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Paper

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# Jihadi Print Media in Pakistan: An Overview

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## Introduction

The media had played an important role during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s. The manner in which the media projected the conflict boosted the image of the Mujahideen and glorified their activities, helping them gain moral and economic support from the international community. It also attracted Muslims around the world to take part in jihad physically or contribute financially towards that.

## Overview

Getting inspiration from this role of the media, different militant groups launched their own media products during the war, which not only helped them attract financial and human resources but also propagated their ideologies and promoted their concept of jihad. They did not trust the privately-owned mainstream print media or the government-run radio and television and preferred established their own media to create a community of firm believers.<sup>1</sup>

Religious publications were not a new phenomenon in Pakistan. Despite their sectarian and political affiliations, the sphere of these publications was wide -- spanning intellectual debates, religious reforms, dialogue with other faiths, and socio-political issues -- and their readership very limited. It mainly consisted of religious scholars, intellectuals, journalists, writers and students of the relevant subject.

But the new media was very narrow in its vision and its target audience was more general. It not only damaged the image of 'serious religious publications' but also dealt a fatal blow to the professional ethics of Urdu mainstream media. This new form of media has now taken root and is a parallel media industry in Pakistan. Their publishers claim that if allowed free competition, they can capture the mainstream media market overnight.<sup>2</sup>

In terms of their content, Zafarullah Khan labels these publications as 'alternative media'.<sup>3</sup> The term usually refers to "those communication media, which are alternative to the mainstream media".<sup>4</sup> 'Radical media' is another term referring to publications that contain hate messages.

It has also been described as 'Islamic journalism'<sup>5</sup> but this term includes all religious publications. Many religious publications have specific objectives. They focus on promoting religious values, and debates on theological, philosophical, intellectual and socio-political issues. The fringe media under discussion has the ambition to take over the position of the mainstream media. It follows the practices of mainstream media and has the same target audience and market.

The same is true about 'Islamic media', which uses the print, electronic and cyber means for religious purposes. The term 'jihadi media' usually refers to material publishing by militant groups, which glorify

jihad. Zafarullah Khan has used the term 'jihadi journalism' in the same context "as they forcefully propagate jihadi view of life and aspire to sharpen jihadi identity".<sup>6</sup>

Although this section of the media has gone through a transformation since 9/11 and no longer confines itself to glorifying jihad, yet 'jihad media' is an appropriate term to describe this new phenomenon and to differentiate it from other religious publications. While Zafarullah's work only looked at militant groups' publications, this paper includes in the same category other publications that favor or glorify similar ideologies of jihad. For example, daily Ummat,<sup>7</sup> Karachi and daily Insaf, Lahore are not affiliated with any militant group but have similar policies. Some traditional religious and political publications have also been transformed into jihadi media; examples include daily Jisarat of the Jamaat-e-Islami, and monthlies Al-Haq and Laulak.

While this paper focuses only on the print media, militant groups also use other means of communications, especially Internet, FM radio, CDs and DVDs to reach a wider audience. These communication tools might be more effective in some areas than the print media. But monitoring them is difficult on account of a number of constraints. FM radio transmissions are area-specific and have a range of only a few kilometers in most cases. Such transmissions are often not constant, as most of them are illegal and are frequently jammed by the government. Website and blogs of militant groups are also blocked by the authorities, often as soon as their affiliation with militant groups becomes known. Tracking militant groups that keep changing their websites, blogs and web addresses is an additional difficulty. Printed publications are easy to access. Additionally, Internet and electronic communication tools used by militant groups carry substantially similar ideologies and almost identical content as printed publications of jihad media. Therefore, the findings of this study on the jihad print media can be expanded to other communication tools to understand the overall phenomenon.

### Development of Jihad Print Media

Until 1989, the number of jihad publications in Pakistan had reached 150. Most of them were published from Peshawar and Quetta, capitals, respectively, of the NWFP and Balochistan provinces that border Afghanistan.<sup>8</sup> The two cities were the hub of Afghan, foreign and Pakistani militant groups and recruitment centers for volunteers coming from all over the world. At the same time, dozens of jihad media products, mainly of Pakistani jihadi groups, were being published from Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad. Around 100 jihad monthlies and 12 weeklies were being published in Peshawar, Quetta and Islamabad in 1990.<sup>9</sup> These publications were produced in several languages -- 25 were in Urdu, 50 in Pashtu and Persian, 12 in Arabic and 10 in English.<sup>10</sup>

They were not only being published in Pakistan but also in Iran, the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Norway, Australia and Switzerland.<sup>11</sup> In the 1990s, Kashmiri militant groups also got into 'jihadi journalism' and were publishing 22 periodicals in 1994.

Jihad print media gradually became lucrative business. Individuals and religious and political leaders in Pakistan started investing in the business and in the 1990s jihad media emerged as alternative print media with widely circulated daily, weekly and monthly magazines and newspapers. The Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and its subsidiary organizations launched more than a dozen jihad publications, such as daily Jisarat, weekly Asia and monthly Tarjumanul Quran. Deobandi, Ahle-Hadiath, Sunni and Shia

organizations followed suit and more than 100 jihad periodicals are now being published across the country.

With its growing strength, efforts to institutionalize jihad print media began. In August 1990, Institute of Policy Studies, a JI think-tank organized a seminar in Islamabad on the 'Role of Islamic Media in the Afghan Jihad'.<sup>12</sup> Editors of jihad publications attended the seminar and agreed to form a union of Islamic media. They also decided to form a religious committee guide the media and to draft principles for Islamic journalism. They also approved the establishment of an institute for Islamic journalism. The institute initiated a monthly review of all jihad publication or 'deeni sahafat' (religious journalism) but only lasted for a few months.

Editors of Arab jihad publications in Pakistan and Afghanistan formed an organization called Arabic Islamic Press in Peshawar on similar lines, to promote Islamic journalism and to provide 'entertainment' to Arab Mujahideen in Afghanistan.<sup>13</sup> Later, dozens of organizations such as media publications for Kashmiri jihad groups formed their own umbrella organizations. Pakistani jihad magazines from Karachi also forged an alliance to safeguard their interests.

Various organizations have now started short courses in Islamic journalism,<sup>14</sup> Jamiatul Rasheed, a pro-Taliban madrassa (seminary) in Karachi affiliated with Al-Rasheed Trust, offers a masters degree in Islamic journalism.<sup>15</sup>

### **Types of Jihadi Media Products**

Six major jihadi outfits -- the Jamaat ud-Da'waa (Lashkar-e-Taiba), Tehrik Khuddam-ul-Islam (Jaish-e-Muhammad), Al-Rasheed Trust, Jamaatul Mujahideen, Hizbul Mujahideen and Sipah-e-Sahaba -- publish a wide range of periodicals to specifically influence the minds of children, youth, women or the general reader. These outfits use four languages, Urdu, English, Arabic and Sindhi, for dissemination of their message domestically and abroad.

The Jamaat ud-Da'waa publishes nine media products, Al-Rasheed Trust six, Jaish-e-Muhammad four, and Hizbul Mujahideen, Jamaatul Mujahideen and Sipah-e-Sahaba two each. But these are their official publications. The number exceeds 50 if publications by like-minded madrassas or supporters are included. (Annex II) Other jihadi outfits also have their media sections. Apart from jihad groups' publications, the Jamaat-e-Islami and its subsidiary groups have at least 22 media publications, and promote a jihad outlook. (Some of these publications are listed in Annex II)

These groups have the following publications:

1. The Jamaat ud-Da'waa's (JD) monthly publications are Voice of Islam in English, Al-Anfal in Arabic, Mujalla Al-Da'waa in Urdu, Tayyibaat in Urdu for women, Rozatul Atfal for children, Zarb-e-Taiba in Urdu for youth and students, and Babul Islam in Sindhi. It also publishes weekly Ghazwa in Urdu.
2. The Jaish-e-Muhammad (JM) publishes weekly Al-Qalam in Urdu and English, monthly Ayeshatul Binat in Urdu for women and weekly Musalman Bachy for children.

3. Al-Rasheed Trust, ostensibly a charity organization, advocates a jihadi view of life through its daily publication *Islam* and weekly *Zarb-e-Momin*, both in Urdu, monthly *Al-Akhwa* for women in Urdu and monthly *Truth* in English. These publications' contents support Taliban, Jamaatul Furqan, Sipah-e-Sahaba, and, occasionally, Lashkar-e-Taiba.
4. Monthly *Khilafat-e-Rashida*, monthly *Aab-e-Hayat* and monthly *Genius* are the regular publications of the Sipah-e-Sahaba.
5. The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) has 22 print media publications including daily *Jisarat*, weekly *Friday Special*, weekly *Asia*, monthly *Tarjumanul Quran*, and fortnightly *Jihad-e-Kashmir*.

### Layout and Presentation

Jihad media products reflect the use of modern technology. Their layout, use of colors and multimedia techniques are similar to mainstream media publications available in the market. According to Zafarullah Khan, their marketing strategy resembles that of the mainstream media.<sup>16</sup> The prices of jihad media products are relatively low and affordable for the poor. This is one reason for growth in their circulation, especially in villages and small towns.

### Circulation and Distribution

The publishers of these newspapers and magazines often make claims about circulation that are close to the highest mainstream media circulation in the market.

Urdu monthly *Mujalla Al-Da'waa*<sup>17</sup> claims the highest circulation of 100,000 copies a month. Weekly *Zarb-e-Momin* claims circulation of 65,000 copies and weekly *Ghazwa Times* recently announced that its weekly print order was 200,000 copies. Daily *Islam* claims it sells 110,000 copies throughout the country. The banned *Jaish-e-Muhammad*'s weekly *Al-Qalam* claims circulation of 40,000 copies.<sup>18</sup> (Annex III)

The JI, JD, JM, and other smaller jihad media groups' publications are available at newsstands across the country. But some groups like the banned Jamaatul Furqan, Harkatul Mujahideen and Sipah-e-Sahaba only mail or deliver their publications at subscribers' addresses, mainly through workers or like-minded people. Seminaries have also played an important role in the circulation of their publications.

However, after the ban on jihad organizations and their publications, they have found new methods to circulate their products. Banned publications are now sold outside mosques after Friday prayers or are available only at designated points, such as madrassas and selected newsstands.

Most of these publications have legitimate declarations issued by the designated authority. The Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) that entitles them to get government advertisements has certified some of them. However, they prefer to print jihadi advertisements, announcing training opportunities and soliciting donations.<sup>19</sup> The publications without legitimate declarations do not usually appear at newsstands and are distributed through the organization's own network.

## Content Analysis

Most jihad publications project and glorify jihadi activities all over the world in general and in Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Pakistan's tribal areas in particular. They advocate global jihad. The agenda of these jihadi publications prioritizes Islam and jihad and criticizes the Pakistani government for allying with the US in the war on terror. Their ideology envisions the creation of an Islamic caliphate or emirate. While mapping the jihad media discourse, Zafarullah Khan has mentioned some interesting aspects of these publications: "The jihadi publications described the global war against terrorism as 'crusades'. They criticized the Pakistani government slogans of putting Pakistan first and emphasized that all believers are obliged to die for Islam and everything [else] comes later. They glorify the cult of death and regard human development indicators and longevity of life as infidel moves to scrap the spirit of jihad. As per the dominant message of these publications, the real life of the believers starts after their martyrdom. Picking up from the same logic they motivate the believers to embrace martyrdom in jihad and reach heaven instead of being killed by Jewish or Hindu bullets. In many publications there are standard articles like the last will of any martyr, a letter from his mother/sister or wife eulogizing the sacrifice of their dear ones. However, the lists of martyrs published in these newspapers and magazines testify that many non-state actors are busy in jihad. These publications make fun of democracy and capitalism as the instruments of obscene civilization and urge the Muslim youth not to study in Europe or America because they will end up losing [their] faith in the glitter of what they call 'nude civilization' of the west. The jihadi publications urge the Muslim children to immerse themselves in the spirit of jihad as early as possible. They should play with guns as toys and eventually should learn to use them against the infidels."<sup>20</sup>

These publications carry calls for the Muslim *ummah* to stand united against enemies of Islam. The US and other western countries are shown as weakening in the face of jihad by Muslims. Anti-west tirades and propaganda is a common feature of these publications.

They distort the context while covering major international and national events. Meanwhile domestic issues are analyzed through their ideological lens and presented with a particular diction characterized by more polemic and less substance. Local news agencies and mainstream media publications are usually a major source for gleaning reports for jihad publications, which then present these reports in a manner that supports their viewpoint. They glorify and magnify achievements of Mujahideen anywhere in the world. The language and expression used to narrate events is deliberately very radical, meant to 'encourage' the Mujahideen.

While glorifying the Mujahideen, these jihad publications never forget to disparage the US and its allies. They portray that the troops and citizens of the US and allied countries are afraid of attacks by the Mujahideen and are on a gradual decline. For example, an excerpt from a news item narrates how a person who had recently returned from America told the reporter in a meeting: "I was walking on the road [in the US] when I saw a gathering of people watching something on a big screen...It was a person sitting in a chair. He was a soldier who had come back from Iraq. He had lost his legs and arms in a clash with the Mujahideen. He was crying and asking why Mujahideen left him alive. The people there were in fear of Mujahideen when they left the place."<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Japan's decision not to send troops to Afghanistan was reported in a magazine as: "Japan refused to send its artillery to Afghanistan for fear of Taliban attacks."<sup>22</sup>

Besides encouraging and portraying Mujahideen positively, these publications narrate accounts of Mujahideen in a manner that fascinates people and lures them to join jihad. Maulana Massod Azhar, narrates the story of one of their militants, who was killed in Lal Masjid: “Maqsood Shaheed started his journey of jihad during a ‘storm’ [i.e. the Afghan jihad]. He became a soldier of Taliban during his student life and went to Mazar-e-Sharif [in Afghanistan]. Following deceit and betrayal by Uzbeks, thousands of innocent people were gunned down. Maqsood Shaheed was among those besieged people. Allah had to assign many other important tasks to him so he returned safe after fighting death. On his way back, he played hide and seek with death at every point and this made his relationship with death that of a lover -- death became his beloved.”<sup>23</sup>

Militant activities in Kashmir are glorified likewise. “... In Ganderball the [Indian] army had to bear the brunt of their [Mujahideen’s] crackdown. The fighting continued for three days and the Indian army had to carry away six dead soldiers.”<sup>24</sup>

Jihad media also highlights militants’ activities, especially conferences and training sessions about jihad. It shows that militants’ operations are proceeding smoothly across the country and calls upon the *ummah* to stand united against enemies of Islam, mimicking similar calls for unity often attributed to Al-Qaeda. The US and other western countries are shown to be in decline because of jihad.

Jihad media publications disseminate comments and analysis of current affairs and developments in their ideological sphere. Issues of jihad publications in August 2008 wrote at length about the resignation of former president General (ret’d) Pervez Musharraf, detention of Pakistani neuroscientist Dr Aafia Siddiqui by the US and Independence Day. Massod Azhar sympathized with Dr Aafia thus: “May Allah provide you (Dr Aafia) with the means and sources to achieve freedom or martyrdom. My sister Aafia, I am upset over your detention as I have lost dignity and honor. Former president Pervez Musharraf sold you and proved to be an infidel. He sold a daughter of the nation for money.”<sup>25</sup>

### How Jihadi Media Attracts Funds

Jihad media is also used for soliciting donations from the public and almost every publication regularly carries appeals for funds. Two examples below show the tactics these organizations use to attract donations. Jamiatul Ansar publication Al-Hilal carries the following advertisement in every issue on its last page:

#### “The bleeding Muslim world

Iraq, the land of prophets	where	hungry and orphaned children oppressed by America are crying for help.
Afghanistan, the land of martyrs	where	the war between Islam and infidels rages on.

The Kashmir valley, heaven on earth	where	honor is unprotected and women disgraced.
The holy land of Palestine	where	mothers' beloved children are being sacrificed.
Burma	where	the people are deprived of human rights.
Chechnya	where	once-lively marketplaces and towns are turning into ghost towns.
Bharat (India)	where	Lives of Muslims are under attack.

- Is it not obligatory upon you to help these Muslims?
- Are they not your brothers by virtue of Islamic brotherhood and human concern?
- Can this not be your fate as well?

Be aware of your duties."

A regular advertisement by Jamaatul Furqan published in Tadbeer-e-Nau is as follows:

"Have you ever thought?

- From Kashmir to Palestine, millions of Muslims are living in a state of helplessness. Who will help them?
- Who will tend to the wounds of innocent children who are being bombed by infidels?
- Who will secure the release of the great generals of Islam imprisoned in the jails of *kafirs* (infidels)?
- Who will save the faith of the Muslims trapped by the NGOs?"

### Recruitment

Jihad publications also play a pivotal role in attracting the youth to join their outfits for jihad.

Jihadi publications such as Ghazwa, Mujalla Al-Da'waa, Zarb-e-Taiba, Shamsheer and Zarb-e-Momin reveal that over 7,000 volunteers aged between 18 and 25 signed up for various groups all over Pakistan between January and June 2003. High-profile outfits Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad claimed that over 3,350 and 2,235 boys and young men had enlisted with them, respectively.<sup>26</sup>

### Government's Response

When Pakistan decided to join the international coalition against terrorism, the government took some serious measures to curtail jihad print media. On March 6, 2002, the federal government asked the Sindh, Punjab and Azad Kashmir governments to ban the publication of 22 magazines, propaganda tools of various religious and jihadi organizations, appearing from Karachi, Lahore and Muzaffarabad. The banned publications included 17 monthly<sup>27</sup> and five weekly or quarterly magazines. The curbs were



in line with the measures suggested by the UN Security Council Sanction Committee and the US government against terrorist individuals and entities.

However, after only two months of restrictions, many of these publications reappeared at newsstands under the same names, though some also emerged under new names. Fortnightly Jaish-e-Muhammad reappeared as Al-Aslah, and later as Shamsheer. When the publication was banned under both new names it started appearing as Al-Qalam, a name under which it is still being published from Peshawar. Jamaat ud-Da'awa's Jihad Times is now being published as Ghazwa Times; Harkatul Mujahideen's monthly Sada-e-Mujahid as Al-Hilal; while Jamaatul Furqan's monthly Rah-e-Wafa is being printed under the same name. Jamaat-e-Islami's Jihad-e-Kashmir, Jamiatul Mujahideen's Mahaz-e-Kashmir, Hizbul Mujahideen's Zarb-e-Mujahid, Al-Badar Mujahideen's monthly Al-Badar, Sipah-e-Sahaba's Khilafat-e-Rashida and monthly Aab-e-Hayat and Tehrikul Mujahideen's monthly Shahadat are usually not available at newsstands but continue to be published and distributed among their cadre despite government restrictions.

The government is spending 1.5 billion rupees to gather information regarding the anti-terrorism fight in Pakistan<sup>28</sup> but implementing the ban on jihad publications remains its biggest challenge. The challenge facing law enforcement agencies is two-fold:

- 1: Law enforcement agencies have no mechanism to ban these publications. When a banned publication reappears, the process to ban it again takes more than eight months;
- 2: Banned organizations have ostensibly transformed into charities and under law their publications cannot be banned until these charities are declared defunct. Jaish-e-Muhammad is now operating as Al-Rehmat Trust, Lashkar-e-Taiba as Jamaat ud-Da'awa and Jamaatul Furqan as Al-Asar Trust. Legislation is required to ban or restrict their activities and the government is reluctant to introduce such legislation due to pressure from the clergy.

In August 2006, however, then President Pervez Musharraf took strict action against jihad publication while announcing a ban on the sale and distribution of hate material. Following the president's orders, the federal Interior Ministry banned 90 books containing sectarian or hate material.<sup>29</sup>

Actions such as these might stop sale of these books at newsstands, but they are usually sold in madrassas or outside mosques after Friday prayers. Since those books were banned in 2006, no new action has been taken against jihad print media. Some media analysts suggest that the impact of and violations by alternative media could be neutralized by bringing a clear media policy that treats violations by the mainstream and jihad media with equal firmness.

They say the policy should give direction about the presentation of news and views and a publication not following the policy should be banned whether it belongs to jihad media or the mainstream. However, government efforts to introduce such a policy may invite severe criticism, as journalist bodies are not satisfied, with good reason, about the recent state of freedom of expression in Pakistan and view any government intervention with suspicion.

Specific legislation about radical groups and charities is the best way to curb their operations. A code of ethics for religious publications should focus on banning appeals soliciting donations and advertisements attracting youth towards jihad.

**Annex 1: Publications by the militant / affiliated groups (2008)**

No	Title	Published from / target audience	Language	Organization
1.	Daily Islam	Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Muzaffarabad	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust <sup>30</sup>
2	Weekly Zarb-e-Momin	Karachi	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust
3	Monthly Truth	Karachi/ youth	English	Al-Amin Trust
4	Bachoon ka Islam	Karachi/ children	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust
5	Khawateen ka Islam	Karachi/ women	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust
6	Al-Akhwa	Karachi/ women	Urdu	Al-Amin Trust
7	Weekly Ghazwa	Lahore, Karachi	Urdu	Jamaat ud-Da'awa (JD)
8	Monthly Al-Da'awa	Lahore	Urdu	JD
9	Monthly Tayyibaat	Lahore/ women	Urdu	JD
10	Monthly Zarb-e-Taiba	Lahore/ youth	Urdu	JD
11	Voice of Islam	Lahore	English	JD
12	Monthly Al-Anfal	Lahore	Arabic	JD
13	Fortnightly Rozatul Atfal	Lahore/ children	Urdu	JD

14	Monthly Babul Islam	Karachi	Sindhi	JD
15	Monthly Nanhay Mujahid	Lahore/ children	Urdu	JD
16	Weekly Al-Qalam	Karachi, Peshawar	Urdu	Banned Jaish-e-Muhammad (JM)
17	Monthly Ayeshatul Binat	Karachi/ women	Urdu	JM
18	Monthly Musalman Bachy	Karachi/ children	Urdu	JM
19	Monthly Rah-e-Wafa	Lahore	Urdu	Jamaatul Furqan
20	Monthly Al-Ibrar	Karachi	Urdu	Al-Akhtar Trust
21	Fortnightly Jihad-e-Kashmir	Rawalpindi	Urdu	Hizbul Mujahideen (HM)
22	Fortnightly Hizb-e-Mujahid	Rawalpindi	Urdu	HM
23	Monthly Al-Hilal	Islamabad	Urdu	Harkatul Mujahideen
24	Monthly Sada-e-Mujahid	Islamabad, Karachi	Urdu	Harkatul Mujahideen
25	Monthly Shahadat	Muzaffarabad, Rawalpindi	Urdu	Tehrikul Mujahideen
26	Monthly Mahaz-e-Kashmir	Muzaffarabad	Urdu	Jamiatul Mujahideen
27	Monthly Al-Masood	Rawalpindi	Urdu	Jamaatul Mujahideen
28	Monthly Al-Irshad	Islamabad	Urdu	Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami
29	Monthly Sunni Tarjuman	Karachi	Urdu	Sunni Tehrik

30	Monthly Aab-e-Hayat	Lahore	Urdu	Sipah-e-Sahaba
31	Monthly Khilafat-e-Rashida	Faisalabad	Urdu	Sipah-e-Sahaba
32	Monthly Tadbeer-e-Nau	Lahore	Urdu	Jamaatul Furqan
33	Monthly Al-Badar	Karachi	Urdu	Al-Badar Mujahideen
34	Monthly Tanzeemul Islam	Gujranwala	Urdu	Sunni Jihad Council

#### Annex II: Publications promoting jihadi outlook (2008)

No	Title	Published from	Language/ target audience	Directly/ indirect affiliation with
1	Daily Jisarat	Karachi	Urdu	Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)
2	Weekly Asia	Lahore	Urdu	JI
3	Monthly Jareedatul Ittehad	Lahore	Urdu	Jamiat Ittehad-e-Ulema (JI's Ulema wing)
4	Monthly Hamqadam	Lahore	Urdu/ youth	Islami Jamiat Talaba (JI's student wing)
5	Monthly Paigham	Lahore	Urdu/ children	Islami Jamiat Talaba
6	Monthly Sathi	Karachi	Urdu/ children	Islami Jamiat Talaba
7	Monthly Message	Lahore	English/ youth	Islami Jamiat Talaba
8	Monthly Mishkatul Misbah	Lahore	Urdu/ madrassa students	Jamiat Talaba Arabia (JI's madrassa student wing)
9	Monthly Sada-e-Jamiat	Karachi	Urdu	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI)

10	Monthly Al-Jamia	Rawalpindi	Urdu	JUI
11	Zarb-e-Haq	Karachi	Urdu	JUI
12	Monthly Hammad	Karachi	Urdu	JUI/ Jamia Hamadia
13	Weekly Ahle Hadees	Lahore	Urdu	Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadiath
14	Daily Ummat	Karachi	Urdu	Ummat Group
15	Weekly Takbeer	Karachi	Urdu	Ummat Group
16	Monthly Ghazi	Karachi	Urdu	Ummat Group
17	Monthly Al-Hasan	Lahore	Urdu	Jamia Ashrafia, Lahore
18	Monthly Al-Khair	Multan	Urdu	Jamia Khairul Madaris
19	Monthly Laulak	Multan	Urdu	Tehrik Khatm-e-Nabuwat
20	Monthly Naqeeb-e-Khatm-e-Nabuwat	Multan	Urdu	Majlis-e-Ahrar Pakistan
21	Monthly Al-Murshid	Lahore	Urdu	Tanzeemul Akhwan
22	Monthly Naghma-e-Tauheed	Gujrat	Urdu	Jamiat Isha'at Tauheed wal Sunnah
23	Monthly Al-Haq	Akora Khattak, Nowshera	Urdu	Darul Aloom Haqqania,
24	Monthly Al-Qasim	Nowshera	Urdu	Jamia Abu Hurraira, Khaliqabad
25	Monthly Maseehayi	Karachi	Urdu	Darul Aloom Hanfia
26	Monthly Bazm-e-Qasmi	Karachi	Urdu	Sipah-e-Sahaba
27	Monthly Nusratul Aloom	Gujranwala	Urdu	Jamia Nusratul Aloom
28	Monthly Al-Farooq	Karachi	Urdu	Jamia Farooqia
29	Quarterly Al-Mufakkaraatul Islamia	Gujrat	Urdu	Jamia Hanfia Ahle Sunnat

**Annex III: Price and circulation of jihad media products (2008)**

No	Title	Circulation	Medium	Pages	Price (In Pak rupee)
1-	Daily Islam	110,000	Urdu	8	5
2-	Daily Jisarat	30,000	Urdu	16	9
3-	Daily Ummat	65,000	Urdu	16	8
4-	Weekly Al-Hilal	5,000	Urdu/ English/ Arabic	100	30
5-	Weekly Asia	5,000	Urdu	25-30	15
6-	Weekly Zarb-e-Momin	65,000	Urdu	8	7
7-	Weekly Deen	---	Urdu	4	4
8-	Weekly Ghazwa Times	20,000	Urdu	4	3
9-	Weekly Al-Qalam	40,000	Urdu	8	7
10-	Fortnightly Hizb-e-Mujahid	2,000	Urdu	6	6
11-	Weekly Al-Hadees	5,000	Urdu	24	7
12-	Weekly Tanzim Ahl-e-Hadees	5,000	Urdu	20	5
13-	Weekly Al-Mutaquam	-----	Urdu	32	5
14-	Monthly Ayeshatul Binat		Urdu	52	13
15-	Fortnightly Zarb-e-Mujahid	5,000	Urdu	8	3
16-	Fortnightly Jihad-e-Kashmir	7,000	Urdu/English	54	15
17-	Monthly Al-Abrar	7,000	Urdu	66	16

18-	Monthly Al-Balagh	10,000	Urdu	68	20
19-	Monthly Al-Hamad	5000	Urdu	68	15
20-	Monthly Al-Ahrar	1,000	Urdu	68	15
21-	Monthly Al-Irshad	5,000	Urdu	52	15
22-	Monthly Mujalla Al-Da'waa	100,000	Urdu	60	12
23-	Monthly Zarb-e-Haq	4,000	"	4	3
24-	Monthly Haq Char Yar	4,000	"	68	12
25-	Monthly Zarb-e-Taiba		"	-	-
26-	Monthly Tayyibaat		"	-	-
27-	Monthly Voice of Islam		English	68	30
28-	Monthly Sunni Tarjuman	5,000	"	52	16
29-	Monthly Anwar-e-Madina	3,000	"	68	13
30-	Monthly Sada-e-Jamiat	2,000	"	38	15
31-	Monthly Mishkatul Misbah	5,000	"	48	14
32-	Monthly Nusratul Uloom	2,000	"	60	15
33-	Monthly Maseehayi	1,000	"	54	20
34-	Monthly Bazm-e-Qasmi	---	"	52	16
35-	Jareedatul Ittehad	5,000	"	84	15
36-	Monthly Al-Murshid	5,000	"	68	25
37-	Monthly Sada-e-Hosh	10000	"	34	10
38-	Monthly Laulak	5,000	"	60	10
39-	Monthly Naqeeb-e-	-----	"	76	15

	Khatm-e-Nabuwwat				
40-	Monthly Al Akhuwah	2,000	„	58	15
41-	Monthly Sada-e-Mujahid		„	52	15
42-	Monthly Naghma-e-Tauheed	2,000	„	60	15
43-	Monthly Tadbeer-e-Nau	5,000	„	30	12
44-	Monthly Khilafat-e-Rashida	15,000	„	52	15
45-	Monthly Munaqib	1,000	„	44	10
46-	Monthly Shahadat	10,000	„	54	10
47-	Monthly Al-Badar	10,000	„	54	15
48-	Monthly Al-Masood	2,000	„	28	10
49-	Monthly Tanzeemul Islam	10,000	„	52	20
50-	Monthly Al-Ma'arif	5,000	„	50	12
51-	Monthly Al-Muntazir	2,000	„	52	15
52-	Monthly Mahaz-e-Kashmir	5,000	„	52	15
53-	Monthly Truth	1,000	English	60	20
54-	Noor-e-Islam		„	25	9
55-	Kanz-ul-Iman	1,000	„	52	10
56-	Ahwal-o-Aasar	1,000	„	68	15
57-	Al-Jamia	2,000	„	60	15
58-	Nida-e-Ahle Sunnat	1,000	„	52	15
59-	Monthly Nanhay Mujahid	10,000	„	52	15



60-	The Message	2,000	English		
61-	Bedar Digest	3,000	„	40	15



## Notes:

- <sup>1</sup> Zafarullah, *Cyber Jihad: Fighting the Infidels from Pakistan*. (Asian Cyber Terrorism, edited by Steven Gan, James Gomez and Uwe Johannes) Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Bangkok, 2004.
- <sup>2</sup> The claim was made during a seminar on Islamic media in Karachi on September 19, 2006. The seminar was organized by Jamaat ud-Da'awa and its weekly publication Ghazwa Times, Lahore, carried a report about it in its 22-28 September, 2006 issue.
- <sup>3</sup> Zafarullah, 'Medieval Mindset, Modern Media'. This was the title of a paper discussed in a media workshop organized by Friedrich Naumann Stiftung in Islamabad on November 28, 2001.
- <sup>4</sup> This is not a consensus definition. In South Africa, it was used during the 1980s to refer to grassroots newspapers that reflected the deprived classes' point of view. In the US, it refers to the media by political left, 'which present a point of view that counters the alleged [bias](#) of [mainstream media](#)'. While discussing the term 'alternative media', The Canadian Encyclopedia poses the question 'alternative to what?' It says: "the field is notoriously difficult to define. Should it be confined to only radical or underground media, such as those that challenge the status quo, or should all media apart from large circulation daily newspapers and major television networks be included? Should it encompass media directed toward specific ethnic and cultural groups? Should only non-profit media be considered? There are no easy answers to these questions."  
<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0009706>
- <sup>5</sup> The term was first used with consensus to refer to parallel media during a seminar of editors of jihad publication organized by Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in Islamabad in August 1990.
- <sup>6</sup> Zafarullah, p. 4.
- <sup>7</sup> Ummat Group also publishes weekly Takbeer and monthly Ghazi.
- <sup>8</sup> Monthly Bedar Digest, Lahore, March 1992.
- <sup>9</sup> Monthly Bedar Digest, Lahore, March 1992.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid
- <sup>11</sup> Monthly Bedar Digest, Lahore, December 1989. The issue included the list of media publications, showing that 45 were being published in Pashtu and Persian, 12 in English and 25 in Arabic.
- <sup>12</sup> Monthly Al-Jihad, Peshawar (Arabic), August 1990.
- <sup>13</sup> Monthly Al-Bunyanul Marsoos, Peshawar, (Arabic), December 1991.
- <sup>14</sup> Jaish-e-Muhammad, Jamaat ud-Da'awa and different madrassas offer these courses. On September 2, 2008, a madrassa in Islamabad organized a media workshop for journalists affiliated with jihad media to enhance their capabilities. Daily Islam, Islamabad, September 3, 2008.
- <sup>15</sup> Zarb-e-Momin.
- <sup>16</sup> Zafarullah, p. 1.
- <sup>17</sup> Ghazwa Times, Lahore, 22-28 September 2006.
- <sup>18</sup> These publications often make claims about their circulation on their advertisement pages.
- <sup>19</sup> Zafarullah, p. 5.
- <sup>20</sup> Zafarullah, p. 13-17.
- <sup>21</sup> Amir Hamza, 'Shoot Me', Weekly Ghazwa, Karachi, June 27-July 3, 2008.
- <sup>22</sup> Weekly Al-Qalam, Peshawar, July 25 - 31, 2008. The news item describes casualties suffered by the allied forces in different parts of Afghanistan. Magnifying Taliban gains at every front, it says, "the Taliban destroyed a US helicopter in Paktika and six US soldiers were burnt alive. Mujahideen occupied a district of Ghazni by killing 10 who resisted. A *fidayyi* (suicide) bomber attacked a convoy of allied forces and killed 25 people. In another attack on a NATO convoy in Spin Boldak area, four Canadian soldiers were killed. While seven Afghan security personnel were killed in a landmine blast in Sangeen district. In Farah province, allied air force bombed an Afghan police party during night and Afghan policemen were torn to pieces. America termed the incident a case of friendly fire. .... Japan refused to send its artillery to Afghanistan for fear of Taliban attacks."
- <sup>23</sup> Sa'adi (Maulana Masood Azhar), 'In cradle of hurricanes', weekly Al-Qalam, Peshawar, Special edition, July 11-17, 2008. Maqsood was reportedly the first editor of Al-Qalam and was killed during

the Lal Masjid operation by the security forces in July 2007. This special edition of *Al-Qalam* was dedicated to him.

<sup>24</sup> Weekly Ghazwa, Karachi, July 11-17, 2008.

<sup>25</sup> Sa'adi (Maulana Masood Azhar), 'Aafia: My Sister', weekly *Al-Qalam*, Peshawar, August 15-21, 2008.

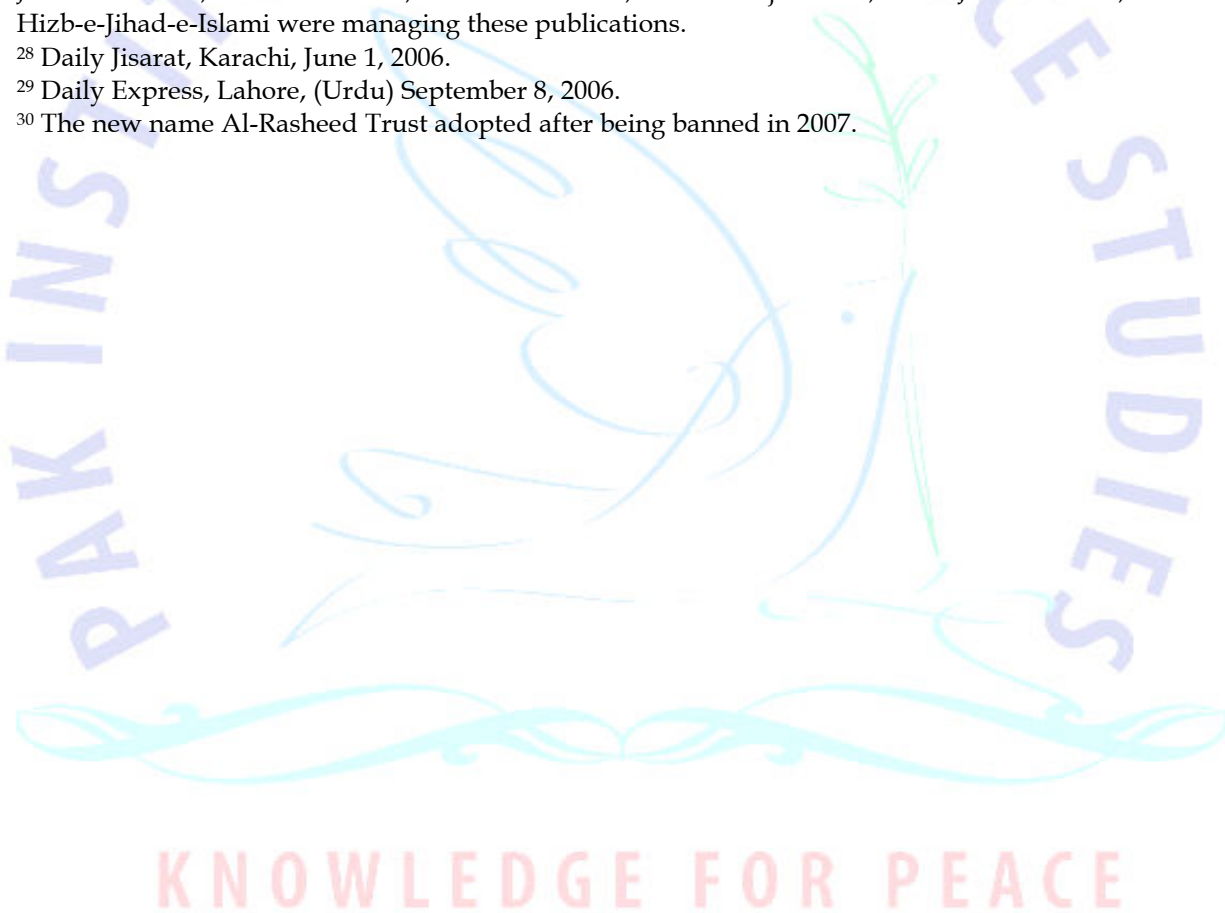
<sup>26</sup> Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) Database.

<sup>27</sup> The banned monthly publications included: *Al-Irshad International* (Islamabad), *Ayeshatul Binat* (Karachi), *Al-Da'awa* (Lahore), *Kashmir Action* (Lahore), *Al-Rihat* in Arabic (Lahore), *Al-Masood* (Muzaffarabad/Karachi), *Sada-e-Kashmir* (Muzaffarabad), *Sada-e-Mujahid* (Islamabad/Karachi), *Voice of Islam* in English (Lahore), *Shahadat* (Srinagar/Muzaffarabad/Islamabad), *Jihad-e-Kashmir* (Muzaffarabad), *Zarb-e-Taiba* (Lahore), monthly *Bedar Digest* (Lahore), *Mohaz-e-Kashmir* (Muzaffarabad), *Dawaat-e-Tanzeemul Islam* (Lahore/Sialkot/Gujranwala) and *Al-Khalid* (Lahore). Also banned were *weeklies Jihad Times* in Urdu, and *Asia* (Lahore), *Zarb-e-Momin* (Karachi), fortnightly *Jaish-e-Muhammad* (Karachi) and quarterly *Taiba* (Lahore). *Jaish-e-Muhammad*, *Al Badar-Mujahideen*, *Jamaat-e-Islami*, *Lashkar-e-Taiba*, *Al-Rasheed Trust*, *Hizbul Mujahideen*, *Sunni Jihad Council*, and *Hizb-e-Jihad-e-Islami* were managing these publications.

<sup>28</sup> Daily Jisarat, Karachi, June 1, 2006.

<sup>29</sup> Daily Express, Lahore, (Urdu) September 8, 2006.

<sup>30</sup> The new name *Al-Rasheed Trust* adopted after being banned in 2007.



## *About Institute*

The Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) is an independent, not-for-profit non governmental research and advocacy think-tank. An initiative of leading Pakistani scholars, researchers and journalists, PIPS conducts wide-ranging research and analysis of political, social and religious conflicts that have a direct bearing on both national and international security. The PIPS approach is grounded in field research. Our surveys and policy analyses are informed by the work of a team of researchers, reporters and political analysts located in different areas of conflict in Pakistan. Based on information and assessments from the field, PIPS produces analytical reports, weekly security updates and policy briefings containing practical recommendations targeted at key national and international decision-makers. We also publish survey-based reports and books, providing in-depth analysis of various conflicts or potential conflicts.



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