

War on Terror: Emerging Challenges for Pakistan

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Abstract

9/11 terrorist attacks transformed the entire World Politics and triggered the new wave of terrorism. In this incident US tolerated \$ 100 billion economic damages and lives of 2996 Americans in World Trade Center and Pentagon. US congress unanimously passed Patriotic Act for homeland security and announced War on Terror. Pakistan became the US ally in War on Terror and in war's measures against terrorism. This study focused to get consideration of International community to understand the impacts on socio-economic and political fields of Pakistan due to Front-line state role. In this mixed method research work qualitative and quantitative techniques were applied to investigate the impacts on Pakistan due to participation in WOT. Results showed that territorial sovereignty and security was at risk. Furthermore, Pakistani public were highly deprived in socio-economic and political fields since participation in WOT. War expenditures and other economic suffering of Pakistan are US\$ 126.79 billion equivalent to Rs.10762.64 billion.¹ Furthermore, death toll had increased to 70000.

Keywords: AF-Pak Region, Exploitation, Socio-economic Degradation, Psychological Impact, Political Chaos, Radicalism, Extremism, Ethnic Conflict.

Introduction:

All actions that cause the deaths or injuries of innocent people and destruction of infrastructures are known as terrorism. The consequences of War on Terror and its socio-political, economic, religious and psychological impacts on Pakistani society are destructive. Cost of terrorism in Pakistan are destruction of infrastructure, decline in economic development, political instability, a pause in social life, fundamentalism, extremism, ethnic-cum-sectarian conflicts and lowering foreign direct investment.² War expenditures and other economic suffering of Pakistan are US\$ 126.79 billion.³ Furthermore, almost 81860 people have lost their lives in Pakistan e.g. 49500 are citizens, 5498 security personnel and 26862 terrorists.⁴ In 2019, Prime Minister Imran Khan in his visit to US said that Pakistan had suffered above 75,000 fatalities and lost

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¹Ministry of Finance, "Impact of War in Afghanistan and Ensuing Terrorism on Pakistan's Economy". www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapters_18/Annex_IV_Impact%20of%20War.pdf. 2018.

²Khan, Tariq. "Social, Political and Economic Effects of the War on Terror: Pakistan 2009 To 2011". ISSRA Papers www.ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/articles/.../04-Policy-Paper-Tariq-Khan.pdf. 2013.

³Ibid. Ministry of Finance, "Impact of War".

⁴Tribune, "80,000 Pakistanis killed in US 'War on Terror': report". (March 29, 2015). <https://tribune.com.pk/story/860790/80000-pakistanis-killed-in-us-war-on-terror-report/>.

more than \$120 billion.⁵ After Afghan War, AF-Pak region once again came in limelight when US planned the global War on Terror. At this critical juncture, Pakistan decided to become US' ally in War on Terror in order to save Pakistan from US invasion. This decision annoyed Taliban and militant organizations in Pakistan especially in tribal regions. So, they challenged the writ of the government and started terror attacks within Pakistani territory. Consequently, in 2004, Pakistan military launched operations against terrorists to end their influence and panic activities. Terrorism had traumatized Pakistan's image in the international community and all fabric of Pakistani society.⁶ Moreover, the strategic partnership of US, India, Afghanistan, and Iran imposed severe caution to Pakistan's national security.⁷

In 21st century, internal national security dilemmas for Pakistan are terrorism, suicidal attacks, target killings, bomb blasting, depraved law and order situation, displacement of millions of citizens due to the presence of terrorists and military operations in tribal areas. External challenges are Afghanistan, Indian, Iranian and American's aggressive outlook towards Pakistan, which posed many threats to Pakistan's national security and stability. Pakistan had been playing a role of strong and vibrant military and logistic ally in War on Terror. Unfortunately, Pakistan's contributions to the said war became complex and controversial due to conspiracies and propagandas. Furthermore, the repercussions of the said war had disturbed all fabric of Pakistani society and distorted image of Pakistan in the international community. This research work will provide the comprehensive knowledge and statistic data about the effects of US invasion in Afghanistan and Pakistan's participation in War on Terror. Moreover, war impacts on political, economic, security, social, religious and psychological spheres of Pakistan would also be discussed in this research work.

Research Methodology:

This Research work was written on the base of extensive review of documentary sources, including: news reports, historical documents, legal reports, analysts' reports, Government documents and books evidence. This research was based on content analysis techniques a combination of qualitative and quantitative research for collecting data. It was a very appropriate technique to elaborate and analyzed textual and statistic material. To investigate the answers of the problems both qualitative and quantitative techniques were applied to analyzed by referencing textual quotations and statistic data. The previous researches about consequences of War on Terror were analyzed in this research work to deduct impacts of War on Terror on security, socio-economic political and religious fields of Pakistan.

⁵ Hussain, Shaiq. & Gerberg, Jon. "Imran Khan visits Trump's White House amid hopes for a reset in U.S.-Pakistan ties". https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/imran-khan-visits-trumps-white-house-amid-hopes-for-a-reset-in-us-pakistan-ties/2019/07/19/fe1ac542-a93b-11e9-ac16-90dd7e5716bc_story.html?noredirect=on. 2019.

⁶ Ibid. Khan, "Social Effects".

⁷ Jackson, Van. "The Pentagon's Third Offset Strategy: What US Allies and Partners Need to Know What's behind the Pentagon's Thinking"? <http://thediplomat.com/2015/04/the-pentagons-third-offset-strategy-what-us-allies-and-partners-need-to-know>. 2015.

Impacts of War on Terror on National Security of Pakistan:

I- Terrorism:

Terrorism is the worst impact which emerged in Pakistan due to participation in War on Terror. In 2001, Pakistan joined War on Terror as a non-NATO ally which ruined economic, political, social and religious segments of society. In 2015, a research project reported that more than 80,000 people have been killed in the War on Terror in Pakistan.⁸

In terms of economy, the cost of War on Terror for Pakistan till 2015 was US\$ 117.8 billion FATA Rs.68.5 billion, Sindh Rs.16.5 billion, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Rs.15 billion, Punjab Rs.13.4billion, Balochistan Rs.4.3 billion, Gilgit-Baltistan Rs. 358.1 million and Kashmir 12.6 million.⁹ During the last 17 years a huge amount US\$ 126.79 billion equivalent to Rs. 10,762.64 billion were incurred directly or indirectly by Pakistan due to incidents of terrorism.¹⁰

Table-1: Estimated Losses (2001-2018)

Year	Billion \$	Billion Rs.
2001-02	2.67	163.90
2002-03	2.75	160.80
2003-04	2.93	168.80
2004-05	3.41	202.40
2005-06	3.99	238.60
2006-07	4.67	283.20
2007-08	6.94	434.10
2008-09	9.18	720.60
2009-10	13.56	1136.40
2010-11	23.77	2037.33
2011-12	11.98	1052.77
2012-13	9.97	964.24
2013-14	7.70	791.52
2014-15	9.24	936.30
2015-16	6.49	675.76
2016-17	5.47	572.60
2017-18	2.07	223.32
Total	126.79	10,762.64

Source: M/o Finance, M/o Interior, M/o Commerce, M/o Foreign Affairs Joint Ministerial Grouping to Economic Survey 2017-201

Table-2: Fatalities in Terrorism/Violence in Pakistan: 2001-2019*

Year	Civilians	Security Force	Terrorists/Insurgents	Total
2001-2005	1122	305	450	1877
2006-2010	- 8405	3036	19482	30923

⁸Ibid. Tribune, “80,000 Pakistanis killed”.

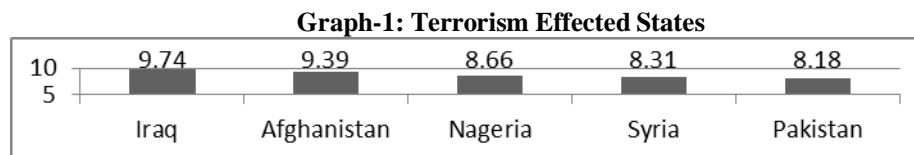
⁹Economic Survey, “Pakistan Suffers \$123.1 Billion Losses in Terror War”.
<https://www.thenews.com.pk/206709-Pakistan-suffers-1231-bn-losses-in-terror-war>. 2016-2017.

¹⁰Ibid. Ministry of Finance, “Impact of War”.

2011-2015	11467	3045	12559	27071
2016-2019*	1618	741	1623	3982
Total	22612	7127	34114	63853

Source: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>.15, till June 2019*

In 2001, global environment compelled Pakistan to join War on Terror and later to conduct military operations against the home grown militant organizations and foreign organizations. A report on the impacts of War on Terror described that 1300000 people were killed in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan in which one million people were from Iraq alone.¹¹ Brown University department of International and Public Affairs reported that 173000 people had been died and 18300 wounded or crippled for life time in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In Pakistan 32100 civilians, 33000 terrorists, 8314 army personnel had lost their lives and 40792 were injured.¹² Global Terrorism Index 2018 was ranked at 5th in most terrorism effected states.



Source: [Global Terrorism Index Institute for Economics & Peace](https://www.economicshelp.com/global-terrorism-index/)2018

Table-3: Categories of Casualties in Pakistan

Categories	No. of Deaths
Civilians	48504
Security forces	5498
Deaths in Drone Attacks	951
Media and press members	45
Terrorist/militants/insurgents	26862
Total	82941

Source: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/860790/80000-pakistanis-killed-in-us-war-on-terror-report>

II- Territorial Sovereignty at Risk:

1- Drone Attacks:-Unfortunately, due to lack of reliable strategy or policy to halt drone attacks, Pakistan has to face violation of territorial sovereignty. Since 2004, Government has adopted the policy of condemning the drone attacks but failed to cease this violation. Drone attacks were not useful to control terrorism as they created anti-American and anti-Pakistani rhetoric.¹³ Similarly, Maryland poll stated that 99.9%

¹¹ Aljazeera Watson Institute, "Americans Have Yet to Grasp the Horrific Magnitude of the 'War on Terror'", aljazeera.com/americans-have-yet-to-grasp-the-horrific-magnitude-of-the-war-on-terror-in-pakistan. (April 10, 2015).

¹² Kiley, Gillian. "Costs of War: Death Toll from War in Afghanistan and Pakistan Climbs to 173,000". [AG#q=death+toll+in+war+on+terror+in+pakistan](http://ag#q=death+toll+in+war+on+terror+in+pakistan). 2016.

¹³ Smith, Clive. Stafford. "Will Pakistan Finally Stand up against Illegal US Drone Attacks"? www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/may/12/pakistan-us-drone-strikes. 2013.

Pakistanis were bitterly against the drone attacks.¹⁴ But still US' Administration said these strikes were blessing to defeat Al-Qaeda's high value leaders or Taliban leaders. Royal Holloway University report investigated deep relationship between Suicide attacks and Drone attacks in Pakistan and concluded that drone attacks caused Suicidal attacks.¹⁵

Statistics: Drone Strikes and Casualties in Pakistan 2004-2019

George Bush January 20 2001 to January 20 2009	=51 strikes
Barack Obama January 20 2009 to January 20 2017	=373 strikes
Donald Trump January 20 2017 onwards	=6 strikes
First confirmed drone strike	= June 19, 2004
Latest confirmed drone strike	= July 04, 2018
People killed	= 4026
Civilians killed	=969
Children killed	=207

Source: www.the.bureau.of.investigative.journalism.com

2- NATO Attacks:-On June 10, 2008, US-led NATO forces attacked on Pakistani territorial region and dropped bombs which killed 11 Pakistani soldiers.¹⁶ Again in November, 2011, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) helicopters killed 24 soldiers and wounded 12 soldiers on a check post on Pak-Afghan border in Salala (Tehsil Bayzai area of Mohmand Agency) and nearby areas. This check post attack aggravated US-Pakistan relations.¹⁷ High profile personalities and politicians in Pakistan condemned these NATO attacks and called it against national security and territorial sovereignty.¹⁸

III- Security Issues:

The prevailing concern of Pakistan is national security both interior and exterior security. Pakistan has incompatible relations with India since 1947. Therefore, Pakistan has adopted friendly relations with other neighboring states to avoid military fronts. Unfortunately, terrorism and radicalism in FATA has been caused confrontations with Afghanistan since 2001. This posed dual armed intimidations and spoiled the Pakistan's policy to maintain cordial relations with other neighbors. Since 2001, Pakistan had to deployed military troops along the border with Afghanistan. Owing to War on Terror, Pakistan was compelled to shift about ninety thousand troops from the eastern Indian border to the emerging threat from Afghanistan border. This phenomenon had derailed the security plan and strategy of Pakistan.¹⁹

Similarly, due to terrorist organizations in Pakistan, international community behavior has become negative towards Pakistan, including close friends like China and

¹⁴ Riedel, Bruce. *“Deadly Embrace: Pakistan America and Future of the Global Jihad”*. (New York: Brooking Institution Press, 2012).

¹⁵ Saeed, Luqman., Spagat, Mike. & Overton, Iain. *“Drone Strikes and suicide Attacks in Pakistan: An Analysis”*. <https://reliefweb.int>. 2019.

¹⁶ Bajwa, Abubakar. Amin. *“Inside Waziristan Journey from War to Peace-insight into the Taliban Movement and an Account of Protecting People from Terrorists”*. (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2013).

¹⁷ Fair, Christine. & Gregory, Shaun. *“Pakistan in National and Regional Change: State and Society in Flux”*. (London: Rutledge, 2013).

¹⁸ Firdous, Iftikhar. *“24 Soldiers Killed in NATO Attack on Pakistan Check Post”*. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/297979/nato-jets-attack-checkpost-on-pak-afghan-border>. 2011.

¹⁹ Jaspal, Zafar. Nawaz. *“Threat of Extremism & Terrorist Syndicate beyond FATA”*. Journal of Political Studies, Vol. 1, Issue 2, 19-49 <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/Currentissue-pdf/Zafar2.pdf>. 2006.

Iran. At this stage, Pakistan has lost many reliable friends and allies on the other hand, have added many enemies. China, Bangladesh and Iran were going into mutual defense assistance; Pakistan would be a part of such military exercises to increase its security and strength.²⁰ Major threats which demand serious concerns are as follows:

- Militants uprising due to an ally in War on Terror.
- Insurgency Campaign and Army operations within state.

Government of Pakistan is facing worst internal security challenges. Three wars with India and Afghanistan War had introduced the Kalashnikov culture, smuggling and drug cartel in Pakistan. War on Terror had turned Taliban's sentiments against Pakistan which further intricate the dismal situation. Unfortunately, FATA, Baluchistan and Karachi conditions were nightmares and major hurdles in the way of peace, advancement and stability.

Although Pakistan army has launched counter-insurgency campaign against terrorist organizations yet many terrorists'/extremists' organizations had strong grip in North Waziristan and neighboring areas. The worsening internal security situation has destroyed Pakistan's national security. Almost 150,000 soldiers were positioned in Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa and FATA to tackle terrorists/ militants. Army fatalities in Operation Al-Mizan were particularly high and had been reached to 6000 deaths since 2001. Similarly, civilians deaths were almost 50,000.²¹

Furthermore, the withdraw strategy of the US has opened a new chapter of controversies and threats for Pakistan. Major issue is that Afghan national security forces and Police are incompetent to manage complex situation without coalition troops.²²

IV- Terrorists Revenge against Pakistan Army:

Military operations have rooted the anti-Army sentiments in terrorists and they had threatened for at least 40 times with full intensity. On October 10, 2009, General Headquarter in Rawalpindi detained with 42 army persons for several hours. This episode ended with the deaths of nine attackers, while two were arrested. Army lost 14 soldiers in this operation.²³ On May 22, 2011, at Mehran Naval headquarter Karachi, 15 terrorists attacked and this chapter closed with the deaths of 13 terrorists while two run away and Pakistan navy lost 18 navy personnel and injured 16 personnel.²⁴ On October 23, 2012, Minhas Military Air Base at Kamra in Attock was attacked by seven terrorists. This incident ended with the killing of eight terrorists, two security officials and six other people.²⁵ In December, 2012, Bacha Khan International Airport Air Force Base was attacked with a rocket barrage. In this tiff, seven people died and five out of ten militants were killed.²⁶ On December 16, 2014, Army Public School (APS) attacked by terrorists caused the death of 131 schoolchildren and 10 school and college teachers (Khan, 2014).

²⁰Khan, Zahid. Ali. "Military Operations in FATA and PATA: Implications for Pakistan". www.issi.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/1339999992_58398784.pdf. 2009.

²¹Kanwal, Gurmeet. "Security Challenges: Will The Military Cope"? <http://www.ipcs.org/issue-brief/pakistan/pakistans-internal-security-challenges-will-the-military-cope-230.html>. 2013.

²²Ibid. Kanwal, "Security Challenges".

²³Dawn, "Timeline of Pakistan's Defense Sites Attacked by Militants". (August 16, 2012). <http://beta.dawn.com/news/742602/timeline-of-pakistans-defence-sites-attacked-by-militant>.

²⁴Ibid. ²⁴Dawn, "Pakistan's Defense"

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Dawn, "Audacious Attack on Peshawar (PAF) Base Pakistan". www.dawn.com/news/771632. (December 16, 2012).

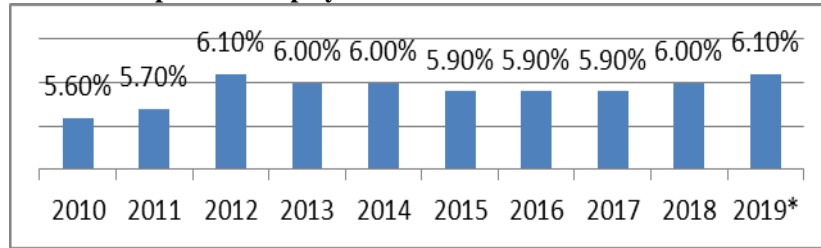
A- Impacts of War on Terror on Economy:

War on Terror caused multi-dimensional economic losses for Pakistan e.g. decreased in foreign direct investment, destruction of infrastructure and bad business and work circumstances. On the other hand military operations and participation in the said war increased security expenditures.²⁷

I- Sky-Rocketing Poverty and Unemployment:

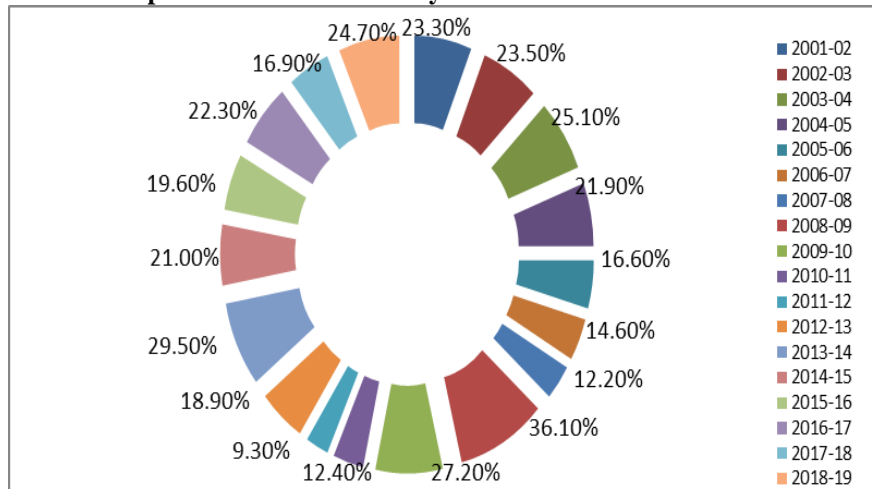
According to a survey result, 60 million Pakistanis are living below the poverty line (Khan, 2016) Prime Minister Imran Khan said that above 40% people are living below poverty line.²⁸ Unemployment in Pakistan increased from 5.7 million to 5.9 million.²⁹ Unfortunately, poverty and unemployment increased due to terrorism.

Graph-3: Unemployment Rate in Pakistan: 2010-2019*



Source: <http://The tradingeconomics.com>

Graph-2: Data About Poverty Level In Pakistan: 2001-2019*



Source: World Bank Report

²⁷ Chughtai, Muhammad. Waqas. "The Impact of Rising Terrorism and Military Operations on Socio Economic Culture of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan". frc.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/2.pdf. 2013.

²⁸ Dunya News, "PM Imran Khan Speech Today".

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a3RCYSmsYmY>. (17 August 2019).

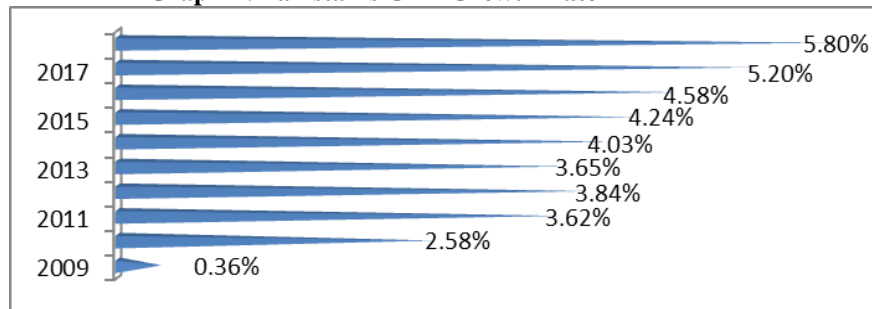
²⁹ Pakistan Bureau of Statistic, "Pakistan Bureau of Statistic Report about Drone Attacks". www.pbs.gov.pk/. 2016.

II- Economic degradation:

World Bank publication of 2016 revealed that economic status of world economies in which India is ranked 130th, Pakistan 138th, Bangladesh 174th and Afghanistan 177th out of 177 countries.³⁰

World Bank Economic report about South Asia stated that Pakistan is the second-slowest growing economy in South Asia with growth rate 4.4%. The first-slowest economy is Afghanistan with growth rate of 2.5%; while India is leading regional growth rate with 7.5% growth rate.³¹ Unfortunately, Pakistan didn't achieve economic growth goal of 5.5 percent in the fiscal year 2015-16 as it remained 4.5 percent.³² Economic growth rate was 5.2 in 2016-17 and 5.8 in 2017-18.³³

Graph-4: Pakistan's GDP Growth Rate



Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics

Total economic loss was \$67.926 billion from 2001 to 2010.³⁴ According to Economic Survey, 2015-16 War expenditures were \$118.32 billion which reached to \$123.1 in 2017.³⁵ Ministry of Finance exposed that War on Terror expenditures and other economic sufferings of Pakistan were US\$ 126.79 billion in 2018. Moreover, a large number of Afghan refugees had deteriorated economy and peace of host state.

Economic activities and progress required peace and security. Inappropriately, the writ of the government and soft image of Pakistan has been ruined by terrorists. This caused decrease in foreign direct investment from \$ 463 million to \$1.116 billion in Pakistan.³⁶ Pakistan had tolerated a loss of about US\$ 126.79 billion³⁷ on the other hand Pakistan had received foreign aids \$25.91 billion from the US in terms of military and economic assistance. Approximately, military aid was \$17.22 billion and economic

³⁰ Rana, Shahbaz. & Alam, Mohsin. "Pakistan Now 138th Among 189 Economies". *The Express Tribune*, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/980732/pakistan-ranks-138-of-189-in-ease-of-doing-business-index-world-bank-report/>. (October 29th, 2015).

³¹ Rana, Shahbaz. "World Bank Projects: Pakistan's Economic Growth at 4.4%. Pakistan: Set to be Second-Slowest Growing Economy in South Asia". <https://tribune.com.pk/story/870142/world-bank-projects-pakistans-economic-growth-at-4-4/>. 2015.

³² Kiani, Khaleeq. "Pakistan Misses Economic Growth Target". <https://www.dawn.com/news/125974>. 2016.

³³ Ibid. "Pakistan Bureau of Statistics".

³⁴ Haider, Muhammad. "Pakistan Suffered \$100 Billion Losses in War on Terror". (2013). <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-23252-Pakistan-suffered-100-bn-losses-in-war-on-terror>.

³⁵ Ibid. Economic Survey "Pakistan suffers \$123.1 Billion".

³⁶ Dawn. "Pakistan Suffered \$ 67.93bn Losses Due to Operation against Militants". (June 19, 2011).

<http://beta.dawn.com/news/637775/pakistan-suffered-67-93bn-losses-due-to-operation-against-militants>.

³⁷ Ibid. Ministry of Finance, "Impact of War".

assistance was \$8.68 billion.³⁸ Unfortunately, terrorism has destroyed economy of Pakistan and it's very difficult to estimate the real economic cost of War on Terror.

US Aid to Pakistan details are as follow:

- Coalition Support Fund : \$10.68 billions
- Foreign Military Financing :\$2.75 billion
- Pakistan Counter Insurgency Fund : \$2.35 billion
- Global Training and Equipment: \$312 million
- Counter-Narcotics Funds: \$265 million
- International Disaster Assistance:\$27 million
- International Narcotics Control: \$717 million
- Anti-Terrorism Assistance:\$115 million
- Economic Support Fund :\$6.61 billion
- International Disaster Assistance:\$704 million
- Food Aid :\$572 million
- Development Assistance:\$286 million
- Child Survival and Health:\$249 million
- Migration and Refugee Assistance:\$248 million
- Human Rights & Democracy Funds:\$17 million.³⁹

III- Destruction of Infrastructure:

US have launched more than 400 drone attacks and many NATO attacks in Pakistan since 2001. Similarly, Pak-Army has also conducted a series of operations against terrorists since 2004. Moreover, terrorists were involved in many destructive activities e.g. destruction of gas-pipelines, roads, railway lines, government buildings, schools and cinemas by bomb blasts and suicide attacks which caused the destruction of infrastructure in Pakistan.⁴⁰

C- Impacts of War on Terror on Political Sphere:

Participation in War on Terror ruined the soft image of Pakistan in the local, regional and international scenario. Furthermore, democratic set-up, national integration, law and order situation and political culture have been damaged horribly due to the said war.

I- Damage National Integration:

So called religious scholars have damaged the religious approach and national integration in Pakistan. Islamic teaching is against ethnic and religious discriminations e.g. Shia-Sunni splitting up. Unfortunately, religious scholars were detrimental the true teaching of Islam and national integration for self-interest. Karachi, FATA and Baluchistan's peace conditions were down spiral. In spite of the army operations, domestic and foreign terrorist's organizations and associations were working in Pakistan. Even in 2013, two suicidal bombers blew Church in Pakistan which caused the deaths of 78 Christians.⁴¹

³⁸The Nation, "Pakistan 'Received \$25.91b' from US since 9/11". (June 27, 2013). <http://nation.com.pk/national/27-Jun-2013/pakistan-received-25-91b-from-us-since-9-11>.

³⁹Ibid. The Nation, "Pakistan 'Received \$25.91b'".

⁴⁰Ibid. Khan, "Social Effects".

⁴¹Aziz, Fayaz. "Suicide Bombers Kill 78 Christians Outside Pakistani Church". (2013). <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/09/22/us-pakistan blast.idUBRE98L02K20130922.5>

Attacks on Mosques in Pakistan: 2002-2019*

	Incidents	Killed	Injured
Total	105	1371	2776

Source: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>

Anti-American Rhetoric:

There are some involvements and activities of US in Pakistan that had created anti-American sentiments in Pakistani public such as drone attacks, rumors about the presence of Black Water, CIA agents, NATO attack at Salala base and Operation Geronimo/ Operation Neptune Spear. People assumed that these activities were criminals and against territorial sovereignty of Pakistan. Furthermore, innocent men, women, and children's deaths in drone strikes had molded public opinions against America. A survey report 'Terror Free Tomorrow' describes that 73% people were against American presence in Pakistan, 77% of Pakistani said that foreign troops were not allowed to take any action in Pakistan and 93% people considered that drone strikes were illegal.⁴² These attacks and operations in Pakistan caused reaction against NATO.

Table-6: Attacks against NATO 2008-2019*

Year	Incidents	Killed	Injured
2008	8	6	54
2009	25	12	20
2010	99	37	64
2011	108	54	71
2012	20	5	11
2013	31	19	16
2014	18	11	18
2015	0	0	0
2016	0	0	0
2017	0	0	0
2018	0	0	0
2019*	0	0	0

Sources: South Asia Terrorism Portal

II- Anti-State and Anti-Politicians Sentiments:

Owing to wrong policies and unpopular decisions of politicians, people of Pakistan became anti-State and anti-Politicians. Furthermore, illegal deaths of innocents in drone attacks and coalitions forces operations victims were probably joined hands with terrorist organizations against politicians and Government officials. Details about attacks on Politicians since involvement in War on Terror were as follow:

- 2003 attack against President Pervez Musharraf.
- 2004 attack against PM Shaukat Aziz.
- 2004 attack against Balochistan chief minister Jam Muhammad Yousuf.
- 2007 attack against Interior Minister Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao.
- 2007 attack against Federal Minister Amir Muqam.

⁴²Kull, Steven. *"Feeling Betrayed: The Roots of Muslim Anger at America"*. (New York: Brookings Institute Press, 2011).

- 2007 assassination of Benazir Bhutto.
- 2008 attack against Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani.
- 2008 attack against ANP Chief Asfandiyar Wali.
- 2008 attack against MNA of PML-N Rashid Akbar Nawani.
- 2009 attack against Federal Minister Hamid Saeed Kazmi.
- 2010 attack against JUI Chief Fazlur Rehman.
- 2010 attack against Balochistan Governor Zulfikar Ali Magsi.
- 2010 attack against Balochistan Chief Minister Nawab Aslam Raisani.
- 2011 assassination of Governor Punjab Sulman Taseer.
- 2013 attack against Fakhur Islam of MQM.
- 2013 assassination of Bashir Ahmad Bilor.
- 2016 attack against Chief Minister of Balochistan Sanaullah Zehri.
- 2017 suicidal attack on deputy chairman of senate Abdul Gafor Hadri.
- 2018 assassination of Shafiq Bilor.
- 2018 assassination of JUI member Maulana Sami-ul-Haq.

Source: Researcher collected data from different websites and newspapers

D- Impacts of War on Terror on Social Fabric:

Disorder in the social life, increasing crime rate, internally displaced People (IDPs), unemployment, suicidal attackers are undesirable social impacts on Pakistani society due to involvement in War on Terror.

I- Disorder in the Social life:

Everyday life has been totally troubled in the war regions (seven tribal agencies and six frontier regions) as families cannot enjoy functions. Tribal Festivals and traditional functions have lost charm due to terror. Traditional judicial system (Jirga) to resolve local conflicts and problems and community-based meetings are reduced due to the fear and terror. Terrorist's activities, US drone attacks and even military operations have spoiled the social life of affected regions. Even troubled regions people hesitate to rescue and help the injured people. Uncertainties about the CIA agents working in these regions further stir the miserable situation and spread fear.⁴³

Latest various terrorism trends have resulted in complex and diverse crimes e.g. kidnapping for ransom, bank robbery and other shocking offences. Increasing crime rate has created unrest, instability and sense of insecurity among public. According to the national crime data just in five years 3170889 offences were registered in which 456552 reports were against persons and 611,852 property cases.⁴⁴

II- Internally Displaced People (IDPs):

Five million people were displaced due to terrorists' activities, military operations and drone attacks which were supposed as one of the largest displacements in the history of Pakistan. People moved to the other areas of the country due to instability and security issues.

Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies found that approximately 428000 people were displaced from South Waziristan, 400000 people from Orakzai agency, 383190 from

⁴³Benjamin, Medea., & Ehrenreich, Barbara. *"Drone Warfare: Killing by Remotes Control"*. (New York: Verso Book, 2013).

⁴⁴The News, *"Crime Report of Five Years Issues"*. (March 29, 2013). <https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/629546-crime-report-of-five-years-issued>.

Malakand division, 84000 to 100000 from Khyber agency and 750000 from Mohmand and Bajaur agencies. In which almost 382950 people returned home while 20777 are still in the camps.⁴⁵

Aurat Foundation of Pakistan research concluded that internally displaced people are becoming the easy prey of terrorists, especially women and girls had traumatized and were easy prey for human traffickers.⁴⁶

III- Making of Suicidal Attackers:

Owing to pseudo-religious Islamic approach and war-lords' religious scholars innocent young boys and girls are becoming the finger puppets of terrorists. Furthermore, drone attacks victim families with anti-America and anti-government revenge in their hearts are becoming favorite prey of terrorists. In Pakistan, civil society assumed drone attacks curse as public anger was leading to make suicidal attackers. Mudaser, a young boy from Khyber province after watching a video of died bodies lying among the wreckage of the house, decided to enroll in a camp for suicide bomber. Later, his family received the news that their son had carried out a suicidal operation in Afghanistan.⁴⁷

Table-7: Suicide Attacks in Pakistan: 2002-2019*

Year	Incidents	Killed	Injured
2002-03	1-2	15-69	34-103
2004-05	7-4	89-84	321-219
2006-07	7-54	161-765	352-1677
2008-09	59-76	893-949	1846-2356
2010-11	49-41	1167-628	2199-1183
2012-13	39-43	365-751	607-1411
2014-15	25-20	336-188	601-410
2016-17	19-22	401-369	935-1052
2018-19*	11-2	61-27	132-28

Source: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>+
https://www.samaa.tv/tag/quetta-blast/2019*

⁴⁵Ibid. Khan, "Social Effects".

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ahmed, Akbar. "The Thistle and the Drone". (New York: Brooking Institution Press, 2013).

E- Impacts of War on Terror on Religious Circle:

I- Fundamentalism:

1- External factors: First, western behavior of imperialism and colonized toward Islamic states was not acceptable for Muslim countries. So, they launched resistance movements and used religion for independence struggles.⁴⁸ In Afghan War, Islamic fundamentalism had been emphasized and used by US, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan against USSR.⁴⁹ Later, these fundamentalists (mujahedeen) announced jihad⁵⁰ against the US and Pakistan.⁵¹ Second, Poverty, inequality, class contradictions and injustice in capitalism spread the dissatisfaction and Islamic fundamentalism in this region.⁵² Third, in Iran Tudeh Party had a mass base but they formed alliance with fundamentalists which proved fatal. Furthermore, in Afghanistan fundamentalists also became able to form government.⁵³ Fourth, in Afghan War, Pakistan supported and became a base camp for training of mujahedeen. About 25,000 mujahedeen reached from other Muslim countries for training and to help Afghanistan.⁵⁴ Fifth, at the end of the Afghan War, the Pakistan army promoted and provided shelter to mujahedeen to fight in Kashmir.⁵⁵ Army was interested in using them in Kashmir cause which was going on posing a big challenge to the state.⁵⁶ Last but not least, after tragic event of 9/11 US War on Terror and Pakistan's involvement as Front-line state erupted a new wave of fundamentalism and terrorism in Pakistan.⁵⁷

2- Internal Factors: First, in Pakistan, madrasah system is providing religious education, food and shelter to the children of poor parents. Fundamentalists achieved the social force and influence through their massive system of social services in madrasahs. There are about 8000 religious schools, with an estimated 2.5 to 3.5 million students.⁵⁸ Second, creation of Pakistan is with the name of religion like Israel. The ruling class used religion as a tool to win popularity and exploited public sentiments, which made semi-theocratic state.⁵⁹ Other causes of Islamic fundamentalism are weak, corrupt democratic set-up, unawareness, illiteracy and the incapability of government to redress poverty and major problems of masses. A recent example of fundamentalism is

⁴⁸Sharifi, Omar. "Pakistan's foreign Policy toward Afghanistan from 1947 – 2008". <http://en.afghanistan.ru/doc/130.html>. 2009.

⁴⁹Rashid, Ahmad. "The Success of the Operation Rah-e-Rast". 2009.

<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/08/04/the-success-operation-raherast.html>.

⁵⁰Gall, Sandy. "War against the Taliban: Why All Went Wrong in Afghanistan". (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

⁵¹LaFraie, Najin. "Post-Soviet Pakistani Interference in Afghanistan: How and Why"? (2012). <http://www.mei.edu/content/post-soviet-pakistani-interference-afghanistan-how-and-why>.

⁵² Sulehria, Farooq. "Islamic Fundamentalism in Pakistan Links: International Journal of Socialist Renewal". <http://links.org.au/node/117>. Links: International Journal of Socialist Renewal. <http://links.org.au/node/117>.

⁵³Verma, Jai. Kumar. "Growth of Fundamentalism in Pakistan and its Repercussions". <http://www.indiandefencereview.com/news/growth-of-fundamentalism-in-pakistan-and-its-repercussions/>. 2015.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid. Sulehria, "Islamic Fundamentalism".

⁵⁶Shapoo, Sajid. Farid. "How Non-State Actors Could Cause War in South Asia". <https://thediplomat.com/2016/11/how-non-state-actors-could-cause-war-in-south-asia>. 2016.

⁵⁷Paracha, N. F. "Islamic fundamentalism and Youth in Pakistan".

<https://www.dawn.com/news/722828>. 2012.

⁵⁸Ibid. Verma, "Growth of Fundamentalism".

⁵⁹Ibid. Sulehria, "Islamic Fundamentalism".

Assassinations of Salman Taseer (Governor of Punjab) and Shahbaz Bhatti (Minister of Minorities) due to advocating Aasia Bibi a Christian woman. Both were trying to reduce punishment of death penalty in blasphemy case in 2010.⁶⁰

II- Emergence of Separatist and Extremist Groups:

Separatist and extremist groups have been reemerged and reactivated due to Pakistan's actions against terrorists e.g. army operations. Furthermore; US presence and involvement is not acceptable for public such as drone attacks, US military presence, CIA and Black Water. In 2013, Chuadary Nisar interior minister said that there were 50 to 70 militant groups and also 14 to 16 effective groups (effective groups: groups having just 150 to 200 militant) in Pakistan.

Although army had launched many military Operations in the affected areas yet terrorist activities still continued in region. Reasons of strong hold and rebirth of terrorists in Pakistani territory were as follows:

First, US and its allied states make use of the concept of Islamic brotherhood against the Soviets invasion in Afghanistan in Cold War. Second, in 1980s, FATA and adjoining areas were used as bases for training and work against the USSR armies. To fulfill this purpose, young Muslims were brought from Islamic countries for training and jihad. Unfortunately, these foreigners developed affinity and relations with locals as a result some local people became right hands of Taliban. Locals provided protection and shelter to al-Qaeda and Taliban in Pakistan's tribal regions. Later, these foreigners, with the help of inhabitants, exploit the political, social, and economic setup of the region.⁶¹

Map-1: Pakistan's Seven Agencies of Pakistan



Source: <http://www.nrdf.org.pk/maps/131-map-of-fata>

Poverty, illiteracy and unfavorable economic conditions compelled youngsters of these regions to join hands with the terrorist organizations. Al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations had links with wealthy well-wishers, business classes and banking connections with rich Muslim states of Persian Gulf. Other sources of financing were various smuggling and fraud activities.

⁶⁰Mohsin, Ali. "The Roots of Religious Fundamentalism in Pakistan". <http://www.countercurrents.org/mohsin170216.htm>. 2016.

⁶¹Ibid. Jaspal, "Threat of Extremism".

The United Nations 2007 documents reported that these terrorist's organization were detaching young boys and girls with money, motorcycle or a cell phone.⁶² Militants' sources of funding were as follows:

- Afghan Taliban Quetta Shura Taliban: source of income is opium trade, donations, extortion
- Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan: source of income is kidnapping, extortion, smuggling, donation
- Haqqani Network: source of income is smuggling, kidnapping, extortion
- Al-Qaeda: major source of income is donations.⁶³

Afghan-Pakistan border is a highly porous and a security problem. There are many routes through the mountainous terrain that let terrorists to move from Afghanistan to Pakistan. It's also a hurdle in controlling cross border illegal crossings. Durand Line approximately 2500 kilometer drawn up by Britain in the 1890s, but didn't accept by Afghanistan public. In 2007, Pakistan introduced proposal of border fencing but the Kabul government rejected this proposal. Latest wave of border skirmishes demanded the border fencing Pakistan has started border fencing in March, 2017.⁶⁴

After 9/11 US forces invaded in Afghanistan. Radicals and terrorists crossed the border and took shelter in the Pakistan. 'Operation Enduring Freedom' had remained ineffective to eliminate terrorism and established peace and strength in Afghanistan. US and its ally attacked in Pakistani territory on June 10, 2008, and dropped bombs which killed 11 Pakistani soldiers. NATO attack, in November, 2011, killed 12 soldiers. US had shown regrets over these incidents but didn't apologize. Spy planes flights over the Pakistani territory and drone strikes caused anti-American sentiment in extremists and didn't productive in the War on Terror.⁶⁵

Furthermore, India-Afghan coalition is a threat to Pakistan. India is trying to destabilize Pakistan through Afghanistan. On June 15, 2008, President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai exposed its strategy to achieve hot pursuit in Pakistan. He blamed that some militants were moved in Pakistan and trying to destabilize Afghanistan. So, Afghanistan had the right to self-defense. Latest, series of deadly attacks on Pakistani territory had closed Afghanistan- Pakistan border and Army had arrested 100 suspected Afghan militants in domestic crackdown.⁶⁶

F- Psychological Impacts of War on Terror in Pakistan:

Psychological Impacts of War on Terror have damaging effects on human health, causing traumas, stress and headache. All citizens of Pakistan especially, People

⁶²Ibid. Jaspal, "Threat of Extremism".

⁶³Mahsud, Mansur. Khan. "The Battle for Pakistan Militancy and Conflict in South Waziristan". (2010). http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/4799~v~The_Battle_for_Pakistan_Militancy_and_Conflict_in_South_Waziristan.pdf. New American Foundation.

⁶⁴The Nation, "Pakistan Begins Fencing of Afghan Border". (March 13, 2017). <https://nation.com.pk/mar-13-2017-pakistan-begins-fencing-of-afghan-border>.

⁶⁵Living Under Drones, "Human Rights and Conflict Resolution Clinic Stanford Law School Global Justice Clinic NYU School of Law". <https://chrgi.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Living-Under-Drones.pdf>. 2012.

⁶⁶Alexander, Paul. "Latest Terror Attack Deepens Divide between Pakistan and Afghanistan". <http://www.voanews.com/a/pakistan-afghanistan-tensions/3730146.html>. 2017.

of disturbed areas were experienced many psychological and physical diseases. The fear of death and feelings of helplessness further traumatized.⁶⁷

I. Abnormality/Deficiency in People and In New Generation:

People of Pakistan are suffering from different physical and mental diseases due to threats of terrorism at any time at any place. According to Pakistani medics' report, chemicals from weapons contaminated the environment with unknown chemicals. Various skin, eyes and respiratory diseases had erupted in the environment (Press TV, 2013). According to South Asia Terrorism portal almost 32128 people were crippled in War on Terror in Pakistan since 2001-2019.

Fundamental Right Foundation research results confirmed that all affected areas public were suffering in many social psychological and economic problems. Young children had adverse psychological impacts they wouldn't able to sleep easily due to noise of missiles, drones and other weapons. Doctors' teams reported many adults were mentally unfit or become crippled for life. In fact; actual details of the disorder, abnormality and deficiency were mysterious due to the lack of experts, psychiatrists and psychologists in the war-torn region and lack of awareness.⁶⁸

II. Depression and Mental Diseases:

According to a report 'Fears have affected Behavior' describes that army operations, Afghanistan skirmishes and US drone strikes had destroyed the life of Pakistani public. All social practices like tribal dispute-resolution bodies (Jirga), help to injured victims, funerals gathering and cultural and religious practices were abolished. Even, many children had left school and studies due to terrors and threats. Threats of destruction of their houses and fears to loss their families were always retained in the mind of conflicts areas' people.⁶⁹

Conclusion:

War on Terror caused many socio-political, economic, security and psychological impacts on Pakistan. Collateral damages, suicidal attacks, harassments, devastations, murder of innocent people, destruction of infrastructures, decline in economic developments, political instability, disruption of social fabric, extremism, ethnic-cum-sectarian conflicts, fundamentalism, lowering foreign direct investments and increased risk perceptions all are out-comes of participation in War on Terror. Furthermore, since September, 2001, Pakistan has lost US\$ 126.79 billion, and above 70000 citizens' lives including 6695 security personnel.

Suicidal attacks, bomb blasting, and target killings have threatened peace and stability of country and displaced about 5 million people in Pakistan. All these factors created national security dilemmas for Pakistan. FATA is a semi-autonomous region in the North- West of Pakistan where militant groups had established their bases and challenged the writ of Government. Furthermore, they had ruined the socio-economic, political and religious fabrics of the society. Moreover, intolerance and extremism and fundamentalism had been increased due to involvement in said War. External major threat was India, Afghanistan, US and Iran coalition, which opened a new chapter of threats to Pakistan's national solidarity and integration.

⁶⁷Ibid. Khan, "Social Effects".

⁶⁸Ibid. Ahmed, "The Thistle".

⁶⁹Lantier, Alex. "UN says US Drone War in Pakistan Violates International Law". <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2013/03/16/undr-m16.html>. 2013.