

## Refugee Review Tribunal

### AUSTRALIA

#### RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

**Research Response Number:** PAK30123  
**Country:** Pakistan  
**Date:** 10 May 2006

Keywords: Pakistan – Tahreek Khatm Manchiate – TKeM – Anti-Drug NGOs

This response was prepared by the Country Research Section of the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the RRT within time constraints. This response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum.

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#### Questions

**1. A 2002 DFAT report (CISNET Pakistan CX62754) provides information on an anti-drug organisation, Tahreek Khatm Manchiate (TKeM). At this time DFAT reported that TKeM was formed in the mid 1980s but that it was no longer operational. Is there further information available on an anti-drug organisation called *Tahreek Khatm Manchiate* or TKeM?**

#### RESPONSE

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No direct information on *Tahreek Khatm Manchiate* (TKeM) could be located in the sources consulted. Some information was sourced on anti-drug non-government organisations (NGOs) and campaigners in Pakistan as well as on the constraints that may prevent the Pakistani press from reporting on such movements and their targeting by the narcotics networks. Information was also located on the groups referred to within the March 2002 advice supplied by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

#### **Anti-Drug NGOs and Campaigners in Pakistan**

In an attempt to locate further information on TKeM, requests for information on this group were sent to both the Pakistan desk of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and to an expert on the history of narcotics in the Afghan-Pakistan region, Professor Alfred W. McCoy, of the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Professor McCoy replied that he “lack[ed] the information to assist”. UNODC failed to reply to the enquiry (McCoy, A.W. 2006, Email to RRT: ‘RRT Country Information Request PAK30123 – Pakistan – Tahreek Khatm

Manchiate (TKeM) – Anti-Drug Movement’, 22 April – Attachment 1; for the Email enquiries forwarded to Professor McCoy and UNODC, see, respectively: RRT Country Research 2006, Email to Alfred W. McCoy: ‘RRT Country Information Request PAK30123 – Pakistan – Tahreek Khatm Manchiate (TKeM) – Anti-Drug Movement’, 21 April – Attachment 2; RRT Country Research 2006, Email to UNODC: ‘RRT Country Information Request PAK30123 – Pakistan – Tahreek Khatm Manchiate (TKeM) – Anti-Drug Movement’, 24 April – Attachment 3).

No direct reports could be located within the sources consulted on an anti-drug organisation called *Tahreek Khatm Manchiate* (TKeM), or on any variation of this title’s transliteration. The UNODC website provides a list of such organisations, titled ‘Directory of Non Governmental Organizations working in drug demand reduction’, but none of the Pakistani organisations listed on this document bears a name similar to the title of *Tahreek Khatm Manchiate* (TKeM). The Pakistani anti-drug NGOs listed by this document are set out below, several have their headquarters in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) capital of Peshawar.

<i>Aghaz-E-Nau/</i> Therapeutic Community	...	(Lahore)
All Pakistan Youth Federation	...	(Lahore)
Balochistan Mental Health Association	...	(Quetta)
Dost Welfare Foundation	...	(Peshawar)
Horizon	...	(Peshawar)
Islamabad Christians Against Narcotics (ICAN)		(Islamabad)
Islamic Relief Agency – Pakistan	...	(Peshawar)
Movement Against Drug Abuse (MADA)	...	(Lahore)
Mylo Shaheed Trust	...	(Quetta)
Nai Zindagi	...	(Islamabad)
NEJAT Drug Rehabilitation Programme	...	(Peshawar)
<i>Nia Janam</i> Drug Treatment Center	...	(Islamabad)
Organization for Social Development	...	(Rawalpindi)
Pakistan Rural Workers’ Social Welfare Organization (PRWSWO)		(Punjab)
Pakistan Society	...	(Karachi)
Project for Environmental Protection, Anti-Narcotics and Community Education (PEACE)	...	(Lahore)
Society against Drug Abuse (SADA)	...	(Hyderabad)
<i>Tehrik Islah-i-Moashra</i> (Social Reforms Movement)		(Lahore)
Youth Council for Anti-Narcotics (YOCFAN)	...	(Lahore)

(source: ‘Directory of Non Governmental Organizations working in drug demand reduction’ (undated), UN Office on Drugs and Crime website, pp.289-298  
[http://www.unodc.org/pdf/ngo\\_directory.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/pdf/ngo_directory.pdf) – Accessed 21 April 2006 – Attachment 4).

Of course the UNODC list cannot be taken as a comprehensive listing of *every* anti-drug NGO which is presently active in Pakistan. The “Anti-Narcotics Organization”, for instance,

and *Idara-i-Shaoor*, are not listed by UNODC, even though the activities of these anti-drug NGOs have received coverage from Pakistan's *Dawn* news service on 26 June 2004 and 30 March 2006 respectively (Sadaqat, M. 2004, 'Haripur: Anti-drug walk', *Dawn* website, 27 June <http://www.dawn.com/2004/06/27/local24.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 5; 'Imran hurls more criticism on govt' 2006, *Dawn* website, 29 March <http://www.dawn.com/2006/03/30/nat12.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 6).

Anti-drug organisations, of the non-government variety, would appear to receive very little press or publicity in Pakistan. To give an example, the activities of the group known as Movement Against Drug Abuse (MADA) (MADA appears to be among the most significant of such organisations) were reported on by *The Daily Times* on 27 June 2002 but seem to have received no further press until 28 January 2005, when the group's work received coverage from the *Dawn* agency. *Dawn* published another such report mentioning MADA six months later on 26 June 2005 and again on 29 March 2006. Within these few articles little information is provided about MADA or its opinions ('World Anti-Narcotics Day – Drug problem needs action now: minister' 2002, *Daily Times*, 27 June [http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story\\_27-6-2002\\_pg7\\_1](http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_27-6-2002_pg7_1) – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 7; 'OKARA: 2,000 policemen put on high alert - Musharraf due today' 2005, *Dawn* website, 28 January <http://www.dawn.com/2005/01/29/local40.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 8; 'Drug barons "enjoy" patronage' 2005, *Dawn* website, 26 June <http://www.dawn.com/2005/06/27/nat30.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 9; 'Imran hurls more criticism on govt' 2006, *Dawn* website, 29 March <http://www.dawn.com/2006/03/30/nat12.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 6).

It may also be the case that little coverage is given to the mistreatment of anti-drugs campaigners. For instance, a well published Pakistani journalist, Aziz Sanghur (a Baloch), recently authored a report on the assassination of a Baloch politician, Anwar Baijaan, who was, according to Sanghur, killed by the "drug mafia" because of his work as an anti-drugs campaigner. Aziz Sanghur is regularly published in *The Daily Times* and *The Nation* but neither of these major publications would appear to have published this story. Instead, Sanghur's story appeared on the The Baloch Unity website (other advocacy sites have reproduced the story from this originating source). No other reference to this event could be located in Pakistan's English-language press (Sanghur, A. 2005, 'Chief of Baloch Ittehad Tehreek, Anwar Baijaan was killed by drug mafia', Baloch Unity website, 8 January <http://balochunity.org/index.php?news+&did=1289> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 10).

In December 2000, the editor of Pakistan's *Friday Times*, Najam Sethi, testified to the UN Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (UNODCCP; the precursor of UNODC) that Pakistani reporters were being prevented from reporting on narcotics related incidents by threats of violence directed against them and their families by the "drug mafia". According to Sethi, "The drug mafia has wiped out entire families, including women and children, of those who have squeaked information to the police or press or deserted its ranks". Extracts from Sethi's testimony follow below:

Pakistan specialises in providing fertile ground for certain unique types of criminal activity. I would like to take this opportunity to highlight these and explain the attitude and response of the media to them.

First, we have powerful drug mafias because our neighbor Afghanistan produces nearly 75% of the world's raw heroin. Much of this crop is transformed into heroin powder in our lawless

north western province bordering Afghanistan and a large chunk is exported (smuggled) from Pakistan to the Middle-East, Europe and America. But the Pakistani press does not report this crime because it is too dangerous to write about it. The drug mafia has wiped out entire families, including women and children, of those who have squeaked information to the police or press or deserted its ranks. My paper once ran a very simple story (the journalist who wrote it refused to allow the publication of his by-line) alleging that a rickshaw driver routinely sold Hashish (not heroin) to female students outside an elite college. The next day an anonymous caller threatened to kidnap my children and wife and kill me if I carried any more stories. He knew the name of the school my children went to, their mode of transport, their names, their timings, everything. Journalists can and have been killed for breaking this silence, especially since the police and local politicians are invariably co-partners in this activity (Sethi, N. 2000, 'Contribution by Najam Sethi to the Seminar for the Media on the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime', UN Office on Drugs and Crime website, 13 December <http://www.unodc.org/palermo/sethi.doc> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 11; the program, for December 2000 Seminar for the Media on the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, see: 'Seminar for the Media on the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime' 2000, UN Office on Drugs and Crime website, 13 December <http://www.unodc.org/palermo/pdf/sympfinal.pdf> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 12).

More recently, on 27 June 2005, *Dawn* reported that Pakistan's "Minister of State for Railways Ishaq Khan Khakwani" had expressed views similar to Sethi's; observing that the ability of government officials to speak out against the narcotics networks is constrained by the power of those networks. "All the government functionaries are aware of the activities of the drug barons, but hardly dare to interfere," the minister said at a seminar held in connection with the International Day Against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking" ('Drug barons "enjoy" patronage' 2005, *Dawn* website, 26 June <http://www.dawn.com/2005/06/27/nat30.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 9).

### **Further Information on Groups Addressed in DFAT's Advice**

As is noted by the Member, advice received from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), in March 2002, reports that "Khatm-E-Manchiate was formed in the mid 1980's"; that "its impact on preventing drug use in the NWFP was limited"; and that "[t]he group, although technically still in existence, is no longer operational". The advice also reports that the group "had a close relationship with the National Awami Party" (the Awami National Party or ANP) and the "the Afghan intelligence agency, KHAD" (*Khedamat-e Etelea'at-e Dawlati*; or State Information Agency). Background information on the ANP and KHAD follows below. DIMA Country Information Service 2002, *Country Information Report No 52/02 – Khatm-e-Manchiate*, (sourced from DFAT advice of 6 March 2002), 11 March – Attachment 13).

Some press reports indicate that the NWFP's Awami National Party (or ANP) have historically been supporters of poppy cultivation. Reporting from the NWFP during Pakistan's November 1988 elections, *The Globe and Mail's* Bryan Johnson found that: "[a]mong the ANP's policies is the absolute freedom for local farmers to grow all the heroin poppies they like"; describing the ANP's then leader, Khan Abdul Wali Khan, as "a landlord fast achieving the status of warlord" "whose leftist Awami National Party controls a virtual army in the poppy-growing region of the northwest" (Johnson B. 1988, 'In Pakistan ANP's Followers Love Guns, Poppies', *Globe and Mail*, 22 November – Attachment 14; Johnson B.

1988, 'Former prime minister toppled Bhutto takes strong lead in Pakistani majority bid', *Globe and Mail*, 17 November – Attachment 15).

More recently, in December 2005, *Dawn* reported that the chief of the Salarzai tribe, Salahuddin Khan, "who belongs to the Awami National Party, had been arrested...on charges of harbouring terrorists, having links with Al Qaeda, instigating tribesmen to grow poppy and kidnapping Bajaur Scouts personnel". Salahuddin denied the charges and claimed that he was being victimised by political forces opposed to his demands for "reforms in the system being practised in the tribal areas" (the charges were certainly remarkable insofar as Islamist groups, of the Al Qaeda and Taliban variety, have been the historical enemies of the ANP). It was subsequently reported, that ('Tribal chief freed to attend funeral' 2005, *Dawn* website, 8 December <http://www.dawn.com/2005/12/09/nat46.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 16; Khan, A. 2005, 'Salarzai tribesmen agree not to grow poppy', *Dawn* website, 20 December <http://www.dawn.com/2005/12/21/nat11.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 17).

The International Crisis Group (ICG) provides the following background on the ANP:

The Awami National Party (ANP) is the latest incarnation of the National Awami Party (NAP). Reflecting Pashtun demands and grievances, its agenda focuses on maximum provincial autonomy – political, social and economic – limiting the federal government's jurisdiction to foreign policy, currency, communications and defence. Its key goals include renaming NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa (Land of the Pakhtuns) and opposition to the construction of the Kalabagh Dam. The ANP's traditional power base was eroded in the 2002 elections as NWFP-based religious parties capitalised on Pashtun resentment of U.S.-led military operations in Afghanistan's Pashtun-majority areas. Given the MMA [*Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal*] government's failure to deliver on its promises, however, the ANP could regain lost ground by revitalising its party apparatus. It could also capitalise on growing Pashtun alienation over the MMA's alliance with General Musharraf, whose government is conducting military operations in the province's tribal belt (International Crisis Group 2005, *Authoritarianism and Political Party Reform in Pakistan*, Asia Report N°102, 28 September, p.13 – Attachment 18).

The ANP is currently led by Asfandiyar Wali Khan (following the recent death of Khan Abdul Wali Khan, the father of Asfandiyar Wali Khan, in January of this year). Asfandiyar Wali Khan has continued the policy of opposing the Islamist *Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal* (MMA) coalition in the NWFP with calls for an alliance amongst the more moderate and secular parties ('Wali Khan passes away' 2006, *The Nation*, 27 January <http://www.nation.com.pk/daily/jan-2006/27/index3.php> – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 19; 'Asfandiyar for Unity Among Moderate Forces to Counter MMA' 2006, *The Baluchistan Times*, 29 April – Attachment 20).

A December 2001 report on the Pashtun, written by Isabel Hilton for *The New Yorker*, provides extensive historical background on the ANP and its formation around the NWFP's Khan dynasty and the cause of Pashtun nationalism.

Badsha Khan was a Pashtun leader in the twenties who promoted Pashtun nationalism. He doesn't feature in many history books. I learned of him from photographs I saw in offices and homes around Peshawar. He founded a political movement, the Khudai Khidmatgars, to fight for independence from the British. The movement's popular name – the Red Shirts – came from the members' uniforms, which were dyed with red brick dust. Like Mahatma Gandhi, Badsha Khan believed that nonviolence was the most effective weapon against colonial rule,

and although he was a devout Muslim, he mistrusted the political influence of the maulanas, or Islamic scholars. The reforms he promoted – education, sanitation, road building – were secular.

Despite the Pashtun propensity for violence, Badsha Khan's message took hold. Thousands of followers joined his nonviolent movement, campaigning to get rid of the British and win autonomy for Pashtunistan within the Indian state. But, when the British left, an independent Pashtunistan was not on offer. In 1947, a referendum proposed a choice only between India and Pakistan. Badsha Khan called for a boycott, and just seven per cent of the population of the North-West Frontier Province voted. Nevertheless, the Pakistan option was deemed to have been approved. The Red Shirts were branded traitors, the movement was banned, and their long fight against the colonizers was all but eradicated from the public record.

One evening, I went to uncover the traces of the Red Shirts' movement. In a mansion two hours' drive from Peshawar, I sat on a deep veranda, as servants offered tea and cakes, and chatted with Begum Nasim Wali Khan, Badsha Khan's daughter-in-law.

Badsha Khan and his son, Abdul Wali Khan, she told me, had paid a price for their resistance: they had spent many years in prison. But this did little to persuade them to abandon their Pashtun identity. As Wali Khan once put it, "I have been a Pashtun for six thousand years, a Muslim for thirteen hundred years, and a Pakistani for twenty-five." When Badsha Khan died, in 1988, hostilities between the Soviets and the mujahideen in southern Afghanistan ceased for a day so that his funeral cortège could travel safely to Jalalabad. In the mid-eighties, Wali Khan had founded a political party, the Awami National Party, which campaigned for a secular democracy. Now he was an old man, too sick on the evening I called to meet with visitors. He was not too sick, though, to have enraged local religious leaders and their Pashtun warrior faithful by declaring his support for the United States' war against the Taliban.

The people of the tribal belt, his wife told me, were sympathetic to their fellow-Afghans – their Pashtun brothers. But that did not necessarily mean that they supported the Taliban. There was, not surprisingly, a division within the Pashtun. There were those who, stirred by a small group of religious parties that were promoting hard-line Islamism, wished to fight alongside the Taliban and had denounced her husband as a traitor. And there were those who, like Wali Kahn, argued for the separation of politics and religion. It had been the same in the eighties, she said, when the Awami National Party had criticized the holy war against the Russians. The Party followers had seen it as a war between superpowers – between the Soviets and the Americans – and not as an Islamic cause. "We were called kafirs," she said. "Nonbelievers. Indian agents, Russian agents." She shrugged. "But this is the way we think."

...Asfundiyar Khan, the grandson of the Pashtun leader Badsha Khan, whom I met in Islamabad ten days after the United States began bombing, described to me what the time of the anti-Soviet jihad was like. Asfundiyar, who is fifty, is the president of the Awami National Party. He was first arrested at a political meeting when he was thirteen, and has been in and out of prison ever since.

"The Afghans have never accepted foreign domination," Asfundiyar told me. "But their resistance had always been in the cause of nationalism. Zia changed that. Backed by the United States and its millions of dollars and its Stinger missiles, Zia based a war against Soviet intervention on religion." ...The Awami National Party, he pointed out, is secular, liberal, and democratic. "You can't imagine what we went through, trying to keep it going, as the United States was funding the jihad (Hilton, I. 2001, 'The Pashtun Code', *The New Yorker*, 3 December [http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/articles/011203fa\\_FACT1](http://www.newyorker.com/fact/content/articles/011203fa_FACT1) – Accessed 28 April 2006 – Attachment 21).

A footnote to an essay on Afghan-Pakistan security issues, authored by Pakistani Brigadier Feroz Hassan Khan, provides background on the perception, held by Pakistan's security



forces, that there exists a link between the politics of the ANP and the interests of the KHAD network.

The issue of the “Pashtunistan” resurfaced in the context of the war in Afghanistan 2001. Pakistan’s sensitivity goes to its origin and the nexus between Afghan and Indian intelligence agencies that had developed roots within the nationalist political party National Awami Party (NAP) whose founder Abdul Ghaffar Khan was famously known as the Frontier Gandhi. Pakistan always believed India was undermining her security with the covert networking of KHAD, the Afghan intelligence agency that in turn had worked with the Soviet KGB who wanted to punish Pakistan for its alliance with the United States. Together they helped create disorder amongst dissenting tribes in the volatile Western provinces of Pakistan that neighbored Afghanistan. In addition India fanned dissidents in Sindh Province and exploited the thousands miles distance in East Pakistan, effectively undermining Pakistan’s quest for national unity (Khan, F.H. 2003, ‘Rough neighbours: Afghanistan and Pakistan’, Columbia International Affairs Online website, n.6 10 January [http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/si/si\\_2\\_1/si\\_2\\_1\\_khf01.pdf](http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/si/si_2_1/si_2_1_khf01.pdf) – Accessed 10 May 2006 – Attachment 22).

## **List of Sources Consulted**

### **Internet Sources:**

#### **United Nations (UN)**

UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) <http://www.unodc.org/pakistan/index.html>

#### **International News & Politics**

*The Daily Times* website <http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp>

*Dawn* website <http://www.dawn.com>

*The Friday Times* website <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/>

*The Nation* website <http://www.nation.com.pk>

#### **Region Specific Links**

Awami National Party (ANP) website <http://anp.org.pk/index.htm>

Guide to NGOs in Pakistan website <http://www.net-ngo.com/>

#### **Search Engines**

AltaVista Search engine <http://au.altavista.com/>

All The Web search engine <http://www.alltheweb.com/>

Google search engine <http://www.google.com.au/>

StaggerNation website’s Google API Proximity search engine

<http://www.staggernation.com/cgi-bin/gaps.cgi>

#### **Online Subscription Services**

Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO) website <http://www.ciaonet.org>

*Jane’s Intelligence Review* website <http://jir.janes.com/public/jir/index.shtml>

Security Consulting Intelligence Agency (STRATFOR) website

<http://www.stratfor.biz/index.php>

#### **University Sites**

University Of Chicago website (A dictionary of the Puk’hto, Pus’hto)

<http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/raverty/>

University of Wisconsin-Madison website <http://www.wisc.edu/>

#### **Databases:**

Public	<i>FACTIVA</i>	Reuters Business Briefing
DIMA	<i>BACIS</i>	Country Information
	<i>REFINFO</i>	IRBDC Research Responses (Canada)
RRT	<i>ISYS</i>	RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch,

### List of Attachments

1. McCoy, A.W. 2006, Email to RRT: 'RRT Country Information Request PAK30123 – Pakistan – Tahreek Khatm Manchiate (TKeM) – Anti-Drug Movement', 22 April.
2. RRT Country Research 2006, Email to Alfred W. McCoy: 'RRT Country Information Request PAK30123 – Pakistan – Tahreek Khatm Manchiate (TKeM) – Anti-Drug Movement', 21 April.
3. RRT Country Research 2006, Email to UNODC: 'RRT Country Information Request PAK30123 – Pakistan – Tahreek Khatm Manchiate (TKeM) – Anti-Drug Movement', 24 April.
4. 'Directory of Non Governmental Organizations working in drug demand reduction' (undated), UN Office on Drugs and Crime website.  
([http://www.unodc.org/pdf/ngo\\_directory.pdf](http://www.unodc.org/pdf/ngo_directory.pdf) – Accessed 21 April 2006)
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(<http://www.dawn.com/2004/06/27/local24.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006)
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(<http://balochunity.org/index.php?news+&did=1289> – Accessed 10 May 2006)
11. Sethi, N. 2000, 'Contribution by Najam Sethi to the Seminar for the Media on the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime', UN Office on Drugs and Crime website, 13 December. (<http://www.unodc.org/palermo/sethi.doc> – Accessed 10 May 2006)
12. 'Seminar for the Media on the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime' 2000, UN Office on Drugs and Crime website, 13 December.  
(<http://www.unodc.org/palermo/pdf/sympfinal.pdf> – Accessed 10 May 2006)



13. DIMA Country Information Service 2002, *Country Information Report No 52/02 – Khatm-e-Manchiate*, (sourced from DFAT advice of 6 March 2002), 11 March. (CISNET Pakistan CX62754)
14. Johnson B. 1988, 'In Pakistan ANP's Followers Love Guns, Poppies', *Globe and Mail*, 22 November. (FACTIVA)
15. Johnson B. 1988, 'Former prime minister toppled Bhutto takes strong lead in Pakistani majority bid', *Globe and Mail*, 17 November. (FACTIVA)
16. 'Tribal chief freed to attend funeral' 2005, *Dawn* website, 8 December. (<http://www.dawn.com/2005/12/09/nat46.htm> – Accessed 10 May 2006)
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18. International Crisis Group 2005, *Authoritarianism and Political Party Reform in Pakistan*, Asia Report N°102, 28 September.
19. 'Wali Khan passes away' 2006, *The Nation*, 27 January. (<http://www.nation.com.pk/daily/jan-2006/27/index3.php> – Accessed 10 May 2006)
20. 'Asfandyar for Unity Among Moderate Forces to Counter MMA' 2006, *The Baluchistan Times*, 29 April. (FACTIVA)
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22. Khan, F.H. 2003, 'Rough neighbours: Afghanistan and Pakistan', Columbia International Affairs Online website, 10 January. ([http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/si/si\\_2\\_1/si\\_2\\_1\\_khf01.pdf](http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/si/si_2_1/si_2_1_khf01.pdf) – Accessed 10 May 2006)