

Al-Hikmat: A Journal of Philosophy
Volume 43 (2023) pp 65-77

The Emergence of Terrorism in Pakistan: A Philosophical Analysis

Naila Tabassum Butt

Lecturer, Department of Philosophy
Government Graduate College for Women, Sheikhpura, Pakistan
Email: *nailatabassumbutt@gmail.com*

Abstract: This article presents a philosophical analysis of the emergence of terrorism in Pakistan. The genesis and expansion of terrorism in Pakistan have a history of four decades. Terrorism emerged in Pakistan in the last quarter of the twentieth century due to the geopolitical conditions of the region and the world. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iran revolution, the 9/11 attacks in the United States of America, and the consequent a war on terror in Afghanistan. These regional and global geopolitical conditions adversely affected political and economic stability, which caused terrorism in Pakistan. This article explains two aspects: First, what are the causes of terrorism? The argument asserts that there are numerous reasons for terrorism: political, religious, and psychological. In the political sense, terrorists create fear in society to terrorize people to acquire their political interests. Psychologically, the desire to take revenge motivates people to be terrorists. Second, how can peace be developed in society? Groups and states should not use the tool of terrorism for their political interests. When states adopt the strategy of terrorism, there is less possibility of peace in the world. Instead, states should ensure peace through the rule of law in the society. Religious tolerance leads to peace because it promotes religious pluralism. To promote peace, states should bring about justice in society. In a just society, no one has a motive to take revenge and become a terrorist. Thus, this article explains the causes of terrorism in Pakistan.

Keywords: Terrorism, War on Terror, Tolerance, Politics, Religion, Psychology.

Introduction

Terrorism is an appalling phenomenon in the contemporary world. Pakistan is considered as a hub of terrorist activities in the world (Murphy 2013, 1). Arguably, particular international conflicts caused the emergence of terrorism in Pakistan. These conflicts include the 1973 Afghanistan coup, the Iranian revolution, and the Soviet penetration of Afghanistan in 1979 (Saeed, Syed, and Martin 2014, 209-10). In addition, the tragedy of 9/11 in the United States of America increased terrorism in Pakistan and in the world. In reaction to the tragedy of 9/11, a war on terror was started, which led to the cause of war in several countries, including Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, Ukraine, and Palestine. Thus, the war on terror after the tragedy of 9/11 dragged Pakistan into the central stage of terrorism (Jalal 2011, 25). Yet, investigating the causes of terrorism would help combat the menace of terrorism. The main question addressed in this article is how does terrorism emerge in Pakistan.

To understand the emergence of the menace of terrorism, there is a need to understand Pakistan's central problems which directly and indirectly help promote the menace. Pakistan confronts divergent challenges, such as poor governance, economic limitations, illiteracy, religious extremism, and political uncertainty. These are indispensable reasons contributing to creating violence in society. The main argument is that political injustice, religious extremism, economic disparities, identity crises, and psychological pathologies are the causes of terrorism in Pakistan. Yet, there exists an optimistic argument that Pakistan will overcome the problem of terrorism. Despite a lot of challenges, numerous scholars are optimistic and hope for good opportunities for a better future for Pakistan. Certainly, the civil society of Pakistan has proved itself remarkably robust and strong (Murphy 2013, 167). Eamon Murphy points out that due to the problem of terrorism and sectarianism in Pakistan, the state could not resolve the other pressing challenges. Murphy writes: "global warming and the drying up of Pakistan's water supplies, particularly the Indus River and its tributaries, on which grows the heavily dependent crops which are needed to feed Pakistan's large and rapidly

growing population which is expected to grow from the current 185,000,000 to 275,000,000 by 2050” (Murphy 2013, 167). I endorse Murphy’s argument that if a state cannot address these recurrent problems, terrorism is inevitable.

1. Causes of Terrorism

Different factors create negative emotions for terrorist activities. Injustice is one of the reasons for terrorism. People have faith in their state institutions for justice. The primary task of a state is to develop and sustain peace in the country. If state institutions do not provide justice to people, the affected people tend to use violence to acquire justice. Although there are different causes, I explain only the political, religious, and psychological causes of terrorism.

1.1 Political Instability

Political instability causes terrorism in society. It is an indubitable fact that terrorists have political interests. Geopolitics created political instability in Pakistan. In the geopolitical sense, two events badly affected Pakistan’s stability: the Soviet War in Afghanistan and the aftermath of the accident of 9/11. First, it is the Soviet War in the 1980s in Afghanistan was the commencement of violence in Pakistan. Second, after the 9/11 accident, America’s war in Iraq caused the creation of Al-Qaeda, which uses violence as a strategy against the West (Atwan 2008). In the book, *Foreign Policy in World Politics* (1992), Roy C. Macridis states: “While the United States continues to be one of the major industrial and financial powers in the world, it is losing ground to Germany, Japan and even to the European community (when it manages to establish a genuine common currency and a European central bank). Its trade deficits make it one of the major debtor nations and, notwithstanding many warnings, its growing dependence upon oil imports makes it a hostage to Middle East conflicts and vulnerable to Arab-Israel and Arab-Arab confrontations” (Macridis 1992, 408). Macridis holds that conflicts in the Middle East are means to the ends of some powerful states. The United States of America has been one the most powerful States in the second half of the twentieth century. Arguably, in contemporary

terrorism, the United States of America has its positive or negative role in the arena of terrorism.

After the attacks on the Twin Towers in the United States, the United States announced a war on terror around the globe. The first battle for the war on terror is Afghanistan. Due to the war in Afghanistan in 2001, Al-Qaeda entered Pakistan in its western areas. Consequently, terrorists adopted the strategy of suicide bombing in Pakistan. Pakistan then converted to a battlefield for foreigners and locals (Stern 2000). These suicide attacks have been one of the severe security risks in Pakistan. Although Pakistan has made remarkable strategies to control or reduce suicide bombings, there have been hundreds of cases of attacks in public places, mystic shrines, and mosques. In the strategy of war on terror, Pakistan has suffered a lot because the wave of terrorism could not stabilize the country and damaged its economic security. No doubt, the United States of America provided economic aid to fight on war on terror, but it created massive challenges for Pakistan, the aid cannot help to stabilize Pakistan.

That is why, Eamon Murphy holds that the structural weakness of the Pakistani state is the first significant factor of terrorism. Pakistan carries the legacy of colonialism (Murphy 2013, 160). By ‘structural weakness’, Murphy means that the politics in Pakistan is based on “power, patronage and family” while it does not resolve the real problems, including poverty, education, and corruption (Murphy 2013, 161). Murphy writes, “Since its inception, Pakistani politics have been dominated by a small elite of landlords, urban political bosses, senior bureaucrats and the military” (Murphy 2013, 161). Due to the aristocracy, the rule of law could not flourish in Pakistan. There is another reason for the structural weakness is the conflict of Kashmir between Pakistan and India. “It is difficult to overstate the importance of the Kashmir conflict and its debilitating effects on all aspects of Pakistani life” (Murphy 2013, 161).

1.2 Religious Sectarianism

Religious sectarianism is another cause of terrorism in Pakistan. There are different causes of the emergence of religious sectarianism in Pakistan. In a way, some radicalism evolved to bring about the revival of Islam in the country. The history of Islamic revivalism in the World and the Subcontinent is not new. The need for Islamic revivalism was much felt when Britain took political power in India in the nineteenth century. The Muslims in India had been in a state of revivalism which created several radical movements. In general, it refers to reformers taking steps to convert the stagnation of religious thought for centuries, and with the creation of new challenges, the reformers started innovation in thought and action. These reformers wanted to organize the Muslims to confront colonialism particularly.

Certainly, Afghan *Jihad* is one of the crucial factors in the emergence of violence in Pakistan. The question arises when and why *Jihad* becomes necessary. History reveals that whenever foreigners illegitimately dethroned the Muslims, the religious scholars asked people for *Jihad*. *Jihad* has two senses: First, it is a fight with a personal self that supports goodness and condemns evilness in human beings. *Jihad*, in this sense, is a moral compass. Second, *Jihad* is a political tool that mobilizes people to stand up for their social justice. This form of *Jihad* supports war. Yet, religious scholars agree with the thesis that it is not groups but a state that can declare *Jihad*. Murphy states: “The spontaneous uprising of the Afghans assumed the form of a holy war which was particularly powerful among the Pashtun tribes of Afghanistan and Pakistan, who have had a long history of resisting the invasion of foreigners” (Murphy 2013, 162). The invasion of foreigners has been ever a catalyst for the reaction of the native people. The Pashtun tribes gave a severe reaction against Russian intrusion into their land. Significantly, “This *Jihad* was eagerly supported by Pakistan, fearful of the impending Russian threat and anxious to increase its influence in Afghanistan in order to counter Indian influence there”(Murphy 2013, 162). As mentioned earlier, the conflict between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue contributed to its role in the emergence of emergence of terrorism in

Pakistan through the Afghan *Jihad*. Murphy argues, “Pakistan, therefore, supported the more extremist groups among the *mujahideen* who fought the Soviet military and their Afghan allies. As part of the *Jihad*, the *mujahideen* resorted to terrorist actions directed against the Russian military and their Afghan allies and, later, were to use the same tactics against the US and its allies” (Murphy 2013, 162). Thus, Afghan *Jihad* is one of the major factors in the emergence of terrorism in Pakistan.

There is a hard fact that the United States of America played a negative role in the issue of terrorism. Murphy rightly states: “After the Soviets decided to leave Afghanistan, the US promptly turned its back on the region because it was no longer important for US geopolitical goals. This short-sighted policy – just one of a number of blunders that the US has made over Pakistan – has strengthened the anger towards the US in Pakistan and left Afghanistan to be fought over by rival, well-armed *mujahideen* groups” (Murphy 2013, 163). After the Soviet-US conflict, the same problem recurred again after the incident of 9/11. However, “In recent times, most of the *Jihad is* have become much more independent of the military and are threatening the very state which once nurtured them. The other major consequence of the rule of Zia and the Afghanistan *Jihad* has been the emergence of the Taliban in Afghanistan, which became a sanctuary for Osama bin Laden and other followers of al-Qaeda, particularly after 9/11” (Murphy 2013, 163). The network of many extremist groups was broken by the government to support America’s mission of the war on terror.

In ‘Unholy Wars’, John K. Cooley narrates a story of a Pakistani taxi driver in America. The driver explained how the Pakistanis are in trouble with terrorism. Cooley held that General Zia-ul-Haq was the main cause of terrorism in Pakistan, which started with a great *Jihad* in Afghanistan (Cooley 2001, 218). Cooley further stated that after the death of General Zia-ul-Haq, there was the death of *Jihad* in Pakistan. Numerous experts hold the argument that America had no role in the war in which General Zia ul Haq prepared people for launching *Jihad*

in Pakistan and assisting Afghanistan in fighting against the Soviet Union. These experts are not ready to accept a common adage that an enemy's enemy is a friend (Cooley 2001, 218). There exists an idea, that Muslim terrorists are religious extremists and want to prevail Islam all over the country, is not true because they also bomb mosques. This is perhaps the wrong use of religion. The word meaning of 'Islam' is peace. A real Muslim does not want and support bombing mosques and innocent people. Yet, some radical agents use religion for their political interests.

Syed Iqbal Hussain argues that the West could not understand the real spirit of Islam. Islam is a religion of peace. Iqbal states:

“The anti-Muslim Malice is highly exaggerated and mainly baseless as the majority of Americans have very little understanding about Islam and the tenets of the Quran. Many wrong conceptions about Islam are made to contaminate the general stream of thought and converted into distorted perceptions to generate hatred and Islamophobia. Jihad in particular is defined in a pernicious way to build an ugly picture of Islam and Muslims. By adding extra toxicity to the issue Islam has been depicted as a concept contrived to kill and brutalize human beings. While in fact it is a struggle to ensure the sanctity of human and religious life. It is primarily a struggle against the diabolical designs that prompt a man to indulge in nefarious activities” (Iqbal 2012, 409).

Iqbal has correctly argued that the West could not comprehend the true spirit of Islam. Mostly, the West interpreted Islam in line of thought with Islamophobia. This is perhaps not possible to deny that some radicals have tried to interpret Islamic thought in a radical sense which the West has a chance to tag Islam with Islamophobia. Islam has a tremendous history replete with a complete civilization, quite parallel to other great civilizations. On the other side, it is not the case that all the Europeans do not acknowledge the contribution of the Muslims. There exists a lot of literature that acknowledges the contributions of Muslims to the world of knowledge.

Many scholars hold that the Islamic heritage has made tremendous contributions to science, language, and other arts. In *Terrorism in Action*, Iqbal Hussain states, “Many European scholars recommended the study of Islamic civilization, language, and humanities in which Muslim philosophers and scientists made huge progress. Roger Bacon, an Oxford scholar, in 13th century England, recommended the study of oriental languages and Islamic culture. He also recommended the production of an encyclopedia of natural sciences with a special focus on translations from Arabic. Even today the study of Islam and its varying manifestations of its cultural heritage is a matter of great concern for European students of history and civilizations” (Hussain 2003, 217). Certainly, Iqbal Hussain’s argument is correct that the Islamic civilization provided a great intellectual service to humankind in the past human history.

Thus, due to the drone strikes and collateral damage, which has taken millions of lives, people became against America and the affected families provided a nursery to create suicide bombing in Pakistan. The drone attacks affected many people in Pakistan. The attacks also created a huge gulf between the people, the army, and the government (Johnson and Sarbahi 2013).

1.3 Psychological Causes of Terrorism

Indeed, certain psychological factors play a major role in creating and enhancing terrorism in society. Some of the significant factors include the unsatisfying psycho-social culture, economic insecurity, the lack of knowledge, and injustice. In this article, a few significant factors related to terrorism are explained. An American social psychologist, Clark R. McCauley, made a comprehensive research on the problem of terrorism. For conducting his research on terrorism, he conducted interviews with some terrorists. Interestingly, McCauley found that people do not join terrorist organizations due to their psychopathology and personality disorders. McCauley holds that people with mental disorders cannot be an asset but a burden for terrorist organizations. This means that psychopaths are unhelpful in the activities of terrorism. Instead, normal human agents are trustworthy and

cooperative and can complete their tasks. This is a fact that non-cooperative and unfaithful people can create hurdles to completing the given tasks. The success of a group does not depend upon betraying behavior but on commitment and dutifulness. Like McCauley, Hudson also found the same conclusion: “The careful detailed planning and well-timed execution that have characterized many terrorist operations are hardly typical of mentally disturbed individuals” (Hudson 2005). Thus, mentally disordered people cannot be a part of terrorism.

In addition, schizophrenic patients cannot be part of terrorist groups because they are unable to work with groups. This was a myth in social psychology that schizophrenic patients have more inclinations to join terrorist groups than normal people. This claim is not true because schizophrenic patients cannot deal with difficult situations. In a group, people have to work in an interdependent environment. In contemporary times, terrorists use advanced cyber technology which requires normal and intelligent people while psychopaths cannot do anything to deal with such technology.

Discreteness is another significant characteristic for recruiting new members to terrorist groups. Psychopaths do not have the character of discreteness because they have to show themselves as normal in public spheres. Such patients can easily be identified in public places. Terrorist groups are very conscious of their security. There is no way that the recruiters hire such psychopaths who may create risk for the entire group. So, the idea that psychopaths are terrorists has no truth.

2. Possibilities of Peace

Peace is essential for a good life. Peace promotes love in society while violence hate. Love promotes peace. Peace brings about concord, tranquility, serenity, justice, and harmony in society. There are different ways to acquire peace. Political stability is essential for peace. Political stability depends upon justice, good governance, fair distribution of resources, and implementation of laws in society. Social justice hinders conflicts and a sense of revenge. Impartiality,

fairness, and equal distribution of resources promote social cohesiveness rather than social tensions. Without these values, there exists the possibility of conflicts that lead to violence. For political stability, respect for laws and implementation of laws are vital. Citizens should respect laws and the state implement them impartially for the promotion of cooperation in society.

Religious tolerance plays a crucial role in promoting peace and harmony within societies. It allows individuals from different religious backgrounds to coexist peacefully, respecting each other beliefs and practices. This mutual respect and acceptance create a sense of unity and understanding reducing the possibility of conflicts and promoting social cohesion. Religious tolerance helps to bridge the gap between diverse cultures and religions, promoting dialogue and understanding among communities. Religious tolerance serves as a shield against religious hatred, enabling different beliefs to coexist and cooperation, solidarity, and harmony among their carriers. By integrating these teachings into religious education, students can learn to appreciate and respect the diversity of religions, cultures, and ethnicities. This can ultimately lead to the formation of a more tolerant, inclusive, and peaceful society. However, there is still a need for further research and understanding of religious tolerance to continue promoting its implementation effectively. Religious tolerance is a way of life in our diverse society.

Psychology plays a crucial role in understanding and promoting cooperation for peace. Through psychological research, we can discover the factors that contribute to cooperation among individuals and develop effective strategies to promote peaceful coexistence and resolve conflicts. To understand the underlying motivations, biases, and cognitive processes that influence human behavior, psychology can help us foster empathy, build trust, and improve communication between different groups and individuals, ultimately paving the way for a more harmonious and peaceful society. Psychology also highlights the importance of addressing power dynamics, inequalities, and tension that can hinder cooperation. Also, psychology highlights

the need to foster a sense of shared identity and common values, as well as promote intergroup contact and positive interactions to break down prejudices and stereotypes. Psychology recognizes that cooperation for peace is not just a matter of individual attitudes and behavior, but also involves systematic and structural factors. Through studying the psychology of cooperation, we can gain insights into how to create an environment that facilitates collaboration, reduces aggression, and promotes understanding across diverse groups. In conclusion, the psychology of cooperation is essential for creating a peaceful society by understanding the factors that influence human behavior, promoting empathy, and communication addressing power.

3. Conclusion

This paper developed a philosophical analysis of the causes of the emergence of terrorism in Pakistan. The central argument is centered on the claim that the geopolitical conditions caused the emergence of terrorism in Pakistan. The paper analyzed two major factors that directly became a catalyst for the emergence of terrorism in Pakistan: first, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and America's intervention. Second, the post-9/11 America's war on terror in Afghanistan. In both cases, America's intervention in Afghanistan and other countries plays a significant role in cultivating terrorism in Pakistan. These factors help create different means, including indoctrination in education, religious radicalization, and politico-economic instability in the country.

In the American-Soviet conflict in Afghanistan, Pakistan supported America and fought against the Soviet forces. In a similar vein, in the American-Al-Qaeda conflict, Pakistan became an ally in the war on terror. In the aftermath of both incidents, the menace of terrorism has emerged in Pakistan. Philosophically speaking, the role of education, religion, and politics is important for peace. Thus, to create peace in Pakistan, there is a need to undo the indoctrination in education and religious radicalization that would help create cooperation among people which would lead to political stability and economic development.

Acknowledgments: *This article is based on the author's MPhil research in Philosophy. The author would like to thank her supervisor Professor Dr Naeem Ahmad (late) for reading the original draft and providing the suggestions.*

References

- Atwan, Abdel Bari. 2008. *The Secret History of Al-Qaeda*. California: University of California Press.
- Cooley, John K. 2001. *Unholy wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorist*. Sterling Virginia, London: Pluto press.
- Dzikansky, M. K. G., & Slater, R. 2012. *Terrorist Suicide Bombings*. UK: CRC Press.
- Hussain, Seyed Iqbal. 2003. *Terrorism in Action: Civilizations at War*. Humanity International.
- Hussain, Seyed Iqbal. 2012. *Tears for Pakistan: Restoring the Dream that has Gone Sour*. Humanity International.
- Jalal, Ayesha. 2011. "The Past as Present" (16-29). In Maleeha Lodhi (ed.). *Pakistan Beyond the 'Crisis State'*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Johnston, P. B., & Sarbahi, A. K. (2013). *The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan*. Los Angeles, U.S: RAND Corporation UCLA.
- Kaczynski, A. 2013. Five reasons why young people become terrorists. *BuzzFeed, Politics*.
<http://www.buzzfeed.com/andrewkaczynski/reasons-why-young-people-become-terrorists>.
- Macridis, C. Roy. (ed.). 1992. *Foreign Policy in the World Politics*. 8th ed. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- McCauley, Clark R. Sep 07, 2004. The psychology of terrorism. *SSRC: Social Sciences Research council*.
<http://essays.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/mccauley.htm>
- Murphy, Eamon. 2013. *The Making of Terrorism in Pakistan: Historical and Social Roots of Extremism*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Ronczkowski, R. M. 2007. *Terrorism and Organized Hate Crime: Intelligence Gathering, Analysis, and Investigations*. U.S.A: CRC Press.
- Stern, Jessica. 2000. "Pakistan's Jihad culture". *Foreign Affairs*. 79 (2000): 115.
- Yahya, Haroon. 2002. *Islam denounces Terrorism*. U.K: Global Publishing.