democratic paradigm.
- 6. Pakistani courts give decisions on English laws so it is required to be changed on the principles of Shariah.
- 7. Socio welfare Projects launched by Western and American governments and NGO's in Pakistan are not trust worthy.

Teachings of Islam

Is there any room to accommodate the stated ideology of Taliban in the teachings of Islam? The questions like what is jihad, is democracy against Islamic polity, was constitution made by secular members of National Assembly of Pakistan, are the laws still based on framework of former English rulers and lastly are the polio drops used to make children impotent, need to be examined and explored.

1. Jihad means exertion, striving; but in juridical and religious sense, it signifies the exertion of one's power to the utmost of one's capacity in the path of Allah (Siddiqui, 1979: 2-3). The Quran and Sunnah of

the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) explain a variety of Jihad including bil-Ilm, bil-Mal, bil-Aml, bil-Nafs and lastly bil-Saif (Nadwi, 1975: 333). The last kind of Jihad bil-Saif (Armed struggle) have specific conditions like; it should be a response to persecution of Muslims (Al-Quran: 22; 39-40), to safeguard the way of truth – religion of Islam (Al-Quran: 8;36, 47: 9-34), as punishment of treachery of non-Muslims(Al-Quran:8;55-58), as chastisement of hypocrite (Al-Quran: 9;73, 33;60-61), for the establishment of the peace and order in the society (Al-Quran: 5;33) and to help the oppressed Muslims who are besieged by unbelievers and are treated badly by them (Al-Quran: 4;75, 8;72-73). Now if we analyze the teachings and apply them on the philosophy and understandings of Taliban, we hardly find justification of their Jihad in Pakistan against citizens of civil and military establishments of Pakistan.

- 2. The question of democracy being un-Islamic is also ungrounded. All religious political parties of Pakistan have been taking part in election process in the country to gain political power and have been part of government in Pakistan under the democratic system of the state. Not only in Pakistan but religious parties elsewhere in Muslim world like Egypt and Afghanistan adopt same way to gain political power. Similarly Muslim scholars like Muhammad Asad (1980), Dr Hamid Allah (1977) and many other think prevalent democratic system closer to Islamic teachings.
- 3. Constitution of Pakistan is perhaps most Islamic in comparison of the constitution of any other Muslim country in the world. The Council of Islamic Ideology was established to Islamize un-Islamic elements, laws and clauses in the very first constitution of Pakistan of 1962. The CII Pakistan had been working on it and substantial portion of the prevalent 1973 Constitution has been changed accordingly. Former Justice Tanzil-ur-Rahman narrates that more than 90% clauses of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan have been changed according to the teachings of Quran and Islamic Shariah⁶. Apart from the text of the constitution the members of the Assembly along with the significant Ulema and scholars of Islam like Grand Mufti of Pakistan, Moulana Muti Muhammad Shafi of Deobandi school, Moulana Shah Ahmad Noorani of Baralvi school,

Moulana Abu Al-A'ala Mawdudi of Jamat Islami Pakistan, Ulema of Ahl-Hadith and Shia sects endorsed the constitution of 1973 before it was passed in the national assembly on April 10, 1973 to be implemented on August 1973 (Lau: 2006).

4. Does Islam allow suicide bombing and kill innocent citizens as advocated and executed by Taliban. Quran (5: 32) explicitly disallows it and commands,

That if any one slew a person-unless it be for murder or for Spreading mischief in the land – it would be as if he slew the whole people. And if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of whole people.

However, Quran conditionally allows taking others life only in Qisas, jihad, rebellion, irtidad and dacoits on highways (Al-Quran, 17:23). In contrast to it suicide is totally against the teachings of Shariah. Quran, (4:29) and Hadith⁷ vividly declared it to be *haram* and the culprit shall be put in hell for ever as punishment in the life after.

Beside such serious stand of Islam on suicide a number of traditional scholars like Imam Shatbi and Ibn Tayymiyah and contemporary Muslim scholars i.e. Nasir-ud-Din Albani⁸, Yousuf al-Qardhawi⁹, Fathi Yakun¹⁰, Dr Muhammad Syed Tantavi¹¹, advocate the legitimacy of suicide bombing. But it should be kept in mind that the verdict of modern scholars is in particular context of Palestinian freedom struggle, they never gave any *fatwa* in the favor of Pakistani combatants.

After the 9/11 incident a number of scholars refreshed oriental's thesis that Islam is religion of sword and advocates terrorism. They include Bernard Lewis¹², John Macarthur¹³, Walter Laqueur¹⁴, Kelton Cobb¹⁵. Similarly Yousuf al-Qadhawi¹⁶ looks to be providing justification for the Palestinian suicide bomber in Israel from the very text of the Quran. He quotes *ayah al-Irhab* (Al-Quran: 8; 60) as the commandment of Allah to frighten the enemies of Muslims and provides legal and juridical ground for Muslim terrorist and suicide bombers. The ayah reads (translation);

Against them make ready you strength to the utmost of your power.

Including steads of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of God and your enemies, whom ye may not know, but whom God doth

know. Whatever ye shall spend in the cause of God shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly¹⁷.

It is right that majority of translators and exegeses of Quran have translated this ayah and particularly the term of *irhab* in the meaning of putting fear in the hearts and minds of enemies of Islam and Muslims. But after the incident of 9/11 it looks that the purpose of this very commandment of Allah was not properly perceived. If it was to terrorize and to put fear in the hearts of enemies then culprits of twin tower incidents achieved their target but the consequences of the American retaliation had been beyond estimation and the terrorist would never have imagined. Today the Muslim organizations who adopt strategy of terrorizing enemies like Intifada in Palestine, Abu Sayyaf group in Southern Philipine or Taliban in Pakistan or Afghanistan have not achieved their stated goals. There is a different version of the meaning of very ayah and term to al-Tabri (d. 310 H.) Zamakhshari (d. 535 H.), Suyuti (d. 911 H.) and Shawkani (d. 1250 H.). They were more correct in their understanding. All these scholars translated the term of Turhibuna as Tukhzuna and the term Tukhzuna, has been translated in the meanings of humiliation (Al-Nadwi, 1983:29-31), disgrace and degrade the enemy. Apart from the literal meanings of the term and ayah there is need to understand it in other dimension like contextual, ethical, historical, cultural, political, strategic and theological. Such approach covering all possible perspectives can easily help to get the wisdom of the commandment. It can help to conclude that the assumption Quran teaches terrorism is not precise, rather is the result of ignoring the contextual and multidimensional significance of the revelation as well as not delving into the diverse miraculous shades and colors of the meaning of glorious Quran (Zafar, 2007:135).

In short Taliban's perceptions are not based on sound grounds and they are painting very negative and draconian face of Islam. Islam that is religion of peace and tranquility has got an impression of the religion of terror due to the like- minded groups in the Muslim communities. Their actions have earned great loss for whole Ummah.

Tehrik-i-Taliban's Perspective

Now it looks appropriate to narrate Taliban's own explanations and clarifications as well. It shall help reflective minds to come closer to the crux

of the issue and make objective conclusions. Their main perceptions are as under.

- 1. Pakistan is an Islamic country but Islam is not practiced in state affairs. Even the state organs are involved in the projection and propagation of un-Islamic values in the country. The state and private media telecasts obscene and morally unacceptable programs that are not at par with the general Islamic cultural paradigm.
- 2. Taliban movement of Afghanistan and its Pakistani factions are creation of the intelligence agencies of Pakistan and have been betrayed by them after 9/11. The mujahidin have been declared enemies and made terrorists.
- 3. Deployment of American and NATO forces in Afghanistan are part of American policy of controlling resources of the country and trade route of Central Asian Muslim states to Indian Ocean. Pakistani government and establishment is playing role of vanguards for the accomplishment of American designs.
- 4. Democracy in Pakistan is false democracy where elections are never transparent and the results are maneuvered by the establishment. Military establishment always intervene in the political process for its own interest rather than welfare of the nation. Resultantly there never emerged a genuine leadership and further Pakistan had mostly been ruled by military Generals. These leaders look for their own welfare and ignore national interest, for this purpose, even the deep rooted established policies and strategies of the state and Islamic principles are done away with.
- 5. Promulgation of Islamic laws had always been dream of the dominant majority of Tribal people but government never heeded to their demands that is against the spirit of democracy. Even the recommendations of the Council of Islamic Ideology Pakistan have never been accepted in true sense.
- 6. TTP has never targeted public places to kill innocent people rather their declared policy is to harm and damage military installments and kill army personnel as they are safe guarding American and Western interest in Pakistan¹⁸. Similarly they deny to target non-Muslim's worship places in the country.

- 7. More tribal people have been killed by the Pakistan forces than the military soldiers by Taliban. Pakistani Forces have directly attacked tribal villages with their planes and helped Americans to fire drones on them. It resulted into uncountable deaths and callous loss of their houses and properties.
- 8. Polio eradication campaign has badly been affected after Dr Shakil Afridi's involvement in discovering the hideout of Osama bin Laden. Dr Afridi with the help of his polio workers was able to identify his residence. Dr Shakil Afridi was director in KPK health department and is accused that he passed on the information about Usama bin Ladin to US authorities. This event helped Taliban's point of view to deepen into the psyche of tribal people that all Western social welfare NGO's are working to promote enemy's agenda, workers are US spies and disloyal to the tribal people. It resulted into the killings of a number of polio workers even they are Pakistani and mostly are women.

Conclusion

TTP, right or wrong, do have the justification for their terrorist activities. Whatever, the rationale they portray is question of debate, but they are reality and have great imprint on national social fabric. They are considered main threat to the security and development of nation by both the democratic regimes; either of PPP or of PMLN. Both of the governments have been eager to have Peace Pacts with the Taliban. In past a number of negotiations for peace were held and concluded on mutual deals but could not sustain for long run. Whether it was the Shakai Peace Agreement in April 2004, Srarogha Peace Agreement in February 2005 or the Swat Agreement in May 2008 all went in vain. Similarly peace agreements with commanders like Hafiz Gul Bahadur in North Waziristan, Faqir Muhammad in Bajaur Agency and an unwritten agreement with Lashkar-i-Islam in Khyber Agency proved futile efforts made by civil and military authorities. Recent efforts of Nawaz Sharif government have equal chances of success and failure. The reasons of optimism are narrated to be killing of prominent Taliban leadership by American drone attacks, fatal fights among factions of Taliban as well as the idea that Taliban themselves are interested to leave Pakistan and enter into the battlefield of Afghanistan to help forces of Mulla Omer after vacation of American and NATO

Forces. Those who do not foresee any hope repeat the past history of Peace Agreements and opine that it is the tactics of Taliban to secure time to rebuild their strength.

Whatever the results of recent talks would emerge, it is the plain fact that government forces cannot restore peace and security in the country by launching military operation to eradicate Taliban in FATA and Tribal Areas nor the TTP can succeed to get Shariah enforced in motherland with the help of terrorist activities. History, ancient or contemporary, dictates that all feuds are settled on the negotiation table.

National and international media has recently reported that TTP is divided into two major warring groups in South Waziristan one led by Khan Said Sajna and other by Shaher Yar Mehsud. They have killed a number of each other's members in a couple of weeks¹⁹. Government can take benefit of the situation and adopt the policy of dividing Taliban. These imminent gaps in such vulnerable groups can further be expanded. In this way, the groups not ready to negotiate peace can be targeted by military assaults to weaken them more and the remaining groups welcoming talks can be engaged to resolve the problem. It should further be kept in mind that the permanent settlement will be possible only by introducing vigorous socio-economic development of the area. Theses development projects, along with other stake holders, can successfully be launched with the auspices of all three traditional representatives of tribal areas i.e. Akhunds (Tribal chief), Political agent and Mullah (tribal religious functionary) as indicated by Akbar S. Ahmad²⁰.

Government of Pakistan decided to launch Zarb-e-Azb Operation in North Waziristan on June 15, 2014 to curb Taliban in their bases particularly in North Waziristan. According to the Inter-services Public Relation claims the operation is going successful and achieving the targets. Taliban did not react in furious and deadly way till the December 16, 2014. It was a tragic day in the history of Pakistan. In one of the worst terrorists attacks 141 people including 132 children in Army Public School and College Peshawar were martyred. Tehrik Taliban Pakistan claimed responsibility soon after the attack. Terror jolted whole of the country ²¹. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Army Chief same day dashed to city and convened All Political Parties Conference on December 17. APC unanimously decided to launch National Action Plan to root out terrorists

from the soil of motherland. It has been decided to introduce summary military courts for speedy trails of terrorists. Duration of these courts will be two years. Parliament passed 21st amendment in its joint session to give constitutional coverage to the decision. But, the amendment, simultaneously, has been challenged in Supreme Court of Pakistan by the Bar Councils.

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