



TTP – Analyzing the Network of Terror

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List of Abbreviations

ETIM:	East Turkistan Islamic Movement
FATA:	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FC:	Frontier Constabulary
FCR:	Frontier Crimes Regulations
FIA:	Federal Investigation Agency
IJU:	Islamic Jihad Union
IMU:	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
ISI:	Inter-Services Intelligence
ISPR:	Inter-Services Public Relations
Ji:	Jamaat-i-Islami
JUI-F:	Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam-Fazl
KPK:	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LI or LeI:	Lashkar-e-Islam
LoC:	Line of Control
NWA:	North Waziristan Agency
SIM:	Subscriber Identity Modules
TNSM:	Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariate-Mohammadi
TTP:	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan
U.S.:	United States
WB:	Working Boundary

1. Introduction

One of the deadliest attacks in Pakistan's history, killing at least 145 people, mostly children, in Peshawar city of Pakistan, was soon claimed by the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). The brutal attack, on the Army Public School and Degree College by heavily armed men, shook the nation as well as the international community. Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) claimed that the school was attacked as a revenge for Pakistan's ongoing operation Zarb-e-Azb in North Waziristan. "We want them to feel the pain," TTP spokesman Muhammad Umar Khorasani was reported saying.

Sadness, terror and anger have gripped Pakistanis more severely than ever after the recent attack killing young children. The latest assault by TTP is one of the bloodiest in Pakistan's history which has left the country in shock and sent chills to the global community, shifting their focus from militants groups such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS to TTP.

The brazen attack is a stark reminder of frequent terrorist attacks in Pakistan during the last decade which has claimed lives of more than 55,000 innocent Pakistanis. The country has also suffered financial losses of about 103 billion dollars due to terrorism. "We believe it is the responsibility of all countries to take action against terrorism on their own soil," according to Pakistan Foreign Office spokesperson, who believe: "Pakistan itself has suffered because of terrorism. We have been a very active partner of the international community in efforts to counter terrorism. We are taking very robust action against terrorism and we expect that all countries should do the same on their soil. There is no disputing the fact that terrorism needs to be eliminated."¹

¹ Mariana Baabar, "Pakistan suffered \$103 bn loss due to terrorism", The News International, October 03, 2014, at:

[http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-33273-Pakistan-suffered-\\$103-bn-loss-due-to-terrorism](http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-33273-Pakistan-suffered-$103-bn-loss-due-to-terrorism)

2. Background – What is Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan?

The collapse of Taliban regime in Kandahar followed by U.S. invasion in Pakistan's neighborhood and particularly the 2001 battle of Tora Bora in and the consequent 2002 battle of the Shah-i-khot Valley (Operation Anaconda) is what unleashed terror upon Pakistan. Afghan invasion stimulated the initial flow of Taliban fighters into the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), areas bordering Afghanistan.² These radicals were later joined by many foreign fighters, many of whom settled among sympathizers in North and South Waziristan. As they grew in strength and numbers, they began attacking Coalition forces in southern and eastern Afghanistan from 2005 onwards. The extremists especially had a devastating impact on Pakistan's civilians, military, and politicians, destroyed the whole social fabric as Pakistan's schools, mosques, offices, hospitals, markets, all faced the brunt of terrorism.

2.1 TTP Formation

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan was officially established in December 2007 under the leadership of militant commander Baitullah Mehsud. The founding objectives of the new radical group were to enforce Sharia (mostly literal interpretations of Islamic laws), to unite against NATO forces in Afghanistan and carry out "defensive jihad" against the Pakistan Army.

With the leadership of TTP belonged to those who fought in Afghanistan against the Soviets, the group emerged as alliance of fighters and radicals belonging to diverse backgrounds, tribes and nationalities. Although Pashtuns are known to be in majority but TTP has a robust presence of Arab, Uzbek, Afghan, Chechen as well as Punjabi among other militants.

Members of TTP are believed to be from all of FATA's seven tribal agencies and districts

² Taliban - American Foreign Policy Council, at:
http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Taliban_2.pdf

of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), including Swat, Bannu, Tank, Lakki Marwat, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohistan, Buner, and Malakand.

Financial sources: Sources that allow Tehrik-e-Taliban to continue are varied including, donations (from domestic and international sympathizers), illegal activities, specifically kidnapping for ransom, robbery; taxes, penalties, extortion money; funds from other terrorist organizations and exploitation of natural resources, archaeological sites.

In its earlier years of formation, TTP was not in any way favour of deals with Pakistan government but it entered peace-talk in January 2014 with representatives of Nawaz Sharif-led government. But the militant attack on Karachi Airport on 8 June 2014 that killed 36 people was claimed by Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) which pushed the peace talks on backstage as Pakistan army decided to go for an all-out military offensive in North Waziristan.

In Pakistan, TTP has often targeted Pakistan's armed forces and has also killed civilians for political and religious reasons as well as politicians. The target areas have been apparently indiscriminately selected including school, colleges, mosques, markets, offices. Assaults on U.S. and other foreign missions and organizations have also been witnessed.

2.2 TTP Internal Conflicts and factions

Analysts explain TTP's organization structure as a loose network of discrete groups that differ in number and levels of coordination which is why few sections have announced to part ways with the central leadership. Some groups had disagreement on issues such as attacks on Pakistani authorities and civilians, peace talks with government, and more autonomy in tribal areas which led to conflicts.

The breakaway faction by TTP commander based in South Waziristan, Khalid Mehsud, also known as Khan Syed Sajna, that occurred in May 2014 is being termed as the first

split since TTP was founded. The Mehsud faction after failed attempts of convincing the TTP to renounce what it said were "un-Islamic" practices, such as attacks in public places, extortion, and kidnappings, decided to break up from the TTP, a spokesperson for the newly-formed faction, Azam Tariq, said in a statement released to the media.³

In 2014, the factions that have splintered from its original organization are TTP Sajna faction, led by Khan Said Sajna (Khalid Mehsud); Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan Jamaat-ul-Ahrar, led by the Mohmand Agency commander Omar Khalid Khorasani, the TTP Shehryar Mehsud faction and the TTP Punjab.

2.3 Features of TTP members

There is no clear estimate of the number of TTP fighters in Pakistan: official figures have ranged from 500 to 8,000.⁴

A definite profile of TTP members is not accessible but the videos and photographs released by TTP give a fair idea of some general features common to TTP members. Besides, a research team of Pakistani TV show hosted by a journalist Talat Hussain, exposed these features on his show 'Live with Talat,' (21 April 2009) on Aaj TV.

Average number: 1000 – 10,000

Average age: 35

Family background: Poor, lower middle class

Education: Little or no formal education; religious education was not received from a reputable madrassa/institute

Affiliations: Majority of the leadership is affiliated in one form or another with religious

³ Sophie Brown and Sophia Saifi, "Pakistan Taliban splits over 'un-Islamic' practices" CNN, June 2, 2014, at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/06/02/world/asia/pakistan-taliban-split/>

⁴ DG ISPR Maj. General Athar Abbas - official statement, "Over 10,000 Taliban in FATA: DG ISPR", Daily Times, September 30, 2009, at: <http://archives.dailytimes.com.pk/main/30-Sep-2009/over-10-000-taliban-in-fata-dg-ispr>

parties/organizations. However, they appear to lack a concrete political agenda or standpoint with respect to politics, economics, etc.

The above analysis implies that the average age of TTP leaders is below 35 years which shows a trend of replacing the older commanders by younger lot who prove to be mentally and physically strong as well as aware of challenges and prospects of the present era. The current leader of TTP, Maulana Fazlullah, is supposedly also in his mid-30s.

2.4 TTP Ideology

The ideology of TTP is essentially tied to U.S. and NATO operations in Afghanistan, analysts say, as they believe the core reason TTP emerged was to combat Pakistan's alliance in the war on terror with the United States and also the presence of U.S. troops in Afghanistan.

The core points initially laid out by the organization upon its formation in Dec. 2007 are:

1. Enforce sharia.
2. Unite against coalition forces in Afghanistan.
3. Perform defensive jihad against the Pakistani Army

The strong reaction by Pakistani military against TTP led to several other demands by the militant group including the abolishment of all military checkpoints in the FATA area, the release of Lal Masjid Imam Abdul Aziz and tough consequences if military operations are not stopped in Swat District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and North Waziristan Agency of FATA.

2.5 Classification of TTP Groups and Movement in Pakistan

- Mehsud Group: This core conglomerate of the Tehrik-e-Taliban, including Baitullah Mehsud's group, his affiliates across FATA, as well as Maulana Fazlullah, have waged a jihad against the Pakistani state for supporting America's War on Terror.

- Muqami (Local) Taliban: This group, including Maulvi Nazir (South Waziristan) and Gul Bahadur (North Waziristan), is believed to be pro-government, and focused primarily on supporting the Afghan jihad.
- Punjabi Taliban: This faction of groups previously focused on sectarianism inside Pakistan or the Kashmir/India jihad is now allegedly networking with TTP.
- Niche groups with specific ambitions, include Ghazi Force led by Red Mosque cleric Abdul Aziz, is now interlinked with TTP.⁵

2.6 Profile of Leading Terrorists in the Region

Maulana Fazlullah: Fazlullah, the ruthless commander from Swat Valley, became the TTP's new leader in late 2013 following the death of Hakimullah Mehsud in a drone attack. Initially it was reported that Khan Syed, aka Khalid Sajna, a close aide of Hakimullah, was to replace him but enragement from some groups within TTP led to appointment of Maulana Fazlullah. Fazlullah is also called 'Mullah FM' for utilizing local radio stations to spread his messages.

Hakimullah Mehsud, deputy to TTP commander Baitullah Mehsud, had been known as one of the most able commanders within TTP and masterminded a series of attacks on NATO supply vehicles headed for Afghanistan. In 2007, Hakimullah engineered the kidnapping of some 250 Pakistani soldiers in South Waziristan who were held hostage until a prisoner exchange was secured, but the Shias among them were cruelly slain. Hakimullah Mehsud took charge of the Taliban in Pakistan in 2009. He commanded the TTP forces in Orakzai, Khyber, and Kurram tribal agencies of Pakistan where he earned a reputation for being young and aggressive, but also smart and brutal. He was killed in a drone strike on 1 November 2013. **Died 2013**

⁵ Qandeel Siddique, "Tehrik-E-Taliban Pakistan - An Attempt to Deconstruct the Umbrella Organization and the Reasons For Its Growth In Pakistan's North-West", Danish Institute for International Studies, 2010:12, at: http://subweb.diis.dk/graphics/Publications/Reports2010/RP2010-12-Tehrik-e-Taliban_web.pdf

Baitullah Mehsud, labeled by Newsweek as “more dangerous than Osama bin Laden”, played an ultimately critical role in the upsurge of militancy in northwestern Pakistan. Baitullah Mehsud was appointed leader of TTP’s in 2009 by forty council members representing seven tribal agencies of FATA and several districts. Mehsud had up to 20,000 fighters under his control, according to estimates. Mehsud sent a wave of terror in locally as well globally with a number of attacks across Pakistan that killed hundreds of civilians, soldiers, police, and intelligence officials, and was also charged in 2008 bombing of the Marriott Hotel in Islamabad, and the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. “Only Jihad can bring peace to the world” Mehsud was once quoted as saying. Baitullah Mehsud and his wife were killed on 5 August 2009 in a U.S. Central Intelligence Agency drone attack in South Waziristan. **Died 2009**

Mangal Bagh is one of the mysterious Islamic warlords belongs to the Afridi tribe, the biggest clan in the 2,500 sq km Khyber agency. In early age he fought with the Afghan mujahedeen against the Soviets. After returning home, he remained a member of the secular and nationalist Awami National Party. Later he drifted to religious militancy and sided with fiery cleric Mufti Munir Shakir.

Bagh is reportedly the head of Lashkar-e-Islam in Khyber agency in FATA where he rose to power in the absence of effective government control in the region. He virtually ruled Bara tehsil of Khyber Agency until June 2008 when he and his armed vigilantes were driven out in a security operation. He then fled Bara only to regroup in the distant valley of Tirah, which has since become a potpourri of militants.

Unlike other Islamic militant groups, Lashkar-i-Islam is not pro-Taliban. In Bagh’s own words: “Ours is a reformist organisation trying to promote virtue and prevent vice. We rid Bara of drug-traffickers, gamblers, kidnappers, car-snatchers and other criminals and we want to cleanse Jamrud and all of Peshawar of those selling drugs and liquor and running

gambling dens”.⁶ Though frequently invited by Baitullah Mehsud and supporters to join the TTP but he declined as he didn’t want to fight against Pakistan forces and harm the country, Bagh maintained.

Abdullah Mehsud, one of the most powerful leaders of the Taliban in South Waziristan, fought against the U.S. and the Northern Alliance. In 2001, he was captured by U.S. and sent to Guantanamo Bay where he spent more than two years before being released by the U.S. after he convinced interrogators he was an innocent Afghan.

Soon after his release, he returned to South Waziristan, where he rebuilt his force (believed to be 5,000 Taliban foot soldiers) to fight American soldiers, attacked Pakistani government and army, oversaw the kidnapping of two Chinese engineers, and finally detonated suicide bomb in 2007 as the Pakistani Army blocked him in during a raid in Zhob district in Baluchistan province.

The damage inflicted by Mehsud leads to an apparent question: **Why was Mehsud released from Guantanamo?**

“The American people must ask as to why he was released from Guantanamo because it shows that there was not enough information about them (people being held in Guantanamo Bay)” said Rahimullah Yusufzai, veteran Pakistani journalist, adding: “It was a failure of intelligence, or maybe Abdullah Mehsud with his one artificial leg, they thought he can't do much.” But he became a commander upon his return.⁷

Abdullah, who had lost a leg after stepping on a land mine, had even been outfitted with a prosthetic leg by prison doctors. “He came to us without one leg from about the knee

⁶ Rahimullah Yusufzai, “The man from Bara”, The News, May 11, 2008, online edition, at: <http://jang.com.pk/thenews/may2008-weekly/nos-11-05-2008/dia.htm>

⁷ Abdullah Mehsud - Frontline, October 3, 2006, at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/taliban/militants/mehsud.html>

down; we fitted him with a prosthetic leg before he left while in U.S. custody,” Brig. Gen. Jay Hood, who runs the detention center, told a House panel in 2005.

Mehsud adds to a long list of former Guantanamo detainees alleged to have returned to terror. The Pentagon believes that around 20 percent of the 560 detainees released from Guantanamo are back on the terror front lines, writes Diane Macedo.

Lt. Colonel (U.S. Army, ret.) Jeffrey F. Addicott, the director of the Center for Terrorism Law at St. Mary’s University, Addicott says these cases show that the U.S. needs to show more discretion when determining whether to release the prisoners at Guantanamo.⁸

The Guantanamo Files, classified documents of detainees which appeared in media, reveals that it was complete misreading on part of The Guantanamo analysts, who at times ignored serious flaws in the evidence.⁹

⁸ Diane Macedo, "More Guantanamo Detainees Are Returning to Terror Upon Release", Fox News, March 29, 2010, at: <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2010/03/29/gitmo-detainees-return-terror/>

⁹ Scott Shane and Benjamin Weiser, "Judging Detainees’ Risk, Often With Flawed Evidence", The New York Times, April 24, 2011, at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/25/world/guantanamo-files-flawed-evidence-for-assessing-risk.html>

3. Claimed and Alleged Attacks by TTP

December 2007 - Assassination of Benazir Bhutto: The Pakistani government accused TTP for assassination of Benazir Bhutto although the group denies the charge.

23 December 2007 suicide bombing in Mingora: The Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariate-Mohammadi (TNSM) claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing in the Mingora area of the Swat Valley killing five soldiers and six civilians.¹⁰

21 August 2008 suicide bomb attack on a military complex: TTP spokesman Maulvi Umar claimed that the group was responsible for attack on a military complex.

23 August 2008 Swat Valley bombing: TTP claimed responsibility for the attack.

6 November 2008 suicide bombing in Bajaur: A man using the name Abdur Rehman claimed that the TTP was behind the bombing that killed 16 and injured 31. The attack targeted tribal elders, who had gathered in the Bajaur tribal area to discuss efforts to coordinate with the government against the Pakistani Taliban.¹¹

13 November 2008: TTP intercepted a military convoy along the Khyber Pass bound for NATO troops in Afghanistan.

30 March 2009 attack on the police training academy in Lahore: Mehsud claimed responsibility for the attack in telephone interviews with news media, telling BBC that the attack was in retaliation for continued missile strikes from American drones for which the Pakistani government shared responsibility. Mehsud also claimed two other, a 25 March attack on an Islamabad police station and a 30 March suicide attack on a military convoy near Bannu, in the same interview.¹²

¹⁰ Abbas, Hassan, "A Profile of Tehrik-I-Taliban Pakistan", CTC Sentinel (West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center) 1 (2), January 2008.

¹¹ Khan, Anwarullah, "Bomber hits anti-militant tribal jirga; 16 dead", Dawn Media Group, November 06, 2008.

¹² Mohammad Faisal Ali, "Baitullah claims responsibility for Manawan attack", Dawn Media Group, March 31, 2009.

Binghamton shootings in New York, 3 Apr 2009: Mehsud claimed responsibility for the shootings but the FBI denied this claim and stated the attack had nothing to do with Mehsud.¹³

Suicide bombing at a checkpoint along the Pakistan-Afghan border on 27 August 2009: Azam Tariq, spokesman of the TTP, claimed responsibility for the bombing at a security checkpoint near Torkham along the Pakistan-Afghan border. Tariq said the attack was the first in retaliation for the death of Baitullah Mehsud. The exact number of casualties was unknown, but believed to be between 13 and 22.¹⁴

Attack on UN's World Food Programme Islamabad office on 5 October 2009: TTP, through Azam Tariq, claimed responsibility for a suicide attack that killed five at World Food Programme office in Islamabad.¹⁵

October 2009 attack on Army's headquarters at Rawalpindi: TTP's Azam Tariq, claimed responsibility, saying it was carried out by its Punjabi faction although military insisted it originated in South Waziristan.¹⁶

October 2009 Lahore attacks: Simultaneous assaults on three buildings across Lahore, the office of Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), the Manawan Police Training School and the Elite Police Academy, killed around 38 people. TTP claimed responsibility for three

¹³ "Pakistani Taliban chief Mehsud claims U.S. shooting" - Thomson Reuters, April 04, 2009, at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/04/04/idINIndia-38880020090404>

¹⁴ Ibrahim Shinwari, "Taliban claim responsibility for Khyber suicide attack", Dawn News, August 28, 2009, at: <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/provinces/pre-iftar+suicide+blast+kills+22+border+guards>

¹⁵ Munir Ahmad, "Taliban claim responsibility for deadly UN blast", The Anniston Star, October 06, 2009, at: http://www.annistonstar.com/news/article_c2353d6d-bfbd-5ad6-83ae-86c65aff51af.html

¹⁶ Riaz Khan; Ishtiaq Mahsud; Babar Dogar, "Pakistan says 41 killed in market bombing", Associated Press, October 12, 2009.

separate coordinated attacks in Lahore.¹⁷

30 December 2009 attack on base of operations for the CIA in Afghanistan: The attack on Camp Chapman - a base of operations for the CIA - inside Khost province of Afghanistan was claimed by both TTP as well as the Afghan Taliban.¹⁸

May 2010 attempted car bomb in New York City's Times Square: Qari Hussain claimed in a video posting on YouTube that TTP was behind the May 2010 attempted attack.¹⁹

May 2010 mosque attack in Lahore: An attack on two minority mosques in Lahore during mid-2010 was claimed by the Taliban.

July 2010 suicide bombing in the Mohmand Agency: The TTP claimed responsibility of two blasts that occurred outside a senior government official's office killing as many as 56 and leaving 100 injured.²⁰

4 October 2010 attack on NATO fuel tankers: The attack near Islamabad on fuel tankers bound for NATO troops in Afghanistan was claimed by TTP.²¹

December 2010 suicide bombings in Mohmand: The double suicide bombing on administrative buildings in the Mohmand district's Ghalalnai village, which killed 40–50

¹⁷ Zahid Hussain, Rehmat Mehsud, "Wave of Deadly Attacks in Pakistan", Wall Street Journal (Dow Jones & Company, Inc.), October 15, 2009.

¹⁸ "Pakistan Taliban say they carried out CIA attack" - MSNBC News, Associated Press. January 01, 2010, at: http://www.nbcnews.com/id/34654487/ns/world_news-south_and_central_asia/

¹⁹ "Taliban Video Claims Responsibility for The Times Square Attack May 2, 2010" – YouTube, at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xvKIwNQvDsM>

²⁰ "Fifty-six killed, over 100 injured in Mohmand attack", Dawn News, July 09, 2010.

²¹ "Taliban claim Nato tanker attack", Al Jazeera, October 04, 2010, at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2010/10/201010413141352242.html>

people, was claimed by TTP's Omar Khalid in a telephone call with the AFP.²²

December 2010 kidnapping in South Waziristan: TTP kidnapped 23 tribesmen who had attended meetings with the Pakistani military.²³

15 January 2011 attack on NATO fuel tankers: TTP claimed responsibility for attack on NATO fuel tankers bound for the border crossing town of Chaman. "We have assigned our fighters to go after NATO supply tankers wherever in Pakistan" said Azam Tariq.²⁴

31 January 2011 bombing in Peshawar: TTP representative Azam Tariq claimed responsibility of a suicide bombing that targeted police in Peshawar killing 6 people, including 4 police officers and 2 civilians.²⁵

10 February 2011 suicide bombing at Army in Mardan: TTP claimed responsibility for a suicide bombing at an army compound in Mardan that killed 31 people. Azam Tariq said the attack was in response to repetitive U.S. drone attacks and military incursions in the tribal areas.²⁶

17 February 2011 execution of Colonel Imam: The TTP released a video of the execution of a former Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) officer named Colonel Imam, saying they had carried out the murder on 17 February 2011. Colonel's body was found near Mir Ali,

²² "Taliban claims Pakistan blasts; 50 dead", United Press International, December 06, 2010, at: http://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2010/12/06/Two-blasts-kill-at-least-40-in-Pakistan/UPI-47441291637841/

²³ "Taliban kidnap 23 tribesmen near South Waziristan", Dawn.com (Dawn Media Group), December 27, 2010, at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/594082/taliban-kidnap-23-tribesmen-near-south-waziristan>

²⁴ "NATO lorries torched in Pakistan", Al Jazeera, January 15, 2011, at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2011/01/201111517248680630.html>

²⁵ "Senior police official among six killed in Peshawar blasts", Dawn.com (Dawn Media Group), January 31, 2011, at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/602852/blast-in-peshawar>

²⁶ "Pakistan attack: 'Schoolboy' suicide bomber hits Mardan", BBC News, February 10, 2011, at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12413469>

North Waziristan.²⁷

8 March 2011 car bomb explosion in Faisalabad: TTP spokesman Ehsanullah Ehsan claimed responsibility of bomb blast at a gas station in Faisalabad that killed at least 32 and injured 125, saying that the intended target was a nearby ISI office.²⁸

9 March 2011 suicide bomb attack in Peshawar: TTP spokesman Ehsanullah Ehsan said the attack on a funeral procession in Peshawar was carried out as it consisted of many anti-Taliban militiamen who have had allied themselves with the Pakistani government and, by extension, the United States.²⁹

4 April 2011 attack on Sufi shrine in Dera Ghazi Khan: Two suicide bombers attacked a Sufi shrine in Dera Ghazi Khan in Pakistan at a time when thousands of devotees were gathered for the annual Urs celebrations. TTP claimed responsibility of the attack which left more than 50 people dead, and 120 wounded.³⁰

26 April 2011 two explosions: TTP claimed responsibility for two remotely detonated explosions that targeted two Pakistani Navy buses in Karachi.

28 April 2011 attack upon a Pakistani Navy bus: TTP spokesman Ehsanullah Ehsan claimed responsibility for the attack on Navy bus in Karachi that killed 5.³¹

13 May 2011 attacks on a Frontier Constabulary (FC): The TTP claimed responsibility

²⁷ "Body of Col Imam found near Mir Ali", Daily Times, February 21, 2011, at:

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2011\02\21\story_21-2-2011_pg7_14

²⁸ "At least 32 killed in Faisalabad blast; Taliban claim responsibility", Dawn.com (Dawn Media Group), March 08, 2011, at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/611590/explosion-heard-in-faisalabad-reports>

²⁹ "Deadly attack at Pakistan funeral procession", BBC News, March 09, 2011, at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12684954>

³⁰ "41 killed in Pakistan shrine suicide attack", The Daily Telegraph (London), April 03, 2011, at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/pakistan/8424930/41-killed-in-Pakistan-shrine-suicide-attack.html>

³¹ "Bomb hits Pakistan navy bus in Karachi; 5 dead", Google News - Associated Press, April 28, 2011.

for dual suicide bomb attacks on a FC headquarters in Shabqadar in Charsadda District that killed more than 80 and injured at least 115 people, mostly FC cadets. TTP spokesman Ehsanullah claimed the attack was carried as reprisal for the killing of Osama bin Laden.³²

22 May 2011 attack on a naval station in Karachi: TTP claimed responsibility for the attack.³³

25 May 2011 in Peshawar: TTP reading claimed the attack where a suicide bomber drove an explosives-laden pickup truck into a Peshawar police building killing six and wounding some 30.³⁴

13 September 2011 attack on school bus: Militants with assault rifles and rockets attacked a school bus, killing the driver, and four school boys, in outskirts of Peshawar. TTP claimed responsibility of the attack.³⁵

1 December 2011 attack in Hangu: TTP claimed responsibility for the death of Hashim Zaman, an anti-TTP tribal leader, who was killed in Hangu.³⁶

23 December 2011 abduction and killing of Pakistani paramilitary soldiers: TTP militants abducted 15 paramilitary soldiers on 23 December 2011 in Mullazai and announced on 5 January 2012 that the militant group had executed all 15 paramilitary soldiers. The mutilated bodies were recovered close to a ravine. TTP also released a video on 22

³² "Twin blasts kill more than 80 in Charsadda", Dawn.com (Dawn Media Group), May 13, 2011, at:

<http://www.dawn.com/news/628325/twin-blasts-kill-at-least-three-in-charsadda-dawnnews>

³³ "Pakistan: Troops end attack on Karachi naval air base", BBC News, May 23, 2011, at:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-13495127>

³⁴ "Suicide bomber kills 6 at Pakistan police building", AP, May 25, 2011.

³⁵ Lehasz Ali, "Bus attack kills four boys in Pakistan", The Sydney Morning Herald, Agence France-Presse, September 14, 2011, at:

<http://news.smh.com.au/breaking-news-world/bus-attack-kills-four-boys-in-pakistan-20110914-1k84a.html>

³⁶ "TTP claims killing of peace body chief", The News International, December 02, 2011, at:

<http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=80477&Cat=7&dt=12/2/2011>

January 2012 the TTP showing the execution of the 15 soldiers.³⁷

23 March 2012 bombing in Tirah Valley: TTP Khyber Agency faction claimed responsibility for the attack that targeted a mosque, run by Lashkar-e-Islam (LeI), in Kolay village of Tirah Valley. The blast killed more than a dozen people and injured at least six others.

5 April 2012 suicide bombing in Karachi: TTP claimed responsibility for targeting a police vehicle in Karachi that killed two and injured nine.³⁸

15 April 2012 prison break in Bannu: The TTP claimed responsibility for a prison break in Bannu during which 384 convicts escaped although many were later recaptured.³⁹

4 May 2012 suicide bombing: The TTP claimed responsibility of the attack that killed 24 and wounded at least 45 in a Bajaur market.⁴⁰

24 June 2012 attacks on Pakistani security checkpoint: The TTP's Malakand branch claimed responsibility for attacks on Pakistani security checkpoints near the Afghan border in which 13 Pakistani troops were reportedly killed while 14 militants died. The

³⁷ "Taliban releases horrific video of executions of 15 Pakistani soldiers", Daily Mail (UK), January 22, 2012.

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2090165/Taliban-releases-horrific-video-executions-15-Pakistani-soldiers.html>

³⁸ Shaheryar Mirza, "Police targeted: Taliban claim responsibility for Karachi suicide attack", The Express Tribune, AFP, April 05, 2012, at:

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/360034/two-dead-four-injured-in-karachi-blast/>

³⁹ "Bannu jailbreak: TTP had inside information, says commander", The Express Tribune, Reuters, April 16, 2012, at:

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/365541/bannu-jailbreak-ttp-had-inside-information-says-commander/>

⁴⁰ "Bajaur bomb attack kills 24; TTP claims responsibility", Dawn.com (Dawn Media Group), May 04, 2012, at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/715615/bajaur-bomb-attack-kills-seven>

TTP however denied that it had taken any casualties.⁴¹

25 June 2012 attack on Pakistan TV: Annoyed for not receiving equal coverage as compared to Pakistani military and government, according to TTP's Ehsanullah Ehsan, TTP opened gunfire on Aaj News TV, a local station in Karachi in which two were injured.⁴²

9 July 2012 attack near Gujrat on soldiers: Militants linked to the TTP attacked an army camp near Gujrat city that killed seven soldiers and a policeman. A pamphlet at the scene indicated that the attacks would continue as long as Pakistan allowed NATO to use its territory to transport supplies into Afghanistan.⁴³

16 August 2012 attack on the Minhas Airbase in Kamra: The TTP claimed responsibility for attack on Minhas Airbase. The two-hour firefight resulted in the deaths of nine insurgents and two soldiers.⁴⁴

6 August 2012 killing in Mansehra: Darra Adam Khel faction of the TTP claimed responsibility of killing 22 Shiites in Mansehra District after taking them out of buses and executed them.⁴⁵

⁴¹ "Militants kill 13 Pakistani soldiers, behead 7", USA Today, The Associated Press, June 25, 2012, at: <http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/world/story/2012-06-25/pakistan-troops-afghanistan/55806192/1>

⁴² "Taliban attack television office in Karachi; two injured", Dawn.com (Dawn Media Group), Reuters, June 25, 2012, at:

<http://www.dawn.com/news/729485/taliban-attack-television-office-in-karachi-two-injured>

⁴³ "Army camp attack: Pamphlet vows more attacks if NATO supplies continue", The Express Tribune, July 11, 2012, at:

<http://tribune.com.pk/story/406573/army-camp-attack-pamphlet-vows-more-attacks-if-nato-supplies-continue/>

⁴⁴ "Several killed in Pakistan airbase raid", Al Jazeera, August 16, 2012, at:

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2012/08/2012815234651368597.html>

⁴⁵ Salman Masood, "Pakistani Taliban Kill 22 Shiites in Bus Attack", The New York Times, August 16, 2012, at:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/17/world/asia/pakistani-taliban-kill-22-shiites-in-bus-attack.html>

9 October 2012 school bus shooting: TTP claimed responsibility for the school-bus shooting of Malala Yousafzai, a young activist, and two other schoolgirls. TTP spokesman Ehsanullah Ehsan stated “whom so ever leads a campaign against Islam and Shariah is ordered to be killed by Shariah.”⁴⁶

June 2014 Karachi Airport Attack: The TTP claimed responsibility for the attack on Jinnah International Airport attack, which was carried out jointly with the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.⁴⁷

2 November 2014 attack on Wagah border Pakistan side: Jamaat-ul-Ahrar splinter group of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) claimed responsibility for the Wagah border attack which killed 60 people and injured as many as 100.⁴⁸ This attack is revenge for the killing of innocent people in North Waziristan," the militant group's spokesman, Ehsanullah, said.

16 December 2014 Peshawar school attack: The TTP claimed responsibility for the brutal attack on Peshawar school attack which killed 150 people, including school children between eight and 18 years of age, and staff members of the school.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ "Taliban use Islamic Shariah to defend Masala Attack", Dawn.com (Dawn Media Group), October 10, 2012, at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/755657/taliban-use-islamic-shariah-to-defend-malala-attack>

⁴⁷ "Karachi airport: Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan claims attack", BBC News, June 11, 2014, at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27790892>

⁴⁸ "Deadly blast on Pakistan's border with India", Al Jazeera, November 03, 2014, at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2014/11/pakistan-india-border-blast-2014112141227182769.html>

⁴⁹ Sophia Saifi and Greg Botelho, "In Pakistan school attack, Taliban terrorists kill 145, mostly children", CNN, December 17, 2014, at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/12/16/world/asia/pakistan-peshawar-school-attack/>

4. Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan and Afghan Taliban

4.1 Peshawar School Attack condemned by Afghan Taliban

Soon after the claim by Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan of the attack on Peshawar school, the Afghan Taliban released a statement condemning the attack, which exposes the differences in ideas and goals of the two militant groups.

"Innocent men, women and children were killed intentionally" and this is against "Islamic principles." The Afghan Taliban claims it has "always condemned the killing of innocent people and children", said the statement released on the Afghan Taliban's official website in which the Afghan Taliban also express "sorrow over the tragedy and grief for the families of the victims."⁵⁰

4.2 Afghan Taliban and TTP – Similar Names, Diverse Goals

The word Taliban which literally means “students” is generally used to denote Afghan Taliban, led by Mullah Muhammad Omar, who seek to reclaim the power they held over Afghanistan (during 1996-2001) before the American invasion of Afghanistan following attacks of September 11, 2001.

The similarity of the word ‘Taliban’ in both Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (formed in 2007) and original Afghan Taliban (founded in 1994) is what really baffles many experts and public alike. . “The fact that they have the same name causes all kinds of confusion,” said Gilles Dorronsoro, a French scholar of South Asia currently at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

Afghan Taliban were a “genuine national movement” incorporating not only a broad

⁵⁰ Remarks of Spokesman of Islamic Emirate regarding the incident at a Peshawar school, December 17, 2014, at:

<http://shahamat-english.com/index.php/paighamoona/51436-remarks-of-spokesman-of-islamic-emirate-regarding-the-incident-at-a-peshawar-school>

network of fighters, but also a shadow government-in-waiting in many provinces, said Mr. Dorronsoro while explaining the factors that separate the two Talibans.

By comparison, the Pakistani Taliban were a far looser coalition of dispersed groups, united mainly by their enmity toward the Pakistani government, he said. TTTP emerged formally only in 2007 as a separate force led by Baitullah Mehsud under the name Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan with the central demand of enforcement of Islamic law (sharia) in Pakistan.

The two Taliban movements, Afghan and Pakistani, share only these features: Dominant Pashtun ethnicity and interpretation of Islam as practiced in Saudi Arabia, called “Wahhabism”. But they have such different histories, structures and goals that the common name may be more misleading than illuminating, Scott Shane writes.

“To be honest, the Taliban commanders and groups on the ground in Afghanistan couldn’t care less what’s happening to their Pakistani brothers across the border,” said Mr. Strick van Linschoten, a Dutch researcher who lives in Kandahar (Afghanistan) and has interviewed many members of the Afghan Taliban. Afghan Taliban’s obligatory strict observance to Islamic customs in areas it controlled and harsh punishments, including executions, lost international and local support to the movement.

Pakistan’s jihadi lingua franca echoes an Islamic fundamentalism based on narrow and militant interpretations of Wahabism, Salafism, Ahl-e-Hadith or Deobandi doctrines. TTP’s ‘common enemy’ includes the US, Israel, India, as well as the Barelvi, Sufi and Shiite sects of Islam. ⁵¹

⁵¹ Scott Shane, "Insurgents Share a Name, but Pursue Different Goals", The New York Times, October 22, 2009, at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/23/world/asia/23taliban.html>

5. Operation Zarb-e-Azb

5.1 Hard assault on Terrorists

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan is facing a new and direct threat since June 2014 when Pakistan army entered into North Waziristan – a region which is considered base of dozens of militant groups. The assault by Pakistan army is termed as climax to years of violence, attacks, killing that took a heavy toll on Pakistan, and also terminated peace talks between TTP and government, so as to root out militants from Pakistan for good.

More than a thousand terrorists have been killed in the massive military operation by Pakistan army called Operation Zarb-e-Azb, named after the sword of Prophet Muhammad. Around 25,000 to 30,000 troops are reportedly taking part in the operation that began in June 2014 shortly after TTP's strike on the Pakistan's major international airport in Karachi city, Pakistan's commercial hub.

Pakistan Army has so far cleared 90 per cent of North Waziristan Agency (NWA) of terrorists and eliminated the Haqqani network and East Turkistan Movement from the area, according to published reports. Commander of Operation Zarb-e-Azb Major General Zafarullah Khan said armed forces killed 1,198 terrorists and injured 356 during the on-going military operation launched in June this year.⁵²

5.2 Pakistan's tough neighborhood hindering Zarb-e-Azb

Pakistan is located in a tough neighborhood which poses numerous diverse challenges. Afghanistan which lies on the north-west of Pakistan has a long history of distrust and hostility. While Pakistan and Indies, to the east of Pakistan, are known for longstanding enmity.

⁵² Mehreen Zahra-Malik, "Zarb-e-Azb: Army says 90% of North Waziristan cleared", The Express Tribune News Network, APP, November 16, 2014, at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/791954/zarb-e-azb-army-says-90-of-north-waziristan-cleared>

Pakistan's operation against terrorists as part of Zarb-e-Azb has been affected as the attention of the armed forces was divided due to of Indian troops' continuous violation of ceasefire at the Line of Control (LoC) and Working Boundary (WB), according to Pakistan Army Chief General Raheel Sharif.⁵³

Director General of Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR), Maj-Gen Asim Bajwa has said that the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Chief Fazlullah and his accomplices have been hiding in Nuristan and Kunar areas of Afghanistan, adding that a lack of cooperation from the Afghan authorities on this issue has led to delayed operations causing Pakistan to face terrible consequences.

Maj-Gen Asim Bajwa also urged the Afghan authorities to relocate the cellular towers from the Pak-Afghan border. As the towers of Afghan telecommunication companies near the Pak-Afghan border could aid militants in using Afghan SIMs (Subscriber Identity Modules) for correspondence in Pakistani territory which is dangerous.⁵⁴

The terrorists involved in attack on Peshawar school were also using Afghan cell phone SIMs, and Pakistani officials have intimated the Afghan government on this key development.⁵⁵

It is worth mentioning that some officials suggest that the number of active Afghan SIMs in the country range from 40,000 to one million. Most of these SIMs are used in acts of terrorism, kidnapping for ransom and extortion, reports say.

⁵³ "Indian LoC aggression hurting Zarb-e-Azb: Gen Raheel", The Nation (Nawaiwaqt Group of Newspapers), November 20, 2014, at:

<http://nation.com.pk/national/20-Nov-2014/indian-loc-aggression-hurting-zarb-e-azb-gen-raheel>

⁵⁴ "Over 1,100 militants killed in Zarb-e-Azb: DG ISPR", Pakistan Today, October 29, 2014, at:

<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/10/29/national/over-1100-militants-killed-in-zarb-e-azb-dg-ispr>

⁵⁵ Mehreen Zahra-Malik, "Anger and grief as Pakistan buries students massacred at school", Reuters, December 18, 2014, at:

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/18/us-pakistan-school-idUSKBN0JU0JO20141218>

5.3 Zarb-e-Azb strikes militancy hard as TTP factions break away

Crisis and differences became known in the TTP organization soon after former leader Hakimullah Mehsud death by US drone. But the announcement of new factions parting ways from main TTP organization is being termed as a major blow to terrorist group and an achievement for Pakistan Army and government.

The latest break-away faction belonging to the Mehsud tribe, led by Khalid Mehsud, is considered a key group of the various groups that comprise the umbrella TTP. “The TTP leadership has fallen into the hands of a bunch of conspirators, the umbrella organisation is involved in criminal activities like robbery and extortion,” said Azam Tariq, a spokesman for the group, in an interview.

Speaking in an interview at an undisclosed location, Tariq said individual ideologies had The activities of present TTP command such as bomb attacks on public places, extracting money from madrassahs and other institutions, is considered unacceptable by some groups in the TTP which had created a rift among the Taliban and they were deviating from “the real cause” said Tariq.⁵⁶

5.4 Group splits and Army assault make TTP feel the heat

The splitting factions and the divide in the TTP has also possibly affected the relationship between the Fazlullah-led faction and the influential Haqqani network as there are no recent reports of “any significant attacks inside Afghanistan jointly made by the Haqqanis and the Fazlullah-led TTP;” according to Dr. Ashraf Ali, president of the FATA Research Centre in Islamabad.

“The U.S. drones, financial problems, Pakistani military operations and precision air strikes caused serious problems for the foreign militants. Due to these compulsions, a

⁵⁶ Zahir Shah Sherazi, "Key Pakistani Taliban faction breaks away", Dawn.com (Dawn Media Group), May 28, 2014, at: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1109089>

large but unknown number of foreign fighters have abandoned the region. The TTP split and Operation Zarb-e-Azb will inflict irreparable loss on the foreign fighters in Waziristan” says journalist Mushtaq Yusufzai, who has covered the region since 2011.

A political analyst and independent researcher, Dr. Raza Khan, concluded in his report, foreign fighters in Pakistan are under severe pressure because of the growing split within TTP and the massive offensive carried out by the Pakistani military in North Waziristan. U.S. drone strikes and Pakistan’s military operation may cause many of foreign fighters to find new sanctuaries in Afghanistan or to join jihadist conflicts elsewhere, such as in North Africa, or in Syria and Iraq, Dr Khan suggests.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Raza Khan, "The death knell for foreign fighters in Pakistan?" , CTC Sentinel, August 27, 2014, at: <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/the-death-knell-for-foreign-fighters-in-pakistan>

6. Foreign Fighters in Pakistan

Foreign fighters, coming from the Middle East, Western Europe, Russia, and Central Asian countries, chiefly Uzbekistan, have always been a source of strength for militants near the region adjoining Afghanistan and Pakistan. The downfall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2001 forced many a foreign extremist groups to find haven in the neighboring Pakistan. The entrance and presence of groups, including the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), the German-Turkish Islamic Jihad Union (IJU), Al-Qaeda, the Chinese (Uighur) East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) and Turkistan Islamic Party, Chechen militants, Jundullah faction, is regarded by many as the key factors leading to the rise of Taliban movement in Pakistan that later emerged in the form of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).

The exact figure of foreign fighters present in the tribal areas of Pakistan is not known but they are estimated to be more than 8,000 as per a report presented to then Prime Minister of Pakistan Yousuf Raza Gilani in July 2008. Pakistan government has however not confirmed this number and said there were about 1,000 foreign fighters, according to news reports.

The same news report claimed that number of foreign fighters started increasing in 2007 attracting young militant from the Middle East, Central Asia and Europe due to increased US troops in Afghanistan. Many of these fighters from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Yemen, UAE, Kuwait, Jordan, Qatar, Bahrain, Iraq, Libya, Syria and some from India and Bangladesh prefer to stay in southern areas of Afghanistan which is considered a safe haven. While the fighters from Morocco, Algeria, Chechnya, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and from western countries reside in the eastern Afghanistan provinces of Kunar, Nuristan, Paktia, Paktika, Khost and Pakistani tribal areas bordering these areas.

6.1 Demonic Tattoos

The fears of involvement of foreign radicals behind attacks of terrorism in Pakistan were

confirmed in a surprising incident of discovering of demonic “tattoo” on the back of one of the terrorists involved in brazen attack on Peshawar airport in 2012. As questions were raised about the identities of those behind the assault, security officials reported that at least five of the 10 attackers appeared to be Uzbek nationals. But the Western-style “tattoos” on the body of attacker baffled the counter-terrorism officials about aims and identities of the militants. “It’s the first time I have seen tattoos on the bodies of terrorists,” added the official, who has been part of several counter-terrorism operations in the tribal regions. The image appears to be a rendition of a Boris Vallejo sorcery-fantasy character.⁵⁸

6.2 Foreign Fighters in FATA

The rise of militancy in FATA region of Pakistan is also seen as an awful impact from Syria’s War as well as the crisis in the Middle East countries. But Afghan Taliban’s defeat in 2001 and U.S. attack of Afghanistan, without properly sealing borders and confining fighters within, is termed as one of the main reasons that led to influx of foreign fighters into Pakistan. The Taliban and their al-Qaeda allies flee along with Afghan refugees to escape attacks from United States and find haven in Pakistan’s tribal areas (FATA) which lies along Pak-Afghan border.

The foreign militants, with their Islamic slogans and strong resistance against American invasion of neighboring Muslim country (Afghanistan), attracted some local silent sympathizers in FATA.

Hundreds of these foreign fighters reportedly settled and married into local tribes which further strengthened their ties in FATA, especially in South and North Waziristan.

⁵⁸ Kamran Yousaf, "Attacker’s demonic tattoo draws fresh TTP conclusions", The Express Tribune, December 17, 2012, at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/480719/attackers-demonic-tattoo-draws-fresh-ttp-conclusions/>

Scholars believe two contrary factors that supported the infiltration of foreign fighters in FATA are: rugged nature of tribal lands and hospitality of its inhabitants. Physically rocky and remote land of Pakistan's tribal areas and the Pakhtun's honour code (Pakhtunwali), which requires a Pakhtun to offer generosity, regardless the guest is a criminal, a friend or an enemy, led to the rise of militants in FATA. ⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Dr Claude Rakisits, "The End Game in Afghanistan: Pakistan's Critical Role", Future Directions International, May 21, 2012, at: <http://www.futuredirections.org.au/publications/associate-papers/529-the-end-game-in-afghanistan-pakistan-s-critical-role.html>

7. Understanding FATA – Pakistan’s restless Tribal regions

The tribal areas, exclusively inhabited by the Pashtuns, decided to join Pakistan rather than India after independence of Pakistan in 1947. The semi-autonomous tribal lands consist of seven areas called tribal agencies: Bajaur, Khyber, Mohmand, Orakzai, Kurram, and North and South Waziristan.

7.1 Pakistani Tribal Areas and its Governance

Although Pakistan's constitution gives the president executive authority over the region, the appointed governor of KPK in Peshawar manage bureaus that deliver health care and education services. But Islamabad historically has had limited control over the tribal agencies and the real power has rested with their political agents, who represent the federal government and maintain control through the colonial-era Frontier Crimes Regulation.

7.2 Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR)

Tribal areas are directly governed by Pakistan's federal government through a special set of laws called the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) - a law drawn up by British colonial rulers in 1901 that permits collective punishment of family or tribe members for crimes of individuals. And Pakistan has not made substantial changes to the law in 113 years.

The law states that three basic rights are not applicable to the residents of FATA – appeal, wakeel, daleel (the right to appeal their detention, the right to legal representation, and the right to present reasoned evidence).

More than seven million inhabitants of FATA are governed by the Frontier Crimes Regulations while the general administration of the Frontier Regions is carried out by the FATA Secretariat based in Peshawar, the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

7.3 Changing Scenario of Tribal Region after 9/11 and Afghan invasion

After the 9/11 attacks, the region came under the scrutiny of the United States as Taliban and al-Qaeda members took refuge there. The tribal region which had remained untouched by the government presence since independence in 1947 saw Pakistan's strong army entering the area in 2003 for first time to fight the rebels.

The influx and rise of the Taliban disturbed the political balance in the tribal areas, where tribal leaders had a difficult time choosing sides as they were getting killed questioning the Taliban's growing power or working too closely with Islamabad.

7.4 Peace Deals with Tribal Areas and Taliban

In 2004, Pakistan government reached a deal with local Taliban led by Nek Mohammed in South Waziristan in 2004 whereby the militants agreed to live peacefully and not use Pakistani soil for militancy. The first of its kind peace deal since the emergence of the TTP became the keystone of future such agreements. The treaty was regarded as a failure by 2007.

In August and September 2007, the government also signed peace treaties with different tribes in Mohmand agency. In March 2007, the government signed another deal with pro-Taliban militants and tribal leaders in the Bajaur agency.

Miranshah Peace Accord (2006), Khyber Agency Pact (2008), Swat Agreements (2008) and several other peace treaties between Pakistan government and North Waziristan tribal leaders and members of the Taliban have met the same fate as the first one.

Apart from the three major peace agreements in Shakai, Srarogha and Swat, Pakistan entered into unwritten peace deals with various militant groups in the tribal areas.

The 2014's peace talks was the first time Pakistan's civilian leadership led by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif held direct talks with the leadership of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. Prime Minister's Advisor on National Affairs Irfan Siddiqui, Major (Retd.)

Mohammed Amir (a former ISI official); senior journalist Rahimullah Yousafzai, and former Ambassador to Afghanistan Rustam Shah Mohmand, represented the Pakistan government in the dialogue. While the TTP team was led by Maulana Samiul Haq (former chief cleric of the Lal Masjid in Islamabad), Maulana Abdul Aziz, Professor Mohammad Ibrahim of the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), and Mufti Kifayatullah, a former lawmaker of the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F) from Mansehra. The latest peace negotiation ended in revulsion as Pakistan initiated extensive military operation soon after the attack on Karachi airport.

7.5 Reason of Foreign Fighters support in FATA

Peshawar-based journalists believe the local of population of KPK and FATA did not adhere to the Taliban's ideology but instead their 'relative broad-mindedness has been hijacked' by the radicals who govern the tribal territories with their reign of terror. However a small number of population joined the radical groups in hopes of avenging the deaths of their people at the hands of the Pakistani military, for better economic opportunities or/and seeking adventure.

The key factors, according to researches, which led to support and spread of militancy in FATA were decades old public resentment towards the government as basic needs of employment, education and health remain ignored. US drones attacks and military operations by Pakistan killed many civilians, damaged property and sites, and also led to displacement of a great number of population. Such actions further added to the public frustration and the government which was earlier resented for not providing basic needs was now additionally engaged in disrupting their society. These factors not only fanned anger but also shifted sympathies of tribal people towards the local Taliban.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Carin Zissis and Jayshree Bajoria, "Pakistan's Tribal Areas", Council on Foreign Relations, October 26, 2007, at: <http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/pakistans-tribal-areas/p11973>

8. Recommendations

After studying the background, characteristics and goals of the members of Tehrik e Taliban, the report suggests following recommendations and policy options to counter-terrorism experts, government and military officials, and relevant authorities to root out extremism and restore peace in Pakistan. Following suggestions are primarily for Pakistani officials to counter the challenges of terrorism while others offer policy recommendations for the international community.

For Pakistan:

Comprehensive Counter-insurgency policy

Years of violence, killing, bombing, loss of lives, assets and wealth, inflicted by extremists in almost every part of Pakistan urgently calls for a comprehensive and integrated strategy involving military, political and institutional solutions. The current policies of the government, including the peace talks with TTP, have proved to be futile because of little or no coordination among the key organizations of the society which confirms that without proper harmonization policies would continue to prove unsuccessful. Comprehensive consultation and unison among Pakistan's key stakeholders is one of the effective ways to eliminate the menace of terrorism.

Expansion of Anti-Terrorist Force

One of the strategies that would not only address Pakistan's employment issues but also bring young minds and strength to the Pakistan's war against militancy would be to recruit semi-educated as well as educated youngsters in Anti-Terrorist force in key positions. Inclusion and involvement of young people in anti-terrorism processes would also facilitate in limiting and eradicating extremism from the young minds.

Formation of Anti-Terrorist Fund

To help recover Pakistan's strength and finances lost in fighting militancy, an Anti-Terrorist Fund should be established under the leader of people's most trusted man

such as Abdul Sattar Edhi. Since experts believe more than 80% of Pakistani expats are ready to support Pakistanis generously and financially but only if the process is fully transparent as most Pakistanis do not trust the government. To ensure transparency of the funding, weekly reports of the funding should be made public and the management of the organization should also be accountable.

Effective Rule of Government and reintegration of Tribal Region

Pakistan government's top priority should be to integrate tribal areas into Pakistan through political and administrative reforms. Pakistan's fidgety and loosely-governed tribal region, along the border of Afghanistan, has remained ignored by the federal government for years, lacking job opportunities, education and health facilities, justice system, rule of law, as compared to other regions of the country. Scholars have pointed out this resentment of the tribal people was fanned by US drone attacks after Afghan invasion and Pakistan's military operations which caused heavy losses and displaced tens of thousands of people. Contradicting viewpoints suggest that Pakistan army's entrance in tribal region for the first time since independence in 1947 to fight rebels was seen as offence by tribal leaders violating their authority. Whichever the reason, the fact remains that the tribal areas need to be reintegrated into Pakistani society under the effective rule of Pakistan government. Experts believe that resolving the complex political issues in the region will take a long time. But the situation can be improved by building roads and offering basic services to draw tribal leaders into Pakistan's system.

Government and Public should be on same page

Past wars, militant attacks, as well as government efforts, and military operations, all over the world have proved that any war cannot be won without full public participation. This is why Pakistan government's any action, whether zero tolerance policy against militants or the military attack, must be owned, endorsed and supported by the people of Pakistan wholeheartedly. Because TTP can apparently survive massive military efforts, endure policies of the government and keep bouncing back if government keeps ignoring to include every region, every city and every individual of Pakistan in fight against

terrorism.

Discouraging VIP Culture

Obliteration of VIP culture from Pakistan is longstanding and fairly suitable demand of the citizens of Pakistan which has been paid no heed by the officials who feel obligated to walk among an army of guards to feel safe. Pakistan has seen huge loss of lives and paid heavy prices only because of this widespread but disregarded culture of offering extraordinary security to high profile officials, both political and military. On many occasions, the terrorists have wreaked havoc by posing as armed personal guards, or wearing military uniforms, as no one dared to check their identity considering they were security personals. It should be made obligatory that no politician or military official would be allowed to carry personal guards and that no one should ever be allowed without proper identification anywhere. Pakistan's feeble processes of entrance without any sort of identification, especially at airports, railway stations and bus stands, also offer free hand to terrorists.

Establishing Rule of law

The judicial system of one law for all, i.e. the law is supreme over the acts of both government and private persons, should be strictly implemented and adhered by all equally regardless of the status of the citizen. Pakistan judiciary's frailty, prejudice coupled with weak implementation of laws in Pakistan is seen as the root cause of many felonies. For instance, it has been witnessed on many occasions that a person is allowed to enter into the secured areas and buildings on the basis of contacts with security guards without proving any identification. Such faults on the part of security officials are what the terrorist take advantage of. Therefore the rule of law should also be on top priority by government.

For International Community:

Boosting Pakistan's capability rather than direct Attacks

Analysis of assaults by regional terrorists reveal that it would be advantageous for all if

the international community would focus on information sharing and providing training, intelligence to Pakistan counter-insurgency bodies rather than conducting direct attacks on the suspected hideouts. Since the continued U.S. drone strikes has created serious threat to Pakistan as the tribal people joined the militants to harm Pakistan forces who are seen as U.S. ally, and accused of causing harm to lives, property and traditions of tribal people.

Address the Root Cause of Problem

Protests and dialogues, war and peace – Pakistani nation have been through it all. But still the number of fatalities, issue of extremism, the fear of terrorism, remains the same, rather has seen an increase. The reason for this uncertain and unchanged state is that the root cause of terrorism has not been addressed properly by the authorities. Government officials, armed forces, and scholars need to be integrated to get to the root of radicalism and to eliminate it ultimately and effectively for good by addressing radical mindset.

The international community has been engaged in war on terror for over a decade but all efforts have proved futile due to the failure to focus on internal aspects of terrorism.

One slight hint of information is usually enough to burn down whole areas that hide suspected targets without giving any thought to the innocent civilian population in those areas. Swift actions with no deliberations to address the root cause and without coordination among global leaders is the reason that radicalism and extremism is spreading to even the regions where this menace was scarcely seen or heard of before.

Global, comprehensive, and integrated efforts to exterminate terrorism from the world must also take into account that clearing out radicals from one's own territory would not be enough for long, as existence of extremism in any region of the world is equally threatening for all.

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