

POLITICS AND TERRORISM: CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN

Muhammad Ahsan

and

Dr. Muhammad Shehryar Khan

Assistant Professor, Department of Social Sciences

Iqra University, Islamabad

ABSTRACT: *Pakistan is facing a wave of terrorism and political actors and its policy makers are trying to find solutions to effectively execute counter terrorism strategies and brought peace back in Pakistan. Pakistani politics lacks consistency where its political culture is weak and political systems keeps on changing that effects the working and performance of formal politics and government. This research study intends to find a relationship of formal politics on the terrorism in Pakistan. The case study for the research study is Pakistan but it is reviewed in both Pakistan's terrorism history and global patterns of terrorism. It also considers the politics of Pakistan through history and patterns of formal politics that includes political culture and political systems in Pakistan. One of the major research objective was to elaborate on the causes and effects of the relationship between politics and terrorism in Pakistan. World have seen four major waves of terrorism, where Pakistan was affected maximum by forth wave of terrorism also known as religious wave of terrorism that came in 1980s. Pakistan have seen two major political systems i.e. dictatorship and democracy, where in authoritarian regimes political culture diminished and decisions and policies were made without political involvement from elected members. Democratic regimes promote political activism and inclusive culture, which in turn enable government to understand needs of people and execute policies in better manner. Evolving democracy have flourished national and grass root level politics due to which they have taken comprehensive measures to eliminate terrorism in collaboration with military establishment like military courts and counter terrorism operations. Qualitative research, analysis and systematic data analysis shows that Formal politics, active political culture and democratic system can play positive role in elimination terrorism to spread and eliminating it from Pakistan. The result outcomes of this study will benefit all the researchers whose aim is to pursue their research on the relationship of politics and terrorism. It provides policy recommendations for different stakeholders so that they can perform better policy making.*

KEYWORDS: politics, terrorism, case study, Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is one of the largest issue of Pakistan nowadays and Pakistan is fighting the war of its survival against terrorism within its own territory. Today "Pakistan ranked third in terms of highest number terrorist events in past decade" (Bueno de Mesquita et. al., 2015) and a long debate is in progress over factors behind spread of terrorism in Pakistan. The case was not same "four decades ago [when] Pakistan was not in the list of to 10 highest terrorist incidents per year list, but since 1980's a wave of terrorism that ranges from religions, ethnic and sectarian terrorism have spread across the country. Independent analysts often blame politicians, government officials, political systems and policy makers for the sudden increase of terrorism in past four decades. Hundreds of

people have lost their lives in these events including politicians, security forces, civilians, women and children. Most widely believed phenomenon is that these terrorists have political motivations and want to force governments to agree to their agendas through spreading terror and killings. But the underlying facts are far more complicated where Pakistan's political culture, international relations, geopolitical location, decision making, and neighboring history also plays in spread of terrorism.

Pakistan have a tainted political history where its formal politics and political culture remains dependent on the political systems that changes from time to time. For a longer period, Pakistan was ruled under Presidential and authoritarian system as military imposed four Martial Laws on different occasions. In between there were times when democracy resumed when country's current constitution was approved. "During Martial Laws several amendments were made to limit the power of democratic governments" (Bueno de Mesquit et al., 2015), some of those were again reversed when the latest democratic government came in to power. Pakistani formal politics and political system is best described as a continuous contention between civil and military actors. Though military actors remain in power for the longer period and alleged to create brain child political parties who then do politics on their aims and objectives. Democratic governments believe that they are unable to work with freedom and authority and unable to practice formal politics and run government if they fail to comply the strategies and decisions of military establishment. On the other hand, military establishment believes previous democratic governments were neither democratic nor working in the interests of Pakistan and remain busy in pursuing their own vested interests. There is a third phenomenon in Pakistani politics that both military and civil governments are responsible for spread of terrorism in Pakistan because civil governments do not represent the actual people of Pakistan as they are elites who do not want to spread political culture in Pakistan and only work for their interests. They also believe according to Byman (2005) that it was the "authoritarian governments who did all major decisions on their own and banned political parties in Pakistan and dragged Pakistan in unwanted wars, trained and supported various groups" (Byman, 2005) for those wars and those groups later spread terrorism in Pakistan. This research study is meant to consider history of politics, its culture and political systems in Pakistan along with history of terrorism to find the relationship between them if any.

Study Objectives

The research study is aimed at understanding the impact of politics on terrorism. The case study for the research study is Pakistan, but it will be reviewed in the global context of terrorism trend, history of terrorism in Pakistan and history of formal politics that includes national politics trends along with formal political systems of Pakistan. This research is not limited to a specific time and hence considers the terrorism patterns over the span of last eight decades, that is, post WW-II world. The result outcomes of this study will benefit all the researchers whose aim is to pursue their research on the relationship of politics and terrorism. According to Schmid (2011), "Terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and noncombatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties" (Schmid, 2011). It provides policy

recommendations for different stakeholders so that they can perform use the information for better policy making.

This research aims to elaborate on the causes and effects of the relationship under investigation. It roughly introduces the different aspects of the study and highlights upon the different dimensions of ‘terrorism’ and ‘politics’ within the country. Where ‘Politics’ is the role government plays in achieving its strategic national objective. National or Formal Politics includes operation of a constitutional system of government and publicly defined institutions and procedures. Political parties, public policy or discussions about war and foreign affairs. There are various of exercise formal politics and running government and for that various political systems have been used by the states and governments over the time. In the recent centuries the most popular political systems to run country are democracy, dictatorship, Monarchy and Republic and communism. This research also takes into consideration some of the historical patterns of terrorism within the country. It specifically emphasizes on the role of politics in impacting terrorism and how the various trends unfold. This research will be aiming to find cause and effect relationship between Politics and terrorism.



Figure 1.0. Formal Politics factors

The research under consideration considers ‘politics’ an independent variable, whereas the dependent variable is ‘terrorism and it aims to find the answers of these research questions

RQ1: Is there a positive relationship between politics & terrorism?

RQ2: Can politics be used to reduce terrorism?

RQ3: What are the effects of Political systems i.e. Dictatorship and Democracy on Terrorism?

RQ4: The evolution of democratic system in Pakistan has decreased terrorism in the region?

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Background of Terrorism

The word ‘terror’ as perceived today is significantly different from the concept of terror used in pre-modern times. The word terror is derived from the Latin word ‘terrere,’ which means ‘to make tremble.’ Almost “all the empires and form or social organizations in history were established based on the concept of terror” (Chaliand & Blin, 2007). The social organizations in pre-historic times was aimed at gaining security from other men, wild beasts, and nature. The terror provided

legitimacy to the governments or people to rule. Similarly, later in the history when civilizations started emerging, all the empires like, Mesopotamian, Assyrian, and Romans used terror as a tool to retain order in the state. The violence in the times of war was used to retain terror amongst people from possible uprising or rebellion. The supreme power resides with the state and it is through acceptance by the people residing in a certain territory. The state has a monopoly over the violence and subsequently retains power over a certain geography, and people. The fear of government within the hearts of people allows a state to perform its function smoothly. The submission of the people to a higher authority guarantees freedom, and security, which is often translated through the 'social contract,' term coined by Rousseau, between people and the authority. According to Chaliand & Blin (2007), "The phenomenon of terror operates as a guarantor of mass obedience, and enslavement (Chaliand & Blin, 2007).

The scholars of terrorism often trace back the use of word 'terror' to French Revolution and use of it by the state, though throughout the history the concept of terror is used to establish an authority or a government. The concept of terrorizing has evolved over the centuries and it boils down to modern definition which pertains to the illegitimate use of violence, mostly by non-state actors, through terrorist-type activities for the sake of achieving some goals and objectives which are not possible to achieve otherwise. The concept of terrorizing in historical terms is a broader concept and phenomenon in comparison to its modern definition. The contemporary form of terrorism is often described as the fourth wave of modern terrorism and is labelled as 'religious wave' by Rapoport (2008). The religious dimension to the terrorism is often perceived as a new phenomenon by many, but it is an old phenomenon which existed in the previous centuries where Jewish Zealots in first C.E. and Isma'ili sect of Assassins in the span of eleventh century and thirteenth century has used to achieve their respective objectives. The modern history separates the use of terror by state from that of the non-state actor and terms the illegitimate use of violence by non-state actor as an act of terrorism. Similarly, it is also argued that most or all the freedom fighters were considered as terrorist at one point of time because of their violent struggle against respective political regimes.

The use of words 'Freedom Fighter' for the formal terrorist groups in United Nations instead of 'Terrorists' was done by the newly emerged states which became member of the United Nation. The struggle of the terrorist groups in liberating the nations from the colonial rule is perceived as the noble cause amongst the most and henceforth is considered as Freedom Movements instead of acts of terrorism. Whether the struggle is to liberate nations from the colonial rule, or to achieve some religious aims and goals, targeting of civilian population remained at the heart of the terrorism strategy. The aiming of civilian population is an indirect strategy to convince governments and state to accept the demands of the terrorist groups. "The inability of governments to secure civilians is at the heart of the terrorism strategy" (Chaliand & Blin, 2007). The "mass media plays a vital role in this regard, because it's the free media that helps incite fear in the heart of public and eventually sways the government to take measures of security and safety of the public" (Bergesen & Lizardo, 2004). Similarly, terrorism is more effective in the democratic regimes and less effective in dictatorship. The lesser intensity of success of terrorism in dictatorship is not due to the effectiveness and efficiency of the government policies, rather it is the control over media and lack of freedom with public. The media in dictatorship regime serve as the state tool shape public opinion, hence the terrorism incidents are not as effective in dictatorship.

Alternatively, the free media and freedom to speech in democracies provides more opportunity with the terrorist groups to pursue their agenda.

In the modern history of terrorism, the terror is used by non-state actors to threaten the power structure and legitimacy of the state. Terrorism is most often practiced by the weak and the most successful weapon of terrorism in this regard is 'guerrilla warfare. Brynjar & Skjølberg (2000) highlights that "Terrorism is a battle which aims at targeting the psychology of human beings, both its enemy and public" (Brynjar & Skjølberg, 2000). The act of terrorism over the last one and a half century provides evidence that their respective psychological effects are far greater than that of the physical effects. For example, the terrorist act of 9/11 provoked a global scale military campaign, 'War Against Terrorism,' which resulted in loss of both human and capital resource around the globe. The aim of terrorism is to seize power from below as opposed to the state apparatus which exercises the power from top-to-bottom.

The primary issue is the definition. Like United States, the definition of terrorism according to the different departments of government of Pakistan varies. The lack of consensus of the definition is of the root cause for unanimous actions. In other case, the definition is too vague or broad that virtually covers every possible activity. Secondly, the economically weak country like Pakistan is faced with inconsistent policy pursuit in long run, hence paving way for the departure from every definition. For example, the stance over Jihadi's to pursue the impudence movement is categorically supported by Government of Pakistan in pre-9/11 phase. Later in the post-9/11 policy making, the Government banned all the terrorist organizations, though keeping a soft corner for some of the organizations to pursue their strategic objectives within the region to counter its archrival India. To pursue this research, we agreed on the definition presented by Schmid (2011).

Definition of 'Terrorism'

According to Schmid (2011), "Terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and noncombatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties." (Schmid, 2011)

The Wave Phenomena in Terrorism

The terrorism seizes people attention by making people afraid and demonstrating that government cannot protect them. Main objective of the terrorism is to achieve the objectives of pursuing people to do something immediately by shocking them with some incident, rather than initiating a long campaign of propaganda which could take years to inculcate in masses. These waves of terrorism were not solely carried with the motives of spreading terror but have political motivations that varies from time and demographics. These waves of terrorism are extremely important to understand the link between terrorism and its political motivations that will ultimately help in finding relation of politics and terrorism in Pakistan.

First Wave: Creation of a Doctrine

The first wave pertains to the late 19th Century and it is the era of radical transnational social movements. The modern definition and trends of terrorism has its origin in the late nineteenth century with the group known as, “the people of will” (Rapoport, 2013). The Russian group wanted to mobilize people and change oppressive and injustice governments. The model of terrorism was assassinating key leaders. It is also known as the anarchist wave which was carried out by socialist groups that want to bring revolution and governments of their choice in various regions of the world. The prime target of this wave of terrorism was key figures in the political, social, technology and diplomatic arena and it was spread to Western Europe, United States and China in that time. This wave of terrorism also refers as “Golden age of assassination because several key political leaders, military officials and diplomats were assassinated to achieve political and social motives” (Rapoport, 2013). along with spreading terror among people. This wave was most powerful too of Russian anarchists to spread their message of revolution throughout the world and try to achieve their diplomatic and political objectives through various terrorist incidents.

Second Wave: Most Successful, and a New Language

The Early 20th Century is phase of second wave which is referred to as radical nationalistic movements. This wave is also known as anti-colonial waves in which nations were struggling to achieve their independence and that was the time when many radical groups see that through means of terrorism political independence from the colonial masters is possible. This wave is unique in nature and different from previous wave because many terrorist groups and organizations were formed, and they often got the support of the political and social activists who were fighting to get their independence. Another key term evolved in this wave known as freedom fighters as many of these organizations consider their terrorist acts as efforts to attain freedom from the oppressive colonial rules. The success of this wave was due to several reasons, as due to world wars and “United States involvement in the world arena the power of European nations was on decline” (Alaimo & Tong, 2017). Due to economic and social oppression in the colonial world, Nationalist movements were on rise and there were strong sentiments of freedom among people. Entire Europe was busy in the deadly and furious warfare where motives were to settle the revenges and attain supremacy and power. These factors supported the cause of nationalist movements as colonial masters like Britain, France and Portugal lose their control over the occupied lands and were unable to bear the economic and political pressure due to ongoing wars in Europe. According to Rasle & Thompson (2009) “with the rise in political movements world witnessed rise in second wave of terrorism where groups like Irish Republican Army (IRA)” (Rasler & Thompson, 2009), Indian Revolutionary Forces, and various small groups were formed in the colonized regions. These groups were regarded as freedom fighters among the majority local and enjoys great support from political parties who were struggling to get independence. In this wave of terrorism many events were recorded where attacks were carried out on the colonial troops, governmental places, firing incidents and riots that results in many killings and injuries. “During Second World War second wave of terrorism saw its peak and their attacks become vicious and potent” (Bergesen & Lizardo, 2004). Quit India Movement was a movement that was launched by Political parties of India that were demanding British to leave India, they were legal political organization but there were several groups who worked with the support of these parties who attacked post offices, railways tracks, military posts and other government resources in order to create terror among the British

government and force them to leave the region. This wave of terrorism witnessed a great relationship of terrorist activities with the political motives other than spreading terror.

Third Wave: Excessive Internationalism

The Third Wave belongs to the Mid-20th Century that was enriched with Communist and other ideological movements and often regarded as New Left Wave. This wave of terrorism brought international perspective in to terrorism. This was the era of cold war where United States and Soviet Union were in a continuous fight over claiming most of the global power and influence. The fight of super powers spread across the world where Soviet Union was painting United States as War hungry state who is trying to control the world through aggressive wars. Cuban political crisis and Vietnam war fueled this wave and many groups were formed across the world who started to carry out terrorist activities to spread terror among the existing governments. In this wave many ideological groups were formed, mostly communist whose terror activities were not limited to specific regions and were carrying out activities to spread their ideology and influence. Some of the prominent acts of terror in this era were plane high jackings, assassinations and kidnappings of famous political and powerful personalities. This wave begins in the era of Stalin, Chi Guevarra, J.F. Kennedy, Fidel Castro, Z. A Bhutto and Indira Gandhi. This wave of terrorism was not keen in massing killings instead the major focus of the wave was to target high profile targets and then with the use of evolving technology like television and media spread terror and present demands. This was the time when technology was on rise, though the it was not beginning of globalization but all the ingredients like internationalization, technology and communication ways were there which aided these terrorist organizations and groups to spread their message and influence. Third Wave have an impact that have attributes of both first and second wave and it have political motivations and objectives other than spreading terror. Because this wave was largely result of rise of cold war thus it ultimately declined with the decline of cold war.

Fourth Wave: How Unique and How Long

The fourth wave belongs to the Late 20th century that was Religious and apocalyptic groups. This wave is considered as one of the most dangerous and deadly wave as it has a global impact and caused unrest and chaos in many parts of the world. This wave is particularly different from previous waves due to the factor of religion in it. There are several groups that have religious motivations combined with political and economic aims who are involved in forth wave of terrorism. Islam is a central part of this wave as many terrorist organizations like Tahrir- e- Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Boko Haram, Lashkar-e Jhangvi and ISIS. Pakistan being an Islamic country where more than 95% of population is Muslim suffered massively from this wave as there are many terrorist organizations who directly or indirectly operated from Pakistan. “Third wave was catalyzed by the Iranian revolution of late 1970’s when the forces of Khamenei overthrow the rule of King Shah” (Rasler & Thompson, 2009) and implemented Islamization in Iran. Other than religious factors there are many geopolitical and strategic factors that give rise to the forth wave of religious terrorism. On the verge of downfall, Soviet Russia invaded Afghanistan in order to get access to war waters due to their declining economy and influence in the region. This triggered United States and Pakistan to take a swift action and provide strategic and weaponry support to the local groups known as Taliban to fight against USSR.

The war was won with the support of local Afghani groups, but those groups were neither organized nor controllable specially after collapse of Soviet Union. That gave rise to Taliban under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden who have intentions of creating his own Islamic state using terrorist means. This wave of terrorism changed the view of world regarding terrorism and world leaders considered it as one of the biggest threat to mankind and peace of world. This wave includes “use of suicide bombings, mass killings of public and attack on public places to attain their objectives and spread terror” (Rasler & Thompson, 2009). Some of the vicious attacks of this wave includes 9/11 twin tower attacks, London bombings and attack on Army School in Peshawar. World is fighting against the forth wave of terrorism, where Pakistan is considered as one of the country who have suffered most from this wave where more than 40,000 people including civilians and army personals have been killed to date.

BACKGROUND OF POLITICS

Definition of Formal Politics

“Politics is the role government plays in achieving its strategic national objective. National or Formal Politics includes operation of a constitutional system of government and publicly defined institutions and procedures. Political parties, public policy or discussions about war and foreign affairs.”

Formal Politics and Political systems

Politics is derived from Greek Word ‘Polis’ and ‘Poli’ meaning community and many respectively. Thus, in general politics refers to science that includes laws, rules and policies through which a community of government control its people and pursue its national and common interests. From ancient times politics remained an important aspect of progressive societies where it is utter desire of communities to live in arranged, settled and evolving communities. In the modern times Politics is the role government plays in achieving its strategic national objective. Politics can also have referred as the system that have laws, rules and policies that helps the general community and population to live like a group, manage their affairs in organized manner. There are various ways of exercising politics and running government and for that various political systems have been used by the states and governments over the time. In the recent centuries the most popular political systems to run country are democracy, dictatorship, Monarchy and Republic and communism. “Each political system has its own merits and disadvantages” (Rasler & Thompson, 2009) and these systems have been widely used in the world. Not every political system is giving much needed freedom, rights and working for the interests of common people and this is the reason there is a continuous debate over which political system is best to rub the country in a way demands and needs of common public are met along with national interests. This Research study will consider Formal and National Politics of Pakistan through which governments controls and runs the country. National and formal politics is the system in which a country is run by government for the welfare of people and at the same time it ensures to carry out measures that gives benefits to the country, ensures rule and law in the country and protects the interests at global level. This research study will also consider the global political affairs of Pakistan to find the relationship between terrorism and politics.

Politics and Terrorism

The Political systems around the globe vary in nature and operations in past eight decades that ranges from monarchy, democracy, dictatorship and communism. Political system provides power to governments to rule the country and take important decisions that are beneficial for the interests of the country. A government is bound to not only maintain rule and law but to ensure that right aims and objectives to be pursued to achieve development and progress in the country (Diamond, 2011). On the other hand, terrorism is conducted by groups or individuals to pursue their own objectives by spreading terror and violence. By the modern definition of political government and terrorist organization interests of both collides because a government is deemed to have full authority of running country and pursuing country's interests and terrorist organizations are using means of violence and terror to pursue their own interests and force governments or any other authorities to agree their terms and conditions. The four waves of terrorism highlights that there were certain circumstances, objectives and reasons behind terrorist events in four waves.

In the first wave of terrorism the organizations were carrying out killings of key figures. One of the notable figure who was assassinated in the first wave of terrorism was 25th President of United States William McKinley in 1901. He was just reelected for his second term and only spend six months when he was murdered because of terrorist activity. The obvious objective of that assassination was to inject fear among people and government, but there are several political events happening at the same time when president was murdered. United States was coming out of policy of isolation and aiming to expand its trade and influence. The issue of land with Spain was in progress and communism was on rise in the Eastern Europe. The assassination of President William McKinley not only impacted on all these political events but also affected the politics of future. Another assassination during First wave of terrorism was killing of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria in 1914. This "terrorist activity led to a massive conflict among Austria and Serbia and later that conflict spread to entire Europe resulting World War 1" (Rasler & Thompson, 2009). The killer of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria was Serbian, and this is very notable because this not only tensed the relationship between two countries but later it disturbed peace of entire region. Thousands of people were killed in the first big war and politics of the world was changed forever. Because of World War 1, Germany lost its power, United States through treaty of Versailles and Woodrow Wilson attained control over European affairs and Russian Red Army brought communist revolution in Russia. "The magnitude of impact of killing of Hungarian prince activity had on the world politics was unimaginable" (Rapoport, 2013).

In the second wave of terrorism when quit India movement was at peak there were several attacks British military posts, railway tracks and post offices in 1942. This was the time when Indian parties i.e. Congress and All India Muslim league were demanding British to leave India and give them independence. Those events took British on the backfoot in India who were already engaged with deadly World War 2 on European front. Those events led to arrival of Cripps Mission, Shimla Conference and ultimately to independence of India and Pakistan. There were many other factors that led to the independence of these two countries from Britain but there was strong impact of those terrorist activities that aided the political activities of local parties and took British government on their backfoot.

Hijacking of planes of political figures and blast and killing of important figures like J.F. Kennedy President of United States were also some of the terrorist activities that have various political implications on the global arena. "After the cold war, terrorist groups of Taliban have declared their Islamic government in Afghanistan" (Saeed, Syed & Martin, 2014). United States was keen to fight against extremism when attacks on world trade center happened on 9/11. That attack killed hundreds of innocent people and spread terror throughout the world, according to Altheide (2006). At the same time world politics changed upside down, terrorism becomes top priority issue of world (Altheide, 2006), war against terrorist was waged at massive level in Afghanistan and then Iraq which is still in process. Terrorist organizations are not very well structured but still they are running like any other organization means they need man power, finance, technology and weapons. For all these things they are not conducting attacks to just spread terror in the world or to pursue their ideology, at the same time they also try to impact on the politics of the area or region.

Conversely all above mentioned examples also explain that the politics and political system of those times can also lead to those terrorist attacks. Where the rage of revenge was red hot in Europe and they wanted to settle scores with each other and that political environment led to war after the "incident of killing of Hungarian Prince also indicates that killing of prince was done due to the intense political situation" (Crotty, 2005) of that time and if the political situation of Europe was peaceful at that time, the killing might not have happened. Same goes for terrorist activities like Quit India movement where politics of the time was in chaos and that terrorist activity was conducted because of aggressive politics. Even the largest terrorist event of 9/11 was conducted after world refused to accept the regime of Taliban in Afghanistan, that indicates it was the political ambitions due to which that attack was carried out to give a message to world that accept their regime in the world system. According to Schmid (2011), political system and operating governments play a great role in mode of action taken by outlawed and terrorist organizations to achieve their objectives of terrorizing people and achieving political and social goals if any.

History of Formal Politics & Political Systems in Pakistan

The politics of Pakistan is very confusing and difficult to understand since its birth. The reason is no continuity of any single political system for longer period. Since its independence Pakistan has seen four Martial Laws imposed by military dictators on different occasions and few years of presidential and parliamentary democracy in-between. The situation is not as simple as four Martial laws because three of the four dictators who imposed Martial law later tried to implement a parliamentary or presidential system and call it resumption of democracy, which was a refined form of Martial Law with little or no power lies in the hands of Parliament. "In 1949 Objective Resolution was passed and it was declared that Pakistani parliament will legislate its own constitution and there will be parliamentary democracy in Pakistan" (Murphy, 2012). But after death of Jinnah the fight for power began among civil and military establishment. Till 1956-7 though parliamentary system sustains, but it saw seven Prime Ministers that tells the situation of chaos in Pakistani politics. The very first incident that triggered civil military relationship was assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan and alleged plan of coup by military that was denied by them. In 1956, first constitution of Pakistan was passed that declared Pakistan as Federal Republic and introduced Presidential system. But soon the system failed due to lack of civil military

collaboration and increasing administrative issues and First Martial Law was imposed by Ayub Khan in 1958. In 1962 second constitution was passed, and Martial law was lifted but dictator "Ayub Khan retained power by introducing a system of basic Democrats and banning participation of political parties in elections" (Cohrs et al., 2005). Dictatorship era of Ayub Khan lasted till 1969, where second martial Law was imposed by General Yahya Khan and it lasted till 1971. This was the time when Chaos, political unrest and under development was at peak in Pakistan who have recently lost East Pakistan in a war with India now known as Bangladesh. According to Afzal (1997) In 1971 power was handed over to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who declared Civil Martial Law in Pakistan. It was until 1973 when "third and most compact constitution of Pakistan was passed under which Pakistan's formal political system was officially shifted from Presidential to Parliamentary system" (Afzal, 1997). The constitution of 1973 holds great importance because of that first democratic government of Pakistan was formed after 26 years of independence which took oath on their own constitution. The democratic era does not last much and only after four years Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was discharged and Zia ul Haq imposed third martial. The era of dictatorship again begun in Pakistan and most of the "democratic rights were suspended for the next 11 years" (Javaid, 2011). It was until death of Zia in a plane crash democracy returns to Pakistan in late 1980's.

Even though democracy was returned after such long time, it faced many hurdles and in space of next decade four governments come and go without completing their constitutional tenure where governments were dismissed and dismissed on the charges of corruption and misuse of power by President and courts respectively. One Parliament have to complete its tenure of 5 years but till late 1990's no democratically elected parliament have completed its tenure. In 1999 Pakistan went on a war with India over Kargal, after which civil military relationships worsen again, and Army Chief of that time General Pervez Musharraf declared Martial Law on Pakistan for the fourth time through a military coup (Barracca, 2007). He cited the reasons that parliamentary government of Nawaz Sharif was responsible for unwanted deal over Kargal issue and they had plans of directing his plane to India though democratic government of that time overwhelmingly denies the allegations. Dictator Musharraf's era lasted for another 9 years in which he tried to bring a controlled type of democracy by holding referendum and elections in which a party that is known to be created by military establishment overnight known as PMLQ came in to power and Musharraf become elected President of Pakistan. This was the time when "Forth wave of terrorism was on its peak and world was fighting massive war against terrorism after 9/11" (Jongman, 2017). In 2007 after a movement launched by lawyers to free judiciary from dictator Musharraf's control situation got out of control and Musharraf once again suspended the constitution and imposed Emergency in Pakistan. In 2008 Musharraf lost his power and support both from military and civil institutions, thus after elections of 2008 after a very long period democratic government was formed. According to Jongman (2017) "it becomes the first democratic government that has completed its tenure of five years" (Jongman, 2017) and handed over power to next elected democratic government in 2013. The second government also just completed its five years term and elections will be held in coming months of 2018. In terms of political system Pakistan have seen more than 30 years of dictatorship in its short life since independence and in the middle years followed by few short spans of democracy. It is first time in history of Pakistan that two successive elected democratized governments have completed their terms, thus this decade is referred as era of democracy in Pakistan.

Formal Politics is the history of Pakistan have also followed almost same trends as political systems. According to Jongman (2017) during the times of dictatorships political rights and activities are either suspended or scrutinized and lemmatized to minimum level (Jongman, 2017). In the era of democracy political parties flourish, people engage in the general politics and elections and power is transferred to representatives elected by people. Moreover Weinberg (2013) highlights that Pakistan is a country in which foreign and defense policies are still not fully managed and controlled by democratic governments even in the current era as the mistrust between civil-military establishment is still massive and they do not trust each other's decisions (Weinberg, 2013).

History of Terrorism in Pakistan

The deposition of King Zahid Shah, the last King of Afghanistan reigning from 1933 to 1973, by his cousin Daoud Khan marked the end of peace and stability in Afghanistan; and began the involvement of Pakistan in domestic affairs of Afghanistan for security reasons. The Prime Minister of newly formed republic in Kabul started claim on Pashtun territories, including region part of Pakistan. Pakistan faced with existential crisis in the aftermath of fall of Dhaka (1971) relied on the sponsorship of Islamic groups opposing Daoud Khan's regime. According to researchers on terrorism studies the turmoil in the domestic political scenario of Afghanistan led to communist coup of 1978, which eventually led to Soviet invasion in 1979 (Mustafa & Brown, 2010). The Soviet invasion was partly due to the infighting between Islamist insurgents and communist factions, the Islamist insurgents being supported by Pakistan. The Soviet Invasion was a seen a threat alike by Pakistan and rest of the western capitalist democratic world. "Islamabad at that time was facing isolation due to military coup of General Zia ul Haq in 1977 and hanging of the elected Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1979" (Nasr, 2004). The following years of Soviet Invasion were used by then government of Pakistan to formulate policy which could get support from various Gulf states, led by Saudi Arabia and capitalist block, led by United States of America. The retention of government legitimacy was central to the military regime of General Zia and it was created through formal policy of Islamization. Religion (Islam) is supposed to be the binding force for various ethnic groups living in Pakistan and hence according to Nawaz (2016) Islamization played a vital and successful role for Zia's regime to legitimize itself (Nawaz, 2016). It also provided the government to take frontline to counter the Soviet Red Army invasion. The different religious moves of General Zia were politically motivated, and it included the support for religious militias, enactment of Islamic laws, and promoting religiously inspired education in Madrassahs and formal institutions of education. The various Islamic laws included Zakat Law, and Shariah courts. The Islamization paved way for support in domestic and international politics. "The religious right of the country supported General Zia's policies and internationally the Gulf States began taking interest in Pakistan" (Murphy, 2012), subsequently supporting in the avenues of education, economy, military, and diplomatic matters. The rise in terrorism incidents during Zia's regime were astonishing because of the country's interference in the domestic politics of the neighboring countries, that is, Afghanistan and India.

According to Kukreja, V., & Singh (2005) The Pakistani interest foreseen were labelled as 'strategic depth' by National Security advisers and policy makers (Kukreja & Singh, 2005), which will enhance the capacity of Pakistan in times of conflict with India. The National Security advisers

considered the friendly ties between Afghanistan and India as the encirclement policy pursued by India. The conflict within Afghanistan directly influence “Pakistan’s domestic security and the terrorism incidents were rising in the aftermath of late 1970s” (KatoCh, 2016). The terrorism incidents during 70s and 80s in Pakistan were linked to the Afghan Intelligence (KHAD) and Russian agency KGB. Most of the “terrorist incidents during Afghan Jihad era happened in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA region bordering Afghanistan” (Khan, 2005). The aim of the terrorist incidents in Pakistan were to incite fear amongst masses through massive civilian casualties and subsequently pursue the government to refrain from supporting rebels in Afghanistan.

The sectarian conflicts within Pakistan also accelerated due to Iran’s and Saudi Arabia’s pursued regional influence (Fair, 2015). Khomeini-led revolution in Iran at the same time was perceived as threat by the Sunni Gulf states, which afterward resulted in the proxy terrorist war within Pakistan from Kurram Agency in the North to Karachi in the South. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia supported Zia’s regime in pursuit of Islamization policies and its proxy war within Afghanistan by sponsoring Afghan Jihad. “The move from the government of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia was an alarming situation for the Shiite minority which realized the Zia’s Islamization policies to be Sunni-oriented” (Fische et al., 2007). The Iranian government in response to Saudi Arabia’s policies supported the Shiite community within Pakistan to strengthen its strategic position.

“The most successful movements of modern terrorism pertain to the second wave of terrorism, roughly around early twentieth century, which was based on ethnicity and nationalism” (Huntington, 1993). The roots of ethnic based conflicts were not new to the region and the uprising against colonial master eventually led to many new states at international arena, but not all. Most of the ethnic minorities within the newly independent states observed the independence as shift from colonization from one group to the other. The ethnic conflicts date back to pre-partition era, though the rise in ethnic violence is also associated with Afghan Jihad. “The ethnic terrorism remains dominant in Pakistan during the 1990s” (Bose & Jalal, 2002). Most of the ethnic conflicts were concentrated in the Southern part of the country and was deadlier as compared to sectarian terrorism.

The latter half of the 1990s observed decline in terrorism incidents in Pakistan, but the resurgence in terrorism occurred in the aftermath of the Global War on Terror. The incident of 9/11 attack in USA resulted in US operation in Afghanistan, ‘Enduring Freedom.’ In 1999, General Musharraf overthrow the democratically elected government of PML(N) and retained the power until 2008. “Musharraf in 2001 aligned itself with USA to ascertain international support in times of political and economic seclusion at global level, coupled with financial and military aid” (Hussain, 2011). The political and military alliance of Pakistan and USA in war against terrorism in Afghanistan was also due to three major reasons. First, India had already offered its bases for the military operation in Afghanistan and the aggressive stance of USA would have taken that surpassing Pakistan. Second, the result of not aligning itself with USA would have weakened international support for Kashmir issue, which is considered as central to the relationship between India and Pakistan. Third, the security of the nuclear weapons would have been compromised which were provided an opportunity for Pakistan to create balance of power vis-à-vis India. According to Kaltenthaler et al. (2010) The aligning with USA against Taliban regime in Afghanistan was not

with the popular domestic support within Pakistan and henceforth paved way for an upsurge of terrorism incidents during the post 9/11 years (Kaltenthaler et al., 2010).

The first decade of twenty-first century was a new trend of modern terrorism in Pakistan, coupled with the insurgency in Baluchistan which added fuel to the fire. Just in the first six years span (2001-7), According to Curtis Pakistan has aggregated over US\$ 10 billion in military and economic aid from United States (Curtis, 2013). The newly increased terrorism violence in Pakistan was the result of yet again involvement of Superpower in the region. The invasion of WANA in 2003 was the point after which the terrorism incidents increased sharply. The second increase in terrorism violence was due to the raid on Lal Masjid, Islamabad in 2007. “The Lal Masjid operation [did not only] increase the terrorism incidences in Pakistan” (Fair, 2015), but also reduced the popularity of Musharraf’s regime and its political party PML(Q).

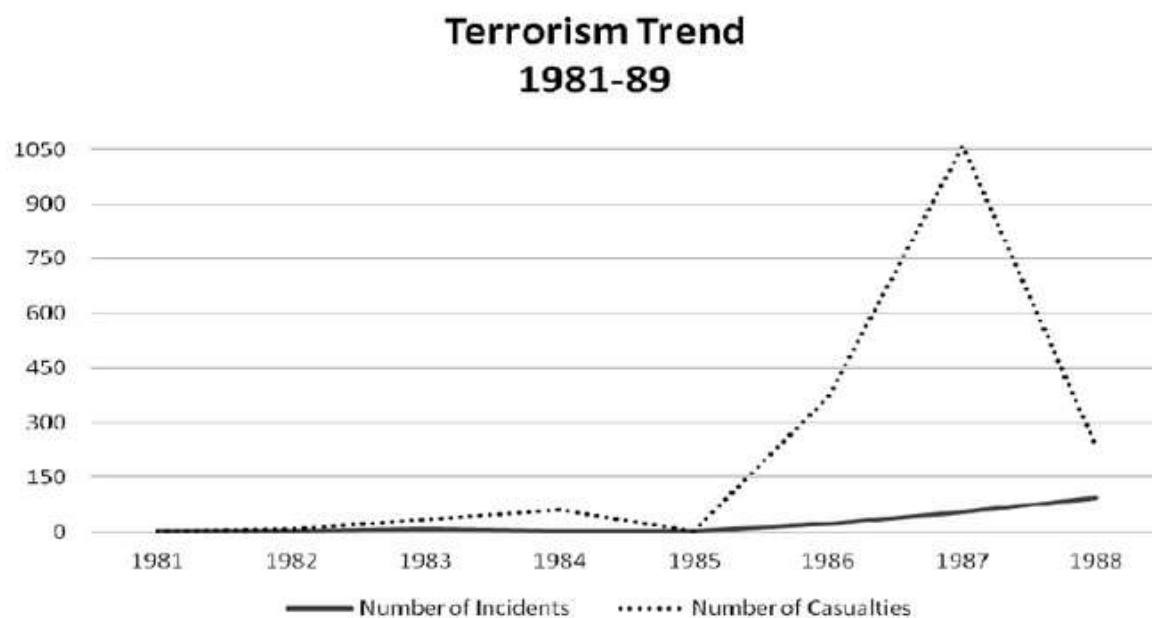
The history of terrorism in Pakistan is amalgamation of religiously and non-religiously motivated politics and political actor. According to Zahab political actors motivated by religious are both sectarian and non-sectarian in nature, whereas the non-religious political actors are nationalistic and ethnic” (Zahab, 2002). The proxy war in the Afghanistan and India via sponsoring rebels always backfired in the history of Pakistan but has always helped securing the balance of power within the region. In fact, the political, economic, and military form of international support received by Zia’s and Musharraf’s regime provided basis for economy to grow. “The economy of Pakistan grew in both authoritarian regimes, though unsustainably and the growth remained not-inclusive” (Shahbaz, 2013). The legitimacy of the governments through economy is one of the most successful strategy of the military regimes in Pakistan.

Afghan War

In late 1970’s USSR invaded Afghanistan in search of warm waters, territorial control and regional influence. Pakistan was part of US block and feared a similar invasion on its land if no action was taken. At that time “Military Dictator Zia ul haq decided to involve upon receiving certain monetary and weaponry incentives from United States” (2011). Pakistan’s involvement in Afghan Jihad famously known as Afghan Miracle proved very costly. This was the decade as discussed earlier falls in two waves of terrorism. The third wave of terrorism was ending and forth wave of religiously motivated terrorism was on rise. “A series of terrorist attacks conducted in Pakistan by USSR and Afghan secret agencies as they were trying to stop Pakistan from supporting Afghan Mujahedeen” (Bueno de Mesquita, 2015). Figure 5 shows the number of terrorist attacks launched in Pakistan during Afghan war and mean values of terrorist attacks and casualties. During Afghan Jihad Peshawar was the launching pad of rebel factions whom Pakistan was supporting to fight against USSR, thus Peshawar faced majority of the attacks and many rebel commanders were also killed in those terrorist attacks. With those attacks terrorist factions started to grow its roots in Pakistan.

Another reason of the terrorist attacks conducted in Pakistan during and post Afghan Jihad in 1990s was spread of sectarian terrorism which was a byproduct of forth wave of terrorism. Sectarian violence spread in 1990’s aggressively and an average of 23 terrorist attacks happened in Pakistan in which 220 casualties happened (Zahab, 2002). Terrorists used time bombs as major source of weapon in these attacks and these bombs were fixed in crowdly places of big cities, provincial

capitals and near important military and political offices. Most of the casualties of these terrorist attacks were civilians as the major purpose of sectarian terrorists was to embarrass the government put pressure on them to take certain political and diplomatic steps. Also, those attacks were a reply to government over their formal political system and political policies regarding Afghan war. In total “45% of the attacks were conducted in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and 30% of those attacks were conducted in Peshawar” (Tariq, 2011) because of its demographic closeness with Afghanistan and Russia.



**Mean Incidence and Casualties
(1981-89)**

Incidence	Casualties
23.25	221.25

Figure 5: Terrorism Trends 1981-89 in Pakistan
Source: (Rosr, Nagdy & Ritchie, 2018)

There were several motives of these deadly attacks where top priority was to negate the political approach and policies of government towards Afghan War. This also gives a loud and clear message to governmental institutions that current political system and its objectives are not accepted by the terrorist groups and they will continue attack if such policies are continued. Another motive was to spread fear among public as bombings were carried out in large public gatherings resulting in large number of deaths and blood spilt on open streets that spreads horror. Also, those attacks were conducted to achieve maximum number of killings to add strength to their message and it indicates that these “terrorist groups were extensively hidden in the Pakistani main stream society because attackers either come from or get support from individuals or groups in the society who either support those terrorists on ideological basis or through misguided religious sentiments” (Tellis, 2008). This also indicates foreign agencies were successful in spreading forth wave of terrorism in Pakistani main stream society.

Sectarian and Ethnic Terrorism

In 1990's Pakistan face a new face of violence in the form of Sectarian and Ethnic terrorism and that was this time not limited to northern Part of Pakistan, but it has travelled and infused in to the Southern part especially Karachi and Baluchistan. There are several reasons behind induction of Sectarian and Ethnic terrorism waves, where one of the reason was involvement of Pakistan in Afghan War, a political decision which results in massive backlash. Secondly there were several political issues in the formal politics of Pakistan "due to eras of dictatorship and minimum democracy many communities within Pakistan felt oppressed and neglected" (Shahzad, 2013). The governments formed majorly comprised of administration from Punjab and elites of rest of the provinces. Because there was no or minimum democratic regimes in Pakistan, thus no proper political process was initiated that could listen to the sorrows of various ethnic communities. The political process was weak and under control of military dictators who were little interested in understanding its long-lasting impact on community level. Another reason of the increased sectarian and ethnic violence was sour relations of Iran and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan was very close with Saudi Kingdom in terms of relations, where "Saudi government was alleged of supporting and funding Sunni Islam and Wahabi Islam in Pakistan and opposing Shia faction" (Alvi, 2014). On the other hand, Iran was supporter of Shia Islam, thus Pakistan's political alliances at the international arena also become reason of sectarian terrorism in 1990's. It is estimated that almost 200 terrorist attacks on average were conducted every year that includes bombings, target killings and assassinations of religious and ethnic leaders. The death toll raised to 400% after 1992 and Karachi become hub of the terrorist attack in that decade where 60% of the terrorist attacks of 1990's happened in Karachi (Ahmed, 1997).

Pakistan government decided to act in 1992 against the ethnic and sectarian terrorism and launched an operation in the headquarters of political party Muthida Qaumi Movement (MQM) who was involved in the massive target killings and terrorist activities in Karachi. That operation though proved successful and freed Karachi from No-Go Areas and armed blockades, but it fails to eliminate the terrorist attacks as the attackers no operate as underground groups and with the support of political parties, ethnic segments and sectarian segments they continue to carry out terrorist attacks on opposing sects and ethnicities. This was the time when "Pakistan recognized Taliban Government in Afghanistan where entire world rejected that government, and Taliban were supporters of Sunni faction of Muslims" (Ayoob, 2008). That further spread sectarian terrorism in Pakistan and various attacks were conducted on Shia faction of Islam in Pakistan and vice versa.

Karachi Conflict

Pakistan have lost Bangladesh (once East Pakistan) due to many reasons, where one of the reason was that Pakistan was unable to provide sufficient political representation, economic and social benefits to people of East Pakistan (Shahzad, 2013). They felt them as inferior as compare to West Pakistanis and there was strong feeling of hater among public. Even during war of 1971 many terrorist activities were conducted by Bangladeshi liberation factions against Pakistani Army because they had deep hate for West Pakistanis as they felt neglected and ignored in every aspect. Same mistake to some extend was repeated with Muhajirs, where "Muhajirs were people who migrated to Pakistan during partition in 1947" (Shahzad, 2013). This group left their homes and valuables behind to join Pakistan and twenty percent of them were settled in urban areas of Sindh

especially Karachi and Hyderabad. They were very educated people and quickly with the passage of time they started to get better job opportunities both in public and governmental sector along with bureaucracy. This thing does not go well with the administration and governmental institutions that were dominated by Punjab and Sindh elite. Thus, in the late 1960's quota system was introduced in which instead of merit jobs were given on the basis of quota. Muhajirs felt neglected and they later violence and ethnic terrorism in Karachi was a way of showing their grievance towards the trends of national and formal politics and government policies.

Karachi was becoming hub of opportunities and turning into a metropolitan city so more ethnicities like Pathans also migrated here for better opportunities. "In an era of quota system and marginalization clashes between both communities started" (Ahmed, 1997). At that time, it was very difficult for a Muhajir to come in to politics due to no or limited political representation and get acceptance from Sindhi voter as they consider Sindhi people as superior over Muhajirs. Thus, in the Sindh Assembly majority elected members were Sindhi locals. In 1973 Sind Assembly passed Sindhi as a national language having value equal to Urdu. Muhajirs use to speak Urdu and they seek this as a step from Sindhi government to further push them towards wall because Urdu was commonly spoken language in entire Pakistan, but Sindhi was only spoken in Sindh. Also, that was the time when Bangladesh got independence from Pakistan and one of the cause of their national language and pushing them towards wall. Thus, all these factors led rise of youth politics among Muhajir community to raise voice for their rights. A student leader of Sindh University gains significant popularity, he was a Muhajir and his community started to listen and follow his orders, his name was Altaf Hussain in 1970's. As Altaf gained popularity he formed a political party to safeguard rights of Muhajirs namely Muhajir Qaumi Movement which was later renamed as Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM).

Until creation of MQM Karachi was free of terrorist activities, but after creation a fight for power among Sindhi Nationalists, Muhajirs and Pathans begun. That fight for power which before was justified turns violent and every party formed its militant groups. This was the time when 1990's approached and massive terrorist activities on ethnic basis were conducted. In the era of dictatorships, to gain public sympathy dictators often created alliance with MQM and neglected their militant groups, because dictators never like Pakistan People's party (PPP) due to its demand of democratic political system and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Due to this political parties especially MQM engaged in the politics of terrorism, killings and violence to dominate their opposition. Entire party was not a terrorist organization and many good and educated people were part of it, but a certain faction under its leader Altaf Hussain worked underground to carry out terrorist activities. Target killings, bombings, minced dead bodies of opposition and torcher bodies of people who do not pay ransoms was common happening in Karachi in Past 2 decades ((Blair et al., 2013).

On 12 May 2007 when Chief Justice of Pakistan was scheduled to arrive in Karachi to lead his campaign for the restoration of judiciary and justice which was abolished by dictator of time General Musharraf; mass ethnic terrorism attacks happened. MQM is alleged to part of those ethnic terrorism that resulted in 48 deaths in the span of few hours that left entire city under curfew like situation. During the past decade after restoration of democracy in Pakistan, more political space was given to political parties, ethnicities and individuals when a breakthrough related to terrorist

violence in Karachi occurred. MQM chief Altaf Hussain openly threaten Pakistan Army and asked help of Indian secret Agency to help them get independence from Pakistan. This was the time when military operation was launched on their headquarters where large amount of warfare weapons, target killers and terrorists were arrested who were linked with MQM. Altaf Hussain was blamed of treason and his party was banned to operate in Pakistan and many insiders of MQM come on surface and validated that MQM was involved in several terrorist and violence activities in past decades. Because of this operation peace started to resume in Karachi since 2016, still the “security is under the control of rangers and terror attacks in Karachi have been reduced by 90% in past 3 years (Javed, 2017).

Terrorism in Pakistan post 9/11

Pakistan have joined hands with United States in War against terrorism and provided its full military and territorial support in American war against terrorism in Afghanistan. That deal was done by Musharraf, who President of Pakistan at that time and his decision was largely criticized by notable political figures including Imran Khan. Since Pakistan joined US, a new wave of terrorist attacks where the intensity of these attacks was far more greater and “number of casualties per year risen from 164 in 2003 to 3300 per year in 2011” (Saeed et al., 2104). Since 2001 Pakistan have suffered many casualties that includes military personals, politicians, social activists, national heroes, religious leaders and civilians including women and children. In the past decade Pakistan have spent \$68 billion fighting war against terrorism alone.

Because of Pakistan’s alliance with US in war against terrorism, a new faction namely Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) was formed that operate from Pakistan and conduct terrorist activities against every segment of Pakistani society. Statistics shows that there “more than 50 terrorist organizations working and operating in Pakistan” (Alaimo & Tong, 2017) and every organization have its distinct ideology and leadership. But objectives of these organizations are aligned as they want to inject fear in the people, want to kill at massive level and force governments to take certain political and geo-political decisions. Some of the notable terrorist attacks in Pakistan in this era are “attack on the Marriot Hotel Islamabad in 2008 in which 52 people were killed when a truck full of explosives was used” (Wernick & Von Glinow, 2012). That attack was conducted as a message to Pakistani government and politicians that walk away from war against terrorist groups or more attacks will follow.

After 2008 democratic governments took charge and a change and they continue to pursue similar policy of war against terrorism and terrorist attacks further increased. There was a debate of good terrorist and bad terrorist in Pakistan where some segments of society think that some groups do not want to do terrorist activities in Pakistan and they are doing as a response of drone attacks conducted by US in Pakistan that often results in killing of civilians along with potential targets and Pakistan support to US in Afghanistan war (Maria, 2009). Some critics cite that Pakistani establishment is nourishing some terrorist groups to use them in Afghanistan and that’s why there is debate of good Taliban and bad Taliban. Many efforts of under the table negotiations was done by Pakistani government and establishment with the terrorist groups but upon reaching no result Pakistan decided to clear its Northern area of Swat and South Waziristan from Taliban that was under the control of those Taliban factions who are conducting terrorist attacks against Pakistanis. Operation Rah e Nijad was launched in 2009 with the approval of democratic government. This

was the first time when all political parties and military establishment come on one page and launched massive operation that successfully cleared those areas from control of Taliban. Because of that operation 80,000 people become refugees who are still living in refugee camps and slowly going back towards their homes in cleared areas (Khan, 2012). With passing years though military operation was in progress but still some political parties were in favor of talks with Taliban as they see that as only peaceful option, but result achieved in those unofficial talks. In meantime terrorists attacked airbases, airports, military check posts and police headquarters with increasing intensity. On 16 December 2016 group of Terrorists early in the morning attacked in Army Public School Peshawar, resulting deaths of 132 innocent children most of whom were under 10-12 years in age (Hewitt, 2017). A total of 149 people was killed in those attacks and since 16 December 1971, this incident was considered as biggest national tragedy where every citizen felt the pain. That attack proved decisive as all political, social and military leadership agreed on one-point agenda that there is no good Taliban or bad Taliban; every Taliban is a terrorist and they will be eliminated. As a response from Pakistani military and government largest and most successful operation Zerb-e-Azb (Sharp and Cutting Strike) was launched with the aim to eliminate every single terrorist without any discrimination. Military courts were formed and authorized by democratic governments in which through quick proceedings terrorists are punished and even hanged to death. According to media sources Pakistan military have adopted the strategy of “Seek, Destroy, Clear, Hold through which 3500 terrorists have been killed, as many got arrested, 900 hideouts have been destroyed” (Javed, 2017), many no go areas have been cleared and back bone of terrorists in Pakistan have been almost broken.

The State-sponsored Terrorism

According to Saeed et al. (2014) many critics blamed Pakistan for supporting terrorist groups in past and present. Pakistan have its own reasons in the past where Pakistani leaders blame US for pushing them in war against terror by creating Taliban in the region who later become powerful enough to destroy the peace of the region. Objective observers believe there is truth in allegations of either side there is need to see this matter case wise. Although United States allege Pakistan of State supported Terrorism, but they never took risk of officially declaring this and put sanctions on Pakistan because they believe by doing this Pakistan will change their strategic policies, and US already have very little influence on Pakistan and that will fell in jeopardize too. US strategists also believes that recognizing Pakistan as a State that supports terrorism will put question mark on their efforts of war against terror in Afghanistan as Pakistan is cooperating with US in counter terrorism measures in Afghanistan (Johnston & Sarbahi, 2016). Also, if US lose cooperation of Pakistan at this stage that will make this region more volatile and dangerous and US have many other global issues to see like Syrian crisis and they do not afford to lose alliance of Pakistan as Pakistan do not afford to lose alliance of US. These both countries are indeed most untrusted allies working together. But at the same time US is not allowing Pakistan to openly practice its strategy and keeping a strict check and balance on their counter terrorist approach and have linked approval of aim with it. Pakistan need US Aid for its military and development purposes thus they do want cooperation with US on long term basis.

India allege Pakistan of state sponsored terrorism in Kashmir and they also blamed Pakistan of state sponsored terrorism in Mumbai attacks. According to Afflitto (2000) Pakistan allege India of State sponsored terrorism in Baluchistan and Karachi (Afflitto, 2000). They also allege India in

supporting Afghan terrorist groups to carry out attacks in Pakistan. Every state has its own priorities and Pakistan with India on East and Afghanistan on West and USSR now Russia on North have faced many difficulties when India initiated their Nuclear program right after independence of Bangladesh. Pakistani formal politics of that time and government stated the policy that they will even eat grass to initiate its own nuclear program. India was far bigger country with advanced military and weaponry and just after independence of Bangladesh that was matter of survival, thus critics allege that “Pakistan used states sponsored terrorism in Khalistan and Kashmir to keep India busy on that front in 1980’s and 1990’s” (Kukreja & Singh, 2005) and in mean time completed their nuclear program to create Nuclear deterrence. Pakistani national and geo-political politics often revolves around the Kashmir issue and both democratic and authoritarian political system are in favor of using all means to support independence movement in Kashmir. Also, some researchers also allege that Pakistan use some outlawed groups to create its influence in Afghanistan so that Pakistan’s monopoly can sustain in the region.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The basic purpose of the research is to systematically conduct a study through analyzing, interpreting and reviewing a problem to reach solutions and establish facts, that ultimately helps the researcher to reach conclusion. For this purpose, researchers use various methodologies to establish facts and reach solutions for problems. The word research is originated from French language, which means to search again. The researchers whenever look at a problem they use as many ways to look at the previously conducted researches on similar problems to analyze and investigate in systematic manner (Kothari, 2004). Good research always uses methodologies that help them in reaching conclusions and help them in understanding the problem in comprehensive manner. Research methodologies helps the cause of researchers by providing them with systematic research designs through which they can analyze, interpret and look at problems. This chapter will highlight the research methodologies used to collect, analyze and interpret data in a comprehensive manner.

Introduction to Study Area

Pakistan is facing serious problem of terrorism from last four decades resulting in many causalities. Entire world is passing through a phase of counter-terrorism wars and various policies have been implemented to eliminate it. According to Baqai (2011) Pakistani formal politics and its political systems are often linked with cause of extremism and current wave of terrorism in Pakistan (Baqai, 2011). Pakistan comes in the list of top ten countries facing extreme issue of law, order and peace due o increasing terrorism. This research is focused on case study of Pakistan and will focus on finding background and data related to history of terrorism in Pakistan, political history and political systems over the span of past eight decades as it is not limited to a time span.

Data Collection

The research study employs methodology of reviewing existing literature with secondary data, both quantitative and qualitative. Different national and international qualitative and quantitative studies, along with existing theoretical literature on the subject matter of terrorism are reviewed. The case study pertains to Pakistan. National and International literature in this context is

reviewed, analyzed and interpreted. Both primary and secondary data includes but not limited to previous research papers written on related topics by scholars, scholarly articles, peer reviewed publications, books, journals. The research methodology used for conducting this research is qualitative, quantitative and exploratory. The qualitative and quantitative data available in various research studies and organizational reports is analyzed in a systematic manner to collect data and reach conclusions. This methodology enables critical review of various theories that explains the stated phenomenon. It also helps in understanding emerging patterns and trends over the time. Exploratory Research is conducted on waves of terrorism, history of terrorism in Pakistan, politics of Pakistan, political systems of Pakistan. Also, research is conducted to analyze and interpret any relationship between formal politics, geo strategic and national politics along with respective political systems on terrorism.

Problems faced by the Researcher

Not much research has been conducted on this topic previously and limited amount of literature was available on issue in hand. Research is conducted in such manner to keep it completely unbiased and in systematic manner to reach conclusion. Limited quantitative data was available on the terrorism history in Pakistan and Political history of Pakistan which have also lemmatized the scope of research. Some of the already presented research was written in international and global context and writer's approach indicates outside look at Pakistani politics and terrorism history due to which I face some problems in conducting research. Classified data on issue of terrorism and political history was also not accessible and I have access to all the publicly available news, statistics and literature which are not guaranteed to be entirely correct that also limit the scope of research.

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Discussion

The data analysis of the available data from 1970-2016 revealed that both the form of politics, national and international, plays a key role in influencing terrorism trend. The empirical evidence from the aftermath of the 9/11 attack portrayed rise in terrorism incidents in countries that were previously not on the top 10 of terrorism index. This portion will try to analyze the influence of international powers and politics on domestic politics of individual countries and the terrorism situation.

	1970 to 9/10/2001		9/11/2001 to 2008	
Rank	Country	% of All Attacks	Country	% of All Attacks
1	Colombia	8.88	Iraq**	25.77
2	Peru*	8.35	India	9.48
3	El Salvador*	7.38	Afghanistan**	9.03
4	Northern Ireland	5.13	Pakistan	7.63
5	India	4.61	Thailand**	5.84
6	Spain	4.14	Philippines	3.85
7	Turkey	3.49	Russia**	3.65
8	Chile*	3.15	Colombia	3.22
9	Sri Lanka	3.03	Israel	2.89
10	Philippines	2.96	Nepal**	2.55

Figure 1.1: The top 10 countries before and after 9/11
Source: *Peace and conflict 2012* (Hewitt, 2017).

The figure 1 includes in the top 10 ranking before and after the 9/11 global shift in terrorism & counter terrorism. The comparison indicates that the countries which includes in the top 10 today were mostly not present before the incident of 9/11. According to Global Terrorism Index (2017), five countries accounts for almost three-quarter of the deaths from terrorism, which includes Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Nigeria. This also shows that after 9/11 7.63% of the terrorist attacks happened in Pakistan resulting high number of deaths and injuries. There was less or little impact of third wave of terrorism on Pakistan, but the forth wave of religious terrorist have seen a drastic rise in the terrorist attacks in Pakistan.

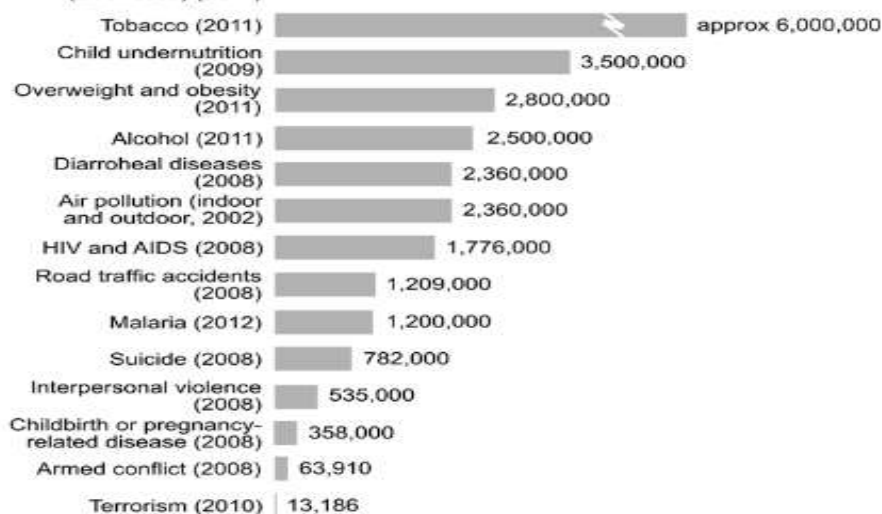


Figure 2: Death Tolls due to different reasons across the Globe
Source: (Rosr, Nagdy & Ritchie, 2018)

The global deaths across the globe explains the different reasons of death and terrorism ranks the last. The research poses question that whether the global war against terrorism and the related

funds are worth the investment or not. According to 2016 statistics by Global Terrorism Index (2017), the total deaths mounts to 34,676 which accounts for fraction of deaths. In fact, the comparison of deaths due to armed conflicts are twice the deaths figure of deaths from terrorism incidents. The much concern to cater terrorism across the globe lies in the political motives of the terrorist organizations. The western powers, coupled with the allies in the remaining part of the world, pursue terrorists because of the threat to national sovereignty and unwillingness to accept the demands of the terrorist outfits.

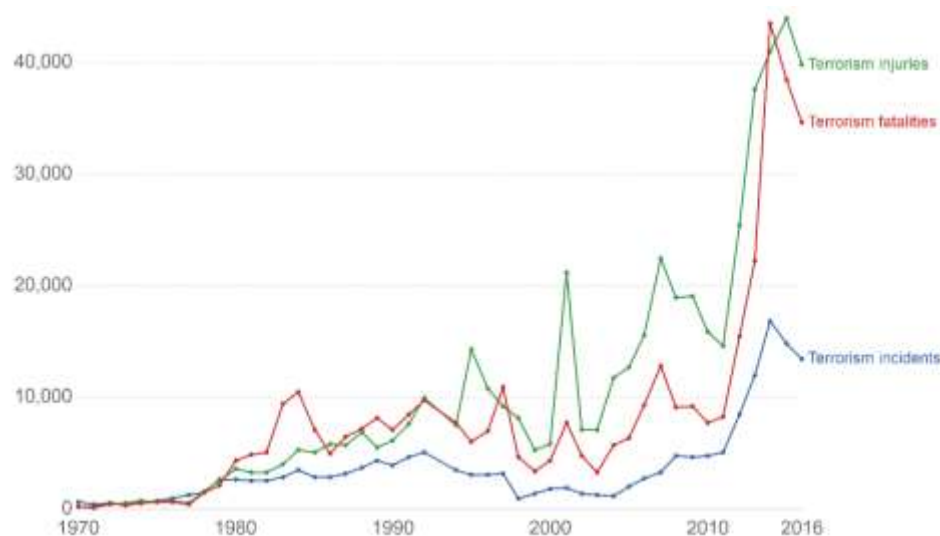


Figure 3: Yearly statistics on terrorism incidents, coupled with the incurring fatalities, and injuries. (Source Global Terrorism Index)

The figure 3 illustrates the total number of fatalities and injuries from terrorist incidents between the year 1970 and 2016. The data shows that during the third wave of terrorism incidents, fatalities and injuries were between 100-200 per year, but after the Pakistan's entrance in to Afghan jihad terrorist incidents rose to 5000 per year in late 1980's and terrorist injuries rose to 8,000 and casualties rose to 10,000. Since then throughout 1990's the number of casualties, injuries and terrorist incidents remain constant and on average 8000 - 10,000 people die due to terrorist incidents per year. Rosr, Nagdy & Ritchie (2018) also highlights listed that from 2000 – 2016 which is also called the third phase of forth wave of terrorist, incidents rose to 16,000 per year and injuries and casualties cross the figure of 40,000 per year. In the second half of 2016, a decline is seen in the terrorist incidents, injuries and deaths. Global Terrorism Index also highlights that in the past 3 decades the number of casualties rose by 800% and the number of terrorist incidents rose by 600%. This explains that the forth wave of religious terrorist have impacted most on the world and Pakistan being a Muslim majority country and neighbor of Afghanistan faced a larger share of deaths, incidents and injuries per year.

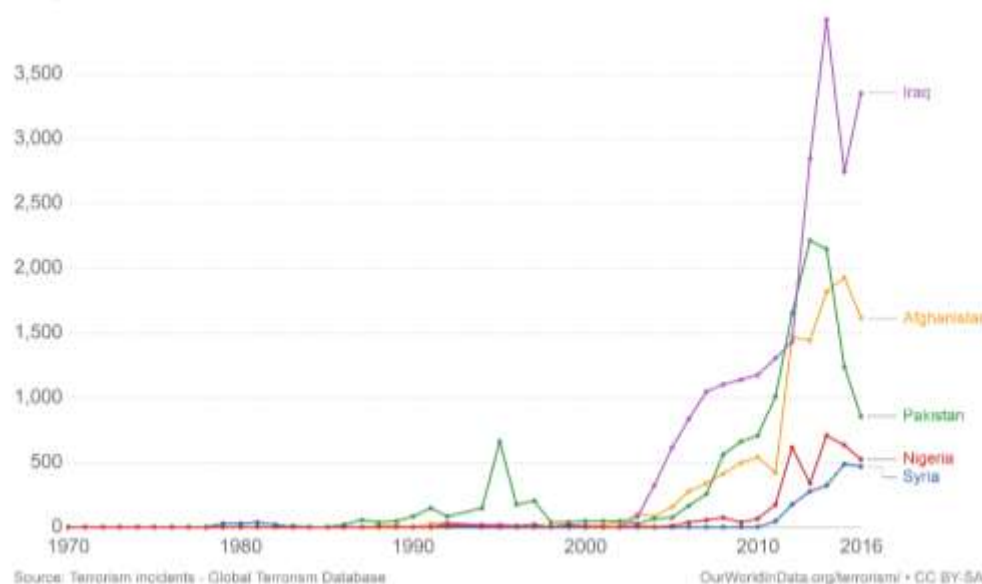


Figure 4: Yearly statistics on Terrorism Incidents in Top 5 Countries (Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Nigeria) Source: Peace and conflict 2012 (Hewitt, 2017).

The Figure 4 illustrates the upsurge in terrorism in the top five countries struck by terrorism, that is, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Nigeria. The reasons for terrorism incidents in Afghanistan and Pakistan emerged with the US invasion of Afghanistan, whereas the reasons of terrorism incidents in Nigeria can be studied in isolation due to its different geographical, political, and social reasons. The terrorism incidents in Nigeria is the result of terrorism by the organization known as Boko Haram, though other splinter groups have emerged in recent years. The war on Iraq resulted in increased terrorism in the country, whereas the civil war of Syria in 2011 exposed the country to the terrorism. It is striking that the Syria had almost none terrorism incidents prior to 2011, whereas according to Global Terrorist Database the aftermath of the civil war and emergence of ISIS resulted in placing the position of Syria in top 5 countries effected by terrorism (Maret, 2018).

Terrorism Trends in Pakistan

The trends of terrorism between 1970 and 2016 in Pakistan can be categorized into three groupings. The first phase is the sixteen years span of 1970-85, followed by the second phase of 1986-2000. The first two phases are the periods before the 9/11 attack, whereas the third phase is the post-9/11 phase (2001-2016) which pertains to the impact of Global War on Terror in Pakistan (Global Terrorist Index, 2017).

Table 1

Phases	Injuries from Terrorism	Deaths from Terrorisms	Incidents of Terrorism
I	156	60	40
II	6810	3334	1826
III	32959	19340	11768
Total	39925	22734	13634

No of Injuries, Deaths and Terrorist Incidents in All three phases of Fourth Wave of Terrorism in Pakistan

Phase-I (1970-85) of the Fourth Wave of Terrorism in Pakistan

The phase-I is not considered theoretically as part of the fourth wave, but this phase has remained pivotal in ushering the fourth wave of terrorism and remains defining movement in the country, regional, and global history. The most important feature of this phase is the alliance of Saudi Arabia, United States, and Pakistan to counter the USSR expansion. Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in December 1979 paved way for the fueling of religious (Islamic) fighters by Pakistan, USA, and KSA. The same religious (Islamic) fighters, previously known as Mujahideen and freedom fighters, turned to be terrorists in the post-cold war era. It is often argued that the “idea of sponsoring of religious elements by the national and international factors resulted in ushering the fourth wave of terrorism” (Afflitto, 2000) which is centered around the religious ideology and is deadlier than the philosophies of first three waves of terrorism.

Table 2

Year	Terrorism incidents	Terrorism injuries	Terrorism deaths
1970	1	0	1
1971	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0
1974	2	2	0
1975	2	0	1
1976	3	3	1
1977	0	0	0
1978	2	2	5
1979	7	42	6
1980	1	18	17
1981	4	4	4
1982	4	9	3
1983	9	26	10
1984	3	49	12
1985	2	1	0

Yearly distribution of no of incidents and total deaths, injuries during Phase I of terrorism Wave 4

The first four years of the phase-I witnessed only one terrorist incident of 1970 which resulted in one death, which is followed by no terrorist activities for the next three years. The event of Dhaka

fall occurred on December 16, 1971 and hence independence of Bangladesh. After four days of the Dhaka fall, General Yahya Khan handed over the power to Z. A. Bhutto as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. The martial law in the country was lifted in the first half of 1972 and Bhutto became the president of Pakistan. The same year Z. A. Bhutto planned to develop nuclear weapons in order to achieve balance of power within the region vis-à-vis India, the arch-rival (Wolf, 2017). In the next year, Pakistan constitution was enacted by the National assembly and the return of prisoners of war from India took place by signing of an accord in New Delhi.

The following years from 1974 to 1979 were important in the history of Pakistan because it paved way for the politics which remained the cause for much of the weak democracy and security situation. The domestic (national) politics of Pakistan was shaped in the decades of 70's to facilitate the Jihad in Afghanistan and emergence as a strong country with ability to lead the Islamic countries in coming years. Pakistan and Israel are the only two countries that were created in the name of religion (Haynes, 2008), hence both faces multiple forms of terrorism and security threats. Researchers also argue that the nuclear status of Pakistan would not have been possible without the events of late 1970s at international and domestic level which provided an opportunity for the government of Pakistan to pursue its objective to attain Nuclear Weapons to create balance of power within the region of South Asia. At international level, the revolution of Iran in 1979 was the primary factor which motivated Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to create its regional hegemony through spreading Sunni-Wahhabism within the region surrounding Iran. The invasion of Afghanistan by USSR in late December 1979 incited the cold-war and increased USA concern of the communist threat. Both the factors at international level resulted in supporting religious elements which provided an opportunity for the different non-state actors, primarily Islamic organizations pursuing jihad against infidels, to gain training, finance, weapons, human resource, and technical support. The strengthening of non-state actors was later used for the cause of spreading radical Islam across the globe using terror.

The literature suggests that the life of a terrorist organization is usually less than 10 years, exception to the Al-Qaida Network and other similar organizations. The terrorist organizations like Haqqani Network started organizing themselves in the late 1970s and flourished in the decade of 1980s due to support from various states, governments, figures, and organizations (Brown & Rassler, 2013). They even managed to create grassroot popular support within Pakistan which further was a constant support in terms of human and financial resource throughout the post-cold war phase.

Pakistan was established in the name of religion Islam and the only unifying force of the diversified sociocultural landscape remained Islam. The constitution officially declared country as Islamic Republic of Pakistan which subsequently lead to the legislation of declaring Qadyani as Non-Muslims by passing national assembly (NA) resolution in 1974. Early in 1974, Pakistan hosted an Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore where the 22 heads of Islamic states participated. The domestic politics started revolving more and more over religious basis and hence paving way for the society where liberty and freedom started curtailing with the passage of time. In 1974 Pakistan recognized Bangladesh as an independent state, whereas both the countries established diplomatic ties one year after. The data from the year 1974 to 1978 reflects upon the fact that the terrorist incidents started taking place, whereas paving way for more deadly attacks in the aftermath. In

contrast to only one terrorist incident in the first four year of the phase-I, the second five years witnessed 9 terrorist incidents. The varying degree of the politics at domestic reflected has positive relationship with the terrorist incidents. The route politics take increased the terrorism incidents in Pakistan (Fair, 2010).

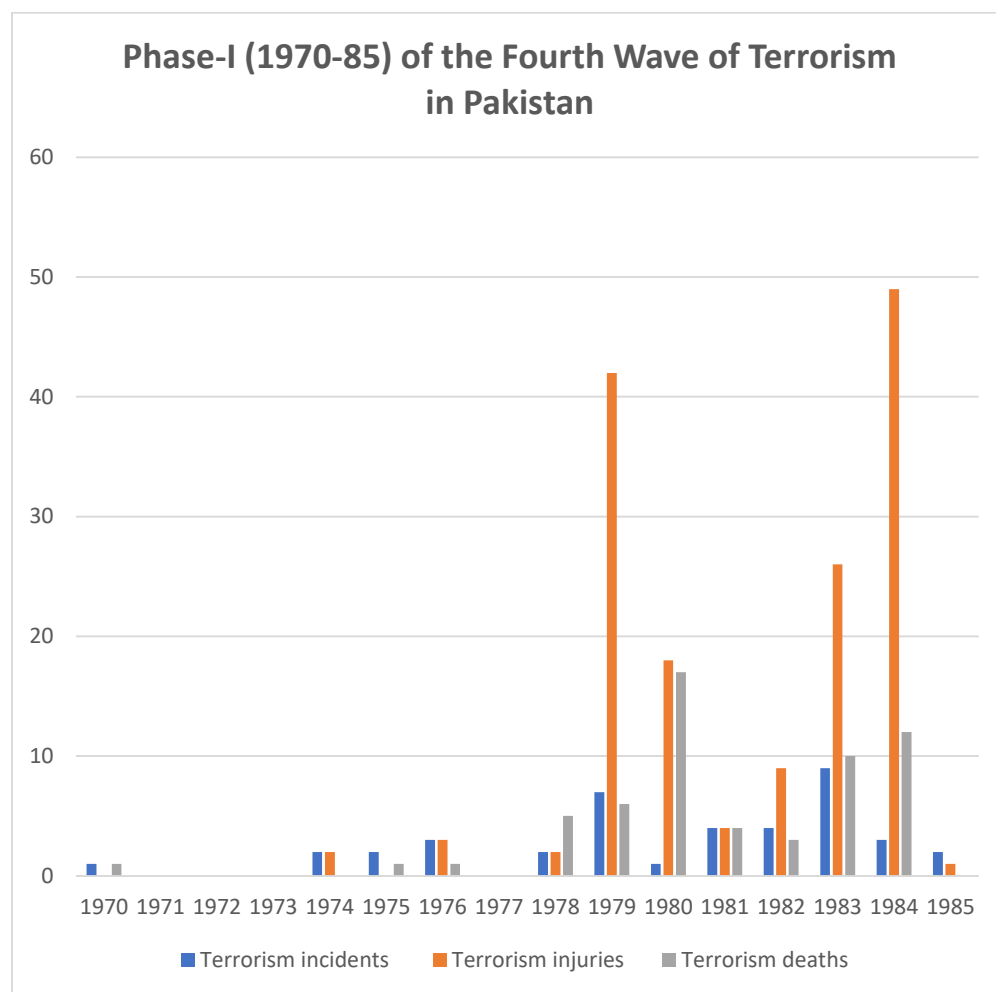


Figure 6: Phase 1 of fourth Phase of Terrorism in Pakistan Source Peace and conflict 2012 (Hewitt, 2017).

On March 01, 1976, General M. Zia-ul-Haq became Chief of Army Staff which later enforced Martial Law by suspending constitution on July 05, 1977. The A.Q Khan research laboratory in 1976 was established which was central to the acquisition of nuclear weapons in future decades. The result of January 1977 general elections provided clean majority to Pakistan People Party (PPP), led by Bhutto, with 155 votes out of 200. The opposition had an alliance of nine parties, known as Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) which managed to grab only 35 seats. The elections were labelled as rigged by the opposition parties and subsequent movements were launched. The riots and sit-in provided an opportunity with the military to overtake government by imposing Marshal Law. In order to have a strong control over the domestic politics, General Zia-ul-Haq banned the political activities and later arrested Z. A. Bhutto on September 17, 1977. The Lahore

High Court awarded death sentence to Bhutto in March 1978 which was carried out in April 1979. The year 1978 also witnessed the new beginning for reshaping politics and security of Karachi when Altaf Hussain formed All Pakistan Muhajir Students Organization - APMSO (Shahzad, 2013). The military ruled the country till late 1980s and it ended with a new PPP regime under Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The first phase had most terrorist incidents in the same year 1979 which is considered as one of the dark year in the political history of Pakistan. The enactment of Hudood Ordinance, and Bhutto's judicial murder were followed by General Zia's policies of putting of polls indefinitely, imposing press censorship, and dissolution of political parties. The overthrow of Pahlavi dynasty in Iran by February 1979 raised regional concerns for the Sunni countries of Arab, led by Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The year ended with USSR invasion of Afghanistan and rising concerns for Pakistan and the capitalist block.

The years 1980-85 were shaping new alliances and rivalries in the region which were going to haunt the later part of the history of Pakistan. As opposed to the Bhutto's orientation towards philosophy of socialism, while simultaneously leveraging the political Islam, General Zia pursued policies of Islamization in the country. Pakistan boycotted 1980 Moscow Olympics on the grounds of considering the Afghan invasion by USSR as illegitimate and immoral (Ayoob, 2008). Zia also established Federal Sharia Court and the government started collecting Zakat, a form of charity imposed in Islam. In the next year, the government introduced interest-free banking concept, and launched International Islamic University with sponsorship and collaboration from Saudi Arabia. One terrorist incident of the year was hijacking of PIA Boeing 720 to Kabul. The foreign policy of Pakistan was convincing enough to attract funding from the capitalist block and first three F-16 jets were acquired in early 1983. The year ushered in a new political wave within the country, coupled with major defense and security related steps. As per one source, Nuclear tests Kirana-I were carried out by the government of Pakistan but were not announced until 2000 and by that time Pakistan already had official nuclear tests on May 28, 1998 in response to India (Rublee, 2017). Government finally lifted censorship on periodicals and the first phase of local bodies elections also started. The peak of terrorist attacks of Phase-I is also observed in the year 1983, with total of 9 terrorist incidents across the country. The year 1980 had 1 terrorist incident, while 1981 and 1982 had 4 terrorist incidents each.

The year 1984 and 1985 had 3 and 2 terrorist incidents each, while both the years were important for the Zia's regime. The presidential referendum was done in December 1984 and General Zia-ul-Haq became the President of Pakistan. Early in 1984, the government banned student unions, Altaf Hussain formed MQM, and banning of the use of Islamic nomenclature by Ahamdis (Gross, 2004). Later in the year 1985 party-less national elections were held and Muhammad Khan Junejo became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The National assembly passed Eighth Amendment Bill and followed by lifting of the Martial Law.

Phase-II (1986-2000) of the Fourth Wave of Terrorism in Pakistan

The complete 15 years of the phase-II witnessed terrorism incidents in double of three digits. The phase is normally distributed with somewhat similar trends in the first four and last three years, while the skewed statistics in the central phase. Almost all the years from 1991-1997 had three

digits figure of terrorism incidents. The forth wave of terrorism have fully begun and it have already raised the terrorist attacks in Pakistan which were increasing with every passing day. The era of dictatorship was almost over, and democracy was returning to Pakistan. In January 1987 – February 1989, Withdrawal of Soviet Union from Afghanistan started, and this also meant that fears of Pakistan regarding war from Soviet Union on western front were over. In next year 1988 General Zia ul haq was killed in a plane crash near Bahawalpur, Pakistan and General elections were held in which Pakistan People’s Party won the elections, democracy returns to Pakistan and Benazir Bhutto daughter of late Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto took oath as first Muslim Female Prime Minister (Liaqat et al., 2017).

Table 3

Year	Terrorism incidents	Terrorism injuries	Terrorism deaths
1986	24	351	60
1987	60	1095	183
1988	44	266	136
1989	45	248	56
1990	87	486	188
1991	150	599	231
1992	85	393	152
1994	154	434	354
1995	666	615	712
1996	180	755	423
1997	206	525	443
1998	37	349	151
1999	39	246	127
2000	49	448	118

Yearly distribution of no of incidents and total deaths, injuries during Phase II of terrorism Wave 4

In the first four years of Phase 2 of forth wave of terrorism in Pakistan the number of incidents remain below 100 but as the country entered in 1990’s the number of attacks almost doubled. In meantime the democratic government of Benazir Bhutto only past 2 years with success in which student unions were restored and Anjuman Taliba Islam (ATI) which was supported by religious Jamat e Islami (JI) become a leading student union in Pakistan (Javaid, 2011). At the same time political activities were resumed in most parts and Pakistan rejoins common wealth in 1989. During PPP regime (1988-1990) a new opposition party emerged on political scenes under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif known as Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN). The top leadership of PMLN were mostly followers of Zia ideology and well supported by the military and civil establishment of that time. PMLN launched a campaign that they are against the socialist approach of Bhutto’s PPP and they want to implement Islamic Sharia in Pakistan and want to continue the legacy of Zia ul Haq. Thus, PMLN as an opposition party kept the slogan Zia’s Islamization well and alive in Pakistan especially Punjab which is the largest province of Pakistan. Democracy was restored in Pakistan but with some complications where President still had the powers of dissolving assemblies under Article 8 that was passed by Zia ul Haq in 1985 that

changed the Pakistani system from democratic to semi-parliamentarian where president enjoys special powers (Nasr, 2004). Many researchers that era as semi-parliamentarian system and partial democracy instead of democracy. In 1990 Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved the assemblies of Pakistan and called for new elections in which right wing party PMLN won elections and Nawaz Sharif become Prime Minister of Pakistan. The first thing he did was reinstalling Sharia Laws in Pakistan in 1991. From 1991 to 1994 Terrorist attacks in Pakistan almost doubled and reached the figure of 150 attacks per year on average (Weinberg & Eubank, 1998). Terrorist activities in many areas of Pakistan including Karachi, Punjab and Peshawar erupted where most of them comes under ethnic and sectarian terrorism.

In 1993 President Ghulam Ishaq Khan again dissolved the assemblies citing the reasons of corruption and incompetence and through re-election PPP and Benazir Bhutto again come to power. In the year of 1994-1996 situation of Karachi worsen after the operation against the sectarian violence and terrorist attacks intensity also increased in Karachi. According to Ahmad (1998) during these three years casualties increased to 2000 due to terrorist attacks (Ahmad, 1998). This was the time when a conspiracy erupted in Pakistan that military establishment under the leadership of Zaheer ul Islam wanted to impose Islamic Khilafat rule in Pakistan. This was also the time when “Taliban almost took control of Afghanistan and in 1996 declared the government which was rejected entire world expect two countries” (Akhtar, 2008).

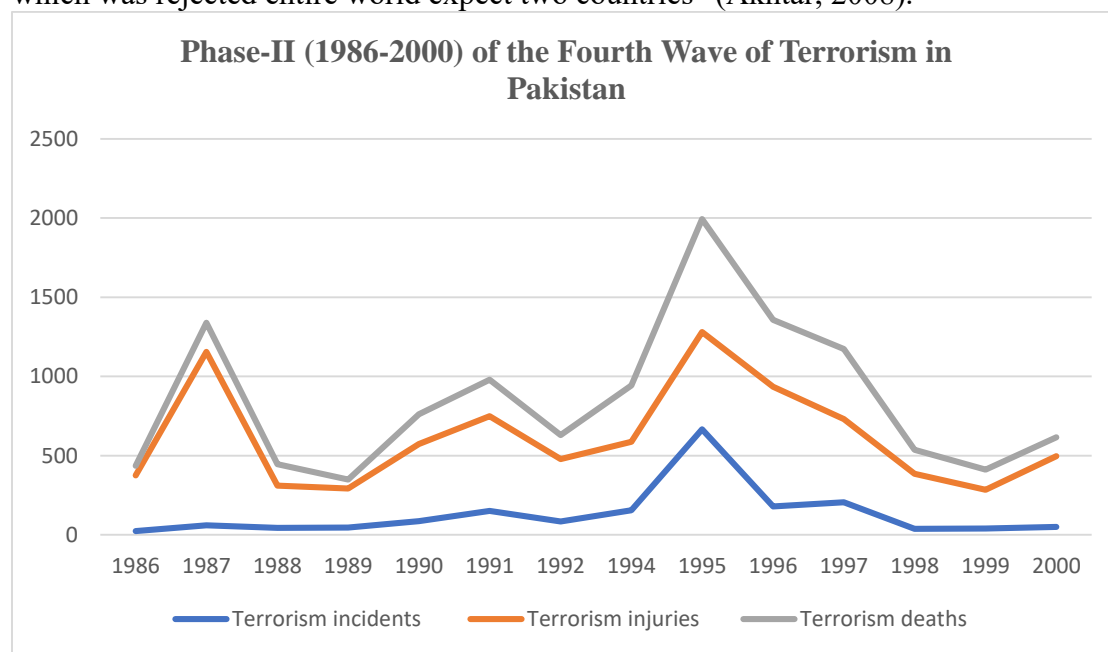


Figure 7: Phase II of Fourth Wave of Terrorism in Pakistan
Source Peace and conflict 2012 (Hewitt, 2017).

In late 1996 Farooq Laghari dismissed the PPP government, and PMLN comes to power and this time with over whelming majority. This PMLN government recognized Taliban Government in Afghanistan along with UAE. This PMLN government adopts pro-Zia strategies of sharia (Nasr, 20014). It is important to note that Taliban also claimed to occupy Afghanistan government in the name of implementing Sharia. And in 1995, 1996 and 1997 number of terrorist events occurred in

Pakistan are 666, 180 and 206 respectively and more than 1500 people died alone in these 3 years (Maret, 2018). In the last 3 years of phase II of forth wave of terrorism in Pakistan, terrorist incidents drop back to less than 50 and many researchers link it with reorganization of Taliban government in Afghanistan by Pakistan in that time. In May 1998 Pakistan become a nuclear state and successfully tested their nuclear weapons as a response to tests of India. These nuclear tests increased contentions between India and Pakistan and they went third war on the front of Kargil in 1999 which is a high-altitude area in the north of Pakistan and is very important with respect to access to Kashmir (Kukreja & Singh, 2005). Both India and Pakistan claimed they won the war, International community especially US was not happy with Nuclear tests and they put sanctions on both countries and play the role of mediator in ending the war without any result. After the war Relations between Nawaz Sharif and military establishment worsen and on 12 October 1999 Martial Law was declared and power was snatched from civil government through a military coup. After 11 years of partial democracy Pakistan again entered in an era of dictatorship. In the end year 2000 terrorism incidents were 49 in Pakistan and international community blames Pakistan of helping the Taliban government to prosper in Afghanistan and they see decline in terrorist attacks as a result of that strategy.

Phase-III (2001-16) of the Fourth Wave of Terrorism in Pakistan

Phase III of forth wave of terrorism begun in Pakistan in 2001 after 9/11 attacks. It was the time when United States demanded Pakistan to choose a side between Afghanistan's Taliban illegal government or United States and President Musharraf, who was sole authority of that time due to Martial Law in Pakistan decided to join US in war against terrorism. US launched a full fledged attack on Afghanistan to eliminate the bases of Taliban and kill its leaders include Mullah Omer and Osama bin Laden who were hidden and operating from Afghanistan hide outs. A huge uproar in Pakistani community was raised against the Musharraf's decision including many political parties including Pakistan Tehreek Insaaf (PTI) under leadership of Imran Khan and PMLN. Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf believes that this is not Pakistan's war and this war will again drag a new wave of terrorism in Pakistan like it did after Afghan Jihad of 1980's (Kronstadt, 2003). Also, in Pakistani community there were soft corners for Taliban fighting in Afghanistan and they believed US have no right to invade a country. The media of that time also reported Afghanistan war and showed that more civilians are being killed in war instead of Taliban. As the data shows a total of 1930 terrorist attacks happened in the first decade of 21st century in Pakistan where number of attacks almost doubled every next year (Global Terrorism Index, 2017). Though United States cleared most part of Afghanistan, Taliban adopted a new strategy and they started to hide out in nearby places and launched massive terrorist attacks both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Tehreek Taliban Pakistan and many other groups of terrorism become active in Pakistan and they started to take revenge from Pakistani government by doing large number of attacks.

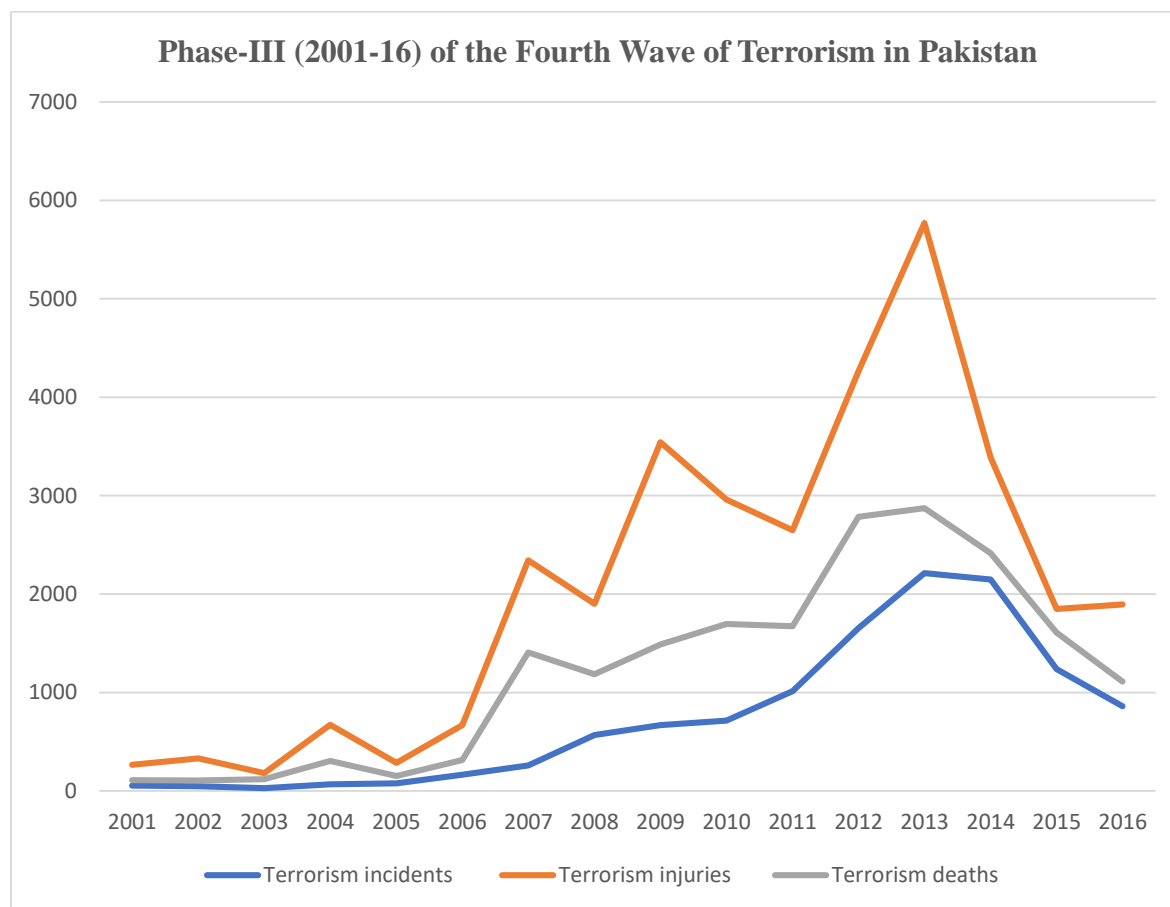


Figure 8: Phase III of Fourth Wave of Terrorism in Pakistan
Source Peace and conflict 2012 (Hewitt, 2017).

In December 2007 Pakistani top political leader Benazir Bhutto was killed in a terrorist attack in Rawalpindi and Taliban accepted its responsibility. A lawyers' movement was also in full swing against authoritarian regime of Musharraf who was forced to call elections after these two incidents in 2008. Pakistan People's Party won the election and finally Musharraf era came to an end as Asif Ali Zardari became president of Pakistan. In this era a sharp increase in terrorist attacks is recorded, the attacks per year rose above 1000 figure and number of casualties also rose above 1100 per year. Pakistan's parliament suspended the powers of President to dissolve assembly through 18th amendment and nullify the effects of 13th and 8th amendment which were passed by two dictators Musharraf and Zia respectively (Kanwal, 2017). This also means that true democracy era begun in Pakistan where all the powers were in hands of Prime Minister. The number of terrorist attacks in second decade of 21st century increase due to several reasons. Some of the were that Terrorists groups have established hide outs in Pakistan and they were deeply rooted and hidden in the society. Second, Afghanistan War was in final phase and third Pakistan democratic government have decided to eliminate terrorists from Pakistan through dedicated military operations. Thus, terrorists were reacting aggressively with deadly attacks and from 2010 to 2016 a total of 9,125 terrorist attacks happened in Pakistan resulting in death of thousands of civilians, military personal, politicians and religious leaders (Maret, 2018).. Terrorist attacked leftist parties on priority and

this is the reason Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Awami National Party (ANP) were on their hit list.

Table 4

Year	Terrorism incidents	Terrorism injuries	Terrorism deaths
2001	53	265	109
2002	46	331	105
2003	29	181	119
2004	67	671	304
2005	77	284	152
2006	164	669	314
2007	260	2343	1406
2008	567	1901	1184
2009	667	3541	1487
2010	713	2961	1695
2011	1012	2649	1674
2012	1652	4264	2784
2013	2214	5770	2874
2014	2148	3387	2414
2015	1238	1848	1607
2016	861	1894	1112

Yearly distribution of no of incidents and total deaths, injuries during Phase III of terrorism Wave 4

During 2011 to 2016 high profile governmental institutions, military posts and public areas were targeted and intensity of terrorist attacks were massive. Two major operations were launched during this time by Pakistan military against terrorists namely Rahe e Nijat in 2008 – 12 and Rahe e Rast in 2009. Due to military operations 3200 terrorists were killed and their 1900 hide outs were destroyed. Terrorist forces were shrinking in Pakistan but still there was debate of good Taliban and bad Taliban due to which some parties believe in negotiating with Taliban as they believed no operation could end terrorism from Pakistan because they enjoy hidden support from the society. On 16 December 2016 terrorists attacked Army Public School Peshawar, 132 innocent school children were brutally killed and that ended debate of good Taliban and bad Taliban in Pakistan. A decisive military operation namely Operation Zarb e Azb was launched along with military courts, terrorists' factions lost all the support from public which they previously enjoyed, and that operation is comprehensively eliminating terrorism from Pakistan. Results are evident from data as we see sharp decline in terrorist attacks in year 2017 and 2018 where the number of attacks fell below 500. More than 30,000 soldiers are taking part in Zarb e Azb and they claim that they have broken the back bone of terrorism (Rehman et al., 2017) and now eliminating the leftovers of terrorist groups and in next few years they will eliminate all major terrorist groups from Pakistan. In mean time for the first time two successive democratic governments completed their regimes and Pakistan is heading towards next elections in 2018.

Findings on Links Between Formal Politics & Terrorism in Dictatorship

Pakistan political history saw more than 30 years of dictatorship and during these eras power resides completely in the hands of dictator. President Ayub Khan suspended the political activities in Pakistan and adopted policies which were not in the benefit of Eastern Pakistan resulting in creation of Bangladesh. Political actors struggle to get any rights or engage in decision making process during dictatorship eras. The first two dictatorship eras from 1958 – 71 have largely disturbed the political structure of Pakistan where political activities got minimized, election process get tainted and justice compromised (Wolf 2017). The literature review and data showed that due to these two eras situation of law and order created in Pakistan as common people felt suppressed and this gave rise to the ethnic groups in Karachi and northern areas of Pakistan who later got involved in the terrorist activities. During the third era of dictatorship Pakistan saw first major blow of terrorism when they Zia led Pakistan to enter in Afghan Jihad that where religious motivations to help Muslim brothers were placed higher as compare to Pakistan's strategic interest. During the fourth wave of terrorism which was religiously motivated, Zia adopted policies of Islamization and Sharia law that gave rise to religious factions in Pakistan who not only got armed training but also participated in Afghan Jihad. Many of these groups later joined Tehreek Taliban Pakistan and carried out terrorist attacks, Pakistan is still fighting with these factions (Jackson, 2005).

Pakistan's formal politics during the Zia's regime were marginalized and selective and political parties along with civil student unions were banned. Zia injected military officers in the civilian offices and tried to implement Khilafat in Pakistan. For the first time Pakistan saw most of the terrorist attacks during 1980's during Zia' era. Political policies of Zia supported Taliban to gain control in Afghanistan, which was later supported by PMLN government which was a brain child of General Zia ul Haq. Too much focus on political policies of Islamization to extend power was one of the reason religious extremist factions gained power and spread roots in Pakistan. The incident of Bangladesh creation changed the military policies in Pakistan during 1980's Pakistan supported many groups to bring armed struggle in Kashmir to keep India on toes in that region. Many of those groups later joined Afghan War in 2001 and join hands with Taliban because those groups were uncontrolled and power hungry which also tells that those policies of supporting and training religious groups in Zia era was a mistake (Kfir, 2006).

After 9/11 Musharraf joined hands with US in Afghan war against the Taliban government whom Zia have supported in past. Many political parties were not agreeing on that policy because they believed this will backfire wave of terrorism in Pakistan and that happened. Those groups of Taliban who once were trained by Pakistan in 1980's turn against Pakistan and carried deadly terrorist attacks. Many religious factions also hiddenly supported those terrorist groups as they see them as justified due to religious reasons. Zia and Musharraf made policies in which Pakistan foreign relations were highly tilted towards Saudi Arabia instead of Iran that also brought wave of sectarian terrorism in Pakistan. Musharraf supported MQM to extend his power despite knowing its linkages with Terrorists and involvement in ethnic terrorist activities. During 2007 Supreme Court was forcefully compromised, media was suspended due to emergency and all political and social rights were suspended that explains the sorry state of formal politics in state (Blair et al., 2013). The problem with political and counter terrorism strategies of Musharraf was that it does

not include opinion of any other stake holder other than military due to which those strategies and policies were either faulty or unable to implement fully as public was not behind his back. The authoritarian eras though see economic and agricultural development, but those developments were done at the cost of religious extremism, creation of a political elite in Pakistan and compromise on law, justice and scrutiny in every governmental intuition. The statistics shows that authoritarian regimes unable to give people freedom of expression and disrupts the political process through which human development and social activist can be achieved (Cohrs et al., 2005). And due to halt of political process people got engaged in religious extremist, ethnic violence foreign policies led Pakistan in to a never-ending wave terrorism.

Findings on Links Between Formal Politics & Terrorism in Democracy

Democracy and Pakistan have a very short, bitter and unreliable relationship. Where on one hand democracy enables political process, involves multiple stake holders in formal politics, policy making and decision-making process; on the other hand, it also created clash of institutions in Pakistan. Continuity of democracy have a very strong relationship with politics and terrorism. Democracy allows political practices, equality, public opinion, public choice and involvement of public sentiment in policy making. It allows institutions to evolve in evolutionary manner and helps balance of power among institutions which in result bring stability and prosperity in a country (Wilkinson, 2006). Due to democracy formal politics flourish in a country, where people felt related and involved with government and its politics. Politicians must get in touch with people because they must face public in elections and in this way all segments of society flourish. A person, group or segment who is politically marginalized and sidelined turn to other means like violence and anarchy. These two traits are ingredients that led to terrorism in all four phases of terrorism (Weinberg & Eubank, 2010) according to literature review. Democracy provides a healthy political process and political process where national leaders sit together always tends to find solutions that can unite the nation and bend the policy towards benefit.

Pakistan saw its first democratic phase when constitution of 1973 was implemented, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto become Prime Minister of Pakistan. Despite Pakistan just lost Bangladesh and got ditched by his former allies in war against India, Bhutto with the help of other political parties stabilized Pakistan's law and order situation. In this era policies were developed that brought all Muslims countries together for the first time under the umbrella of Organization of Islamic Cooperation in 1974. Bhutto also eased relationships of Pakistan with USSR and injected policies of harmonious relationship with the neighbors. He also recognized Bangladesh as a country to avoid any further conflict and ethnic uprising in Pakistan. There were still law and order situation in Pakistan along with poverty and injustice and democratic governments also did less to improve these institutions but in democratic era people have choice to reject political forces who do not work after five years in Pakistan. This is the reason during first era of democracy there were minimal terrorist attacks in Pakistan and there was little religious extremism (Wilkinson, 2006). In the next phase of democracy aka partial democracy during 1988 – 1999 there was rise in terrorist attacks and increasing number of casualties. Those democratic governments did little in that era due to no continuity of governance. 4 governments come and go in the space of eleven years and the terrorist attacks were already started as a after effect of Afghan War. During that era one of the democratic party was brain child of dictator Zia and that party PMLN supported the idea of

Islamization and recognized Taliban government in Afghanistan to gain public support in Pakistan. That step by a democratic government also spread religious extremism in Pakistan but reduced the terrorist incidents considerable during 1997-1999 (Noor, 2012).

The next democratic government came in 2008 which inherited the massive problem of terrorism. In that time on average more than 1000 attacks were conducted in Pakistan and number of casualties were enormous. But in that era political process was fully resumed in Pakistan, people of Pakistan started to engage in politics and their saw was publicly announced by their elected leaders in parliament. In this era all political parties for the first time in Pakistani history sat with military established and planned for full fledged military operations against terrorists' factions in Pakistan. This democratic era of 2008 -2018 which saw completion of two successive political governments for first time have achieved good performance in counter terrorism strategies (Maner, 2018). In this era Swat and South Waziristan was liberated from terrorist control. In this democratic era all political parties agreed that there is no good or bad Taliban and even religious political parties must agree with them because people of Pakistan turned against terrorist in unity after 2016 APS attacks. Political situation in last decade also improved in all areas of Pakistan, where situation in Karachi which once was considered as a hub of ethnic terrorism have been improved. The beauty of last two political government is that it also used help and advice of military and gave approval of military courts, rangers operation in Karachi and army operation in Waziristan. The difference with dictatorship is that political forces and public stands behind military in these operations because democratic governments adopted and implemented these policies. "Injustice, poverty, illiteracy and corruption are some of the evils that led people to terrorism at grass root level" (Blair et al., 2013) and a lot of work is needed in these areas, but the little span of democracy has shown that if political culture and activism evolve in Pakistan there are chances that these problems will be addressed but in evolutionary manner. Recent political government refused to send armed forces in Syria issue in favor of Saudi Arabia and saved country from another wave of sectarian terrorism against Sunni and Shia factions of Islam. In last two years Pakistan's stance against terrorism have become bold and its military, political government and public seems keen to eliminate terrorist factions from Pakistan and as a result terrorist incident have also reduced below 500 in past 2 years (Kanwal, 2017). Continuity of democracy is also exposing those political ideologies and parties in Pakistan that aims to spread extremist in name of religion and due to this Pakistan's counter- terrorism approach have been strengthened due to immense public and political support from all segments of society.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Pakistan is passing through an era of turmoil and fighting against terrorism at the same time it is struggling to bring stability in its politics and political system. The political activity in Pakistan always remain dependent on the existing political system where it flourishes and evolves in the democratic eras, it faces major setbacks in military and authoritarian regimes. There is need of political activism and stability in Pakistan for longer period because it serves as a tool to flourish and accelerate in all aspects because political activity empowers people and allows them to have their say at every level (KatoCh, 2016). A vibrant political system also helps people to share, discuss and highlight their problem in front of administration and seek for remedies. From the

literature review it have been observed that political systems played a major role in shaping formal and informal politics in Pakistan. Authoritarian rules have lemmatized the political activity by banning political parties, crating brain child political parties and imposing single directional policies on the elected governments that in turn pushed various segments of society towards wall (Kaltenthaler et al., 2010). Authoritarian regimes in Pakistan have also tried to bring their own ideologies like religious ideology in to politics that in turn have brought religious extremism. Forth wave of terrorism which is a religious wave have affected Pakistan's peace badly and there is need to reformulate how politics would be done in future. Due to authoritarian rules and involvement of establishment in governmental and civil affairs Pakistan politics is unable to find a meaningful direction and remain confused and open ground for anyone to manipulate it in own interests. After analyzing political approach, political activities and trends in democracy and authoritarian rule it is recommended that Pakistan should allow democracy to flourish as it will eventually strengthen the political structure and system in Pakistan.

Democratic system needs to run for a considerable longer period to succeed and in Pakistan this is not the case. In Democracy all actors have a say, there are chances of negotiation and re consideration and most of all in engage every segment of society at various points in meaningful manner. Terrorism cannot be eliminated in quick period due to its deep roots, its international scope and policies of previous governments. "Continuity in democracy will allow the political actors to device more solutions in a collaborative manner and help all institutions to grow and prosper" (Blomberg & Rosendorff, 2006). On the issue of terrorism, it is evident that authoritarian governments failed to device a political strategy that will mobilize people to discourage this ideology in all segments of society. Secondly, in past authoritarian governments and establishment-imposed strategies in which they kept following a singular line that was somewhere in the middle of taking decisive action against terrorism or supporting those groups who some home helps Pakistan to exercise its geopolitical strategies. Every political and democratic government complains that they are forced to follow that singular strategy and if they fail to comply their governments were toppled away. But that trend has changed in the past decade and positive results are evident. The continuity of democracy for a decade have started to make political process functional and it is bringing political, judicial and military institutions together on the issue of terrorism. These efforts are proving fruitful and Pakistan government successfully conducted three operations against terrorism hideouts in Pakistan (Javaid, 2016).

Formal Politics and Democracy alone will not help eliminating terrorism from the root, there is need to eliminate other issues of Pakistan that is poverty, illiteracy, corruption, injustice and divide based on sectarianism and ethnicity. There is a need to focus on all these areas as there are many cases where "due to poverty people are pushed in to terrorism" (Abadie, 2006). In the same manner, many people due to illiteracy attracted towards the extremist ideology and this cancer will continuity to spread until unless proper education and political direction will be provided to people from governmental level. Another factor that needs to be improved is having clear stance on the geo political strategies related to counter-terrorism. Pakistan share a long border with Afghanistan and its border politics is somehow complicated as compare to main stream politics. Many people on Pakistani side of border have good sentiments towards the other side of border. There is a need to involve those people in to main stream politics and device strategies that see country national interest and peace above anything else (Maira, 2009). For this better social, political and basic

living facilities should be provided to them and make them useful actors of society. The above-mentioned steps could be done through democratic process because democratic eras are flexible, and they promote political values in vibrant manner.

Another issue that instigate feelings of hater towards government is drone attacks conducted by US with permission of Pakistan government inside Pakistan to kill terrorists. In these attacks many civilians have lost their lives and their remaining family members joining terrorist forces in revenge. A government cannot win war against a dangerous enemy like terrorists when its own citizen feels they are victims of government's policies. There is a need to clarify that confusion from minds of people, provide them with better facilities and mobilize them political activities so that people for those areas can also come to power and have their say in parliament instead of joining extremist groups. The democratic government have merged FATA in to KPK province recently and this is a great success as this will politically activate the residents of that area and through an evolutionary process engage those people in healthy political activities. FATA faced numerous terrorist attacks and through operation many areas have been cleared by army. Now people of FATA can have their say in parliament and can come in power and become part of government and can help state in formulating better policies to eliminate terrorism from their areas. The next democratic governments need to focus more on enhancing political activities in areas like FATA, Baluchistan, Interior Sindh and South Punjab so that they can also become part of administration and policy making process. "It is recommended to use the inclusionary approach in politics and policies to fight against terrorism instead of marginalizing and sidelining group or ethnicity" (Wolf, 2017). After putting a ban on Altaf Hussain's MQM due to its links with terrorist activities and anti-state forces, there is need to include Muhajir community back in to main stream politics. Give them fair share of power and allow them to participate with full zeal and energy in national politics and make policies that will encourage unity among different communities. These processes of political activism, inclusionary approach, friendly formal political policies and continuity of a political system that empowers people will ultimately lead Pakistan towards peace. There is no guarantee that increased political activities, right political decisions, democratic political system could be able to eliminate terrorism from Pakistan in near future, as it is evident in India, despite prolonger continuity of democracy and greater political activism, it still face many terrorists attack every year (Liaqat et al, 2017). Yet a vibrant political system that allows people to take part in power politics able the nation to share the responsibility and take decisions and fight against terrorism through strategies which are larger interest of country and nation.

Pakistani democratic governments also need to forget the past and accept the reality that if in past military establishment have impacted on their decisions, then at the same time political leadership of Pakistan was also acting on foreign powers' directions and sometimes against Pakistan's own interests. Thus, there is a need to end this blame game and share the responsibility and device strategies and policies in collaborative manner. Political parties also failed to spread political awareness among people in past and political elite have used politics to manipulate power in their favor (Weinberg, 2013). Many political parties have used religion card in past to shape the public opinion in past and those religion card sometimes supported those religious factions that later become part of terrorist organizations. Same goes for military who were very busy in making Pakistan's defense strong against India and exercising regional dominance politics that they supported and raised people during Afghan Jihad and Kashmir Jihad in 1980's and 1990's, many

of those people have joined militant groups and working against Pakistan (Samad, 2011). The continuity of democracy enhanced political involvement from all areas of Pakistan and good foreign and counter terrorism policies will allow Pakistan to move from to status of security state to development and progressive state in future, but this is an evolutionary process and quick results should not be expected.

It is also recommended to reevaluate policies of previous decades that brought religious extremism to Pakistan. Religion is a sensitive topic in Pakistan and every person have right to pursue its own sect or religion with freedom. But no permission should be given to those forces who try to hide behind religion and spread extremist ideas and practices. Fighting against terrorists through military operations and destroying their hideouts was one phase of counter terrorism approach. The most important stage is second which is eliminate the ideology of extremism from Pakistani society and positive and constructive politics can greatly help in this cause. Creating more administrative units in Pakistan will help to serve this cause as political activities and power will be more decentralized and will provide more chance to people to get engage in political activities. This will also help military and civil administration of Pakistan to manage security and peace situation with ease and helps elected governments to focus on eliminating the problems of Pakistan in focused and successful manner. Thus, Politics as come from Greek word Polis meaning community, there is a need to expand the political activity and involvement of people at every level and allow continuity of democratic governments and let political culture to flourish in Pakistan and it will ultimately help in reducing extremism from society and help implementing counter terrorism strategies in an effective manner. In the end, it is recommended that every institution work within their legal and constitutional boundaries and this will eventually help Pakistan in achieving its political and administrative goals in future which will help in fighting against terrorism in better manner.

CONCLUSION

This research study has focused on the Terrorism and Politics with respect to case study of Pakistan to determine any relationship between them. Pakistan formal politics and political system have been investigated along with historical terrorism patterns in Pakistan. There are many factors behind rise of terrorism in Pakistan where it rose to highest point in the last two decades. Out of four waves of global terrorism, Pakistan was badly affected with forth wave of terrorism that begun in 1980's that is also called religious wave of terrorism. Pakistan being a Muslim country along with formal and national politics of Islamization in country from time to time also a reason of spreading terrorism. Pakistan's formal politics and political systems mostly do not support political culture, political activism and political activities in past. During the authoritarian regimes a sharp decline in the political activities have seen that have marginalized various ethnic groups, religious sects and other segments of society. Also, in these eras rigid policies and religion card like policy of Islamization by Zia ul haq have been used to extend power. Use of Religion in politics have been a trademark of both military dictators and political parties and they got more public support as compare to left wing parties. These religious narrative in politics is easy to sell and shaped narratives of nation and politics of Pakistan in past. During the recent short lived democratic eras

political culture promoted and inclusive politics have brought nation together on one-point agenda of eliminating the terrorism through comprehensive military operation from Pakistan.

Pakistan is paying for its mistakes of past policies and decisions like participation in Afghan Jihad, sidelining of ethnic communities, maintaining international relations in such manner that created sectarian divide, imposing super powers wars on itself and supporting extremist groups to achieve geo-strategic goals (KatoCh, 2016). It is also find that these mistakes mostly happened in an environment where political activities were lemmatized, and power was in hands of dictators. A positive relationship between politics, political system and terrorism in Pakistan have been reached through analyzing data and literature review. It is observed that democratic governments flourish political culture in Pakistan and its formal politics are proving helpful in implementing counter-terrorism strategies. It is also concluded that authoritarian regimes used policies of limited and selective politics, employed strategies that spread religious extremism and took decisions that open an aggressive wave of terrorism in Pakistan. There is need of continuity of democracy in Pakistan, along with implementation of inclusive policies that spread political culture, decentralization of power and consistent strategies on long run basis. Both civil and military institutions need to collaborate with each other to create a better political environment so that effective and consistent counter terrorism strategies can be implemented. In the past decade people are more politically aware and engaged, which helped democratic government to spread the narrative of strict action against terrorism through political and administrative means. Democratic governments need to eliminate the major issues of poverty, illiteracy, religious extremism, injustice and corruption with the help of other institutions that could potentially lead people towards terrorism and extremism in future (Kellner, 2007). This research will enable the readers to understand the relationship between politics, terrorism and existing political system. also enable future researcher to identify research gapes and subsequently pursue their respective researches related to history of politics and terrorism in Pakistan. This research is limited in scope and future research can be done to develop, analyze and identify any relationship between politics and terrorism

REFERENCES

- Abadie, A. (2006). Poverty, political freedom, and the roots of terrorism. *American Economic Review*, 96(2), 50-56.
- Afflitto, F. (2000). The Homogenizing Effects of State-Sponsored Terrorism. *Death squad: The anthropology of state terror*, 114-126.
- Afzal, M. R. (2001). *Pakistan, History & Politics, 1947-1971*. Oxford University Press.
- Ahmad, M. (1998). Islamization and Sectarian Violence in Pakistan. *Intellectual Discourse*, 6(1), 11-37.
- Ahmed, R. (1997). Resisting Terrorism: Karachi Teachers' Struggle. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 330-333.
- Akhtar, N. (2008). Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Taliban. *International Journal on World Peace*, 49-73.
- Alaimo, M. M., & Tong, Y. (2017). A Comparison Study of International Terrorism Using Geographic Information Systems. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 22(1).
- Altheide, D. L. (2006). Terrorism and the Politics of Fear. *Cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies*, 6(4), 415-439.

- Alvi, H. (2014). The diffusion of intra-Islamic violence and terrorism: The impact of the proliferation of Salafi/Wahhabi ideologies. *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (Online), 18(2), 38.
- Ayoob, M. (2008). *The many faces of political Islam: religion and politics in the Muslim world*. University of Michigan Press.
- Baqai, H. (2011). Extremism and Fundamentalism: Linkages to Terrorism Pakistan's Perspective. *International Journal of Humanities And Social Science*, 1(2011), 242-248.
- Barracca, S. (2007). Military coups in the post-cold war era: Pakistan, Ecuador and Venezuela. *Third World Quarterly*, 28(1), 137-154.
- Bergesen, A. J., & Lizardo, O. (2004). International terrorism and the world-system. *Sociological Theory*, 22(1), 38-52.
- Blair, G., Christine Fair, C., Malhotra, N., & Shapiro, J. N. (2013). Poverty and support for militant politics: Evidence from Pakistan. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1), 30-48.
- Blomberg, S. B., & Rosendorff, B. P. (2006). A gravity model of globalization, democracy and transnational terrorism.
- Bose, S., & Jalal, A. (2002). *Modern South Asia: history, culture, political economy*. Routledge.
- Brown, V., & Rassler, D. (2013). *Fountainhead of Jihad: the Haqqani nexus, 1973-2012*. Oxford University Press.
- Brynjar, L., & Skjølberg, K. (2000). Why terrorism occurs: a survey of theories and hypotheses on the causes of terrorism. Oslo, FFI/RAPPORT-2000/02769, 17.
- Bueno de Mesquita, E., Fair, C. C., Jordan, J., Rais, R. B., & Shapiro, J. N. (2015). Measuring political violence in Pakistan: Insights from the BFRS Dataset. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 32(5), 536-558.
- Byman, D. (2005). *Deadly connections: States that sponsor terrorism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chaliand, G., & Blin, A. (Eds.). (2007). *The history of terrorism: from antiquity to al Qaeda*. Univ of California Press.
- Cohen, S. P. (2003). The Jihadist Threat to Pakistan. *The Washington Quarterly*, 26(3), 5-25.
- Cohrs, J. C., Kielmann, S., Maes, J., & Moschner, B. (2005). Effects of right-wing authoritarianism and threat from terrorism on restriction of civil liberties. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 5(1), 263-276.
- Crotty, W. (2005). *Democratic development & political terrorism: The global perspective*. Upne.
- Curtis, L. (2013). *After the Withdrawal: The Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Part II)*. testimony before the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa and the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, Committee on Foreign Affairs, US House of Representatives.
- Diamond, L. (2011). Democracy's third wave today. *Current History*, 110(739), 299.
- Esposito, J. L. (2002). *Unholy war: Terror in the name of Islam*. Oxford University Press.
- Fair, C. C. (2015). Explaining support for sectarian terrorism in Pakistan: Piety, Maslak and Sharia. *Religions*, 6(4), 1137-1167.
- Fair, C. C., Malhotra, N., & Shapiro, J. N. (2010). Islam, militancy, and politics in Pakistan: Insights from a national sample. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22(4), 495-521.
- Farooqi, M. (2016). Unforgotten Story of Terrorism. *Frontier*, (3), 10-11.
- Fischer, P., Greitemeyer, T., & Kastenmüller, A. (2007). What do we think about Muslims? The validity of westerners' implicit theories about the associations between Muslims'

- religiosity, religious identity, aggression potential, and attitudes toward terrorism. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 10(3), 373-382.
- Gross, E. (2004). The Struggle of a Democracy Against Terrorism-Protection of Human Rights: The Right to Privacy Versus the National Interest-The Proper Balance. *Cornell Int'l LJ*, 37, 27.
- Guttieri, K. (2004). Civil-military relations in peacebuilding. *Sicherheit und Frieden (S+ F)/Security and Peace*, 79-85.
- Haider, S., de Pablos Heredero, C., Ahmed, M., & Dustgeer, S. (2015). Identifying Causes of Terrorism in Pakistan. *Dialogue (Pakistan)*, 10(3).
- Haqqani, H. (2004). Pakistan's terrorism dilemma. *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia*, Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 351-361.
- Haynes, J. (Ed.). (2008). *Routledge handbook of religion and politics*. Routledge.
- Hewitt, J. J. (2017). *Peace and conflict 2012*. Routledge.
- Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside terrorism*. Columbia University Press.
- Hoodbhoy, P., & Nayyar, A. H. (1985). Rewriting the history of Pakistan. *Islam, politics and the state*, 164-177.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). Democracy's third wave. *Journal of democracy*, 2(2), 12-34.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). Democracy's third wave. *Journal of democracy*, 2(2), 12-34.
- Huntington, S. P. (1993). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century* (Vol. 4). University of Oklahoma press.
- Hussain, S. (2010). Terrorism in Pakistan: Incident Patterns, Terrorists' Characteristics, and the Impact of Terrorist Arrests on Terrorism. Publicly accessible Penn Dissertations. Paper 136.
- Hyder, S., & Hussain, S. (2011). Terrorism and migration: A case study of Pakistan'. In In AGBA–SAICON Conference Lahore, Pakistan.
- Institute for Economics & Peace. (2017). Global Terrorism Index 2017. Retrieved from <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2017.pdf>
- Irfani, S. (2004). Pakistan's Sectarian Violence: Between the 'Arabist Shift' and Indo-Persian Culture. *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia*, 147-170.
- Jackson, R. (2005). *Writing the war on terrorism: Language, politics and counter-terrorism*. Manchester University Press.
- Jackson, R. (2008). The ghosts of state terror: Knowledge, politics and terrorism studies. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 1(3), 377-392.
- Javaid, D. U. (2011). Genesis and effects of religious extremism in Pakistan. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2(7), 282-288.
- Javaid, U. (2015). Operation Zarb-e-Azb: A Successful Initiative to Curtail Terrorism. *South Asian Studies* (1026-678X), 30(2).
- Javaid, U. (2016). Zarb-e-Azb and the State of Security in Pakistan. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 53(1).
- Javed, A. (2017). Pakistan Counter Terrorism Policy since Zarb-i-Azab: Challenges and Prospects for Peace and Security.
- Johnson, T. H., & Mason, M. C. (2007). Understanding the Taliban and insurgency in Afghanistan. *Orbis*, 51(1), 71-89.
- Johnson, T. H., & Mason, M. C. (2008). No sign until the burst of fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier. *International Security*, 32(4), 41-77.

- Johnston, P. B., & Sarbahi, A. K. (2016). The impact of US drone strikes on terrorism in Pakistan. *International Studies Quarterly*, 60(2), 203-219.
- Jongman, A. J. (2017). *Political terrorism: A new guide to actors, authors, concepts, data bases, theories, and literature*. Routledge.
- Kaltenthaler, K., Miller, W. J., Ceccoli, S., & Gelleny, R. (2010). The sources of Pakistani attitudes toward religiously motivated terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33(9), 815-835.
- Kanwal, L. (2017). Political Development In Pakistan: Continuity And Change During Zardari Period. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, 54(2).
- KatoCh, D. C. (2016). *Pakistan's Future Wars: Tackling Terrorism Within*.
- Kaye, D. D., Wehrey, F., Grant, A. K., & Stahl, D. (2008). *More freedom, less terror?: Liberalization and political violence in the arab world (Vol. 772)*. Rand Corporation.
- Kellner, D. (2007). Globalization, terrorism, and democracy: 9/11 and its aftermath. In *Frontiers of Globalization Research*(pp. 243-268). Springer, Boston, MA.
- Kfir, I. (2006). The paradox that is Pakistan: Both ally and enemy of terrorism. *Middle East*, 10(1), 75.
- Khan, A. U. (2005). *The Terrorist Threat and the Policy Response in Pakistan*. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.
- Khan, Z. A. (2012). Military operations in FATA and PATA: Implications for Pakistan. *Strategic Studies*, 31(4-1).
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Age International.
- Kronstadt, K. A. (2003, March). *Pakistan--US Anti-Terrorism Cooperation*. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS WASHINGTON DC CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE.
- Krueger, A. B., & Malečková, J. (2003). Education, poverty and terrorism: Is there a causal connection?. *Journal of Economic perspectives*, 17(4), 119-144.
- Kukreja, V., & Singh, M. P. (Eds.). (2005). *Pakistan: Democracy, development and security issues*. Sage Publications India.
- Li, Q. (2005). Does democracy promote or reduce transnational terrorist incidents?. *Journal of Conflict resolution*, 49(2), 278-297.
- Liaqat, A., Callen, M., Cheema, A., Khan, A. Q., Naseer, M. F., & Shapiro, J. N. (2017). The role of election competition in strengthening Pakistan's fledgling local democracy. *International Growth Centre Blog*.
- Lutz, J. M., & Lutz, B. J. (2010). Democracy and terrorism. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 4(1), 63-74.
- Maira, S. (2009). " Good" and" Bad" Muslim Citizens: Feminists, Terrorists, and US Orientalisms. *Feminist Studies*, 35(3), 631-656.
- Makinda, S. (2009). The European Union, the fight against terrorism and its impact on democracy building in Africa.
- Maogoto, J. N. (2003). War on the enemy: self-defence and state-sponsored terrorism. *Melb. J. Int'l L.*, 4, 406.
- Maret, S. (2018). *Global Terrorism Database*. The Charleston Advisor, 19(3), 14-19.
- Mason, T. D., & Krane, D. A. (1989). The political economy of death squads: Toward a theory of the impact of state-sanctioned terror. *International Studies Quarterly*, 33(2), 175-198.
- Masood, T. (2012). Pakistan's Fight Against Terrorism. *Defence Against Terrorism Review*, 4(1), 13-30.

- Michael, S. (2007). Terrorism a socio-economic and political phenomenon with special reference to Pakistan. *Journal of management and social sciences*, 3(1), 35-46.
- Murphy, E. (2012). *The making of terrorism in Pakistan: historical and social roots of extremism*. Routledge.
- Mustafa, D., & Brown, K. E. (2010). The Taliban, public space, and terror in Pakistan. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 51(4), 496-512.
- Nasr, V. (2004). Military rule, Islamism and democracy in Pakistan. *The Middle East Journal*, 58(2), 195-209.
- Nawaz, S. (2016). *Countering Militancy and Terrorism in Pakistan*.
- Noor, S. (2012). Transformation of Sectarian Terrorism in Pakistan. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 4(6), 10-14.
- politics. (2018). Merriam Webster. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/politics>
- Rapoport, D. C. (2001). The fourth wave: September 11 in the history of terrorism. *Current History*, 100(650), 419.
- Rapoport, D. C. (2013). The four waves of modern terrorism: David C. Rapoport. In *Terrorism Studies* (pp. 63-82). Routledge.
- Rasler, K., & Thompson, W. R. (2009). Looking for waves of terrorism. *Terrorism and political violence*, 21(1), 28-41.
- Rehman, F. U., Nasir, M., & Shahbaz, M. (2017). What have we learned? Assessing the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies in Pakistan. *Economic Modelling*, 64, 487-495.
- Robinson, J., & Acemoglu, R. (2012). *Why nations fail*. Crown Publishing Group.
- Rosr, M., Nagdy, M., & Ritchie, H. (2018). "Terrorism". Published online at OurWorldInData.org. Retrieved from: '<https://ourworldindata.org/terrorism>' [Online Resource]
- Ruble, M. R. (2017). India-Pakistan nuclear diplomacy: constructivism and the prospects for nuclear arms control and disarmament in South Asia.
- Saeed, L., Syed, S. H., & Martin, R. P. (2014). Historical patterns of terrorism in Pakistan. *Defense & Security Analysis*, 30(3), 209-229.
- Saeed, L., Syed, S. H., & Martin, R. P. (2014). Historical patterns of terrorism in Pakistan. *Defense & Security Analysis*, 30(3), 209-229.
- Sageman, M. (2011). *Leaderless jihad: Terror networks in the twenty-first century*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Samad, A. Y. (2011). *The Pakistan-US Conundrum: Jihadists, the Military and the People-the Struggle for Control*.
- Savun, B., & Phillips, B. J. (2009). Democracy, foreign policy, and terrorism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53(6), 878-904.
- Schmid, A. P. (2011). The definition of terrorism. In *The Routledge handbook of terrorism research* (pp. 57-116). Routledge.
- Shah, A. (2003). Pakistan's "Armored" Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 14(4), 26-40.
- Shahbaz, M. (2013). Linkages between inflation, economic growth and terrorism in Pakistan. *Economic Modelling*, 32, 496-506.
- Shahzad, A. (2013). Ethnic Politics of MQM from 1980s till Election 2002. *Pakistan Perspectives*, 18(1), 127.
- Stern, J. (2000). Pakistan's Jihad culture. *Foreign Aff.*, 79, 115.
- Stohl, M. (Ed.). (1988). *The politics of terrorism*. M. Dekker.

- Talbot, I. (2003). Pakistan in 2002: Democracy, terrorism, and brinkmanship. *Asian Survey*, 43(1), 198-207
- Tariq, M. M. (2011). The rise and impact of islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan with special reference to KPK and Balochistan. *Balochistan Review*, 24.
- Tellis, A. J. (2008). Pakistan and the war on terror: conflicted goals, compromised performance. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*.
- Weinberg, L. (2013). *Democracy and terrorism: friend or foe?*. Routledge.
- Weinberg, L. B., & Eubank, W. L. (1998). Terrorism and democracy: What recent events disclose. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 10(1), 108-118.
- Weinberg, L., & Eubank, W. (2010). An end to the fourth wave of terrorism?. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33(7), 594-602.
- Wernick, D. A., & Von Glinow, M. A. (2012). Reflections on the evolving terrorist threat to luxury hotels: A case study on Marriott International. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 54(5), 729-746.
- Wilkinson, P. (2006). *Terrorism versus democracy: The liberal state response*. Routledge.
- Wolf, S. O. (2017). State of Democracy in South Asia: The Cases of Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. In *Regional Cooperation in South Asia* (pp. 343-363). Springer, Cham.
- Zahab, M. A. (2002). The regional dimension of sectarian conflicts in Pakistan. *Pakistan: Nationalism without a nation*, 115-128.