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COST OF PAKISTAN-US RELATIONSHIP AFTER 9/11

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Abstract

Pakistan-US cooperation resulted in negative repercussions for Pakistan in strategic, political, economic and social contexts in post-9/11 period. While Pakistan suffers from its worst ever economic, security, and political situation, the U.S. faces considerable domestic pressure in maintaining its support for Pakistan without any apparent benefit to the USA. Pakistan, without any doubt, needs U.S. support, both for tackling the insurgencies within/without and keeping the country from becoming dysfunctional. There is a need for both Pakistan and the U.S. to revisit their strategies and priorities. Enhancing economic support to Pakistan would not only lift the U.S. image within Pakistan but also curb extremism and bring stability in the region.

Introduction

Pakistan-US cooperation resulted in negative repercussions for Pakistan in strategic, political, economic and social contexts in post-9/11 period. Pakistan suffered from multiple strategic losses due to changed security and strategic conditions as a result of US-led military operations in Afghanistan; paid heavy political cost despite its full cooperation and huge sacrifices, faced economic and social problems. Pakistan's cooperation with the US in the War against Terror carried massive strategic difficulties for Pakistan. Pakistan lost friendly and Pro-Taliban

government. The Taliban government was formally recognized by the UAE, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan recognized their government on 25 May, 1997 (Rizvi 2004). The policy of Pakistan towards the Taliban during 1990s was based on many deliberations;

- The first consideration was to achieve peace and stability in Afghanistan.
- Second, Pakistan wanted Afghan refugees to return to their homeland honorably.
- Third, by having friendly government of the Taliban in Afghanistan, Pakistan wanted to counter Indian ingress in Afghanistan.
- Fourth, a peaceful Afghanistan under the Taliban government was considered beneficial for regional link and connectivity with the rich energy resources region of Central Asia (Ahmed 2012).

General Parvaiz Musharraf took a quick decision of ending support to the Taliban government in Afghanistan and joined the US-led War against Terrorism. In case of joining hands with the Taliban it might have been labeled as a terrorist state likely to be attacked by the US, Bush had already warned the world declaring, “Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. (Ahmed 2010). The government of Taliban was replaced by Northern Alliance in Kabul which was unfriendly towards Pakistan and established cordial relationship with India, so India got a golden chance to enhance its influence in Afghanistan. This change also invigorated anti-Pakistan burgeoning militants fighting inside Pakistan. After the fall of the Taliban government in 2001, Hamid Karzai came into power and he started accusing Islamabad for supporting the Taliban uprising and insurgency in the country. (Gross 2014). The NATO forces touched the doorsteps of Pakistan creating security apprehensions and sovereignty threats for it. Due to its nuclear program, Pakistan faced much pressure and its government and armed forces faced very severe consequences. While on other hand USA declared India as its natural ally and transferred it civil nuclear technology in 2008.

Pakistan – Victim of Terrorism

General Parvaiz Musharraf’s decision to join the US-lead war against terrorism after 9/11 made Pakistan a frontline country and non-NATO ally. The support and participation of Islamabad to this War against Terrorism raised militancy and extremism in Pakistan. The extreme militant religious groups and their followers criticized the policy of Gen. Musharraf while exploiting the public sentiments and they hired the young people as militants. These people became terrorists. On 30 October 2006, United States conducted a deadly missile airstrike on a madrassa in the Bajaur region bordering Afghanistan. Due to that strike, 82 institution’s students were martyred. Long War Journal blamed USA for the air strike as only USA was able to conduct precision night strikes in the region. Sahibzada Haroon ur Rashid, MNA from Bajaur Agency, resigned from the National Assembly to protest against the bombing of a madrassah in his constituency. In revenge for the attack the militants unsuccessfully fired a series of RPG rockets on the heavily fortified security camp of Governor and Lt. General Jan Ourkzai; though his convey remained unharmed on 8 November 2006. The same day, the militants attempted suicide bomb attack on military base in Dargai, KPK. Nearly 42 Pakistani soldiers martyred and wounding 20 others in this suicide attack. (Dawn, 2006). Later Government and Military intelligence investigators affirmed in media that suicide bombing had a direct link with the air strike. In July 2007, the massacre in Islamabad’s LalMasjad involved in firming up anti-government and anti-military

opinion and feelings crosswise Pakistan which headed to organization of these militant groups in the form of establishment of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). (Iqbal, 2019). In the meantime, some militants of Al Qaida took asylum in the tribal areas of Pakistan due to NATO military attack on Afghanistan after 9/11. Most of them were either murdered or arrested (Musharraf, 2006). General Musharraf started crackdown against extremist groups and organizations, restricted their activities. Only those groups and organizations were under attack which challenged the government writ and opponents of the national interests of Pakistan. Those organizations and groups were not happy with the policies of Gen. Musharraf and support to the US counter terrorism war which removed the Taliban government from Afghanistan. Moreover, war troupers from Afghanistan came back to their homes in Tribal Areas of Pakistan which turn into a safe shelter for Al-Qaida leadership and extremists. Though the forces of Pakistan killed some of the foreign militants, captured hundreds of them and handed over to the USA, yet they modelled a serious threat for the government and people of Pakistan. (Iqbal, 2019).

Drone Attacks

USA started drone attacks in 2004 targeting Al-Qaida in Afghanistan and FATA, with a strike in South Waziristan which targeted a militant commander named Nek Mohammad. Drone use remained sporadic for several years, between 2004 and 2007, there were only nine attacks. From 2004 to 2018, the US government carried out a number of drone strikes in the north – west part of the Pakistan. These attacks began during Bush administration but intensified under the Obama administration. In the media it was also called Drone War. Bush government officially denied the extent of its policy but Obama government acknowledged it in May 2013 for the first time that 5 American citizens had been killed in the strike. The National Assembly of Pakistan unanimously adopted a resolution against these strikes in Pakistan in December 2013. The first drone strike in Pakistan was conducted in 2004. These drone attacks and the anti-American sentiments changed the domestic political scenario of Pakistan. The militant groups used such drone attacks to exploit public sentiments against both the US and Pakistani government. They propagated that it was an American attack on Pakistani territory which they must fight back (Rabbi, 2012). 72% were civilians of the total casualties. Only 2% of the drone strike casualties were members of the Al-Qaeda outfit, while 15 to 25% of the targeted militants fall in the “Taliban” category (Usmani, 2017). New American Foundation of the US revealed that there had been 388 drone attacks on Pakistan in ten years i.e. from 2004 to 2014 which killed 2,184 - 3,559 people out of which 258 to 307 were civilians and 1727-2918 militants. Almost 400 people killed in these attacks could not be identified in these attacks. the drone attacks killed more innocent civilians than terrorists and hardened anti-US sentiments in Pakistani society. Almost 84% of the total attacks between 2004 and 2013, took place from August 2008 to August 2012. Approximately 85% of the total deaths from drone strikes were recorded in this time span. 85% of the total civilian deaths were also witnessed in this time period, going all the way till the end of 2013. (Usmani, 2017).

Domestic Political Cost

The occurrence of 9/11 came up with huge challenges for Pakistan in domestic political terms. Pakistan's engagement with the US and their improved relations changed Pakistan's domestic political dynamics. Pakistan had to face serious domestic political troubles as it was not an easy task for Pakistan's to take U-Turn on Taliban policy. This decision resulted in the emergence and consolidation of Islamic forces in Pakistan. The religious political parties joined together against

the American attack on Afghanistan and Pakistan's support for it. They successfully exploited the rising anti-American sentiments and also further raised such sentiments across Pakistan ultimately ending up in forming a political coalition which was called 'Mutaheda Majlis-e-Amel (MMA). As a result, they won elections of 2002 and formed Provincial governments in KP and Balochistan. MMA arose as a second largest political party in the National Assembly of Pakistan and won the position of the Leader of the Opposition in National Assembly. This was a radical change in the political history of the country and people of Pakistan had never voted for such religious political parties in such a way. (Iqbal, 2019).

Military Cost for Pakistan

After the WoT, Pakistan became the most terrorism-hit state of the world. Both the military as well as civilians have suffered a lot in this regard. Over the years, the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) had number of suicide attacks all across Pakistan from former FATA to the urban centers of Pakistan. The militants have been able to hit the military installations and sensitive places like Pakistan Army headquarter GHQ, Naval War College in Lahore, Kamra Air Base, Federal Investigation Agency Lahore office, the Sri Lankan cricket team, the Wah Ordnance Factory, Marriott Hotel Islamabad, etc. The above-mentioned incidents were only the glimpses; there were many more brutal attacks by the TTP. There was huge loss of lives of the military and paramilitary forces during operation against the Tehreek Taliban Pakistan. So it clearly shows that Pakistan has paid a huge price in terms of peace and stability since it joined the American-led WoT. The report presented by intelligence agencies of Pakistan in the Supreme Court showed loss of 99,000 lives since 2001. (Iqbal, 2019). Apart from its cooperation and support in the American led War against Terrorism, Government and military of Pakistan started many large-scale intelligence and military operations in the Pak-Afghan boundary region against terrorists. The most important military operations conducted by Pakistan since 2001 were code named al-Mizan (2002-2006), Zalzala (2008), Sher Dil, Rah-e-Haq, Rah-e-Rast (2007-2009) and Zarb-e-Azab (2014). Hundreds of militants of Al-Qaida and the Taliban were killed and many more arrested. Those included the most wanted Khalid Sheikh Mohammad, Naeem Noor Khan, Khalfan Ghailani, Amjad Farooq, Abdul Rahman al-Maghrabi, Abu Faraj, Abu Zubaydah, Sharib Ahmad, Ramzi bin al-Shibah, etc. Approximately 700-1000 were handed over to the USA for investigation. (Epstein et al, 2013).

Economic Cost for Pakistan

The link between peace and economic growth is indispensable because economic development cannot occur without peace, and peace and security without growth may not be sustainable. Terrorism has both a direct and indirect effect on economic growth. The terrorism activities after the event of 9/11 have adversely affected the economy of Pakistan. First, Pakistan observed an immediate flood of Afghan refugees, which spilled terrorism into Pakistan. Second, the Indian insurgency in Pakistan, particularly in Balochistan province, through Afghanistan has also increased terrorist activities because terrorists obtain financial and military support from India. Terrorism activities have adversely affected economic growth in Pakistan. Due to the war in Afghanistan, Pakistan has faced the most serious consequences – from political to security, socio-economic and environmental - over the decades. From hosting millions of refugees to being a major victim of terrorism, the cumulative impact has been enormous, with adverse overall growth rate in all major sectors of the economy. Normal economic and trading activities were disrupted, resulting in higher costs of doing business including cost of insurance and

significant delays in meeting the export orders around the globe. As a result, Pakistani products gradually lost their market share to their competitors. Economic growth could not pick up as planned during the last decade. Pakistan continues to be a target of terrorism, including foreign-sponsored terrorism from its immediate neighbourhood. A substantial portion of precious national resources, both men and material, had to be diverted to address the security challenges and to repair the damaged infrastructure during the last many years. In addition to economic losses, cross border terrorism in Pakistan has inflicted untold human suffering resulting from indiscriminate and brutal terrorist attacks against the civilian population. In the last 18 fiscal years since the event of 9/11, Pakistan's economy has suffered a direct and indirect cost linked to terrorist activities of almost \$126.79 billion, which is equal to Rs.10762.14 billion. Further, normal economic and trading activities have also been disrupted, which has increased the cost of doing business. Terrorism has also adversely affected Pakistan's international trade. As a result, Pakistan has lost its market share and therefore remains unable to achieve its targeted growth rates. Pakistan's economy due to war on terrorism declined by 62% from 2014 to 2018. According to the Pakistan Economic Survey 2015-2016, Pakistan faced massive economic cost from 2001 to 2016. Due to the layer of terrorism, law and order situation became worse and foreign investors were unwilling to invest their capital in Pakistan. Inside the country also required the movement of military and non-military security forces. Pakistan had to spend a lot of financial and other sources on these movements. Pakistani newspaper, Dawn news, reports that Pakistan's economic losses due to war on terrorism declined by 62% from 2014 to 2018. The Pakistani economy suffered \$23.77 billion in 2010-11 due to expenses related to war on terrorism. This amount declined to \$12 billion in 2011-12. In 2016-17, Pakistan economy suffered \$5.47 billion and \$2.07 billion on 2017-18. Pakistani government estimates that Pakistan has suffered total losses of \$126.79 billion since 9/11 attacks. (Dawn,2018).

Social Cost for Pakistan

This war against terrorism brought severe social problems for Pakistan's society with enormous social cost for Pakistan. The nonstop terrorist attacks raised the mistrust of the people on the government and institutions. The social life of the people was particularly disturbed. The activists and terrorists introduced their own definition and explanation of religion and tried to impose it over the whole country. They dishonored the human rights and all sections of the society especially the women suffered a lot (Chughtai 2013). They treated the people very brutally. These militant groups started propaganda against the government, institutions and Pakistan. They promoted anti-state feelings. They started to attract the young generation of Pakistan towards their hateful and extremist thought. These extremists were successful to some extent that many Muslim youngsters were involved in serious acts of terrorism. They were not only from the traditional religious educational institutions but also from the modern educational institutions. A number of energetic youth was wasted in the process of terrorist activities (Abbas, 2015). The post-9/11 era gave more negative impacts on Pakistan's society. It challenged the writ of state and government of Pakistan. It worsened law and order situation in the country and put more pressure on Pakistani society. Suicide attacks, worse law & order situation paralyzed the Pakistan. The incidents of suicide attacks and bomb blasts increased manifold. As mentioned above, suicide attacks and bomb blasts became a daily routine all across Pakistan hitting security forces, police check-posts, army training centers etc. They also hit public places like schools, meetings/Jirgas, public rallies, hotels and restaurants, polling stations, prayer places and various other places (Rabbi, 2012). Despite such terrorist attacks on Pakistani soil, the US continued

putting more and more pressure on Pakistan to do more against the terrorist networks working in Pakistan. Presence of large amount of small weapons and banned drugs increased violence and the number of drug addicts also increased in Pakistan leading to other numerous social problems.

Sectarianism in Pakistan

Sectarianism is a big social problem of Pakistan especially since 1979 when Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan. Many innocents people killed during this sectarian violence. The Shia-Sunni sectarian violence spread all over the country. The post-9/11 and WoT further fired the already existing sectarian violence. The TTP were strictly against Shia community when the Taliban reorganized themselves needing tribal belt sanctuary to have an access to Afghanistan through the Kurram Agency, the Shias of Parachinar were considered a hurdle in their way. The Taliban started anti-Shia campaign by remobilizing the Sunni extremist organizations not only in tribal areas of Pakistan but all across Pakistan backed by the Taliban support. To counter this campaign, the Shia community started bringing unity in their ranks and consolidating their position all across Pakistan. This situation resulted in the escalation of Shia-Sunni conflict all across Pakistan. The aggravated sectarian violence made the diversified community environment very tense (Hiader 2012). This situation of sectarian violence was exploited by external intelligence agencies of different anti-Pakistan countries. Consequently, the provinces of Punjab and Baluchistan suffered the most from the sectarian violence. In insurgency-ridden province of Baluchistan, hundreds of people became victims to sectarian-related terrorist incidents. In tribal areas military and drone operations forced the insurgents and militants to abandon the rural areas of Pakistan and settle in urban areas. This resulted in the commencement of new wave of sectarian violence in urban areas of Pakistan especially in cities like Karachi and Quetta. The development of strong ideological and operational nexus of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi with Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and al-Qaeda further aggravated the situation. Having the largest Shia population after Iran, the resurgence of this violence had destabilizing impacts on Pakistan posing critical threat to its internal security and stability and killing and injuring of thousands of people in multiple sectarian incidents.

IDPs' Problem

Emerging of IDPs in a large number was also one of the serious consequences of war against terrorism. Hafiz Pasha has pointed out that The National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) registered 337,772 people from KPK and FATA. who had to leave their homes due to the country's security situation, while 70% people belong to FATA. Amnesty International estimated that the number of IDPs was higher than 500,000. The annual cost for the one third IDPs was recorded at Rs 2 billion. Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies has estimated that from 2.7 million to 3.5 million people were displaced from KPK and FATA due to military operations and it could be considered the largest displacement in the history of Pakistan. From the South Waziristan, 428,000 people were displaced, from Orakzai agency 400,000 people had to leave their homes, from Malakand agency 383,190 people were displaced while 382,950 people had returned to their homes, from the Khyber agency 84,000 to 100,000 people were uprooted and from Bajaur and Mohmand agencies 750,000 people had to leave their homes. (Bari,2009). Due to militancy, people suffered physical and psychological traumas. Fear traumatized their lives. These IDPs had to leave their businesses. Now most of them had become unemployed. So the burden on Pakistan's economy increased manifold. Many of the IDPs had to lose their property

after the migration and Pakistan's economic condition was not strong enough so as to provide full economic security to such IDPs. (Khalid, 2020).

Effects on Tourism Industry

Decline in tourism industry is a natural outcome of terrorism. People like to visit the safe and secure places. In Pakistan, tourism industry started to suffer seriously after the launching of war against terror. The occupancy rate of hotels reduced from 60% to 40% in 2007-08. The tourism sector of only Swat valley suffered a loss of Rs 60 billion from 2007 to 2009. As a tourist destination, Pakistan was ranked at 113 out of 130 countries in 2009. This low rank could be attributed to terrorist activities in the country. Due to the closing of numerous tourism industries, many people had become jobless. According to Pakistan Association for Tourism's statistical report, before 9/11 incident, 1 million tourists on the average used to visit Pakistan annually but after the occurrence of terrorism, it dropped to 10,000. Before the attack on WTC, 20 to 25 thousand people on the average had visited Gilgit- Baltistan, after 9/11 their strength remained only 5 to 10 thousand. In 2017, Tourism sector showed some improvement and its contribution in GDP was 2.9% while in 2016 its contribution was 2.7% in the country's GDP. However, Pakistan's tourism sector improved in 2017 as compare to 2016 but it was far behind from India and USA. India's tourism sector contributed 6.88% in the country GDP. India earned US\$ 27 billion from foreign tourists in 2017 on the other hand Pakistan earned US\$ 6.64 billion in the same year. After some improvement in security conditions in Pakistan the number of tourists increased and it was recorded at 1.75 million in 2016. While those states which are not suffering in terrorism have higher number of international tourists than Pakistan e.g in 2017 and earned much than Pakistan. Top tourism-earning nations in the world:

United States (\$ 299 billion), Spain (\$96 billion), France (\$86 billion), Thailand (\$81 billion), United Kingdom (\$72 billion), Italy (\$62 billion), Australia (\$59 billion), Germany (\$57 billion), Macao (China) earned \$51 billion and Japan made \$48 billion through tourism.(Shah,2019) Pakistan and USA both were ally in War on Terror, but just compare the condition of tourism of both the countries, this war caused much loss to the tourism sector of Pakistan.

Analysis and Conclusion

Pakistan remained the worst-affected country in this US-led GWOT and it incurred huge cost in strategic, political, economic and social terms. Strategically, Pakistan paid heavy price. In post-9/11 period, the US policy towards the Taliban regime and its war against terror made it difficult for Pakistan to continue its pro-Taliban policy. Pakistan faced the gravest foreign policy predicament when it had to revise its Afghan policy. Pakistan backed and supported the US-led anti-Taliban military operations in Afghanistan with the understanding that the Northern Alliance would not take tactical advantage from the campaign and it would not be allowed to take over Kabul. However, the fall of the pro-Pakistan Taliban government in Kabul and its replacement with that of the anti-Pakistan Northern Alliance one not only disappointed Pakistan but was also a huge strategic loss for her. The mistrust and uncertainty were visible in the relationship between Islamabad and the US-backed Kabul government. Pakistan not only lost the strategic depth achieved with great efforts by establishing the pro-Pakistan Taliban government in Afghanistan, but also lost its objective of an access to the rich energy and mineral resources of Central Asian Republics. Its western border was no longer safe and secure. Thousands of Pakistani forces were moved from eastern front to its western border to target al-Qaeda and the

Taliban militants crossing the border. The US pressure further increased which compelled Pakistan to move its regular forces to FATA and launch full-fledged operations against the militants. That led to the emergence of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), terrorism within Pakistan and created serious threat to its own security. The Indian close links with the Kabul government, its increased role in Afghanistan and its logistic and intelligence support to terrorism and insurgency in Pakistan had serious effects on Pakistan internally and regionally. The Indo-Iranian cooperation and a possible alternative transit route to Central Asian Republics through Iran and Afghanistan reduced Pakistan's centrality in Afghan conflict as well as affected its regional status. This scenario added to Pakistan's worries. Along with these developments, the growing Indo-US strategic ties and their increasing understanding on Afghan front created great concerns for Pakistan. The growing influence of India in Afghanistan was the direct result of the US involvement in Kabul that threatened Pakistan's security interests in the region. There had been reservations about the US drone attacks in Pakistan that these attacks were clear violations of not only international laws but also of sovereignty of Pakistan. The killing of innocent civilians, on one side, raised human rights issues, while, on the other hand, these strikes resulted in the escalation of insurgency, extremism and suicide attacks against military and civilian targets in Pakistan. Politically, Pakistan suffered as a result of accusations of the US, the Afghan government and the Western media that Pakistan was supporting the Afghan Taliban and providing them sanctuaries and safe heavens. They kept on demanding Pakistan to 'do more'. These developments built negative perception of Pakistan across the world which tarnished Pakistan's international image. Economically, Pakistan had to pay the heavy price. Foreign direct investment slowed down due to violent law and order situation in Pakistan. The inflow of dollars in Pakistan strengthened the habit of aid-addiction of Pakistan i.e. always depending on foreign financial assistance instead of managing domestic financial resources. Pakistan accumulated more debts increasing the debt-servicing liabilities. It has spent US \$118.32 billion (Economic Survey of Pakistan 2015-16) on anti-terrorism war as direct and indirect economic cost against US \$25.91 billion (The Nation, 2017) it received from the US in terms of military and economic aid since Sept 11, 2001. Pakistani society suffered gravely during this anti-terrorism cooperation with the US. Pakistan wasted its energetic young human capital in one or the other way. It faced the increased level of Kalashnikovs, illegal drugs and violence in Pakistani society. It accelerated the sectarian violence, aggravated the refugee problem, increased the terrorist attacks, challenged the civil society, deteriorated law and order situation and consolidated the already unjust social structure in Pakistan. All this resulted in foreign interference in Pakistan's internal affairs especially in FATA and Baluchistan; suicide attacks; bomb blasts; killing of common masses, security forces and political leaders; damaging public and private property; deteriorating law and order situation all across Pakistan especially in FATA and Baluchistan; almost daily clashes between the security forces and the terrorists; and so many other problems. Thus, in post-9/11 era, Pakistan-US anti-terrorism cooperation, the developments in Afghanistan as well as in the region, and the incidents of terrorism in Pakistan resulted in huge strategic, political, economic and social costs Pakistan had to incurred. Pakistani state and society suffered more than any other country in this US-led GWOT.

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