Non-Traditional Security Threats in Pakistan: Role of Violent Non-State Actors

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Chronology

- Pak-Afghan border
- FATA
- Cold war era
- Kashmir conflict
- Afghan war
- Post 9/11 development
- Nationalism vs. Religious fever
- Muj to Talib
- Classification of good & bad

Agency	Area	Population	Population density
FATA	27220	3176331	117
Bajaur	1290	595227	461
Khyber	2576	546730	212
Kurram	3380	448310	133
Mohmand	2296	334453	146
North waziristan	4707	361246	77
Orakzai	1538	225441	147
South Waziristan	6620	429841	65

National Action Plan & NSAs

Agenda #	Theme
3	**Ensure no armed militias are allowed to function in the country**
7	**Ensuring against re-emergence of proscribed organisations**
11	**Ban on glorification of terrorism and terrorist organisations through print and electronic media**
12	**FATA Reforms**
13	**Dismantling communication networks of terrorist organisations**
15	**Zero tolerance for militancy in Punjab**
16	**Taking the ongoing operation in Karachi to its logical conclusion**
18	**Dealing firmly with sectarian terrorists**
19	**Policy to deal with the issue of Afghan refugees**

VNSAs

- NAP depicts the resolve of the state to weed out violent Non-state Actors (VNSAs).

- In the backdrop of post cold war scenario VNSAs posed more threat to the states than the rival military might.

- The last three decades of 20th century nurtured VNSAs consequently 21st century witnessed their dominating role.

VNSAs

- There is hardly a country where existence of NSAs can be denied, if somewhere they are not active they may be dormant.

- Though VNSAs is a reality but often states opt for "denial". Such denial provides further space and strength to the VNSAs.

VNSAs

- In post cold war scenario the pattern of conflict changed significantly as armed conflicts are not only being waged between states but rather conflicts are taking place within states.

- In post 9/11 scenario VNSAs persistently challenged the legitimacy and power of the states. By employing violent tactics they want to attain public support and legitimacy.

Characteristics

- Organized groups
- Command structure
- Operate outside the state control
- Induct activists by force or attract volunteers
- In exceptional situations VNSAs also enjoy territorial control. (TTP controlled certain pockets of FATA, LTTE in Sri Lanka and Moro Islamic Liberation Front in Philippines)
- Clandestine networks
- to advance their narrative employ latest techniques of propaganda.

Characteristics

- Employ extreme violent tactics against civilian population

- NSAs want to erode the public confidence in state & multiply insecurity.

- VNSAs are active in the form of insurgents, terrorists, militias & orginised criminal groups.

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From ethnic to religious

- Prior to 9/11 VNSAs were primarily motivated by ethnic considerations however in post 9/11 era "**millenarianism**" with intense religious fever seems the prime motivation.

Nexus between NSAs & Criminal Groups

- Though militias are not formally trained but terrorist groups have special focus on intense and goal oriented training.

- In certain situations terrorist organisations, orginised criminal gangs & smugglers form nexus hence some ***operational functions*** are entrusted to criminal groups. In response criminal groups get money and protection.

VNSAs

- By excessive & repeated coverage media unconsciously provides oxygen to the VNSAs.

- Before implementation of NAP claiming of responsibility through media by VNSAs was an established norm. However by barring mass media to accommodate such claims NAP bailed out the media.

- VNSAs are also very possessive about technology, when they are denied physical space they prefer to remain alive in cyber space.

- For furtherance of their mission VNSAs not only attract volunteers but also employ child soldiers.

VNSAs desire change in state policies

- Acts of terrorism are primarily carried out to compel the states to <u>change the policies</u> .Such policy change is not always favorable to VNSAs.

- In 2004 Madrid attacks forced Spain to withdraw troops from Iraq however in the backdrop of APS attack in Peshawar in 2014 Pakistani leadership developed consensus on NAP thus opted for an offensive strategy.

Role of states in promotion of VNSAs

- To undermine rival states often states financed, trained and extended diplomatic support to VNSAs.

- Situation slips out of control when states fail to realize that power to retain gun and exercise powers to run the state are exclusive powers of the states.

- States cannot afford militias, parallel administrative or judicial apparatus.

VNSAs – usually enemy within

- In most of cases its enemy within who looks likes locals hence difficult to identify.

- VNSAs always try to use <u>ungoverned or weakly governed space</u> to their advantage.

- Also utilize cyber space to the optimum level.

- Technological advancement also provided incentives to VNSAs hence threatened national security.

- Also use the services of potential hackers.

VNSAs

- For emotional exploitation youth is often employed .

- For financing donations are collected & financial proceeds are transmitted through flawed banking system & illegal transactions.

- To prove their worth they intrude into the inner core of significant institutions. Ideology, religion, ethnicity or sectarian affiliation may be the driving force.

VNSAs

- Though in minority but for imposition of own agenda VNSAs try to flex their muscles.
- Apparently NSAs pose threat to the governments but in reality VNSAs are threat to the states.
- Through violent means VNSAs try to register their presence and seek a permanent role in the statecraft.
- Since 1979 Pakistan is confronted with the increased presence of VNSAs.
- During insurgency in Malakand & prior to operation Zarb-i-Azb VNSAs challenged the writ of the state however after military operations in Malakand and FATA it seems difficult for VNSAs to register their open presence.

VNSAs

- Sympathizers within nation state system provide more space to such elements.
- For criminal activities like kidnapping for ransom, gunrunning and extortion VNSAs also use urban space.
- International law primarily focuses on states therefore there is no legal space to negotiate with Non state actors.
- To ensure humanitarian coverage there is growing demand for the inclusion of NSAs in international law.

VNSAs

- VNSAs **take full advantages of the flaws of the criminal justice system and try to run their own courts, jails and police.**

- **To satisfy the victims of crimes** VNSAs **often introduce "revolutionary justice" thus often inflict harsh punishments like capital punishments and beheading.**

- **For sometime** VNSAs **keep organizational unity intact however owing to individuality and power centric approach sometimes they face factionalism. In our context TTP faced inner grouping that led to its fragmentation.**

Globalisation & VNSAs

- **To impose new values** VNSAs **try to introduce new social and cultural values. With such tact they attract those who are already annoyed with the prevailing norms. Beheading, suicide bombing, use of female for violence and attacking shrines and places of worship had never been part of our tribal culture but ongoing onslaughts changed the dynamics. Consequently** VNSAs **also resorted to cultural terrorism.**

- <u>**Globalisation**</u> **also provided strength to VNSAs, as planning, training, financing, facilitation and targeting are made in different parts of the world hence states are persistently confronted with hindrances.**

Natural disasters & VNSAs

- Apart from resorting to violence in the backdrop of natural disasters for winning the sympathies of common folk the activists of such organisations enthusiastically participate in relief activities.

PEACE ACCORDS

APR 2004	Nek Mohammad- Govt (verbal)	Killed in June 2004 Abrogated
FEB 2005	Baitullah Mehsud-Govt	SWA $20 m compensation /loan Alqaida
SEP 2006	Baitullah Mehsud-Govt	NWA August 2007 broke the deal
AUG 2007	Lal Masjid Operation	10 Times Increase in SBs
MAY 2008	Swat Peace Accord	Ultimatum to NWFP Govt.

Our faulty approach

- Flaw with our approach is that we want to resolve every issue with force. Apart from coercive approach there is dire need to opt for inclusive approach too. De-radicalisation and re-integration shall be the top priorities.

- Extremism is cancer infected followers of different religions, cultures, ethnicity and sects but yet it's a curable cancer. A living state is to be protective and humane therefore shall act as a protective shield in between extremists and innocent citizens.