

## **Fallout of Afghanistan Turmoil for Pakistan’s Ex-FATA: An Analysis of Militancy and Religious Intolerance**

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### **Abstract**

Pakistan’s stability is interconnected with that of Afghanistan whereby Pakistan’s internal security, economy and foreign policy have been affected by Afghanistan fall out. There is strategic impasse and Pakistan’s interests have been transformed into grave challenges. Pakistan security has been trembled from the last three and half decades. During Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, Pakistan role was applauded for curbing communism by freedom fighters (Mujāhidīn) which paved way for Islamization, Afghan refugees, militancy, religious intolerance, drug trafficking, Klashinkov culture, sectarianism led to numerous evils in society. The Afghan war and terrorism spill over has ruined Pakistan’s economy and internal security. The end of Afghan Jihād was start of Pakistani extremism. Hence, the paper investigates the fallout of Afghanistan’s turmoil for Ex-FATA and basic causes of militancy and religious intolerance. This paper highlights the teaching of Islam for peace, moderation and condemnation of extremism. Our religion despises violence and bloodshed and having no place for extremism. Islam is a religion of moderation rather than extremism. Pakistani state is active to counter terrorism and extremism whereby military operations have served the purpose well. The unanimous national security policy against counter-terrorism and extremism is needed to be adopted with full spirit.

**Key Words:** Ex-FATA, Extremism, Intolerance, Militancy, Turmoil.

### **Introduction**

Pakistan’s stability is interconnected with that of Afghanistan whereby Pakistan’s internal security, economy and foreign policy have been affected by Afghanistan fall out. There is strategic impasse and Pakistan’s interests have been transformed into grave challenges. Pakistan security has been trembled from the last three and half decades. In Pakistan militancy and extremism have been originated in the past military regimes of General Zia-ul-Haq and General Pervez

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Musharraf as both envisaged Afghanistan's turmoil as an opportunity to facilitate themselves with the US assistance in multiple sectors. The menaces of military dictatorship of these two mentioned dictators have dumped Pakistan with extremism and sectarianism. Resultantly, Pakistan is suffering from multitude of miseries as weak economy, distortion of national image, undermined national sovereignty and to cap it all Pakistan is near to be an isolationist state. During Soviet invasion Pakistan had taken that insurgency quite normal which could not be followed by fall out for Pakistan. After Soviet exit from Afghanistan, the US had abandoned Pakistan in the midstream, no post war cautionary measures, pacification and adjustment facilities were provided to the hardened fighters so that they might accustomed to the society.<sup>1</sup>

During Soviet invasion in Afghanistan Pakistan role was applauded for curbing communism by freedom fighters (Mujāhidīn) which paved way for Islamization. Afghanistan turmoil will keep Pakistan with myriad security threats in shape of restive Ex-FATA, illegal infiltration, consequently refugees deluge, spike in drugs trafficking, uprising in Pashtūn nationalism which will ignite Afghanistan imbroglio and both Pakistan and India will try to steal the march on each other.<sup>2</sup> Pakistan policy elites conceded with US allegation about Ḥaqqānī network and 'Quetta Shūrā presence inside Pakistan but refuted about their dominant influence.<sup>3</sup>

Pakistan's foreign policy has become subservient to the US. We are not only dependent with regard to our defense requirements but are also at the mercy of the US financially. The Afghan war and terrorism spill over has ruined Pakistan's economy and internal security. Whereas Escalation in cases of terrorism and extremism throughout Pakistan. The institutional distortion has exacerbated the existing infamous kidnapping, maladministration and sleaze in most of the governmental sectors. The religious intolerance has aggravated sectarianism. Much of this has happened because of our involvement in the Afghanistan conflict. We are in a difficult, complicated and despicable situation from which it is hard to escape. Pakistan is suffering from multitude of miseries as weak economy, distortion of national image, undermined national sovereignty and to cap it all Pakistan is near to be an isolationist state.

This paper is divided into three sections, whereas section one deals with Afghanistan's fallout for Ex-FATA and root causes of militancy and religious intolerance, section two deal with basic teachings of Islam and section three is

about military operations carried to counter-terrorism and then policy options for covering the challenges of militancy and intolerance.

### **1. Fallout of Afghanistans Turmoil for Ex-FATA**

Militants in Ex-FATA are settled due to porous border between Afghanistan and Pakistan<sup>4</sup> and Pashtūnwalī (Pashtūn code of life) of inhabitants of Ex-FATA and KP.<sup>5</sup> Pakistan is accused for the presence of Al-Qā'idah and Afghan Ṭālibān who attacked coalition forces in Afghanistan. As far as Al-Qā'idah is concerned then is clear that it became an organization against US forces occupation of different Muslim territories and it had fought against Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. In the garb of terrorism it wants to get rid of foreign occupation and to work for renaissance of the real soul of Islam. For them 9/11 was turning point to military and political joint venture for realisation of this goal and to prepare world as field for Jihād.<sup>6</sup>

Pakistan is accused for the presence of Al-Qā'idah and Afghan Ṭālibān who attack coalition forces in Afghanistan. Insurgency spread from Ex-FATA into certain districts of the NWFP, and Islamist terrorism began to affect the whole of Pakistan. The trigger for an immense growth of the rebel groups (which in September 2007 came together to form a loose alliance called the Tehrik-e-Ṭālibān Pakistan or TTP) was the decision by the Musharraf administration to storm the Red Mosque (Lal Masjid) complex in Islamabad, an Islamist radical centre whose students in previous months had engaged in a campaign to impose Sharī'ah law in the capital.<sup>7</sup> The bloody military operation caused revulsion of feeling against Musharraf and a surge in radicalism and ruthlessness among the rebels.<sup>23</sup> their leaders now declared that their objective was no longer simply to protect the Afghan Ṭālibān and the Afghan Jihād, but to carry out an Islamic revolution.<sup>8</sup>

In December 2007 about 13 groups united under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsūd to form the Tahrūk-e-Ṭālibān Pakistan. The Tahrūk-e-Ṭālibān Pakistan's stated objectives are resistance against the Pakistani state, enforcement of their interpretation of Sharī'ah and a plan to unite against NATO-led forces in Afghanistan and for this purpose TTP has launched a series of suicide attacks.<sup>9</sup> TTP is validating their ruthless attacks inside Pakistan in retaliation of US engagement in Afghanistan and due to Pakistan key role in combating terrorism. Militants or Ṭālibān have firm belief in Muslim Theologian Ibn Tamiyyah doctrine, to launch offense against Non-Muslim and who do not concede to Islamic fundamental mode of interpretation. There existed Takfīr ideology, which

deems non-believers as Kāfir. To sum up, the justification of aggression in the garb of Islam is contrary to the spirit of Islam. The two concepts ‘Fitnah’ (sedition) and ‘Fasad’ (corruption) are acrimonious political crimes perpetrated against Islamic political community (the Ummah). To label a Muslim as non-Muslim is the taking of Allah’s judgement in own hand which is committing of ‘Shirk’ or most probably ‘Kufr’.<sup>10</sup> Al-Qā‘idah and Tahrik-e-Tālibān Pakistan (TTP) are interconnected and according to ‘Aamr Rana an expert on terrorism, terrorist commander Ilyas Kashmirī, leader of Ḥujū is new commander of Al-Qā‘idah Pakistani wing.<sup>11</sup>

## **1.2 Roots of Militancy and Religious Intolerance**

Besides Afghan, other domestic factors responsible for militancy are:

1. Socio-Economic deprivation as poverty in South Punjab and Upper Sindh is basic reason behind militancy, unequal distribution of wealth, biased social structure
2. Illiteracy, having no judgment of right and wrong, literacy rate in Ex-FATA is 17.42 % only.
3. Lack of state writ (bad governance) and lack of constitutional means, fragile law and order situation.
4. Religiosity.
5. Dictatorial rule.

## **2. Islamic Teaching of Peace, Tolerance and Moderation**

### **2.1. Ahadith about peace:**

(i) “You would not enter Janna, Paradise until you acquire [full] faith. You would not acquire [full] faith until you love one another. Should not I guide you to an action, which if you maintain you would love one another? [Then] spread Salaam, the greeting of "peace" [as much as you could] amongst you [in the community]”.<sup>12</sup>

(ii). “Offer food generously to others, initiate the greeting of 'peace' [in the community], to those whom you know and also to those whom you know not”.<sup>13</sup>

There exist affectionate treatment and to have cordial terms with nonbelievers too. Muslim has been clearly defined by following Hadith:

“A Muslim is the person from whom other Muslims feel secured against [attacks] of his tongue and hands. An immigrant, [on the other hand] is a person who [fully] forsakes what Allah, the Almighty, has declared as banned [and unlawful to practice]”.<sup>14</sup>

Another Hadith defines a true believer as following:

“A Believer is a person who, people feel [fully] peace from him”.<sup>15</sup>

At the time the Qurān was revealed (7th century A.D.), there was no United Nations or Amnesty International to keep the peace or expose injustice. Inter-tribal violence and vengeance was commonplace. As a matter of survival, one must have been willing to defend against aggression from all sides. Nevertheless, the Qurān repeatedly urges forgiveness and restraint, and warns believers not to "transgress" or become "oppressors." "Fight in the Way of Allah against those who fight you, but do not go beyond the limits. Allah does not love those who go beyond the limits."<sup>16</sup> The Qurān further directs: "But if they cease, Allah is Ever-Forgiving, Most Merciful".<sup>17</sup>

## **2.2. Islamic concept about Suicide and Terrorism:**

Islam sternly abhors suicide and terrorism. But as for what some people do regarding activities of suicide, tying explosives to them and then approaching non-Muslims and detonating them amongst them, then this is a case of suicide and Allah’s refuge is sought. So whoever commits suicide then he will be considered eternally to Hell-Fire, remaining there forever, as occurs in the hadith of the Prophet, (PBUH):

“And whoever kills himself with an iron weapon, then the iron weapon will remain in his hand, and he will continuously stab himself in his belly with it in the Fire of Hell eternally, forever and ever”<sup>18</sup>

If a person commits suicide with hope of becoming martyr then it is his misconception because in Islam it is sternly forbidden to take any innocent life. In case of suicide blast within seconds many lives become victim of callous act of militants. Many sons, fathers and brothers who would be only source of family earning lose their lives. Their bodies disfigured to the extent that they become unidentifiable in such suicide blasts.

“And whoever kills a believer intentionally, his recompense is Hell to abide therein, and the Wrath and the Curse of Allah are upon him, and a great punishment is prepared for him”.<sup>19</sup>

Often a person being despised and find only solvation in blowing himself and to take revenge from fellow beings as well. He becomes impatient and goes towards disastrous pathway rather than to be contented and afterwards be rewarded by Allah Almighty.

## **2.3. Moderation**

Islam is religion of moderation and Allah states in Holy Qurān as follows;

“We made you to be a community of the middle way, so that (with

the example of your lives) you might bear witness to the truth before all mankind.”<sup>20</sup>

### **3.1. Military Operations to Counter Terrorism and Militancy**

Pakistan launched military operation in 2002 in Ex-FATA to stop spill over but failed to control menace of militancy.

#### **Rāh-e-Ḥaq operation:**

Sharī‘ah was imposed in Swat under a religious Group Taḥrīk Nifāz-e-Sharī‘at-e-Muḥammadī (TNSM) led by cleric Šūfī Muhammad in 1994. Government’s agreement for established Sharī‘ah courts in Malakand under Nifaz-e-Nizām-e-Sharī‘ah Regulation, 1994 and Shar‘ī Nizām-e-‘Adl Regulation, 1999 resulted in subsidence of the problem for the time being. However, the regulations were mainly procedural in nature and the grievances of the population remained unaddressed, which were further exploited by TNSM and other radical factions, who strengthened their roots there. Political leadership in the city failed to nip militancy in the bud. The matter came out of police control also. After 9/11 Taḥrīk Nizām-e-Sharī‘at-e-Muḥammadī (TNSM) come to government focus when it crossed border to assist Ṭālibān in Afghanistan but mostly remain unsuccessful and on return to Pakistan, were arrested by Pakistani authorities.

Eventually, TNSM / TTPS took physical control of police stations besides Saidu Sharif Airport. Frontier Constabulary (FC) also surrendered in a large number.

In spring 2009 when Fazlullah admonitory asked Police to leave their jobs or be ready for punishment then resultantly 700 of 1,700 officers deserted Police jobs.<sup>21</sup>TNSM with incendiary propensities were creating state within state by renouncing democracy as un-Islamic. They summoned that any one deviated from their conceived and established Shariah law would ultimately be killed.<sup>22</sup>

These callous and unbridled terrorist activities could only succumbed by military operations. At last resort Federal government deployed Pakistan Army for Operation Rāh-i-Ḥaq, in order to wrestle the control of Swat valley back from TNSM. Rāh-i-Ḥaq operation was launched by Pakistan’s army on October 25, 2007 against Ṭālibān forces and this operation was with three phases. Pakistan army gets victorious. Chief of army Gen. Kiyānī instructed throughout operation that collateral damage be shunned.

Triumphant of operation depends on conduct of strategies, minimizing collateral damage and managing Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)’

A 15 points resolution calling for eviction of Terrorists from the valley, agreed in All Political Parties Conference and passed by the Parliament, was aimed at developing national reconciliation in war against terrorism.

In January 2009, the army launched the third phase of Operation Rāh-i-Ḥaq, imposing “shoot-on-sight” curfews in major cities in Swat. TNSM forces responded by destroying schools and started attacking security forces. The fighting ended in February as a result of an agreement between the government and the TNSM, popularly known as the Malakand Accord. There are myriad of militants groups who are lords of their respective areas as Taḥrik-i-Ṭālibān Pakistan (Ṭālibān Movement of Pakistan, TTP), established in December 2007 by senior leaders of myriad of militants groups round about forty in number and all of them have unanimity. The TTP is firmly connected to Jihādī groups from Punjab including the Lashkar-i-Ṭayyebah and the Jaīsh-e-Muḥammad.

A peace deal was made by ANP and TNSM in Swat which was signed on February 16, 2009. The same fate was faced by it like the previous agreements and more or less the reason for its failure is attributed to the government’s inability to learn from experience that the Ṭālibān know nothing of tribal traditions and ethos, where once entered in pact, a person will strictly abide by it. These militants were still with same propensities of rampage and were away from rationality.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of peace agreements and imposition of Nīzām-e-‘Adl regulation the brutal activities of these people were not halted. By late April 2009, however, the militants had occupied shops and government buildings in Mīngawara, the capital city of Swat, and started moving forward into the neighboring districts of Shangla and Būnir. They also attacked police stations, frontier constabulary personnel, NGO offices, and schools and set up their own checkpoints along the roads.

The US was pressing Pakistan to launch military operation and at last resort Pakistan military launched Rāh-i-Rāst (the virtuous path) operation on 26<sup>th</sup> April, 2009 against TTP of Swat and other associates of them.<sup>24</sup> Army campaign was launched with 20,000 troops, air power by Army Aviation attack aircraft. The Army Chief General Kīyānī stated,

“We are conducting this operation to bring misguided people back on the right path,”

The Swat operation was successful and stretched to the Lower Dīr, Malakand, and Būnir to eradicate the militant’s safe havens. For Army there were

challenges, as they have to restore government's writ, to carry out rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and to enlist former soldiers in the police and have 25,000 police in the area.<sup>25</sup>

### **Shir Dal Operation**

Bajawr was hub of foreign militants with round about 2,000 militants including locals. These militants had caused rampage to this agency consequently, on September 9, 2008 said operation was launched.

Main aims of this operation were, to eradicate militants from Bajawr, to clear and hold Bajawr population and to secure Lines of Communication (LOC). After conquest, the military contracted peace deal with militants in 2009, this soon shattered and came to end by militants, led to uprising again among miscreants, army and militia that is Tribal Lashkar.<sup>26</sup>

Besides the Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, Afghanistan and international terrorism caused networks as Al-Qā'idah, have safe haven in Bajawr, with covert assistance from Pakistan military.<sup>27</sup>

In operation Shir Dal, Pakistan security personnel cleared Loe Sam from militants. It was an ample manifestation of cooperation not only of the Army and the Frontier Corps but also of the US and Pakistan.<sup>28</sup> Due to the successful operation, 28-point Agreement was signed, according to which the militants would surrender, lay down weapons and stop training camps in Bajawr.<sup>29</sup> After Shir Dal operation, the military and the Frontier Corps moved to Mohmand Agency in order to tackle and curb militants there.

### **Operation Brikhna**

In Mohmand Agency, the main militant groups are Ahle Hadīth (now defunct) led by Local Taliban. Operation Brikhna (Thunder) was launched in the Mohmand Agency on April 6, 2011. The local leader of TTP Omar Khalid's network conspired with that of Afghan Taliban leader of TTP in launching assault on military.<sup>30</sup> In March 2009, the military claimed victory against the militants in Mohmand,

Orakzai Agency is of paramount value for militants because from here they launch assaults on military in Waziristan and Afghanistan. An ongoing tussle exists as SSP and LeT are in confrontation with TTP and Lashkar-ī-Islam. The Orakzai Agency is overwhelmed by miscreants and security personnel are

engaged since long there to succumb incendiary propensities. Resultantly, military has vanquished militants to greater extent by dismantling their safe havens.<sup>31</sup>

### **Şirāṭ-e-Mustaqīm Operation**

In Khyber Agency, the militant groups comprised Anṣār-ul-Islam (Brother of Islam), Tanzīm Anṣār ul Islam, Amr Bil Ma'rūf Wa nahī 'An al-munkar and Lashkar-ī-Islamī (Army of Islam). This militancy began in 2003 when a Ṭālibān-styled organization Amr Bil Marūf Wanahī 'An al-munkar (promotion of virtue and prevention of vice) was set up by Amūr Hajī Nāmdār Khan, (killed in 2008 by missile) who ordered an austere living style and punishment for breach of any provision of his settled code (included head covering for women and beards for men). This was aghast for local people who were spending lives according to relaxed religious provisions. He used Tīrah Valley as a spot from where to assault into Afghanistan on coalition forces. At the end a targeted operation was launched in Malakdūnkhel area Bara tehsil in Khyber Agency of Ex-FATA on October 20, 2011 to curb insurgency.

The Khyber Agency which is surrounded by Orakzai and Mohmand Agencies is hub of militancy. There are three main militant groups operating in Khyber Agency, Lashkar-ī-Islamī who has been disconnected ideologically from Afghan Ṭālibān and is operating independently, Anṣār-ul-Islam has its own trial and court set up<sup>32</sup> and TTP. There has been contesting ground among these three groups. For curbing militancy, Special Forces (SFs) have launched four operations. Pakistan military launched operations in this Agency which afterwards succeeded in reconciling two militant groups by contracting agreement with them in July, 2008 but it had lasted only for one year due to adamant stance of militants.<sup>33</sup> There was unbridled rampage from militants for which, in 2008, Şirāṭ-i-Mustaqeem (Righteous Path) operation was launched in Birī Tehsil due to mass killing of minorities by LI militants. This operation was followed by Darghlum (Here I came again) on September 1, 2009. The most recent operation Khwakh Ba Di Sham (I will teach you a lesson) was launched on November 24, 2009. Nonetheless, numerous operations have been conducted but in Khyber Agency, the militancy is in upward spiral. Albeit militants were vanquished and ousted from this territory but they were reinvigorated with receding military operations.

### **Koh-i-Sufaid Operation**

Approximately eighty percent of local population is Shī'a, who are affiliated with TTP Punjab based Deobandi groups backed by Lashkar-e-Jhangvī (LeJ) and Sipāh-e-Şahāba Pakistan (SSP). Stern sectarian labeled TTP and the

“scourge of the Shī‘a in Kurram”,<sup>34</sup> is dynamic figure in Kurram. The Lashkar-e-Islamī has also been stretched to Kurram Agency.

Operation Koh-i-Sufaīd (White Mountain) was conducted in Kurram Agency between May 2, 2011 and August 17, 2011.

### **Operation Enduring Freedom**

There was no worth mentioning incident in the area till 9/11. After start of “Operation Enduring Freedom”, tribesmen from all tribal areas, in general, and Waziristan, in particular, went to Afghanistan to fight against Americans and Northern Alliance. Similarly, after initial success of Americans in Operation Enduring Freedom, there was influx of foreigners in Waziristan.

Till 2005, situation in Waziristan remained bridled, nonetheless, infiltration to Afghanistan for operation against Americans and NATO was impeded, hardly any action was taken against army by the locals. It was only after 2005 when military permanently stationed in the North Waziristan Agency and South Waziristan Agency, the locals felt betrayed and started operation against Pakistan Army.

The North Waziristan has been deemed as a safe haven of foreign militants such as Uzbeks and Arabs linked to Al-Qā‘idah’s by the US. Haqqānī network is nightmarish for the US which has put the US on tenterhooks. Albeit Haqqani network presence in Waziristan has been uncertain but the US is claiming so. The US has been in covert operations in the shape of drone strikes in Waziristan since 2004 which have caused death of civilians besides high profile militants. As regard the Ṭālibān groups in North Waziristan, Pakistani Ṭālibān. Various peace agreements have been conducted with Bahadar, Nazīr and other groups in the Agency in 2006 and 2007. These agreements have remained unproductive and just provided space to the militants to operate against the coalition forces in Afghanistan. The Bahadar led group not only continuously launched attacks against NATO and ISAF in Afghanistan but have broken peace deal, in spite Pakistan military still abstained from launching operation against militants in North Waziristan while keeping some grounds in consideration.<sup>35</sup>

### **Three star one and two operation**

Pakistan military has launched Three star one and two operation in South Waziristan to eradicate the menace of terrorism from this Agency most probably on the U.S. pressure.<sup>36</sup> The militants have been succumbed to a greater extent and developmental work by civil administration has also been in progress.<sup>37</sup> Pakistan in order to curb Hakimullah Mehsūd, strived to take Pakistani Ṭālibān Gul

Bahadar and Mūlvī Nazīr in confidence and to secure their support. But this arrangement was suspected by civil society for unreliable nature of Ṭālibān, for their engagements with Al-Qā'idah in inflicting atrocities in tribal areas. Operation Rāh-i-Nijāt was launched and after three years Sararogha was cleared. How internally displaced people are allowed to come back to their homes. Main strategies used by militants are hit and run and to assault on security personnel's.<sup>38</sup>

Baitullah Mehsūd had escalated violent activities in Pakistan in 2008-09 after the failure of Operation Zalzala (Operation Earthquake).<sup>39</sup> There were 2,148 insurgent assaults and enhanced suicide blasts in 2008 as there were 746 percent increase from 2005.<sup>40</sup>

Pakistan was successful in disrupting TTP command, control in Mehsūd areas of South Waziristan. Pakistan forces transiently secured important Line of Communications (LOCs) in South Waziristan, Sararogha, Makin and Ladda. There was involvement of 15 Brigades in Rāh-i-Nijāt operation because it was strategically pivotal to Pakistan and therefore, Brigades of Pak troops were shifted from Eastern border to the South Waziristan.

Pakistan army objectives in Rāh-i-Nijāt (Way of salvation) operation were to secure line of Communication (LOC), to overcome the menace of militancy by destroying their strongholds in South Waziristan.<sup>41</sup>

In Waziristan operation, air power was used to vanish the abode and sanctuaries of TTP in mountain areas.<sup>42</sup> According to analyst it was not appropriate approach for such tough militants who were veteran guerilla fighters.<sup>43</sup> Pakistan government contracted four peace agreements, three in South Waziristan (2004 and 2005) and one in North Waziristan (2006) but all were subsided by the militants on one or another ground.<sup>44</sup>

Pakistan military has vanquished militants and restored the state's writ to a greater extent. These operations enabled tribesmen to come out of oblivion and work for socio-economic provisions.

As a result of these combined factors, while the original operation in South Waziristan was a success in its own terms, leading to the capture of several hundred Uzbek, Tājāk and Chechen militants, it also sparked an uprising by local Pashtun militants. An additional reason was the accidental killing of women and children by a military lacking in modern equipment and command and control. This remains a problem up to the present, but from 2009 on, the Army has reduced civilian casualties

by the simple expedient of urging or compelling most of the population to leave areas where offensives are about to be launched.(Lieven, Counter-Ins) year ??

But Pakistan internal security is at dismay and militancy and extremism are giving a tough time to the civil government. Due to the war on terror, Pakistan's economy is in downward spiral as domestic and foreign industries are not investing here and it led to capital flee. Tourism has been stopped due to insecure and frighten situation in Swat, which has caused social and economic standstill.<sup>45</sup> Former foreign minister Shah Mehmud Qureshi stated that Pakistan has faced financial brunt of US \$34.5 billion since 9/11 there is \$5 billion loss in foreign direct investment, export has dwindled with loss of \$5 billion and \$5.5 billion is in privatization, there is no basic provision for jobs, IDPs rehabilitation has strained Pakistan's economy.<sup>46</sup> There are direct losses due to war on terror in the shape of loss of human lives and injuries, destruction of infrastructure, huge expenses on security maintenance. Indirect losses are in the shape of loss of employment due to dislocation, capital flee, tourism has halted, there are mega assaults as in suicide blasts the assassination of Benazir Bhutto and Merriot hotel blast.<sup>47</sup> Total terrorism cost in Pakistan is assessed as Rs. 430 billion in 2007-08. Pakistan Minister of State and Economic Affairs Hīnā Rabbānī Khar stated that Pakistan has lost \$ 35 billion in war on terror since 2007.<sup>48</sup>In 2007-08 the US inflow of economic assistance was \$1.9 billion while the loss was \$ 6 billion.

In Waziristan the accumulation of local and foreign militant groups as Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Al-Qā'idah had enhanced which demanded urgent action. As Uzbek militants attacked PNS Mihrān Base in Karachi in 2011, played role in jail break at Bannu in 2012 where 100 terrorists freed their 400 associates. Similarly in 2013, Uzbek terrorist group attacked jail in Dera Ismail Khan where 170 militants of TTP and Jundullah were freed. Accordingly on June 8, 2014 another greatest attack happened at Jinnah Terminal Karachi where the operation Ḍarb-e-‘Aḏb became indispensable to be launched.

Only in 2009, the military come to acknowledge the Pakistani Tālibān as the most urgent threat. Thereafter, they deployed overwhelming numbers of troops for every operation. In 2014, there were 160,000 regulars and almost 60,000 men of the Frontier Corps deployed in Ex-FATA (which has a population of around four million people, one-third of whom were at that stage displaced), and by the time of my visit to South Waziristan in April of that year, the force there numbered 28,000 men, comprised of a reinforced Army division and three wings of the Frontier Corps.<sup>49</sup> This was in a population which before the fighting had

numbered around 530,000, but by 2014 was estimated to be around 300,000, with the rest IDPs.

### **Objectives of Operation Ɖarb-e-‘Ađb**

The objectives of operation Ɖarb-e-‘Ađb were to develop a counter-narrative to the ideology propagated by militants and popularize counter narrative in populace, to secure Pak-Afghan border against infiltration from Afghanistan and to mainstream Ex-FATA in consultation with local tribes. As a result of Operation Ɖarb-e-‘Ađb 2763 terrorists have been killed and 837 hideouts destroyed. 800 km area in Shawal has been cleared. Army operations yielded positive results, however, on 16 December 2014 APS incident happened

The Operation Ɖarb-e-‘Ađb, embodied 180,000 security forces, is headway for curbing terrorism and is complemented by National Action Plan.<sup>50</sup> In this regard, Pakistan announced National Internal Security Policy (NISP) on 25<sup>th</sup> Feb, 2014 for curbing terrorism. The Army Public School (APS) tragedy on 16<sup>th</sup> December 2014 was a turning point in order to make resolute framework. Consequently, NAP was announced in January 2015 whereby military courts were ordered to be formed and vanished moratorium on capital punishment. The validity to NAP was provided with 21<sup>st</sup> amendment passed by the parliament. According to the Interior Minister statement on 24 August 2015 the security forces have conducted 62,000 operations according to NAP which yielded in 68,000 arrests.<sup>51</sup>

### **3.2. National Action Plan**

NAP emphasizes on reconciliation of fissiparous forces and political actors in Baluchistan, Ex-FATA reforms, repatriation of Afghan refugees and eliminating militancy from Punjab. Pakistan army has declared more than 800 km area in Shawal whereby in the last phase of operation Ɖarb-e-‘Ađb heavy casualties were inflicted on militants. The Operation one and two levels have completed in Shawal and clearance of explosive items and Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) is continued.<sup>52</sup>

### **The Goals of National Action Plan**

- ▶ To engage all relevant stakeholders
- ▶ Dismantle terrorist networks
- ▶ Ensure deterrence by operationalizing the available capabilities of security organizations, to defeat internal threats to state security

- ▶ NAP provides a way forward if implanted in a timely and coordinated way. Implementation is complicated by continuous tension between centre and provinces over security policy, division over intelligence sharing across civilian and military security services and how to operationalize counter-terrorism policies through police.
- ▶ Federal government amended NAP in first quarter diluting counter-terrorism strategy by eliminating
  1. Action against banned groups
  2. Mādrāssās reforms
  3. Repatriation of Afghan refugees

In order to avoid backlash from Jihādī groups.

### **Policy Option**

In context of Pak-Afghan; a peaceful and stable Afghanistan is the only interest of Pakistan. Pakistan should firstly undermine militancy and insurgency, through reconciliation process. On Afghan side Pakistan can use her leverage by bringing Ṭālibān, Hekmatyār group to the negotiation table with Afghan government and the US. On Pakistan side, according to time, situation the dialogues should be carried out with all militants who are willing for talks. Afghanistan must welcome and facilitate the return of all refugees living in Pakistan and elsewhere.

1. We need to secure our porous borders for stopping infiltration.
2. Good governance and the writ of state is indispensable for settlement of militancy in Ex-FATA.
3. To evolve structure according to local people value system, because abrupt turn of situation cannot end in positive goals.
4. The peculiar interpretation of Islam and Jihād by Ṭālibān needs to be challenged by popular and renowned scholars of Islam.
5. FCR should be done away with.
6. Ex-FATA should be integrated with the rest of country through determined constitutional and administrative measures.
7. Government should neutralize forces creating hurdles so that insurgency could be curtailed.
8. Law enforcement must be ensured in Pakistan in general and in Ex-FATA in particular.
9. Maadrssas and educational reforms should be introduced on emergency basis.

## **Conclusion**

Pakistan’s stability is interconnected with that of Afghanistan. Afghanistan’s turmoil has affected Pakistan’s internal security, economy and foreign policy. Recently, our foreign policy is ‘Afghan centric’, where fall out from western border has triggered militancy and extremism in Ex-FATA. Islam is religion of peace and prosperity. Its teachings of safety and love are universal. There is no room of violence and aggression in Islam. Hence all extremist trends should be condemned. Law must be enforced in Ex-FATA with ensuring state writ.

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