

Country Advice Pakistan Pakistan – PAK36444 – NWFP – Peshawar

**Australian Government** 

**Refugee Review Tribunal** 

Sarband – Hayatabad – Taliban – Khyber
Agency – Laskar-E-Islami – Mangal Bagh
Afridi – Westernised Pakistanis

28 April 2010

# 1. Please provide some background on the NWFP, Peshawar, Sarband and Bara, including a map. Where is Hayatabad?

North West Frontier Province (NWFP) was created in 1947 as a predominantly ethnic Pashtun (Pathan) region of the nascent state of Pakistan; however, it also contains a large number of ethnic, cultural and religious minorities. The majority of the population are Sunni Muslims; however, there are also sizeable minorities of Shiites, Ahmadis, Ismailis, Hindus, Sikhs and Kalash. As elsewhere, Sunni Islam in NWFP is also embroiled in a struggle between different schools of Islamic thought (fiq) such as Hanafi, Barelevi and Deobandi (the latter practised by the Taliban of Afghanistan).

Politically, NWFP is divided into seven divisions and 24 districts.<sup>1</sup> Peshawar is both a district and the capital city of NWFP. On 15 April 2010 NWFP formerly changed its name to Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.<sup>2</sup> For brevity purposes, this response will refer to the province as NWFP.

Since its inception, NWFP has been a political province in name only, with Peshawar and Islamabad exercising little control beyond the lowlands. As is discussed in the response to question 2, recent decades have witnessed both provincial and national power in the region ebb and flow, with state power largely confined to the valleys, major highways and borders. The rugged terrain beyond the Kabul and Swat river valleys has largely remained in tribal hands, allowing economies to develop based on grazing, timber, gems, antiquities, opium and cross-border smuggling. The lucrative opium and illegal logging trades have made control of the remote regions hotly contested among tribes and, more recently, by militant Islamic groups.<sup>3</sup>

The conflict in neighbouring Afghanistan has also had a dramatic impact on the province, with refugees, militants and warlords all seeking shelter there. It is also believed that parts of NWFP have also periodically provided shelter to the top Al Qaeda leadership, including Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri. Peshawar has been the major channel for supplies to the Mujahadeen, the Taliban, Al Qaeda and now NATO. These factors combine to make Peshawar and NWFP of the world's most dangerous and important geopolitical hotspots.

Recent decades have seen control of the provincial legislature oscillate between Islamic conservatives and secular parties, reflecting the nationwide tension concerning precisely what type of state Pakistan should be (theocratic or secular). Since 2008 the Awami National Party (ANP), a secular political party, has governed NWFP with the support of the Pakistan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'About Pakistan: Facts and Figures' (undated), The Pakistan Society website

http://www.thepakistansociety.org.uk/pakistan\_facts.shtml - Accessed 20 April 2010 - Attachment 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'NWFP officially renamed as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa' 2010, *Dawn*, 15 April – Attachment 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Roul, A. 2009, 'Gems, Timber and Jiziya: Pakistan's Taliban Harness Resources to Fund Jihad', *Terrorism Monitor*, Volume VII, Issue 11, Jamestown Foundation, 30 April, p.10 – Attachment 36

People's Party (PPP). Haider Khan Hoti has been the Chief Minister.<sup>4</sup> Both the ANP and the PPP have attracted violent repercussions for their support for the secular state and military operations against Islamic militias in various parts of the province (most recently in Swat in 2009).<sup>5</sup>

A major consequence of all of these factors has been that Peshawar has fallen victim to innumerable terrorist attacks in recent years. These recent attacks in the city, and conflicts in various districts of NWFP, are discussed in more detail in the response to question 2. Another consequence of neighbouring conflicts is that that the population of Peshawar District has swelled with millions of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and Afghani refugees; towns such as Sarband and Hayatabad are now suburbs of greater Peshawar. Both towns have been located on map 1.

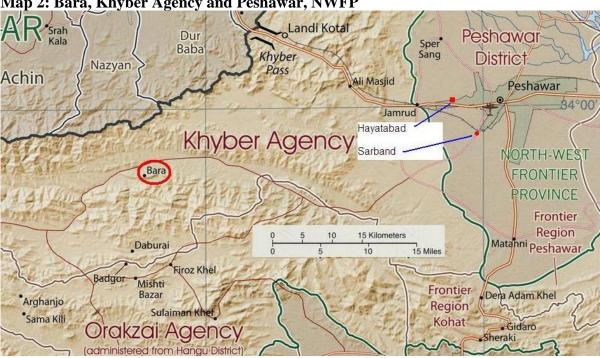
The town of Bara, the base for the Deobandi militia Lashkar-e-Islami, is not located in NWFP but rather in the Bara River valley of the neighbouring Khyber Agency. The main road connecting Bara with the rest of Pakistan runs from Bara to Peshawar, meeting the city at the suburbs of Shaikhan and Sarband. Bara, and the adjoining road, has been located on map 2. Discussed in the response to question 3 is the effect on Peshawar suburbs of Sarband and Shaikhan due to their proximity to the areas of the Khyber Agency controlled by Lashkar-e-Islami.

## Map 1: Peshawar and suburbs



 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 'Pakistan' in *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition* 2009, CQ Press, p1022 – Attachment 3
<sup>5</sup> Masood, S. 2009, 'Provincial politician is slain in Pakistan', *New York Times*, 1 December

http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/02/world/asia/02pstan.html?ref=asia – Accessed 2 December 2009 – Attachment 5



Map 2: Bara, Khyber Agency and Peshawar, NWFP

#### 2. In what areas do the Taliban operate in NWFP and how effective is the government's control of them?

A number of districts of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) have witnessed major confrontations between the Pakistan Army and Islamic militant organisations in recent years, including Bajaur, Dir and most recently Swat (in 2009).<sup>6</sup> In all of these regions Islamic groups had achieved complete control, including imposing their own interpretations of Sharia law and meting out punishment. In the case of Swat, an agreement was reached between the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariah-Mohammadi (TNSM) and the Awami led government of NWFP, with the imprimatur of Islamabad, before collapsing after only two weeks. Under pressure from its ally the USA, such deals are no longer pursued and the Pakistan Army has sought to regain control of NWFP. At the time of writing, the Upper Swat remains out of government control and Bajaur has been declared conflict free<sup>7</sup>; however, there are reports that militants have been regrouping in Dir.<sup>8</sup> In neighbouring Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATAs) such as the Khyber Agency, Orakzai Agency and Waziristan, up to one third of Pakistan's half a million soldiers are embroiled in large scale operations to destroy Islamic militants hostile to both Islamabad and NATO, and to seal the porous border with Afghanistan.<sup>9</sup> Government control in NWFP is fragile and entirely hinges on the presence of the army.

Many of the militant organisations that have periodically seized control of various NWFP districts have been referred to by the shorthand term the 'Taliban'. This gives the twin impressions of theological uniformity and a monolithic, transnational organisation. The reality is that a theologically and organisationally diverse range of such groups exist in NWFP. Some of these groups are confined to specific regions, such as the TNSM in Swat. Others operate across a number of districts and provinces, such as the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). Sometimes they cooperated with one another to attain outcomes, such as the TNSM and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For more information on the 2009 Swat offensive and its aftermath see RRT Country Advice 2009, *Country* Advice PAK35880, 23 December – Attachment 26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'Pakistan authorities declare Bajaur tribal region 'conflict-free zone' 2010, *BBC Monitoring Service*, source: Dawn News Group, 20 April - Attachment 34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'Pakistan forces resume operation in northwest area' 2010, BBC Monitoring Service, source: Dawn News Group, 15 April – Attachment 33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 'The secret war – and the hidden lair of the Taliban' 2010, *The Independent*, 16 April – Attachment 35

TTP in Swat. In other regions they are in direct conflict with one another, such as Lashkar-e-Islami and Ansarul Islam in the Khyber Agency (see response to question 3).

The people of NWFP and the FATAs have paid a heavy price for the battles waged in their regions. According to the US Department of State, during 2009 "military operations in the FATA and the NWFP killed approximately 1,150 civilians, and militant attacks in FATA and NWFP killed 825 more civilians... Ongoing battles with militants created a fluctuating number of internally displaced persons (IDPs). At year's end there were an estimated 1.2 million IDPs in the NWFP and FATA."<sup>10</sup> As mentioned in the response to question 1, many of the IDPs have gravitated towards Peshawar seeking protection, work and access to humanitarian services, swelling the district's population.

Peshawar, however, has not been immune to the political violence that has encircled it. Recent events include: a suicide bombing in a market in Peshawar on 9 October 2009 that killed more than 50 people<sup>11</sup>; in April 2010 a suicide bomber detonated himself at a rally, killing over twenty, including a senior Shiite police officer and a local leader of the Jamaat-e-Islami<sup>12</sup>; the previous day two suicide bombers dressed in Burgas blew themselves up at a refugee camp near Peshawar for internally displaced persons (IDPs), killing at least 41 and injuring dozens more<sup>13</sup>; in early April the US consulate in Peshawar was attacked, killing 5.<sup>14</sup> Websites such as Pakistan Conflict Monitor's NWFP page<sup>15</sup> and the South Asia Terrorism Portal<sup>16</sup> have catalogued many more such events over the past several years. Some of this violence is intercommunal (mostly Sunni versus Shiite); much of it is reportedly revenge for Pakistan Army operations and government support for NATO. In many cases, bombings that have killed dozens of people are actually crude assassination attempts on leading political leaders; in December 2009 Shamsher Ali of the Awami National Party (ANP), was killed by a suicide bomber, an attack that also killed his brother and injured numerous others. According to the New York Times, the Awami Party "has taken a tough stand against Taliban militants, and its members have been the targets of several assassination attempts and attacks."<sup>17</sup>

#### 3. What is known about Laskar-e-Islami, Mangal Bagh Afridi, and Nasir-U-Din?

The forerunner to Lashkar-e-Islami was formed by Mufti Muneer Shakir in 2004 in the Khyber Agency, a Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) adjacent to the Peshawar District of North West Frontier Province. Shakir, a proponent of the Deobandi school of Islamic jurisprudence, was originally from Hangu District. Shakir moved to the Bara region of the Khyber Agency at the invitation of Haji Naamadar, where he engaged in direct clashes with another cleric, Pir Saif-ur-Rahman of the Barelevi school of thought.<sup>18</sup> The resulting deaths apparently led to both men being banished from Bara by local tribal elders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2009 – Pakistan*, 11 March – Attachment 6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> UK Home Office 2010, *Country Of Origin Information Report – Pakistan*, 18 January, Section 8.17 – Attachment 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Tavernise, S. 2010, 'Bomber Strikes Near Pakistan Rally; Police Officer Seen as Target', *The New York Times*, 19 April <u>http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/20/world/asia/20pstan.html</u> – Accessed 20 April 2010 – Attachment 7

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ali, L. 2010, 'Burqa bombers kill 41 at Pakistan camp', Google News, source: *AFP*, 18 April – Attachment 8
<sup>14</sup> Rodriguez, A. 2010, '5 killed in Pakistani Taliban attacks near U.S. Consulate in Peshawar', *The Los Angeles Times*, 6 April <u>http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/asia/la-fg-pakistan-us-consulate6-</u>
<u>2010apr06,0,5012858.story</u> – Accessed 20 April 2010 – Attachment 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Pakistan Conflict Monitor website <u>http://www.pakistanconflictmonitor.org/north-west-frontier-province/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> South Asia Terrorism Portal <u>http://satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/majorincidents.htm</u>

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Masood, S. 2009, 'Provincial politician is slain in Pakistan', *New York Times*, 1 December
<u>http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/02/world/asia/02pstan.html?ref=asia</u> – Accessed 2 December 2009 – Attachment 5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Zaidi, S. 2008, 'A Profile of Mangal Bagh', Long War Journal website, November, pp3-4 – Attachment 10

According to *The Long War Journal*, prior to his departure Shakir appointed Mangal Bagh, then a 32 year old former bus driver, as his deputy and successor. In 2006 the Pakistan Army's Frontier Corp paramilitary unit was sent in to reassert state control over the region. Shakir was reportedly arrested and Rahman allegedly fled to the Punjab. Subsequently, the Frontier Corps retreated, leaving Mangal Bagh and the Lashkar-e-Islami to emerge as the undisputed power in the Bara region of the Khyber Agency.<sup>19</sup>

Lashkar-e-Islami has become the de facto state in the valley, filling the vacuum left by departing government officials with its own police, laws and justice, including the execution of persons found guilty of major crimes by the militants.<sup>20 21</sup> The Global Security website states that it was only at this point that Lashkar-e-Islami was declared an illegal organisation by Islamabad.<sup>22</sup>

Not content with confining his power to the Bara River Valley, Mangal Bagh begun issuing edicts to authorities elsewhere in the Khyber Agency. In 2007 *The News* reported that Mangal Bagh Afridi warned Khyber Agency authorities not to allow women the right to vote in elections or "face dire consequences".<sup>23</sup> More recently it has been reported that Lashkar-e-Islam has spread its influence into Peshawar; the US Department of State reported in 2008 that militants "affiliated with" Lashkar-e-Islam kidnapped 25 to 32 Christians and one Muslim in Peshawar, because a Muslim man had rented a building to the Christians.<sup>24</sup> The International Crisis Group (ICG) states that these Christians were transported and detained in the Khyber Agency. Although the hostages were soon released following negotiations with the local administration, the incident 'heightened insecurity among non-Muslims'.<sup>25</sup> The US Department of State adds that in the same year Lashkar-e-Islam activists visited a shrine in Peshawar to warn people "to avoid taking part in religious ceremonies there".<sup>26</sup> *The Long War Journal* reports that in March 2008 Lashkar-e-Islami fought a battle "over a religious issue" with villagers from Sheikhan just south of the city of Peshawar (see map 1), killing about a dozen".<sup>27</sup>

Despite his Deobandi edicts, Mangal Bagh has not officially aligned himself with either the Afghanistan Taliban or Pakistan's Tehrik-e-Taliban. According to *The Long War Journal*, "Bagh has consistently aligned himself ideologically with the state – yet, at the same time defying it – and has vehemently denied terrorism tactics; he has also not joined the Taliban movement in Pakistan." Nor does he allow foreign Taliban/Al Qaeda fighters, such as Uzbeks or Chechens, into his territory.<sup>28 29 30</sup> However, in February 2010 associates of Mangal Bagh

<sup>22</sup> 'Lashkar-e-Islami/Mangal Bagh Afridi' 2009, Global Security website, 23 February
<u>http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/lei.htm</u> – Accessed 18 February 2010 – Attachment 13
<sup>23</sup> 'Pakistan militant warns Khyber Agency women against voting' 2008, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, source:

The News, 15 February – Attachment 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Zaidi, S. 2008, 'A Profile of Mangal Bagh', Long War Journal website, November, p.5 – Attachment 10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 'Islamic group publicly executes alleged criminal in Pakistan tribal area – paper' 2007, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, source: *Dawn*, 10 December – Attachment 11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 'Lashkar-e-Islami militants take control in parts of Pakistan's Khyber Agency' 2007, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, source: *The News*, 17 April – Attachment 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> US Department of State 2008, International Religious Freedom Report for 2008 – Pakistan, 19 September – Attachment 17

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> International Crisis Group 2009, *Pakistan: The Militant Jihadi Challenge*, Asia Report N°164, 13 March, p.12
– Attachment 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> US Department of State 2008, International Religious Freedom Report for 2008 – Pakistan, 19 September – Attachment 17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Zaidi, S. 2008, 'A Profile of Mangal Bagh', *Long War Journal* website, November, p.8 – Attachment 10

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Zaidi, S. 2008, 'A Profile of Mangal Bagh', *Long War Journal* website, November, pp.11-12 – Attachment 10
<sup>29</sup> 'Mangal Bagh claims he refused to join Taliban' 2008, *The News*, 21 April

http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily\_detail.asp?id=108035 – Accessed 13 November 2008 – Attachment 19 <sup>30</sup> Masood, A. 2008, 'Who is Mangal Bagh Now Commanding Khyber', *Pakistan Times*, 29 April http://www.pak-times.com/2008/04/29/who-is-mangal-bagh-now-commanding-khyber/ – Accessed 13 November 2008 – Attachment 20

Afridi were killed in a bomb blast in a mosque in Aka Khel in the Khyber Agency while reportedly preparing suicide vests and roadside bombs. *The New York Times* reported comments by a "Pakistani intelligence official in Peshawar" that one of the bombs detonated during its preparation.<sup>31</sup> If true, it would indicate that Mangal Bagh Afridi and Lashkar-e-Islami have begun to associate with Taliban movements involved in terrorist activities, despite statements to the contrary.

One explanation for Mangal Bagh's reluctance to directly link Lashkar-e-Islami with international jihadist movements is that he wishes to avoid attracting the wrath of the army as currently experienced by militias elsewhere in Pakistan, thus disrupting its lucrative enterprises. A December 2009 report by *BBC News* describes Lashkar-e-Islami as one of several 'criminal groups' operating "in the guise of Taliban...Apart from kidnappings-for-ransom and car-jacking, these groups have also been involved in looting supplies being shipped to international forces in Afghanistan via a road that connects the Pakistani port of Karachi with the country's north-west and passes through Darra Adamkhel-Khyber region." *BBC News* also links Lashkar-e-Islami with rocket attacks and bombings in Peshawar city and states that "recently, they are suspected of setting fire to hundreds of trucks carrying Nato (sic) supplies at a transit terminal in Peshawar."<sup>32</sup> Such reports paint Mangal Bagh as a violent entrepreneur masquerading as a pious Muslim.

For a more detailed chronology of the rise of Lashkar-e-Islam and incidents involving militia members see *RRT Research Response PAK34106*.<sup>33</sup>

In Islam, the antithesis to Deobandi practice is Sufism. Sufism is widely observed in Pakistan and one of its most famous adherents was Pir Syed Naseer-ud-Din Naseer (also known as Nasir-U-Din). According to one obituary, Pir Syed Naseer-ud-Din Naseer was a poet, scholar and "spiritual personality of Pakistan" who died in February 2009.<sup>34</sup> The website of the Makkah Masjid in Leeds describes Naseer-ud-Din as a renowned and much loved Sufi.<sup>35</sup> Sufism emerged early in Islam's history in response to the development of Sunni and Shiite jurisprudence, emphasizing a "heart-felt mystical relationship with God."<sup>36</sup> Sufism and Sufi music, known as Qaawali, has a particularly strong following in Pakistan and Sufi saints' graves are sites of pilgrimage for millions of Pakistanis. It is highly likely that the shrine in Peshawar where Lashkar-e-Islam activists warned away visitors was just such a Sufi saint's tomb; Sufism, including Qaawali singing, is strongly opposed by Deobandi theologians.<sup>37</sup> As a consequence, many Pakistanis oppose Deobandi and other schools of jurisprudential thought as un-Pakistani.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Shah, P.Z. & Masood, S. 2010, 'At Least 30 Die in Blast At a Mosque In Pakistan', *The New York Times*, 19 February <u>http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9803E2D9113EF93AA25751C0A9669D8B63</u> – Accessed 21 April 2010 – Attachment 21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> 'The Afghan-Pakistan militant nexus' 2009, *BBC News*, 1 December <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7601748.stm</u> – Accessed 04 March 2010 – Attachment 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> RRT Research & Information 2008, *Research Response PAK34106*, 26 November – Attachment 22

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> 'Pir Syed Naseer-ud-Din Naseer of Golra Sharif passes away' 2009, Minhaj-ul-Quran International website,
13 February <u>http://www.minhaj.org/english/tid/7625/Pir-Syed-Naseer-ud-Din-Naseer-of-Golra-Sharif-passes-away--.html</u> – Accessed 22 April 2010 – Attachment 38
<sup>35</sup> 'Pir Syed Naseer-ud-Din Naseer of Golra Sharif passes away' 2010, Leeds Makkah Masjid website, 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> 'Pir Syed Naseer-ud-Din Naseer of Golra Sharif passes away' 2010, Leeds Makkah Masjid website, 14 February <u>http://www.makkahmasjid.co.uk/wp/index.php/2009/02/14/pir-syed-naseer-ud-din-naseer-of-golra-sharif-passes-away/comment-page-1/</u> – Accessed 22 April 2010 – Attachment 40

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Who are the Deobandis?' 2009, Suburban Emergency Management project website, 15 January <u>http://www.semp.us/publications/biot\_reader.php?BiotID=585</u> – Accessed 9 November 2009 – Attachment 41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> The most famous Qaawali singer was the late Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan.

### 4. Are local people looking like Westerners likely to encounter problems in the area?

Mangal Bagh has decreed a number of cultural rules, whose transgressions can be severely punished. These rules are similar to rules imposed by the Taliban in Afghanistan, and include the wearing of beards, caps, shalwar kameez, the showing of ankles, and the listening and broadcasting of music. This would suggest that persons dressed in western attire and listening to western music are likely to encounter problems in those areas under the control of the Lashkar-e-Islami. Reports also suggest that even conservative locals, including senior tribesmen, have been 'humiliated' by Lashkar-e-Islami enforcers.

The Jamestown Foundation reported in 2007 that Mangal Bagh declared that all men in the Khyber Agency must wear the Islamic cap; "in his radio address last week issued this edict and announced that violators' heads will be shaved and they will face a monetary fine." The same report also states that popular music has been banned and that taxi drivers and citizens caught playing music would be subject to a fine.<sup>38</sup> *The Daily Times* reported in 2008 that Mangal Bagh has "asked men to keep beards, cover their heads with caps, and keep their ankles visible to avoid thrashings. A large number of people have bought caps to avoid being killed."<sup>39</sup>

*The News* reported in June 2008 that Lashkar-e-Islam is guilty of "abducting people for not coming up to the moral standards set by Lashkar-e-Islam."<sup>40</sup> A 2008 report in the *Daily Times* quotes a Khyber Agency tribal elder who states that Lashkar-e-Islam men abused and humiliated him and other Shinwari and Afridi tribesmen at checkpoints; "I feel disgraced and humiliated at the way the LI men treat us at checkposts', a tribal elder who migrated to Peshawar from Khyber following the emergence of the private militia and the Taliban in the area told Daily Times." The report also states that Lashkar-e-Islam militia confiscate mobile phones with musical ring tones.<sup>41</sup>

# 5. Would it be possible for a young person with some education (and a wife and 3 children) to relocate to another place in Pakistan (including major cities)?

It is possible for educated persons to relocate elsewhere in Pakistan. Article 15 of the Pakistan Constitution states: "Every citizen shall have the right to remain in and, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the public interest, enter and move freely throughout Pakistan and to reside and settle in any part thereof."<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, persons able to speak English or the national language Urdu could conceivably live and work throughout the country, particularly in major cities such as Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi. 'Western' persons would also find large, secular middle classes in these cities. Karachi is also home to a large Pashtun population. The issue therefore becomes whether persons are likely to be pursued by militias such as Lashkar-e-Islam.

A July 2009 RRT research response<sup>43</sup> provides commentary by Dr Aneela Babar of the Monash Asia Institute. Dr Babar comments that she is aware of incidents where militant

<sup>39</sup> 'Mangal Bagh still rules Khyber' 2008, *Daily Times*, 1 September <u>http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C09%5C01%5Cstory\_1-9-2008\_pg3\_1</u> – Accessed 13 November 2008 – Attachment 24

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Abbas, H. 2007, 'Increasing Talibanisation in Pakistan's Seven Tribal Agencies', *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 5, No. 18, Jamestown Foundation – Attachment 23

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Yusufzai, R. 2008, 'The grim dangers in FATA', *The News*, 28 June
<u>http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily\_detail.asp?id=120959</u> – Accessed 9 July 2009 – Attachment 16
<sup>41</sup> Khattak, I. 2008, 'Khyber's Shinwaris, Afridis feel 'humiliated' by LI', *Daily Times*, 14 December

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C12%5C14%5Cstory\_14-12-2008\_pg7\_14 – Accessed 9 July 2009 – Attachment 25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Human Rights Commission of Pakistan 2005, *The State of Human Rights in 2005*, HRCP website, p.1 – Attachment 27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response PAK 35019*, 17 July – Attachment 28

networks from the NWFP had tracked down Pathans in Karachi; however, in such incidents the victims were wanted for betraying particular resistance networks to Pakistan security forces.<sup>44</sup>

The same response also contains a report of a Pashtun from the Khyber Agency who was tracked down and killed in 2008. However, the individual was not simply a westernised citizen escaping Deobandi cultural rules, but rather a person who was commercially involved with NATO forces; *Adnkronos International* reported that Shaukat Afridi, "was abducted in the Pakistani city of Karachi on Friday by armed men believed to be linked to an al-Qaeda cell" because of his involvement in the supply of "oil to NATO forces in Afghanistan"<sup>45</sup>

People associated with Lashkar-e-Islam have been located in Karachi; however, such men were employed as criminal fund raisers rather than assassins of philosophically opposed absconders from NWFP; in February 2009 the *Daily Times* reported that 4 men had been arrested in Karachi with links to Mangal Bagh Afridi and Lashkar-e-Islam. These men were allegedly involved in providing finance to Lashkar-e-Islam and raised funds through robberies and kidnappings.<sup>46</sup>

January 2010 Country Advice<sup>47</sup> suggested that relatively small, localised organisations such the TNSM in Swat neither have the resources, nor the inclination to pursue relatively minor opponents across Pakistan; however, larger organisations such as Tehrik-e-Taliban have both the resources and the inclination to pursue targets in Pakistan's major cities. In January 2010 it was reported in *The Nation* that "[o]ver seventy important personalities including governors, incumbent and former chief ministers, leaders of political parties, sitting inspector generals of police and heads of paramilitary forces are on the hit list of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)".<sup>48</sup> There is, however, no established link between the TTP and Lashkar-e-Islam. Furthermore, the TTP only appear interested in pursuing important political and military opponents.

One recent example of an assassination of a major figure involved in the fight against the TTP occurred in December 2009 when a Brigadier in the Pakistan Army was killed in Islamabad by "[t]wo assailants on a motorbike". According to *The New York Times*, no one has been arrested in connection with the killing; no reason for the killing has been released, nor have any Islamic militant groups claimed responsibility. *The New York Times* does state that the killing of the officer "appeared to be a direct reprisal against the army's current offensive against militants in the rugged tribal region of South Waziristan." Furthermore, "[e]arlier this year, he had been involved in the planning of military operations in Swat and Bajaur. He was also involved in the Red Mosque operation in Islamabad in 2007 when government troops fought militants holed up inside the mosque and madrasa compounds."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> RRT Research & Information 2009, *Record of Conversation with Dr Aneela Babar of the Monash University* Monash Asia Institute on 29 May 2009, 29 May – Attachment 29

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> 'Pakistan: Oil trader kidnapped by militants in Karachi' 2008, Adnkronos International, 9 May
<u>http://www.adnkronos.com/AKI/English/Security/?id=1.0.2147108962</u> – Accessed 9 July 2009 – Attachment 30
<sup>46</sup> '4 men linked to terrorist outfit held' 2009, Daily Times, 7 February

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2009\02\07\story\_7-2-2009\_pg12\_4 - Accessed 16 July 2009 - Attachment 31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> RRT Country Advice 2010, *Country Advice PAK36051*, 29 January – Attachment 32

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> 'Over 70 politicians, police officials reportedly on Pakistani Taleban hit-list' 2010, *BBC Monitoring Service*, source: *The Nation*, 13 January – Attachment 37

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