



## National Counter Terrorism and Extremism Strategy

Tariq Parvez

### About the Author

Tariq Parvez is Member Board of Advisers, IPR. He is former director general of Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency and former national coordinator of the National Counter Terrorism Authority. He joined the Police Service of Pakistan in 1973, retiring in 2008. In 2013, Parvez was caretaker home minister of the Punjab provincial government.

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### Summary

- Three types of militancy prevalent in Pakistan i.e. militancy in the name of religion (MITNOR), militancy carried out by Sub nationalists and ethno-political militancy.
- The proposed four pillars of NACTES are:
  - a) Neutralizing militants' ideology,
  - b) reducing militants' manpower)
  - c) dismantling militants' support network
  - d) improving security of likely targets.
- The way forward is a dynamic, integrated and sustained institutional response by all the stakeholders in the above mentioned four dimensions, orchestrated by a civilian focal institution at the federal level, responsible directly to the Prime Minister.

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4- Shami Road,  
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## Acronyms

**AQ:** Al-Qaeda

**ATA:** Anti-Terrorism Act

**CTD:** Counter Terrorism Department

**ETIM:** East Turkistan Islamic Movement

**FATA:** Federally Administered Tribal Areas

**FATF:** Financial Action Task Force

**FIA:** Federal Investigation Agency

**GHQ:** General Head Quarters

**HRW:** Human Rights Watch

**IMU:** Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

**ISIS:** Inter-Services Intelligence

**JuD:** Jamat -ud-Dawa

**KPK:** Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

**LeB:** Lashkar-e-Balochistan

**LeJ:** Lashkar-e-Jhangvi

**LeT:** Lashkar-e-Taiba

**NACTA:** National Counter Terrorism Authority

**NACTES:** National Counter Terrorism and Extremism Strategy

**NACVEC:** National Counter Violent Extremism Centre

**NADRA:** National Database & Registration Authority

**NR3C:** National Response Centre for Cyber Crime

**SIM:** Subscriber Identity Module

**SMP:** Sepah-e-Muhammad Pakistan

**SSP:** Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan

**TFIU:** Terrorist Financial Investigation Unit

**TJP:** Tehreek-e-Jaafria Pakistan

**TTP:** Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan

# **National Counter Terrorism and Extremism Strategy (NACTES)**

For the last many years, Pakistan is faced with a terrorist threat that is widespread, multifaceted, and consistently growing. This calls for a comprehensive, integrated and a dynamic strategy. While all national counter terrorism strategies have the same objective of combating terrorism, these differ in terms of formats, emphasis and local nuances. The recently issued National Internal Security Policy by the government of Pakistan is one approach. The National Counter Terrorism and Extremism Strategy (NACTES), being proposed here is another.

## **1. Threat Assessment**

An analysis of the security environment in Pakistan during the last sixty seven years of its existence reveals that starting from a pluralist, tolerant and militancy free society at the time of its independence, it has evolved into a society which is confronted with a serious existential threat from intolerance, exclusiveness and multidimensional militancy.

## **2. Types of Militancy in Pakistan**

Militancy in Pakistan can be broadly divided into three categories i.e.

- Militancy in the name of religion (MITNOR)
- Sub-nationalist Militancy
- Ethno political Militancy

## **2.1. Militancy In The Name Of Religion (MITNOR)**

This lumps together all the groups which carry out militant acts and use religion to justify these acts. It can be broadly divided into two categories i.e. internal and external.

### **2.1.1. Internal Dimension of MITNOR**

The internal dimension of MITNOR aims to attack targets within the country. It can be said that the most serious threat to the security of Pakistan, today, is posed by the internal dimension of MITNOR, because its spread is all over the country, it is extremely lethal, with suicide bombing as its signature modus operandi, and it targets the state security institutions and critical infrastructure, besides segments of civil society, through sophisticated terrorist attacks. It manifests itself in a number of ever growing variants like sectarian (Sunni-Shia) intra-Sunni (Deobandi-Barelvi), communal (Anti-Christian, Sikhs etc.), anti-liberal political parties, anti-military, violence to enforce Sharia (Swat), anti-obscenity etc. During the last ten years, approximately 50,000 persons were killed by them, including more than 5000 military personnel <sup>1</sup>. Their targets have varied from highest political personalities (President Gen Musharraf 2003, Benazir Bhutto 2007, Aftab Sherpao 2007, Asfandyar Wali 2009, Bashir Bilour 2012), to sensitive state security institutions (Pakistan Ordnance Factory, Wah, Rawalpindi, 2008 Army General Headquarters, Rawalpindi, 2009, Police Training School Manawan, Lahore, 2009, Mehran Naval Base, Karachi 2011, PAF Air Base, Kamra 2012, Peshawar Airport 2012, 2014, Karachi Airport 2014 and Naval Dockyard 2014). They carried out and owned spectacular jail breaks freeing hundreds of imprisoned criminals including terrorists in KPK (Bannu Jail 2012, Dera Ismail Khan jail 2013).

From hundreds of cases of sectarian killings carried out in all the provinces by Shia and Sunni militants (827 attacks and 2043 killed in last ten years), to attacks on mosques (Charsadda Mosque 2007, Parade Lane Mosque Rawalpindi 2009, Karbla Gaamay Shah, Lahore 2010, Jannat Mosque, Malir Karachi, 2014, Shikarpur 2015) to Churches (Bahawalpur 2001, Islamabad 2002, Peshawar 2013 etc), to shrines of highly venerated religious saints/personalities (Data Darbar Lahore, 2010, Baba Fareed Shrine Pakpattan, 2010, Abdullah Shah Ghazi Karachi 2010, Ghazi Baba, Peshawar 2010). Not only that, they carried out hundreds of bombings of schools, the most lethal was the killing of more than 140 students and teachers in Army public School Peshawar in December 2014, (839 schools bombed from 2009-2012 in KPK and FATA), killed polio vaccine workers (31 killed between July 2012 and July 2013, in KPK and FATA).

While they have been controlling territory in some areas of FATA for many years now, they took literal control of administration of District Swat in the years 2008-2009, totally paralyzing the State in that district, before being thrown out by military action in 2009. Not only that, they are also reported by the police sources to be indulging on a large scale in organized crime like kidnapping for ransom, extortion, bank robberies, smuggling etc in many parts of the country.

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<sup>1</sup> Pakistan, Ministry of Interior, National Internal Security Plan (NISIP), (Islamabad, Ministry of Interior, 2013).



Their modus operandi varies from single suicide bombers to sophisticated suicide assaults on hard targets like GHQ etc. While the TTP and some foreign militant organizations have their safe havens in FATA, the shifting of Mullah Fazalullah, Ameer of TTP, to Kunar/Nooristan Provinces of Afghanistan has added a new external element to the security paradigm of Pakistan. According to some analysts, this providing of safe havens in Afghanistan, to some members of banned militant organizations, is indicative of clandestine support of some of the neighboring countries to MITNOR in Pakistan. The gravity of the threat from MITNOR is so serious that the previous Army Chief changed the military doctrine by stating that the main threat to our national security is internal and not from the traditional rival, India.

### **2.1.2. External Dimension of MITNOR**

The external dimension of MITNOR can be broadly divided into three categories i.e.

#### **2.1.2.1. Foreign Militant Organizations Based in Pakistan**

There are foreign militant organizations based in Pakistan, mostly FATA (Afghan Taliban, AQ, IMU, ETIM, Jundullah etc.). Some of these carry out militant acts primarily in their respective countries (Afghan Taliban) while there are others which commit militant acts in Pakistan as well as in other countries (AQ, Jundullah, ETIM, IMU). There has been AQ's involvement in a number of attacks in Pakistan (Suicide attack on Gen Musharraf 2003, Marriot Hotel Islamabad, 2008, Danish Embassy Islamabad 2008 etc.), ETIM's attack on a bus carrying Chinese nationals in Hub, Baluchistan (2007). Jundullah is alleged by the Iranian government to have killed 154 Iranian citizens since 2003. IMU's owning up of the DIK jail break of 2012 in a video posted on the YouTube and the extremely sophisticated attack on Karachi airport of 2014, is indicative of the significant role of the foreign militant organizations in the threat calculus of Pakistan and their nexus with Pakistani militant organizations, specifically the TTP and LeJ.

#### **2.1.2.2. Pakistani Militant Organizations Carrying Out militant Acts Abroad**

Some militant organizations are based in Pakistan but carry out militant acts outside Pakistan, like Afghanistan, Iran, India etc. Indian government has leveled allegations of involvement of Jaish Mohammad in the attack on the Indian Parliament (2001) and of Lashkar-e-Tayyaba in the Mumbai attacks (2008), besides their involvement in militant activities in Indian Held Kashmir. Similarly, Afghanistan has blamed LeT and Jaish Mohammad for carrying out terrorist acts in Afghanistan (Indian Consulate Herat, Afghanistan 2014 etc.). TTP has also been found to have a connection with at least one case of attempted terrorism in USA (Times Square abortive bombing attempt by Faisal Shahzad, 2010). This dimension of militancy in Pakistan, not only impacts adversely on its relations with the neighboring countries and the West but also paints Pakistan in an unfavorable light in front of international community generally.

#### **2.1.2.3. Geo Political Factors**

Geo politics played an important role in spawning radicalization and militancy in Pakistan. The year 1979 was particularly significant in creating and strengthening MITNOR because of the

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, policy of US to respond to it, establishment of a Shia theocracy in Iran and spillover of regional rivalries into Pakistan society, through their respective proxies. Similarly, reports abound of involvement of India and Afghanistan in supporting some elements, not only within MITNOR but also the sub-nationalist militants.

## 2.2. Sub-Nationalist Militancy

The militancy by the sub-nationalists, primarily in Baluchistan, though not as serious as MITNOR, in terms of attacks, casualties and spread (being confined primarily to Baluchistan), nevertheless, constitutes a serious threat to our national security and a grave crisis in terms of loss of human life.

During the year 2013, out of the total 1717 terrorist attacks in the country, the ones carried out by the sub-nationalist militants in Baluchistan were 441 i.e. 25.6%<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, out of the 2451 persons killed by the militants in 2013, the number killed by the sub-nationalist militants was 303 i.e. 12.3%.<sup>3</sup> Again, out of the 60 militant organizations banned by the government of Pakistan, 14 are sub-nationalist militants (Baluch 13, Sindh 1)<sup>4</sup>. As far as the targets are concerned, sub-nationalist militants in Baluchistan have diversified targets from blowing up Sui Gas pipelines (216 attacks in 2005-2014<sup>5</sup>, to bombing railway tracks (49 attacks in 2000-2013 killing 32 and injuring 152)<sup>6</sup>.

Besides, other targets of the Baluch sub-nationalists include the Punjabi and Urdu speaking settlers in the province numbering around 4lacs, particularly after the killing of Akbar Bugti in 2006, with special emphasis on killing educationists (160 non Baluch teachers killed between Jan2008- April 2010. High profile killings include Provincial Education Minister Shafiq Ahmed Khan, Provincial education secretary, both Punjabis, in 2009)<sup>7</sup>, leading to the migration, according to some reports of 2 lakh non Baluchi between 2008- June 2011, to other parts of the country<sup>8</sup>. Similarly, the Baluch sub-nationalists killed 124 policemen and 101 FC personnel in the same period<sup>9</sup>.

According to some analysts, an important factor, inter alia, contributing to the Baluch militancy is the predominantly military response of the FC, a paramilitary set up, in dealing with the sub-nationalists. The sub-nationalists have alleged that the FC has resorted to a policy of picking up

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<sup>2</sup> Pakistan, Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), Pakistan Security Report, (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, 2014) 10-11.

<sup>3</sup> Pips, 12.

<sup>4</sup> NISP, 58-60.

<sup>5</sup> India, Pakistan Datasheet Updated till 2014 South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP) 18 Sep, 2014  
<<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/index.html>

<sup>6</sup> SATP.

<sup>7</sup> HRW

<sup>8</sup> dawn june28,2011

<sup>9</sup> HRW

thousands of their activists without any legal cover, generally termed by the media as the ‘missing persons’. Impartial organizations like the HRW, while not agreeing with the figures given by the sub-nationalists, do attest that hundreds of Baluch activist have been illegally picked up by the FC and that is feeding into the sub-national militancy in Baluchistan.<sup>10</sup> There have been allegations by the Pakistan government against some of its neighbors like Afghanistan, India providing support to the Baluch sub-nationalists in terms of funds, weapons, training and safe havens.

Another category of the sub-nationalists which, though very low profile presently, is of the Sindhi sub-nationalists, led by a banned militant organization called Sindhu Desh Liberation Army( SDLA) and another militant organization called Jeeay Sindh Mutahida Mahaz (JSMM). They carried out 22 terrorist attacks in Sindh province in 2013 killing 8 and injuring 16.<sup>11</sup>

### **2.3. Ethno-Political Militancy**

Another type of militancy in Pakistan is the ethno political militancy which is carried out by militant groups belonging to different ethnic communities’ living in Karachi, but primarily confined to the Urdu speaking and the Pakhtun communities, with recent addition of the Baluchi and rural Sindhi also. Out of the 60 banned militant organizations, the Peoples’ Amn Committee Lyari, is the only ethno political militant group, formed by the Baluchis living in Lyari, which was banned in 2011. The years 2010 and 2011 were the worst years in Karachi due to the ethno political militancy, with 1000 and 1891 people killed respectively <sup>12</sup>. In 2010, 26 target killers were arrested who were interrogated by a joint investigation team (JIT) comprising of officers from police, Intelligence Bureau and ISI. These were found to have links with some of the mainstream political parties.<sup>13</sup>

In 2013, the ethno political militancy registered a decline. Out of the 193 incidents of ethno political violence reported from Sindh in 2013, 183 took place in Karachi and 10 in the rest of Sindh killing a total of 234 people, mostly members of political parties. In the national context, the attacks by the ethno nationalists are approximately 11% of the total terrorist attacks and the deaths from these were 9.5% of the total deaths due to terrorism in the country in 2013<sup>14</sup>. While less in terms of number of attacks (193) and the persons killed (234), as compared to the militant acts by MITNOR and the sub-nationalists, this poses a serious threat to the security of Pakistan, much more than its numbers indicate, primarily in terms of its extremely adverse impact on the economy of the country (Karachi provides 25 % of GDP, 70% of the total national revenue) besides destabilizing the biggest city of Pakistan (population 18 million approx.). Interestingly, only one militant organization involved in ethno political militancy ( People’s Amn Committee), has been

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<sup>10</sup> HRW

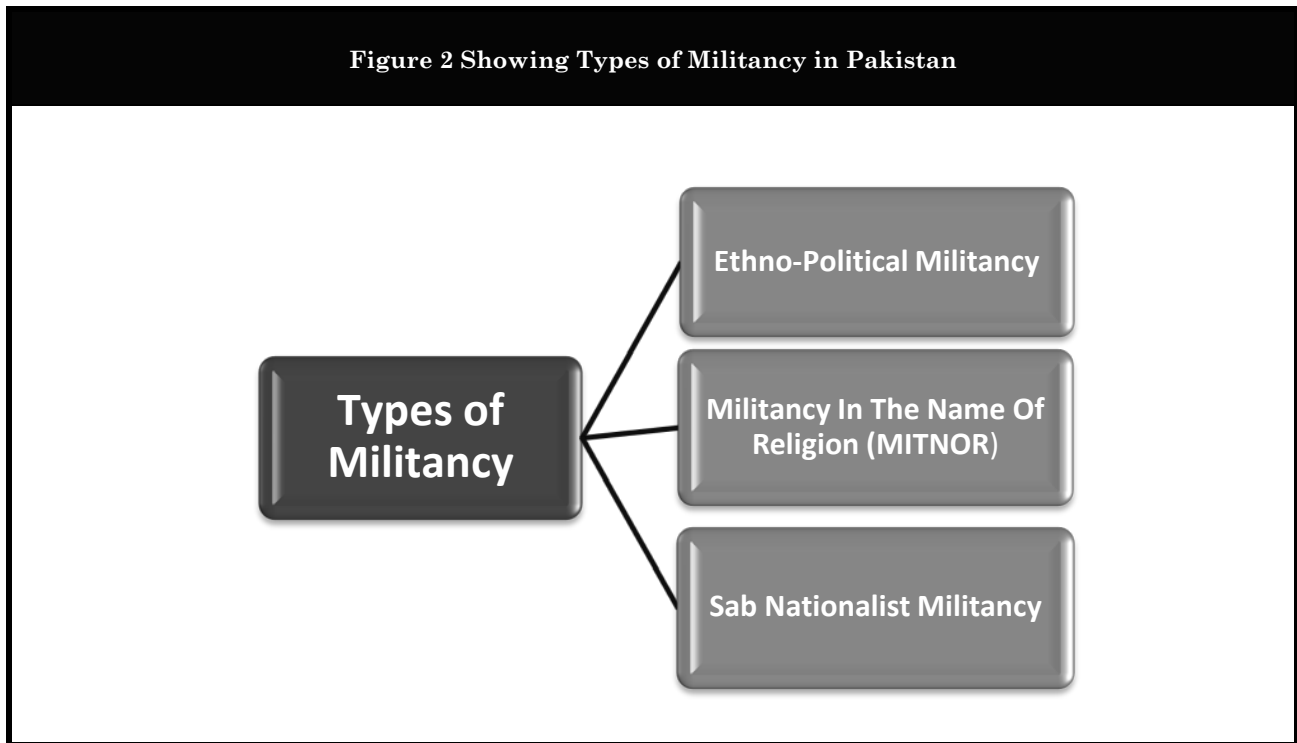
<sup>11</sup> PIPS, 12-14.

<sup>12</sup><sup>12</sup>Huma Yusuf, Conflict Dynamics in Karachi, (New York: USIP, 2012) 10.

<sup>13</sup> Yusuf, Conflict Dynamics in Karachi, 13.

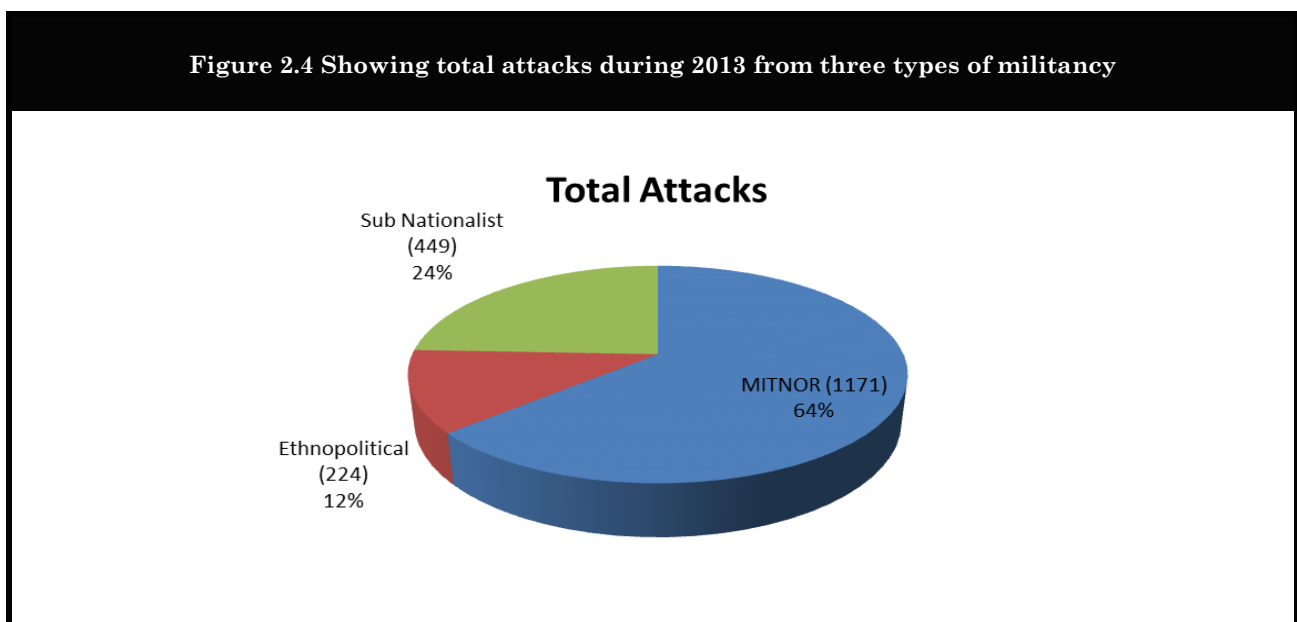
<sup>14</sup>Pips, 32

proscribed under the ATA, while no action against the organizations maintaining militant wings involved in the ethno political terrorism has been taken !



#### 2.4. Brief Statistical Overview of the Three Types of Militancy in Pakistan

The following charts give a broad picture of the relative significance of the three types of militancy in Pakistan, in terms of incidents reported to police and those killed in such attacks;

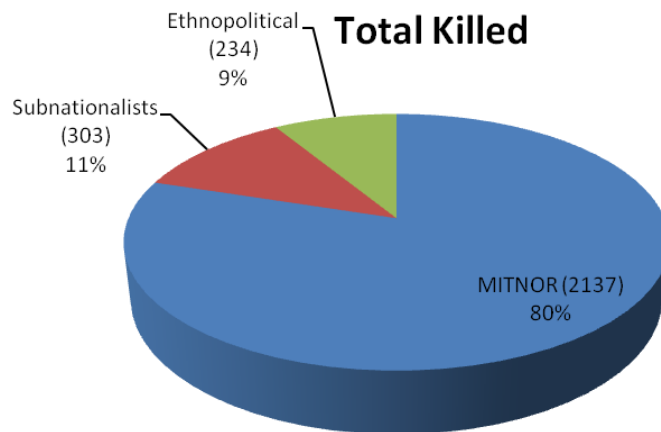


## 2.5. Total Killed in Militant Attacks

The following chart shows the number of casualties in three types of militancy. These casualties included civilians as well as the security personnel. Three interesting observations from these two charts are:

- While the MITNOR carried out 64% of terrorist attacks, their share in the number of victims killed is 80%, giving an average of two persons killed, on an average, in an attack.
- The Sub-nationalists carried out 24% of total terrorist attacks; their share in the number of victims killed is 11%, giving an average of less than one person killed in an attack.
- The ethno political militants carried out 12% of the total terrorist attacks; their share in the number of victims killed is 9%, giving an average of approx. one person killed per attack.

Figure 2.5 Showing total attacks during 2013 from three types of militancy



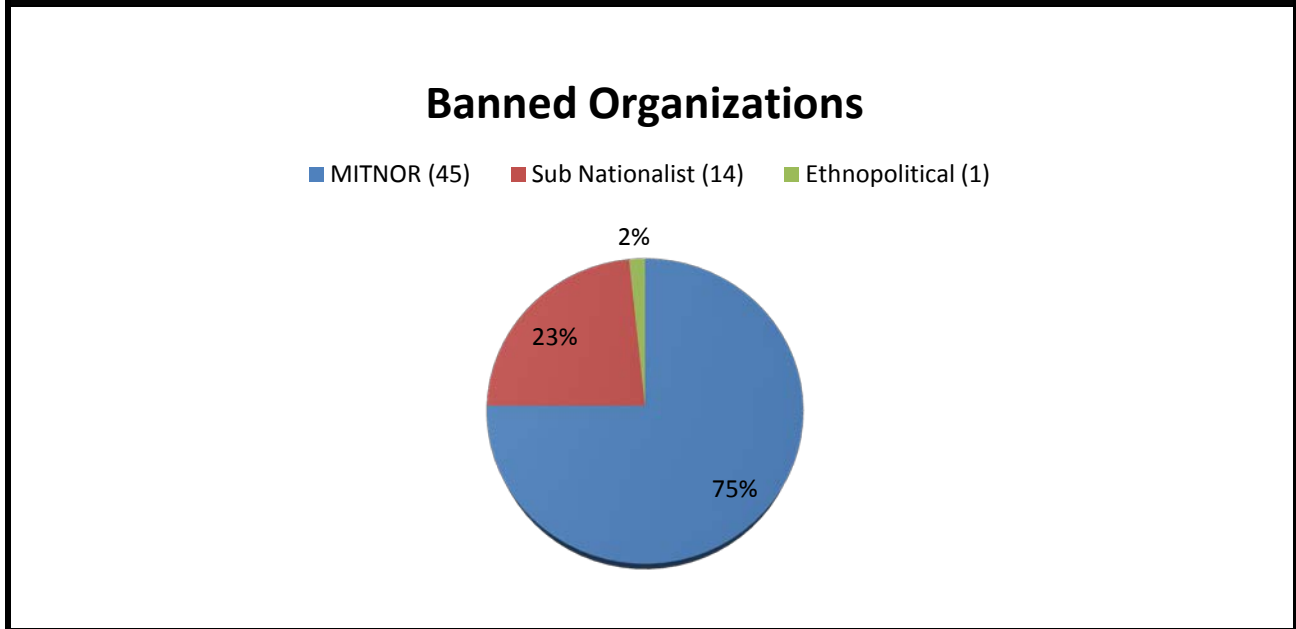
## 2.6. Proscribed Militant Organizations

In response to the militant threat, the government proscribed 60 militant organizations under the ATA<sup>15</sup>. The category wise break-up of the proscribed organizations is in the following chart. The noteworthy point here is that only one organization( Peoples Aman Committee), from the ethno political militants has been banned, while none of the groups indulging in the pakhtun- urdu speaking killings in Karachi, have been proscribed !

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<sup>15</sup> NISP, 58-60.

Figure 2.6 showing the number of banned organizations in Pakistan



### 3. Guiding Principles of NACTES (National Counter Terrorism and Extremism Strategy)

Following are the guiding principles of NACTES:

#### 3.1. Tenets of Islam on Peace Tolerance and Pluralism

- **Universalism:** Allah is the creator of the entire humanity. “All praise is due to Allah, the creator of the worlds”(Quran. Surah Fateha.1;2 )
- **Equality:** “No Arab is superior to a non- Arab, and no white is superior to black and superiority is by righteousness and God fearing alone” (Quran. Surah Ar- Ra’d. 49;13)
- **Tolerance and Peaceful Co-existence:** Tolerance and peaceful co-existence with those of other religions. “To you your religion, to me mine” (Quran. Surah Al Kafirun, 6; 109)“And do not abuse those whom they call upon besides Allah, lest exceeding the limits they should abuse Allah out of ignorance” (Quran, Surah Al An’am6;108)“There is no compulsion in religion”(Quran. Surah Al Baqra 2;256).
- **Killing of a Human being is like Killing of Entire Humanity:** “if anyone slew a person-unless it is for murder or for spreading mischief in the land- it would be as if he slew the whole humanity, and if anyone saved a life, it would be as if he saved the whole humanity “(Quran. Surah Al Maida 5;32).
- **Condemnation of Groups Causing Disorder in Society:** When they are asked not to spread Fasad(disorder), they say’ we do not spread Fasad(disorder); we are the reformers. Yet they are surely mischief mongers, but they perceive not. (Quran.Sura Al Baqra 2; 11-12).

### **3.2 Respect for the Constitution of Pakistan**

The following basic principles of the constitution shall be the guiding values for the NACTES.

- Rule of Law
- Human Rights
- Monopoly of the State over Violence
- Civilian Supremacy
- Right of security of the citizens

### **4. Four Pillars of NACTES (National Counter Terrorism and Extremism Strategy)**

The central idea of the proposed NACTES is to target the factors which are deemed necessary for carrying out a sustained campaign of terrorism by the militant organizations. While a number of factors can be considered to be important for carrying out terrorist activities, the four areas which are considered crucial are:

- Militants' ideology
- Militants' manpower
- Militants' support network
- Vulnerability of militants' likely targets.

It is conceded that there is some degree of overlap between these four pillars, but these are important enough to be focused on, as distinct dimensions of counter terrorism. In terms of these basic four pillars, the following should be the main aims of a national counter terrorism strategy;

#### **4.1. Neutralizing Militants' Ideology**

The *raison d'être* for any militant organization is its ideology, for the implementation of which, it decides to carry out militant activities. The degree of acceptability of this ideology amongst segments of the public is an important determinant of the success of the militant organization. A militant ideology that resonates with some segments of society is likely to lead to recruitment of more members, more donations and a wider sympathetic support network. Neutralizing the militants' ideology has three broad dimensions i.e.

- Developing and disseminating a counter narrative to the militants.
- Addressing the factors that breed militancy in the society
- Criminalizing acts and actors responsible for developing and disseminating the militants' narrative and taking effective deterrent action against these.
- Countering the ideology of the militants, therefore, is the first pillar of NACTES.

## **4.2. Reducing Militants' Manpower**

The second prerequisite for a terrorist organization is to have manpower to carry out terrorist activities. From the counter terrorism perspective, there is, therefore, a need to reduce the manpower of terrorist organizations. This has two dimensions i.e.

- Preventing recruitment of new volunteers in the militant organization
- Neutralizing the existing members of the militant organizations.
- Reducing the manpower is, therefore, the second pillar of the NACTES.

## **4.3. Dismantling Militants' Support Network**

A terrorist organization needs a support network to carry out a sustained campaign of terrorism. Dismantling of the support network is the third pillar of NACTES. While the support network can possibly have a number of components, some of the major ones, which need to be tackled are as follows;

### **4.3.1. Choking of Militants' Funding**

Funds, of course are the life blood of terrorist organizations. Maintaining members' networks, training them, buying weapons, carrying out terrorist operations etc needs considerable funds. An important objective of the proposed counter terrorism strategy is to identify and choke the sources of funding of the militant organizations.

### **4.3.2. Disrupting Weapons supply network**

Terrorist organizations need weapons, including explosives, chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear or any other mechanism / substance used to carry out terrorist activities. As Pakistan moves towards increased computerization of its systems and greater role of use of technology, the militants are also likely to explore new ways to use technology as a weapon. The next target of NACTES, therefore, is to identify and disrupt supply of all types of weapons to the militants.

### **4.3.3. Disabling Militants' Communications**

The need to have an efficient, speedy and secure communication system is a sine qua non for the leaders of the terrorist organizations to be effective in running their organizations and carrying out a sustained campaign of terrorism. Identifying and disabling all the possible means of communication is, therefore, an important component of NACTES.

### **4.3.4. Destroying Militants' Safe Havens**

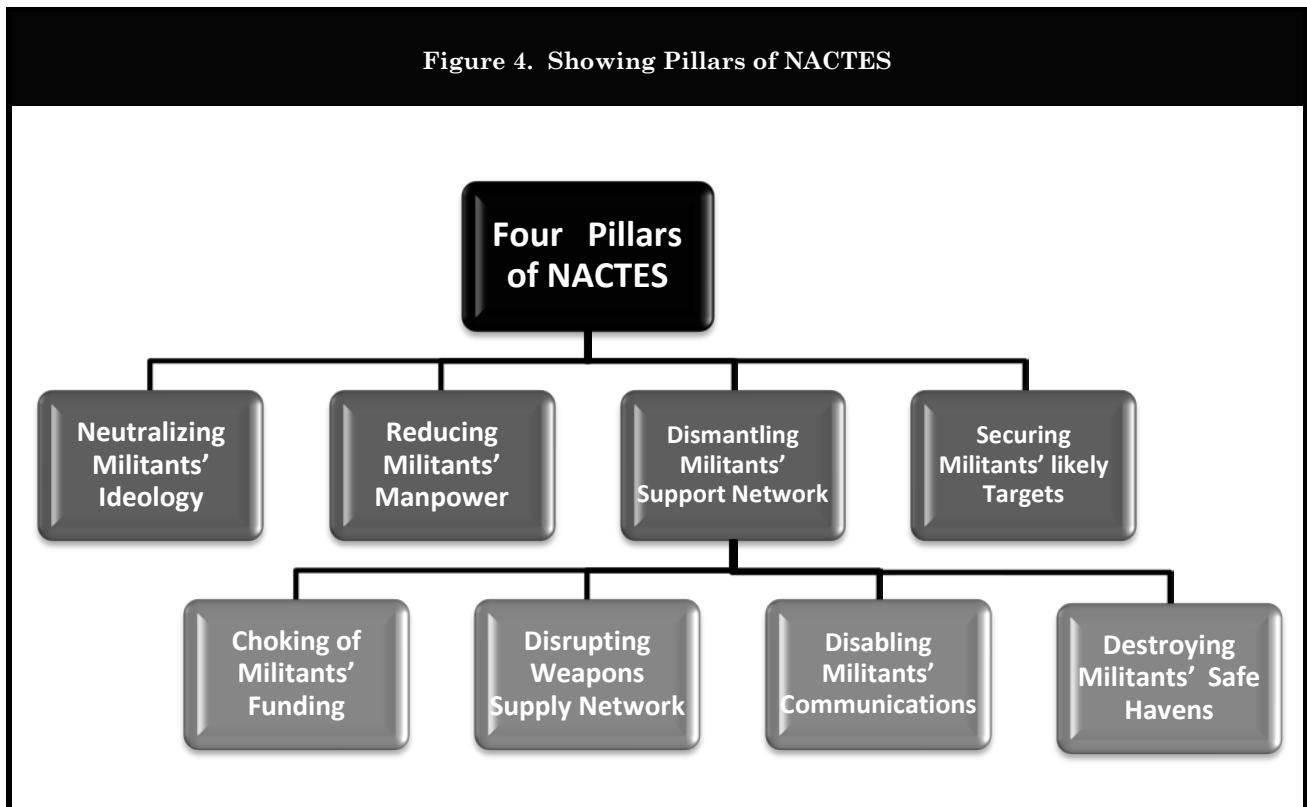
Although there have been instances of terrorist activities being carried out without safe havens, it is felt that for sustained large scale terrorist activities, safe havens play a critical role in providing space for the leadership of the terrorist organization to hide, plan terrorist acts out of the reach of the law enforcement agencies as well as to provide a safe place for the rank and file terrorist to



train and rest. Elimination of such safe havens, if they exist, is considered to be a necessary requirement for an effective counter terrorism response.

#### 4.4 Securing Militants' likely Targets

Vulnerable targets make it easier for militants to carry out their acts of terrorism successfully. Securing ourselves from attacks by the terrorists, therefore, is an important part of the NACTES. This has to be a joint effort by the government, private sector and the civil society.



### 5. Way Forward

Terrorism is a multi-dimensional, dynamic and a long term threat. The need to integrate all dimensions of counter terrorism activity, through a comprehensive strategy cannot be over emphasized. Some of the major steps that need to be taken are as follows;

#### 5.1. General Measures

##### 5.1.1. Existence of Political Will

The existence of strong political will to combat the threat of terrorism is a necessary starting point for an effective implementation of any counter terrorism strategy. It is the resolve of the political government, which provides a powerful impetus to all the government institutions to coordinate and take the national counter terrorism strategy seriously. Also, the extent of public support for

the national counter terrorism effort, the enabling legislation and provision of adequate resources, depends on the commitment of the political government to address this challenge. Thus, the first essential pre requisite of implementation of NACTES is the existence of a strong political will to tackle the menace of terrorism.

### **5.1.2. Mechanism to Coordinate and Monitor Implementation of the Strategies**

The main challenge in a national counter terrorism strategy is to get all the stakeholders on the same page and ensure unity of effort. This calls for setting up one or more high powered, credible focal institutions at the national level to orchestrate and integrate the different dimensions of the NACTES. Existing initiative of establishing NACTA is a step in the right direction but it needs to be made functional urgently. It may be pointed out that NACTA shall be able to deliver only if it is responsible directly to the Prime Minister (like ISI, IB), is manned by experts selected transparently and is provided adequate resources.

### **5.1.3. Emphasis on Research**

“If you know yourself and know the enemy, you need not fear the outcome of a hundred battles” (Sun Tsu). To know the strengths and weaknesses of yourself and your enemy, an essential prerequisite is scientific, objective and rigorous research. There is a need for governments at federal and provincial levels to give due importance to research as an instrument, to guide policy making on terrorism and violent extremism. Government can augment the existing think tanks or create new ones, provide adequate resources and autonomy to carry out research independently and objectively. Private sector can help by financing independent think tanks.

### **5.1.4. Establishing National Data Bases**

Computerized national data bases can serve, inter alia, as an across the spectrum, long term instrument for counter terrorism by facilitating identification of militants and investigation of cases of terrorism. Systematic knowledge of individuals, their criminal activities, their properties, their linkages etc, quick verification of their antecedents, all add up to a knowledge based environment, where militant organizations do not find it easy to organize and carry out clandestine militant activities. The system to use these data bases, however, should have adequate mechanisms to protect the privacy of the normal citizens.

### **5.1.5. Primacy of Police and CJS in National Counter Terrorism Effort**

Counter terrorism is essentially about collecting intelligence pertaining to militants from the community, protecting likely targets, responding to incidents of terrorism, investigating cases of terrorism, collecting evidence, arresting the accused and sending them up to the courts for convictions. These are essentially police functions, and thus in the entire national counter terrorism effort, the police department has a crucial role to play. Whether we win or lose the fight against terrorism would to a great extent be determined by the professional competence, commitment of the police, and availability of needed resources to prove equal to the challenge. Capacity building of the police, therefore, constitutes a basic guiding principle of NACTES.

### **5.1.6. Human Resource Development**

Another factor important for the implementation of the NACTES is the preparation of a pool of experts who have the necessary expertise in different fields like criminology, militancy, forensics, laws etc. A comprehensive and sustained effort is required to build up this pool of experts, and their becoming trainers for focused expertise development in different areas of Counter terrorism required for implementing different aspects of NACTES.

### **5.1.7. Geo Political Factors to be addressed through Integrated Foreign and National Security Policy**

It has already been indicated that geopolitics and its fallout plays an important role in strengthening militancy within Pakistan. The need for formulating an integrated response to the geopolitical dimension of the terrorist threat, through diplomatic means is the need of the hour.

### **5.1.8. Mobilization of Civil Society**

No counter terrorism efforts can succeed in the long run if these do not have the support of the civil society. Finding ways and means to involve the civil society is important component of the way forward in developing a national counter terrorism response.

## **5.2. Specific Measures**

### **5.2.1. Countering Militants Ideology**

As already stated, ideology of a militant organization is its soul and real strength. No long term approach against terrorism can succeed without targeting the respective ideologies of the militant organizations. It is proposed that a five dimensional approach be followed to address this issue i.e.

- Understanding militants' narratives and dissemination mechanisms through pooling in knowledge from research, police interrogations and intelligence reports.
- Developing and effectively disseminating a counter narrative in the light of knowledge gained.
- Taking effective legal action against those involved in formulating and dissemination of militants' ideology
- Returning to our traditional cultural values of tolerance and pluralism, by projecting our folk poets, folk music and Sufis.
- Addressing factors breeding militancy and intolerance in the society.

Specifically, this calls for the following steps;

#### **5.2.1.1. Setting up an Organization Dedicated to Focus on Designing and Disseminating a Counter Narrative**

Presently, there is no government institution at the national and provincial levels, which has been tasked and resourced to deal with the ideological aspect of militancy in Pakistan. The government ought to support setting up of a National Counter Violent Extremism Centre (NACVEC), which should be given the responsibility to devise and implement a national response to counter violent extremism. NACVEC should be manned by experts in media, religion, law, education, law enforcement and culture etc. It should have close liaison with the universities and think tanks.

NACVEC should also be made responsible for monitoring implementation of the designing and dissemination of the counter narrative in all the three types of militancy in Pakistan. At the provincial level, Provincial Counter Violent Extremism Centers (PROCVEC), be set up to deal with this, heretofore, neglected aspect of counter terrorism. These can, alternately, be raised within NACTA and the CTDs at the national and provincial levels respectively. King Abdul Aziz Centre for National Dialogue, Ryadh (2003) and International Centre of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism in Abu Dhabi (2012) have been acknowledged as the international best practices in this regard.

#### **5.2.1.2. To address General Factors that Breed Militancy**

Draining the swamp that breeds militants is a much broader challenge and spreads over almost all the socio economic factors like good governance, poverty alleviation, provision of justice, education system, media, lack of resolution of internal conflicts like deprivation of provinces, general culture of intolerance, security policies to deal with regional conflicts etc. This calls for a multidimensional effort by the government, media, private sector and the civil society. Three guiding principles in this can be accessible transparency, effective accountability and use of technology. Impact of state policies in terms of radicalizing the society needs to be studied and remedied. Some of the recent measures taken, like Right to Information Acts, are steps in the right direction but need to be publicized and made more easily accessible for the citizens. Use of technology to get public feedback and redress public grievances is yet another way forward. This is an area where NACVEC, can play a lead role.

#### **5.2.1.3. To Return to Cultural and Religious Roots**

Our land has a centuries old culture (Indus civilization dates back to 2300 BC), of tolerance and pluralism. The radicalization of the last few decades is a veneer on our deeper cultural selves. Within the umbrella of NACVEC, dedicated structures be set up at the national and provincial level to prepare and implement a comprehensive plan of returning to our cultural roots through promoting our local poets, folk music, Sufis, melas, dress, food etc. While the deeply entrenched support network of the extremists is bound to resist this effort, launching it after due planning can considerably weaken the opposition to this cultural renaissance. This campaign should be a sustained effort at the grass roots level. Since culture is something that touches the heart of the common man, we can possibly break the veneer of radicalization imposed on us, by focusing on our

local cultures. Similarly, most of the Muslims in this territory were converted to Islam by the Sufi saints over centuries, who preached tolerance and peaceful coexistence with other religions and communities. Moreover, there is a need to go back to the values of love, tolerance, justice and equality preached by the Holy Prophet during his life time.

#### **5.2.1.4. To Strictly Enforce Existing Laws against Propagating Militancy**

The policy of adopting the soft approach of developing a counter narrative, returning to the roots, and addressing the breeding factors has to go hand in hand with a policy of zero tolerance against militancy in all its forms and manifestations. The existing laws criminalizing such activity need to be implemented in letter and spirit without fear or favor. There is, however, a need to regularly review and update these laws to adapt these to changing dynamics of terrorism and extremism. This, of course, needs strong political support, a professionally competent, brave and committed police and an effective criminal justice system.

#### **5.2.2. Reduce Militants' Manpower**

The effort to reduce the manpower of the militant groups should have two dimensions i.e. to stop recruitment of fresh volunteers into militants' organizations and to neutralize the existing ranks of militants

##### **5.2.2.1. To Stop Recruitment of Fresh Volunteers into Militant Organizations**

This can be done by researching the processes, networks, feeding areas and timings of the militants' system to induct new volunteers. Integrating this research with the intelligence available with the police and intelligence agencies, focused action plans can be developed.

- The organizations in different cities, which act as a front for recruiting volunteers for militant groups, need to be identified through intelligence and investigation and proceeded against, as per law.
- Making laws to criminalize activities involved in the process of recruitment in militant groups, like using internet, including, websites which lead to spotting of potential volunteers and their subsequent becoming members of the militants' networks etc. Some of the banned militant organizations are maintaining their websites, own pages on face book, twitter etc. These need to be proceeded against.
- Review state policies, like use of proxies in regional conflicts, which contribute to the recruitment of new volunteers.
- Review actions of the law enforcement agencies, which through violation of rule of law and human rights, give an impetus to the militant organizations' recruitment drives.

##### **5.2.2.2. Neutralize Existing Ranks of Militant Organizations**

The existing members of militant organizations need to be dealt with by a combination of soft and hard measures. Some of the proposed measures are as follows;

- De-radicalization and rehabilitation of existing members of militant organizations especially those who are imprisoned, to wean them away from militancy. There is a need to have a National De-radicalization Program (NDP), under the supervision of NACTA, run by dedicated professional, provincial de-radicalization outfits, to be called Provincial De-radicalization Institutes (PDI). The existing de-radicalization programs being implemented by the Army in Swat, can serve as useful prototypes.
- The hard option to reduce the manpower of the militant groups is through greater arrests/convictions by enhancing capacity of the criminal justice system (CJS) i.e. police, prosecution, courts and prisons. Unfortunately, the rate of convictions in cases of terrorism are so low, that these do not ,at all, serve as an effective deterrent for the terrorists or their organizations. This calls for a holistic performance audit of the entire CJS, particularly with the objective of increasing arrests/ convictions of terrorists and their support networks. The primacy of police in effective counter terrorism needs to be accepted and measures taken for capacity building of police. Also, there is a need to enact legislation and take practical effective measures to ensure security of witnesses, as well as, all elements of the criminal justice system involved in cases of terrorism whether they be investigators, prosecutors, anti terrorism courts or members of prison staff.
- The primacy of police in counter terrorism not only implies capacity building of its specialized counter terrorism agencies like CTDs and Rapid Response Forces, but also the realization of the crucial role which can be played by the police station, because of its tremendous geographical outreach and 24/7 interaction with the community. Improved police community relations at the police station level, can leverage police effectiveness in counter terrorism exponentially, The local networks of the militants, are normally known to the local people, who mostly don't like to share the information with the police , both due to lack of confidence in the police as well as fear of the militants. Initiating of measures for improving police- community relations at the police station level is one of the important pivots of NACTES.
- A legal audit of all the existing laws on counter terrorism and the efficacy of these laws need to be carried out. New laws framed where needed, existing laws improved and factors responsible for poor implementation of these laws be rectified. This can be done by a Legal Commission on Counter Terrorism Laws, headed by a judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, having membership from the provinces and other stake holders.
- Capacity building of intelligence agencies by enhancing their ability to use technology, greater connectivity, accessibility to national information networks etc. Increased coordination between the intelligence agencies and the law enforcement agencies through NACTA is also needed to ensure availability of relevant information to the end users in real time. Not only that, there is a need to bring the intelligence agencies within the ambit of law, to prevent these from abusing their roles in the name of counter terrorism.
- Taking steps to physically prevent the members of terrorist organizations or potential volunteers, hailing from different parts of the country from going to their known safe havens like FATA, or elsewhere.

### **5.2.3. Dismantling Militants' Support Network**

The following measures are proposed for effectively dismantling militants' support network.

### **5.2.3.1. Developing National Data Base of Militants**

At the cost of being repetitive, the importance of national data bases in weakening the support network of militants is again highlighted. To be able to dry out the support network of the militants, the first step is the knowledge about these networks and sharing of this knowledge with all the stake holders. According to ATA, no office bearer, activist or sympathizer of a banned militant organization can be issued an arms license, passport, allowed foreign travel or provided a bank loan or issued a credit card. This is possible only if there is a computerized national data base of militants and their supporters on fourth schedule and all the relevant departments have access to this data base. Failing this, the militants and their supporters will continue to avail these facilities. Such data bases can be centralized with NADRA or NACTA, when the latter becomes operational.

### **5.2.3.2. Choking Funds**

Funds are the life blood of terrorist organizations and choking these funds is an important dimension of effective counter terrorism. The existing response system hardly pays any attention to this aspect. Following are the broad categories of actions recommended;

- A comprehensive backgrounder based on research/ pooling of information from investigation agencies, about existing sources of funding of the major militant groups and the mechanisms of transferring these funds from sources to militant organizations, can help draw up specific action plans to interdict the finances. This responsibility falls within the purview of FMU (Finance Monitoring Unit, ) set up under the Anti-Money Laundering Act, and needs to be prepared by it, and shared with the stake holders.
- Strengthen existing laws and mechanisms to deal with terrorist financing, by implementing the FATF (Financial Action Task Force) Standards, to which Pakistan is a signatory, besides 180 other countries. In fact, the Anti-Money Laundering Act (2010) and the Anti-Terrorism (Second Amendment) Act,2013 were passed on the pressure of FATF. The two laws, however, are not being effectively implemented. The FATF Standards also require improving regulation and monitoring of Non Profit Organizations, which act as fronts for collecting funds for militant organizations. This needs to be done. It goes without saying that effective implementation of these laws require strengthening of the existing structures dealing with terrorist financing like the FMU in State Bank of Pakistan and TFIU( Terrorist Finance Investigation Unit) in FIA. Not only that, laws be made to simplify procedures for investigators to get relevant information from financial institutions. A periodical audit of the performance of these units may also be carried out, to monitor their effectiveness. It is strongly suggested that new set ups be created within the provincial CTDs as TFIUs, manned by professionals in finance and banking. NACTA can be tasked to oversee this.
- Crime has become an important source of funding for the militant organizations. There is a need not only for a holistic look at the crime terror nexus, but also a national level focused action on addressing this linkage. Developing a national data base of militants, particularly those involved in organized crimes, in all the provinces, with accessibility to all stake holders, can be a good starting point. Also, amendments in the ATA are proposed with aggravated punishments for crimes committed by the militants, and then greater

punishments for those militants who repeat commission of crime. NACTA or FIA can be given the role to develop a national response to break up the crime terror nexus.

- Donations from within the country and abroad are yet another source of terrorist financing. While there are some who donate knowing full well that these are likely to end up with militant groups, there are many who are unwitting contributors to militant organizations. There is a need to creating awareness amongst the people to know more about who they are donating the money to. Similarly, laws be made and strictly enforced to deal with front NPOs collecting funds for the militant organizations.
- Narcotics smuggling and gun running are other likely sources of funding of militants. Capacity building and connectivity of government departments dealing with this type of crime is another important dimension of choking funds of militants.
- Transfer of funds from abroad is an important source of terrorist financing. All modes of transfer of money from abroad, both legal and illegal, have to be reviewed from the perspective of counter terrorism .Reportedly, lot of money is transferred through hawala,an offence according to Foreign Exchange Regulations Act,. Federal Investigation Agency has the mandate to deal with violations of FERA. The TFIU and the Economic Crime Wing of FIA ought to be strengthened and supported by the government to take effective action against those powerful people who are involved in these crimes.
- In case, any country is found to be funding the militants active in Pakistan, diplomatic efforts be made to dissuade that country from stoking militancy in Pakistan.

### **5.2.3.3. Disrupting Supply of Weapons/ Explosives and Protect Against the use of these Weapons**

It goes without saying that the terrorists need large storage of weapons and explosives to carry out a sustained campaign of terrorism. Following are some of the measures to disrupt the weapon supply to terrorists.

- Amend the Anti-Terrorism Act to add definitions of new forms of weapons in terrorism like suicide bombing, Human Borne Improvised Explosive Device(HBIED), Vehicle Borne Explosive Devices( VBIED) etc. Similarly, the use of technology as a weapon, by the militants, need to be constantly reviewed by the concerned state agencies and criminalized by passing appropriate legislation
- Collate information with all the intelligence and law enforcement agencies to identify the sources of supply of weapons, the distribution network, and prepare periodical comprehensive reports to be shared with all concerned.
- Since explosives form an important part of the terrorist weaponry, the indigenous and smuggled chemicals used in production of explosives need to be controlled/regulated / monitored. There is a need to monitor the sale of explosives to legitimate buyers to ensure it does not fall into the hands of terrorists.
- Strict enforcement of the monitoring system about verification of the stocks of weapons of licensed Arms dealers be ensured. Also, there is a need to review the existing policy of issuing new Arms licenses liberally.



- Sustained and well planned campaigns to de-weaponize society can be another effective way to restrict availability of weapons to the militants.
- A policy needs to be framed to deal with large scale production of small weapons in Darra Adam Khel. A proposal made a few years earlier, about the government buying up the locally made weapons and exporting these, can be re-examined.
- Periodical assessment of the vulnerability to the likelihood of CBRN falling into the hands of the militants should be taken at a senior and institutional level.
- If any other country is supplying weapons to the militants active in Pakistan, diplomatic efforts be made to dissuade the country from that support.

#### **5.2.3.4. Disabling Communication Network**

It is generally believed that communication network of the militants can also be their Achilles' heel. Following measures are proposed to disable the communication network of the militants.

- Getting a complete picture of the ways and means by which the terrorists communicate with each other, by pooling the information available with the police and the intelligence agencies. NACTA can play that role and come up with periodical reports on this.
- Communication through cell phones/ land lines, is the most convenient form of communication between the militants. In this regard the initiative of the government in checking issuance of SIMs of cell phones issued on fake ID cards needs to be continued relentlessly( As per one report, out of 130 million SIMs being used, 50% are on fake ID cards!). The blocking of Afghanistan SIMs operating in Pakistan (40000 according to one estimate), is a step in the right direction. Similarly, use of cell phones in the prisons by the militants as well as the criminals due to corruption of the prison staff need to be dealt with very firmly. Evaluating efficacy of existing laws, enforcement procedures and the enforcement agencies' capacity is crucial to strengthening the capability of the government in disabling the communication network of the militants through phones.
- That internet is being increasingly used as a means of recruiting, collecting funds, training and communicating within the militant organizations, is a well-established fact. Use of internet as a tool of communication be studied and countered by effective legislation on cyber terrorism. There is a very strong need to strengthen FIA's cyber- crime investigation unit called the National Response Centre for Cyber Crimes (NR3C), as well as the existing Cyber Forensic laboratory of Counter Terrorism Wing. Capacity building of these existing structures for investigating cyber-crime needs to be made a high priority by the government to enable us to deal with the threat of militants resorting more and more to cyber space, as the physical space is shrunk for them. Also, all the provincial CTDs to have IT wings, manned by IT professionals to study and respond to the threat of cyber terrorism. NACTA can possibly orchestrate this effort with assistance from the Federal IT Ministry.

#### **5.2.3.5. Denying Safe Havens**

Following are some of the measures proposed for dismantling of safe havens of militants. There are three types of safe havens. First semi governed territories like FATA, B areas of Baluchistan and Tribal areas of Punjab. Second, existence of no go areas in Karachi, where law enforcement agencies are reluctant to enter, due to the local population being sympathetic or intimidated by

the ruthless militants or powerful criminals. Third, the safe havens in Afghanistan. As far as the first category is concerned, the national objective should be to have all areas falling within the jurisdiction of Pakistan under one law. This implies;

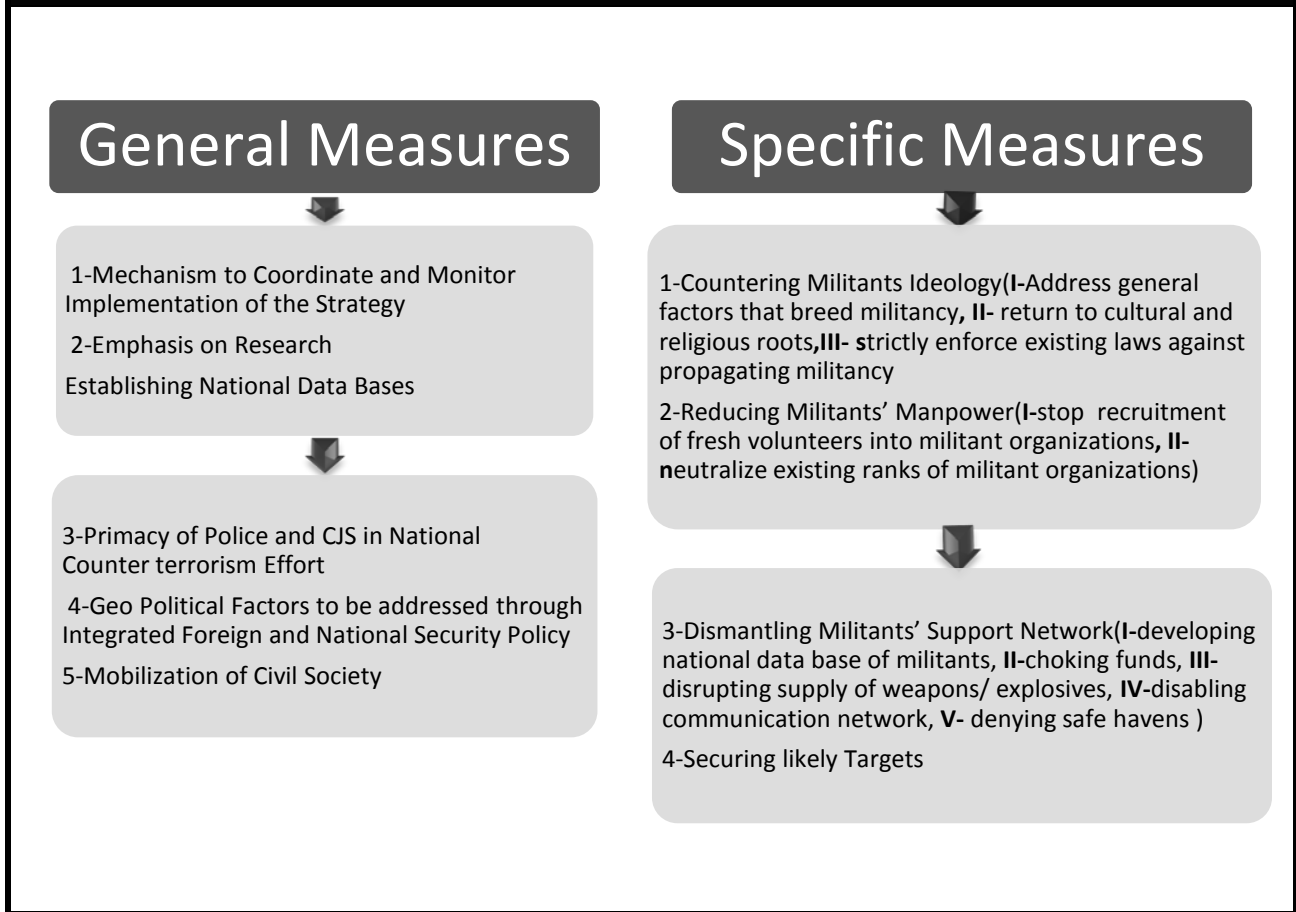
- Constitutional and political mainstreaming of FATA , B areas of Baluchistan and tribal areas of Punjab .This would also take care of the most frequently made complaint against the FC for the phenomenon of ‘missing persons’ or ‘dumped bodies’ or mass graves discovered in some areas of Baluchistan. Mainstreaming B areas would bring these areas within the ambit of normal criminal law, where police is accountable to the courts.
- Comprehensive economic development plans and measures for good governance, including speedy justice, for these areas.
- Strengthen those who oppose militancy, in these areas, by giving them all the support they need, thus isolating the militants from them.
- Resolute military action against those who continue to attack the state of Pakistan and live in or make use of these areas of Pakistan as sanctuaries for planning terrorism in Pakistan or elsewhere. This also calls for well thought out plans for replacing the military with civilian authorities as soon as the military authorities achieve their objective of clearing these areas of militants.
- As to the second category, to deal with no go areas of Karachi, following measures are suggested:
  - o Political parties must resolve to dismantle their respective militant wings and all areas should be opened to legal action by the police. The political and community leaders of the areas considered being the safe havens of militants in urban areas, being involved in the peace keeping measures and their cooperation sought to rid their areas of militants. This ought to be followed up with well planned, intelligence led, community based police operations in areas considered to be safe havens of militants. If the members of political parties, continue to commit militant/criminal acts, such political parties be placed ‘under observation’ as prescribed in the ATA. If the members of the political parties persist in carrying out militant acts or provide support/logistics/safe havens to militants, the concerned party should be proscribed under the law.
  - o Across the board, intelligence led and impartial sustained effort by law enforcement agencies to open up these no go areas and take effective action against the terrorist / criminal support networks existing there. The police be empowered and given capacity to undertake this operation, instead of relying on short term ad hoc measures like use of Rangers or the military.
  - o Complete de-politicization of the police, along with their capacity building and absolutely transparent and effective accountability.
- As to the third category, improved border control to deal with militants’ crossing over from their safe havens in Afghanistan is needed. This needs capacity building of different departments dealing with border control and intelligence collection in the border areas, besides developing support amongst the local population living in these areas.
  - o It is proposed that intense bilateral as well as multilateral regional, diplomatic efforts be made to dissuade the countries from providing safe havens/logistic support to the militants’ active in Pakistan, besides moving in the general direction of resolving mutual conflicts and improving trust environment.

#### 5.2.4. Securing likely Targets

The likely targets of the militants can be broadly divided into four categories i.e. persons, premises, events and systems. Some of the measures to secure the likely targets are as follows;

- A body can be formed at the Federal and Provincial levels to ensure protection of critical infrastructures in the country. The Survey sections within each Provincial Special Branch, which presently, has the responsibility of reviewing security of Key Points in the respective provinces, need to be strengthened by giving them more resources, expertise and training. Similarly, IB has a Security Wing, which can play a role of coordinating this effort at the national level, provided it is given adequate resources, technological know-how and security expertise.
- Institutions at greater threat from the terrorists like the military, police, intelligence, need to have trained experts to carry out vulnerability assessments of all of their offices and take adequate security measures to maximize security of their premises and personnel.
- Specialized trained units be raised for a professional handling of the security of the persons at risk. Not only that, sub sections within these trained units should have the capability to deal with hostage situations or sophisticated terrorist assaults. The existing specially trained units of police in the provinces ( called Elite Police Force in some provinces and Rapid Response Force in others ), have been trained by the best instructors on deputation from SSG of Pakistan Army, but have been unfortunately wasted by being posted on duties other than those which their training warrant. A comprehensive review of their deployment, training, logistics and effectiveness needs to be carried out by experts through NACTA and corrective measures taken to ensure their readiness to deal with any terrorist situation, without any help from the Rangers or the Army.
- Similarly, our digital state systems have to be protected from the militants. As we move towards greater computerization of our systems, there is a need to have a body of IT experts, who can evaluate the vulnerability of our computerized systems and devise ways and means to protect these from cyber-attacks or hacking by the militants.
- The mega events are also likely targets of the militants, as witnessed by the threat to the Beijing Olympics and London Olympics. There is a need to train our experts in dealing with events, which may not be as big as the Olympics, but nevertheless, can lead to a large number of casualties in a terrorist attacks.
- Securing of personnel employed in likely target institutions and premises from being influenced by the militants' ideology, requires every department to have regular vetting procedures for their personnel, as well as regular counter militancy refresher courses / orientation.

Figure 5. Showing General and Specific Measures to Counter Terrorism



## 6. Conclusion

This document is intended to be a starting point for developing a coherent, holistic response to the complex, ever evolving, multifaceted terrorist threat in Pakistan. And, if it serves to initiate a thought process on the four main pillars of counter terrorism, it would have done more than it sought to accomplish.

## IMMEDIATE AND LONG TERM ACTION PLANS

### Immediate Action Plan For NACTES Implementation

While a comprehensive way forward has been suggested in the NACTES, some of the actions which need to be taken urgently, in the wake of Peshawar carnage, are as follows;

**Table 1. Immediate Action Plan for NACTES**

<b>Table 1. Immediate Action Plan for NACTES</b>	
<b>Neutralizing Militants' Ideology</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>a. Peshawar carnage has led to an unprecedented national consensus. The government needs to start a relentless, multifaceted, well thought out campaign to establish the terrorists as enemies of Islam, and the people of Pakistan. This should be done on all forms of media i.e. electronic/digital/print/ and at all fora like mosques / madrissahs /schools, colleges etc. An organization be set up at the federal level, dedicated to neutralizing the militant's ideology. This moment of national unity against the terrorists must not be lost at any cost.</li><li>b. There is considerable ambivalence about the role of madrissahs in radicalization/terrorism. Before deciding about the state response to the madrissahs, there is a need to know the facts. For starters, the government should immediately release statistics about the number of imprisoned/ convicted terrorists belonging to madrissahs. Similarly, the public needs to be told about the number of madrissah educated persons placed on the existing list of fourth schedule of ATA, as a result of consensus between all the intelligence agencies and the police. This would help us form an educated assessment of the role of madrissahs in terrorism and also assist in developing an effective and sustainable response on dealing with madrissahs.</li><li>c. Action to be taken against those educational institutions or individuals whose links with terrorists have been established. Maulana Aziz of Lal Masjid should be proceeded against for not condemning perpetrators of the Peshawar carnage and action taken against the students of Masjid Hafsa, Islamabad for issuing the video in which they swore allegiance to Mullah Baghdadi of ISIS and invited him to avenge the military operation against Lal Masjid in 2007.</li><li>d. Presently, twenty banned militant organizations have their pages on internet. There is, however, no organization dedicated to tackle this aspect of militancy. The Counter Terrorism Wing of FIA, can be given the responsibility and resources to address this aspect of radicalization, either by blocking these or posting counter narratives.</li><li>e. Those elements in the civil society which are propagating tolerance, peace and pluralism should get together by forming a national coalition against violent extremism. The government should give them all out support in this national endeavor.</li></ul>

<p><b>Reducing Militants' Manpower</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. The best way to reduce the militants' manpower is to launch a full throttled national campaign to arrest the wanted terrorists. While such a campaign is reportedly being carried out, it does not involve the public .The first step for this, is to formulate a national list, have their pictures and share it with the public and down to the police station level. To motivate the public, monetary rewards for the arrest of wanted terrorists be announced. The national list of wanted terrorists be placed on websites of NACTA/CTDs/Police Forces/FIA/NADRA.</li> <li>b. Another measure to monitor and deter the support network, though prescribed in ATA, is not being implemented in letter and spirit. According to ATA the terrorists or their supporters, particularly those on fourth schedule cannot be provided passports/arms licenses/ bank facilities/ or allowed to travel abroad. Lists of all those imprisoned/wanted in terrorism cases or on the fourth schedule of ATA be made accessible to Passport /Arms licenses issuing authorities/FIA immigration authorities and banks for ensuring that the members of terrorist outfits are not able to avail these facilities .</li> <li>c. The government to prepare a road map for the capacity building of the Criminal Justice System, so that, after two years, when the period of the military courts expire, the weak areas of CJS are removed and it is better prepared to deal with cases of terrorism.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Dismantling Militants' Support Network</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Choking their Funds <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Crime has become an important source of funding of terrorist organizations, but there is no national strategy to deal with it. FIA to immediately call a meeting of all CTDs and develop a national level plan to deal with the crime terrorism nexus, particularly cases of kidnapping for ransom and extortion by the terrorists. Also, all such cases be tried in ATCs on a fast track.</li> <li>ii. Donations are another important source of terrorist financing. Launching a sustained advocacy campaign to sensitize people about being careful, who they donate the money to, is imperative. The lists of banned militant organizations and their known front outfits be publicized extensively for the knowledge of the public. Also, according to the Interior Minister, ten percent of the madrissahs are involved in terrorism. The names of these madrissahs must be made public so that the people shun these and do not donate money to these.</li> </ul> </li> <li>b. Disrupting weapon supply network <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. A fool proof system be immediately developed to monitor the end users of legally sold explosives and weapons.</li> </ul> </li> <li>c. Disrupting Communication Network <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Those responsible for investigation of cases of terrorism, have to be given the authority to intercept, real time, phone calls of the terrorists' network. This is critical, not only for preventing and detecting cases of terrorism but also shall limit the use of cell phones by the terrorists. The</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

	<p>police have to be given these powers, with adequate safeguards.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>d. Dismantle Safe Havens</li> <li>i. While the military action is dismantling their safe havens in FATA, the terrorists are likely to look for alternate safe havens. The provincial governments have to be proactive, share intelligence and be vigilant about the other likely places where the terrorists can move in.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Securing Likely Targets</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Most of the terrorist attacks recently have been with inside help. There is a need for all institutions to develop comprehensive SOPs for identifying such individuals within, and dealing with them before they can strike.</li> <li>b. The government needs to build up an immediate resource centre for vulnerability assessment of likely targets, which can provide expert opinion to government/private sector for securing their premises and individuals.</li> </ul>

**Table 2. Long Term Action Plan**

No	Measures	Existing Response	Actions to be Taken	By Whom
1	<b>Existence of Political Will</b>	Ambiguous political will to deal with the terrorist threat. Unsatisfactory progress in implementation of NISP/NAP.	Develop public pressure on the government to take concrete measures to address the issue of terrorism and implementing its own NISP/NAP.	Government can be influenced through creating greater awareness in the Committees of NA and Senate for dealing with security issues, by the political opposition and CSOs by advocacy campaigns.  Media can add by focusing on implementation status of NISP/NAP.
2	<b>Mechanism to Coordinate and Monitor Implementation of the Strategy</b>	NACTA, the pivot of the NISP and responsible for coordinating national counter terrorism effort, yet to be made functional.  It is working with skeleton staff and meager resources, without a professional, experienced Head.	NACTA to be made responsible to PM as per NACTA Act instead of MOI, provided a professional head, given adequate budget, due autonomy and manpower. Board of Governors meeting to be held immediately.	Prime Minister Secretariat, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Finance.  Cabinet Committee on National Security. Provincial Governments.  Media
3	<b>Emphasis on Research</b>	No known published research projects or reports by government on different aspects of terrorism. Inadequate budget for research in different organizations.  Research Wings in provincial police forces, totally non productive.	Budget be allocated and government research organizations be tasked to come up with research reports on CT/CVE. Government to publish list of research projects completed every six months.	Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Religious Affairs, Information. Provincial governments/ police departments. Private think tanks, CSOs and international donors
4	<b>Establishing National Data Bases</b>	National and provincial data bases exist in few areas like CNICs at the national level and registered vehicle data bases in some provinces, but no inter data base connectivity and very limited accessibility for the end users of CT.	Need to develop a holistic policy for identifying areas for having national databases, ensuring due connectivity between provincial data bases and required accessibility to concerned end users of CT.	NADRA can be the focal institution at the Federal level, to be assisted by NACTA and IT Ministry. IT Boards of respective provinces can serve as focal institutions at the provincial level. Any other department deemed necessary can be co-opted by them for assistance. International donors can also help.



5	<b>Primacy of Police and CJS in National Counter Terrorism Effort</b>	Arrests carried out by intelligence agencies in terrorism case dilutes police responsibility in CT and leads to acquittal of terrorists. Existence of B areas in Baluchistan and FATA, limits police role in CT. Present policy of depending on paramilitary agencies like Rangers in Karachi and FC in Baluchistan, is a short term measure, with long term negative fallouts.	The Rule of Law mandates that only police can arrest, investigate and follow up cases of terrorism in the Anti Terrorist Courts. The intelligence and Para-military agencies having a counter terrorism role should play a supportive role to the police. Weak areas of police be addressed instead of bringing in Para military for CT. A road map be laid down to mainstream FATA and B Areas of Baluchistan.	Cabinet Committee on National Security, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of States and Frontier Regions, Provincial governments. NACTA can play the role of  Initiating and following up proposals in this regard.
6	<b>Human Resource Development</b>	No national comprehensive plan to identify and plan for the development of the types of expertise required by the CT personnel.	A comprehensive plan be made of the requisite expertise by the concerned CT departments and a program started to develop these areas of expertise.	NACTA, the relevant CT departments in the Federal as well as Provincial governments to develop holistic plans to develop the required human resource expertise/skills/ knowledge. International donors can also play a role in imparting training.
7	<b>Geo Political Factors to be addressed through Integrated Foreign and National Security Policy</b>	The issue of terrorism is an irritant with the neighboring countries, with some believing that Pakistan abets terrorism in their countries.	Adopting a regional approach to dealing with the terrorist threat by engaging in diplomatic initiatives with neighbors.  Reviewing efficacy of existing security paradigms in geo politics.	Foreign Office, Ministry of Defense, Cabinet Committee on National Security.
8	<b>Mobilization of Civil Society</b>	Inadequate efforts by the government to mobilize the civil society in CT/CVE. CSOs working in the field of CT/CVE are putting in a fragmented effort and face serious security threats from the terrorists.	Civil society organizations working in this area be brought on the same platform. Massive media campaign to create awareness in the civil society about the gravity of the terrorist threat and its mobilization to counter that threat.	Ministry of Information, Provincial governments, Media and opinion makers. NACTA to orchestrate the drive and be the lead agency.

Specific Measures				
Countering Militants Ideology				
9	<b>Setting up an Organization Dedicated to Focus on Designing and Disseminating a Counter Narrative</b>	No focal structure at the Federal or provincial level to deal with countering the militants' ideology	A new organization be set up at the Federal level to be called the National Counter Violent Extremism Centre [NACVEC]. Research be carried out to comprehend the factors behind radicalization, the actors who carry it out and the process by which they carry it out. This can be followed by designing and disseminating a counter narrative to the militants' ideology.	Prime Minister can order the setting up of this organization.
10	<b>To address General Factors that Breed Militancy</b>	General dissatisfaction with the quality of governance, corruption, injustice, helplessness of the common man.	A general improvement in governance, through transparency, effective accountability and rule of law, besides steps to reduce poverty, illiteracy, inequitable distribution of wealth. Effective use of Right of Information Acts by the people.	Prime Minister, NAB, Provincial Chief Ministers. Departments Having a CT role in the Federal and provincial governments CSOs to create awareness\ About significance of Right of Information Acts.
11	<b>To Return to Cultural and Religious Roots</b>	The centuries old cultural values of tolerance, pluralism have become weaker over the years. The religious narrative is being dominated by the militants.	A concerted and sustained campaign to regenerate interest in our roots both cultural and religious, highlighting the aspects of tolerance, pluralism and dialogue.	Ministries of Culture, Religious Affairs. Information of the Federal and Provincial governments. CSOs , media and International Donors.
12	<b>To Strictly Enforce Existing Laws against Propagating Militancy</b>	The enforcement of laws against hate literature, hate speeches on loud speakers or public gatherings, is almost non-existent due to weak writ of the State.	The political will has to be unambiguous and strong in enforcing these provisions of law and they should urge and support the police in doing that.	All the provincial governments and the police forces.

<b>Reduce Militants' Manpower</b>				
13	<b>To Stop Recruitment of Fresh Volunteers into Militant Organizations</b>	No systemic response to deal with it. No research on the process of recruitment, the actors involved etc. Excesses of the law enforcement agencies contributes to recruitments of new volunteers.	Research in the process of recruitment of militants, the actors who do it. A holistic plan to counter fresh recruitment by militant organizations. Strict adherence to rule of law by LEAs.	NACVEC, NACTA, Provincial police, IB, Provincial CTDs
14	<b>Neutralize Existing Ranks of Militant Organizations</b>	Extremely low conviction rate in terrorism cases by ATCs. Nominal deterrence value of the CJS. No national de-radicalization plan exists.	Capacity building of CJS. Security of different elements of CJS dealing with terrorists. Security of witnesses. Develop a national de-radicalization plan.	NACTA, NACVEC, Provincial Governments, Provincial police forces, CTDs, Prosecution Prisons, ATCs, International donors.
15	<b>Dismantling Militants' Support Network</b>	Inadequate effort to dismantle militants' support network.	Holistic policies/SOPs and expertise be developed to deal with the support network.	NACTA, State Bank, Legislature, Provincial governments/ police, PTA.
16	<b>Developing National Data Base of Militants</b>	There is no national data base of the support network of militants, According to ATA, those on schedule 4 of ATA, cannot be issued passports, arms licenses ,bank facilities or allowed to travel abroad. This is not being implemented at all , due to lack of a national database.	Need to develop a national data base of those arrested in cases of terrorism, and those on Schedule 4 of ATA, for being supporters of terrorists, SOPs for granting access to designated officers to this database.	NACTA/NADRA/CTDs/ Directorate General of Passports/ Arms issuing authorities/ Banks/FIA.
17	<b>Choking Funds</b>	No research or a national policy on dealing with terrorists sources of funding. Existing law on money laundering and terrorist financing is weak and hardly ever enforced. Ineffective mechanisms like FMU in SBP. Lack of expertise to investigate cases of terrorist financing, like TFIU in FIA, lack of terrorist financing detection structures in	Research to be carried out on terrorist financing aspects. Anti Money Laundering law be made more effective, audit of effectiveness of FMU be conducted, Expert investigators be trained for TFIUs in FIA/CTDs and given due resources and legal powers. Banks be sensitized to the issue of STRs and public awareness created about whom to donate for	NACTA/SBP/FIA/CTDs /Banks/Media Police training institution s. Ministry of Information, NGO regulation authorities.

		CTDs. Large chunks of funds transferred through illegal hundi, used by terrorists to transfer money. Reports exist of banned militant organizations or their cover NGOs collecting money from the public in the name of charity.	charity. Improving legal system of transferring money and strict enforcement of Foreign Exchange Regulations Act.	
18	<b>Disrupting Supply of Weapons/ Explosives etc</b>	Lack of holistic look at the system of supply of weapons/explosives to the terrorists based on research and pooling in of intelligence from interrogation reports and sources. Presently, no regulation of sale of chemicals which can be used in making explosives. Lack of monitoring of records of licensed Arms dealers. Ineffective action against professional carriers and suppliers of illegal weapons. No database of experts of explosives handling/training in terrorist organizations.  Permissive policy of issuing arms licenses.	Comprehensive reports need to be prepared based on research/interrogation reports/ intelligence reports about sources of supply of weapons/explosives and the mode of transporting these to the end users. A national and provincial policy need to be formulated to deal with it. Focal institutions be specified to monitor these aspects and they should be held responsible, with oversight and periodical audits. De-weaponization	NACTA/CTDs/IB/ Local police/Arms issuing authorities/ arms dealers/ those local authorities responsible for monitoring sale of chemicals and weapons .NACTA to be made the focal institution at the Federal level and the provincial CTDs be made the focal point in the provinces to ensure a unity of effort in all Relevant departments.
19	<b>Disabling Communication Network</b>	Nonregistered SIMs of cell phones and Afghani SIMS are used by the terrorists, which are available in the market. Fake ID cards used to register SIMs Ongoing action needs to be continued and stepped up. New systems like Whatsapp, which apparently cannot be intercepted by the authorities, Use of internet, social media etc Police investigating cases of terrorism have no authority to intercept phones./internet. Existing law of Fair Investigations Act, enabling them to do so is impractical.	Elimination of sale of non registered SIMs and of Afghan based SIMs. Effective action against grey exchanges. Giving of authority to intercept communication during investigation of terrorism cases by the police under court orders is necessary. Privacy concerns to be addressed.	NACTA/PTA/PM/FIA/Law Ministry/Communications Ministry

20	<b>Denying Safe Heavens</b>	Safe havens of terrorists exist in FATA, 'B' areas of Baluchistan , 'No go' areas of cities like Karachi,	Safe havens in FATA can be tackled by military action and mainstreaming FATA through development and participation of locals. 'B Areas' of Baluchistan need to be converted into mainstream areas by political government by empowering police and development. 'No Go' areas of Karachi to be opened up by across the board police action, supported by strong political resolve	Cabinet Committee on National Security, Prime Minister , Chief Minister Baluchistan, Political leadership of Sindh / Sindh Police/ Intelligence agencies and Pakistan Army.
21	<b>Securing likely Targets</b>	At present, no central organization to develop a holistic plan for the security of the national critical infra structure. Similarly, legislation to make private sector responsible for their own security is not in all provinces. Inadequate protective gears for Law enforcement agencies. Similarly, regular vetting of personnel in sensitive departments like police is neither systematic nor rigorous.	A federal organization to plan and implement security of critical infra structure is required. Private sector be made responsible for the security of their personnel and premises and integrated with the local security plans of the police. Standard vetting procedures be developed in all sensitive organizations	NACTA/Ministry of Interior/Provincial government/provincial police forces/Military/ Other department which can be likely targets of terrorists