Militancy and Counter Militancy measures: Impact on Pakistan's Foreign Policy

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Abstract

Militancy has become the major security challenge to Pakistan. Religious, sectarian and ethnic based militancy not only proliferated in the tribal regions of Pakistan but also affected the urban centres. In order to counter the acts of militant, military operations were launched by Pakistan army. In this context, the increasing pace of militancy and counter militancy measures taken by Pakistan since 2003 had a profound influence on Pakistan's relation with Afghanistan, US and India. On the other hand, it also created some incentives and opportunities at the foreign policy and security front in the shape of aid and assistance and its coalition with US. The present study will focus on some research questions. How the issue of militancy affected Pakistan foreign policy? What incentives and constraints were developed on Pakistan's foreign policy due to counter militant measures taken by Pakistan in its tribal areas? How the issue of internal security influence the external relations of Pakistan? How the outcome of militancy and counter-militant measures affected Pakistan's foreign policy? Research suggests Pakistan should highlight its counter militancy measures in international community by media campaign, effective diplomacy at UN and speedy trial of militants in courts to give them a strong message.

Key words: Militancy, Counter Militancy, Security, Inter security, Zerb-e-Azb

Introduction:

Militancy is the confrontational act of a group or organization supporting some aggressive cause based on a self-created agenda. Militancy is the portrayal of aggression and the militant is the one who is involved in a belligerent act (Khan, 2005). Militancy is the manifestation of unfulfilled demands that are created under autocracy are dictatorship, which may otherwise be catered peacefully under a democratic regime (Bobbitt, 2002). The difference between militancy and terrorism is quite delicate to understand. Terrorist is the one who uses the violence in order to achieve a political goal while militant is the one who is the aggressive follower of a cause. Terrorist uses the violent means like intimidation, bombing and killing for the attainment of his goals while militant is the one who serve as a tool in the hands of terrorists. A militant is the one who pick-ups the arms to achieve the belligerent goals of the terrorists (Bobbitt, 2008).

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There are many aspects and phases of militancy. Militancy may be religious, ethnic or political. In anyway militancy is an expression of resentment against the disparities and deprivation created and generated by the system. It because of these deprivation such elements are encouraged to put forward their separatist extremist agenda with coercive means. Beside this, these militant elements strongly reject the present administrative order and legal set-up as well. Consequently, the situation created out of these conditions is called insurgency. (Khan, 2005; Rashid, 2013a) Most prevalent militancy is found in religious realm. No religion of the world support violence and militancy. As a matter of fact, religious militancy is an effort to put forward the agenda in the name of a particular sect (Rizvi, 2005; Malik, 2008). All these trends of militancy and terror are prevalent in the under-developed and developing world, whose system does not allow participatory political culture with mature political norms. The process of political socialization and interest articulation is rather absent from such societies, that is why ethnic and separatist elements found their way to violent activities. Pakistan also includes in the list of such nations. That is why most of forms of militancy can be found in Pakistan. For instance, the port city of Karachi and Sindh is marred by ethnic militancy, the province of Balochistan is shaped by separatist insurgency and the rest of the country, and especially the Northern Areas are inflicted with sectarian militancy. Various tactics including suicide bombing and target killing are part of all three forms of militancy (Rizvi, 2005; Khan, 2005). As Rashid (2013a) writes "the ethnic conflict is being articulated in sectarian terms. That is, the Pashtun-Muhajir conflict in Karachi —, which is embedded in economic reasons — has been expressed in ethnic terms. Moreover, the Taliban-Shia conflict — which is actually embedded in ethnic reasons — has been expressed in sectarian terms". There is another facet of militancy, which flourished inside Pakistan but affects neighboring countries such as the areas of Afghanistan and India (Jones, 2002; Haq, 2007). The elements involved in such cross-border activities are referred as non-state actors. These militants entail volunteers who are members of various sectarian-cum-militant organizations and who inflict terror both inside and outside Pakistan (Rizvi, 2005). The militants whether active inside Pakistan or outside the country have invited the rage and ire of both far and neighboring countries of the region embarrassing the country in the international community (Rizvi, 2005; Haq, 2007). In this manner, militancy affects the foreign policy of Pakistan.

Foreign policy of a state is the reflection of the aspirations of a nation. Rashid (2013) opines, "The foreign policy of a country is a reflection of its internal socio-economic and political strategies". If the key policy lines are not supported by the general masses the certain outcomes earn nothing but resentment from the nation. If society is fraught with the elements who are already in conflict with the executive authorities for their multiple grievances,

then the atmosphere of consensus becomes a far flung phenomenon. Pakistan has faced this situation many a times. In the recent times, tragic incident of 9/11 has left its deep traces over the global, regional and domestic politics. This incident has highlighted the entity of non-state actors more than ever. War of Terror which although was started by the United States of America (USA) and supported by other western countries, was imposed on Pakistan (Jones, 2002). Pakistan joined the war for the reason that Pakistan was demanded to do so. It was a general perception that Taliban were product of Pakistan which supported the members of Al-Qaeda, the militant organization based in Afghanistan (the members of which are Arabs). These are the same people who are alleged of causing 9/11 tragedy. It was determined that these terrorist elements took shelter in the tribal belt of Pakistan, along with a few urban cities (Rahman, 2003).

In this way the case of Islamic militancy got a valid proof in Pakistan. Strategically, politically, culturally and socially Pakistan was in no position to deny this allegation in any way. Pakistan had to face the visible consequences of War on Terror which was initiated by USA, funded by the Western developed world and imposed upon Pakistan with great pressure and obvious expectations of eradication of the elements which already hard to be handled by the system and political structure of Pakistan. The aim of this paper is to evaluate the impact of militancy on the foreign policy of Pakistan.

Now the case of militancy in Pakistan has been taken by the intelligentsia by two different dimensions; one school of thought consider militancy as the product of Pakistan's foreign policy direction that it has taken up after 9/11 terrorist attacks. They opine that the U-turn taken by Pakistan regarding tribal people living along the borders has generated militancy. Initiation of armed attack against its own people has thrust Pakistan deep down in the militancy as the killing of innocent civilians including women and children and their bombing homeland in the wake of WoT has created immense violence and militancy (Hasan, 2012). This argument is valid at its own place but the dynamics of the militancy problem suggest some other aspects as well. The second school of thought propounds that militancy has led to the change in the foreign policy of Pakistan (Jahangir, 2013). That is, militancy forced Pakistan to change its foreign policy. This school of thought considers that the Taliban (who were the offspring of former Afghan *Majihideens,* i.e. willingly fighting for a cause called *Jihad*, ethnically Pashtun brought up, and received religious education from *Madrassas*, religious seminaries of Pakistan and trained by Pakistan army and its intelligence agencies) established their government on the pattern of medieval Islamic states in Afghanistan after 1996. They provided shelter to al-Qaeda which later caused 9/11. More than 3000 Americans were killed in this incident (Sattar, 2012; Zaidi, 2013). These

are two significant dimensions of the militancy in Pakistan. The debate on militancy in Pakistan in recent times involves 9/11 terrorist attacks, joining WoT by Pakistan, US direct attacks on the territory of Pakistan (Drone Strikes), ratio of mutual trust between the parties and emergence of non-state actors.

9/11 incident- Impact on Pakistan

9/11 terrorist attacks jolted the entire structure of global political structure and flocked the developed world towards the annihilation of extremist groups and organization. Strategically all those territories and states came under the sway of NATO forces that provided the safe havens and shelter to such elements. Unfortunately Pakistan was among such states. US, this time seek endorsement of UNO for its retaliation against these terrorist elements. USA and the international community collectively forced the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to pass three resolutions one after another. The UNSC passed resolution, 1368 on September 12, 2001, and two resolutions, 1373 and 1377 on September 28, 2001.In these resolutions the UNSC demanded for a global cooperation against the menace of terrorism, besides declaring al-Qaeda as the number one enemy for the peace of the world. (Rizvi, 2005). All countries except Afghanistan led by the Taliban showed willingness of cooperation with the UN (Jones, 2002). The crisis was so serious that in order to show their solidarity with its member, the USA, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invoked , for the first time Article 5 reaffirming its resolve that an attack on one member country would be considered as an attack on all NATO's member countries. So much so, that a country like Australia invoked Article 4 of ANZUS Treaty, a trilateral security treaty between Australia, New Zealand and USA (Hasnat, 2008).

After getting endorsement from the UNO and gathering all resources provided by the Western developed communities and USA seek the implementation process of its plan. Strategically and politically Pakistan was in a position to become once again a 'frontline state' for the fulfillment of US global agenda against its own specified militant and terrorist groups (Sattar, 2007, p. 247). Under the pressure of the coalition, Pakistan provided its airspace and land access to the landlocked country of Afghanistan. At this juncture, India offered refueling and other logistic support to the coalition and showed its intent of replacing Pakistan. For operations, Pakistan also offered to the coalition forces its naval bases in Karachi and air bases in Sindh and Balochista (Kapur, 2002; Iqbal, 2012; Latif, Abbas & Safdar, 2012). These developments led to a confrontation between the supporters of al-Qaeda in Pakistan and the security forces of Pakistan. Growing further in both intensity and variety Pakistan allowed drone strikes on its otherwise lawless tribal belt. (Harrison,

2009). This permission is considered as a major cause of the blowback from the supporters of the Taliban and al-Qaeda, present in Pakistan. Against the countries actions, a militant action against Pakistan was launched. Neither civilians nor the military was spared. The collateral damage caused by drone strikes further aggravated the situation and the attacks from militants worsened (Rahman, 2003; Khan, 2005). Inside Pakistan, sects who were ideologically near to the Taliban ideology i.e. the Deoband school of thought and many of its followers picked up arms against the state of Pakistan targeting security forces, key defense installations, significant buildings, important persons and what not (Sahi, 2014). They also carried out the spate of suicide bombing killing hundreds of innocent civilians. One of the major brunt of suicide bombing and target killing was also faced by the Shia school of thought; even the Brelvi school of thought (a Sunni sect) was also not spared. Both Imam Bargha and Shrines of Sufis were attacked (Hazara, 2012). Pakistan also got disillusioned with the issue of Kashmir because it was no longer in the position of supporting the cause of Kashmir's freedom. India's position to support the coalition also put Pakistan under pressure and India nearer to the coalition (Kapur, 2002). Pakistanis did not own the War or Terror until the launch of the Swat Operation by the Army of Pakistan in 2009 (Torwali, 2014). All these developments are the outcome of foreign involvement and foreign influence on the domestic and foreign policy of Pakistan; on the other hand the policy making of process of Pakistan is also not valid manifestation of the true aspiration of the people of Pakistan. This contradictory trend in the foreign policy direction of Pakistan has generated a wide space for the militancy in the state.

Beginning of Drone Strikes and Pakistan's Reaction

Within few years of the initiation of WoT the level of trust between US and Pakistan came to law. The after-effects of this decision started to show some visible and considerable effects on the state and society of Pakistan. Tension between conflicting ethnic and religious groups increased at a high level and the elements against the armed forces became vocal. This situation created reluctance in the execution of WoT policy. It was about this time that US authorities decided to take some direct action against the militants. In 2004, the USA's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) launched unmanned aerial vehicle called drone that were used for surveillance and attack on the Taliban and al-Qaeda hideouts in the Pakistan and Afghanistan (Khan, 2013a).The CIA claimed that drones are more successful in getting their targets as compared to conventional bombs (Synnott, 2009).

Drone Attacks and its Results:

Year	Drone attacks	Killed	Injured
2013	13	105	32
2012	51	349	98
2011	73	574	154
2010	109	993	421
2009	50	633	331
2008	36	368	154
2007	4	46	30
2006	3	103	4
2005	2	7	2
2004	1	5	0
Total	342	3183	1226

Source: Drone Attacks: Pakistan Body Count.
Available on http://pakistanbodycount.org/drone_attack.

The violation of the sovereignty of the country had become a "national tragedy" (Inayatullha, 2013). Further, the issue of death of innocent people by drone attacks raised by local people (Hali, 2012; Hassan, 2012). Pakistan raised its voice at international level regarding the use of drone attacks. Pakistan considered it as counter-productive as it became the source of militancy. The militants claimed their attacks as reactionary to drone attacks (Khan, 2013b, Medina, 2013). The CIA launched 60 drone strikes and killed 14 al-Qaeda personnel and approximately killed 687 civilians as part of its collateral damage from 2006 to 2009 (Synnott, 2009). Drone strikes were the major cause for the nail witnessed in suicide bombing. Drone strikes also incited the members of the affected families to lift arms against the state of Pakistan and become militants. Chishti (2012) stated that "The Pakistani security establishment has publicly distanced itself from the CIA's drone programme, while it continues to support it quietly." The support offered by Pakistan to USA enraged the militants and as a reaction they launched attacks on military bases of Pakistan." (Khan, 2005; Khan, 2013b) Pakistan Army was quite unwilling to take on North Waziristan till the 2013 which was quite evident. (Rashid, 2014b). It has never been easy to launch an armed attack anywhere in the world, there is need to create a genuine justification for an armed act. In case of domestic politics and a territory under a state's jurisdiction, it becomes more difficult to raise arms against one's own people. Such an act may end up in a disastrous situation which may lead to anti-state movements as well.

The other perspective regarding the use of drone also prevails. They believe that drones can help, where access to enemy is impossible. This is the most effective method to destroy the targets.

Changing Pattern in Policy

Pakistan carried out the obligation of 'frontline state' in the WOT at the expense of decadence of its society, economy and system. Despite of Pakistan's valuable cooperation, it could not win US confidence. With this the state and army of Pakistan loose the portion of its credibility in the sight of its own people. Some regional and international incident also added in this grim scenario. In November 2008, Mumbai attacks occurred which was conducted by non-state actors allegedly trained and sent by Pakistan to India (Rashid, 2011a).The Mumbai attack played an important role in turning the international opinion against Pakistan. To this end Pakistan's claims that it was not supporting the Taliban or al-Qaeda members seemed to have lost credibility.

The USA made major changes in its foreign policy towards Pakistan in 2009, which impinged on foreign policy of Pakistan. President Barack Obama announced his first Afghan-Pak policy in March 2009 (Ahmar, 2012) and followed by the Kerry-Lugar Berman Act enacted in October 2009 (Rashid, 2011b).

During his first term, President Obama delivered a policy speech on Afghanistan and Pakistan urging to bring the al-Qaeda from its hideouts in both countries (Rashid, 2014d). The assertion was that al-Qaeda transferring its bases to the tribal areas of Pakistan after 9/11 and was planning for another 9/11. The declaration of this policy led to the formation of the Afghan-Pak strategy, which viewed both countries as important strategic region. The Afghan-Pak strategy has two important aspects. The first was the curbing the network of local and foreign militants. The second was to advance bilateral relations with both Afghanistan and Pakistan. The main objective of his Afghan-Pak policy, he stated (Rashid, 2014d):

> [It was to] disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and to prevent its capacity to threaten America and [its] allies in the future.

In both instances, Pakistan was asked to destroy the terrorist network existing/flourishing on its land. In turn, Pakistan had to lay down its intelligence network and encounter the threat physically, by engaging with the militants. The fight was fought in both urban and rural cities of Pakistan. (Rashid, 2014d). Apparently, there is no policy statement linking the change of hearts in 2009, by the USA. However, the USA indirectly carried out this linkage in its

Karry-Lugar-Berman Act of October 2009.[1] In the Act adopted by the USA government , USA aid of total $ 7 billion ($ 1.5 billion/year) for years was made conditional against Pakistan's cooperation in stamping out the identified terrorist/militant network from Pakistan, besides several other conditions (Kerry Lugar Bill, 2009).

Emergence of Non-state actors

By definition non-state actors are such entities or organizations that have sufficient power to influence or change the course of international relations even without the support of the established institution of state. 9/11 is such an incident that has made distinguish this difference between state and the non-state actors. Non-state actors are the militant groups existing within a state(Rizvi, 2005). The group might be there to enlist new willing militants ready to give their lives for a cause. The militant groups can use the land to execute their plan of attacking another country.The al-Qaeda taking refuge in Afghanistan and launching an attack on the World Trade Centre and Pentagon, USA, can be quoted as an example. Lashker-e-Tayyaba allegedly involved in Mumbai attacks in 2008 got training in Pakistan (Pape & Eldman, 2010).

As Tertrais (2012) writes: "Both countries went to the brink of war in the winter of 2001-2002 and Delhi was close to retaliate against Pakistan after 2008 Mumbai attacks" (p. 26). He further says that the Mumbai attacks prompted India to promote the concept of pre-emptive strike against the militant groups around its territory and use drone strikes against the militant hideouts purportedly in the Pakistan's part of Kashmir. These points raised the concern about Pakistan's sovereignty and the future of Azad Kashmir.

This concludes activities of non-state actors who, with or without the knowledge of the state, carry out their activities ranging from resource collection and mobilization, recruitment and training and carrying out attacks (Feinstein & Slaughter, 2004)[2].

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[1] The bill calls for closing the militant camps in Mureedke, near Lahore, and ban Lasker-e-Tayyaba which allegedly trained the militants and carried out the massacre in Mumbai in 2008.
[2] The concept of "responsibility to protect" lying on the international community collectively is intriguing in the sense that it allows the states not only a carte blanche to avert a humanitarian crisis but also to avert any terrorist attack on another country. In some ways, it is intriguing and in some ways it is preventive. This principle does not take care of the opaque sovereignty but establishes a transparent sovereignty.

Dynamics of Pakistan's Security

Pakistan's security dynamics is a combination of threats at its internal and external front. Since its inception, security remains a fundamental issue for the policy makers. The security dilemma that exists between Pakistan and its neighboring states is full of complexities and divergent interests. One's security goal is taken as insecurity, for the other. In addition, Pakistan strategically is situated in such a geo political environment internal and external factor are deeply connected with one another. In this respect, the security threat matrix is of prime importance. General Jacob L. Devers said, "National security is a condition which cannot be qualified. We shall either be secure, or we shall be insecure. We cannot have partial security. If we are only half secure, we are not secure at all". Keeping such explanations of security in mind the security assumptions and their application on Pakistan can be judged as following;

Assumptions of Security

Key Assumptions of Security	Application on Pakistan
Security in or (of what)	Citizens, borders, sovereignty, territory
Security from what	Neighboring states non state actors major powers
Security for what	Stability, prosperity, territorial integrity, development, safety
Security by what means	Defence political stability, interacting with other states resolving disputes, economic uplift, regional peace, deterrence, attack

The above table illustrates three main paradigms of security i.e. national security, international security and human security. According to realist, security is defined as a derivative of power, as states acquire power to preserve their security. It was in the era of post-cold war during which the concept of security became more multidimensional which is apparent in the work of Barry Buzan's regional security complex and Ole Waver's securitization. They presented a more holistic and macro approach to security. Generally, security arrangement of a state refers to its ability of protecting the country from any danger and aggression. It has two main dimensions. The normative approach focuses on security, its goals and the means of achieving it. On the other hand, instrumentalist approach connects security with the

policy outcomes, which depend on power and capabilities of a state. In both dimensions, survival remains the immediate and ultimate goal.

In case of Pakistan the increasing external and domestic security threats links Pakistan's security matrix with survival and defense. Pakistan faces major internal security challenges in the form of terrorism, insurgency in Baluchistan and FATA (Federally administrated tribal areas), poor governance, socio economic issues and religious extremism. Accompanied with the external threats in the shape of vulnerable borders, complex regional dynamics, role of major powers along with the religious discourse makes the security environment of Pakistan more multifaceted.

Militancy has not only destroyed the country's international image but also has shattered the social fabric of Pakistan. It is a product of grimcenter- provincial governance *"Social, cultural, and religious intolerance and violence have caused irreparable damage to Pakistan social fabric."*Although the graph of militancy has been reduced to 17.75 percent in 2013, still the menace created by the militancy is a direct threat to the social fabric of the country. Militancy has sidelined the concept of nation-state, human rights, political openness, and inter-religious/sect tolerance and basic notion of human freedom.One of major reason behind this grim situation is the weak and ineffective educational infrastructure and low ratio of teaching staff that has turned the major portion of the population towards Madrassah education as the expenses of private educational institutionsare quite high and totally out of the reach of common middle –class masses.

The economic sector has also been hit hard, as the exports and foreign investment have reduced dangerously during the past few years. According to an economic report: *"A rising economic crisis is adding to the political instability in the country, with GDP growth stagnating at 2.4 per cent in fiscal year 2010-11, barely offsetting population growth, as compared to 3.8 percent in the preceding year."*

At regional level, militancy has made Pakistan become an easy target for its enemies , especially for India who always has hostile policies for Pakistan. As Pakistan's foreign policy attention and military forces direction is more towards its Western border than the Eastern border, India is in better position to takeadvantage of it. The war against militancy and terrorism will further destabilize the region. Pakistan most probably, will not have much international support in that war and as both India and Pakistan have nuclear capability so the chances of nuclear attacks from both sides cannot be ignored (Malik, 2013)

Militancy and its impact on foreign policy of Pakistan

The Challenges faced by Pakistan's foreign policy makers is that the "Moment of reckoning" is serious and has long-term impacts. It is mainly because of Pakistan'sun-altered geo-strategic location, hostility with immediate neighbors and the interests of world's super powers in this region. Pakistan is destined to remain constantly vigilant and somehow or the other it has to pass through one crisis or another. Foreign Policy of Pakistan has been Indian Centric more or less during its whole years of independence. Indian hegemonic and never admitting existence Pakistan has made Pakistan its main threat. This reality has been proved correct through the wars of 1947-48, 1965 and mainly 1971 when India intervened in Pakistan's internal issue of East Pakistan and helped the rebellious elements in disintegration of Pakistan.

During the same decade of 1979, Kashmiri movement violent from the peaceful posture and Pakistan also played its part through its proxy militant groups like Lashkr-e-Taiba. Pakistan's foreign policy revolved mainly around militant groups, their training and their transfer to Afghanistan and Kashmir. These militant groups also played a vital role in Foreign policy making process during 1990s. It was the incident of 9/11 terrorist attacks on USA which compelled Pakistan take a U-turn in its policies especially regarding its own established groups, which made Pakistan a "Breeding ground of religious extremism, violence and militancy.

Historical Background

The Afghan Trap: The major reason of Militancy in Pakistan is considered Pakistan's decision to be part of "Afghan Jihad" and creation of Taliban, which proved to be a trap and hunted Pakistan's foreign policy for the years to come. Although Pakistan had established the Taliban but there are many other aspects of this issue. After the end of Cold war and decline of Soviet Union, USA and international community completely abandoned Taliban. Pakistan could not do this out rightly as Afghanistan was its immediate neighbor. The monster of Afghan war went out of the Pakistan's control. It was mainly first Afghan war that contributed in shaping and flourishing the culture of sectarianism and "Madrasah" by heavy investment of external powers. After the Soviet war these Taliban having no place to go to became too rogue to be part of normal society, hence they started their own militant groups and initiated their activities not only in Afghanistan but also in Pakistan by making it a "Heaven for terrorists and militancy."

Survey repot of Economist says, **"***Think about Pakistan, and you might get terrified thatfew countries have so much potential to cause trouble regionally*

and worldwide. One-third of its 165 million people live in poverty, and only half of them are literate. The country's politics yo-yo between weak civilian governments and unrepresentative military ones currently on offer under Pervez Musharraf, the president and army chief, albeit with some democratic wallpapering" and it further stated: *"The state is weak. Islamabad and the better bits of Karachi are orderly and, for the moment, booming. Most of the rest is a mess. In the western province of Baluchistan, which takes up almost half of Pakistan's land mass, an insurgency is simmering. In the never-tamed tribal areas bordering Afghanistan, the army is waging war against Islamic fanatics"*

In the context of Pakistan's sacrifices as a frontline state in the WoT, this grim image of Pakistan depicts the failure of Pakistan's foreign policy, which remained unable to improve the image of country. As the President of Pakistan of that time stated during his speech to UN on September 2, 2004: *"Terrorism poses the most urgent threat to many countries, including the most powerful states. For many of us, the terrorist threat is close and personal. Terrorism threatens Pakistan's vital national interests and objectives. We have thus participated actively in the unprecedented campaign against it. Pakistan has led the way in this campaign. Our counter-terrorist campaign is ongoing."* Still Pakistan is treated as a terrorist and militant state in the world (Ahmad, 2013)

Sectarianism: Another issue which made the militant scenario in Pakistan much grave, at the same particular time, is ever-flourishing phenomena of sectarianism. The Iranian revolution occurred in 1979 and the Iranian religious leaders wanted to 'Export" the revolution to increase their circle of influence in neighboring states. This Iranian policy also affected Pakistan. The Shias in those states started to influence the societies where they were present as a minority sect. This action of Shias proved counter-productive. In Pakistan, where Hanfi School of Thought is mainly followed by majority Sunni community, a radical reaction against this trend initiated. Both sides started to counter each other firstly by reactionary literature and speeches then by establishing their own militant groups. As Pakistan at that time was passing through Marshall Laws and weak democracy, sectarian groups became stronger and dangerous.Madrassahs again played a vital role in this scenario, as they were established at large scale in Pakistan especially with the borders of Afghanistan. In these Madrassahs sectarian hatred was created and spread. Sectarian attacks and killings are on high scale since then and Pakistan government has remained unable to control this hoax. This is not only the failure of Pakistan's internal security agencies but also the failure of Foreign Policy makers of Pakistan (Javed, 2011)

Major Militant Groups in Pakistan

Militant groups have been thriving in Pakistan since 1980s .There are numerous groups but nine of them are the major groups that are fighting against US forces in Afghanistan and they are targeting Pakistan Armed Forces personals. They are also involved in sectarian killings, bombings in Mosques, Imam Bargahs and other shrines. Mostly these groups operate from Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Parkton Khuwa. Most of them have loyalties with Afghan Taliban and Mullah Omar is considered their main leader. They have different targets and base camps but implementation of Sharia is their main and common agenda.

Following Figure shows **the name, base camps and main targets** of these groups:

Name of Group	Area of Operation	Targets	Support Base
Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan	North & South Waziristan, Orakzai Agency, Khyber Agency, Southern Punjab	Pakistan Military Personals, Civilians	Mehsud Tribes, Foreign Militants
Mullah Nazir Group	South Waziristan	Pakistan and US Military, Pakistani Civilians	Wazir Tribe (Wana), Haqqani Network
Turkisntan Bhittani Group	South Waziristan	TTP, US Forces	Pakistan Military
Haqqani Network	North Waziristan	US Forces	Zardan Tribes (Khost Province, Afghanistan), Al-Qaeda, Mainly Own Strategy
Gul Bahadur Group	North Waziristan	Pakistani Forces (North Waziristan)and US Forces	Wazir and DAur Tribes (Miram Shah,)North Waziristan
Lashkr-e-Jhangvi (North)	Tribal Territories especially Kurram &	Shias, Pakistan Military, Western National in	Anti-Shia Militant Groups from Punjab

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	Orakazai (Shia Population)	Pakistan	
Lashkr-e-Islam	Khyber Agency	Pakistani Civilians	Hard-Line Deo-Bandi Sects
Ansar-ul-Islam	Khyber Agency	US Forces	Less Hard-Liner Deo-Bandi & Brelvi Sects
Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Sharirat-e-Muhammadi	Swat Valley, attempts to influence Dir	Pakistani Civilians (Government Figures, Teachers, Military personals)	Disillusioned member of Pakistani Religious and Political Parties

Groups in Punjab

Name Of Group	Area of Operations	Targets	Base of Support
Lashkr-e-Jhangvi (Punjab)	Country Wide	Shia, Non-Muslims, Foreign Nationals, Military Personals	Sectarian Groups in Punjab
Sipah-e-Sahaba	Country wide (Concentration on Punjab)	Shia , Non-Muslims	Hard Liner Muslims Groups
Jaish-e-Mohammad	Kashmir, Afghanistan, Limited role in North Waziristan	Indian Forces, Western Nationals, Non-Muslims	Hard-Line Muslim Factions
Lashkr-e-Taiba	Jammu Kashmir	Indian Forces	Pro-Jihad, Hard Liner Muslims

Formulation by Researcher
Source: IRIN (2010, October 13). Pakistan: A Guide to Main Militant Groups. Retrieved from: http://www.irinnews.org/report/90760/pakistan-a-guide-to-main-militant-groups
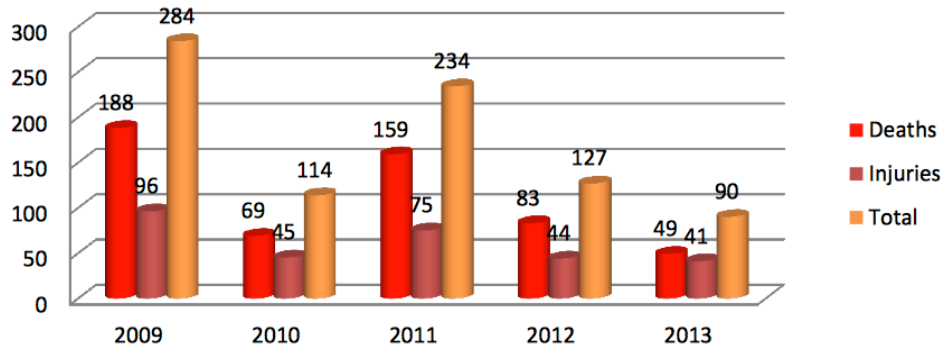
Post 9/11 Decision and its Constraints

The decision by Musharraf became the guarantee of prolong and stable regime for him. However, there was opposition for Musharraf's decision at several domestic levels and circles, which included:

1. Apprehensions about level of support given by Pakistan to US that included "Logistic support."
2. Public opinion went against Musharraf, which made Islamabad to finish its ties with USA.
3. Islamic Extremist groups and Islamist Political Parties, which are deeply embedded in Pakistani society, posed threat to social stability and global image of Pakistan.
4. This decision left a negative impact on Pakistan's Kashmir policy whereas India was trying to declare Pakistan a terrorist supporting state since long.
5. Nuclear Weapons security of Pakistan also became suspicious in the sight of world community.

In post 9-11 era, internal militancy becomes the top most threat to Pakistan. Pakistan's decision to join in US war against Taliban made the situation quite worse. These internal militants have their strong societal base which is quite advantageous to their purposes. Most of these groups are the sub-groups or the branches of Taliban fighting generally under the banner of TTP. The apparent motives of these militant groups are the implementation of Sharia and their goal is to challenge the writ of the state of Pakistan. TTP using the name of Jihad for all of their activities and it has acquired its major sources of funding through Al-Qaeda, kidnapping and suicide bombings. The main operational bases of these groups are located in North and South Waziristan and other tribal areas where operations by Pakistan army and US drone strikes has not yet been successful and these groups are spreading more radicalization, targeting civilians and military personals (Kumar, 2012)

Civilian Deaths and Injuries by Aerial Attacks
January to June : 2009 - 2013

Source:https://geographicalimaginations.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/unama-civilian-casualties-from-air-attacks-2009-13.png

Counter Insurgency Policies in FATA and PATA

Attacks by the militants 'are not only restricted domestically but have reached across the border in Afghanistan. Lack of trust between Islamabad and Washington has worsened the situation as according to a report by RAND corporations: *"It is clear that the [Pakistani] establishment's preoccupation with maintaining jihadist proxies to be used for geopolitical purposes is still a major barrier to dismantling the militant infrastructure in Pakistan,"*

US establishment thinks that Pakistan is not taking the required measures against Militants and according to Peace Works report, many Pakistanis believe that major reason of militancy in their country is *that "foreign powers support anti-state militants that some militants will not attack if not provoked"*. It is also a common perception in Pakistan that due to US attack in Afghanistan, Drone strikes and US pressure to kill militants there has been an increase in the rate of militancy in Pakistan.

Pakistan has yet to develop a comprehensive counter militancy policy, which has slowed down because of weak political will and disharmony between institutes. Although the newly elected government of Nawaz Sharif has approved its "National Counter Terrorism and Extremism Policy" but there is big question mark on the capacity of the government of Pakistan and military forces to implement this policy as it requires both economic and manpower at a large scale. (USIP Report, 2013)

The main policy and tactic of Counter militancy strategy of Pakistan is the military actions against them, which have been conducted successfully in Swat valley and South Waziristan. Although these operations are Pakistan's top priority, the army continues to use its groups of proxy militant groups to tackle militants against the institutions of the state and its society.

Drone strikes by US are also a major counter militancy policy of Pakistan. Despite opposition, these strikes on one hand are considered a source of intensification of militancy while on the other hand they have achieved the goal of killing main targets of TTP.Nawaz Sharif and its government's recent priority has been to hold negotiation with the TTP for this administration thinks that the diplomatic actions would bring peace to the society. With ongoing negotiations, there still are many difficulties in the process, which make the future quite uncertain.

PATA is the provincially Administrated Area of Pakistan that includes Swat and six other districts. This region also faced Islamist Extremists for almost three years, which was at its peak during the years of 2008 and 2009. The Extremist belonged to TNSM and allied faction of TTP commanded by Mullah Fazlullah. Although Pakistan Military has taken actions against them, still they influence some regions. The main reason is that counter militancy strategy of Army has not restored tourism in Swat and TTP militants are attacking people every now and then. The legal frame work of PATA is quite similar to that of FATA as although it comes under the jurisdiction of KPK legislature, Peshawar High Court and Supreme Cour, but like that of FATA, constitution law can only be applied under Article 247, if Governor applied it with the consent of President. Furthermore, with the backbone of economy of that region is tourism, long paper work for local tourists, strict checking for NGOs and excessive interrogation at Military Check posts have declined these activities (Asia Report, 2013).

Barriers in Counter Militancy Policy

The main strategy of Pakistan's Counter Militancy policy is conducting a military operation against these outlaw groups, but there are certain barriers and constraint at domestic and structural level. The major barriers faced by the government of Pakistan are as follows:

- **FATA and the Heartland**

  Perception and Strategic Constraints: The base camp and center of operation of these militant groups are FATA, having North Waziristan as the center of its bases. Here along with factions of the TTP,

Haqqani Network is also operational in these areas. If the Army of Pakistan carries out the operation in these areas, its vital strategic aspect in Afghanistan would be disturbed and displaced. This is not in the interest of Army.

- *"This is not Our War":* The biggest hurdle in this policy is that there is still an ongoing debate in the society of Pakistan on whether this is our war or someone else's. As religious parties and organizations have deep influence among the common masses, there is still sympathy for TTP and their factions which have made it hard for the army and the government to take serious actions against the Militants.
- *A Foreign Hand: A* common perception in society is that militancy in Pakistan involves a "Foreign Hidden hand" and these TTP factions are not much responsible for this chaos. Rather external powers like US, India and Israel are involved in these activities. Although this perception is not wrong altogether but the role of TTP cannot be ignored.

Political Constraints

- *"If We Don't Hit Them":*Some of the major political and religious parties have pointed out that if we don't hit the militants they would not blow back. The entire present situation created is because of these groups being hit by Army and Drone strikes in the first place.
- *Militant Pawn Breakers:* Some of the militant groups have gained political identity. Consequently the cost of action against them has increased. The triangle of "Mullah-Military-Militant" has been working in Pakistan for decades and the Army has been using these Mullahs and Militants as proxies in their neighboring states.
- *Militant Hats in the Ring:* The parties like JUI (S) and (F) which is led by Maulana Sami-ul-Haq and Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman, have publicly showed their concern in their separate statements that violent acts by the TTP will make secular parties more popular in society. As they have deep connections and sympathies for TTP, they are showing full support to them in political ring.

Structural Constraints: The institutional structure of Pakistan is weak and this situation provides benefit to militants. This is visible from the decisions made by the court, as after being captured, they are being released due to lack of proofs and evidences against them. The structure is hollow and less trained.

- *Capacity Constraints:* The major constraint in Pakistan's Foreign Policy is its issues of capacity. Although the policies can be developed easily but Pakistan does not have the capacity to implement them due to shortage of manpower, sources, weak economy and social structure.

Militancy and State Relations

Militancy and Pakistan- US Relations: Relations of the both states has been as a roller coaster ride for over the years they have been involved in security pacts, fought Afghan Jihad together and now since 2001 Pakistan is its front line ally against the war on terrorism. Despite all close ties, both parties lack trust for each other. The issue of militancy in Afghanistan and Pakistan is one of the major reasons for this suspicious relationship (Gilani, 2006). Furthermore, even after taking all actions demanded by the US, Pakistan is being demanded for "Do-More" by American government. This situation is maligning the US reputation in both the society and administrative circles of Pakistan. (Sohrab, Chaudry 2012, p. 8) Both US and Pakistan needs to develop trust worthy relations as it is not necessary for both sides but also for a stable South Asian region as the WoT is yet not finished for Pakistan at least. So, to make region and world peaceful US have to keep supporting Pakistan so that both states can eliminate the danger of militancy from their roots.

Militancy and Pakistan- India Relations: Pakistan India border is a constant security challenge for Pakistan. The long border with India reflects the deep-rooted trust deficit, wars and division that exist at both ends. Pakistan security options have always been encircled around the Indian factor. Furthermore any terrorist incident in India is particularly seen with suspicion of Pakistan's involvement. This is despite the fact that Pakistan itself has been suffering from a war on terror for more than a decade. The decades long unresolved territorial disputes of Kashmir between Indian and Pakistan is a big impediment between the relationships of both the states. The issue of nuclearization, unresolved disputes along with the Indian diplomacy to associate Pakistan with terrorism limits Pakistan security options and adversely affects the mutual relationship. In addition, the reportedly active Indian participation in Afghanistan further complicates the security puzzle for Pakistan. Pildat in their Policy paper 2003 state both Pakistan and India are hostage to international environment, which has determined both their choice of friends and extent of external relations, interest and involvement in the region. Greater economic cooperation could, however, provide mutual economic benefits and generate new linkages between the two business communities, thereby nurturing constituencies for peace in the region.

Militancy and Pakistan Iran Relations: Iran and Pakistan have enjoyed very close relations since 1947. Both states were Islamic but chose the way of secularism, liberalism and Western-allies. However, circumstances started to change after 1979 when Iran passed through the Islamic revolution based on religious ideology, which was the major reason of close relations between them, became the very reason for hostility and gaps between the two. (Pant, 2009). Circumstances and policies of both states gave birth to the sectarian clashes and expansion of Militancy in Pakistan. During 1980s, the sectarian clashes started in Pakistan and number of militant organizations like Sipah Sahaba, Tehrik-e-Jafria Pakistan Lashkr-e-Jhangvi created sectarian opposition that soon turned into bloody clash between Shia and Sunni in Pakistan. Shia Organizations began to be sponsored by Iran while Sunni groups were being funded mainly by Saudi Arabia and other Arab states (Yusuf, 2012). The base of these sectarian clashes and militant groups is Punjab especially the region of Southern Punjab and Jhang where SSP and LeJ have strong holds in the society. Hateful speeches by clerics like Haq Nawaz Jhangvi and Maulana Azam Tariq has increased the gap between Sunni and Shias. Sectarianism is not limited to Punjab alone; these militant groups have also targeted each other in Karachi. In 2012 almost 94 people got killed by these militant groups including 40 people just in a month of November. According to a security analyst Muhammad Raees, main victims of these tit-for-tat killings were students and teachers of religious seminaries, activists and professionals of opposite sects (Rehman, 2012). The region of Gilgit-Baltistan and Parachnar which is known as "Little Iran"" in Iranian circles has also been the major target of militant groups and sectarian killings. In Balochistan the situation is also in negative shape as the militants has targeted the Shia population in the province especially in Quetta, the Hazara Community. Border issue of Pakistan-Iran also played its role in these clashes (Afzal, Iqbal, Inayat, 2012). The issue of militancy has made the relations of Iran and Pakistan from bad to worse. The rivalry of Iran and Saudi Arabia has made Pakistan a proxy battleground for these two states. Pakistan has to make clear policies regarding this issue and must stop foreign interference in other countries internal and religious issues.

Militancy and Pakistan – Afghanistan Relations: The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan have never been stable rather they have remained in turmoil. Pakistan kept on supporting Taliban regime in Afghanistan during 1990s and these militant groups then established their safe houses in FATA, Balochistan and KPK in 1998-99 (Munir, 2010). After 9/11 when Pakistan took a U-turn in its foreign policy regarding Taliban, these elements went rogue and through their settlements in Pakistan, started their own Jihad against Pakistan army and government. These militant groups operate their activities mainly from Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Since that time both states have been playing blame game

against each other (Siddique, 2011). During Musharraf era, the situation got worse between both states as Afghan authorities were directly targeting ISI. After Musharraf's stepping down in 2008, the situation got better as the democratic government conducted a full scale operation in the valley of Swat against TTP and its ally TNSM in 2008 and also signed the peace treaties with sections of the TTP in 2007 and 2008.Still activities of the militants did not stop at either side of the border.

Afghanistan is passing through the change of government right now and presidential elections are being conducted in the state. According to Rahimullah Yousafzai an expert on FATA and Afghan Militancy: *"2014 and the Western withdrawal will not mean Pakistan's problems are over, "If the Taliban cannot capture Kabul, which is highly likely, they will be operating from the border areas. So they may still need to come to Pakistan for shelter, funds and medical treatment, and the Pakistani Taliban will find safe havens in Afghanistan."*

In this changing regional scenario, Pakistan and Afghanistan both have to develop a strong strategy to fight out militancy as it is in the core interest of these states. They have to stop the blame game and start to take operational measures against these militants including strong cooperation between border forces, stop the cross-border movements of these groups and share the intelligence between them to counter the threat of militancy.

Conclusion

The major finding of paper is that the events of post 9/11 have substantially changed the (dimension or course) of Pakistan's security and foreign policy. Since 9/11, the incidents that happened during 2002 to 2004 and 2009 had rendered major effects on outlines of Pakistan's foreign policy. The USA Post 9/11 foreign policy became explicit towards Pakistan from 2002. From 2004, Pakistan experienced the continuous drone strikes and the rise in militancy. Due to this cause and effects relationship, a debate has started that whether the drone attacks are cause of militancy or not. There were two schools of thought in Pakistan on the issue of drone strikes; one considered it beneficial and other did not. Sectarianism erupted which brought Pakistan under pressure. Non-state actors became the source of embarrassment for the government of Pakistan at domestic, regional and international level. Pakistan denied to execute a military operation on the militants' hideout in North Waziristan despite the international pressure. The foreign policy of USA towards Pakistan tangibly changed in 2009 especially in the context of AfPak strategy and the Kerry-Lugar-Berman Act which are still operational. These both were the practical expression of the USA to 'do more'. The operation Zarb-e-Azb had been started by military effectively but the militancy continuously haunted Pakistan in the form of ethnic and sectarian conflicts. The non-state actors still significantly impacted the foreign and security policy of Pakistan.

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