

**Refugee Review Tribunal
AUSTRALIA**

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

Research Response Number: PAK33887
Country: Pakistan
Date: 7 November 2008

Keywords: Pakistan – Rawalpindi – Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya (TNFJ) – Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan (TJP) – Islami Tehreek-Pakistan (ITP) – Millat-e-Jafariya – Sectarian groups – Shi’a – Sunnis

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Questions

- 1. Can you provide an update on the TNFJ since February 2002?**
- 2. Is the group still in existence? What are the aims of the group? What are its policies? Who are the current leaders of the group?**
- 3. Is there any information on the student wing? If so can you provide information about the student wing in the period 1998-2000?**
- 4. Is there any recent information on the activities of the TNFJ in Rawalpindi?**
- 5. What is the attitude of the current government towards members of the TNFJ?**
- 6. Anything else of relevance**

RESPONSE

- 1. Can you provide an update on the TNFJ since February 2002?**

Previous RRT *Research Response* PAK14999 of 22 February 2002 provided a brief discussion of the on the Shi’a group the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* (TJP), and rival Sunni group the *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan* (SSP) in relation to the ban imposed on these organisations in January 2002 (RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response* PAK14999, 22 February – Attachment 89). RRT *Research Response* PAK15072 referred to source material on the early implementation of the ban on the TJP to March 2002 (RRT Country Research 2002, *Research Response* PAK15072, 19 April – Attachment 90). This research response provides a more detailed discussion and update on the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* (TJP), currently headed by Allama Sajid Naqvi, and the the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya* (TNFJ), currently headed by Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi.

Sources were located which indicate that the various Shi'a sectarian groups currently operating in Pakistan have a complex history, with factional splits in organizations, and the formation of militant factions creating a range of different actors. The names under which different Shi'a groups have operated have varied over time, in response to factional splits and government bans. It should also be noted that there is a degree of variance and inconsistency in the titles by which the *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TJP), and the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria* (TNFJ), are referred to in news media, and political discourse; names tend to be used interchangeably.

The *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria* (TNFJ) was formed in 1979, and was initially under the leadership of Allama Jaffer Hussein. When Allama Jaffer Hussein died in 1983, the TNFJ split into two factions; a more religiously inclined faction led by Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi, and a more politically inclined faction led by Arif Al Hussein, which eventually received the backing of Khomeini in Iran, and took precedence. The faction led by Arif Al Hussein changed its name to the *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TJP) in 1987 or 1988. When Al Hussein was assassinated in 1988, Allama Sajid Naqvi became the leader of this group, and continues in this role to the present day. The *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria* (TNFJ) under Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi, also continues to be active in Pakistan, particularly in Rawalpindi, where its headquarters are located (for information on the history and recent situation of the TNFJ and TJP, including the mid-1980 factional split, and the renaming of the Al-Hussein faction as the TJP, see Roy, Olivier 2002, 'Islamic Radicalism In Afghanistan And Pakistan: Writenet Paper No. 06/2001', UNHCR Refworld website, January <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/3c6a3f7d2.pdf> – Accessed 24 October 2008 – Attachment 1; Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.406 – RRT Library – Attachment 2; Behuria, Ashok 2002, 'Many Pakistans within Pakistan, International Centre for Peace Studies website <http://www.icpsnet.org/description.php?ID=350> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 3; and Irfani, Suroosh 2004, 'Pakistan's Sectarian Violence: Between the "Arabist Shift" and Indo-Persian Culture' in *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia*, eds S Limaye, M. Malik, & R. Wirsing, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies website, pp. 147-171 <http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/ReligiousRadicalism/ReligiousRadicalismandSecurityinSouthAsia.pdf> – Accessed 18 September 2007 – Attachment 12).

The *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TJP) of Allama Sajid Naqvi was banned, along with the Sunni-based *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan* (SSP) and other sectarian groups, on 12 January 2002. The *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TJP) changed its name to the *Islami-e-Tehreek-e-Pakistan* (variously abbreviated in different sources to ITP or TIP, and translated as the "Pakistan Islamic Movement"), but this group was subsequently banned in November 2003. Since 2003, the TJP under Allama Sajid Naqvi has used several names in attempts to avoid the proscription; these include *Millat-e-Jaferia*, and the Jaferia Students Organisation. An Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada report was also located which indicated that TJP members have reverted to the use of the TNFJ name to avoid the ban (for information on the 2002 ban on the TJP see US Department of State 2002, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2002 – Pakistan*, 7 October – Attachment 5. For information on the subsequent 2003 ban on the ITP see US Department of State 2004, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2004 – Pakistan*, 14 September – Attachment 6. For information on the subsequent names adopted by Allama Sajid Naqvi's group TJP see Rana, Muhammad Amir 2004, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p. 405 – Attachment 2, Khan, Faraz 2008, 'Banned militant outfits regroup in Karachi', *Daily*

Times, 29 June

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C06%5C29%5Cstory_29-6-2008_pg7_54 – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 9; and Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2005, PAK100475.E – *Pakistan: Confirmation of whether the information in PAK42530.E of 1 April 2004 under the heading Tehrik-i-Jafria Pakistan (TJP) is correct and currently valid, including the current status and activities, if any, of the Tehrik-e Nefaz-e Fiq-e Jafarian (TNFJ); if still active, whether the TNFJ has any links with any extremist/Islamist/banned group(s) (April 2004 – September 2004)*, 4 August – Attachment 10).

No information was located in the sources consulted to demonstrate that the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria*, led by Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi, is subject to a ban. No explicit discussion or analysis was located regarding the current relationship between Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi's TNFJ and Allama Sajid Naqvi's TJP group.

A review of source information on the evolution and current nomenclature of the TNFJ and TJP is provided below under the subheading [*Background on the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria Pakistan \(TNFJ\), and the Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan \(TJP\)*](#).

Information has been provided on both the TNFJ (*Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria*) and the TJP (*Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan*) in response to Questions 2 to 5 of this research request. Information on the Sunni sectarian group the *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan* is provided at Question 6.

For the sake of convenience and clarity, in this response the name *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TNFJ) will be used to refer to the organization led by Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi, while the name *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TJP) will be used to refer to Allama Sajid Naqvi's organization, including the TJP's successor organisations the *Islami Tehreek-e-Pakistan* and the *Millat-e-Jaferia*.

Background on the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TNFJ), and the *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TJP)

In a paper published in January 2002, Olivier Roy provides the following background on the TNFJ, or *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria* (Movement for the Implementation of Shia Jurisprudence), indicating that the organisation was formed under the leadership of Allama Jaffer Hussein in 1979 to advance the cause of the Shi'a community in Pakistan:

In Pakistan, militant Shi'as initially joined the Tehrik-i Nihfaz-i Fiqh-i Jaafrya (Movement for the Preservation of the Shi'a Legal System), whose avowed aim was to gain recognition of Shi'a religious law in the official process of implementation of sharia, given the fact that for the Government as well as for the Sunni religious movements sharia is understood in its Sunni interpretation. The Tehrik was founded in 1979, by Allama Syed Jaafar Husseyn, a cleric educated in Iraq. Considering the timing, this was obviously connected with the growing political assertiveness of the Shi'as in the wake of the Iranian revolution, but it drove the Government and Sunni conservative milieux to regard the Shi'as as an Iranian fifth column (Roy, Olivier 2002, 'Islamic Radicalism In Afghanistan And Pakistan: Writenet Paper No. 06/2001', UNHCR Refworld website, January <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/3c6a3f7d2.pdf> – Accessed 24 October 2008 – Attachment 1).

In his 2005 work *A-Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, Muhammad Amir Rana indicates that the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria* was led by Allama Mufti Jaffer Hussein until his death in 1983, and subsequently split in 1984 into two factions, one led by Allama Hamid Musavi (also known as Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi), and another led by Arif Al Hussein, which eventually took precedence:

...Mufti Jaffer Hussein died on August 29, 1983 and for the first time Tehreek was subjected to a split in its ranks. Maulana Hamid Ali Musvi offered his services as Ameer and he was selected in a meeting of Shia scholars at Ali mosque in Rawalpindi and a process of swearing allegiance to him began all over Pakistan.

Meanwhile one group of Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafferia called a conference on February 10, 1984 at Bhakkar and elected Allama Syed Arif Al Hussein President.

...Efforts were made later for reconciliation of the two groups and a convention was called at Dina near Rawalpindi for the purpose, but Hamid Ali Musvi did not attend the conference. The reason given for his absence is a 'deal' with the Government according to which it accepted his party as the representative of the Shia sect. Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafferia was divided into two groups that had frequent confrontations, and each went to Iran to get its leader accepted as the true leader. Finally Arif Al Hussein group found support from Khomeini and he was appointed the Imam's representative in Pakistan.

...Once it had the backing of Imam Khomeini, Arif Al Hussein's group emerged as the stronger group and it was during his time that Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafferia became a truly national Shia organization. Arif Al Hussein had the support of the ISO while Hamid Ali Musvi had the backing of a majority of Shia scholars (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.406 – RRT Library – Attachment 2).

In a 2002 article on sectarianism in Pakistan, Ashok Behuria indicates that in the late 1980s, the name of the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria* (TNFJ) faction led by Al Hussaini was changed to the *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TJP):

The main purpose of the TNFJ was to formulate an Islamic constitution based on Shia principles as expounded by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, unite the Shia community, protect Shia rights in a Sunni-majority state, and actively involve Shias in Pakistani politics. The TNFJ adopted an aggressive, confrontational style of politics in its early years, especially after formation of the Sunni SSP in the early 1980s.

...In 1987 or 1988 the TNFJ changed its name to the Tehrik-e-Jafria Pakistan (TJP) and registered itself as a political party. The TJP moved to a more moderate stance after the assassination of its second leader, Allama Arif Al-Hussaini, in Peshawar in August 1988. The move reportedly gave rise to several splinter groups, including the Sipah-e-Muhammadi Pakistan (SMP), a violent anti-Sunni faction to counter SSP (Behuria, Ashok 2002, 'Many Pakistans within Pakistan, International Centre for Peace Studies website <http://www.icpsnet.org/description.php?ID=350> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 3).

Olivier Roy states that after Allama Syed Arif Hussain al Hussaini was assassinated in 1988, he was replaced by Allama Syed Sajid Ali Naqvi:

In 1984 a split occurred that gave birth to the more radical Tehrik-i Fiqh-i Jaafrya, under the leadership of Allama Syed Arif Hussain al Hussaini, who was assassinated in 1988, and

replaced by Allama Syed Sajjid Ali Naqvi. This party was the only one to be recognized by Iran (Roy, Olivier 2002, 'Islamic Radicalism In Afghanistan And Pakistan: Writenet Paper No. 06/2001', UNHCR Refworld website, January <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/3c6a3f7d2.pdf> – Accessed 24 October 2008 – Attachment 1).

A 2008 brief published by *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism* indicates that the militant Shi'a group the *Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan* (SMP), or Soldiers of Mohammed, was formed in 1993 to counter the militant Sunni group the *Sipah-e-Sahaba* (SSP), or Soldiers of the Companions of the Prophet:

In March 1990, Shia militants were blamed for the death of Maulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi, founder of the SSP. The SSP retaliated with the murder of the Iranian consul-general Sadeq Ganji in Lahore in December. As the violence increased, particularly in Punjab, militants within the TJP demanded that the organisation sanction direct action against Sunnis. In 1993, Maulana Mureed Abbas founded the *Sipah-e Mohammed Pakistan* (SMP), after he became convinced that the Shia clergy would not openly endorse violence against Sunnis. The TJP and SMP were similarly inclined, but it was the SMP which quickly established a reputation for extreme violence ('*Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan* (SMP)' 2008, *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 23 September – Attachment 4).

In a 2002 paper, Ashok Behuria stated that despite internal divisions which affected the organisation during the 1990s, the 'TJP, under of [sic] Allama Sajid Naqvi, the TJP leader considered the "undisputed patriarch of Shia politics in Pakistan" remains the main vehicle for Shia political activity in Pakistan' (Behuria, Ashok 2002, 'Many Pakistanis within Pakistan, International Centre for Peace Studies website <http://www.icpsnet.org/description.php?ID=350> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 3).

The *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* (TJP), under the leadership of Allama Sajid Naqvi, was banned in Pakistan on 12 January 2002, along with the Sunni militant group the *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan* (SSP):

On January 12, 2002, the Government banned another four groups suspected of inciting religious violence and jihad: Jaish-e-Mohammed, Lashkar-e-Taiba, *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan*, and *Tehrik-e-Jafria* (US Department of State 2002, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2002 – Pakistan*, 7 October – Attachment 5).

A report published by the US Department of State in 2004 indicated that subsequent to the 2002 ban, the TJP had adopted the name *Islami Tehreek Pakistan*. The Pakistan government banned the *Islami Tehreek Pakistan*, along with other similarly rebadged Sunni sectarian groups (including the *Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistani*, which was banned under its new name *Millat-e-Islami*) in November 2003:

In November 2003, the Government banned, under the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997, three extremist groups that were reconstituted versions of organizations previously banned in 2002. Each of the newly banned groups promoted sectarian violence and intolerance. The groups banned were *Millat-e-Islami* (the former *Sipah Sahaba*), a Sunni extremist group whose leader had been ambushed and killed in Islamabad in October 2003; *Islami Tehreek Pakistan* (the former *Tehreek-e-Jafariya*), a Shi'a extremist group whose leader was arrested for involvement in the killing of the leader of *Millat-e-Islami*; and *Khuddamul Islam* (the former *Jaish-e-Muhammad*), a Sunni extremist group that also promoted jihad in Kashmir and

Afghanistan (US Department of State 2004, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2004 – Pakistan*, 14 September – Attachment 6).

Reports were also found to indicate that subsequent to the November 2003 ban, Allama Sajid Naqvi's *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* or *Islami Tehree-e- Pakistan* had adopted the name *Millat-e-Jaferia*. In his 2005 study of Jehadi organizations in Pakistan, Muhammed Amir Rana categorizes the states that:

Though it has been banned since January 12, 2002 Tehreek-e-Jafferia is still active due to its efficient organizational network. Its name has been changed to Millat-e-Jafferia, but this name is not popular yet (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2004, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p. 405 – Attachment 2).

A report published in *Dawn* on 22 November 2003 referred to Allama Sajid Naqvi as the "leader of Millat-i-Jafria", and a subsequent report published in the same source on 17 March 2004 made a similar reference ('Bush threat to world peace: speakers: Al Quds Day observed in twin cities' 2003, *Dawn*, 22 November <http://www.dawn.com/2003/11/22/nat2.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 7; 'Shias to observe country-wide strike on 20th 2004, *Dawn*, 17 March <http://www.dawn.com/2004/03/17/nat8.htm> – Accessed 4 November 2008 – Attachment 8).

An article published in the *Daily Times* in June 2008 reported that the "Tehreek-e-Jafferia Pakistan (TJP) has also changed its name to the Jafferia Student Organisation" (Khan, Faraz 2008, 'Banned militant outfits regroup in Karachi', *Daily Times*, 29 June http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C06%5C29%5Cstory_29-6-2008_pg7_54 – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 9).

Significantly, a 2005 report published by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada noted that the members of Allama Sajid Naqvi's TJP may have adopted the use of the TNFJ moniker in efforts to circumvent the current ban:

Regarding the TJP, the human rights activist indicated that its leaders continue to be politically active and "may be using the old name of the party, [Tehrik-e Nefaz-e Fiq-e Jafaria] TNFJ, to evade the ban" (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2005, *PAK100475.E – Pakistan: Confirmation of whether the information in PAK42530.E of 1 April 2004 under the heading Tehrik-i-Jafria Pakistan (TJP) is correct and currently valid, including the current status and activities, if any, of the Tehrik-e Nefaz-e Fiq-e Jafarian (TNFJ); if still active, whether the TNFJ has any links with any extremist/Islamist/banned group(s) (April 2004 – September 2004)*, 4 August – Attachment 10).

However, reports were also located which indicated that the faction led by Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi has persisted as a distinct group using the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria Pakistan* name. A report published on the South Asia Terrorism Portal website states that "Allama Hamid Ali Musawi's group continues to function under the old nomenclature of TNFJ" ('Terrorist Group of Pakistan: Tehreek-e-Jaferia Pakistan' (Undated), South Asia Terrorism Portal website <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/TJP.htm> – Accessed 27 October 2008 – Attachment 11).

A paper published in 2004 stated that the TNFJ under Alama Hamid Moosavi was "still in the political arena", but had "lost much ground" to Alama Sajid Naqvi's TJP:

TNFJ arose out of the Federation of Shia Ulema and the support of the Shia Imamia Student Organization. Though still in the political arena under the leadership of Alama Hamid Moosavi, it has lost much ground to the TJP, a breakaway group formed in 1993 by Alama Sajid Naqvi and the major Shia organization in Pakistan today (Irfani, Suroosh 2004, 'Pakistan's Sectarian Violence: Between the "Arabist Shift" and Indo-Persian Culture' in *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia*, eds S Limaye, M. Malik, & R. Wirsing, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies website, pp. 147-171 <http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/ReligiousRadicalism/ReligiousRadicalismandSecurityinSouthAsia.pdf> – Accessed 18 September 2007 – Attachment 12).

A 2005 report published by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada reported the following statement by a Pakistani human rights activist on the different roles taken by Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi's TNFJ and Allama Sajid Naqvi's TJP:

The human rights activist went on to say that the TNFJ:

... is not participating in politics. Its leaders however are often able to participate at seminars, political gatherings etc, including those held by the MMA [Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal], the religious alliance. The TJP -- as a group known now as the TNFJ, the Islami Tehrik-e-Pakistan, etc., somewhat at random, is also still seen as a main political spokesperson for the Shia community, and its opinions on sectarian or religious issues [are] often sought, by the press, at conferences, etc. The group remains well organised and conducts its own meetings (21 Sept. 2004) (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2005, *PAK100475.E – Pakistan: Confirmation of whether the information in PAK42530.E of 1 April 2004 under the heading Tehrik-i-Jafria Pakistan (TJP) is correct and currently valid, including the current status and activities, if any, of the Tehrik-e Nefaz-e Fiq-e Jafarian (TNFJ); if still active, whether the TNFJ has any links with any extremist/Islamist/banned group(s) (April 2004 – September 2004)*, 4 August – Attachment 10).

2. Is the group still in existence? What are the aims of the group? What are its policies? Who are the current leaders of the group?

Information is provided below on the current aims, activities, policies, infrastructure and leadership of the [Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan and its successor organizations](#), led by Allama Sajid Naqvi, and on the [Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria Pakistan](#) led by Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi.

Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan and its successor organisations

Information was located on the basic institutional framework and centres of the *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan*. No comprehensive information was located on the current leadership structure of the TJP; various media reports were found which named office holders of the TJP and its successor organizations. Information was located on the basic policies and objectives of the TJP, but only limited reports were found of the recent activities of the TJP. Information was located regarding the participation of Allama Sajid Naqvi and the TJP in the anti-Musharraf *Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal* (MMA) political coalition since 2002. The other 5 parties to the MMA are Sunni groups, and reports were located of Allama Sajid Naqvi making statements against sectarianism in his capacity as an MMA officeholder. It should be noted that the relationship between the MMA and the Pakistani administration is complex; further information can be provided on this issue if required. Information was also located regarding the recent relationship between the *Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan* and the militant Shi'a group the *Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan* (SSP), which has also been banned.

A review of source information is presented below under the following subheadings: [Institutional Infrastructure and Leadership](#); [Policies](#); [Recent Activities](#); [Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal and Tehreek-e-Jafariya Pakistan](#), and [Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan \(SMP\) and Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan](#).

Institutional Infrastructure and Leadership

In his 2005 study of Jehadi organizations in Pakistan, Muhammed Amir Rana categorizes the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* as a political/sectarian group. He names Allama Sajid Naqvi as the leader of the group, and gives the address of the TJP central office as Jamia Al Muntazir, H Block, Model Town, Lahore (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, pp.403, 405 – RRT Library – Attachment 2).

Reports were located which indicated that TJP leader Allama Sajid Naqvi was arrested and charged over the 6 October 2003 murder of Maulana Azam Tariq, leader of the Sunni-based Millat-i-Islamia Pakistan group, but was acquitted of the murder in November 2004 (Khan, Sher Baz 2003, '7-day remand of Sajid Naqvi given to police' *Dawn*, 18 November <http://www.dawn.com/2003/11/18/nat4.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 15; 'Sajid Naqvi acquitted in Azam case' 2004, *Dawn*, 28 November <http://www.dawn.com/2004/11/28/top5.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 16).

Muhammad Amir Rana also provides the following summary of the institutional structure of the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan*:

Tehreek-e-Jafferia is the only Shia organization in Pakistan that has a network throughout the entire country. It is run by a Supreme Council whose head is the President and the President is elected by members. Allama Sajid Naqvi is the current President.

Tehreek-e Jafferia has seven departments and related organs.

1. Jamiat-e-Tulaba Jafferia (Union of students of religious seminaries)
2. Imamia Doctors
3. Imamia Engineers
4. Imamia Lawyers
5. Imamia Teachers
6. Imamia Farmers
7. Islamic Employees Welfare Organization

Tehreek-e-Jafferia madrassas and centres

The following madrassas are known for being Tehreek-e-Jafferia centres as well as for their sectarian activities:

1. Jamia Al Muntazir – Model Town
2. Madrassa Jamia Imam Hussein – Khanqah Dogran, Sheikhpura
3. Jamia Imamul Sadiq – Alamdar Road, Quetta
4. Qasr-e-Zenab – Bhakkar
5. Jamia Al Saqlain – Multan
6. Jamia Imam Sadiq – Karachi
7. Jamia Mu'ariful Islamia – Peshawer
8. Madrassa Khomeini – Malhowali, Attock
9. Madinatul Ilm – Gulshan-e-Iqbal, Karachi
10. Jamiatul Shia – Kot Addu
11. Jamia Imamia Sajadia – Rahimyar Khan
12. Markaz Tehgeegat Islamia – Sargodha
13. Jamia Al Jafferia – Rahimyar Khan

14. Jamia Able Baet – Islamabad
15. Madrassa Dar Aal-e-Mohammed – Faisalabad
16. Madrassa Aayatul Hukm – Rawalpindi (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.412 – RRT Library – Attachment 2).

A comprehensive survey of the current leadership structure of Allama Sajid Naqvi's *Tehrik-i-Jafariya Pakistan* was not located in the sources consulted. Various reports were located which referred to leaders of the Tehreek-e-Jafferia and its successor organizations, including several figures who have been killed in sectarian violence:

- A report published by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan in 2008 stated that Syed Ali Imam Jafri, “a former president of Tehreek-e-Jafaria”, was shot and killed in Peshawar (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) 2008, ‘Freedom of Thought, Conscience, and Religion’, in *Annual Report: State of Human Rights in 2007*, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan website <http://hrcp-web.org/3-2%20Freedom%20of%20thought,%20conscience%20and%20religion.pdf> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 13).
- An article published in *Dawn* on 15 July 2006 reported that Allama Hasan Turabi, the “Sindh chief of the Tehrik-i-Islami” had been killed by a suicide bomber (Hassan, S. Raza 2006, ‘Bomber kills Hasan Turabi’, *Dawn*, 15 July <http://www.dawn.com/2006/07/15/top2.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 14).
- A US Department of State report published in 2004 stated that Maulana Syed Aijaz Naqvi, the “Senior Vice President of the Punjab Tehrik-e-Jafaria”, had been shot when his house was attacked by a mob (US Department of State 2004, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2004 – Pakistan*, 14 September – Attachment 6).
- An report published in *Dawn* in November 2003 named “Allama Sheikh Muhammad Mohsin Ali Naqvi, Allama Syed Taqi Naqvi, Allama Syed Muhammad Jawad Hadi, Allama Ramzan Tauqeer, Allama Iftikhar Hussain Naqvi, Allama Muhammad Amin Mushahdi, Allama Mohiuddin Kazim, Syed Muhammad Taha and Syed Muhammad Hussain Bokhari” as leaders of the “Islamic Tehrik-i-Pakistan (ITP), formerly known as Tehrik-i-Jafriya Pakistan” (Raza, Syed Irfan 2003, ‘Banned outfit pledges to continue working’, *Dawn*, 20 November <http://www.dawn.com/2003/11/20/top8.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 17).
- An article published by *Dawn* on 7 July 2003 named Maulana Abdul Jalil Naqvi as an Islami Tehreek Pakistan “provincial president”, and Syed Ali Aqdas Naqvi and Syed Shahid Akhtar Zaidi as “other leaders” of the group (‘ITP holds rallies against Quetta killings’ 2003, *Dawn*, 7 July <http://www.dawn.com/2003/07/07/nat5.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 18).

Policies

An article on the TJP, published on the South Asia Terrorism Portal website, provides a useful summary of the policies of the organisation. While undated, this article refers to events up to 2002:

The objectives projected by the TJP are: the creation of a society based on 'pure Islam', the protection of social, political and religious rights of Shiites, the propaganda of Shiite ideas, coordination of all Pakistani Shiite organisations and the fight against imperialism. It also believes in Islamic egalitarianism and social justice. Two TJP members are also members of the Pakistani Parliament. The TJP is reported to have links with the Iranian clergy. The outfit source its finances from the Shiite community in Pakistan, Iran as well as certain commercial groups.

The Tehreek-e-Jaferia Pakistan, led by Allama Syed Sajid Ali Naqvi, is a well-organised outfit, which effectively represents the interests of the Shia community in Pakistan with a significant following in Jhang. In recent years, as a result of increased pressure from the Sunnis, the TJP has preferred to adopt a more reconciliatory and accommodating posture than in the past when it appeared more assertive and threatening vis-à-vis the government and Sunnis ('Terrorist Group of Pakistan: Tehreek-e-Jaferia Pakistan' (Undated), South Asia Terrorism Portal website <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/TJP.htm> – Accessed 27 October 2008 – Attachment 11).

In his 2005 book on jihadi organisations in Pakistan, Muhammad Amir Rana refers to the following list of demands issued by the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* in Punjab in August 2000:

A delegation of Tehreek-e-Jafferia Punjab led by its President Sibtain Qazmi met Governor Punjab Safdar on August 20, 2000 with a set of demands.

1. Shia Ulema should be allowed to address the public on television.
2. Tehreek-e-Jafferia should be represented in the text book board of the department of education and relevant Shia books be made available in libraries.
3. Plots should be allotted for Shia mosques in new housing schemes
4. The ban on azadari (mourning) meetings in certain areas should be lifted and the use of loudspeakers in these meeting be permitted
5. Shia families victims of sectarian violence should be awarded financial aid
6. Lashkare Jhangvi camps in Afghanistan should be closed. Lashkare Jhangvi has close relations with Jaishe Mohammed. Strict notice of this must be taken.

Tehreek-e-Jafferia still maintains these demands and according to an important member, "No matter how many restrictions are placed on us we will not give up our stand". (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.412-13 – Attachment 2).

Recent Activities

Reports were located indicating that the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* has publicly rejected, and attempted to contest, the bans placed upon it and its successor organizations by the Pakistan government. Muhammad Rana wrote in 2005 that:

Tehreek-e-Jafferia has challenged the January 12, 2002 ban in the High Court. In spite of the ban, the organization is working as before. It is part of Majlis-a-Amal and took part in the October elections (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p. 413 – Attachment 2).

A report published in *Dawn* on 19 November 2003 quoted a statement from *Islami-e-Tehrik Pakistan* (ITP) leaders, indicating that they rejected the ban and would not re-name their group:

Leaders of Islamic Tehrik-i-Pakistan (ITP), formerly known as Tehrik-i-Jafriya Pakistan, on Wednesday rejected the ban imposed on their party, pledging that they would continue their party activities in the country.

“We do not accept any ban on the ITP therefore we would not rename our party,” they said at a press conference held at a local hotel here on Wednesday (Raza, Syed Irfan 2003, ‘Banned outfit pledges to continue working’, *Dawn*, 20 November <http://www.dawn.com/2003/11/20/top8.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 17).

A report on Pakistan published on the South Asia Terrorism Portal website in 2008 stated that the *Tehreek-e-Jafariya Pakistan* (TJP), amongst other sectarian organisations, had “lay low” during 2007:

...the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), and the Shia groups – Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan (SMP) and the Tehreek-e-Jaferia Pakistan (TJP), lay low during 2007. They have not, however, altered their organizational structures and objectives and, though their cadres remain underground, they continue to function (‘Pakistan Assessment’ 2008, South Asia Terrorism Portal website <http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/countries/pakistan/> – Accessed 27 October 2008 – Attachment 19).

An article published by *The Nation* in July 2008 reported that the previously sealed Karachi offices of the “Sipah-e-Muhammad and the Tehreek-e-Jaffria” had “resumed functioning” (Khan, Mansoor 2008, ‘Banned outfits resurface in City’, *The Nation*, 31 July <http://nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Regional/Karachi/31-Jul-2008/Banned-outfits-resurface-in-City> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 20).

Limited media reports were located of rallies and demonstrations held by the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* in recent years:

- An article published by *Dawn* in October 2005 reported that a protest held by the Tehrik-i-Jafferia and the ISO in Chiniot had turned violent, with protesters and police exchanging gunfire (‘2 policemen, five activists injured in crossfire: Al Quds Day rallies’ 2005, *Dawn*, 29 October <http://www.dawn.com/2005/10/29/nat22.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 21).
- An article published in *Dawn* in July 2003 reported on a Islami Tehreek-i-Pakistan protest rally in Karachi (‘KARACHI: Arrest of terrorists demanded’ 2003, *Dawn*, 7 July <http://www.dawn.com/2003/07/07/local4.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 22).

Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal and Tehreek-e-Jafariya Pakistan

Reports were found which indicated that since 2002, the *Tehreek-e-Jafariya Pakistan* has been a party to the *Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal* (MMA), a coalition of six groups formed in opposition to the administration of former President Gen. Musharraf. Significantly, the other five parties to the coalition are Sunni based organisations. A paper published by the Carnegie Foundation 2006 provides a useful summary of the founding of the MMA:

The MMA emerged from the Pak-Afghan Defense Council, a coalition of twenty-six Islamic organizations established in December 2000 to protest the decision by the United Nations to withdraw from Taliban-dominated Afghanistan. The council disbanded shortly after the fall of the Taliban in 2001. In January 2002, six of its major parties formed the MMA in order to participate in the general elections in October. The MMA comprises five Sunni

organizations—the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam Maulana Fazlur Rehman faction, the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam Sami ul-Haq faction, the Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, the Jamiat-i-Islami, and the Jamiat-al-Hadith—along with the Shiite group, Tehrik-i-Islami (Grare, Frederic 2006, ‘Islam, Militarism and the 2007 – 2008 Elections in Pakistan’, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace website, July, p.3 http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/CEIP_CP_70_fnl2.pdf – Accessed 24 October 2006 – Attachment 23).

An article published by *Reuters* in November 2003 reported that after the ban was imposed on Allama Sajid Naqvi’s *Islami Tehrik-e-Pakistan* in 2003, other members of the MMA declared their intent to defy the ban:

Pakistan’s main Islamic alliance has vowed to defy a government crackdown on Islamic militants and said an outlawed Shi’ite Muslim group would remain part of its coalition.

... Authorities have raided and sealed 137 offices and seminaries of the banned groups, media reports said.

Sajid Ali Naqvi, a Shi’ite cleric accused of involvement in the last month’s murder of a rival Sunni Muslim militant leader, was arrested.

Naqvi’s party, Islami Tehrik-e-Pakistan, a member of the MMA, has also been banned, a move Ahmed said had been rejected by the alliance’s leaders.

“Mr. Sajid Naqvi... and his party will remain part of MMA,” he said.

... Tehrik-e-Pakistan is a junior partner in the MMA and has no national assembly members, so the alliance’s parliamentary standing is not affected by the government’s move (‘Pakistan Islamists reject ban on militants’ 2003, *Reuters Alertnet*, 18 November <http://www.alertnet.org/thenews/newsdesk/ISL3443.htm> – Accessed 31 October 2008 – Attachment 24).

A 2005 report published by the *International Crisis Group* expressed doubts as to the long-term viability of the participation of Allama Sajid Naqvi’s Shi’a group in the primarily Sunni MMA:

Today its newest incarnation, the Tehrik-e-Islami is a member of the MMA, an alliance with five Sunni politico-religious parties that is likely to be temporary, forged as it is on the grounds of political expediency. A distinct Shia communalism remains the basis of Tehrik-e-Islami’s organisation and activism (International Crisis Group 2005, *The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan, Asia Report No. 95*, 18 April, p. 4 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/095_the_state_of_sectarianism_in_pakistan.pdf – Accessed 17 January 2006. – Attachment 25).

A page on the Pakistan Elections 2007-2008 website gives the following summary of the platform of the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA):

Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) (Urdu: متحدہ مجلس عمل) is an Islamic alliance between religious-political parties in Pakistan. In the Pakistani parliament, the MMA, is a coalition opposition, formed after Pakistan became a part of the “Global War on Terror”. The coalition is united against the current government of President Pervez Musharraf because of his support for the United States’ fight against what they consider to be global terrorism and allegedly putting the demands of the United States above the demands of his own people (‘Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)’ (Undated) Pakistan Elections 2007-2008 website

<http://www.elections.com.pk/partydetails.php?id=21> – Accessed 5 November 2008 – Attachment 26).

A search of the candidate list on the Pakistan Elections 2007-2008 website (<http://www.elections.com.pk/candidatelist.php>) did not reveal any information to indicate that Allama Sajid Naqvi stood as a candidate in the election.

Reports were located of statements made by Allama Sajid Naqvi in his capacity as an MMA office holder downplaying sectarian issues:

- An article published by *Pakistan Press International Information Services* on 12 April 2008 named Allama Sajid Naqvi as the “Acting President of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) and chief of Millat Jafria”, and reported that he “alleged that some elements were trying to raise Sunni Shia issue, which he said had died after formation of the MMA and since then no incident of sectarianism had taken place” (“Qazi still MMA President: Allama Sajid Naqvi’ 2008, *Pakistan Press International Information Services*, 12 April – Attachment 27).
- An article published by the *Daily Times* in August 2008 reported statements made by Allama Sajid Naqvi characterising recent attacks on Shi’a as “terrorist”, rather than sectarian “Sunni-Shi’a clashes”, and demanding government protection for Shi’as (No Shia-Sunni clash: Sajid Naqvi’ 2008, *Daily Times*, 22 August http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C08%5C22%5Cstory_22-8-2008_pg12_3 – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 28).

Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan (SMP) and Tehrik-e-Jafaria Pakistan

Varied information was located regarding the current relationship between the Allama Sajid Naqvi’s *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* and the militant sectarian Shi’a group the *Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan*. An article published in *Modern Asian Studies* in 1998 provides background on the relationship between the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* and the *Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan*:

Since its inception in 1991, the Sipah-i Muhammad has frequently been linked with much anti-Sunni violence in the Punjab, in Karachi, and elsewhere in the country. The organization is mildly critical of the TJP for what it sees as the latter’s failure to protect the Shi’a from Sunni militancy. For its part, the TJP had generally tended to maintain a discreet distance from the Sipah-i Muhammad, though without explicitly condemning its militancy. To Sunni radicals, the difference between the TJP and the Sipah-i Muhammad is only one of strategy, and both are taken to stand for undermining ‘Sunnism’ in Pakistan (Qasim Zaman 1998 “Sectarianism in Pakistan: The Radicalization of Shia and Sunni Identities,” *Modern Asian Studies* 32, no. 3: 689–716, Zentrum Moderner Orient website <http://www.zmo.de/Dietrich/Sectarianism.pdf> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 29).

A report published by the US Department of State in 2002 stated that the Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan (SMP) had been banned by the Pakistan government in August 2001:

In August 2001, the Government banned two groups known for sectarian violence, the Lashkar-e-Jangvi and Sipah-e-Mohammad Pakistan, and ordered their offices closed (US Department of State 2002, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2002 – Pakistan*, 7 October – Attachment 5).

In his 2005 work on jihadi groups in Pakistan, Muhammad Amir Rana reported that the operational capacity of the *Sipah-e-Mohammed* was diminished at the the time of its proscription in 2001, compared to its previous strength in the mid-1990's:

The Sipah Mohammed that was banned on August 14, 2001 was very different from the Sipah Mohammed of 1996 and it had already lost most of its strength. Punjab police considers this a great achievement. Sipah Mohammed members, who served as moles for the police, are still at liberty today and are frequently seen at police stations and offices (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p. 416 – Attachment 2).

A report published by *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism* in 2008 points to the existence of current links between the the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* and the *Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan*:

...The SMP has an estimated 30,000 adherents, many of them associated with another Shia extremist group, the Tehrik-e-Jafria Pakistan (TJP). Both groups have much support among Shia communities in Pakistan.

...**The group is indistinguishable from the TJP, and security forces are frequently unable to determine which of the organisations has perpetrated terrorist incidents** [researcher emphasis]('Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan (SMP)' 2008, *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 23 September – Attachment 4).

The same report provides futher information regarding the current leadership and operations of the *Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan*:

The SMP's leader remains the imprisoned Ghulam Raza Naqvi, whose fearsome reputation for violence prompted the government to offer a large reward for his capture. He was convicted for committing 30 murders and for involvement in other incidents. (It should be noted that Naqvi is sometimes confused with the Ghulam Raza Naqvi who is a member of the Kashmir Council in Pakistan-administered Kashmir). Another senior SMP leader, Munawar Abbas Alvi, is also in prison.

...The SMP is funded largely through criminal activity and runs rackets 'protecting' Shia homes, professional individuals (without much, if any, success), and businesses in return for payment. Although the group is believed to have received some funding from Iran in the past, its criminal activities and lack of emphasis on pure Shia doctrine have reduced support. The Shia community, however reluctantly, continues to regard its members as the only counter to the SSP and provides financial support accordingly.

...The group is led by a commander-in-chief, but operational command is believed to have completely broken down following the imprisonment of Ghulam Raza Naqvi. The group's operatives conduct activities almost independent of any central authority and its organisation amounts to little more than criminal gangs engaging in sectarian violence and general crime ('Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan (SMP)' 2008, *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 23 September – Attachment 4).

In his 2005 work on jihadi groups in Pakistan, Muhammad Amir Rana provides the following list of leading members of the *Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan*:

At the moment Allama Rai Jaffer Raza is President, Malik Hassan Ali Noorka is Senior Vice President, Agha Abbas Qizilbash is General Secretary of Sipah Mohammed while

Syed Hussein Abbas, Jatnil Hussein, Asif Ali, Mohammed Riaz Haider, Ashfaq Ali Nana, Sadiq Ali, Syed Bashir Hussein, Munir Ighal, Bashir Hassan, Tassaduq Hussein, Baslur Hussein and Shabir Hussein are considered important members and belong to Lahore, Khanqah Dogran and Jhang (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.417 – RRT Library – Attachment 2).

An article published on the South Asia Terrorism Portal website provides further background information on the *Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan* ('Sipah-e-Mohammed Pakistan, Terrorist Group of Pakistan' (Undated), South Asia Terrorism Portal website <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/SMP.htm> – Accessed 27 October 2008 – Attachment 30).

Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria Pakistan

Information was located on the basic institutional framework and centres of the *Tehrik Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya*. No comprehensive information was located on the current leadership structure of the TNFJ, but media reports were found which named various office holders. Information was located on the basic policies and objectives of the TNFJ. Numerous media reports were located regarding the recent activities of the TNFJ; the majority of these reports focused on activities in Rawalpindi, where the TNFJ headquarters is located, and these reports are addressed in response to [Question 4](#) below.

A review of source information is presented below under the following subheadings: [Institutional Infrastructure and Leadership](#), [Policies](#), and [Recent Activities and Events](#).

Institutional Infrastructure and Leadership

In his 2005 study of Jehadi organizations in Pakistan, Muhammed Amir Rana categorizes the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah-Jafferia* as a political/sectarian group, established in 1984 (i.e. the year the Moosavi faction split from the faction headed by Arif al-Husseini). He names Allama Hamid Musvi [Moosavi] as the leader of the TNFJ, and locates the organization's central office at Ali Masjid, Satellite Town, Rawalpindi (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005 (2004), *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p. 403– Attachment 2).

A current website for the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* was located at <http://www.tnfj.org.pk/>. This website contains extensive information on the organisation, including a biography of leader Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi, who is referred to on the website with the title *Quaid-i-Millat* (Zaidi, Syed Qamar Haider (Undated), Biography of Quaid-I-Millat Jafariya, Pakistan: Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi', *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria Pakistan* website <http://www.tnfj.org.pk/sec/bio.htm> – Accessed 4 November 2008 – [Attachment 31](#)).

Further information on the leadership structure of the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* was not located in searches conducted of the organisation's website at <http://www.tnfj.org.pk/>. Various articles published in local Pakistani and Shi'a media sources referred to various office holders of the organization:

- An article published in *Dawn* on 25 August 2008 named Zulfiqar Ali Raja as the chairman of the TNFJ political cell ('TNFJ holds Protests against killings' 2008, *Dawn*, 25 August <http://www.dawn.com/2008/08/25/nat25.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 32).

- An article published in December 2006 named Syed Mazhar Ali Shah as “Secretary General of the Tehrik Nifaz-e-Fiqah-e-Jafriya” (‘CITY-TNFJ meeting convened on Dec 12’ 2006, Pakistan Press International Information Services, 11 December (Attachment 33)
- An article published in *Dawn* in February 2005 named Iqbal Javed Haideri as the “Chairman of TNFJ’s Political Cell” (‘Peshawar: Security for Muharram gatherings demanded’ 2005, *Dawn*, 15 February <http://www.dawn.com/2005/02/15/local19.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 34).
- An article published in *Dawn* in May 2005 named Syed Abul Hassan Khomeini as a TNFJ divisional president (‘“Deadline” for arrest of shrine bomber’ 2005, *Dawn*, 31 May <http://www.dawn.com/2005/05/31/nat26.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 35).

Policies

Several statements were located in which leaders or representatives of the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* glossed the group as the leading representative of the Pakistan Shi’a community. No explicit discussion was located in the sources consulted regarding the relationship between the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* and Allama Sajid Naqvi’s *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan*. An article published by *Dawn* on 1 March 2006 quoted the comment by “TNFJ provincial chief” Dr Iqbal Javed Haideri that “the TNFJ was the sole representative of the Shia community” (‘Hangu bloodshed was not sectarian, says TNFJ’ 2006, *Dawn*, 1 March <http://www.dawn.com/2006/03/01/nat26.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 36).

Similarly, a transcript of a 1996 interview published on the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* website quoted the following statement by Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi:

Ours is the representative group of Shia community the name of which is Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya. All other groups emerged afterwards. They all can join Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya after giving up their particular faith. Our doors are open but I would like to make it clear that we will never accept those who follow ill-beliefs and have some particular political designs because they have their own priorities (‘Interview of Quaid TNFJ with Daily Aaj Peshawar’ 1996, *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* website <http://tnfj.org.pk/sec/art.htm> – Accessed 4 November 2008 – Attachment 37).

In the same 1996 interview, Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi was quoted as saying that “ours is a purely religious party. We consider taking part in elections on sectarian basis as an invitation to death” (‘Interview of Quaid TNFJ with Daily Aaj Peshawar’ 1996, *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* website <http://tnfj.org.pk/sec/art.htm> – Accessed 4 November 2008 – Attachment 37).

With regard to the attitude of the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* to the most recent election in Pakistan, held on 18 February 2008, an article published on the JafariyaNews.com website reported statements made by TNFJ representatives, in which they declined to endorse any particular candidate or party for the election, and emphasized that the TNFJ was “purely a religious organisation”, which had “always considered politics as subservient to religion and Shariat” (Alvi, Salman 2008, ‘Shias should use right to vote as Grade-I citizens, TNFJPC declares E-Policy’ JafariyaNews.com website, 15 February

http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k8_news/feb/15tnfj_electionpolicy.htm – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 38).

An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website on 13 January 2006 reproduces a list of demands issued to the government by Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi at a *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* meeting:

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan: The Quaid-i-Millat-i-Jafariya Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi has reiterated his resolve never to let Pakistan, that came into being in the name of Islam, become a sectarian State.

...He demanded from the government to ensure enforcement of Fiqh-e-Jafariya for Maktab-e-Tashayyo under the May 21, 1985 Junejo-Moosavi agreement, introduce separate curriculum of Deenayat for Shia students in educational institutions, set up Shia Faculty in all Islamic Universities of the country and give ideological representation in Islamic Research Institute, appoint a Shia judge in Federal Shariat Court, give effective ideological representation to Shias in High Courts, give equal Shia representation in media, revoke all restrictions on Azadari of Syed-ush-Shuhada, set up a separate Shia Auqaf Board, give ideological Shia representation in Council of Islamic Ideology, revoke Article 30(3) in the Police Act 1861, implement the demand of reconstruction of holy shrines in Jannatul Baqee and Jannatul Mualla so as to overcome the unrest found amongst the Shia community in Pakistan (Alvi, Salman 2006, 'We won't let Pak become a sectarian State, Moosavi at high-level meet', JafariyaNews.com, 13 January

http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k6_news/jan/13tnfjmeet_moosavi.htm – Accessed 29 October – Attachment 39).

Recent Activities and Events

Reports were located of attacks against *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* members in recent years:

- An article published in *Dawn* on 17 August 2008 reported that “Unidentified gunmen fired on Sardar Mumtaz Ali Qazalbash, TNFJ deputy general secretary, near his house in Hayatabad Township, killing him on the spot” (‘TNFJ leader shot dead’ 2008, *Dawn*, 17 August <http://www.dawn.com/2008/08/17/top14.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 40).
- An article published in *Dawn* reported that a Jawad Hussain Jawad, a “local leader of Tehrik Nifaz Fiqa-i-Jafria (TNFJ)” was shot and killed in Dear Ismail Khan in February 2007 (‘TNFJ leader shot dead in D.I. Khan’ 2007, *Dawn*, 15 February <http://www.dawn.com/2007/02/15/top12.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 41).

Reports were also located which contained information on the role assumed by the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* in the organization of Shi’a *azadari*, or public mourning rituals, including those conducted during the month of *muhurram*. An *International Crisis Group* report published in April 2005 provides a succinct background to the mourning ceremonies held by Shi’a during *muhurram*, and its sectarian implications:

Sunni, particularly Deobandi, hostility toward Shias is fuelled by the latter’s religious beliefs and practices. For Shias, Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth caliph, is the central religious figure. They do not recognise the first three caliphs as legitimate successors of the Prophet. Public display of mourning is an essential part of the Shia faith,

particularly during *Muharram*, the first month of the Islamic calendar, when they commemorate the battle of Karbala (680, in Iraq) in which the Omayyads killed the Prophet's grandson, Hussain, and his family (International Crisis Group 2005, *The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan*, Asia Report No. 95, 18 April, p.4

http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/095_the_state_of_sectarianism_in_pakistan.pdf – Accessed 17 January 2006 – Attachment 25).

An article published on 14 January 2008 on the JafariyaNews.com website refers to the existence of a “Central Muharram Committee Azadari Cell of Tehreek Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan”, and reports on the activities of this group in preparation for *muhurram* (Alvi, Salman 2008, ‘TNFJ Control Rooms begin function to ease Hussaini mourners’, JafariyaNews.com, 14 January http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k8_news/jan/14tnfj_AzadariCell.htm – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 42).

An article published by *Dawn* on 5 February 2006 reported that the TNFJ had issued a “14-point charter of demands and code of ethics”, which included demands that the government provide security for the Shi’a community during *muhurram*:

Speaking at a news conference at the press club here on Saturday, provincial convener of Azadari Cell Iqbal Javid Haider said that Quaid Millat-i-Jafaria Pakistan Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Al Mosvi had released 14-points code of ethics for safe and peaceful Azadari processions and Majalis during Muharram, if followed there would be no unrest, disorder or law and order situation in the country.

...He said strict security measures should be adopted at Majalis Aza and mourning procession prior to the rituals and if there was unpleasant situation then the procession should not be stopped or dispersed but it should be helped reach the destination safe and secure (‘TNFJ presents 14-point charter of demands’ 2006, *Dawn*, 5 February <http://www.dawn.com/2006/02/05/nat39.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 43).

3. Is there any information on the student wing? If so can you provide information about the student wing in the period 1998-2000?

Information is provided below on various student groups currently and previously affiliated with the [Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan](#), and on the student wing of the [Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan](#), the Mukhtar Students Organisation (MSO).

It is worth noting a report published in the *Daily Times* on 30 March 2008, which states that student organizations were banned in educational institutions in Pakistan in 1984 by then president General Ziaul Haq, and that this ban was lifted by Prime Minister Yousef Raza Gilani in March 2008. The article also remarks that some student organizations had been active in spite of the ban:

LAHORE: Student unions distributed sweets amongst students on Saturday following the speech by Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani in which he announced lifting the ban on student unions in educational institutions.

...Former Pakistani president Gen Ziaul Haq had banned student unions in educational institutions in 1984.

...The National Students Federation (NSF), Islami Jamiat Talaba (IJT), Muslim Student

Federation (MSF), Anjuman Talaba Islamia (ATI), People's Students Federation (PSF), Imamia Students Organisation (ISO), Mustafvi Students Movement (MSM) and the recently formed Insaaf Students Federation are among political groups active in student politics in Punjab. Although there was a ban on them, elements belonging to these groups were active in various capacities in educational institutions ('Student unions ecstatic at lifting of ban' 2008, *Daily Times*, 30 March

http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C03%5C30%5Cstory_30-3-2008_pg13_7 – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 44).

Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan: Affiliated Student Organisations

No information was located in the sources consulted to establish whether Allama Sajid Naqvi's *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan*, or its more recent incarnations, currently has a dedicated student wing. Muhammad Amir Rana refers to a group known as the Jamiat Tulaba Jafferia (Union of Students of Religious Seminaries) in a list of "departments and related organs" of the Tehreek-e-Jafferia. No further information was located regarding this group (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.412 – Attachment 2). In an article published in 1998, Muhammed Zaman notes that "though not a 'youth wing' of the TJP, the Sipah-i Muhammad is very much a young men's organization" (Qasim Zaman 1998 "Sectarianism in Pakistan: The Radicalization of Shia and Sunni Identities," *Modern Asian Studies* 32, No. 3, p.698, Zentrum Moderner Orient website <http://www.zmo.de/Dietrich/Sectarianism.pdf> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 29).

Information was located on the Imamia Students Organisation (ISO), which Mohammed Amir Rana identifies as a group which pre-dates the TNFJ and TJP, and which has had a fluctuating relationship with the TJP. Rana indicates that the Imamia Students Organisation had a falling out with Allama Sajid Naqvi and the TJP in 1996 (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, pp. 401-402, 405, 410-411 – Attachment 2).

Limited reports were located of subsequent joint action taken by TJP and ISO in 2000. A media article from 2003 which quoted a denial by ISO president Syed Nasir Shirazi of any links with the TJP was also found (for reports of joint action by the TJP and ISO around see 'Imamia Students Organisation (ISO) announces countrywide protest' 2000 *Pakistan Press International*, 13 April – Attachment 46; & 'Al-Quds Day observed' 2000, *Pakistan Press International*, 22 December – Attachment 47; for a 2003 report of a denial of links between the TJP and ISO see Rana, A. & Gillani, W. 2003, 'Iran not funding ISO: Shirazi', *The Daily Times*, 24 November http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_24-11-2003_pg7_20 – Accessed 22 June 2007 – Attachment 48).

Mohammed Amir Rana also identifies the Jafferia Students Organisation (JSO) as a group formed by supporters of Allama Sajid Naqvi after he broke with the ISO in the mid-1990's (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.405 – RRT Library – Attachment 2). Limited reports were located regarding the Jafferia Students Organisation. These reports located date from 2003 to 2008, and it is unclear whether these reports refer to a dedicated student organization of the *Tehreek-e-Jafariya Pakistan*, or to the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* acting under this name in the wake of its proscription (for reports on the Jafferia Students Organisation see Khan, Faraz 2008, 'Banned militant outfits regroup in Karachi', *Daily Times*, 29 June http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C06%5C29%5Cstory_29-6-2008_pg7_54 – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 9; 'Students to observe

Independence Week F.P. Report' 2008, *The Frontier Post*, 19 September <http://www.thefrontierpost.com/News.aspx?ncat=hn&nid=2489&ad=19-09-2008> – Accessed 5 November 2008 – Attachment 61; & 'Countrywide protest announced against arrest of Sajid Naqvi 2003, Pakistan Press International Information Services, 18 November – Attachment 63).

A review of source information on these organisations is presented below under the subheadings [*Imamia Students Organisation*](#), and [*Jafferia Students Organisation*](#).

Imamia Students Organisation

Information was located on the past and current relationship between the TJP and the ISO. Media reports were located which referred to persons holding leadership positions in the ISO. Numerous media reports were located regarding the activities of the ISO in the period 1998-2000, as well as reports on the more recent activities of this group.

Information on the Imamia Students Organisation is presented below under the following subheadings: [*Background and recent relationship with Tehreek-e-Jafariya Pakistan*](#), [*Institutional Infrastructure and Leadership*](#), [*Activities and Events 1998-2000*](#), and [*Recent Activities and Events*](#).

Background and recent relationship with Tehreek-e-Jafariya Pakistan

Muhammed Amir Rana provides an extended discussion of the Imamia Student Organisation and its relationship with the TNFJ and TJP in his 2005 book *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*. Rana indicates that the ISO was founded in June 1972:

The movement in Iran influenced Shia youth in Pakistan and contacts were initiated. There were many Shia organizations active in colleges and universities, and these were brought together on one platform under the banner of the Imamia Students Organization on May 22, 1972. Along with being a students' organization, ISO emerged as an important Shia organization.

Though there were a number of Shia parties on the political scene at this time, they were not particularly effective or influential (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, pp. 401-402 – Attachment 2).

Muhammad Amir Rana notes that the ISO was instrumental in the 1979 founding of the Tehreek-Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafferia, and indicates that it initially exerted control over this group:

When the Tehreek was set up at the All Pakistan Shia Convention in Bhakkar, Allama Mirza Yusaf Hussein Lakhnavi was a rival candidate for the post of Ameer but the enthusiasm and support of young ISO members succeeded in getting Mufti Jaffer Hussein the president's post and ISO became the strongman of Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqah Jafferia. Many Shia scholars objected to this and it later became the cause of a break up in the organization. There is no doubt that ISO ran the Tehreek for quite some time and also prepared the outline for its manifesto (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.405 – Attachment 2).

A Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade report from 1992 stated that the ISO was "considered to be the students wing of Allama Sajid Ali Naqvi's hardline faction of the TNFJ", noting that "although it claims to be a separate party it has a strong association with

the TNFJ” (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 1992, *Cable IS 40021: Refugee Information Request: TNFJ, ASS, Ahmadis, Seraiki*, 24 June – Attachment 45).

Muhammad Amir Rana indicates that the ISO later broke with the *Tehreek-e-Jafariya Pakistan* in or around 1996 because of differences with then leader Allama Sajid Naqvi, and states that:

... In reaction to the aggressive behaviour by ISO, the group in favour of Allama Naqvi created a student organization by the name of Jafferia Students Organization (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p.410-11 – Attachment 2).

Reports were located which indicated that some degree of collaboration existed between the ISO and the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* in 2000. A Pakistani media article published in April 2000 reported on joint action taken by Imamia Student Organisation and the *Tehrik-e-Jafferia Pakistan* in response to the killing of 17 people at Malohwali (‘Imamia Students Organisation (ISO) announces countrywide protest’ 2000 *Pakistan Press International*, 13 April – Attachment 46).

Similarly, an article published in December 2000 reported that on a protest rally in solidarity with the Palestinians “was organized in Rawalpindi by Tehrik Jaafria, Paksitan, Imamia Students Organization and Imamia Organization” (‘Al-Quds Day observed’ 2000, *Pakistan Press International* , 22 December – Attachment 47).

Question 2 of RRT *Research Response PAK31967* of 27 June 2007 refers to various sources which provide information on the Imamia Students Organisation, including the following article which reported a 2003 statement by ISO president Syed Nasir Shirazi denying the existence of any connections between the ISO and Allama Sajid Naqvi’s TJP:

Regarding differences with the Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan (TJP) and its head Allama Sajid Naqvi, the ISO president said they had no link with the TJP. “We have our independent identity. Allama Naqvi didn’t prove himself a Shia leader and Shias suffered due to his political policies,” he said (Rana, A. & Gillani, W. 2003, ‘Iran not funding ISO: Shirazi’, *The Daily Times*, 24 November http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_24-11-2003_pg7_20 – Accessed 22 June 2007 – Attachment 48; RRT Research & Information 2007, *Research Response PAK31967*, 27 June – Attachment 49).

Institutional Infrastructure and Leadership

In his 2005 book *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, Muhammad Amir Rana gives the address of the headquarters of the ISO as 5/A Muslim Town Mor, Lahore, and provides the following summary of the organization:

ISO (Imamia Students Organization) is a nation wide student organization of the Shia sect. Other than being active in educational institutions, it also plays an important role in Shia politics and sectarian issues and is considered the real strength of the sect (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p. 404, 417 – Attachment 2).

Rana also provides the following information on the structure and leadership of the ISO:

Organizational structure and network

Syed Farhan Haider Zaidi is the current President of ISO. The organization is run by a

Majlis-e-Shura and the President is elected every year. ISO is an effective body and has the following departments:

Training:	This department arranges training programmes throughout the year. Its centre is Madrassatul Husnain at Jhamra.
Tableegh:	Delegations are sent for tableegh (preaching) to various Shia localities.
Broadcast and Publication:	The central office of this department is in Muslim Town, Lahore
Management:	Looks after organizational matters all over the country. Central office is also in Muslim Town Lahore.
Education:	Depending on ISO's financial situation, this department helps needy students.
Finance:	The Head Office of the Department is at Lahore.
Muhibben:	A students friendship department works up to Matriculation level

ISO has a network in the entire country. Though the central office is at Lahore, organizationally speaking it's stronger in Rahimyar Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Northern Areas and Karachi. It has support of Asgharia Students Organization in the interior of Sindh. Both have separate managements but their aims and methods are the same. Shia madrassas and mosques serve as ISO centres (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, pp. 419-420 – Attachment 2).

Recent media reports were located which referred to persons holding leadership positions in the ISO:

- An article published by the *Daily Times* in September 2008 named Asif Qambri as the president of the Imamia Students Organization Pakistan (ISOP) ('ISO organizes Al-Quds rally' 2008, *Daily Times*, 27 September http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C09%5C27%5Cstory_27-9-2008_pg12_8 – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 50).
- An article published in the *Daily Times* names Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Shahzad Abbas, Javed Ali and Muhammad Ali Syed as "ISO Rawalpindi division leaders" ('ISO rally slams sectarian clashes in Parachinar' 2007, *Daily Times*, 19 November http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/print.asp?page=2007%5C11%5C19%5Cstory_19-11-2007_pg7_35 – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 51).

A website was located for the Imamia Student Organisation Pakistan at <http://www.isopakistan.net/home.htm>. When visited in early November 2008, this website had limited functionality, with many links broken. The Imamia Student Organisation Pakistan website features links to the websites of regional divisions of the organization, including the website of the ISO Rawalpindi Division at <http://www.imamia.up.to/>. Searches of this website did not locate specific information on the ISO in Rawalpindi. Question 2 of RRT *Research Response PAK31967* of 27 June 2007 refers to various pages sourced from this website which contain general information on the ISO (RRT Research & Information 2007, *Research Response PAK31967*, 27 June – Attachment 49).

Activities and Events 1998-2000

Numerous media reports were located regarding the activities of the ISO in the period 1998-2000. Synopses of these reports are presented below in chronological order:

- An article published in the *Gulf Times* in January 1998 named Sarfraz Hussain as ‘Imamia Students Organisation president’, and reported his statements against terrorism in the wake of the murder of former TJP official Malik Shaheen Haider (‘Police crackdown on religious parties’ 1998, *Gulf News*, 15 January – Attachment 52).
- A *Hindustan Times* article published on 3 October 1999 reported that “Several Imamia Students Organisation (ISO) activists were thrashed and arrested by police here as they planned to march towards Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif’s residence last night to protest against the fresh wave of killings of Shia leaders across the country (‘Protesters held in Pakistan’ 1999, *Hindustan Times*, 3 October – Attachment 53).
- A article published by *Reuters News* in March 2000 reported that about 150 members of the ISO had burnt U.S flags at a rally in Karachi in protest against a visit to Pakistan by US President Clinton (“Pakistan students burn flags to protest Clinton’ 2000, *Reuters News*, 25 March – Attachment 54).
- An Pakistan media article published in April 2000 named Basharat Ali Qureshi as “central President of ISO” and Masood Mehdi as “central Secretary” (‘Imamia Students Organisation (ISO) announces countrywide protest’ 2000 *Pakistan Press International*, 13 April – Attachment 55).
- A media report published on 30 August 2000 provided information on the ISO annual conference, scheduled to be held at Jamia-tul-Muntazir in Lahore (‘ISO 3-day annual convention in City from Oct 7’ 2000, *Pakistan Press International*, 30 August – Attachment 56).
- A media report published in October 2000 noted that the government had taken action against a planned ISO protest rally against Israeli actions against Palestinians, and named Amjid Shehsawar as a “Divisional President of ISO” (‘Action To Stop Rally Against Israel Condemned’ 2000, *Pakistan Press International*, 10 October Attachment 57).

Recent Activities and Events

Media reports were located on the ISO’s recent activities. An article published by *Dawn* on 23 September 2008 referred to the role of the ISO in the organisation of a large scale mourning procession in Karachi (‘KARACHI: Yaum-i-Ali observed’ 2008, *Dawn*, 23 September <http://www.dawn.com/2008/09/23/local9.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 58).

An article published by *Dawn* in September 2003 reported that the ISO had “asked the government to announce a separate syllabus of Islamiyat in the educational institutions for the students of Shia community so that they could study the subject in line with the teachings of their own sect (‘PESHAWAR: Shia students want old syllabus restored: Islamiyat subject’ 2003, *Dawn* , 17 September <http://www.dawn.com/2003/09/17/local37.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 59).

Jafferia Students Organisation

Mohammed Amir Rana indicates that after *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* leader's Allama Sajid Naqvi split with the ISO in the mid 1990s, a student organisation called the Jafferia Students Organization was created. Rana does not provide any further information regarding this group (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, p. 411 – Attachment 2).

A link was located to a website for the Jafferia Student Organisation at <http://www.jsolrk.tk/>. When visited in early November 2008, this website appeared to be an expired domain and contained no information on the Jafferia Student Organisation. A search of the Internet Archive Wayback Machine (<http://www.archive.org/index.php>) did not reveal any cached versions of this website.

No information was located in the sources consulted regarding the Jafferia Students Organisation during the period 1998-2000.

Limited references were located regarding the activities of a group called Jafferia Student Organisation. These references date from 2003 to 2007. It is of interest to note in this context an article published in the *Daily Times* in June 2008, which reported that the “Tehreek-e-Jafferia Pakistan (TJP) has also changed its name to the Jafferia Student Organisation” (Khan, Faraz 2008, ‘Banned militant outfits regroup in Karachi’, *Daily Times*, 29 June http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C06%5C29%5Cstory_29-6-2008_pg7_54 – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 9).

A media article published on 27 September 2007 reported that the “Jafaria Students Organisation” had organised an Al Quds Day protest in Lahore, and that the “Jafferia Students Organisation and Imamia Students Organization had organised a protest in Karachi (‘Muslims in Pakistan mark Al Quds Day with big rallies and protest demonstrations’ 2008, Al Jazeera Cross Cultural Understanding website, 27 September <http://www.ccun.org/News/2008/September/27%20n/Jerusalem%20Day%20Marches%20in%20the%20World,%20Particularly%20in%20Palestine,%20Iran,%20Lebanon,%20Pakistan.htm> – Accessed 5 November 2008 – Attachment 60).

An article published in the *Frontier Post* on 19 September 2008 names office bearers of the Jafferia Students Organisation as follows:

Jafferia Students Organization has chalked out an elaborate program to observe Bait ul Aqdas Independence Week, across the country, from September 19 to 25. Azadar Hussain Naqvi, Central President, Jafferia Students Organization of Pakistan in a meeting here on Thursday announced that series of protest meetings, conferences and rallies will be organized in different parts of the country.

... The meeting was also attended by Central Vice President of Jafferia Students Organization, Hasnain Jaffery, General Secretary, Taqi Haider, Finance Secretary, Sair Abbas, President Karachi division, Hussain Kazmi, General Secretary, Mustapha Haider (‘Students to observe Independence Week F.P. Report’ 2008, *The Frontier Post*, 19 September <http://www.thefrontierpost.com/News.aspx?ncat=hn&nid=2489&ad=19-09-2008> – Accessed 5 November 2008 – Attachment 61).

An article published by *Pakistan Press International Information Services* in December 2006 reported that Allama Sajid Naqvi had addressed a conference organised by the Jafariya

Students Organization ('2006 would be year of election: Sajid Naqvi' 2006, *Pakistan Press International Information Services*, 12 December – Attachment 62).

An article published by the same source reported announcements that the Jafaria Students Organisation (JSO) intended to hold protests against the November 2003 arrest of Allama Sajid Naqvi ('Countrywide protest announced against arrest of Sajid Naqvi 2003, *Pakistan Press International Information Services*, 18 November – Attachment 63).

Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan: Affiliated Student Organisation

Information was located to indicate that Moosavi's TNFJ has a student wing known as the **Mukhtar Student Organisation (MSO)**. Information was located on the structure, leadership, and recent activities of this group. No information was located in the sources consulted regarding the activities of this group in the period 1998-2000.

Information on the Mukhtar Students Organisation is presented below under the following subheadings: [*Institutional Infrastructure and Policies*](#), [*Leadership*](#) and [*Recent Activities and Events*](#).

Institutional Infrastructure and Policies

The website for the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* (<http://www.tnfj.org.pk/>) includes references to a group called the Mukhtar Students Organisation. A document on the *Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* website provides the following summary of the aims of the Mukhtar Students Organisation:

Mukhtar Students Organisation was set up to inculcate the spirit of serving the religion without becoming a tool in anyone's hand, to benefit from the teachings of Muhammad and Aal-e-Muhammad and to promote the same in a real manner. This organisation works purely to achieve religious goals

Point of View

Smoothen the lives of youngsters in Islamic Republic of Pakistan in line with the teachings of Holy Quran, Muhammad and Aal-e-Muhammad (A.S.).
Organise the youngsters against all types of oppression so as to see them succeed in every test of the time.

Aims & Objectives

Introducing the student community with the teachings and seerat of Muhammad and Aal-e-Muhammad (A.S.)
Preaching of true beliefs, protection and promotion of Azadari Syed-us-Shuhada (A.S.)
Active cooperation in struggle for achieving Shia rights
Full participation in Eid Milad-un-Nabi and Azadari processions and Majalis-e-Aza
Respect to Marajah-e-Uzzaam and take guidance from their asset of knowledge
Special consideration to the status of Ulema-e-Karaam, Waizeen and Zakireen
Promotion of religious, educational and spiritual values ('Directory' (Undated), *Tehreek Nafaz-e-Fiq-e-Jafariya Pakistan* website <http://www.tnfj.org.pk/sec/dir.htm> – Accessed 24 October 2008 – Attachment 64).

A website was also located for the Mukhtar Students Organisation Pakistan (<http://www.mso.org.pk/>). Searches of this website did not locate any English language content.

A definitive date for the establishment of the Mukhtar Students Organization was not located. The earliest reference located on the Mukhtar Students Organization was found on a page on the *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* regarding the activities of the TNFJ in 1990:

Mukhtar Students organization (M.S.O) Rawalpindi city arranged “Azmat-e-Ahle Bait (greatness and supremacy of Ahle Bait) conference (TNFJ Year by Year: Year 90’ (Undated), Tehreek Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan website <http://tnfj.org.pk/sec/year.htm> – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 65).

Leadership

Various media reports were located which referred to persons holding leadership positions in the MSO:

- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website in March 2008 names the following MSO members, who led a demonstration in Islamabad:

Chairman MSO Syed Bu Ali Mehdi, Central President MSO Syed Baqar Hussain Naqvi, Allama Syed Fakhar Abbas Abidi, Allama Sadiqi, Mufti Basim Abbas Zahiri, Allama Arif Al-Hussaini, Allama Kazim Abbas Kazeemi and others were leading the demonstration (Abuzar, Ali 2008, ‘MSO stages protest rally against shrines decaying state, constant blasphemy’, JafariyaNews.com website, 16 March http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k8_news/march/16mso_protest.htm – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 66).

- An article published by *Dawn* in August 2008 names “district president MSO Jawwad Hussain Awan” as a leader of a protest held by the TNFJ in Islamabad (‘TNFJ holds Protests against killings’ 2008, *Dawn*, 25 August <http://www.dawn.com/2008/08/25/nat25.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 32).
- An article published in January 2006 named Ali Mehdi as the “central leader MSO”, and Adeel Haidri as the “Central Secretary General of the MSO” and referred to Allama Zahid Abbas Kazmi, Allama Sheikh Ejaz Hussain Madaris, Allama Matloob Taqi, Allama Ajlal Hussain Haidri and Allama Ghulam Abbas as the supervisors of a Mukhtar Students Organization protest against suicide attacks in the Holy Shrine of Hazrat Imam Hussain (AS) in Iraq (‘Protest-Suicide attacks in Holy places condemned’ 2006, Pakistan Press International Information Services, 7 January – Attachment 67)
- An article published by the *Daily Times* in February 2003 refers to Allama Raja Basharat as “MSO Chief” (‘Pledge to support Kashmiris renewed in Islamabad’ 2004, *Daily Times* 6 February http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_6-2-2004_pg7_35 – Accessed 5 November 2008 – Attachment 68).

Recent Activities and Events

No information was located in the sources consulted regarding the activities of the Mukhtar Students Organisation in the period 1998-2000. Information was located on more recent activities of this organisation, including numerous reports of joint action taken by the Mukhtar Students Organisation and the *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan*:

- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website in March 2008 stated that:

A huge demonstration was held in front of Press Club Camp Office Islamabad by Mukhtar Students Organisation District Islamabad to protest the dilapidated condition of holy shrines in Samrah, continued publication of blasphemous images and constant incidents of terrorism in the country as a part of country-wide Hafta Ehad-o-Paiman announced by Quaid-i-Millat-i-Jafariya Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi (Abuzar, Ali 2008, 'MSO stages protest rally against shrines decaying state, constant blasphemy', JafariyaNews.com website, 16 March http://www.jafariyaneews.com/2k8_news/march/16mso_protest.htm – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 66).

- A news report from July 2006 noted that the Mukhtar Students Organisation in Rawalpindi had conducted a protest against Israeli actions in Lebanon ('City: Martyrdom Anniversary of Imam Ali Naqi (A. S.) observed' 2006, *Pakistan Press International Information Services*, 30 July – Attachment 69)
- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website reported on the proceedings of a Mukhtar Students Organisation training workshop held in Rawalpindi ('No power could stop Azadari, Zaidi warns at MSO workshop' 2004, JafariyaNews website, 3 December http://www.jafariyaneews.com/2k4_news/dec/3_msoworkshop.htm – Accessed 5 November 2008 – Attachment 70).
- A Pakistani media article published in 2002 reported on the participation of the Mukhtar Students Organisation in an *azadari*, or mourning procession, led by Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Mousavi in Islamabad ('City – Mourners take out Muharram procession in Islamabad' 2002, *Pakistan Press International*, 23 March – Attachment 71).

4. Is there any recent information on the activities of the TNFJ in Rawalpindi?

Information is presented below under the subheadings [Recent Activities of the Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan in Rawalpindi](#), and [Recent Activities of the Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan in Rawalpindi](#).

Recent Activities of the Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan in Rawalpindi

Limited reports were located regarding the recent activities of the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan* and its successor organizations, including the *Islami Tehrik Pakistan* (ITP) and *Millat-e-Jafariya* in Rawalpindi:

- In his 2005 work on jihadi organisations in Pakistan, Muhammad Amir Rana notes that Allama Sajid Naqvi's TJP, more recently known as the *Millat-e-Jafariya*, has its headquarters in Lahore. Rana notes that the TJP has affiliations with the Madrassa Aayatul Hukm in Rawalpindi, but a list of fifteen "Important Centres of Tehreek-e-Jafferia" does not include any centres in Rawalpindi or Islamabad (Rana, Muhammad Amir 2005, *A to Z of Jehadi Organizations in Pakistan*, trans. Saba Ansari, Mashal Publications, Lahore, pp. 403, 412 – Attachment 2).
- An article published in *Dawn* in August 2005 stated that Pakistani intelligence agencies had identified "an activist of Islami Tehrik Pakistan" who was "in the running for the slot of nazim" in a area of Rawalpindi (Asghar, Mohammad 2005, 'Banned outfits activists ousted from contest: 11 papers rejected', *Dawn*, 3 August

<http://www.dawn.com/2005/08/03/nat5.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 72).

- An article published in *Dawn* in November 2003 reported that a police had raided the offices of religious parties in Rawalpindi, and had sealed nine offices of the *Islami Tehreek-i-Pakistan*, but had not made any arrests (Asghar, Mohammed 2003, ‘Raids continue, 25 offices of banned outfits sealed in Pindi’, *Dawn*, 17 November <http://www.dawn.com/2003/11/17/nat6.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 73).
- An article published in *Dawn* in July 2003 referred to the existence of an “ITP Secretariat in Rawalpindi”, and reported on a rally held in Rawalpindi, led by “ITP provincial president, Maulana Abdul Jalil Naqvi, and other leaders including Syed Ali Aqdas Naqvi and Syed Shahid Akhtar Zaidi” (‘ITP holds rallies against Quetta killings’ 2003, *Dawn*, 7 July <http://www.dawn.com/2003/07/07/nat5.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 74).

Recent Activities of the Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan in Rawalpindi

As noted above in response to [Question 1](#), the *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* under Allama Hamid Moosavi has its headquarters in Satellite Town, Rawalpindi. Numerous reports were located regarding the recent activities of Moosavi’s TNFJ in Rawalpindi, including meetings and protest rallies, and the organization of public Shi’a religious rituals, including the *azadari* processions conducted during the month of *muhurram*. It should be noted that the bulk of this information was sourced from the JafariyaNews.com website (<http://www.jafariyanews.com/index.htm>), which appears to contain extensive and positive information on the *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan*, and only limited references to the *Tehrik-e- Jafariya Pakistan* of Allama Sajid Naqvi.

Concomitant with the location of the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* headquarters in Rawalpindi, reports were located regarding meetings held by the organisation at this location:

- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website on 1 March 2007 reported on a meeting of the “Central Cabinet” of *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* in Rawalpindi, outlining the resolutions passed by the Cabinet on various issues (Alvi, Salman 2007, ‘CCM of TNFJ rejects US pressure on Pak’, JafariyaNews.com website, 1 March http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k7_news/mar/1tnfjmeet_resolutions.htm – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 75).
- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website on 13 January 2006 reported on the sitting in Rawalpindi of a “high-level meeting of Tehreek Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan in which delegates from all the four provinces including Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas and foreign countries participated. (Alvi, Salman 2006, ‘We won’t let Pak become a sectarian State, Moosavi at high-level meet’, JafariyaNews.com, 13 January http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k6_news/jan/13tnfjmeet_moosavi.htm – Accessed 29 October- Attachment 39).

Media reports were also located of protests held in Rawalpindi in recent years under the leadership of Allama Hamid Moosavi and the *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-Fiqh- Jafariya Pakistan*:

- A page on the current *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* website provides details and photographs of a series of connected rallies, held on 8 October 2008 in Rawalpindi and other locations “on the call of Quaid-i-Millat-i-Jafariya Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi to lodge protest against destruction of holy shrines of Jannatul Baqee and Jannatul Moalla” (‘Universal Baqee Demolition Day’ observed; huge rallies, mourning gatherings held; UN, OIC must get Baqee, Moalla dignity restored’ 2008, *Tehreek Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* website, 8 October <http://www.tnfj.org/sec/rnd238.htm#8october08> – Accessed 4 November 2008 – Attachment 76).
- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website on 3 February 2008 reported that “‘Youm-e-Ehtajaj’ [Day of Protest] was observed on Saturday on the call of Quaid-i-Millat-i-Jafariya Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi throughout the country against Austrian woman politician Susanne Winter’s blasphemy in respect of Prophet (SAWW) and Samarra Tragedy”, noting that “peaceful demonstrations were held in all the small and big cities and towns including twin cities of federal capital Islamabad and Rawalpindi, and voice of protest was raised during majalis and matmi (mourning) processions” (Alvi, Salman 2008, “‘Protest Day’ marked against Prophet blasphemy, Samarra Tragedy on TNFJ call’, JafariyaNews.com website, 3 February http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k8_news/feb/3tnfj_samarra_protest_day.htm – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 77).
- An article published by *Dawn* on 15 January 2005 reported on a violent protest in Rawalpindi on 14 January noting that “thirty-two activists of Tehrik Nifaz Fiqah Jaffriya Pakistan were arrested on Friday when they clashed with the Islamabad police during a demonstration held to condemn the killing of a Shia leader. Eight policemen were also injured (Asghar, Mohammad 2005, ‘RAWALPINDI: 32 arrested, granted bail in clash with police’, *Dawn*, 15 January <http://www.dawn.com/2005/01/15/local31.htm> – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 78).

Reports were also located which refer to the role of the *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan*, and its leader Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi, in *azadari* or mourning processions in Rawalpindi.

- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website refers to the role of Allama Hamid Moosavi in the *Youm-e-Ashoor* processions held in Rawalpindi in January 2008. This article also includes numerous photographs of the processions:

RAWALPINDI, Pakistan: The Youm-e-Ashoor in memory of Nawasa-e-Rasool Hazrat Imam Hussain (A.S.) and his 72 companions was observed with traditional religious spirit, devotion and respect throughout the country Sunday.

The day began with Aamal-e-Ashoor in mosques. Quaid-i-Millat-i-Jafariya Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi led the Aamal at Ali Masjid Satellite Town.

In Rawalpindi, main Youm-e-Ashoor procession was taken out from Imambargah Col. Maqbool Hussain and Imambargah Hifazat Ali Shah Bohar Bazar.

... The Quaid-i-Millat-i-Jafariya Agha Moosavi participated in the procession, offered Ziarat of the taburrakaat and performed Matamdari. A large number of mourners engaged themselves in heavy Zanjeer-Zani and Matam-e-Qamah at Bohar Bazar Chowk, Trunk Bazar, and Habib Bank Chowk. Ibrahim Scouts treated the Matmis at medical camps set up by them to provide first aid to mourners (Alvi, Salman 2008, 'Qama-, zanjir-zani, majalis, processions mark Asoura in Pak', JafariyaNews.com website, 21 January http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k8_news/jan/21pak_ashura.htm – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 79).

- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website provides information on the *chehlum* (or *arba'een*) mourning procession held in Rawalpindi in March 2007:

In Rawalpindi, main Chehlum procession was taken out from Imambargah Col. Maqbool Hussain and Imambargah Hifazat Ali Shah Bohar Bazar. Zuljinah procession taken out from Imambargah Ashiq Hussain Teli Mohallah merged into the main procession. Mourners of Imam Hussain (A.S.) performed Zanjeer-Zani and presented 'Pursa' of the Imam Aali Muqam (A.S.) to the Holy Prophet (SAW) on this occasion.

The Quaid-i-Millat-i-Jafariya Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi participated in the procession, offered Ziarat of the taburrakaat and performed Matamdari. He also offered Dua at the Sabeel-e-Hussaini Camp organized by Mukhtar Generation. A large number of mourners engaged themselves in heavy Zanjeer-Zani and Matam-e-Qama at Bohar Bazar Chowk, Trunk Bazar, and Habib Bank Chowk (Alvi, Salman 2007, 'Pak Arbaeen-e-Hussaini gatherings call for public holiday on 20th Safar', JafariyaNews.com, 12 March http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k7_news/mar/12pakistan_arbaeen.htm – Accessed 29 October 2008 – Attachment 80).

5. What is the attitude of the current government towards members of the TNFJ?

Information is presented below under the subheadings [*Tehrik-e-Jafferia Pakistan*](#), and [*Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan*](#).

Tehrik-e-Jafferia Pakistan

The majority of the relevant information found on the attitude of the Pakistan government to the *Tehrik-e-Jafferia Pakistan* was located in the general context of discussions of the implementation of the bans imposed since 2001 against sectarian organizations, including the 2002 ban on the *Tehrik-e-Jafferia Pakistan* and the 2003 ban on its successor organization the *Islami Tehrik-e-Pakistan*.

A 2002 report published by the US Department of State indicated that the Jaish-e-Mohammed, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, and Tehrik-e-Jafria were banned on 12 January 2002, and while raids and arrests were conducted in the wake of the ban, many detainees were released without charge:

The Government has taken steps to curb religious extremism and militancy, with mixed results. In August 2001, the Government banned two groups known for sectarian violence, the Lashkar-e-Jangvi and Sipah-e-Mohammad Pakistan, and ordered their offices closed. During the following week, the Government arrested several hundred activists belonging to two larger sectarian organizations, the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan and the Tehrik-e-Jafria Pakistan.

On August 20, the Sindh provincial government announced a ban on fundraising activities by certain militant religious groups. On August 22, the police raided more than 50 offices, mosques, and madrassahs in Karachi in connection with the ban. More than 250 persons were detained temporarily in the raids. On January 12, 2002, the Government banned another four groups suspected of inciting religious violence and jihad: Jaish-e-Mohammed, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, and Tehrik-e-Jafria. Hundreds of local and national offices were closed, and almost 2,000 members of these groups were arrested in the weeks following the January announcement. Most detainees were low-level organization members who were released after 90 days without being charged. Rumors persist that higher level party leaders enjoyed the protection and patronage of government agencies, and avoided arrest by going underground. In late June 2002, the authorities in Lahore arrested at least 30 members of 2 of the banned groups. By the end of the period covered by this report, the Government had accelerated its crackdown against members of several extremist groups (US Department of State 2002, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2002 – Pakistan*, 7 October – Attachment 5).

A 2004 report published by the US Department of State indicated that the Pakistan government issued a further ban in November 2003 in response to changes of nomenclature by previous proscribed groups. One of the groups banned was the *Islami Tehreek Pakistan*, which had been formerly operating as the *Tehrik-e-Jafariya Pakistan*. The report notes that the offices of the organisations were closed, but that most of the persons detained in the wake of this ban were released:

The Government took some steps to improve the situation of religious minorities during the period covered by this report. In November 2003, the Government banned, under the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997, three extremist groups that were reconstituted versions of organizations previously banned in 2002. Each of the newly banned groups promoted sectarian violence and intolerance. The groups banned were Millat-e-Islami (the former Sipah Sahaba), a Sunni extremist group whose leader had been ambushed and killed in Islamabad in October 2003; Islami Tehreek Pakistan (the former Tehreek-e-Jafariya), a Shi'a extremist group whose leader was arrested for involvement in the killing of the leader of Millat-e-Islami; and Khuddamul Islam (the former Jaish-e-Muhammad), a Sunni extremist group that also promoted jihad in Kashmir and Afghanistan. The bans on these groups were accompanied by the detention of their top leaders, the closing of their offices across the country, and the freezing of their assets held in all Pakistani banks, both domestic and foreign based. Nearly all of those detained following the initial bans were later released. However, members of the groups were placed on "Schedule Four" of the Anti-Terrorism Act, which, among other limitations, allows the government to restrict their movements in the country and to monitor their activities (US Department of State 2004, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2004 – Pakistan*, 14 September – Attachment 6).

The US Department of State report on religious freedom in Pakistan in 2005 noted during the year, the government had "banned religious extremist organizations from holding any public gatherings in the wake of renewed sectarian violence in October 2004", but did not comment on the extent to which these bans were enforced:

Several troubling trends continued despite this overall improved environment. Sectarian extremist and terrorist groups continued attacks on houses of worship and religious gatherings. The Government banned religious extremist organizations from holding any public gatherings in the wake of renewed sectarian violence in October 2004. Deobandi extremist groups included Lashkar-e-Janghvi, a designated foreign terrorist organization, and Sipah-i-Sahaba, a group banned under Pakistani law (US Department of State 2005, *International Religious Freedom Report for 2005 – Pakistan*, 8 November – Attachment 81).

Numerous reports were located which were critical of the implementation of the bans against sectarian organisations in Pakistan. A report published by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada in 2005 quoted the following statement by “a human rights activist based in Lahore, Pakistan”:

The human rights activist pointed out that despite the government’s ban on certain groups, “leaders of some of the groups have remained active politically” because the ban is “somewhat ambiguously enforced”(Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2005, PAK100475.E – *Pakistan: Confirmation of whether the information in PAK42530.E of 1 April 2004 under the heading Tehrik-i-Jafria Pakistan (TJP) is correct and currently valid, including the current status and activities, if any, of the Tehrik-e Nefaz-e Fiq-e Jafarian (TNFJ); if still active, whether the TNFJ has any links with any extremist/Islamist/banned group(s) (April 2004 – September 2004)*, 4 August – Attachment 10).

An article published in the *South Asia Tribune* in June 2005 reported that the banned organisations had continued to operate under changed names:

Despite the Government ban, however, almost all these sectarian groups continue to operate freely under changed names without much difficulty. Contrary to Musharraf’s much-trumpeted claims of having dismantled the sectarian mafia in Pakistan, the hard fact remains that his administration has hardly taken any concrete measures to implement the ban in letter and spirit, except in arresting and later releasing some of the cadres of these groups. Enforcement agencies arrest some of these cadres every time there is an escalation in sectarian conflict, but they are released shortly after the wave of violence subsides.

The organizational infrastructures of the banned sectarian groups has essentially remained intact, with most of the groups retaining the same office bearers who refused to go underground even after the January 2002 ban. Most of the banned groups continue to operate out of their old office premises, though some have shifted to new premises. They are still bringing out their periodical publications, in most cases under the old names, besides raising funds and holding congregations without any check or fear (Mir, Amir 2005, ‘Musharraf Fails to Control Sectarian Monster Haunting the Country’, *South Asia Tribune*, 7 June http://www.satribune.com/archives/200506/P1_mir.htm – Accessed 21 November 2005 – Attachment 82).

An *International Crisis Group* report on sectarianism in Pakistan, published in 2005, provides the following detailed commentary on issues inhibiting the implementation of bans on sectarian and terrorist groups in Pakistan:

Officials insist that most leaders of sectarian groups, banned after they were designated as terrorist organisations, have been either captured or killed and their workers are on the run. These claims are at best partially true. The offices of banned organisations have been sealed but most have reopened or relocated. In fact, the repossession of these offices has sparked factional fighting among sectarian groups. The infrastructure of banned terrorist groups and thus their capacity to mount terrorist attacks also remains intact, as was evident in the surge in sectarian attacks during 2004.

Judges have become the target of terrorist threats and are, therefore, hesitant to hear cases involving religious militants. In anti-terrorism courts, judges presiding over cases of sectarian militancy are often forced to hold trials in jails. The police, too, have proved ineffective, and their inaction is not for lack of information. In the Punjab, for instance, the police maintain updated lists of Shia and Sunni sectarian activists, most of whom have criminal records. Yet law enforcement agencies mainly keep watch on these terrorists, pursuing cases usually only after a high profile terrorist attack forces them to act.

This passivity can be partly attributed to fear of sectarian retaliation. Terrorists have killed many police officers investigating sectarian killings in Punjab and Karachi. In 2002 police inspector Mohammad Jamil of Jhang's elite police force was killed after arresting several LJ activists. In July 2004, a Rawalpindi police inspector was assassinated on his way to court to give evidence in the hearing on an anti-Shia sectarian attack.

The rising graph of sectarian violence is also linked to police inability to pre-empt and investigate sectarian crimes. The Sialkot suicide bombing at a Shia mosque in October 2004 illustrates the limitations. A day after the attack, officers asked mosque leaders to hire private security firms for protection. "There is not enough force to protect all potential targets", a senior official said. It is doubtful if police security would have helped. The police guard at the mosque's gate had failed to search the Sialkot suicide bomber. Police bodyguards have failed to prevent other ambushes and attacks, and have, at times, themselves become victims of sectarian terror, as in the January 2005 murder of a sectarian Sunni leader, Haroon Qasmi.

Weak prosecution cases filed by the police often fail to hold in court. This inability of the police to curb sectarian terror effectively underscores the need for urgent measures to enhance the force's organisational, technical and human capacities. As a starting point, the police should be free of political interference and organised and trained along modern professional lines. An officer says, "What we need are more resources, better training and modernisation".

The penetration of the law enforcement agencies by terrorist organisations is particularly troubling. The terrorist responsible for the attack on the Shia Hyderi Masjid in Karachi in May 2004 that killed eighteen turned out to be a police constable who was a member of the banned Sipah Sahaba. At least two policemen are said to have been among the terrorists responsible for the attack on a Shia procession in Quetta in March 2004, which killed 45. An al Qaeda suspect was detected among the bodyguards of the Punjab chief minister and removed from duty. He, too, was a member of the Sipah Sahaba. Investigation into these cases has resulted in a verification process of low-ranking police personnel by intelligence agencies but this is as yet restricted to Punjab.

The use by the police against high profile terrorism suspects of "encounter" killings or rival groups to eliminate suspects is also counterproductive. Decapitating an organisation does not result in its elimination. It only encourages the formation of splinter groups and promotes factional violence.

...Police crackdowns on sectarian terrorists are also ineffective because often action cannot be taken against suspects with links to the mainstream religious parties. On many occasions, law-enforcement agencies have been unable to act against MMA activists, even when terror suspects have been detained at the homes and offices of JUI and JI members. p. 23-24 (International Crisis Group 2005, The State of Sectarianism in Pakistan, *Asia Report* No. 95, 18 April

http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/095_the_state_of_sectarianism_in_pakistan.pdf – Accessed 17 January 2006 – Attachment 25).

With specific regard to the recent attitude of the Pakistani government to the TJP, an article published by the *Daily Times* on 18 January 2008 stated that Allama Sajid Ali Naqvi, had been placed on a "hit list of terrorists" by authorities:

Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) Vice President and Tehreek-e-Islami leader Allama Sajid Ali Naqvi, along with Pakistan Muslim League-Quaid (PML-Q) ex-MNA and candidate for NA-89, Jhang, Sheikh Waqas Akram are on the hit list of terrorists, sources in intelligence agencies said. According to details, Punjab Home Secretary Khusro Bakhtyar said

intelligence agencies had informed the provincial government that terrorists of an outlawed organisation had prepared a plan for targeting the two leaders and their names were included in the hit list. The two leaders have increased their security arrangements ('Sheikh Waqas, Sajid Naqvi on terrorist hit list' 2008, *Daily Times*, 18 January http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C01%5C18%5Cstory_18-1-2008_pg7_13 – Accessed 30 October 2008 – Attachment 83).

A recent report published in the *Daily Times* referred to information from “reliable sources” indicating that the ban on sectarian organisations had been informally lifted:

Banned militant outfits are resurfacing in Karachi and reopening their offices, *Daily Times* learnt on Saturday.

Some of them have taken on new names. Rival sectarian outfits, Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and Sipah-e-Mohammad Pakistan (SMP), have reopened their sealed offices and have temporarily changed their names to Ahl-e-Sunnat-Wal Jamat and Shia Ulma Council, respectively. The Tehreek-e-Jafferia Pakistan (TJP) has also changed its name to the Jafferia Student Organisation.

According to reliable sources, the government has, informally, lifted the ban on the organisations and assured them there will be no interference in their activities (Khan, Faraz 2008, 'Banned militant outfits regroup in Karachi', *Daily Times*, 29 June http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C06%5C29%5Cstory_29-6-2008_pg7_54 – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 9).

Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan

While Allama Sajid Naqvi's TJP and its successor organizations have been subject to government bans, no information was located to establish that such a ban has been applied to Moosavi's *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan*, and no explicit discussion of recent government attitudes to this organisation were located in the sources consulted. Recent reports were located of the *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* requesting and receiving protection from government authorities, and of TNFJ officials making statements in support of the ban on terrorist and sectarian groups:

- An article published on the JafariyaNews.com website in December 2007 indicated that police took steps to provide security for a funeral of a prominent Shi'a leader, which was attended by Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi and other *Tehrik Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafariya Pakistan* leaders (Funeral for TNFJ leader: police protection (Alvi, Salman 2007, 'Supreme Commander MFP expired; Salutation, appreciation say goodbye', JafariyaNews.com website, 3 December http://www.jafariyanews.com/2k7_news/dec/3mfp_leader_funeral.htm – Accessed 24 October 2008 – Attachment 84).
- An article published by *Dawn* in March 2005 reported that TNFJ leader Agha Syed Hamid Ali Shah Moosavi had expressed appreciation for measures taken by the authorities to ensure security for the Shi'a community during *muhurram* ('TNFJ chief for improving law, order situation' 2005, *Dawn*, 21 March <http://www.dawn.com/2005/03/21/nat25.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 85).

Several articles were located in which TNFJ representatives called for the Pakistan government to enforce the ban on terrorist organisations:

- An article published by *Dawn* reports that at a protest in Islamabad on 25 August 2008, TNFJ representative Dr S. Zaman “demanded that the government take notice of banned groups’ working with new names and their inclusion in political alliances” (‘TNFJ holds Protests against killings’ 2008, *Dawn* , 25 August <http://www.dawn.com/2008/08/25/nat25.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 32).
- An article published in *Dawn* on 15 February 2005 reported that Iqbal Javed Haideri, Chairman of TNFJ’s Political Cell stated at a press conference in Peshawar that “elements fanning hatred in the name of sects and creeds in the Muslim fraternity must be dealt with sternly. The Anti-Terrorism Act should be enforced in letter and in spirit” (‘PESHAWAR: Security for Muharram gatherings demanded’ 2005, *Dawn*, 15 February <http://www.dawn.com/2005/02/15/local19.htm> – Accessed 28 October 2008 – Attachment 34).

6. Anything else of relevance

A 2002 paper by Olivier Roy provides a useful background on the formations and activities of the SSP, or *Sipah-e-Sahaba* (Soldiers of the Companions of the Prophet):

The Sipah-i Sahaba Pakistan (SSP – Army of the Prophet’s Companions). Established in 1985 in the city of Jhang, the party is dedicated to fighting Shi’ism, which they consider as being outside Islam. Given the fact that in 1985 the main threat for Muslim conservative states like Saudi Arabia was Iran, Saudi support seemed to have helped. The assassination in 1990 of its founder, Mawlana Haq Jhangvi, led to a string of murders and random attacks against Shi’as, including many Iranian officials living in Pakistan, like Sadiq Ganji, the Iranian General Consul in Lahore (December 1990).

...The party’s territorial basis is the district of Jhang, and the centre and south of the Punjab. The SSP also sent armed volunteers to fight alongside the Taliban in Afghanistan from 1998. It seems to have given hospitality to Yousef Ramzi, convicted of the first bombing of the World Trade Center, just after the attack. In both cases, it is clear that the SSP took a more internationalist approach than at the time of its creation (Roy, Olivier 2002, ‘Islamic Radicalism In Afghanistan And Pakistan: Writenet Paper No. 06/2001’, UNHCR Refworld website, January <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/3c6a3f7d2.pdf> – Accessed 24 October 2008 – Attachment 1).

A 2008 paper on the SSP published by *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism* reported that the organisation had been banned in 2002, it was active and had since changed its name to “Millat-e-Islamia Pakistan (MIP) in April 2003, and Ahle Sunnat wa Aljamaat Pakistan (ASWJP) in June 2008”:

Status: Active, probably in association with the LeJ. Banned by the government of Pakistan in 12 January 2002; renamed Millat-e-Islamia Pakistan (MIP) in April 2003, and Ahle Sunnat wa Aljamaat Pakistan (ASWJP) in June 2008. None of the organisation’s names is listed on the US Department of State’s list of designated Foreign Terrorist Organisations, although the LeJ (which is barely distinguishable from the SSP) is listed.

...The SSP is no longer a significant organised force in Pakistan. Action by security forces has all but defeated it as an entity, however, individuals and small groups continue to operate, and these present a major threat to Shias and Christians. Its association with the LeJ (Lashkar-e-

Jhangvi) is of concern to the government of Pakistan. SSP/LeJ adherents, however disorganised, continue to commit acts of extreme sectarian violence ('Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP)' 2008, *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 23 September – Attachment 86).

A document published on the South Asia Terrorism Portal stated that the SSP had recommenced activities in Pakistan in 2008, and was conducting a legal challenge to the government ban:

June 24: The banned SSP has once again rolled up its sleeves and started getting active across Pakistan, and especially in Karachi, but with a new name Ahle Sunnat wa Aljamaat Pakistan (ASWJP) which roughly translates into The Sunni Party. It has started by requesting Sunni people to voluntarily shut down their businesses and offices on Youm-e-Shahdat (the day of martyrdom) of Hazrat Abu Bakar Siddique (RA) on the 22nd of Jumadi-Uthani, June 27. The central information secretary of the SSP and ASWJP, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Nadeem said that they had started work in the name of the ASWJP because of the ban on the SSP. "The case against the ban is in court," he added. The SSP was banned in 2002 by the government and most of its leaders were arrested. The leaders were released in 2003-04 and started limited work under ASWJP. It organized a rally in April 2008 in Karachi after surfacing after six years (Incidents involving Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan' (Undated), South Asia Terrorism Portal http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/SSP_tl.htm – Accessed 27 October 2008 – Attachment 87).

A 2005 report published by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada on sectarian violence in Pakistan includes useful background information on the Sipah-e-Sahaba (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2005 *PAK100060.E – Pakistan: The Sipah-e-Sahaba (SSP), including its activities and status (January 2003 – July 2005)*, 26 July – Attachment 88).

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Informaworld website <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/home~db=all>

Ingenta Connect website <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/>

SearchMash Search Engine <http://www.searchmash.com/>

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International News and Politics

Frontline website <http://www.frontlineonnet.com/>

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New York Times website <http://www.nytimes.com/>

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Columbia International Affairs Online <http://www.ciaonet.org/>
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South Asia Terrorism Portal <http://www.satp.org/>
South Asia Analysis Group <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/>
The Jamestown Foundation <http://www.jamestown.org/>
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/>
Far Eastern Economic Review <http://www.feer.com/home>
Centre for Strategic and International Studies <http://www.csis.org/>
Wilson Centre website <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm>
Center for Defense Information <http://www.cdi.org/>

Region Specific Links

Dawn website <http://www.dawn.com/>
Daily Times website <http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/>
The Nation website <http://www.nation.com.pk/>
PakTribune website <http://www.paktribune.com/index.shtml>
Pakistan Times <http://www.pakistantimes.net>
The News website <http://www.thenews.com.pk/>
JafariyaNews.com website <http://www.jafariyanews.com/index.htm>
Pak Institute for Peace website <http://san-pips.com/index.html>
Tehreek Nifaz-e-Fiqh Jafariya Pakistan website <http://www.tnfj.org.pk/>
Mukhtar Students Organisation website <http://www.mso.org.pk/>

Government

Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada website http://www.cisr-irb.gc.ca/en/index_e.htm
UK Home Office Country of Origin Information Service website
http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/country_reports.html
Pakistan Government web portal <http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/index.jsp>

United Nations sites

UNHCR Refworld website <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain>

Non-Government Organisations

Amnesty International website <http://www.amnesty.org/>
Human Rights Watch <http://www.hrw.org/>
Freedom House <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=1>
Asian Human Rights Commission <http://www.ahrchk.net/index.php>
Asian Centre for Human Rights <http://www.achrweb.org/>
Human Rights Commission of Pakistan website <http://www.hrcp-web.org/>

Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)
BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)
REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)
ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

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