



**PAK INSTITUTE
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International Seminar

Countering Extremism: Strategies and Sharing Best Practices

May 4-5, 2009
Islamabad

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Introduction

Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) organized an international seminar on *Countering Extremism: Strategies and Sharing Best Practices* in collaboration with Quaid-e-Azam University's Department of Defence and Strategic Studies on 4-5 May, 2009.

The main purpose of the seminar was to share the common experiences on de-radicalization measures taken to address the issue in all major regions of the world. Analysis of major success stories/case studies, strengths and weaknesses, and opportunities and threats inherent in all counter-radicalization models/measures was another goal. The underlying theme, however, was to come up with better, effective and practical approaches/models for countering extremism and radicalization in Pakistan.

The two-day international seminar brought together research analysts, academia persons and scholars from various countries including United Kingdom, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Australia, Norway and Pakistan. The selection of speakers was made on the basis of their scholarship and experience in de-radicalization, rehabilitation and counter-radicalization programmes in their respective countries.

Following thematic sessions were held during two days of the seminar.

Session One – Genesis and Definition of Radicalization/Extremism:
Theories and Models of Deradicalization

Session Two – State Response towards the Challenge of Extremism and Terrorism

Session Three – Role and Efforts of Civil Society and Media to Counter Radicalization

Session Four – Extremism and Radicalization/Deradicalization: Emerging Challenges

Session Five – Recommendations & Future Outlook

In the inaugural session Dr. Rifaat Hussain, Chairman Department of DSS (QAU), and Mr. Muhammad Amir Rana, Director PIPS, thanked the participants while delivering their introductory and keynote addresses respectively.

Opening Session

Dr Hussain, Rifaat (Pakistan)
Defence and Strategic Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University

Current trends of radicalization and religious extremism in Pakistan and their future implications for local and regional peace and security is what I am going to talk about. Religious extremism gained strength most recently

in FATA and Swat valley and its adjoining areas, which not only raised alarms for the future of democracy in Pakistan but also started raising fears that they (extremists) might win the battle.

Ongoing militancy in parts of the tribal areas along with the armed uprising of the forces associated with the Tehrik Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) in Swat and Buner, where military operation has recently been launched, contains a spillover effect for the entire country. It only marks the beginning of the struggle or a difficult struggle that Pakistan has to wage to secure its future as a democratic country looking into this immediate context of the threat posed by forces of religious extremism to the very survival of the Pakistan as a democratic and progressive entity.

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**Mr Rana, Muhammad Amir (Pakistan)
Pak Institute for Peace Studies**

For the last two decades, academics have struggled over defining radicalization, extremism and terrorism, but have not been able to determine the boundaries between these phenomena... the variations in the definitions reflect the religious, social and political sensitivities associated with each phenomenon which blur the probability of reaching at some sort of consensus...in case of Pakistan this issue is even more sensitive and complex. As a nation we have not been able to accept extremism as an issue. Despite the official rhetoric towards extremism and the ownership of the war on terror, no roadmap has been set that could lead to the elimination of extremist.

The Pakistani government has contributed to the international campaign against terrorism in view of the country's proximity to Afghanistan. For the first time in its history, Pakistan deployed 120,000 troops on its western borders to capture and kill terrorists. It provided the critical logistical support through air, sea and land routes and of course intelligence backup to the Coalition forces in Afghanistan to ensure a steady supply of fuel, vehicles and aircraft. Pakistan has arrested 1,250 Al-Qaeda suspects and killed more than 200, launched dozens of major military operations against the Taliban inside Pakistan killing more than 3,000 and capturing over 6,000 militants including Afghan Taliban. At the same time it outlawed local terrorist groups and went an extra mile in reducing the terrorist threat, but so far it has failed to win the people's approval.

Unfortunately, the government failed to respond to the challenge of extremism on the judicial fronts. Law enforcement agencies have arrested hundreds of suspected terrorists, and many of them are under trial, but not a single terrorist has been punished so far...the official slogans of Moderate Enlightenment and the charms of Sufism have failed to gain acceptance

among the masses... it is a fact that cannot be skipped over that anti-US and anti-West feelings are on the rise in Pakistan and any campaign aimed countering these sentiments will be perceived as part of the American agenda.

Not only the Pakistani state but the civil society and the academia have also failed to develop a counter-extremism response. There have been very few attempts to empirically study the phenomenon of extremism, which I think is imperative to understand the true perspective and to evolve a comprehensive counter-extremism policy. There have been some de-radicalization and counter-extremism interventions by the civil society but they were not integrated and lacked information. Moreover, the civil society

is mistaken as anti-religion therefore people are pretty skeptical of their intentions...unfortunately the Pakistani media has also been, wittingly or unwittingly, glorifying the extremism and militants...moderate religious forces are silent and scared of responding to violent groups. Common people are also silent. And there is confusion over the issue. Things will have to be placed in the right perspective. There will have to be a collective effort by the state and civil society to come up with counter-extremism strategies NOW.



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Session One – Genesis and Definition of Radicalization & Extremism: Theories and Models of Deradicalization

**Ms Noor, Saba and Ms Hayat, Shagufta (Pakistan)
Pak Institute for Peace Studies**

In the eighth year of the global war on terror, the international community has realized that it is a war of ideas that cannot be won through force. Eventually we see that countries today have adopted unique approaches towards deradicalization according to the requirements of their cultural, political situation, and social specification. The aim of these practicing deradicalization programmes in Middle East and South East Asia, at a collective level, is to change the worldview of the affected persons. Private sectors or at some places government and private sectors together adopted the approach of ‘rehabilitation and re-education of the detainees’.

Rehabilitation program aims at renouncing the violent ideologies of the detained terrorists and to bring back them back into the society through offering them social incentives...whereas the western countries have adopted quite different approaches owing to diverse interpretations of the radicalization as in France radicalization is seen as a problem of social integration rather than a religious issue and their emphasis is on the importance of law enforcement agencies rather than role of local imams to create a connection between them and the local community. The Dutch and British have adopted greater community engagement and the use of tools such as partnerships with imams, teachers, and social workers. United States has launched its deradicalization program, while adopting the rehabilitation of the detainees during 2007 in Iraq, and also initiated democratic and economic reforms in the affected societies likewise in Iraq to counter the radicalization.

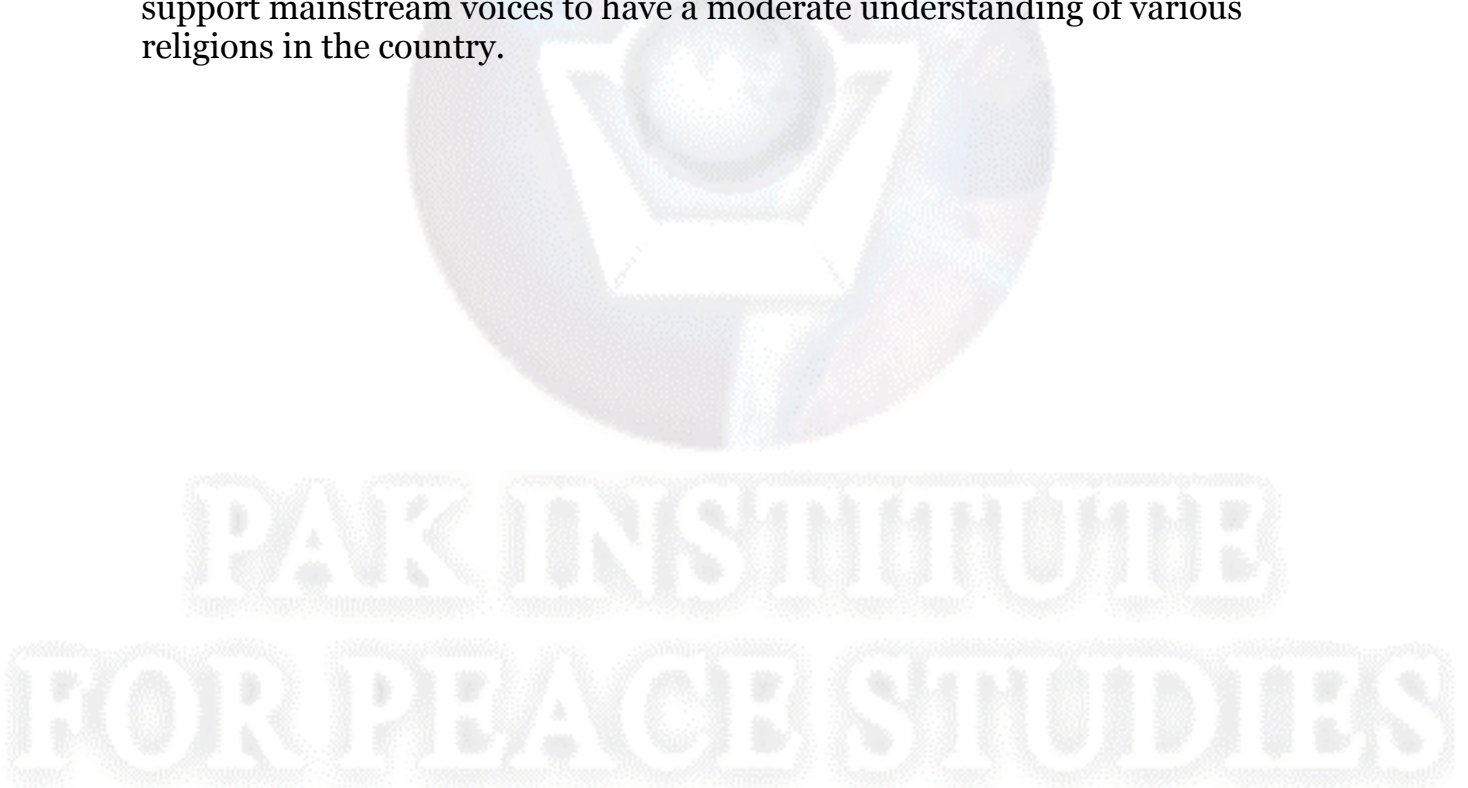
Singapore launched its Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG) based on religious rehabilitations of the detainees through counseling. Like the Singaporean model, Malaysian model is also based on the re-education and rehabilitation initiatives for the detainees that aim at correcting the ‘political and religious misconceptions’ among the prisoners.

Saudi Arabia has introduced its ‘PRAT’ strategy which is focusing on three main tasks of prevention, rehabilitation and aftercare. Indonesian deradicalization program aims at ‘neutralizing’ the ideological fundamentals of the militants. This model revolves around changing the image of the police (officials) by paying money and showing kind behavior to the families of the Jihadist. Further, the Yemeni deradicalization model involves two

steps, first, dialogue between the clerics and the militants and secondly, reintegration of the former militants into the society.

Norway, Germany, Sweden and Colombia adopted certain programmes at individual level but with the same approach to bring the individuals back to the society by disengaging them from the extremist groups. Mainly these countries approached to the youngsters and their families to keep them away from joining any radical movements.

United Kingdom has adopted an international programme to counter radicalization that includes assisting distant governments to improve education, civil rights, the rule of law, working with civil societies more widely, promoting equality and tackling racism and discrimination. Further UK has also been using the 'internet' as an instrument in its model to support mainstream voices to have a moderate understanding of various religions in the country.



Mr. Shinwari, Naveed Shinwari (Pakistan)
Community Appraisal and Motivation Programme

I will talk about the factors of radicalization in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan and give an overview of the cultural and demographic landscape of the tribal society in FATA and parts of NWFP.

Weak and outdated governmental system in these areas, strong influence of the Islamist political parties, lack of public participation in political and

governance process, and the least coordinated international engagements are the factors that causes radicalization in these areas. Poor development, poverty, unemployment, high inflation, food insecurity lack of access to social welfare and absence of social justice for the people are some other reasons. The failing war on terror on both sides of the Pak-Afghan border has also some structural causes such as exclusion of Taliban from Afghan government, public perception of Pakistan's policies as a key US ally, use of force as a priority option, continued US drone attacks, denial of any relief and transitional justice to the victims of military operation, issue of Afghan refugees, and lack of trust between US, Pakistan and Afghanistan.



Ms. Bokhari, Laila (Norway)
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Instead of changing the worldview of the affected persons it is imperative to change their behaviours as it is the act of terrorism which is criminal. In pluralistic, democratic societies we will need to accept different views and ideologies, but the forwarding of these, justified through violence, cannot be acceptable...deradicalization and rehabilitation programmes are targeting religious terrorists and extremists in the Muslim world whereas Pakistan is in search of a disengagement strategy...a clear finding in the overview of these models is that each case is unique and specific.

But even if each case is unique and even if every context has its own peculiar cultural, political, social specificity, there are still some lessons that can be identified, and experiences that are well worthy of sharing. One size does not fit all, and there is no silver bullet, but there are experiences, which are worthy of sharing.

Several states have begun to develop practical programmes aimed at countering the appeal of militancy, aimed at changing attitudes and at getting repentant terrorists back into society...these programmes are increasingly seen and should be seen as essential elements of an integrated counter-terrorism strategy. If we have learnt anything in the years after 11 September 2001, it is that there cannot be a purely military approach to countering terrorism. A sustained and successful campaign must be multi-faceted and should involve various aspects of society in a broad sense.

There are four types of methods used within the programmes, that is, how the programmes are designed. Some countries have chosen a combination of methods, while others are more focused on one narrow aspect.

- I. Initiative-based programmes within the Muslim world seem to be focussing on re-education and rehabilitation, aimed at providing a different truth to undermine the terrorist narrative and deconstruct the story on which it is based.
 - II. Religious teachings, education and re-education, and dialogue aim at changing the worldview of the person and at some level provide “counter-narratives”, focusing more on the job creation aspects, the changing of behaviour, changing of peers and networks and the monitoring of behaviour after being set free. An alternative lifestyle, which focuses on the environment, the context within which the person is living and operating.
 - III. There are initiatives that stress the creation of space and arenas of opportunity to provide a vent for frustration.
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- IV. Programmes that include elements of amnesty, providing amnesty to prisoners if they go through certain programmes, or providing amnesty to certain groups in society etc.

An important complimentary aspect of rehabilitation has been identified as targeting those individuals in the process of becoming terrorists. Through information received from repented terrorists, there may be valuable information, which can be used. Programmes in which individuals considered to be at risk are invited to retreats where they could communicate informally with officials to identify solutions and avoid further radicalization may be important experiences to harvest from. These repented individuals we have seen also being used as part of awareness and media campaigns, public discussions and so-called counter-narrative programme.

Importantly, often the actual use and interpretation of the term Jihad is laid at the very centre of the rehabilitation efforts, in the sense that the very essence of the struggle, the narrative of Jihad, is what is being challenged through the programmes...in fact, this leads to a key question, much debated in both the research and policy community on these issues, if one can or indeed should deradicalization individuals? Should the aim of such policies be to change behaviour or worldview?

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Dr. Ahmed, Ishtiaq (Singapore)
National University of Singapore

Radicalization is a process and part of politics in which state has to intervene. The whole Asian region was affected by a rising wave of Islamic radicalization, especially after the Iranian revolution.

But the Singaporean government decided to control the radical and extremist elements in the society and declared that religion is a matter of social values and consequences. Singaporean government has made certain laws through which people can learn to respect each other's religious sentiments by participating in community gatherings...in spite of all that it is a fact that radicalization has been there and Singapore government has been worrying about the fact that Malay Muslims are increasingly exhibiting a sense of isolation.

Instead of integrating into the population, Malay Muslims keep them to themselves... it is through actively organized get-together events that all communities and especially young people are invited, and/or are more or less compelled, to come, take part and learn lessons from each other...so the constant representations in the public spheres are given as combating radicalization.

So the textbooks are effectively inculcating and promoting mutual respect...one thing which I must speak with a lot of pride, is the unique policy of the Singapore government that 95 percent of the Singaporean population lives in government-build apartments which are sold to them at subsidized rates. So the distribution of the apartments corresponded to the overall racial and religious ratio of Singapore.

In case of Pakistan, things began to go wrong soon after Quaid's death. Religious tensions started to emerge and Mullahs (religious clerics) said that a non-Muslim could not become a prime minister of Pakistan...further we have travelled along a long way from the mission of Jinnah to Zia-ul-Haq. Hadood and blasphemy laws have done no good to Pakistan, as twenty years back Pakistan was morally a better society, more peaceful, more kind...you can't give the state a brutalizing mission without brutalizing minds...

Second Session: State Response towards the Challenge of Extremism & Terrorism

Ms Fayyaz, Shabana (Pakistan)
Defence and Strategic Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University

Using strategic managements model, business level strategies and counter level strategies, I will start my presentation by saying that the dilemma for the Pakistan today is how to connect three strategic positions: first, geographic position; second, turn strategy into action and third, strategic choices.

The Pakistani nation and policy-makers have a challenge at hand and responsibilities to craft and enforce a holistic approach towards extremism and terrorism. Another parallel argument is that extremism of human mind leading to terrorism must be contextualized. This requires a pro-active approach at all sustainable grounds.

Although we advocate proactive, preventive and a coordinative approach, but in reality we have an approach of bits and pieces. We need to move primarily from the state-centric approach towards the people-centric.

There are multiple reasons and myths about extremism such as it is a creation of 9/11 but in reality it is not a new occurrence. The fact is that many families and resources have been lost to religious extremism that has been going on since the 1950s.

Talibanization is not the only reason for extremism and radicalisation as there are many sectarian elements and a host of enterprises that should not be ignored. There are other factors that enhanced extremism in Pakistan such as political grievances, lack of economic opportunities, selective usage of law and personalization of power.

People generally feel that the madrassas are the incubators of ideological and religious radicalisation whereas the reality is different. Many terrorists never went to a madrassa and got their education from mainstream schools and colleges.

States can effectively alter the political discourse under harsh conditions but people seldom change their opinion. Is lack of will to combat the radicals a problem? Yes! And I would say that Pakistan needs more expertise, training and financial and technical resources to rein in extremist elements. We need to plan well before we tackle extremism in Pakistan.

In order to control extremism we should bridge the communication gap between the public and the state especially in the area of perception and definition of extremism and this involves more input at the ideological front and open debate among the civil society actors. We need to invest in quality education across the board and there must be a national curriculum shared by all the institutions.

Moreover, civil society organizations, educational and research institutions, intellectuals and community people need to be engaged in order to effectively control violent extremism.



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Mr Dolnik, Adam (Australia)
Centre for Transnational Crime Prevention
University of Wollongong

My focus is terrorism studies and research ... it is a common myth that people have studied terrorism only after September 11, although the fact is that we keep repeating what others have done before. This happens when policymakers ask terrorism experts to guide them and provide recommendations. Therefore, it is important to understand what terrorism experts know and what they don't know.

Every researcher uses a different definition of terrorism, which makes it essentially very difficult to build on other peoples' conclusion, and also confuses the concept and its causative factors. Most of the studies related to this field are very descriptive and event-driven in their nature.

The "fire-fighter approach" to study terrorism and the Western bias are also a hurdle in investigating how and why people become terrorists. At the same time, the enclosed circular research system, difference in statistics and limits of retrospective account of the events create hurdles in the field of terrorism research.

Another problem in the field of terrorism studies, that is of specificity. We can explain certain cases by using certain approaches but we can just as easily find other examples that don't fit. So the specificity towards the particular subject may also create problems.

The objectives of research are not always well-defined. It is not possible to measure success without defining the objectives. How can we ever access progress if we don't know what the objectives are?

Organizational approaches argue that terrorism is a group phenomena. It does not occur in isolation, it's not individual people, it's not a question why an individual became a terrorist, it is the group dynamics that facilitates radicalization.

The most positive repercussion of 9/11 is that a greater voice has been given to scholars and experts in non-traditional or non-Western countries. Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies has done a fantastic job here in Pakistan and the analyses of PIPS by far outweighs anything that most Western academics have come up with.

Mr Pervez, Tariq (Pakistan)
National Counter-Terrorism Authority

As far as the way out is concerned, there are no quick fixes, there is no easy solution. It's going to be difficult, it's going to be time consuming and at times it's going to be bloody and we have to be prepared for sacrifices.

I get emails in which people say, "let them die but let's take them on." This is the kind of determination; the resolve of the people which came out after Sufi Mohammed appeared on TV and called democracy and the judges "un-Islamic." The reaction was: "what is he talking about." That's the kind of role the media should play. One TV interview changed the public opinion and a resolve is building up among the masses to take these militants on.

The government on its part has come up with an organization whose job is to devise a well thought out national security strategy and to deal with this problem on a sustained basis. It will coordinate all departments and get our act together. It's called National Counter-Terrorism Authority. We are in the process of setting it up. We will move on in collaboration with all the stakeholders. Researchers and academicians will play the most important role in this setup who are going to guide us to the way forward.

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Mr Kazmi, Hamid Saeed (Pakistan)
Federal Minister for Religious Affairs

Terrorism in Pakistan has two faces: one, targeting state law enforcing agencies and two, targeting mosque's, imam bargahs and religious activities. By targeting them terrorists want to convey the message that the nation is not safe. Agencies are supposed to protect the lives of the people and are a symbol of state security. Attacks on religious persons and places force people to stay away from religious gatherings.

The solution is that we should concentrate on development and elimination of poverty. We must keep an eye on our students so that they do not get involved in militant activities. Having said that we should negotiate with the terrorists and resort to the use of power only if negotiations fail.

Militants in Malakand never demanded Nizam-e- Adal. It was the people of that region who had been demanding it for the last twenty years or so. The militants were, in fact, not happy when the government passed the law. They never expected the government would do such a thing. Now, the people are disillusioned on what the militants really wanted.

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Third Session: Role and Efforts of Civil Society and Media to Counter Radicalization

Mr Kalansooriya, Ranga (Sri Lanka) International Center for Political Violence & Conflict Management

The media leads people and policy makers to correct the decision through report writing, opinions and editorial. It enlightens the people as a public informer and play a watchdog role. Media is platform for “wiseness.” While there is a need that we should adopt specific agenda in the society on the subject of de-radicalization, as now media is a more vibrant force than ever before.

The media is facing many problems due to which it is not able to fulfill its social responsibilities especially on the issue of radicalization and deradicalization, as the media has become a source of making money, where owners work for their own interests and force journalists to publish only such news that are in their interests.

Secondly, the “Breaking News” syndrome is another dangerous factor which prohibits the media from achieving the desired goals. The world does not rotate that fast than the breaking news that appear on the media every hour.

Thirdly, the world media is polarized. In South Asia, media is polarized on ethnic lines, religious line, business interests and political lines but still the news (Masala News) is the best selling news product. Access to media is another credible factor in insufficient role of media for instance Maulana Fazlullah has access to FM airwaves in Swat.

Medium of the newspapers is also a big issue. As seventy per cent of regional newspapers are based on vernacular language, that are backward in nature. Furthermore, government rules and regulations sometimes also impact on the media policy. During Musharraf regime in 2002, for instance, more than six media regulations were introduced in less than two weeks.

Another issue is the capacity of journalists. Capacity of journalists is extremely poor in our region. We need media and journalists to understand the issues. Talk to people and officials. Strengthening individual capacity of journalists is major point that needs to be addressed.

**Ms Fernando, Manjula Sanjeewani (Sri Lanka)
Daily News**

I will talk about extremism in Sri Lanka and the role of media with reference to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). I will also highlight the current status of the conflict in Northern Sri Lanka, and LTTE, their current approach for a separate state and state's initiatives to control extremism.

LTTE is the only terrorist group in the world that had all three combat forces—ground, sea and air. With the ethno-political extremism which started in the early 1970s, LTTE has earned a bad reputation among other groups such as suicide bombing. Al Qaeda may have been inspired by LTTE's suicide bombing strategy too.

After almost thirty years of intense fighting, the Sri Lankan troops have confined the Tigers to a tiny coastal stretch of five kilometers in the Northeast due to which their capabilities are also reduced. Interestingly, Sri Lanka had another radical insurgency that emerged in its Southern part twice—once in 1971 and then in 1989. The Marxist-oriented extremists left group called Peoples Liberation Front or the JVP played a vital role in radicalization and indoctrination of the majority Sinhala youth.

In both these cases, the media seems to have adopted a biased, unprofessional and questionable behavior. In the Northeast conflict, it was ethnically biased and politically polarized. Towards the southern unrest, the media was reactionary without creating a wider discourse on root causes of the conflicts.

The most important in the Sri Lankan context is the role of the vernacular press that dominates the media market in the country. But lack of standards remains a major barrier for the vernacular press to perform its due role. The media remains a reactionary body as far as news is concerned and it fails to offer a wider and fair political platform. The media remains glued to their political and ethnic agendas rather than functioning as an independent opinion maker.

On the current initiatives of the Sri Lankan government, it has opened three rehabilitation centers for the captured and surrendered LTTE cadres and a comprehensive program is to be launched to get these radicalized youth re-integrated into the society, but this process has hardly captured the attention of the media. Terrorism and political violence remains a lucrative business for the media as well.

**Ms Malik, Sadia (Pakistan)
Human Development Center**

I will discuss the role and the growing significance of the media and civil society in Pakistan. In recent years, extremism has grown in Pakistan and this must be countered on ideological grounds. We must promote a culture of dialogue in which liberal and progressive groups of people should be involved. We should work on formulating a comprehensive strategy to de-radicalize the Pakistani society through debate, discussion and consensus-building involving all stakeholders including the media, civil society, politicians and academicians. Media and civil society has great potential in bring about a positive change in the Pakistani society.

The media cannot replace the state but it guides the policy makers to formulate policies in a human rights framework as well as set the tone and tenor for the public opinion. Furthermore, the media promotes pressure groups from below to sort of guide the policymakers to constitute foreign policy from the human rights perspective. The media conveys people's aspirations to the state.

Recently in Pakistan, civil society and media played an active role for two historic achievements that had long-term consequences for the future of Pakistan: revival of parliamentary democracy and restoration of superior judiciary.

Extremism in Pakistan is a multi-dimensional problem. We have political explanations such as this: extremism can be traced back to the Cold War era, when Afghan Mujahideen were trained to fight against Russian invasion in Afghanistan. Some people say that present day extremism is the direct outcome of Western imperialism which continues till today in one form or the other. Others say that the radical groups are trying to impose hegemony over the rest of the population.

However, in my opinion the root causes of violent conflict are horizontal inequality and the breaking down of the social contract. In Pakistan, inequality surfaced in the last ten years or so. Individual inequality is more apparent in South Punjab. The structure of economic and political power is highly concentrated because of absence of comprehensive land reforms.

Coming to the social contract that defines the relationship between citizens and the there is no doubt that the state has a responsibility to provide certain social service to its citizens. State has, more or less, failed to provide social services to its citizens which may be a major factor behind extremism and violent conflict in Pakistan. If we look at human development indicators in the region, they are slipping down in Pakistan as compared to other

neighboring countries. Education and health index is lower than many Sub-Saharan African states. No wonder non-state actors are jostling to fill the gap as majority of people are deprived of adequate social services and are helpless.

The media and civil society must advocate for human development particularly equitable opportunities to the entire population. There is need to study the issue of security on a broader basis that includes territorial security as well as food-related security threats. The media and civil society must spread awareness about economic growth.

Civil society and media should highlight defects in the structure of the government accountability. The civil society and media should stand united for the cause of strengthening democratic institutions in Pakistan. Democracy is a better form of government to resolve conflicts.



Fourth Session: Extremism and Radicalization/Deradicalization: Emerging Challenges

**Mr. Abbas, Tahir (United Kingdom)
Center for the Study of Ethnicity & Culture School of Government
& Society University of Birmingham**

Talking about the emerging extremism challenges in the UK, ever since the event of 7/7, there has been a particular focus on the role of communities and government in helping to prevent violent extremism. This has taken various forms including a robust policing, security and intelligence agenda as well as a direct focus on the need to build the capacities and professionalisms of communities in otherwise disaffected areas.

The British Muslim communities have provided the breeding ground for violence in the name of religion and politics. The UK governments response to the tragedy of 7/7 was introducing the notion of “PREVENT” which aims to stop people from becoming terrorists or supporting violent extremism.

Much of the policy outcomes concern behind-the-scenes information gathering but PREVENT is the public face of building empowerment, confidence and participation in relation to British Muslims. However, by calling it a strategy that is targeted towards Muslim communities only, it focuses the attention on them so much so that it is felt that the problems which emanate in the communities themselves are a function of their own existence. This has the potential to further stigmatize and vilify an already beleaguered community. In the context of Islamophobia in media and politics and widening socio-economic inequalities, it potentially places vulnerable young Muslims under further risk of radicalization.

Therefore, the negative effects of local and global events have the potential to attract young people to extremist organizations that provide succor in the face of a range of internal and external pressures. However, aspects of the spiritual leadership within the Muslim community is said to be unyielding, unable to respond to the demands of the youth. Language and cultural barriers often exist, as most imams (a Muslim prayer leader), who often do not speak English, are unable to address how British Muslims should meet the challenges currently facing them. This, unfortunately, leads to some young people being drawn towards extremist bodies that can easily provide this support.

Because of the issues of capacity and professionalization, most mosques are unable to offer an open perspective on theology for younger generations wanting a more literal interpretation of the Quran and Sunnah, which extremist groups are subsequently able to exploit elsewhere. There needs to

be an encouragement to support certain influential Islamic scholars who are better able to provide progressive Islamic teachings on all aspects of Jihad, with a clear emphasis on the spiritual.

Similarly, the physical condition of mosques and imams need to be improved to ensure this effective integration process. It is also generally felt that it is important for Muslims to become involved in mainstream politics. Political and spiritual leaders argue that the solutions to the latter, as with all the other social problems Muslims in general experience, are based upon local-area remedies that engender positive integration, confidence, trust and participation. This is to be created from the “bottom-up” rather than through “top-down” political rhetoric that seeks to work towards moderating Muslims based on an enforced nationalistic mono-culturalist approach to a socio-cultural incorporation of ethnic and religious minorities.



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**Mr Tankel, Stephen (United Kingdom)
Davis Peace and Security Fellow
East West Institute (EWI)**

I will talk about the pattern of recruitment by terrorist groups, preachers and activists in Western Europe. The focus of recruiters has moved away from mosques in the UK to universities and prisons.

Radicalization is the process whereby individual attitude is changing to the point of preparing to undertake violence on behalf of personal belief and ideology.

Terrorist command cells in Western Europe have chains between individuals and Al-Qaeda groups. These cells are hierarchical and they generally recruit from top down way. Some of the members are sent abroad for training.

There are two types of cells: command cells and guided cells. The activist of command cells are well-equipped with resources including effective networking whereas guided cells have limited training and resources. Guided groups have less capacity and less training.

In the past extremists tried to takeover the mosques and used it for recruitment but since 9/11 attacks and Madrid bombing, the mosque administration is paying too much attention and security forces are also paying more attention. However, the mosques are used for contacts whereas recruitment goes on in underground areas somewhere else. But unfortunately universities and prisons have become sound places for recruitment of extremists.

Well, radical imams are playing a role as a linkage between prisoners and hardcore group. On the other hand, the other issue is that prisoners themselves have linkages with the groups. Two developments may increase number of recruitment in the prison. First, people are coming back from Afghanistan and Iraq. This is potentially a lesser problem in the UK context than Spain and France. Second, more people are being arrested who are involved in the process of radicalization.

The major recruiters are gateway organizations, preachers, and activists. Now, gateway organizations are involved in violence. What they do is that they provide ideological framework to justify violence. These organizations serve to provide potential recruits and socialize recruits by grooming and facilitating these networks. Spiritual leaders attract people for seeking self-recruitment and provide justification for use of violence. Activists provide recourses for training.

The Internet is in some ways considered responsible for recruitment. It is useful for a number of reasons. First, the environment which means people feel more comfortable; second, likeminded people can congregate and therefore reinforce their views with different people through chatting; push one another to become more involved in violence and third, it enables tactics, training and procedure but more than that it can link up the people who can provide personal assistance. It is used for recruitment and propaganda. The Internet is playing a bigger role in the West for spreading pro-violence messages than in South Asia. Most of the people who fought in Iraq were recruited through the Internet! It is a soft radicalization through virtual exchange of information without physical linkage.



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Mr Sial, Safdar (Pakistan)
Pak Institute for Peace Studies

Pakistan is suffering from religious extremism and the intensity of militant backlash, which is severe than Afghanistan. The pattern of militancy in Pakistan is quite clear. After the Taliban government's downfall in 2001, some militants consolidated themselves in Pakistan's lawless region, the Federally-Administered Tribal Areas (or FATA). Once they seized control of FATA, they focused their attention on the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province (or NWFP) like Malakand.

And now, they are on the march towards other areas of Pakistan especially Islamabad, the rich Punjab province, Karachi and Quetta. It would not be totally out of place to say that religious extremists have indeed reached the heart of Pakistan, Islamabad. Their holdup inside the Lal Masjid leading to a military operation in 2007 and the Marriott blast in 2008 are two clear indications.

While observing the situation in Pakistan we see a withering writ of the state, deteriorating relations between state and society and emboldening of non-state actors obviously undermine people's confidence in the state and view its ability to maintain internal security of the country with a lot of scepticism.

Former military dictator, General Ziaul Haq policy of Islamization coupled with Jihadi sentiments during the anti-Soviet war in 1980s provide two solid reasons for extremism in Pakistan. Religious extremism took roots in Pakistan because the ruling elite over the years conceded political relaxation to religious circles. There may be other reasons as well.

Religious extremism, radicalization and militancy have also taken the shape of sectarian hatred. Banned sectarian hate groups are becoming active at operational front and their nexus with Al-Qaeda and second tier militant groups is quite evident. Sect-related militancy is going on in FATA particularly, Khyber, Kurrum, Orakzai agencies, Hangu and Dera Ismail Khan.

Outside of FATA, the Punjab province is also faced with the challenge of sectarian extremism and militancy. Militants may also have infiltrated the city of Karachi. So are the rumors. There must be some truth behind these rumors. The concern about militant infiltration of Karachi is pretty evident. Karachi's leading political party, the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (or MQM) is in the forefront warning the Sindh provincial government of what it terms the "Talibanization" threat to a secular Karachi.

Islamist militancy and its expansion present the biggest challenge to the government. Much more serious than the faltering economy, socio-cultural decay, eroding state-society relations, capacity gaps and demoralization of Pakistani security forces and difficult foreign relations is view of bad publicity in the international media.

While the challenges of extremism and militancy are daunting for the Pakistani government, they also bring with them some opportunities like the global attention, the establishment of a democratic government, peaceful attitude of the people and a strong military infrastructure. These are really strong opportunities we can build on. And there are hard options such as talking with the non-state actors for de-radicalization and rehabilitation.



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Fifth Session: Recommendations & Future Outlook

Ms Malik, Salma (Pakistan)
Department of Defense & Strategic Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University

I will focus on de-radicalization, its future prospects and its implications in the Pakistani society. Let me begin by presenting the theoretical aspects of radicalization, de-radicalization and moderation, that will go on to specify that there are policies of change that can neutralize religious or ideological movements.

De-radicalization take places at three levels: ideological, behavioral and organizational.

At the Ideological level de-radicalization is primarily concerned with changing the attitudes of armed religious movements towards violence, rather than toward democracy. Many de-radicalized groups still uphold xenophobic, and anti-democratic views. Whereas at the behavioural level de-radicalization means practically abandoning the use of violence to achieve political goals without a concurrent process of ideological de-legitimization of violence and lastly at organizational level de-radicalization is the dismantlement of the armed units of the organization, which includes discharging/demobilizing their members without splits, mutiny or internal violence.

And there are three conditions under which deradicalization process can be established: Structural conditions and constraints (socio-economic & political environment) vis-a-vis Stimuli, both internal as well as external, appealing to the hearts and minds and a military approach

Winning hearts and minds is very important when it comes to low intensity conflicts or insurgencies. Military approach is good to win the hearts and minds of the people. Non-negotiable values, respect for the rule of law, freedom of speech, equality of opportunities, respect of others and responsibility towards others are important factors.

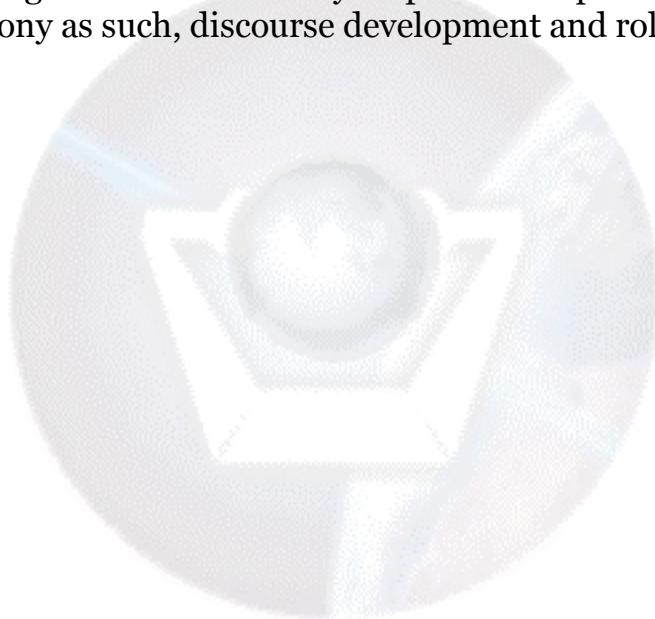
The most important is broadening the provision of education in schools and madrassas, as madrassas are an alternative to education for the poor. It was exploited in the 1980s and that came back to haunt us all who promoted this particular school of thought.

If we look into that aspect today the madrassas, as in the 1980s and then moving into the 1990s, have become extremely radicalized, politicize and violent. So that definitely needs to be looked into. But at the same time if madrassas are promoted by the state, the public sector or the civil society

they can actually provide good grounds for de-radicalization. Education should be used for promoting understanding of faith and tolerance.

Some local solutions towards de-radicalization process need to be promoted including civic capacity building, enhancing the type of leadership and gender-led solutions, as women can play a vital role in non-violent issues and can contribute in building some kind of local solution and winning hearts and minds of the people.

The clergy, the high *imam* can actually help us develop some kind of interfaith harmony as such, discourse development and role of political actors.



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**Ms Bokhari, Laila (Norway)
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs**

Several states have begun to develop practical programmes aimed at countering the appeal of militancy, changing attitudes and getting repentant terrorists back into society. These programmes are increasingly seen as essential elements of an integrated counter-terrorism strategy. While acknowledging that each case is specific to its local cultural and political setting, increasing numbers of states have shown a growing interest in benefiting from the general lessons provided by these early programmes.

Why do individuals come out of terrorist activities? First and foremost, individuals leave terrorism due to disillusionment with the leaders or the group; especially when their aims in life do not match with the leaders of the group. This may happen after a change in individual's life such as getting married.

People of Pakistan need to realize that terrorism is a serious issue and they need to stand up against it as they did after the [2005] earthquake in North Pakistan.

Pakistan needs a comprehensive deradicalization strategy to combat terrorism that responds specifically to ground situations in different conflict zones such as FATA, the NWFP and indeed other part of the country which are under terrorist threat. Having said that, the intellectuals, researchers and the media should play a powerful role against extremism.

Rather than jamming militant FM radio stations there is need to open new radio stations and TV stations that could deconstruct the messages that people like Sufi Muhammad, Fazlullah or Mullah Omar or even Osama Bin Ladin are broadcasting. People should have a choice of listening to both sides.

Many current rehabilitation projects focus on the need to challenge the narrative of extremism and radicalization. The narrative, whether created as a result of national circumstances or through a perversion of religion, has been instrumental in both the structuring and the deconstruction of the struggle. Media and information campaigns involving persons of respect, elders, clerics or other role models, will play essential role towards this aim. Coupled with this, there has been the need to provide a sustainable future for those who decide to return to society.

Dr Hussain, Syed Riffat (Pakistan)
Department of Defence & Strategic Studies
Quaid-i-Azam University

The problem that Pakistan has been facing is not that Pakistani state is not interested in having these forces defeated but the problem is that we are stuck up at the level of the tactics. We say that if we engage in dialogue then we can bring the hammer down. That is not going to happen. So it is essential that we first clearly define the nature of the challenge that our country is facing.

Effective counter-strategies cannot be designed without first understanding the strategic logic that drives extremists towards violence. There are five basic principals of strategic logic at work in terrorist campaigns:

Attrition—ability to increase costs unless the opponent’s behavior is changed
Intimidation—convince populations that terrorists are strong
Provocation—inducing adversary to engage in indiscriminate violence
Spoiling—convincing the adversary that moderates on terrorists side are weak and Outbidding—convincing public that terrorists do not have greater resolve to fight

We have to realize first what we want to change along with measuring the validity and sharpness of our diagnostic tools. Do we want to change an ideology or religion, a tactic or a mindset, symptoms or root-causes, a malleable state of mind or a permanent condition, a search for remedial response or a social engineering project, or a combination of all these. It is essential to understand it. It is rare for someone to wake up one morning and decide to commit a violent act; there is almost always a process of radicalization and there is always a network of like-minded people who become enablers so, there is need to first find it.

In the presence of terrorists groups, movements; supporters and largers environments we cannot focus on the militants alone to resolve the problem; we have to look at all those broader dimensions that are causing militancy. At the policy level we need to develop a comprehensive counter strategy based on an understanding of beliefs, mentality, background, history, ideology, motives and organizational structure of extremists.

The Pakistani government has put out an official framework for dealing with the problem of extremism. It revolves around three “Ds.” One is Deterrence, the second Dialogue and third is Development. There is need to add three more “Ds” in order to make this policy viable. Fourth, Deny space to those

who perpetuate violence, and fifth De-legitimize the use of violence so until and unless we de- legitimize the use of violence we will not be able to make

people realize the people and if we deploy all these three “Ds” only then will we the strategic Defeat.

END



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