

# Urban conflict in Pakistan

Claude Rakisits

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## Introduction

- Urban conflict is nothing new in Pakistan; it has been around from the beginning of Pakistan’s creation in 1947.
- Pakistan was born violently, with some 1 million people dying in the process of Partition which saw an exchange of some 14 million Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs.
- And Pakistan remains a violent society. It is violent between ethnic groups; it is violent between the different religious groups, notably between Sunnis and Shias, and against Christians; it is violent between landlords and peasants.
- However, today I will focus on violence in urban areas only.

(Show slide 2) Ethnic map

- I distinguish 2 types of urban conflicts running in parallel in Pakistan:
  - First: violence between different non-state actors – religious groups, ethnic groups and student/youth wing of political parties. This violence takes the form of riots, bombings, assassinations and pogrom-type rampages. The inter-ethnic and sectarian violence in Karachi in the 1980s, 1990s and still today is a perfect example of this type of violence.

- More recently, this type of urban violence has been further aggravated with the addition of a second type of violence; that is, one between state representatives (army, police, para-military forces) and jihadist militants. This generally takes the form of suicide bombings and armed warfare. Last year's bombing of the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad in September 2008 and the siege of the Red Mosque in Islamabad in July 2007 are two examples of this type of urban violence.
- Before I turn to the analysis of these two different types of urban violence in Pakistan let me first give you a brief overview of Pakistan's urban setting.

(Show slide 3) Map of Pakistan

### **Urban setting**

- Pakistan is a country of more than 170 million people – that might be small relative to India's 1.1 billion – but it still makes it the 6<sup>th</sup> most populous country in the world. At the present rate of population growth (2.9% per annum), this will increase to over 300 million by 2050, then making it the 4<sup>th</sup> biggest country.<sup>i</sup>
- This demographic growth has been accompanied by massive urbanization in the last few years. For example, according to conservative estimates, Karachi (the largest city in Pakistan and the country's commercial centre) had 9.9 million residents in 1998. Today, the figure stands at about 15 million and it is expected to grow to 20 million or more by 2015.<sup>ii</sup>
- Lahore, Punjab's capital, will also join the ranks of mega-cities (those with a population of more than 10 million) by 2015.

- Overall, Pakistan has 8 cities with a population of more than 1 million. Its urban population will be well over 100 million by 2015.<sup>iii</sup>

(Show slide 4) A few terms

### **Urban violence between non-state actors**

- Let me now turn to urban violence between non-state actors.
- This type of urban violence – which is principally of a socio-economic nature - is present in all major cities of Pakistan – Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and has been present since the 1960s but has worsened since the 1980s. And the worst city afflicted by far by this violence has been Karachi. Accordingly, I will focus my observations on that city.
- One of the principal reasons for the high level of violence in Karachi is the ethnic mix of the city. It all began with the influx of some 900,000 Urdu-speaking “*Mohajirs*” (Muslim refugees from India) into Karachi (then a city of only 425,000) between 1947 and 1951, and thus making the Sindhis a minority in their own city.<sup>iv</sup> As a result tension quickly rose between the Sindhis (sons of the soil) and the *Mohajirs* (migrants). This tension is still very much present today.
- Compounding this ethnic tension in Karachi was the influx in the 1960s of Pushtuns looking for work. A second wave of Pushtuns came in the early 1980s, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Unfortunately, with the influx of Pushtuns came guns and drugs, both of which are now freely available. Needless to say both these elements have given birth to a culture of ultra-violence among the city youth.<sup>v</sup> Interestingly, Even though

Pushtuns are 'newcomers' to Karachi, they nevertheless dominate the police.

- This police force is, unfortunately, corrupt, incompetent, under trained and poorly equipped. Such decrepit law-enforcement has, of course, facilitated the growth of criminality. Karachi has the highest crime rate nationwide. In 1998, Karachi's homicide rate was more than twice than that of New York's.<sup>vi</sup>
- In addition to dominating the police force, Pushtuns have a stranglehold on the informal housing market - the squatter settlements<sup>vii</sup> and slums of the city, and also control the transport business. It is believed that 90% of Karachi's minibuses belong to policemen.<sup>viii</sup>
- A very important contributing factor for the urban violence is that infrastructure and urban services are completely run down, particularly in the poorer parts of Karachi. And this is because although Karachi alone contributes 60% of the country's overall taxes, only a fraction of it is ploughed back into the city by the national government.<sup>ix</sup>
- The first large scale urban violence in Karachi occurred in 1952 against the Ahmadiyahs – a minority Muslim sect which questions the finality of the Prophet Mohammad. According to mainstream religious parties, the Ahmadiyahs' were considered beyond the pale of Islam and should be declared a non-Muslim sect. But the worse anti-Ahmadiyah riots occurred in Lahore and other cities of the Punjab in February and March 1953. As a result of these disturbances, during which over 50 people died, Martial Law was declared in Lahore from 6 March until 15 May 1953.<sup>x</sup>
- However, sectarian urban violence has not been restricted to anti-Ahmadiyah riots. The Shias – which represent about 20% of the Pakistani

population and about a quarter of Karachi's - have been a major target by extremist Sunni religious groups. Most of the violence against the Shias has been perpetrated by extremist Sunni groups who adhere to the orthodox Deobandi school of thought. Deobandis believe in the strict adherence of the classical texts of Islam. The most important Deobandi politico-religious party is the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI). One of the most important Deobandi militant groups, the Sipah Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), and one of its offshoots, the banned Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LJ), have been responsible for most of the anti-Shia acts.<sup>xi</sup> It is almost certain that these two groups were responsible for the assassination of Allama Hasan Turabi, the leader of the Pakistan Islami Tehreek, Pakistan's largest Shia political party, in July 2006.<sup>xii</sup> His killing sparked two days of violent protests which virtually shut down the metropolis.

- Another small, ultra orthodox, puritanical sect inspired by Saudi Wahabism, the Ahle Hadith, supports strongly the Deobandi in their anti-Shia jihad. Shia doctors, lawyers and other professionals are gunned down by hit squads who want to cleanse Pakistan of its highly educated Shia minority.<sup>xiii</sup> It is interesting to note that most of the anti-Shia violence has been perpetrated following the return of the jihadists from the first Afghan war. As a result, thousands of Shias have been forced to migrate.<sup>xiv</sup> The Shias responded to the Sunni challenge by forming their own militant group, notably the Sipah Muhammad Pakistan, in the early 1990s. All in all, it is estimated that more than 4,000 people have been killed in Sunni-Shia violence since 1980.<sup>xv</sup>
- The Barelvis, the followers of the other major Sunni school of thought in Pakistan, have not, on the whole, been involved in anti-Shia violence, as they are more tolerant of Shia rituals. However, the Barelvis, who represent the majority of Sunnis in Pakistan and who are heavily influenced by Sufism and Islamic saints, are nevertheless involved in sectarian violence against

the Deobandis over the control of mosques in Karachi.<sup>xvi</sup> The worst massacre in Pakistan's history took place in April 2006, when a suicide bomber attacked an outdoor religious gathering held by Barelvi Sunni groups, killing 47 people and injuring over 100. The Deobandi SSP and LJ groups were the main suspects of that attack.<sup>xvii</sup> The Barelvis' main militant group, the Sunni Tehrik, has, in turn, been accused of murdering prominent Deobandi scholars in the 1990s.<sup>xviii</sup> This sectarian violence has been fuelled with the unregulated expansion of mosques and *madrassas* in Karachi.<sup>xix</sup> In 1950 Karachi only had 4 *madrassas*, now there are about 1000 of them. And, of course, some of these *madrassas* have given birth to some of the most extreme jihadi and sectarian organisations.<sup>xx</sup> It is important to note that an overwhelming number of *madrassas* are Deobandi and most of the students and teachers in Karachi's Deobandi *madrassas* are Pushtuns, Pakistani and afghan.

- Turning to inter-ethnic violence in Karachi, there were anti-Pushtun riots in the late 1950s and again in 1965, again anti-Ahmadiyah riots in 1969-70 and Sindhi-Mohajir riots in 1972-73. But the first major ethnic riots took place in April 1985 between, on the one hand, Mohajirs and resettled Biharis, and, on the other hand, Pushtun gunmen who wanted to extend their territorial influence. Some 100 people were killed in these riots.<sup>xxi</sup> The 1985 riots, whose root cause was a general public dissatisfaction with the city's public transport and its informal housing system, only took an ethnic tone due to the communal division of work in the city.<sup>xxii</sup>

(Show slides 5, 6 and 7)

Pictures

- Similarly, on 14 May 2007, there was deadly violence between pro-government forces of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) and opposition forces (mainly Pushtun) over the suspension of the country's chief justice

Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. And even with the presence of some 15,000 police and rangers deployed in the city some 40 people were killed and over 150 wounded. Assault rifles and handguns were being widely used by the MQM.

- Complicating the ethnic picture has been intra-Mohajir fighting over control of Karachi. Internal fighting inside the MQM<sup>xxiii</sup> - in the early 1990s produced such massive urban violence that the army was forced to go in to restore order. There were at least 1,000 casualties a year among the factions and the security forces during that period.<sup>xxiv</sup>

#### (Show slide 8) Picture

- Another source of urban conflict is the clash of the youth wings of political parties, notably the Islami Jamiat-e-Tuleba (IJT) and the All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organisation (APMSO). Often these youth wings play out violently the political disputes of their affiliated party. And as a result of the large influx of guns brought into Karachi by the Afghan jihadists in the 1980s and later, the university campuses turned into battlefields. This happens on a regular basis in Karachi and other cities in Pakistan, especially Lahore.
- So what we see is that, given the high population density of Karachi, the grinding poverty (half of all Karachites live in slums or temporary settlements which often lack electricity, sewers and running water), the high level on unemployment,<sup>xxv</sup> the inadequate public transport services, and the fierce competition for scarce resources, people have become dependent on special interest groups, whether ethnic or sectarian, all armed with guns, to provide services for them. This inevitably further fuels urban violence. And, accordingly, with the ever-present ethnic and sectarian rivalry, it doesn't take much to ignite this dangerous cocktail and to see riots turn into gun battles. The result is often many dead, with the army and paramilitary

forces called in to stop the anarchy. The paramilitary Pakistan Rangers are on constant deployment in Karachi, including on the campuses of several universities. And as we have seen these sorts of events happen on a regular basis.

(Show slide 9) Picture

- The most recent one was in December 2008 when 44 people died during 3 days of violence between Mohajirs of the MQM and Pushtun from the Awami National Party.

(Show slide 10) Map of the tribal area

### **Urban violence between state and non-state actors**

- Let me now turn to the second type of violence - violence between state and non-state actors - which is of a political-religious nature and has been around for a much shorter time. One can trace back the origins of this violence to when the Pakistani government under General Musharraf decided to side with the West in the War on Terror.
- This type of violence is principally in the north-west of the country and a direct consequence of Pakistan's involvement in the war in Afghanistan. Over the last 7 years, the Pakistan army has been battling al Qaeda and Afghan Taliban militants who found refuge in the tribal areas of western Pakistan following the latter's ouster from power in Kabul in October 2001. The Pakistan army has sent some 100,000 men into the unruly Tribal Areas but has been unable – some would even say unwilling - to dislodge or halt the Taliban's and Al Qaeda's cross-border attacks into Afghanistan. In the process the army has lost some 1,500 soldiers.



- But more worrisome for Pakistan has been the growth over the last few years of the Pakistani Taliban – militants who are fellow ideological travellers of the Afghan Taliban but whose target is the Pakistan state. These militants have been pouring out the Tribal Areas, which they now effectively control, into the ‘settled’ areas and have now reached the outskirts of Peshawar. They have been assisted by Afghan Taliban militants, who have crossed over the border, mainly from Bajaur province, to assist their brothers-in-arm fight the Pakistani state. The 3,500 square-mile Swat valley, which is only about 150 kilometres away from Islamabad and which used to be a favourite tourist destination, has to all intents and purposes fallen to the Taliban. This was acknowledged by the Senate in the Pakistani parliament on 27 January 2009.<sup>xxvi</sup> This is despite the fact that the valley had witnessed some of the fiercest fighting between the army and the Taliban militants in recent months. They have established a parallel administration with courts, taxes, patrols and checkpoints. They have blown up close to 200 schools, targeting in particular girls’ schools.
- These militants use typical guerrilla tactics. They have undermined public faith in the government, sown distrust and made the police fearful for their lives. They have been targeting the police and army, two important pillars of the state, for special attention. For example, the army headquarters in the center of the city was struck in 2007 by a bomber who was hiding explosives under her burqa that were set off by remote control. The popular police chief was assassinated in 2007 while on duty trying to control a religious procession in one of the bazaars. In November 2008 a suicide bomber narrowly missed the governor and some ministers of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) as they were leaving a stadium in Peshawar after the closing ceremony of national games.
- Of course, these militants do not only target state institutions. They deliberately target innocent civilians as well to further undermine public

confidence in the state's ability to counter the militants' advance. For example, at least 22 people were killed and over a hundred were wounded when two bomb blasts struck crowded markets in Peshawar on 5 December 2008 as shoppers were preparing for the Eid Muslim festival. Most of the victims died when an explosives-laden car blew up in a busy marketplace in the heart of Peshawar.

- In light of the militants' successes, it is generally acknowledged by analysts that Peshawar – a city of close to 3 million people and Pakistan's 3<sup>rd</sup> largest - could quite easily fall to the Pakistan Taliban.<sup>xxvii</sup> Even Malik Naveed Khan, the inspector-general of the police, agrees with that assessment.<sup>xxviii</sup> But no one expects the Taliban to attempt a direct assault on Peshawar but rather anticipate a campaign of intimidation and fear and the positioning of heavily armed men at strategic points.<sup>xxix</sup> They are already at the outskirts – burning down CD and video shops, forcing the closure of barber shops, summarily hanging people who disagree with them, and banning and blowing up schools for girls. Police are no longer patrolling at night.
- Who are the principal players behind this violence and uprising in the northwest?

(Show slide 11)      Picture of Baitullah Mehsud

- The most important and strongest organisation is the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), a federation of Taliban groups since 2007, allied to al Qaeda. It is headed by Baitullah Mehsud, a 40 year-old commander based in South Waziristan who fought with the Taliban in Afghanistan. He claims to have 15,000 – 20,000 fighters under his command. He regularly dispatches suicide bombers. He was probably responsible for the assassination of Benazir Bhutto in Rawalpindi in December 2007. The government of Pakistan entered into a peace agreement with him in 2005

but he subsequently reneged on it and has allowed the Afghan Taliban to continue to use the Tribal Areas as a refuge.

- Two other militant leaders have also been active in the tribal areas. Mangal Bagh, a 35 year-old and veteran of the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan, heads Lashkar-i-Islam. Based in the Khyber Agency, he claims to have 120,000 men under his command. He has been invited to join Mehsud's TTP but he has refused several times. While he supports the Afghan Taliban's war against the Coalition forces, he is not interested in fighting the Pakistani army. His political agenda is the implementation of the Sharia and the cleansing of all societal vices.
- The other influential militant leader is Maulana Fazalullah, head of the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat Muhammadi (Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Law)(TNSM) which was founded in 1989. It is a banned group that sent 5,000 - 8,000 men from Pakistan (Dir, Swat and Bajaur Agency) across into Afghanistan to assist the Taliban fight the US-led forces in 2001. The TNSM spearheaded a violent Islamic movement in Bajaur and neighbouring Malakand in 1994. Fazlullah is known as FM Mullah in the Swat valley because of his use of the radio to promote his ideological beliefs.

(Show slide 12)      Picture of the Marriott Hotel

- But this type of urban violence has not been limited to Peshawar; it has also spread elsewhere, demonstrating that these Islamic militants can strike just about anytime and anywhere at will. For example, on 10 October 2008, while Parliament was meeting in a special session to debate the security situation in the country and the fight against al Qaeda and the Taliban, a suicide bomber struck the police headquarters in an area of Islamabad where security had been tightened since a suicide bombing killed more than 50 people and injured over 250 at the Marriott Hotel the previous month.<sup>xxx</sup>

- The truck bombing of 600 kilos of explosives, which devastated the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad, was Pakistan's 9/11. The bombing of that prestigious international landmark in the city – one of only two 5 star hotels in the capital - was a psychological blow to the Pakistani government and to its credibility in the eyes of the outside world. The timing of the bombing said it all: it took place a short while after the newly-elected President, Asif ali Zardari, had for the first time addressed a joint sitting of both houses of Parliament relatively nearby. While the bombing was claimed by an unknown group, Fedayeen Islam, given the ferocity and size of the attack, suspicion has fallen on Baitullah Mehsud's TTP.<sup>xxx</sup>
- Most analysts assess that the Marriott attack was in retaliation for the Pakistani army's storming of the Red Mosque in Islamabad in July 2007 to dislodge radical militants who were demanding the implementation of the Sharia. Most of the 100 militants who were killed after a month-long siege belonged to the banned Jaish-e-Mohammad (the Army of God), a Deobandi group which was founded by Maulana Masood Azhar in support of the insurgency in Indian-administered Kashmir. It is believed that the group was involved in the attack against the Indian Parliament in December 2001. The Red Mosque (Las Masjid by its official name), which had a reputation for radicalism, mostly attracting hardline students from the North West Frontier Province and the tribal areas, housed several thousand male and female students in adjacent seminaries.<sup>xxxii</sup>
- Two other spectacular terrorist actions demonstrate the reach of these Taliban militants in an urban setting. First, the assassination attempt against Benazir Bhutto upon her return to Karachi in October 2007 after eight years of self-imposed exile overseas. This suicide attack killed over 120 people. This would confirm the assessment of Ishrat-ul Ebad Khan, the Governor of Sind province, that Taliban elements have infiltrated the

population of Karachi and raised funding from criminal activities to finance terrorist activities.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Second, the assassination of Bhutto by a suicide bomber two months later in Rawalpindi – a major army cantonment city - on 27 December 2007. The CIA has assessed that fighters associated with Baitullah Mehsud were responsible for both these attacks, although Mehsud himself denies any involvement.<sup>xxxiv</sup>

- This second type of violence has spawned from Pakistan a third type: what I would call extra-territorial urban violence.

### **Extra-territorial urban violence**

- We are starting to see the outlines of such violence with two recent attacks outside Pakistan's urban space into neighbouring countries' urban space.
- First, there was the suicide bombing of the Indian Embassy in Kabul in July 2008 in which over 50 civilians, mainly Afghans, were killed. According to U.S. intelligence reports leaked to the press, indications are that officers of the Pakistan Army's powerful Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) helped plan the deadly attack. Further US intelligence evidence suggests that the attack was probably carried out by members of a network led by Maulavi Jalaludin Haqqani whose organisation is based in Waziristan – Baitullah Mesud's home base and with whom he has a close relationship.<sup>xxxv</sup>
- Second, there was the recent multiple and well-coordinated terrorist attacks in Mumbai in December 2009 which killed over 170 people. Once again, overwhelming and credible intelligence strongly suggests that militants of the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) (Soldiers of the Pure) executed this operation. Although the LeT was banned in Pakistan under Musharraf in 2002, it reconstituted itself under the name of Jamaat-ud Dawa (a charity organisation). The LeT is the military wing of Ahle Hadith, the Sunni school

of thought closely linked to Saudi Arabia. The LeT has over the years received substantial support from the ISI in the planning and financing of its operations in Indian-administered Kashmir.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

- Confronted with this evidence and under heavy pressure from the US administration, the Pakistani government arrested over 100 LeT members, including its founder, Hafiz Mohammed Saeed, its operations commander, Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi. It also shut down five of the LeT's training camps. It also place under house arrest Masood Azhar, the founder of Jaish-e-Muhammad, who was suspected of also being linked to the attack.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

(Show slide 13)      Schema

### Conclusion

- So how can we expect this urban violence to develop in the future? Unless there are dramatic policy changes on the part of the central government, we can expect to see urban violence worsen in Pakistan.
- Turning to the first type – violence between non-state actors, it is a sign **of a divided society that is losing faith in the societal processes and taking matters into its own hands**. Put differently, it is symptomatic of the inability and incompetence of the central government (civilian or military) to deal with the needs and demands of a complex state. And, unfortunately, because of the fast growing urban population competing for limited resources we can expect this situation to worsen in the future. And because Pakistan is to all intents and purposes financially broken it is not in a position to deliver the urban and social services it should be providing. The IMF's recent loan of \$7.6 billion to be disbursed over the next two years should help avert an imminent economic collapse. However, Islamabad

needs billions more to fix an economy which, until recently, had been battered by high oil prices and high food prices.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

- With regard to the second type of urban violence - conflict between state and non-state actors, one is dealing with a much more complex and dangerous situation. In this situation the urban area has become the frontline and the civilian population is fair game. Until as recently as two years ago, suicide bombings were unheard of in Pakistan. Now they are a common practice among the Taliban militants.
- According to some analysts, the sectarian divide has not only been the basis for much of the bloody urban violence but it has a greater potential for causing instability and the possible 'Lebanonisation' of Pakistan than any provincial/ethnic divide because of the higher levels of emotion and consequent religious fanaticism.<sup>xxxix</sup> I would have agreed with this assessment until relatively recently. For while sectarian violence remains a critical issue in Pakistan's urban space, I would argue that the jihadist threat – particularly in the northwest - has become so acute that it has superseded the sectarian conflict as the principal threat to the state of Pakistan.
- The problem is that there is division within the newly-elected civilian government in Islamabad as to best deal with the Pakistan Taliban militants. The deobandi JUI, which is a junior coalition member in the Cabinet and which has ideological links with the militants, is opposed to a military confrontation with the Pakistan Taliban and is urging negotiations.<sup>xi</sup> It is worth noting that no less a person than Maulana Fazlur Rehman, the chief of the Deobandi JUI party and generally friendly towards the Taliban, stated in June 2008 that the Government must act to stop the Taliban march before it is too late.<sup>xii</sup> Having said that, the government has negotiated with the militants in the past but the latter eventually reneged on the peace agreements and are now at the gates of Peshawar.

- In the meantime, the Pakistan army needs to be better trained and equipped and be provided with better intelligence so that it can conduct successful counter-insurgency operations. It is pointless and counter-productive for the army to use conventional warfare in fighting an enemy which uses asymmetrical techniques and knows the terrain extremely well. For example, some 250,000 people have had to flee their homes in the tribal areas as a result of bombing of suspected Taliban hideouts by helicopter gunships, jets, artillery and mortar fire of the Pakistani military, with thousands of them having to find refuge in neighbouring war-torn Afghanistan.<sup>xlii</sup>
- The ISI's behind the scene relationship with, and assistance to, these Jihadist militant groups must stop. However, this is easier said than done. Many of the ties have been developed over years and are not so easily undone, particularly when rogue elements within the ISI are involved in nurturing these relationships. Moreover, the army has always found it useful to have a ready pool of militants to tap into to be able to use 'unofficially' against external enemies. The critical point is how far would a weak civilian government be able or willing to have a show down with the military over this issue? Finally, western governments would want to be careful as how far they would want to push the military on this issue, as the army is their main interlocutor in the War on Terror.
- Similarly, as we have seen, the police is incompetent, corrupt and under-equipped. It needs to be reformed so that it can deal effectively and efficiently with the ethnic and sectarian urban violence. This would a long way at restoring confidence and hope in the urban population. The police and civilian intelligence agencies are also more appropriate institutions to conduct counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency operations than a military trained to combat an external enemy.<sup>xliii</sup>



- Critically important is the need to close down - as President Musharraf had promised he would do - the most radical *madrassas* which churn out thousands of jihadists every year. In parallel, there needs to be a reform of the curriculum of main stream *madrassas* which at present are only producing unemployable adults. Unless this is done there will continue to be a ready supply of potential jihadists willing to spread violence in Pakistan and beyond as well.
- Finally, for the purpose of combating urban conflict, the development of this Pakistan-sourced extra-territorial urban violence underscores the need to look at the geographic area from Kabul to New Delhi as one geopolitical unit. Certainly, NATO forces already approach Afghanistan and the Tribal Areas of western Pakistan as one theatre of operations. Accordingly, an increasing number of analysts have argued for a regional solution to developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan.<sup>xliv</sup>
- So unless some drastic steps are taken to improve the governance of the urban space of Pakistan, I see a bleak future for Pakistan – and this would be bad news for the region and the world.<sup>xiv</sup>

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- <sup>i</sup> Pocket World in Figures, The Economist, 2009 Edition, p.16.
- <sup>ii</sup> United Nations, World Urbanization Prospects. The 1994 Revision – Estimates and Projections of Urban and Rural Populations and of Urban Agglomerations (New York 1995), as cited in S P Cohen, The Idea of Pakistan, Brookings Institution Press, Washington D.C., 2004, p. 232. It is worth noting that between 1941 and 1961 Karachi's population grew by 432%, a rate of growth "no other city anywhere else in the world at any time in human history had ever experienced". Laurent Gayer, "Guns, Slums, and "Yellow Devils": a Genealogy of Urban Conflicts in Karachi", Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 41, No 3 (2007), p. 521. An estimated 350,000 people move to Karachi every year.
- <sup>iii</sup> Karachi, Lahore, Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Multan and Hyderabad. Cohen, p 232.
- <sup>iv</sup> On the eve of partition, Karachi only had 425,000 inhabitants. Gayer, p. 517.
- <sup>v</sup> Gayer, p. 519.
- <sup>vi</sup> David. Esser, "The City as Arena, Hub and Prey patterns of Violence in Kabul and Karachi", Environment and Urbanization, Vol 16, No 2, October 2004, p. 35.
- <sup>vii</sup> Orangi, Karachi's largest squatter settlement, has an estimated 1million people. Gayer, p. 522.
- <sup>viii</sup> Gayer, p. 522.
- <sup>ix</sup> Esser, p. 35.
- <sup>x</sup> Claude Rakisits, "National Integration in Pakistan: The Role of Religion, Ethnicity and the External Environment", Doctoral Dissertation, University of Queensland, July 1986, pp. 141-142.
- <sup>xi</sup> "The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan", International Crisis Group, Asia Report No 95, April 2005, p.3. Of course, Shia leaders in other cities of Pakistan are also targets for assassination. For example, the Shia leader of the Hazara Democratic Party in Quetta was killed on 26 January 2009. The banned-Lashkar-i-Jhangvi, an extremist Deobandi Sunni group, claimed responsibility. Dawn (The Internet Edition), 27 January 2009.
- <sup>xii</sup> "Pakistan: Karachi's Madrasas and Violent Extremism", International Crisis Group, Asia Report No 130, March 2007, p. 1.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Cohen, p. 208.
- <sup>xiv</sup> "The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan", p. 22
- <sup>xv</sup> Zaffar Abbas, "Pakistan's Schisms spill into Present", BBC News, 7 October 2004.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Cohen, p. 180.
- <sup>xvii</sup> "Pakistan: Karachi's Madrasas and Violent Extremism", p.2.
- <sup>xviii</sup> "The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan", p. 13.
- <sup>xix</sup> No one agrees on the number of mosques and *madrassas* in Karachi. But it is certainly much higher than 1800 as claimed by officials. "Pakistan: Karachi's Madrasas and Violent Extremism", p.5.
- <sup>xx</sup> "The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan", pp. 21-22.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Gayer, p. 522.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Gayer, p. 525.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Now renamed Muttahida Qaumi Movement
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Cohen, p. 210.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Expert estimate that it could be as high as 30% of the male workforce. "Pakistan: Karachi's Madrasas and Violent Extremism", p.3.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> "Taliban moving fast toward Islamabad", Press TV, 27 January 2009.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> According to Ishrat-ul Ebad Khan, Governor of Sind province, Peshawar has already been "lost". "Karachi fears Mumbai-style attack", Financial Times, 30 January 2009.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Jane Perlez, "Taliban in Pakistan: Friend, Foe or Both?", International Herald Tribune, 3 June 2008.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Jane Perlez and Pir Zubair Shah, "Taliban are poised to take over big Pakistani City", International Herald Tribune, 28-29 June 2008.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Salman Masood, "2 Militant Bombings Target Police in Pakistan", International Herald Tribune, 10 October 2008.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Henty Chu, "Pakistan Leaders must Act decisively after deadly Marriott Bombing, Analysts say", Los Angeles Times, 23 September 2008.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Aamer Ahmed Khan, "Can Musharraf contain the Militant Threat?", BBC News, 13 July 2007; Syed Shoaib Hasan, "Profile: Islamabad's Red Mosque", BBC News, 27 July 2007.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> James Lamont and Farhan Bokhari, "Karachi fears Mumbai-style attack", Financial Times, 30 January 2009.
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<sup>xxxvi</sup> For a detailed explanation of the LeT’s organisation and past operation, see Muhammad Amir Rana, A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan, Marshal Books, Lahore, 2007.

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<sup>xxxix</sup> Irm Haleem, “Ethnic and Sectarian Violence and the propensity towards Praetorianism in Pakistan”, Third World Quarterly, 2003, Vol. 24, No 3, p. 469.

<sup>xl</sup> Jane Perlez, “Pakistan divided on Fighting Militants”, International Herald Tribune, 21 October 2008.

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<sup>xlii</sup> Jane Perlez and Pir Zubair Shah, “Pakistan Unrest Widens into all-out War”, International Herald Tribune, 4-5 October 2008.

<sup>xliii</sup> For an excellent discussion on the need to reform the Pakistani police, see “Reforming Pakistan’s Police”, International Crisis Group, Asia Report No 157, 14 July 2008.

<sup>xliiv</sup> For an excellent article arguing a regional approach to the present conflict in Afghanistan and Pakistan, see Barnett R. Rubin and Ahmed Rashid, “From Great Game to Great Bargain”, Foreign Affairs, November/December 2008, Vol. 87, Number 6, pp. 30 – 44.

<sup>xlv</sup> The US Joint Forces Command in its latest Joint Operating Environment (25 November 2008) argues that the world should consider the possibility of Pakistan facing a rapid and sudden collapse. P. 36.