Book Review: Rohan Gunaratna and Khuram Iqbal, *Pakistan: Terrorism Ground Zero* London, Reaktion Books, 33-Great Sutton Street, 2011. Price: UK £19.75/ US $29.

These are terrible times we live in Contemporary world is faced with the menace of terrorism. It has become the greatest security concern for world powers. The situation has aggravated since the attacks of 9/11. Pakistan became a global partner against 'War on Terror' but the country has to pay heavy price for this collaboration. Today, Pakistan has become a sanctuary for global terrorists, who are playing havoc with the lives of innocent citizens. The book, "Pakistan; Terrorism Ground Zero", is a joint effort by Rohan Gunaratnx and Khurrram Iqbal. The book contains 320 pages including acronyms, sevens chapters with short conclusions except one chapter, appendices, sound references, short bibliography and index. It is worthy document to understand the nature and working of militancy in Pakistan.

The book contains appreciable material and discussion on terrorism with special focus on ongoing terrorist's activities of different militant outfits. The major topics that the book encompasses are, the origin and spread of terrorism in Pakistan, working of different terrorists outfits, religious terrorism, suicide terrorism, violence in Karachi, instability in the region etc.

In "Introduction' the book precisely tells how terrorism evolved and reached the present state. It tells that the two cataclysmic events (i) the Cold War (ii) the revolution in Iran sown the seeds of terrorism in Pakistan. It also refers to the contribution of three generations ideologies that bred terrorism. They are (i) Muslim Brotherhood (ii) Deobondism (iii) The Afghan war. But they speaks nothing about the nature of ideologies. The terrorist we are facing today are the leftovers of Afghan War, "After the U.S abandoned Afghanistan, its one-time ally, Islamabad lacked the capacity to integrate the local fighters into mainstream Pakistani Society" (P-12).

There is a mention of Taliban coming to power in Afghanistan, the catastrophe of 9/11 and Pakistan becoming the epicenter of conflict.

In chapter one, the after affects of the 9/11 tragedy have been mentioned i.e. FATA became a sanctuary of terrorists, Al-Qaeda established its

foothold and developed links with other militant groups. The dismal picture of FATA is drawn in these words. *"Political alienation, economic deprivation and deep-seated resentment against the centre" (P.21)* are the core factors behind militancy in FATA. Moreover, arms and drug trade, denial of basic human rights, administrative loopholes, cruel rule through FCR and the Pashton Code provided terrorist a chance to fish in troubled waters and there was birth of 'Pakistan Al-Qaeda' led by Khalid Sheikh Mohammad (KSM) which became a pivotal forced behind terrorism in Pakistan. "Understanding the Pakistan Taliban", Unfurls the rise and growth of militants settled in FATA. "The Pakistani Taliban believes that they are an independent entity within the state of Pakistan and have formed a parallel government based on the judicial system used by the Afghan Taliban (P.35).

The chapter adds that the Taliban enjoy the support of local population and strengthened by foreign militants in addition, the chapter illustrates the origin and history of Tehriq-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), its leadership, its nexus with major Islamists militant groups military capabilities, financing etc. the chapter also contains detailed information about other militant groups; Tehrik-i-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) led by Sufi Mohammad, Muqami Tehrik-i-Taliban, headed by Hafiz Gul Bahadar and many other, militant organizations. Conclusion' of this chapter tells a subtler tactical strategy, international military assistance and "A strong, well-organized and specialized counter insurgency forced able to face the non-state militias and enforce the law must be built". (P.105)

It is a long chapter which contains sound information regarding Pakistani Taliban and associated militant groups. "Conclusion" gives practicable solutions. But an important solution, dialogue, has not been discussed persuading soft Taliban for negotiations, involving all stakeholders in dialogue process can be good peace initiatives not mentioned in the chapter. 'Terrorism in Karachi', traces the history of the rise of extremism in Karachi. It mentions, "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 gave a boost to extremes in Pakistan ----------(P.110).

The influence of the Iranian Revolution and Zia's announcement to introduce Zakat System gave birth to Shia-Sunni tension and sectarian violence escalated in Pakistan. The Saudis sponsored the Sunni, Iran

financed Shia'as that created bad blood between the two communities and militancy thrived in the metropolitan city. The chapter explains the influence of 9/11 incident, the arrival of Al-qaeda in Karachi, the settlement of Afghan refugees. Many Jihadi groups started their violent activities. "The high threat groups are Al-qaeda (Qari Zafar Groups), TTP, LEJ and SSP." (P.117). Moreover, ethno-nationalist terrorism flourishd, Jeye Sindh and MQM came to blows. The chapter adds that state sponsored terrorism is also a major threat to south Asia. To Address the volatile situation in Karachi, the chapter suggests following measures; strengthens the institutions, intelligence sharing, providing equipment and resources, countering terrorists ideology, speedy justice, reforming the Madaris system and Political-criminal-Terrorist nexus is needed to be dismantled "there is a nexus between politics and crime ….." (P.140).

The chapter contains commendable material regarding violence in Karachi and provides good measures to overcome militancy. However, the writers have missed few important causes reported in recent times that have charged the atmosphere. 'Bhata' (Forced tax), land mafia, presence of large quantity of weapons, involvement of police in crimes are the missing elements not mentioned here. Though there are occasional hints but no detail is provided.

Chapter four mentions "Mainland Pakistan Terrorist Groups', The most lethal Islamist Jihadi militant groups are, Lashkar-i-Taiba (Let) and Laskhar-i-Jhangvi (LJ), " Laskhar-e-Jhangvi is the most lethal urban terrorist group based in mainland Pakistan" (P.161). The group is involved in sectarian violence, high-profile killings, suicide bombing, attacks on churches etc. the writers also mentioned other militant outfits involved in violence, militancy and terrorism. There is mentions of Muthahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), a mainstream political party that patronizes crimes and militancy, "MQM has been involves in all manner of crimes and terrorist activities, including target killng" (P.207). The Chapter provides good information on religious terrorism but unlike the previous chapters, the writers have drawn no conclusion and forwarded no suggestions to overcome violence.

Chapter Five investigates the causes of turmoil in the region and maintains that a few extremist groups in India and militant groups in

Pakistan are the agents of disturbance. To defeat militant outfits' agenda, regional cooperation is inevitable.

Chapter six explains all about suicide terrorism in Pakistan. Al-Qaeda, LEJ and other affiliated groups are the agents of Suicide terrorism. It add; "Diverse factors contribute towards motivating a suicide bomber". (P.236). They include religious fanaticism, Pashtun code, Military operations, drone strikes, inflammatory speeches, extreme destitution etc. 'Conclusion' suggests measures to Counter suicide Terrorism i.e. creating public awareness, using power of Media, strengthening intelligence mechanism, spreading true knowledge of Islam, Promoting literacy and introducing a long term strategy to counter suicide terrorism.

The last chapter recognizes Pakistan's endeavors to combat terrorism and the losses it suffered in 'War on Terror'. "Pakistan's contributions towards this war surpass those of any other country and remain unmatched by any standard" (P.249)".

'Conclusion' suggests few practical steps to counter terrorism i.e., improving Pak-Afghan border security, coordination among stakeholders, time and patience, economic development, administrative reforms etc. The book end on the comment that world must cooperate with Pakistan defeat terrorism. "It warns, "If Pakistan is isolated internationally, terrorist groups will find it easy to paralyze the state and establish their authority in mainland Pakistan. (P.260)

A thorough study and profound analysis of the book tells that it provides in depth information on terrorism, its spread, causes and solutions, clarity, lucidity and fluency are its main attributes. The writers have used headings to explain each topic clearly. They have quoted relevant experts, provided statistical information, drawn conclusion in many chapters and recapitulated the important points. As the reader proceeds with he finds it more interesting and the last chapters involve more analytical approach. Through the book is a good document to understand the nature of terrorism in Pakistan, yet the writers has left few aspects untouched regarding terrorism in Pakistan. For instance, the peace accords with militants, Targeted operations in Karachi, the silence of religious segments on the gruesome activities of Pakistan Taliban have not been discussed at length. Moreover, drone strikes in FATA, our war or proxy, military operations are the topics that needed in depth

discussion and analysis. At times there are reputations of the some ideas but despite these weaknesses, the book is commendable Endeavour. It is a food for thought for our religious segments, politician and for ordinary readers. The book is a good source of solid information for research scholars as well chapter wise references add a lot for researchers. Even a causal reading of the book provides good information on the nature and working of terrorism on Pakistani landscape.

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