

2024 Mansoor. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons-Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike License 4.0 International (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly attributed, not used for commercial purposes, and, if transformed, the resulting work is redistributed under the same or similar license to this one.

Received: February 13, 2024

Revised: February 27, 2024

Published: June 15, 2024

Journal of Politics and International Studies

Vol. 10, No. 1, January–June 2024, pp.47–55

War on Terror and its Implications on the Political Economy of Pakistan (2001-2018)

Mahnoor Mansoor

Adjunct Faculty Member in Public Sector Universities of Lahore, Pakistan Corresponding: mahnoor.pu111@hotmail.com

Abstract

The ongoing war on terror is not the result of aggression by the state-sponsored armies but the terrorist action of non-state actors such as Al-Qaeda. The main focus of this war is the elimination of Al-Qaeda and its allies, that is, the Taliban, to make this world peaceful and free from terrorists who can pose a threat to the world's pace at any time. Pakistan, the U.S., and its allies are fighting the war on terror in Afghanistan and its Tribal Areas of Pakistan. Pakistan, being adjacent to Afghanistan and having the Tribal areas on its own, is playing the active role of front-line state that makes it the most important U.S. ally in this war. Joining the U.S.-led collision in the war against terrorism has many short and long-term repercussions for Pakistan. The alliance helped Pakistan overcome the sanctions to get economic and military assistance and end its international isolation. It also got the status of non-NATO ally and front-line state and proved itself as the most suitable ally for that rogue regime, terrorist, or failed state. It also restored its membership in the Commonwealth, which was suspended after the military coup of October 1999. On the other hand, Pakistan is playing a heavy price in socioeconomic and socio-strategic fields. It suffered immeasurable losses in the global war on terror. It faced the gravest foreign policy predicaments had to revise its Afghan policy and found difficulties in its diplomacy while supporting the freedom struggle of Kashmir. The counter-terrorism against terrorists and militancy inside the country added to institutional instability and raised social problems that remained consistent to reset society. Thus, Pakistan is considered one of the economic and strategic losers in the global system that has evolved since 9/11.

Key Words: Al-Qaeda, Afghanistan, Terrorism, NATO

Introduction

The Primary concern of this research is to trace out the economic repercussions of the US-led war on terror in Pakistan. Though it is difficult to measure the advantages and disadvantages of the war against terrorism for Pakistan, a comparative analysis of the gains and the losses will be done politically. This research aims to apprise the role of Pakistan in the war on terror led by the U.S. and its implications for the war on terror on the political economy of Pakistan. It will analyze the government of Pakistan's policies towards the U.S.A. in the war on terror. The research will focus on the Pakistan-U.S. relationship and the U.S. assistance to Pakistan for economic development. The main concern is understanding the mistrust between the two states and the need to analyze that Pakistan's economic development should be based on sound, long-term economic policies. Here are the events that caused harm to Pakistan's political economy.

September 11, 2001, and the New Era of Terrorism:

The death of A1 Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden in May 2011 occurred on the eve of the tenth commemoration. In the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the U.S. homeland. The attacks were seen by many as a turning point in the history of political violence. In the aftermath of these attacks, journalists, scholars, and national leaders repeatedly described the emergence of a new international terrorist environment. It was argued that within this new environment, terrorists were now quite capable of using - and very willing to use - the weapons of mass destruction to inflict unprecedented causalities and destruction on enemy targets. These attacks seemed to confirm warnings from experts during the 1990s that a New Terrorism, using asymmetrical methods, would characterize the terrorist environment in the new millennium (Martin, 2014, 36-37).

September 11, 2001:

The worst incident of modern international terrorism occurred in the United States on the morning of September 11, 2001. It was carried out by 19 A1 Qaeda terrorists who were on a suicidal martyrdom mission. They committed the attack to strike at symbols of American (and Western) interests in response to what they perceived to be a continuing process of domination of Muslim countries. They were religious terrorists fighting in the name of a holy cause, perceived evil emanating from the West. Their sentiment was born in the religious, political, and ethno-national ferment that has characterized the politics of the Middle East for much of the modern era.

Nearly 3,000 people were killed in the attack. The sequence of events occurred as follows:

- At 7:59 a.m., American Airlines Flight 11, carrying 92 people, leaves Boston's Logan International Airport for Los Angeles.
- 8:20 a.m. American Airlines Flight 77, carrying 64 people, takes off from Washington's Dulles Airport for Los Angeles.
- 8:42 a.m. United Airlines Flight 93, carrying 44 people, leaves Newark, New Jersey, International Airport for San Francisco
- 8:46 a.m. American Flight 11 crashes into the north tower of the World Trade Centre.
- 9:03 a.m. United Flight 175 crashed into the south tower of the World Trade Centre
- 9:37 a.m. American Flight 77 crashes into the Pentagon. Trading on Wall Street is called off.
- 9:59 a.m. Two World Trade Centres the south—collapsed.
- 10:03 a.m. United Flight 93 crashed 80 miles from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
- 10:28 a.m. One World Trade Centre the north collapses.

The United States had previously been the target of international terrorism at home and abroad but had never suffered a strike on this scale on its territory. The most analogous historical event was the Japanese attack on the naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941. The last time so many people died from an act of war on American soil was during the Civil War in the mid-19th century.

After the Al-Qaeda assault and the subsequent anthrax crisis, American culture shifted away from openness to security. The symbolism of the attack, combined with its sheer scale, drove the United States to war and dramatically changed the American security environment. Counter-terrorism in the United States shifted from a predominantly law enforcement mode to a security mode. Measures included unprecedented airport and seaport security, border searches, visa scrutiny, and more intensive immigration procedures. Hundreds of people were administratively detained and questioned during a sweep of persons fitting the profile of the 19 attackers. These detentions set off a debate about the constitutionality of the methods and the fear of many that civil liberties were in jeopardy. In October 2001, the USA PATRIOT Act was passed, granting significant authority to federal law enforcement agencies to engage in surveillance and other investigation work. On November 25, 2002, 17 federal agencies (later increased to 22) were consolidated to form a new Department of Homeland Security.

The symbolism of a damaging attack on homeland targets was noteworthy because it showed that America's superpower was vulnerable to small groups of determined revolutionaries. In 1972, the Twin Towers dominated the New York City skyline. They symbolized global trade and prosperity and the pride of the largest city in the United States. The Pentagon, of course, is a unique building that symbolizes American military power, and its location across the river from the nation's capital showed the vulnerability of the seat of government to attack.

On May 30, 2002, a 30-foot-long steel beam, the final piece of debris from the September 11 attack, was ceremoniously removed from the Ground Zero site in New York City (Martin, 2014, 37-38).

The New Terrorism

It is clear from human history that terrorism is deeply woven into the fabric of social and political conflict. This quality has not changed, and in the modern world, states and targeted populations are challenged by the New Terrorism, which is characterized by the following:

- Loose, cell-based networks with minimal lines of command and control.
- Desired acquisition of high-intensity weapons and mass destruction.
- Politically vague, religious, or mystical motivations.
- Asymmetrical methods that maximize causalities.
- Skilful use of the internet and manipulation of the media.

The New Terrorism should be contrasted with traditional terrorism, which is typically characterized by the following:

• Identifiable organizations or movements.

- Use of conventional weapons, usually small arms and explosives.
- Explicitly grievances championing specific classes or ethno-national groups.
- Relatively surgical selection of targets.

New information technologies and the internet create unprecedented opportunities for terrorist groups, and violent extremists have become adept at bringing their wars into the homes of literally hundreds of millions of people. Those who specialize in suicide bombings, car bombs, or mass-casualty attacks correctly calculate that carefully selected targets will attract a global audience. Thus, cycles of violence not only disrupt everyday routines but also produce prolonged periods of global awareness. Such cycles can be devastating. For example, during the winter and spring of 2005, Iraqi suicide bombings increased markedly in intensity and frequency, from 69 in April 2005 (a record rate at that time) to 90 in May. These attacks resulted in many causalities, including hundreds of deaths, and significantly outpaced the previous cycle of car bombings by more than two to one.

All of these threats offer new challenges for policymakers about how to respond to the behaviour of terrorist states, groups, and individuals. The war on terrorism, launched in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001, seemed to herald a new resolve to end terrorism. This has proved to be a difficult task. The war has been fought on many levels, as exemplified by Afghanistan and Iraq and the disruption of terrorist cells on several continents. There have been severe terrorist strikes, such as those in Madrid, Spain; Bali, Indonesia; London, England; and Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt. In addition, differences arose within the post-September 11 alliance, creating significant strains. The war will be a long-term prospect, likely with many unanticipated events. (Martin, 2014, 39-40)

U.S. Policy on South Asia:

Since World War II, U.S. policy towards South Asia has been shaped mainly by U.S. global strategic interests rather than by developments within the region itself. The American perspective was influenced first by the Cold War struggle against the Soviet Union and later by rivalry with China's burgeoning economic and political power. South Asia's secondary importance began to change in the late 1990s as India became increasingly integrated into the global economy and Pakistan and India achieved nuclear weapons capability. Although these relatively recent developments have been significant, as of yet, they have not entirely after the trend of the previous fifty years in which America's role in the region was primarily driven by its global priorities.

The Indus Valley people and their modern descendants represent some of the world's oldest civilizations. America's relatively recent arrivals on the region's stage had injected a powerful element into the local mix, but one that has had, so far, a surprisingly limited impact. This is in large part because America's influence has yet to radically after the fundamental dynamics that animate the region's state: religious rivalry between Hinduism and Islam, political and military struggle between India & Pakistan, India's huge population, and Pakistan's geostrategic centrality and political and volatility. However, the impact of the United States on South Asia, as well as the impact of South Asia on the United States, has begun to grow in response to increasing globalization and the escalation of transnational threats, including nuclear proliferation and terrorism.

South Asia includes India, Pakistan, the Maldives, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Nepal. The focus here will be on U.S. interactions with and developments within India and Pakistan, the largest and most influential regional actors. Although not usually considered part of South Asia, neighbouring Afghanistan will also be discussed here because of the intimacy and intensity of its relations with Pakistan. (Schlesinger, 2009, p. 408)

U.S. Interests in South Asia:

American global priorities dominated U.S. policy regarding South Asia for decades following World War II. This was evidenced in the early 1950s when America warmed to Pakistan's founding fathers, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, with the intent of enlisting their support for the U.S. strategy of Soviet containment at a time when India was championing non-alignment but often cooperating with the Soviet Union. Likewise, the U.S. Saber rattling in 1971 aimed at India during its support of East Pakistan's struggle to emerge as independent Bangladesh was designed to support a Pakistan that provided critical support to President Richard Nixon's overtures to China in 1979. The United States intensified relations with Pakistan after the Soviet Union invaded neighbouring Afghanistan. Still, U.S. interest and involvement declined again as the withdrawal of Soviet focus from Afghanistan began in 1988.

In the early twenty-first century, the United States had several reasons to focus more directly on its South Asian interests. First, the terrorist attack in the United States on September 11, 2001, brought the importance of non-state actors and South Asia States into sharp relief. This is unlikely to be a transient U.S. interest, as instability in Afghanistan or worsening security conditions in Pakistan would create conditions in which Al-Qaeda or similar groups could thrive. More broadly, the willingness and ability of Pakistan and India to respond to transnational threats. Secondly, South Asia's developing economies present meaningful financial opportunities and challenges. Growing South Asian demand for raw materials affects global commodity prices and international transportation patterns. India, in particular, is rising in economic significance, and an increasingly diverse group of Americans (including government policymakers, investment managers, and directors of large corporations) are taking note of the opportunities and challenges that stem from India's rise in global affairs. Third, now Pakistan and India have become declared nuclear weapons states, the potential cost of future conflict between them has escalated dramatically. Moreover, their actions regarding nuclear weapons technology are likely to continue to have significant implications for the global nonproliferation regime.

In the foreseeable future, American interests in South Asia will likely include political stability within the central states, regional peace and stability, economic opportunities, nuclear proliferation, and transnational threats (Schlesinger, 2009, p. 410).

Phenomenon of Counter Terrorism

Counterterrorism is a strategy by states to combat the phenomenon of terrorism. In the modern era, after 9/11, every state is interested in making proper and efficient

laws to handle insurgent elements in society. The United Nations also plays a significant role in the perspective of counterterrorism.

Two aspects of counter-terrorism can be perceived. The first is to save the people against the threat of terrorism by using metal dictators, placing video cameras, and screening airliners. Second, initiatives are taken to cancel out terrorist activities through assassinations, capture, and prosecution of terrorists by state departments.

In 1884, the president of America, Ronald Regan, directed the director of the Central Intelligence Agency of America to diversify its ability for pre-emptive neutralization against terrorist groups. He further ordered the use of all lawful or legal tactics by covert capability service to secure Americans all over the world from terrorist acts. Many terrorist leaders and insurgents are captured by the USA using pre-emptive neutralization.

Successful counter-terrorism strategy always requires coercive or conciliatory policies. Coercive policies should be restricted to the few actual perpetrators of the violence, while conciliatory policies ought to be focused on their potential recruits (Richardson, 2006, p. 248).

The military can be used to counter terrorism. It can destabilize its enemy. Quasiwar or military campaigns exist to counter terrorism. It is used when the government feels a threat of perception on a high level. Then, for the security of their citizens and their state, the military can be used to combat terrorism. Sometimes, economic sanctions are used to combat terrorism. Restrictions are imposed on a company financing terrorist organizations to pressure the government. However, terrorists may have opted for unfair means to raise funds, such as money laundering, drug trafficking, etc. Now, the State Department perceived the method to freeze the bank accounts of terrorist groups to minimize the threat and to counter-terrorism.

Suppose the state fails to counter the phenomena of terrorism. In that case, the proliferation of terrorism can be increased to its maximum level and can paralyze the political system of any society. Professor Ahmad, "Contrary to this----terrorism is an act of the stronger, as a weaker can rarely commit an act of violence due to its poor resources. This hypothesis is based on the perspective of prevailing American state terrorism against the weaker nations (Ahmad, 2007).

Global Security

In the 1990s, many organizations came on the scene at a local or regional level to maintain security at their respective level. The scope of these organizations can be widened from the traditional focus. Now, we live in the era of the global village. Security can't be attained until all can pool it. Now, the concept of human security draws everyone's attention. This people-centered approach is concerned not with weapons but with basic human dignity. As explained in the Human Development Report, 1994 (UNDP), human security includes safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression, as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life (Rupesinghe, 2003, p. 411).

In the past, security measures were taken by regional organizations. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), with its member states from Europe, North America, and Central Asia, is the largest regional security organization in the world. Its approach to security is cooperative and

comprehensive. It is cooperative because all the member states are given equal status, and the consensus is followed while making decisions. Comprehensiveness is related to various security-related issues, such as disarmament, confidence and security-building measures, democratization, economic and environmental security, etc. The organization of OSCE has failed to stop the anomic upheavals in the states of Chechnya, Balkans, and Georgia.

States must admit that they must work together to combat the cancer of terrorism from the same platform: The United Nations. The United Nations can perform its role more effectively when the hegemony of any particular state is not practiced on the UNO platform.

Peace Building Measures

Peacebuilding strategy will have to reflect the policies of every state. Peace is necessary for economic stability and political growth. Human life is scary, and the lesson can be learned from past mistakes. A very significant tool in the obstruction of conflicts and crises is the establishment of warning systems. The UNO and the EU have now formed an early warning system. It is now realized that conflicts can be prevented by suitable time. Early warning systems can mitigate conflict. This can be explained as an information system that can give rapid information to decision-makers on imminent conflicts, humanitarian disasters, and mass departure.

The early warning system is an information system with a database that can prophesy, foretell, and predict future conflict scenarios. Since 9/11, many presentation models have been developed in the USA. The early warning system is based on a well-developed database and relies on information brokers, analysts, and experts who can assist in providing qualitative information. Continuous efforts have been made to form early warning systems that could provide decision-makers with timely awareness since the 1950s.

Early warning systems have sought to achieve the following aims: detecting the leading causes of conflict, forecasting the outbreak of conflict, and reducing the level of conflict, which are the main objectives of the early warning system. An effective mechanism involving citizen networks must be established for this purpose. Active participation of civil society in sharing information and establishing an understanding of an emerging crisis scenario needs to be rapidly put in place. Law enforcement agencies will be trained to tackle the situation gracefully by reducing conflict through peacebuilding processes.

Nowadays, media has become the 4th pillar of the government. Media can be used effectively against terrorism and anomic activities and to make the masses aware. The development of technology and free media is playing a significant role. Different talk shows and programs on current affairs can be seen on electronic media.

Many scholars and analysts present their ideas and observations on the ongoing situation. By following the present environment, they predict the future situation of the state. Electronic media has an effect on individuals that is unlike print media. Masses can be mobilized by awareness of media on future conflicts. It can also help the decision-makers mitigate the conflict by taking preventive measures.

Mahnoor Mansoor

Conclusion

The war on terror may be called a war on terrorism, as suggested by Professor Ahmad in his article. The United States is the only country in the world that has been warned by the ICJ in black and white for committing terrorist activity since 1945. The war on terror has made the world an insecure place. The US itself feeling insecure than ever before. However, Hillary Clinton herself acknowledged that it was the US who created the Al-Qaida, and the world paid the price of terrorism. Pakistan only lost more than 70000 innocent people. Pakistan's economy has not been sustained to date.

References

- [1] Martin. G. (2014) Essentials of Terrorism (3rd ed.), SAGE Publications Inc. California US.
- [2] Richardson, L. (2006). What Terrorism Wants Understanding the Terrorist Threat. London, Great Britain: John Murray.
- [3] Ahmad, Rana Eijaz, (2007), *War against Terrorism or War for Terrorism*, *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol, 2 No, 4, University of the Punjab New Campus, Lahore.
- [4] Rupesinghe, K. (2003). *Developing A Cooperative Framework for Dealing with Terrorism*. (G. W. Sridhar K. Khatri, Ed.) New Delhi: Konard Adenauer Foundation.
- [5] Schlesinger, P. (1981). 'Terrorism', the media and the liberal-democratic state: a critique of the orthodoxy, *Social Research*, vol. 48, no 1, Spring.