THE ANATOMY OF CRIME TERROR NEXUS IN PAKISTAN

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Abstract

A phenomenon of “Criminal-Terrorism” is replacing “Religious Terrorism” in Pakistan. A plethora of criminal gangs and mafias have been found to be collaborating with the banned militant bandits in the country. It seems that they are cohabiting in a symbiotic relationship. The terrorists are financed by the crime and in return; due to instability created by the terrorists, the crime thrives very rapidly. Terrorism has become a profit making industry whose raw material comes from Crime: organized as well as disorganized. The industry is booming because the raw material is bulging. Abduction for ransom, bank robberies, illicit car lifting, small arms smuggling and proliferation, drug trafficking, money laundering, and Hawala System are rampant and terrorism thriving on this fertile soil. The counter insurgency strategies have not brought forth expected results so far, because the focus has been misplaced: much on terrorism and less on crime. It is asserted, therefore, that the war on terror cannot be won without the war on crime and a two pronged anti Crime-Terror strategy is needed. It is argued that if the arteries of crime are not cut, the blood will flow to the terrorist muscles. And a change of approach from religion to crime is needed to fight Terrorism.
Introduction

A remarkable convergence of interest between the Criminal and Terrorist groups has taken place in the post 9/11 era. Before this incident, the states used to covertly fund the Terrorist groups. But after the Global War on Terror, that economic assistance stopped because of the US pressure on those states. Resultantly, the Terrorist groups have fallen on the alternate sources of income. Crime has the potential to feed them. So, an unholy nexus has developed between the Crime and Terror whose dynamics have yet to be studied adequately.

In Pakistan, Terrorism has become a profit making industry whose raw material comes from Crime: organized as well as disorganized. The industry is booming because the raw material is bulging. Abduction for ransom, bank robberies, illicit car lifting, small arms smuggling and proliferation, drug trafficking, money laundering and Hawala System are rampant and terrorism thriving on this fertile soil.

The Crime-Terror Nexus has two operational methods: one, structural; two, functional. Structurally, the Terrorists physically interact with the Criminal gangs and mafias. They trade of their organizational expertise and small weapons with the black money of Criminals. Functionally, the Terrorists behave like chameleons: they act as criminals daytime, and as terrorist at night. This phenomenon of “Criminal-Terrorism” has adopted new dynamics in Pakistan, different from “Religious-Terrorism”.

ISSRA Papers 2012
Therefore, it is asserted that the war on terror cannot be won without the war on crime. So a sustainable, two pronged anti Crime-Terror strategy is needed. It is argued that if the arteries of crime are not cut, the blood will flow to the terrorist muscles. A change of approach from religion to crime is needed to fight Terrorism. Moreover, a lethal transnational nexus between Crime and Terror warrants an equally forceful transnational cooperation among the states.

This study conceptualizes the Crime-Terror Nexus in Rosenau’s “Post international Paradigm”, Makerenko’s “Continuum Theory” and Dishman’s concept of “Leaderless Nexus”. It concludes that the symbiotic relationship of Crime and Terror is impeding the state to protect the life and property of its citizens. In the end, a two pronged strategy is recommended to fight Crime and Terrorism Simultaneously.

**Conceptual Framework**

In the post Cold War era, the criminal gangs and the terrorist groups have born as evil twins. They have formed a multifaceted relation best described as the “Nexus”. This Crime-Terror nexus has been rarely studied. But, as both the terrorist and the organized groups are posing a serious challenge to the security and sovereignty of the state, numerous discussions are going on that hyphenate Crime with Terror in their premises. Anyhow, the Scholars are engaged in the rudimentary and preliminary discussion of the subject yet, that means the scope and the nature of this emerging Nexus is yet to be defined. The structural linkages and the functional
dynamics of this Nexus could be best framed in Rosenau’s Post internationalism paradigm, in the murky rather turbulent global affairs.¹

It is the age of post internationalism. The relative relevance of Nation-States is diminishing rapidly. Non State actors, both groups and individuals, have emerged as a significant variable in every security equation. Their peculiar character is that they behave like independent variable. Therefore, non-state actors like Criminal gangs and Terrorist groups need to be studied in a post national approach, rather than classic state centric approach of the realists. It will provide an analytical framework commensurate with the new dynamics of post cold war era.

Post international paradigm defines the relationship with its premise, “individuals fulfilling multiple goals”. Individual level of analysis has been given more importance than the state level analysis of the realist paradigm. In contemporary world, individuals have different roles and they construct different organizations simultaneously. The nature of the organization is defined by the individual roles of the constituent units and not the vice versa. If the analysis of Crime and Terror groups is taken as organizations, not just the agents of change, their dynamics can best be understood. Instead of discussing organizational capabilities and power basis, the relational concept vis-à-vis Crime and Terror groups provides better insight into the relations. In this regard the relational concept is “Control”. Control of an actor is defined
as, “to modify, preserve, or otherwise affect the orientations or actions of another”.²

Two kinds of continua are formed when post international paradigm defines control. One, deals with the methods of control; second deals with the reaction to that control. Methods of control originate from the controllers and make a continuum from least violent to the most violent. Whereas, the reaction comes from the controlled; ranging from acceptance to rejection of the control. The focus on the repetition of these relational concepts is very significant to the study of Crime-Terror Nexus. Picarelli is of the view that “authority” comes from the controllers, whereas “legitimacy” comes from the controlled.³ Legitimacy is vital to this relational fabric because it gives the clear indications that it is the controlled that make this relationship very dynamic by accepting or rejecting the authority. The projected goals and behavior of the Criminal and Terrorist groups can better be gauged by these relational factors of control, authority and legitimacy. Figuratively, the idea follows as:

![Diagram showing continua of control, authority, and legitimacy](image)

**Figure 1**
In this post-international paradigm, the non-state actors like criminal and terrorist groups reject the authority of the state and have many reasons to be in league with each other against the state. Before we move toward the main theme of rationale, methods and scope of any non-state nexus pitted against the state, we discuss the nature of these actors in brief first.

Picarelli categorizes the Criminal and Terrorist groups into Sovereign bound and sovereign free groups, by using the above mentioned post internationalist relational concepts. The Sovereign bound Criminal and Terrorist groups share commonality in controlling a region of the state, while supplanting the sovereignty of the state with the legitimacy of that locality. The second remarkable commonality is that both possess an organizational hierarchy in their structures. Perhaps they want to establish a parallel government with that of the state. Their third character is that their members eschew an ideology which is embedded locally. So, they tend to look inward habitually rather than transcending state borders. Shelley has pointed out their habitual behavior in changing circumstances because of their attachment to the local area and the illicit profits attached to it.

The factor of ideology may bring schism to the Crime-Terror Nexus too. The argument, “Methods not Motives” brings clarity that the traditional Criminal and Terrorist groups may have similar methods but differ in their motives. As, the traditional Crime groups are strongly tied with host
states whose very sovereignty, the Terrorist groups challenge. So, the Sovereign bound Crime group and the Sovereign bound Terrorist group are difficult to live cheek by jowl. Their relation is precarious, and the Nexus will be unviable. On the contrary, the Sovereign free Criminal group and the Sovereign bound Terrorist group pose a challenge to the “Methods not Motives” argument. As according to Shelley, the undermining of sovereignty by the Terrorist group will not blur the relationship with the Sovereign free Criminal group.\(^6\)

The religious Terrorist groups, not necessarily sectarian; do not regard the sovereignty of the state sacred. They belong to the Sovereign free category. As in the words of Hoffman, “For the religious terrorist, violence is first and foremost a sacramental act or divine duty executed in direct response to some theological demand or imperative. Terrorism thus assumes a transcendental dimension, and its perpetrators are consequently unconstrained by the political, moral or practical constraints that may affect other terrorists.”\(^7\) Moreover, the Sovereign free Criminal Groups and the Terrorist groups have benefited a lot from the revolution in the technology. They can better adapt to the changes while working through their networks. They have decentralized their decision making power to the networks and have become ruthlessly resilient. Stern has discussed this adaptability in the case of Al Qaeda as, “Over its life span, al Qaeda has constantly evolved and shown a surprising willingness to adapt its mission. This capacity for change has consistently made the group more
appealing to recruits, attracted surprising new allies, and—most worrisome from a Western perspective—made it harder to detect and destroy.” The other similarity between the two is their global world view. Both of them transcend the national boundaries. The sovereign bound and sovereign free groups are typified in the tabulation form as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sovereign Bound</th>
<th>Sovereign Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sovereignty</td>
<td>Bound</td>
<td>Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>Adaptive</td>
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<td>Organization</td>
<td>Hierarchy</td>
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<tr>
<td>World View</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Global</td>
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<tr>
<td>Examples</td>
<td>TTP,</td>
<td>Al Qaeda, TNSM,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lashkar e Jhangvi,</td>
<td>Lashkar-e-Taiba,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sipah e Sahaba,</td>
<td>Jundullah</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sipah e Muhammad</td>
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</table>

**Table 1**

It is important to note that the sovereign free terrorist groups have relative ease to collaborate with criminal groups. It is because due to the global crack down on the hierarchy of these groups, new dynamics in the organization of these illicit groups have emerged. It has led to the diminishing of hierarchy, and flattening of the organization into self sustaining networks. The emergence of networks in both the terrorist and the criminal groups has led to greater independence of lower but relatively large stratum of the organization. Now, they do not have to answer a chain of
command. Earlier, such cooperation was difficult to achieve as the leaders forbade because that could go against the mandate of the group. The result is that a phenomenon of “leaderless nexus” has emerged.\(^9\)

![Leaderless Nexus](image)

**Figure 2**

The figure shows that the decentralization has blurred the crime terror boundaries. The self sustaining cells have emerged, and act like nodes connected with each other. These nodes collaborate in methods, and exchange expertise. This convergence leads to hybrid organization best termed as “Leaderless Nexus”.

Makerenko sees the Crime-Terror Nexus in the form of a continuum.\(^10\) The crime and terror groups tend to converge towards each other. But, it is important to note that it is the marriage of convenience, not of affection. Before September
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11, 2001, the states covertly used to fund different terrorist groups throughout the Globe. But due to the War on Terror, the economic aid flowing through state exchequers has decreased significantly. So, the terrorist groups started to engage in criminal activities for the generation of their revenues. A kind of complicated relationship has developed between the terrorist and criminal groups. The relation is both structural and functional. The criminals and the terrorist collaborate, provide technical assistance, expertise, weapons, and money to each other; and sometimes are directly involved in each other’s activities.

![Figure 3](image_url)

**Figure 3**

The figure above can better illustrate their relation with each other. If we start from the left, the first point is where a criminal group makes an alliance with the terrorist group. The relationship is interest based. There are no ideological roots common to both the groups. This alliance is very precarious
because of few factors. The crime group wants status quo, while the terrorist group challenges it. The terrorist groups strive to come under limelight, but the criminal groups would not want to bring attention of the law enforcement agencies. The motives of a terrorist group are mainly political, but that of a crime group are solely economic. Therefore, the leader of a criminal gang will be cautious to put it in the same bed with the terrorist group.

So, the alliance is very difficult to achieve. But there are some opportunities for both of them to make some functional relationship whose goals have been discussed earlier. If the crime group adopts the techniques of the terrorist group, a second point on the continuum is achieved. At this point, the crime group uses terror for the operational purpose. The third point is reached, when the collaboration is made for the commitment of political crime. Conversely, from the right side of the continuum is the converse relationship of point one from the left. The second point shows the involvement of the terrorist group in criminal activity. The third point of relationship shows the terrorist group carrying out commercial terrorism. So, in this relationship, varying degrees of cooperation and collaboration is worked out till both the groups reach the Black Hole Syndrome. It is the grey area where the boundaries are blurred. The trans-boundary exchange of personnel is frequent. And the scope of activities at this point of relationship is such that it is difficult to
decipher that who is who and which is which. A strong nexus, rather a virtual merger of the groups takes place.

This theoretical debate concludes on the point that post internationalism defines the relational factors of Crime-Terror Nexus. The methods not motives argument which denies any link between the two does not hold water due to the dynamics of ever changing nature of the relationship. Second, due to the modern compulsions these groups have been decentralized into sustainable networks, which provide better opportunities for the crime and terror groups to converge structurally and collaborate functionally: hence a “leaderless nexus”. Third, the nexus is too fluid to be identified in discrete form due to the organizational compulsions, and monetary problems of these groups. Hence, we have reached a conclusion that there is an absolute chance of an evil Nexus between the terrorist and the criminal groups.

**Terrorist Groups in Pakistan**

Terrorism in Pakistan is pandemic. The losses to life and property are dangerously high. Many terrorist groups are entrenched in the society who are at war with both the state and the society. Some of these groups are sovereign bound and some are sovereign free. A brief account of banned terrorist group is given below.

- **Al-Qaeda:** Formed in 1988, Al-Qaeda is a global terrorist organization banned by the United Nations Security Council. Its upper hierarchy was apprehended to be in Pakistan after US Attack on
Afghanistan in 2001. It worked in the form of decentralized networks. Many of its leaders have been caught or dead, the last one to be Osama bin Laden, its founding father. Formed against the US imperialism, its goal has been global jihad of political Islam against the west. But, Al-Qaeda is thought to be extinct in Pakistan.13

- **Haqqani Network:** Haqqani Network, first nurtured by the US against the Soviets, has declared war against the US since 1994.14 Its prominent leaders are Jalaluddin Haqqani and Sirajuddin Haqqani. The network fights against the NATO and ISSAF in Afghanistan and alleged to be involved many bomb attacks in Afghanistan. So, it is also a sovereign free terrorist group. The Network was banned by the US executive order in November 2001.15 It has been alleged by US Ambassador Ryon Cocker to be involved in the bomb attacks on US Embassy in Afghanistan.16

- **Jaish-e-Muhammad:** Literally meaning the Army of Muhammad, it was founded by Maulana Masood Azhar in 2000. Its basic aim was to expel Indian forces from Jammu and Kashmir. It is largely a sovereign bound group, but it shares some contacts with Al Qaeda and Sipah Sahaba. In 2002, Pakistan banned the group. And it split into two wings with new names, the Jamaatul Furqan and the Khudame Islam. Maulana Azhar founded Al Rahmat Trust which gave financial
assistance to the group. The Attacks on Indian Parliament in 2001, and the hijacking of Indian airline 155 in 1999 and different attacks on the Christian minorities in Pakistan are alleged to be wrought out by this banned outfit.

- **Jundullah:** Jundullah is operating against the Iranian Regime since 2003. It is led by Muhammad Dahir Baluch. It has conducted many attacks on Iran for the equal rights of Salafis in Iran. The most violent attacks were the attack on Iranian President in 2005, Zahedan Bombing in 2007, and Chah Bahar in 2010. It is officially labeled as terrorist by the US as well.¹⁷

- **Lashkar-e-Jhangvi:** It was formed by Riaz Basra, Akram Lahori, and Malik Ishaq in 1996, when they broke away from their parent Sipah Sahaba.¹⁸ Pakistan and the US have banned the group.¹⁹ It is mainly a sectarian group involved in the massacres of Shia Muslims in Pakistan.

- **Lashkar-e-Taiba:** Formed in 1990, it is the largest and well organized terrorist group of South Asia. Its leader is Hafiz Muhammad Saeed. And its motives are expelling the Indian forces from Kashmir and Pan Islamism in South Asia.²⁰ The attacks on Indian Parliament in 2001 and the Mumbai Attacks 2008 are the major terrorist attacks of the group. Its political wing Jamaat ud dawa has also been banned by the UN after the Mumbai attacks.
- **Sipah-e-Muhammad**: It is a Shia militant group which was formed in early 1990’s in a reaction to the militant activity of Sipah Sahaba. It was banned in 2001 by Pakistan. Its founder was Mureed Abbas Yazdani.

- **Sipah-e-Sahabah**: It was formed in 1980’s to deter Shia influence in Pakistan in wake of Iranian Revolution in 1979. Maulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi, Azam Tariq, Ziaurehman Farooqi and Eesarulhaq Qasmi founded Anjuman Sipah Sahaba in 1985. It was banned by musharaf in 2002. It is widely accused of sectarian violence in Pakistan against Shia Muslims.

- **Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhamadi**: It is a militant rebel organization formed in 1992 by Sufi Muhammad for the purpose of establishing Sharia law in Pakistan. The group was banned by Pakistan in 2002. It took control of Sawat in 2007 and attacked Buddhist sculptures. Pakistan Army conducted an operation to clean Swat from it successfully in 2009.

- **Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan**: Fighting mainly against Pakistani forces in FATA area, Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan was formed by Baitullah Mehsood in 2007 with the coalition of seven militant groups. Although it is separate from the Taliban groups in Afghanistan, it also targets the US in wake of drone strikes in Fata. Moreover, it has links with Al Qaeda and other militant groups. Among many, Terrorist
Activities the group is accused of assassinating Benazir Bhutto on December 27, 2007.²⁵

Organized Crime in Pakistan

As the state is busy in fighting terrorism, Crime in Pakistan has not been given commensurate attention with respect to the gravity of the issue. Crime is sapping the economy. It has become an illicit source of revenue. There is a huge potential of Crime to feed terrorism in Pakistan as well. The actual and potential sources of crime which could run the industry of terrorism are discussed below:

➢ Abduction for Ransom: Kidnapping is rampant in Pakistan. It is a quick source which pays fast and in abundance. Every region, every class, and every age group is largely affected by this crime. Professional and business classes are equally affected. Mostly, the ransom is paid. And rarely, law enforcement agencies are allowed to intervene. It has become a profitable occupation. In year 2010, 16,977 cases of abduction were registered.²⁶

➢ Bank Robberies: Bank Robberies have increased in recent years. The commercial hubs of Pakistan like Karachi are attacked through bank robberies. The money has the potential to feed the terrorist groups working throughout the country. The biggest bank robbery in Pakistan happened in December, 2009 in Allied Bank Karachi. It was worth Rs. 500 million.²⁷
Hawala System: Unofficial transfer of money is the other potential source of income for the terrorists. After the states applied a strong check on the flows of money through banks, the terrorists are financed through this informal system of money transfer. Almost Rs. 500 billion are transacted in Pakistan through Hawala System.28

Illicit Drug Trafficking: Drug trafficking is the main source of terrorists. It is the traditional link between the terrorists and the criminals. Ninety percent of world opium is supplied by Afghanistan, whose 30% is trafficked through Pakistan.29 It has led to the phenomenon of Narco-Terrorism. The UNODC reports Pakistan’s Gawadar port being used in narcotics trafficking from Afghanistan.30

Illicit Firearms Trafficking: Small weapons are smuggled because they are a rich source of income and easily transferred from one place to the other. Secondly, they are also used in the street crimes as well as by the terrorist groups. According to a report, 40% of arms made in Darra Adam Khel are used by the terrorists.31

Illicit Trafficking in Stolen Motor Vehicles: In the urban areas, the law and order situation is deteriorating. Motor vehicles are the hot cakes for the criminal groups who are left scot free. The vehicles stolen in the urban areas are trafficked to the FATA
illicitly. A rampant illicit trade of these vehicles takes place, under the hand of terrorist groups. About 1100 vehicles whose price is worth Rs. 200 billion are stolen every year in Pakistan.  

- **Money Laundering:** It is the crime of hiding the source of illegal money. According to a report, Pakistan is not involved in money laundering. But it is feared that drug smugglers use money laundering in their trade extensively. The Government of Pakistan has passed a strict anti-money laundering law in 2010. Many money laundering cases have been caught as well, especially Khanani and Kalia case in 2008.

- **Transnational Economic Crimes:** Miscellaneous economic crimes like fraud, white color crime, counterfeit of documents can also source the terrorist group.

**Crime-Terror Nexus in Pakistan**

Crime thrives and Terror prevails in a society where state apparatus is weak. This is the hard fact of post international era that equally applies to Pakistan. A plethora of criminal gangs and numerous militant bandits is operating in Pakistan. There is a likelihood of collaboration in their activities. Due to various reasons, their interests converge. And it seems that they are cohabiting in a symbiotic relationship. Crime feeds terrorism. Conversely, terrorism nourishes crime. In Pakistan, this situation has developed due to two main reasons. First, the terrorists generate money from crime necessary for their
activity. Earlier, Saudi Arabia, the US, UAE, and Iran funded them. But when the Frankenstein monsters turned upon their masters, the economic assistance stopped. Heavy sanctions followed. Therefore, the terrorists turned to a wide range of illicit and illegal sources of income. Second, in some instances the crime groups trade off money with weapons and expertise of the terrorists. So, a dynamic nexus between crime and terror has emerged.

The phenomenon of Crime-Terror Nexus has emerged. And the relation is much like a rider-host relation. Terrorism being the rider uses much of the benefits from Crime. So, the focus of this study has been on this aspect of the relation. It is noteworthy, that the Nexus can be dissected into two aspects: one, structural relationship; two, functional relation. The instances of structural relationship are many. For example, a doctor who was abducted for ransom was interviewed. He told his story that first a criminal group abducted him and then sold him ultimately to Talibans through a series of purchasers and buyers. His family had to pay Rs. 4.3 million for ransom. Second example is the funding of D-Company to Lashkar e Taiba in Pakistan. In addition to real estate business, D- Company earns black money through pirating electronic films, abduction, smuggling of arms, and Contract killing. The third example is the financing of Al- Rahmat Trust to militant groups like Al-Qaeda and Lashkar e Taiba.

The functional relationship includes terrorists involved in criminal activity. Here, Rosenau’s theory applies aptly which
focuses on “individuals fulfilling multiple roles”. The Terrorists act like chameleons: they are terrorist by day and criminal by night. Since there is no terrorist bank in the world, the terrorists get themselves into criminal activities. These crimes include Abduction for Ransom, Bank Robberies, Hawala System, Illicit drug trafficking, Illicit firearms trafficking, Illicit trafficking in stolen motor vehicles, Money laundering, and Transnational economic crimes to name a few. In the following paragraphs the criminal activities of the terrorist groups are highlighted.

Being the Commercial hub of the country, Karachi provides many opportunities to the terrorists to generate their revenue. A story covered by the New York Times heads as: “Organized Crime in Pakistan Feeds Taliban.” It says that militants are actively involved in kidnapping of business class people, and robbing the banks. A police man was interviewed and he revealed that the terrorists earn 10% of their income through kidnapping. A multimedia video shows an interview of a militant who had fled from Swat operation and settled in the sub-urban area of Karachi. He reveals that Karachi has become the main hideaway of the militants. A large number of them have got settled and they generate revenues through crime in Karachi. That money is used back in home areas where militancy is rampant.

In an interview, a police officer said, “We started seeing a different kind of crime — more professional, more aggressive. We realized these criminals were linked to jihadis”.40
US private crime investigator Bill Warner wrote an interesting article where he revealed that how “the stolen cars of Al Qaeda financed Osama bin Laden”. Stolen motor vehicles are the other source of income the terrorists generate. Due to the deteriorating law and order situation, cars are stolen from the urban areas and kept in the unruly areas of FATA. There, they are sold to finance terrorism. Mostly, the stolen vehicles are used in the terrorist activity. A policeman has reported that by stopping car theft we have seen a remarkable decrease in terrorist activity in Islamabad.

A dangerous nexus has been developed between the drug mafias and the terrorists in Pakistan. The UN report apprehends that the opium output of Afghanistan is about US $3 trillion. Even a fraction of the export can finance the Terrorists. It further says that drug trafficking has provided funds for the insurgency, including the transit roots. In this case Pakistan. The International Narcotics Control Board reports that the annual income of Taliban from narcotics in 2007 can be estimated between $259 million to $ 518 million. Even, Pakistan’s Gawadar port has been reported to be used in Narco-Terrorism.

Small Arms proliferation in Pakistan, especially in Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa and FATA has militarized the society and created large scale instability. The AK 47 Culture in Pakistan has fueled the militancy in Pakistan. Small weapons have been smuggled through Afghanistan from Russia for the last three decades. The insurgency in Kashmir developed a nexus
between the small arms suppliers and the fighters in Kashmir. According to a report, about 100 factories are producing weapons in Darra. This weaponry and the explosives are purchased by the Talibans. According to a political analyst, “the militants are the permanent customers of the weapons factories”.

Through money laundering and counterfeit, transnational organized crime, and Hawala system, money flows through illegal veins to help the terrorists. Hawala is the most fluid source for the terrorists to use. A case in India was identified where Lashkar e Taiba received Indian Rs. 4.1 million.

In short, the terrorists are financed by the crime and in return; due to instability created by the terrorists, the crime thrives in Pakistan. The focus of law enforcement agencies is much on terrorism and less on crime. They are in a symbiotic relationship. As the new dynamics of the nexus emerge, more opportunities of the collaboration will emerge and a more forceful and sustainable threat of Crime and Terror will impede Pakistan in protecting life and property of its citizens.

**Policy and Operational Recommendations**

- A comprehensive, two pronged strategy to clamp down upon Crime-Terror Nexus simultaneously is needed. Because, the war against terrorism cannot be separated from the fight against organized crime.
- A regional approach of inter-state cooperation in sharing intelligence, technology and expertise is
needed, because this nexus is engulfing South Asia indiscriminately.

- Improvement of intelligence using scientific techniques, and enforcement of the law enforcing agencies.
- An enhanced inter-agency cooperation, even intermediary networks between anti terrorist squads and other law enforcement agencies must be developed.
- Instead of banning the groups, efforts must be done to stop their financing.
- Legislation to check financing through banks. e.g. Anti Money Laundering Act 2010
- Enforcement activity on the border area of Pakistan and India to stop small arms proliferation and drug smuggling.
- A sustained anti terrorist campaign which also includes clamping down on crime, specifically where the Nexus is emerging rapidly.

**Conclusion**

The Crime and Terror in Pakistan are in a symbiotic relationship. The illicit sources of crime are enriching the Terrorist industry, because the licit sources are dried up. So a phenomenon of “Criminal-Terrorism” is replacing “Religious Terrorism”. Therefore, “a combined anti Crime-Terror” strategy must be adopted to eliminate the scourge of this Nexus. A paradigm shift from religion to crime is essential to
deal with terrorism in Pakistan. Therefore, the bottom line is: The war against terrorism cannot be separated from the fight against organized crime.

End Notes

1 J. Rosenau, (1990) Turbulence in World Politics, Princeton University Press. While Rosenau has published two books that build on the post international paradigm, the core essence of the paradigm and its best expression are found in turbulence. Therefore all citations to Rosenau refer to this volume unless otherwise noted.


4 Ibid., 12


6 Ibid.


11 According to the Economic Survey of Pakistan 2010-11 the economic losses were US dollar 68 billion and the losses to life was 35,000.

13 Jason Burke, “Al-Qaida leadership almost wiped out in Pakistan, British Officials Believe”, Retrieved at guardian.co.uk, Sunday 25 December 2011, 19.47 GMT

14 Don Rassler and Valid Brown, “The Haqqani Nexus and the Evolution of Al-Qaida”, Harmony Program Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 14 July, 2011

15 Executive Order 13224, Office of the Coordinator for counterterrorism, US State Department. September 23, 2001


24 http://www.sfgate.com/cgibin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2010/05/09/MN3F1DBTEN.DTL Kathleen Hennessey, “New York Bomber has al Qaeda tie,


The personal data of the abducted data has been concealed in lieu of research ethics.


39 Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy and Adam B. Ellick “A Militant Hideaway”, Multimedia video by the New York times produced in association with Front Line,


