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Muhammad Ejaz,
PhD Scholar,
Department of Pakistan
Studies,
Hazara University,
Mansehra, Pakistan

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SHIA-SUNNI SECTARIAN VIOLENCE AS CHALLENGE TO PEACE MAINTENANCE IN PAKISTAN

Peace maintenance is a vital stipulation for progress and affluence in the society. Pakistan is considered as one of the unsafe countries to live because of the absence of peace. One of the factors of this status is the sectarian violence between the Deobandi (Sub-sect of Sunni Islam) and Shias. This paper is an attempt to logically explore the causes and nature of Shia-Deobandi conflicts and their impact upon the peace maintenance in the country. The negative and positive peace concept of Juhan Gultung is used as parameter of the understanding of peace and its maintenance. In this paper it is argued that this sectarian violence is not intended for the spiritual uplift rather it caters to the vested interest and material benefits of the beneficiaries. Earlier Punjab centric, this violence now seeps throughout Pakistan. It is also assumed that this direct and indirect violence is negatively affecting peace attempts in Pakistan. This research is qualitative, analytical and descriptive in nature. The aim of this research work is to explore the key factors that cause violence and hinder the process of peace and to provide suggestions for a viable peaceful society. It is a significant project because this issue has been dealt with from a different perspective as compared to earlier researches.



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Introduction

The word “peace” is often used as synonym to harmony, prosperity and the absence of violence. Instead of shared understanding of this term, it has different perspectives because of the context in which it is used or the person who is using or area in which is being used. It is therefore, considered that the word “peace” is mistreated and misused term and has different meanings for different people. With this conclusion it is assumed that it falls short of agreeable definition and therefore it is non-real and utopian concept. The peace scholars and theorist internationally are striving hard while taking the normative value of peace to get an agreeable definition, best suited at domestic and international level. Prominent in this category is one of the pioneer scholars of the peace studies, Juon Galtung (1930-). He provided the theory of peace and its typology and the understanding of violence and the relation of violence with peace. Galtung, who has also the founder of the first journal of Peace Studies (1964) i.e. “Journal of Peace Research” classified the peace into two negative and positive. Since then he added further in the concept and developed new insights in his proceeding researches published in (1967), (1968), (1971) and (1996). His classification of peace can only be better understood if someone has the understanding of his concept of violence and classification of violence into direct and structural violence. Since his classification (1964) he himself and many others utilized this classification of peace as paradigm of understanding the domestic, national and international issues of peace.



Negative peace, to him, is the “absence of organized collective violence and the absence of the fear of violenceⁱ and its mean that lack of violence between classes and racial and ethnic groups because of the internal conflicts among them. The word “organized” may leads to think that negative peace doesn’t cover the unorganized violence and the occasional homicides. Gultnag argues that this type of violence is the point of break of peace which leads to organized and patterned violence, so they are all included in this category of peace.ⁱⁱ To sum up, it is peace at micro level which is not always achieved with peaceful means; it is also curative in practice and this type of peace condition is not ideal for Galtung.ⁱⁱⁱ It has applicability among the over-privileged classes as an act of direct violence goes against them and their interest.

The second type of peace is positive peace which is cooperation and integration between the human groups and this peace attaches a little importance to the absence of violence. This concept has applicability among the under-privileged groups which are less status-quo oriented.^{iv} The concept of positive peace can’t be understood until one can understand the notion of structural violence of Galtung (1930).

Galtung first explained the violence from actor’s perspective but later came to the conclusion that traditional conception of violence as the planned physical restraints or hurting others is not sufficient because it leads to the conclusion that peace is simply the absence of physical violence. He then argues that violence exists because of the structures and people are just actors which carry this violence.^v He defined structural violence as condition which does not allow the people to achieve their potentials (in the context of time and place).^{vi} For instance, a low life expectancy century before was normal due to the condition of medical knowledge and



health amenities. However, given advanced medical science and technology, such a low down expectancy today in western society would be an instance of violence.

It got development in political, social and economic structures and give rise to the unequal power and ultimately unequal life chances.^{vii} It is against the personal, direct and actor oriented violence. Structural violence is backed by the cultural violence which legitimises this violence by art, law, media, faith and education.^{viii} The extended explanation of violence also extended the understanding that peace is not only the absence of direct violence (negative peace) but also the absence of indirect structural violence. This peace is possible through peaceful means, it is also preventive but it demands structural integration where equality, cultural harmony and other positive values should prevailed. He further argues that the search for peace is related with the negative and positive relations of groups, here conditions are to be searched for the absence of negative relations and look for conditions that support the positive relationship.^{ix} To him some of the positive relations or positive values are i.e. “Freedom from fear”, “Freedom from want”, “Freedom of cooperation”, “Economic Growth and development”, “Equality”, “Absence of exploitation”, “Justice”, “Pluralism”, “Freedom of action” and “Dynamism”. Dynamism to him means that nations are such a constructed that conditions to change or change itself built into the structure. Gultnag argued that it looks that there is logical contradiction among values as no empirical world exists which have maximised all ten. It is not a case; furthermore, it is structural incompatibility that it does not have all these, and not the logical inconsistency. Furthermore, these are all independent in nature. For example there may not be freedom of action but still there be the absence of exploitation.^x

He separated these two concepts from the old notion of peace which was just to have stability in society or nation. That concept also covers the idea of predictable social order even if



it is brought with force or threat of force. But his concept is different as Blaji (2003) argues that negative peace cannot only be maintained by coercive means while positive peace can only be maintained by peaceful means^{xi}

His theory is criticized by many on different grounds such as Bonisch (1981) who called the positive peace theorizing as utopian^{xii} while Young (2010) called it less rigors^{xiii} but it is a fact that if negative and positive peace concept is excluded from the peace studies than the theory of peace would become very weak. Instead of challenges, the idea of negative and positive peace had well-established in peace research and study of peace is not that viable without this.

This research work is an endeavour to get insight of the theory and typology of peace of Galtung, then to look the evolution and present status of sectarian violence in Pakistan and to evaluate the impact of sectarian violence on the peace maintenance.

The paper will provide answers to these questions i.e. as to how conflicts based on sectarian violence emerged between the two sects. What is the nature of sectarian violence between Shias and *Deobandis* (Sub-sect of Sunnis) in Pakistan? What are the domestic and international factors that contribute to the sectarian violence and what is the impact of sectarian violence in peace building and peace maintenance in Pakistan?

For answering these questions it is necessary that the term “sect”, “sectarianism”, “conflicts” should be conceptualized. The understanding of the violence is to be used as provided as provided by Juan Galtung. Sect is vague concepts but generally it is terms as the subset of larger religious group and in the sociology of religions it is used for a specific group within a religion.^{xiv} It also means, a group within an organized religion whose religious practices and religious opinions are different or conflicting from the other groups of the same religion. On



other hand generally sectarianism is treated as discrimination or detestation or violence against any sect on the basis of doctrinal differences. Liechty argues that it a destructive way of dealing with the difference and opposing conflictive sect. ^{xv} From these notions it is concluded that sectarianism is hatred, bigotry or violence against the other religious groups and these actions and responses make one sect as superior and the other one as inferior. The conflict means “to clash or engage in fight”. It is confrontation between or among parties aspirant towards competitive means or ends. ^{xvi} The sectarian conflicts are therefore, the struggle or clash between or among the different sects because their goals whether material or non-material happen to be incompatible and conflictive. These conflicts with the passage of time get the shape of violence if the conflict resolution process is weak or the external factors help them to get smooth growth.

1.1 Rise of Sectarian Violence in Pakistan: Internal Context and External Context

The majority of the Muslims are Sunnis in the world today, while Shia Islam forms the second popular sect as it is practised by 10% to 15% of the world’s Muslim inhabitants. ^{xvii}In order to get a precise picture of the sectarian violence it is necessary to probe into the origin and intensification of this problem. Islamic teaching originally does not allow having a sect in it. The sect in Islam is a product of political struggle. The demise of Prophet (PBUH) proved a turning point and conflict arose over his successor. The opinion and support of the companions of prophet were divided over the personality of Abu Bakar (RA) and Hazart Ali. Abu Bakhar became the Caliph with the consensus of the majority while those who sided with Ali (RA) the then are termed as *Shehaan* Ali (Friends of Ali RA) and from here onwards Islam is divided into two major sect i.e. Sunni and Shia.

Though, some Shias claim that the Shia sect was even present during the time of Prophet (RA). ^{xviii} Later on the Shias supported Ali (RA) throughout his life both in peace and battles and



remained loyal to his decedents.^{xix} The sectarian violence was not that acute and there were examples of cooperation between two but the incident of Karbla where the grandson of Prophet (PBUH) was martyred proved a fatal point between the two and since then the gulf could not be bridged and their doctrinal stand on certain issues became incompatible. After that both evolved a different *Fiqa* (jurisprudence) and different versions and stands on the historical evolution of religion and religious solutions of the different questions and actions. Now Shias are present throughout the world comprising majority in Iran, Iraq, and Azerbaijan while the other Islamic countries have Sunni Muslims in majority.

Pakistan is dominated by Sunni Muslims. The total number of Shias living in Pakistan is 30 million and it forms the 17% to 20% of the total population of Pakistan. This population is the second largest of Shias in any country after Iran. However, the Sipah-i-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) claimed that the number has been exaggerated, they are only 2.5 of total population.^{xx}

The recent sectarian violence demands the historical evolution of this violence and the exploration of chief actors and the landscape of this violence in Pakistan.

During Pakistan Movement the supporters and leaders remained in sects' harmony. Syed Amir Ali, Sir Agha Khan, Liaquat Ali Khan and Quaid-i-Azam were all Shias while Allama Iqbal, Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar, Moulana Sabbir Usmai were Sunnis. They never tried to endorse their religious ideology in this movement rather put the national and plural stance.^{xxi} The sectarian violence was quite rare in areas constituted Pakistan because the source of conflicts, the theologians of Jamiat-i-Ulema Hind and Jamiat-i-Ulema Islam were not in favour of Pakistan and they adopted the Indian national stance and remained in alliance with All India National Congress. Second reason was that most of the Muslim League leaders were secular and



they had no concern with the religious matters as they considered it as personal matter and private matter.

During the struggle for independence of Pakistan the sectarian issue remained unnoticed as nascent state of Pakistan and the political actors remained preoccupied with the initial problems facing Pakistan. Shias in order to promote religious and political interest of the community formed the All Parties Shia Conference in 1947 (APSC) and Idara-e-Tahafuz-e-Haqua-e-Shia (ITHS) in 1953. The situation was not intense initially as the environment was peaceful and calm except in some incidents till 1960s and 1970s in Khairpur and Lahore where dozens of people were put to death in Deobandi-Shia sectarian violence. Later on the situation remained calm and peaceful as the sectarian conflicts were only limited to the Shia Sunni mosques.^{xxii} The other cause of the less sectarian violence was the strong influence of mystics and landlords in the rural areas as they were more concerned for the respect and services of humankind.

The situation took a new turn and some international and external change converted the society into sectarian prone. The important ones are the Iranian Islamic revolution, Iran-Iraq War, Afghan War 1979, Islamization of Zia-ul-Haq in the country and the growing influence of Iran and Saudi Arabia in Pakistan and growing number of *Madrasshas*.

Iranian Islamic revolution (1979) lasted a well-built emotional impact upon the Shias in Pakistan. It gave them a new identity and social and psychological movement. It also provided them a social cohesion. The posters of Khomeini were distributed in large number after the Friday prayer and Iranian slogans against the Israel and US were chanted as in Iran. Pakistani based Imamia Student Organization (ISO) became the first ever organization to accept Imam Khomini (Iranian leader) as the *Majra-e-Taqleed* (Source of Emulation for Shia), with this



welcome Iran's new leadership also started supported Shia in South Asia, Gulf and in Middle East. ^{xxiii}

Similarly in Iraq-Iran war the Shias had clearly supported the Iran as it was Shia dominated state. ^{xxiv} This move of the Shia community alarmed the Arab states, Pakistani elites and the Deobandi Sunnis in Pakistan with the concern that the revolution might be imported in Pakistan and they tried to stop it by all means. The Sunnis in Pakistan oppositely supported the Iraq as its leader was a Sunni Muslim.

The Deobandis who have been involved in sectarian violence against the Ahmediya Community (Muslims until 1974) took it a threat and they again asked for their old standing demand, the Islamization of state. But the problem still remained whose Islam? The brand of Islam of Sunnis and Shia are different no doubt, but the brands within Sunni sub-sects and the Shia sub-sects are also different. Afghan War of 1979 started at the same times and Pakistan join the proxy war of US against the USSR and on the demand of US created the Jihadist from the Deobandis. The State had dual benefit with the drive of Islamization based on Deobandis wishes, on one side it could curtail the influence of Iranian revolution and other hand it would benefit the its strategic aims in Afghanistan.

Zia who came into power as a result of military coup, got the support of the Deobandi religious activists, who were also involved in the PNA and Nizam-i-Mustafa Movement against Bhutto. The less active clerics in society in earlier ages got hold of influence while taking part in sectarian violence against Ahmediya Community (1953) and as a result paved the way of their exclusion from Muslim community in 1974. They demanded the same for the Shias who were a new threat to their social position as cleric and guardians of religion. On their wish Zia initiated the process of Islamization of state, and in this regards introduced many changes via ordinances,



customary law and the constitutional law. These practices and traditions of Deobandi Islam were introduced actually; therefore, he enjoyed their full cooperation, there and thereafter. The process of Islamization for clerics was not to introduce the Islamic spirit, rather it was to transfer of power from secular minded elites to pious Muslims (theologians) by providing them authoritative positions in various institutions of state. ^{xxv}He did the same and by this process he legitimized his illegal rule and also undermined the Iranian influence.

Shias reacted while considering it as an attempt to marginalize them and following the enforcement of Zakat and Usher Ordinance 1979 of him some 50,000 Shia marched towards the parliament while ISO led them. They demanded it is against their jurisprudence therefore they should be treated according to their law and they got success in it. ^{xxvi} The Sunnis propagated this act as to deny paying the *Zakat* (alms). His Islamization put both the sects into logger head and he didn't mind as it was necessary for prolonging his rule but it led to sectarian violence between the two. Iran provided scholarships to the local religious and educational institutions by introducing a revolutionary concept, the *Vilayat-e-Faqih*, by Khomeini which regulated the Islamic law. The scholars studying in Iran were indoctrinated with the concept so that they could preach it at their return to their countries. ^{xxvii}

As a reaction to this politics, Saudi Arabia tried to spread Wahabism in Pakistan through *Aal- hadith*. It funded Deobandi group by encouraging them to construct mosques and by alluring them to religious education in Saudi and free Hajj trips. Through this it distributed millions of dollars among the supporters of Wahabism. Therefore the year 1979 was a start of sectarian violence and Pakistan's soil had becoming the hub of proxy war between Iran and Saudi started in Gulf region. ^{xxviii}



Shias as a result became more centralized, more Iranianized and more integrated with international community of Shias. On other hands Sunnis became more Arabized because of the generous funding of Saudia to Madrasshas and Jihadi organizations and mass migration of Pakistanis to Gulf. ^{xxix}

The involvement of RAW, intelligence of India is also reported in sectarian violence. ^{xxx} The involvement of Kabul is also listened sometimes. ^{xxxi} Throughout the Afghan Jihad the Deobandis also benefited a lot from the moral and material support of US via Pakistan's government and it not only make them an armed militia but too violent in sectarianism.

The main actors of sectarian violence are the certain sectarian organizations in both Sunnis and Shias. The important one is the SSP formed in 1985 with the centre at Jung District. It was banned in 2001 and now it is operating with the name of Ahle Sunnant Wal Jamaat (ASWJ). ^{xxxii} The second important one is the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ). It is the offshoot of SSP and very fierce in activates and active in Karachi, South Punjab and Baluchistan. It has evolved a working relationship now with the Tehrk-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Taliban's of Afghanistan ultimately via Taliban with al-Qaeda. ^{xxxiii} The third important Debandi organization is the Jundulla, it is newly formed organization which has close ties with both ASWJ and LeJ. ^{xxxiv} These all organizations are anti-Shia in outlook and practices and declared them as non-believers and impure. They are also getting financial support and backing from Saudi Arabia as they have same Islamic doctrine. The Shia militant organizations are the Tehrik-e-Jafria Pakistan (TJP). It is offshoot of Tehrik-e-Nafaz –e-Fiq-e Jafira and formed with the objective to save Shias from any discrimination and to provide them religious and political backing. It attached itself Iran for guidance on major matters. ^{xxxv} The other one is the Sipah-e-Mohammadi Pakistan (SMP), founded in 1993 with the aim of giving the reply of terror with terror and to protect the Shia



community from SSP and other organizations. It is banned in 2001 and now it is working with different names. Both the groups have ties with Iran and they got moral, psychological and material support from it. Iran has also provided the asylum to some of the hit list activists of these organizations.^{xxxvi}

The sectarian violence between the two continued from 1979 till this time and almost 5000 people have lost their lives and 5000 have been wounded during the clashes. The pluralism and dynamism of the society is also disturbed. Though sectarian clashes are increasing day by day, the only changes occurred recently is the breakdown of the main actors which compel them to work hidden and the landscape of the violence which was mainly restricted to Punjab and the other regions have unstructured violence like that in Karachi, Quetta and KPK main militant organizations like SMP, SSP and TeJ and LeJ all had their headquarters in Punjab have now been shifted to all Pakistan wherever Shias are living. The Punjab which always got central position as most of the sectarian literature in Pakistan focus it lost its centrality and violence. So the Punjab centred discourse has been challenged here as recently available data tell us that Baluchistan is on number one, KPK on two, Gilgit Baltistan on three while Punjab and Sindh are on number four and fifth respectively.^{xxxvii} The headquarters have also become regionalized and it is not a good sign that the violence that was centered in Central Punjab and Southern Punjab now has been penetrated to all Pakistan and it is a problem for peace maintenance and also the source of destabilization.

2.2 The Nature of Sectarian Violence in Pakistan

The available discourse on the sectarian violence in Pakistan is centred on two notions i.e. it is a conflict for upholding their religious position in society or it is for the spiritualism. On other hand Mumtaz (1998) and Waseem (2010) declared them as identity getting violence but



scholars have neglected the material aims attached with this sectarian's violence. It is argued that "cause of spiritualism" is deceptively used to hide the material agenda and the "notion of identity" for this violence is also leads to material aims because the more religious identity provided with more material benefits. SSP stood for religious identity and after getting influence it decided to participate in 1988 elections. The same is the case of TeJ which fielded its candidates in 1990 elections.

The material notion get strengthened when someone look into the basic cause and beyond the current discourses. For example, though the tensions between Shia and Sunnis are not new but the recent attacks against Shias in Kurram Agency by LeJ cum Taliban's are not ideological in nature. They needed access to Afghanistan via Kurram and it is in the control of local Shias.^{xxxviii} In some areas the Shia minority is landlord and the presently is Sunni, this make sectarian conflicts as a matter of getting economic wellbeing.(Huma,3) The hub of sectarianism district Jhang is best example of it where when the leader of SSP launched a movement against, organized from political struggle, Shias landlords who were also very powerful politically the small farmers and traders got connected with his campaign just for economic concerns. SSP provided the sectarian breadth to the class conflict.^{xxxix}

The basic aim of each sectarian organization is to implement Shariat but the problem is that the Islamic system of each of them is quite different from the other (Nadeem 446). It indicates that they are not serious in Shariat rather the aim behind the enforcement is to get political office and to get political advantages. The one example is the entry of SSP and Tej into politics^{x1}.They launched a full fledge campaign for 1988 Elections and which was centred on sectarianism. The sectarianism is used both by SSP and TeJ for political advantage. SM was funded by Zardai (later president of Pakistan) when he was threaten with death by one of faction



of Deobandi. SM enjoyed privileges under PPP just because it was created to counter SSP.^{xli} The other instance is that SSP and other sectarian organizations are basically offshoots of larger Sunnis parties and most of their members have been from JUI, like the founder of SSP Moulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi was the vice president of JUI in Punjab.^{xlii} The JUI (Hind) also issued fatwa (order) against the Imamia Shias before the creation of Pakistan^{xliii} that they are heretic but for getting political office they also took Shias as their partner in their alliance for Elections 2001 known as Mutehda Majlis Amal (MMA).

Arif Rafiq argues that sectarian violence of these activists has penetrated into the society of both Shias and Sunnis and they have also become a part of grasping economy including extortion land grabbing.^{xliv} The case of Shia Hazari is also not different; they are the only challenge to local Pakhtoon business. They have also wealth as according to some sources they use (*Ziarat*) pilgrimage to Iran and Iraq for smuggling. They are also educated as compared to others and they also have a share in the government services including Pakistan army. They are now migrating to other areas because of violence and reportedly 5000 have migrated alone to Australia. Actually, they are forced to sell their property as to how “throw away price” on the locals.^{xlv} Therefore, it is concluded that vested interest is behind the killing of this community. The LeJ operated in this area have strong support because of this reason.

Lastly, the sectarian violence in Pakistan is to get spoils outside of the country form sectarian organizations and the countries which are indulged in sectarian violence. More efficiency in Irani style of revolution or in Wahbism has provided more chances of economic exploit. The more marginalization of Sunnis has direct and indirect advantage form Iran for Shias and in same case for the Sunnis if they commit violence against the Shia.

3.1 Sectarian Violence and Maintenance of Negative Peace in Pakistan



Juhan Gultang's notion of negative is simply the absence of violence and the fear of violence. The Pakistani case in maintenance of negative peace is not difficult to understand. The state's supreme law have articles against direct sectarian violence and it provides the directions for the maintenance of negative peace. According to Constitution every citizen has security and liberty of life. Everyone has the right to established and manage its institutions on the bases of sects. In grant and exemption of add or taxes there is no discrimination. ^{xlvi}

But there is difference in the theory and practices. The Report of Global Peace Index (2015) tells a different account. Pakistan's total cost on violence containment for the year 2013-14 was \$371 that was the 8% of its GDP (PPP) and in "ongoing domestic and international conflict domain, most peaceful to least" list Pakistan is ranked most non-peaceful country in world as it is placed on 162th number out of 162 countries. And in "societal safety and security domain, most peaceful to least" Pakistan is placed on ranked 146 out of 162 countries and militarization domain, most peaceful to least it is put on 148 number. ^{xlvii} These numbers and place in global ranking indicates that the position of peace in the country is pitiable.

The state's authorities failed to maintain the negative peace in response to sectarianism. Following the victory of Syeda Abiada Hussain, a Shia from Jhang in 1988 elections the struggle of both the sects came out from the peaceful and electoral domains to physical violence and it took the lives of thousands and injured many. According to the report of "Satp.org" which is based on media figures, from 1989 to 2015, 3016 sectarian incidents happened in Pakistan between Deobandi and Shias. These incidents put 5227 people to death and the 9903 people to injuries. Even the data about some cases is not available because of modern use of explosion tools which lift a little of the bodies. The year 2015 experienced 91 such incidents which caused 208 deaths and 312 injuries which indicate the growing trends of the incidents as they were only



53 in 2014 which took the life of 276 and injured 327 people. ^{xlviii} The incidents took more lives of the Shias than the Sunnis as Rana (2004) research indicates that from 1990 to 2003 the total deaths were 994 while Shia among them was 593 and the Sunnis were 388. ^{xlix} Waseem (2010) data shows that from 1997 to 2006 sectarian violence put 773 Shias (67%) while 378 (33%) Sunnis to death.¹ The fear of death is another element, though, terrorism and other factors have also been contributing to it but the larger share is of sectarianism and now Pakistan is rated by “[Country Threat Index](#) (CTI)” as 8th most dangerous country to live.^{li}

The Sunni-Debandi sectarian scuffle not only created the violence and disturbed the peace but also induced the peaceful religious sect like Sunni Beralvis for violence. This sect also participated in the Shias encircling of the Debandis and now Sunni Tehrik, a militant wing came up as a sectarian organization, in order to save themselves from the growing Debandi influence in the state. ^{lii}

A little responsibility of peace maintenance lies on the individuals of the state and the major responsibility lies on the state as it has authority to use and resources for use. The violence has created an environment of hate and extremism in Pakistani society and an average citizen of the country who was peaceful in prior 1979 environment now treats everything in terms of violent acts and peace maintenance is treated by him as act of cowardice. The schools curricula, the teachers, mass media and the religious leaders have made them the people who can only violate peace and peace maintenance is not a policy of wise.

The major responsibility lies on state which has recourses on its disposals and authority to be used. The state in Pakistan failed to minimize the violence or to give an end to it. State responded at three levels to these conflicts. One it come out for negotiations and several attempts



have been made to bring the leaderships of the major actors on a table and to resolve the issue but both parties distrust the efforts of government and think that it secretly with other group.^{liii} The second level response is to take violent action against them and respond the terror with terror for that purpose SSP and SeM were banned in 2001 and to take action against them in Karachi and in Punjab. But the banned organizations still working with new names and the violence scale rose more. These two responses couldn't give results because the state was not genuine in her efforts rather the third level response is the major objective of many regimes in the country especially military regimes of the state, it is to use these conflicts for political purposes, legitimacy and geo-political interests. Rulers tried to get advantage out of this sectarian violence as Zia was a illegal ruler and for legitimacy and for prolonging his rule he supported the SSP^{liv} and it helped him in minimizing Iranian influence and also to get recruits for Afghan Jihad and it also diverted the people's attention from his illegitimate rule to local issues. It also patronized them and used them for its Jihadi interests in Afghanistan and in India.^{lv} Pakistan's Jihadi interests and regional policy in India and in Afghanistan was misdirected which also provided a cover to sectarianism. State also failed to cut-out the link of sectarian organizations from the international terrorists' organization. It also instead of having hormonal relations with both the exporter of religious ideologies i.e. Iran and Saudi it has become a home of their proxy war.

The Brussels based International Crisis Group (IGC) concluded that the state instead of cooperating and co-opting the secular democratic and human voices has co-opted the religious forces and continue to depend upon them as an opposition against them. The use of religion has created aggressive competition among the Sunni-Shia for official patronage.^{lvi} The final conclusion is that democratic governments who do not need legitimacy most of the time want peace but due to control of establishment they have a little influence on controlling peace. The



usurping dictators need legitimacy like Zia, so their call for peace maintenance is not genuine because their interests lies outside of framework of peace and they use sectarianism for legitimacy and prolonging their rule as it provides matter of popularity and an issue of attention diversion.

4.1 Sectarian Violence and the Maintenance of Positive Peace in Pakistan

Measuring the presence or absence of negative peace is easier than to measure qualitatively or quantitatively the positive peace. It's mean, generally, as behaviour, institutions and structures which give rise and sustain peaceful societies. It also leads to many other positive factors which are important for society such as creation of an environment in which the human potentials are flourished.

In the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) the citizens have been given rights which can be positive for positive peace. Article 09 provides with the security to life which is necessary for freedom from fear. Article 25 describes the equality, that every citizen is equal in the eye of law. Article 10A provides with the free trial for citizens and article 10 safeguard from arrest and detentions. Article 12 provides protection against retrospective punishment and article 13 protections against double punishment and self-incrimination all related with justice. Articles 15, 16 and 17 Freedom of movement, association, assembly, business all related with the freedom of action. Article 20, 21 and 28 are related with the pluralism in society. Article 03 tilted elimination of exploitation, article 18 freedom of trade, business and profession and article 24 property rights are all related with the freedom from want and economic growth.

The Global Peace Index (2015) provided the Positive Peace Index (2015) which have eight domains i.e. Sound business, high level of human capital, low corruption, free flow of



information, good relations with neighbours, acceptance of others rights, well-functioning government and equitable distribution of resources each domain has three indicators and through this it has made empirical statistical analysis of economic and social progress and effectiveness of a country institution of 162 countries.^{lvii} Pakistan is on 148 number of the ranking in “Positive Peace Index: From Better to Least Countries” as for as these eight domains are concerned.^{lviii} It shows that how measurable is the position of positive peace in the country. In this section the impact of Sunni-Shia sectarian conflicts will be judged and the domains that have been provided by GPI are very effective to measures but in this section only the domains which have been indicated by Galtung (1967) and have applicability on Pakistan will be judged and passing support will be taken from GPI domains.

4.1.1 Freedom of Fear

Galtung (1967) explained freedom of fear as “state of affairs such that individuals predict with relatively high probability a major negative events in future, and event with relatively high negative utility and this expectations dominates their like and existence... whether they live in the shadow of floods... war and other calamities.”

Pakistan is considered as 8th most dangerous country to live because of the general fear prevailed in the society. The sectarian violence has also a contribution in it as in last sixteen years 3016 incidents of violence happened. For combating sects even to participate in the religious ceremonies like *Ashura* (Observance of symbolic mourning in the remembrance of the carnage anniversary of the Battle of Karbala) but this turn out to be from symbolic to real mourning with an surge of certain violence in the country and *Youm-i-Umer* (The Day of Umer, the second Caliph). Shias are threaten by violence by the sectarian organizations that not to come out from homes on *Ashura*.^{lix} Bomb explosions and threat of explosion is a major tool that is



used from last so many years. Shias are the major victim of it especially on Ashrua, as in 2012, 106 people and in 2013, 84 people lost their lives and considered as peaceful *Ashura* (2015) took the life of 22 people.

The fear can be realized from the interview to BBC of a Shia girl Farishat Hadiri; “We can't even go to the bazaar and the shops near our homes because we are being targeted. We have been warned that all men will be killed. Even women are now being killed.”^{lx}

The case of Shia militants is not different, in their capacity they have been involved in violence and spreading terror and fear and killed so many people of opposite group and also threaten the Sunni theologian.^{lxi} The SMP is also involved in killings and bomb explosions, one such incident was in 1997 in which SSP chief Zia-ur-Rehman Farooqi and 29 other people were died.^{lxii}

Even the educational institutions are not immune of the students belonging to other sect. They are harassed in educational institution and they are frightened and beaten up.^{lxiii} The people who got an opportunity to leave the country as 5000 Hazaris from Baluchistan have migrated to Australia. Even the intellectuals of Shia victim advised their community to leave Pakistan.^{lxiv} The sectarian violence is increasing with fast rate but state which has to give end to fearful environment as it is its obligation but failed to protect the victims from this violence. The conflicting parties' treatment to opposing members is extremely harsh and exemplary and it is making the common people scare. The kind humanitarian words for anyone caused the anger of opposing party. The human rights activists are labelled as non-believers who make a move for its removal. Officials enforcing state's law are also afraid to take action against the militants. Furthermore, the link of the sectarian organizations with the regional and international terrorist



organizations has made no difference between terrorism and sectarianism so their potential to create fear has become more sophisticated.

Maintaining the positive peace demands that the fear should be absent from the society. Sectarian parties spread it to the whole of society. The government is impotent to punish the violators and the approach to maintain peace is also negative as it tries to maintain it with fearful methods. The general public also feel from the result achievements of the sectarians that creating fear is a short cut method to achieve ends.

4.1.2 Freedom from Want and Economic Growth and Development

Galtung refers freedom from want as the life of individuals should not remain as unsatisfied or unsatisfiable from basic needs such as hunger, thrust, shelter etc. Economic growth means that per capita income should be increased and resources are to be better distributed. The question is not only technological developments but also the social development. The indicator that Galtung have discussed in “freedom of want” is a part of economic and social security.

Pakistan’s per capita income is very low and according to World Bank’s statistics it is only 1316 \$ US and by this, in ranking, it is on 175 number in the world.^{lxv} The GDP growth rate is only 4.2%.^{lxvi} The sectarian conflicts got birth out of lack of economic opportunities and freedom from want. According to the research of Sustainable Development Institute (SDPI) the lack of economic opportunities is responsible of 51% conflicts in the country while poverty creates 24 % conflicts.^{lxvii} GPI have given very low points to Pakistan as for as sound business environment is concerned.^{lxviii}

This shows that the general condition of the positive economic peace is not satisfactory in the country. The conflicts are getting birth from the lack of good economy and its distribution. The sectarian violence is also creating problems in the way of economic development as well.



The economic growth demands sound competition in products but for economic gains the competition is carried in violence. The case of Hazaris in Baluchistan and the case of Gilgit-Baldistan are good examples of it. The Hazaris are the challenge to the local well-settled Pathans, so in spite of competing them the local took shelter in the violence.^{lxxix} The other thing is economically active population is restricted through violence to move free, either it is terrified or they are removed from seen. Numbers of businessmen and traders have been a victim of it. The businessmen and traders left with no option than to fund their relative sect's sectarian organizations by moral and material means. The economically active population in different sectors indulged deliberately in sectarianism and instead of contributing to economy they are active in violence. The case of district Jhang is the best example of it.

The sectarian attacks also affected Pakistan by restricting the major economic projects as Sakhoor Argue that in the wake of Pak-China Corridor Project, as Chinese's president visited recently and announced project, the incident of Safoora Chorangi (Sindh) happened and it is just to get restrict Pakistan to get benefit from it and to destabilized Pakistan economically.^{lxxx} This type of violence is to get maximum out of the economic projects for one's owns sect but unfortunately none can get because the foreign countries don't take rest in a country which is sectarian prone. The sectarian organizations are also involved black economy as Aysha Siddiqia discussed, land mafia used them for forcibly evicting the land form owners and they are also involve in land grab business and real estate is closely associated with them.^{lxxxi} It is giving an end to peaceful transition of economic exchanges in the country. Shah (2015) concluded from his research that sectarianism in Pakistan also resulting in illiteracy, poverty and unemployment.^{lxxxii} The sectarian violence also ended the sports from Pakistan as it was a source of income for the country, the sectarian organization LeJ was allegedly engaged in attack on Sri Lankan team in



2009.^{lxxiii} Karachi which has only regulating Sea Ports and economic hub of the country is top in Pakistani cities in Shia-Sunnis conflicts and negative impacts upon the country are obvious.^{lxxiv} After the violent conflicts the mourners march through the streets and roads and make clashes with law enforcing agencies. The vehicles, government buildings, business places and banks are set on fire which gives a loss of millions to the economy.^{lxxv}

The developing countries have a concentrated economies and allocation of resources is also very little and diverse. The sectarianism in Pakistan is not allowing the country to concentrate on industry and business. The allocation is more on the internal national security, therefore the economic sectors suffers because of lack of resources. The economically skilled labor because of violence in society migrates to other countries. Foreign investors are shy to invest in a country where negative peace is absent because they believe if a people are not ready to have an investment of opposite sect how they would allow the foreigner to make investment and to get economic benefits.. This all shows that the positive peace is lacking as for as economic development value is concerned and sectarianism is one of the factor of it.

4.1.3 Equality and Justice

To Gultung (1967) by equality mean all individuals have same value and none is explicitly worth more than others in different types of lives and by justice he means roughly same as equality but there is also the aspect of fundamental rights in it.

The Constitution of Pakistan provides with the equality of citizens and no one is worthwhile on the bases of sect while provision of justice is also the fundamental human rights of the individuals which should be speedy and state will provide an inexpensive justice. Article 4, 24, 25 (1), 25(2), 37 are related with it.^{lxxvi} Though the ground realities are different because



Pakistan is elitist state and the resources are concentrated with elites. The resources have also created the social polarization and elite enjoy the good social. Politically only few families are ruling from last 68 years. It is closed society as for as social mobility is concerned and there is very little in the social structure to be changed.

The justice and justice system also favors elites as it is developed by them and common lot suffer because of this system As the equality and justice pretend to be for “all” ideally and not for “few”, therefore it is argued that the equality and justice as positive values have weak footing in the country. Hussain Ali argues that in almost all the level of lives there is extreme inequality in Pakistan.^{lxxvii} Farooq Trimzi’s argues that in all the sectors of economy there is general disparities.^{lxxviii} According to World Justice Project the legal system (justice system) is “amongst the worst”.^{lxxix} The report of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2014) indicates that human rights position is also not less than worse especially justice is concerned.^{lxxx} The sectarian violence in Pakistan is fatal for equality and justice, two important values of positive peace and thus hinders the process of peace maintenance in the country. The Deobandi constitutes only one fourth of the total population but the state’s official religion is the Deobandi Islam, thus it makes the very religious doctrine of the other Sunnis and Shias as insignificance. The promotion of Deobandi Islam through media, curriculum and other sources also further undermine their social and doctrinal position. Furthermore, the demand that the Shias should be declared as infidels and State should be declared as Sunni Deobandi state also indicates inequality. It is the dilemma that the religious interpretations of few are imposed upon the many. The inequality in political field is also obvious as because of sectarian strength the SSP by Zia and SeM by PPP have been patronized. The present ruling party PML (N) who is criticized for allying itself with Deobandi sectarian organization not only released the people who committed



the violence but also supported their families when they were in jails.^{lxxxix} By this LeJ has preferential treatment in the government while the other sects are under violence and political support for them is stumpy. Economically too, Shias, where they are in minority are facing problem to have economic opportunities and Sunnis are facing the same in the Shia majority areas like Gilgit-Baltistan. The inequality based on sect has lasting impact upon the inequality in society as the state's initiatives in religious affairs, political affairs or economic affairs for one sect make fear in the mind of other groups of domination. The above mentioned evidences proved that state favorers Debandi and the Shias are feeling the heat of inequality. It leads to inequality in general public, as common people justify it on the bases of sect or they commit the acts of inequality as they consider it their right as they pure people.

Sectarianism has also affected the justice system. The state failed to punish 75% people involved in sectarianism each year and released them.^{lxxxix} The justification of it is that there is no evidence which proved that they are criminals. One such example is that of the leader of LeJ Malik Ishaq who in an interview confessed that he has killed 102 people but Supreme Court released him on the notion of "lack of evidence". The problem is with officials related to case enquiry, justice and courts, they are scared to announce punishments for them as number of judges, advocates, police officers and witnesses have been put to death. It is not only with the case of LeJ leader but in other cases to the lives of the officials remain in danger after announcing the case on merit.^{lxxxix} The net result of it is that the advocates and judges, other than victims are not ready to involve themselves in the cases as it may bring violence against them too.. It impact upon the small criminals that the bigger are getting sentence in spite of involvement than they may also go to commit crime.



The state system has also institutionalized the sectarianism in court system as well; the use of blasphemy laws is a clear example. This is used to harm the opposing group and as a result the negative use of this law is common in common people too.^{lxxxiv} The human rights are also facing danger. The demand for declaring Pakistan as Sunni state and declaring Shias as infidels practically mean that Shias would be second class citizens. As Ahmediyis have already been declared non-believers and process will continue to declare all as infidels except the Debandis. The state is already violating the rights by not treating all as equal citizens, by protecting their religious rights, activities and places, by protecting the property and by not providing them life security.

From above discussion, it is not difficult to conclude that Pakistan in general is lacking the equality and justice in society, the two important values of positive peace. The sectarianism between Shia-Debandi has further undermined the position of these values and it is paying a spiteful contribution in non-existence of justice in the society.

4.1.4 Pluralism

Pluralism to Gultung (1967) is the existence of large social and cultural diversity in society with the idea that people co-exist while accepting others. It is a condition in which various distinct ethnic or religious groups remain present and they tolerate and accept each other.

Pluralism demands that the religion should be treated as personal matter and it should not be indulged in daily social and cultural activities. Islam as a religion recognizes human diversity and provides with some principals in order to deal with religious dissimilarity in society.^{lxxxv} The founder of the nation Quaid-i-Azam was secular in his approach and while addressing to the Constituent Assembly he laid the foundation of pluralist society. The Constitution also provides



with the religious freedom and no interference in the others affairs^{lxxxvi} but unlike the dream of founder and the instructions in the law in Pakistan the public with this approach and attitude is very squad and large population consider imposing their religious will upon others as their religious obligation.

According to the report of Pew Research Center Pakistan is on top list out of 198 countries as for as social hostilities which has involvement of religion.^{lxxxvii} Waseem is right to say that the “religious plurality has not been accommodated in the same way as ethnic, neither socially nor politically.^{lxxxviii}

The sectarian violence has adverse relationship with pluralism in Pakistan. The country had plural setting initially, until theologians who didn't have any significant role in the politics used sectarianism as a mood to enter into politics and to enhance social influence. The first major movement was against the Ahmidya Community, the then Muslims (1953) which resulted in the declaration of Ahmidyas as non-Muslims. The sectarian mood of clerics disturbed the hormonal relationship among religious sect. It provides the opportunity to the SSP, whose founders also got fame from anti-Ahmidya movement, to ask for, from Islamic state to Sunni state, to be guided by Sunnis jurisprudence and to declare Shia as infidels. In return Shias started strengthening that TNFJ in order to tackle the battle and it is alleged that it wanted to implement their jurisprudence and Iranian doctrine on Sunnis.^{lxxxix} The demand of the different sects of imposition *Sharia* means that not only *Sharia* is to be imposed but it would be imposed by the sect concern and its follower clerics (sect). This demand does not include the Islamic values of tolerance, justice, liberty and rights and the bigot among them declared these values as invention of West, so unacceptable. The form of government is also different of all of them.



The basic slogan of the LeJ “*Kafir Kafir Shia Kafir, Jo Na Many wo be Kafir*” (Shias are infidels and those who don’t accept they are also infidels) is anti-pluralist of extreme nature that not only the Shias but common non-sectarian people may also be non-believers. Sunnis also demanded that after declaring someone infidel these apostates will be banned from representing the public offices including government and administrative offices. The demand to declare them infidels mean that in future they would also be thrown out of the political, economic and administrative institutions. It shows the level of tolerance and acceptance of others in the country.^{xc} The religious Madrassahs (Schools) are also built on the basis of sectarianism and the education of the *Madrassha* of one sect in actually the development of narrow-mindedness about the others.^{xcⁱ} The anti-plural approach can also be judged from the act of combating over the mosques, which is the house of God and it is of all.^{xcⁱⁱ} The national governments and state are also not immune from this, rather they add in. State put pressure on its functionaries and officials to declare openly about their religious background.^{xcⁱⁱⁱ}

The country is also facing the international pressure of the international organizations and world powers for getting rid from sectarianism^{xc^{iv}} and give rise to humanism also indicate that that the absence of pluralism is so obvious that even the groups outside of country can realize it. The secular and liberal element in population which has non-sect based plural approach are marginalized by state during Zia and now these voices are too small and have been made insignificant to keep intact a plural society.^{xc^v} It also confirms the absence of pluralism because the increase in the number and influence of secular people reduce the amount of sectarianism.

The sectarian violence gave birth to strong Islamic establishment (sect based religious grouping operating in educational, social, political domains of public activity for share interests. Their share interests are in the Islamization and growing extremist trends in the society. This



establishment divided into Sunni and Shia sects and then into so many cults within.^{xcvi} Their influence has been penetrated to the very roots of society and the divide on the bases of sect is natural.

Pluralism is a vital and undeniable value for the development of positive peace in the society and nation. No other value is hit hard by the sectarian violence in Pakistan than this. The people are divided into different sects and doctrinal clashes are frequent. The method to get identity and other material benefits is violence, in order to undermine the influence of opposing sect. The Madrassha, the media, the school curriculum is also based on sectarianism. So for people to develop their own culture and to participate in cultural activities is very difficult as attacks of Ashura are example and the cultural tools like *Punjia* of Shias is look down upon by the opposing sects. The lack of pluralism in society is badly affecting the pluralism in high structure like politics where there is also marginalization of the minority sects.

4.1.5. Dynamism

To Galtung (1967) dynamism means that parts of the nations are constructed in such a way that conditions for change or change is to be built into structure and to keep the options left open for the future generations for change. Dynamism is the feature of the economically, socially and politically developed nations which have developed their systems and structures to solid bases. The individual there is dynamic and he is restlessly busy in transforming his environment, improving his conditions and recasting his thinking about reality. On opposite to him, the individuals in developing nations are static, who are living in changeless environment, they detest innovation and their production techniques, social set-up and beliefs are governed by traditions.^{xcvii}



Pakistan is under-developed nation and its political and social system has not get growth to the dynamic level and the features of static society are fit for it. But as like many other developing nations, it is also marching from static to dynamic structure, so therefore, the relationship of sectarian violence and dynamism is essential for our study. Religion is significant feature of the Pakistani society and even seculars in order to avoid the attacks of extremists used to call themselves religious. The learning of religion starts from home to mosque and then Islamic Studies is compulsory in school till 14 years of education the people are traditional loving and consider clerics and preachers as righteous and they are serving the religion and blindly follow them and these all clerics don't allow change to come to pass in social institutions.^{xcviii} Without going into sectarianism it is clear from the above statements that parties involved in the sectarian violence are not the forces of change rather of status-quo. In combating each other their interest pushed them to be ultra-conservative in the society as more affiliation and attachment provides them security and defense from the combating party.

The sectarian violence has uprooted the negative peace in the society which is sophisticatedly necessary in the society for peaceful change. The violence have caused casualties of thousands of scholars and intellectuals from both sects and ultimately while taking advantage of this situation the other miscreant forces have also killed the moderate, neutral and enlighten personalities and leadership like Hakeem Saeed, Dr. Murtaza Malik, Salah ud Din and many others The lives of the existing such kind of people is also at stake.^{xcix} The intellectual with their intellect offer solutions of the existing problems and then lay the firework of adjusting in the new environment and for change and adjustment they are necessary. The environment of the country should also be conducive for the acceptance of the condition of change and to bring change. The public is cleric loving and follow them blindly. The clerics and seminaries have been developed



on sectarian bases. The education system in this school is far from modern outlook but it has reactionary type of impact students. The syllabi have not been changed from last thousands of years. According To Dr Tariq Rehman research that 76% of the Madrassha students are against freedom of expression and 81.6% are against the rights for opposing sects. Their thinking excludes the science and critical thinking.^c The Debandis are fundamental while the Shias are Iran-centered and both don't want to leave an inch from their positions and because of their influence they spread the same in society first as teaching and second as method to keep the follower with them and third to have a mass support. The net result is the ultra-conservative environment in which word change and provision of conditions for change are both crimes and religiously fatal.

Pakistan's government on interventionist state mobilizes the sectarian identities for strengthening its power. Government in the wake of this need used the Islamic establishment which is setting in every department of government and life. In return government gets the fortification but this establishment gets stronger and the marginalization of the people of change is natural.

The dynamism like pluralism is very essential condition for Gultung. Pakistan generally lack this condition as its structure is immature and diverse. Sectarian violence between Shia and Deobandi further demoralize by adding their conservative outlook and non-acceptance of others and their innovations and techniques.

5.1 Conclusion and Recommendations

Peace is the necessary requirement for the life of ease and progress in all fields of lives. The nations are striving hard to maintain peace in their society and to get fruits of the progress



and prosperity. The general environment of the Pakistani society is not peaceful and it is deficient in tolerance and acceptance of others in society. One of the majors' causes is the sectarian scuffle and violence between the Shia and Deoband. This struggle had been started centuries ago in Arab Peninsula and then it is spread in same position in India before partition and in Pakistan after partition. Iranian Revolution 1979, Afghan Jihad, the Iran-Saudi rivalry in middle-east and Iran-Iraq as an external factor while Islamization in Pakistan, Increase number of religious seminaries and economic concerns as an internal factor strengthens this sectarian divide and violence. This sectarian violence is less for identity and it is more for material concerns. The landscape of the violence was simple in start as it was restricted to some areas of Punjab but now it has become complex as it has spread to all areas of Pakistan.

The impact of this violence on the peace maintenance in Pakistan is looked in the framework of Juhan Gultungs concept of negative and positive peace. The empirical evidences proved that the peace and sectarian violence in Pakistan have adverse relationship. The increase in violence makes the peace maintenance despondent. Though, state provides with the framework theoretically for the maintenance of peace and it has personnel for this duty. Still society has become violent and because of direct violence and thousands of people has lost their lives and the rest are in the state of fear which indicates that negative peace is absence. The Constitution and municipal law also provides the framework for the positive peace values mentioned by Gultung but in practice they are not applied and the sectarian violence is also contributing to the failure of state to maintain positive peace in society. Ultimately it give rise to structure which is violent and does not allow the people to have integration and to get justice, equality, economic progress, to get rid from fear, to live in plural society and to have space for change.



These are recommendation that may help the state and society to maintain the negative and positive peace. The recommendation for the maintenance of negative peace a bit easy to put but for positive peace maintenance a more lucid approach is required. For the maintenance of negative peace the tensions between Deobandis and Shias may be curtailed by bringing them on the talk tables, as a first option and reformative option, with government as the arbitrator between them. The speeches, strikes and sectarian literature may be removed by their mutual agreement. If it fails, then preventive measures may be taken. In this regard the specific legislation may be made for the removal of sectarian violence. Along with this a separate police force wing should be created specifically for this purpose and they may be equipped with the modern weapons. It should also let free to independently pursue the cases and to investigate the matters. The sectarian organizations may be banned and those who are still potential after being banned may be checked. As in constitution that no one can use speech and literature which may harm the religious emotions of anyone, the clerics are faithful of any sects if would also be taken under anti-sectarianism laws. The facilitators may also be held under the anti-sectarianism laws as the sectarians. The change is to be brought in Political Parties Act and anti-sectarian parties may be banned, it will also remove the sectarianism from politics. The religious political parties which are openly sectarian may be banned. There is also need to bring reforms in *Madarassha* which are not involved in terrorism and they may be taken in governmental control and knowledge of languages, science and logic may also be introduced. There is also need to remove the sectarian base of these *Madarsshas*. The terrorism prone *Madrassha* may be debarred to function. The help from outside is also to be checked. These all measures and reforms may remove the direct violence and may bring the negative peace.



The absence of violence is not only essential for positive peace; rather there is a need of build up a social structure which would bring peace, equality, justice, pluralism and dynamism in society. The education system which would provide the social vigilance is to be built up. The democratic institutions are to be made strengthen and notion of welfare states is to be employed in its true spirit. The judiciary may be independent from the executive in its domain and the other institutions related with justice may be given special priority. The people may have the right of expression and media may be free. The people may have the right of equality of opportunity in all level of life and special arrangements are to be made for the equality in all levels of lives. The state may co-opt and empower the free thinkers, philosophers and scientists. The curriculum in institutes may be changed and may be replaced with the modern knowledge and knowledge that may make the open minds those who would accept the change in mind and in society. These all measures and reforms may create a structure in the society which may give an end to the structural violence and bring about the positive peace and may maintain it in long run.

End Notes

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