

U-S Intervention in Afghanistan and Its Repercussions on The Economy of Pakistan

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Abstract: -The soviet military invasion in Afghanistan on December 1979 gave new and serious dimension to the international politics. This intervention had serious political, social and economic effects on Pakistan. Mujahedeen emerged as freedom fighters against foreign aggression. Being an Islamic state, Pakistan provided base camps to them. This frequent border crossing created new problems for Pakistan like drug-trafficking, smuggling, extremism, terrorism and Kalashnikov culture. Soviet involvement in Afghanistan caused mass displacement and influx of refugees to Pakistan. The foreign and local investors also shifted their capital to other countries from Pakistan which had negative effects on its economy. This paper is restricted to Soviet and U-S interventions in Afghanistan and its impacts upon Pakistan's economy. This paper specifically has to answer this question i.e. what is the impact of soviet and U-S intervention on the economy of Pakistan. Answering this questions both primary and secondary data is utilized to make this research scientific. This is a historical research therefore historical research method is used. Side by side descriptive method is also used to understand the current phenomenon. This paper is significant because no one has yet focus on this topic scientifically before.

Keywords: *invasion, mujahedeen, refugees, war on terror, tribal areas.*

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The soviet military invaded Afghanistan on December 1979. This involvement in Afghanistan gave new and serious dimension to the international politics. This involvement in Afghanistan gave red signals to the development and security of all those states which are neighbours to Afghanistan. Pakistan is one of the neighbouring countries shared about 2250 km border with Afghanistan. This war destroyed most of the communities in Afghanistan and disturbed its inner peace and development. Along with Afghanistan, this war had serious effects for Pakistan because Pakistan fought this war as a strong ally against communist block. This war was the part of cold war, which is also called war of ideologies i.e. communism and capitalism in actual sense. The war was between soviet lead afghan forces against multi insurgent groups called mujahedeen or freedom fighter. These freedom fighters mostly composed of two groups, Peshawar seven and Tehran eight. Peshawar seven was the group who were strongly believers of Sunni school of thought. This group received military training in Pakistan and china, while received modern weapons and billions of dollars from the United States of America Saudi Arabia china and other developed countries against rising communist power.¹ The second group named Tehran seven, strongly believer of Shia school of thought, received all support from the Islamic republic of Iran. The initial soviet military troops knocked at the door of Afghanistan on December 24, 1979 under the able leadership of Leonid Brezhnev. A historical war fought between the two great powers of the world. In this war both powers tried for the elimination of each other to become the super power. Russian Involvement in Afghanistan has a long history. Russian federation and Capitalists provides help to their supporters against each other to fulfil their interest in Afghanistan. The clash of interest between powers had serious impacts on Afghan civilian government. This gave a chance to the international communities to involve in state affairs of Afghanistan. Communists wanted to install pro-Russian government in Afghanistan. In order to fulfil their objective, they help the Afghans civilian. They also tried their best to eliminate the rising power of Mujahedeen who were not only a challenge for communists but also for the whole world. On the other hand, the capitalist asked Pakistan for help against the rising power of communist, which was also a serious threat to the prosperity of Pakistan. On February 1979 Islamic revolution start in Afghanistan by the support of (USSR) to establish the pro-communist regime of Dawood-Taraki. The United State ambassador for Afghanistan Adolph Dubs, for that purpose, was kidnapped by a non-State group and later killed by Afghan police advised by soviet advisers². The death of US ambassador gave a new direction to U-S Afghan relations. To take revenge from Afghans and eliminate the troops of USSR, the United State moved its attention toward Afghanistan with the help of its allies. Being a supporter of US, Pakistan sent 45000 freedom fighters from near 40 Islamic countries at the name of Jihad to Afghanistan.³ These freedom fighters were trained and facilitated by United States and enabled to fight war for pushing back the Russian military from Afghanistan. The United States deployed twenty ships and two air crafts to Persian Gulf. On the other Hand, to help the civilian government in

Afghanistan and defeat the power of capitalist along with its allies, USSR took direct action and moved its army to Afghanistan. The Great War of the history started in the region and Afghanistan became a battleground for the major powers. The Soviet used latest technology, tanks, modern equipment, aircrafts, weapons and well trained force to defeat the freedom fighter of the Muslim world. After the end of the war, the strong power of communist failed to defeat the freedom fighters. Mujahedeen fought the war till last man and defeated the forces of former USSR and wrote their names in history book with golden words. The Soviet finally withdraw its troops from Afghanistan on 15 February 1989 under MIKHAIL-GORBACHEV by signing Geneva Negotiations⁴. The U-S got success to fulfil their interest and finally destroyed the Russian federation. With the division of Russian federation, U-S became the super power of the entire globe. This war resulted in mass destruction in Afghanistan and changed inner peace and development. Due to internal insurgency, the Afghans started migration toward Pakistan, Iran and other neighbouring countries. United nation high commission for refugees (UNHCR) reported that this war resulted from 850000 to 150000 Afghan civilian deaths. Apart from that, during this war 3 to 4% Afghani population were disabled due to chemical weapons used during the war.⁵ More than 5 to 10 million Afghans migrated to Pakistan and Iran and remaining were displaced internally during this war. During 1980 half of the refugees in the world were Afghans. This war lasted for nine years. It not only disturbed Afghanistan but also create new problems for those countries which provide shelter to Afghan refugees. Pakistan is one of those states which accepted the challenge to provide shelter to displaced Afghans. Pakistan itself is one of the developing countries having very limited resources and hardly managed to fulfil the needs of its own citizens, accept the challenge and open its borders to receive the refugees. During the period of Afghan crises, there was economic recession in Pakistan because Pakistan had already fought two wars with India i.e. 1965 war and 1971 war. The influx of refugees was a new challenge for the weak economy of Pakistan. The government of Pakistan spend more than \$ 200 billion to host Afghan refugees. The Bush administration provided a package of only one billion U-S \$ to Musharraf government.⁶ This huge amount had a serious impact on the paralyzed economy of Pakistan and put serious Repercussions on Pakistan economy. As Pakistan is a developing country that's why its economy is not strong enough, it can't even shoulder the demands of its own citizens, so how will it satisfy the demands of such a huge influx of refugees?

Influx of refugees

Pakistan is facing the problem of economic crises from the very first day of its inception. As the economic resources of Pakistan are very limited and the economy of Pakistani is called strange or to-chain economy which means dependable economy functioning with the help of foreign aid and loans. Afghan war resulted about 4 million refugees which move toward Pakistan due to general instability and less job opportunities in their own country. Pakistani government spend more than \$ 2000 million for the settlement of these refugees. The government of Pakistan provide 386 refugees camps for their settlement.⁷ These camps are located in KPK (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Baluchistan FATA and in all those areas whose people shared same language, same religion and same culture with these refugees. FATA has the Pukhtoon population of 3.17 million locals and some 1.5 million refugees from Afghanistan.⁸ Along with economic impacts on Pakistan the Afghan refugees creates environmental, social and political problems for Pakistan. During and after the war, the Afghan migrants find free border from Pakistan without any hurdle. Due to this flexible security environment, the refugees got opportunities to start their business on both sides of the border. The Durand line became a free trade border having a very less security managements. According to an estimate from 1979 till to date, 1000 migrants cross Pak Afghan border per day.⁹ Cross border terrorism and smuggling became the general business of the several groups on both sides of the border and it was controlled by Mafia. Labour market, transport, real estate marketing and travel agencies were occupied by Afghan investors and traders in big cities of Pakistan. The management of Afghan refugees is a serious challenge for Pakistan and same for UNHCR. The government of Pakistan, along with UNHCR, are offering full support and economic aid to Afghan refugees to compel them to go back to their own country but due to general instability and low job opportunities in Afghanistan, they are not ready to go back. According to an estimate 2.2 million Afghan refugees are still living in Pakistan illegally. The illegal Afghans are involved in the general instability of the society. In some areas the income of Afghan refugees is only one U-S \$ per day which is the last stage of poverty. This low income is the main reason that they are involved in local crimes. Pakistan is unable to provide market to its labour force. The Afghan refugees are mostly uneducated, attached with labour market and working in industries in Pakistan. Due to their social status in Pakistan and backwardness in educational and technical skills, they are working for long hours on low salary. This creates problems for the labour class of Pakistan. 73% of Afghan refugees are uneducated in Pakistan and majority of them are working in labour market. The long term Afghans are not only creating economic problems for Pakistan but they are also involved in general instability of local communities of Pakistan. In business class cities like Karachi and Peshawar, they are involved in destroying law and order situation in Pakistan. Pakistani government took serious step for the rehabilitation of Afghan refugees but they are not ready to go back because

of civil war, general instability and no job opportunities in their own country. Afghan refugees want to live long in Pakistan because they are the owner of top class businesses in the host country.

Pakistan took the responsibility of refugees on volunteer basis. In Initial years, after the Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan along with (UNHCR) started many projects for the deportation of afghan refugees to Afghanistan. In 21th century another Issue emerged called global terrorism in America. As a reaction to Taliban's action, United States launched operation against Taliban in Afghanistan. Pakistan is playing its role in this war against Taliban as a frontline state. Due to global terrorism Afghans are still living in Pakistan and the repatriation of Afghans could not be completed. According to a source 1.7 million registered Afghans are living in Pakistan while having proof of registration (POR) while more than one million Afghan refugees are still living illegally.¹⁰ The illegal Afghans are mostly uneducated. Pakistani government gave visas extension to those Afghans who have invested rupees 5 million in their productive businesses. The government has taken this step to encourage the afghan investor class to invest in Pakistan. The time allowed to afghan refugees for living in Pakistan was 30th June 2013. On 27th June by the request of UNHCR and UN agency working for the protection of afghan refugees, Pakistani government gave extension to the Afghani refugees to live in Pakistan. During the last 30 years, 3818582 refugees repatriated to Afghanistan, while more than 1.6 million registered Afghan are still living in different parts of Pakistan. Most of the business owners living in big cities are Afghans who are the owner of top class businesses but they are not paying even a single rupee as a tax to the government which is a serious threat to the tax based economy of Pakistani.

Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa (K-P) hosts a large number of afghan migrant estimated near to 62.1 % while Baluchistan hosts 20.3 %, 11 % hosts by Punjab, 4.2 % in Sindh, 2 % in the federal capital and the remaining 0.4 % in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK)¹¹. Kabul government is also not ready to receive a high strength of Afghans and they are waiting for their visas extension by Pakistan. The literacy rate in Pakistan is very low. About 43 % of its own children are not enrolled in any formal institution while it schools 193000 Afghan children in Pakistani institution and spends the educational resources on them¹². The large number of student is not only a serious challenge for our local students but also for government because the educational budget in Pakistan is only 2 % of total budget. The international community provides schools to only 50000 children while the remaining is still studying in Pakistani institution. They are creating a challenges for the government to facilitate them. The government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provides 9000 refugees schools which are located near the refugee's camps.

Pakistan as a Front Line State

Afghanistan is located in the north west of Pakistan. relations between the two neighbours remained very hostile from very first day due to Afghans claim on the province of Khyber-Pukhtoon-khwa (Pakistan) as the integral part of Afghanistan. The membership of Pakistan in United Nations Organization (UNO) was opposed by them. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan gives a chance to Pakistan of war as a collision state to full-fill its security interest. To counter communistic influences in Afghanistan Pakistan gave full support to afghan mujahedeen. United State Also Support Mujahedeen against Communist intervention to promote its interest in Afghanistan. US invest approximately \$ 6 billion to train and facilitate mujahedeen against USSR. The Former President of Pakistan General Zia brought Mujahedeen from Islamic word at the name of Jihad and Islam. Saudi and U-S financial support established number of Madrassah which became a rich source to prepare freedom fighters for Afghan Jihad. Jihad and Kalashnikov culture became the symbol of honour in Pakistani society after war in Afghanistan.¹³ Afghan mujahedeen compelled USSR to withdraw from Afghanistan. This war left thousands of Mujahedeen in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

U-S Attack on Afghanistan

After the dismemberment of USSR, Taliban established their rule in Afghanistan. According to the new policy Taliban was ignored and their Aid and support was stopped by USA. Taliban like Al-Qaida, also challenged the power of U.S meanwhile the incident of 9/11 occurred. After these attacks the U.S policy towards Afghanistan takes a serious turn. U.S invaded Afghanistan to take the revenge of its civilian deaths. The U.S entered into Afghanistan on October 2001 with full support of Pakistan. After this attack, the U.S deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage met ISI chief general Mehmood in Washington and asked him straight forwardly "you are either 100% with us or 100% against U-S".¹⁴ Musharraf government response positively and gives Military bases to American forces. Pakistan fought this war because of several causes which are mentioned below:

1. To secure Pakistan strategic asset,
2. To resolve issue of Kashmir through good relation with major powers.
3. To save Pakistan from being called is a pro-terrorist state.
4. To help in bringing in power a Pakistan's friendly government in Afghanistan.
5. Restoration of Pakistan image as a liberal moderate Islamic country and avoidance to become the part of existence evil.
6. To show Pakistan is a peaceful and politically responsible country.¹⁵

For its internal security Pakistan banned jihadi organization, to counter terrorist anti-terrorist courts were established. Banned the dealing and showing of weapons. Arrest those who's involve in terrorist activities. The U.S blamed Afghani Taliban for September, 11 attacks and demand Osama Bin Laden but Taliban refused it. When Taliban refused its demand USA planned to attack Afghanistan. For its war against Taliban U.S needs ally and Pakistan as next door neighbour was a viable option that's why U-S ambassador Wendy Chamberlain made negotiation with Pakistani President General Musharraf and ask him to provide logistic support, air routes and intelligence sharing. Pakistan accepts the demands as it is and starts fighting this war as front line state. The NATO (northern Atlantic treaty organization) forces entered into Afghanistan and for the first time in the history of NATO they exercise article 5 under which America have the right to defend its civilian inside and outside of its boundaries.

Pakistan Arrest the leading leaders of Al-Qaeda in Pakistan. Pakistani official claimed that 443 Taliban belonging to Al-Qaeda have been arrested and hand over to U-S authorities.¹⁶ Though Pakistan gives full support to America during the war against terror but failed to strength its economy. America didn't provide the same support which they grant in its previous ties of 1979. This time the aid caused serious problems for Pakistan and a wave of terrorism caused thousands of civilian death, deterioration of several institutions and even Pakistan faced serious challenges to its sovereignty. Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan have a long history after the direct action of NATO and Pakistani military actions on Pak Afghan border compelled Taliban to move toward Pakistan.¹⁷ Along with other migrants and refugees they migrated to Pakistan and started terrorist activities in Pakistan.

Terrorism

Pakistan is among those countries which have been seriously affected by the war on terror. This war results approximately 37000 innocent civilian deaths in Pakistan.¹⁸ US produced jihadist to contain USSR. Now these jihadists are capable enough to threaten the peace in Pakistan. Due to the death of innocent civilian killing in drone attacks and suicide attacks in Pakistan, the people of effected areas are supporting Taliban. Pakistan is facing the problem of internal instability in Waziristan and some other areas of country. Due to wave of terrorism, Pakistan has lost the grip of its internal security. Local investors and the traders have started to migrate to other parts of the world due to the absence of social security. This migration of local investors and traders, had badly suffered the Pakistani industrial sectors. The terrorist activities in Pakistan have also created a negative image of Pakistan at the international level. The waves of terrorism had not only affected the economy of Pakistan but has also effected the law and order situation of the country. The foreign investors had also refused to invest in Pakistan.¹⁹ Pakistan has a weak economic base and is a less developed country. The foreign investment always plays a key role in the economic development of countries like Pakistan. The attacks made by militant groups on foreign visitor and investor compelled them to transfer their capital to other countries. These attacks made the concept of international investor clear that Pakistan is a state of insecurity. Due to these attacks the international communities declared Pakistan as factory of terrorist. The international communities hold its hand from Pakistan, which badly effects the economic growth of Pakistan.

Before 9/11 Taliban were the only one group called freedom fighter which working for the elimination of international communities from Afghanistan. After the Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan, several freedom fighter groups came into being. The number of these Groups increased to more than 40.²⁰ The freedom fighters and Taliban were renamed as extremist after 9/11. Some of the militant groups cross the border and entered Pakistan to save them from being counter by U-S attacks. These 40 groups belonged to different schools of thoughts i.e. Sunni and Shia, each one trying to capture the governmental power. The internal division of Taliban also creates a serious problem for the government of Pakistan because they started clashes among each other. As Pakistan became the ally of U-S in the war against terror, Taliban also started violence in Pakistan. Several mosques were blast several attacks made on churches.²¹ The attacks on worthy places make a line between the people of different religion and Pakistan became the state of insecurity. This also creates a gap between the people who belong to different sects.

Pakistan fought this war for its own safety but its results were totally against the expectation of the government. A new wave of terrorism started which remained a new challenge to the internal defence and economic growth of the country.²² Till 2005 Taliban were fighting against NATO alliance in Afghanistan but due to initial difficulties and ungovernable Tribal areas most of Taliban moves their attention toward Pakistan. The people of tribal areas welcomed them they (Taliban) made a collation with these innocent people to fulfil their interest and taking revenge from Islamabad. As a result, Tehreek-e- Taliban Pakistan (TTP) emerged under the leadership of Bait Ullah-Mehsud. From its inception, it started collecting people from backward areas to make a strong force against Pakistan army.

A large number of people were trained by Taliban in FATA and North Waziristan. Pakistan started dialogue with Taliban to convince them to sit on the dialogue table but they refused to negotiate and demand for

their fundamental objective to enforce Sharia (Islamic law) in the country in true sense. When Pakistan refused to accept their demand, they started killing of innocent people in Malakand division (Pakistan).²³

The government started operation against militant groups to enforce law and order in the country and for the first time Pakistan used force against Taliban on homeground.²⁴ As a response, Bait Ullah-Mehsud announced Jihad against U-S and its coalition partner, Pakistan. The government sent its armed forces in 2009 to Malakand division to fight against Taliban. In the operation, about 12886 militants were captured including 75 Al-Qaidamembers belonging to different groups of Taliban.²⁵ After the operation in Malakand division, Pakistan army started operation (Rah-e-Nijat) against Bait Ullah-Mehsud in South Waziristan. It was launched mainly in the Mehsud areas. It is said that there were 10,000 Taliban and about 1500 foreign militants in the area. Most of them were Uzbeks, more than 600 militants were killed. The leader of the TTP, Baitullah-Mehsud was also killed in a drone missile strike in Waziristan (Pakistan). After the death of Baitullah-Mehsud, Taliban's reaction became more hostile. This war on terror was actually not Pakistan's war but Pakistan became the serious effected country after involvement in this war, what had left serious repercussions on the economy of the country.

In economic survey 2010-2011, Pakistani officials claimed that Pakistan suffered a loss of \$ 68 billion due to war on terror. As a reward, the coalition support fund (CSF) provides only \$ 4.75 billion to Pakistan against terrorism.²⁶ This gap of amount always provides budget deficit to Pakistan. The government of Pakistan is working to save America from one more 9/11 attack while turning a deaf ear to its security. Which result in the death of thousands of its civilian. United-State is still not satisfied with the performance of Pakistan and always demand to do more. General Pervez Musharraf in his speech while addressing to politician said that "the US will react like a wounded bear and it will attack Afghanistan".²⁷ Like Afghanistan, if Pakistan would not provide logistic support to U.S, they can also attack Pakistan.

For the development of a state, long term economic policies should be first priority. Unfortunately, instead of concentrating on the economic development, the government gave first priority to control the law and order situation in the country. As there were internal economic crises in Pakistan so it forwards its requests to international donors to provide loans for its survival. It increased the foreign debt which was \$802 billion in 1990 and increased to \$ 2971 billion till mid-1999.²⁸ The huge amount of foreign loan not only affects the independent status of Pakistan but also creates a long term economic problems which is not possible to be paid in next 20 years.

Drugs trafficking

The use of drug is not only a legal problem but it is also a social problem. It not only effects the economic development of a state but also effect the status of a society. Smuggling became serious problem in Pakistan especially after war in Afghanistan and also a challenge for law enforcement agencies how to control smuggling on both side of the border.²⁹ Smuggling is really a big offense which slaughters the economic growth of any state, the ratio of smuggling in Pakistan increased after Afghan war and during Taliban rule in Afghanistan. The Russia withdrawal from Afghanistan along with partners and international community attached the sympathy with Afghans refugees. Pakistan is also one of those states which sheltered Afghans migrants.

Afghanistan is one of the top opium producer country in the world. Total of 82% of world opium is produce in Afghanistan. Due to the production of opium Afghan economy is called narcotic economy. This narcotic economy not only affect the development of Afghanistan but it also left very bad effects on Pakistan. Poverty is the main reason of all crimes in society. Afghanistan is one of poorest and over populated country in the region. After the Afghan war the international community blocked aids to Taliban and they became self-independence. For that they started cultivation of poppy in Afghanistan and started the narcotic Jihad in Afghanistan. The main source of Taliban income is the production and smuggling of drugs. A survey conducted by U-N claimed in 2007 reports that the production of poppy in 2001 is 185 metric tons while after U-S proxy war against Taliban they increased from 185 to 2800 metric tons till 2007.³⁰

Pakistan is the gateway to Afghanistan which has 20 on-official borders exist which linked Pakistan to Afghanistan. Commonly this border is used by Afghan smuggler to shift their drugs to Pakistan in the province of KPK and Baluchistan. The trade zone Jalal-Abad and Torkham (Pakistan border with Afghanistan) is called Red zone for smuggling Afghani opium to Pakistani market. Smuggling of heroines and drugs became an easy trade for Afghans and Pakistani smugglers, due to a cross border smuggling controlled by Mafia groups on both sides of border drug users is increasing rapidly. According to a survey conducted by Pakistan drug controlled agency claimed that the total number of drug users in Pakistan is four million.³¹ Afghanistan not only export heroine to Pakistan through south-western part of Pakistan but this route also used to export heroine to western block. That's why this route is called "golden route" for drug trafficking. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) reported that Afghanistan produces 355 metric tons of heroines every year, about 90% of the whole world's production. And 42% of the heroine production of Afghanistan passes through different route which passes through Pakistan. The smuggling on such huge number effect the new generation of Pakistan because gradually they are adulterating with this.

The smuggling of drug became serious problem especially in those areas which share its border with Afghanistan. Due to lawlessness in FATA and the region of Baluchistan the smuggling and using of drugs is increasing on top level. The province of Sindh is also using by smuggler of the region as an exit point to smuggle it to Arab and western markets. Afghani heroine is commonly used as a drug in the entire globe. At the local market of Afghanistan the price of one gram heroine is 4 dollar while when smuggler smuggle it to western market the market value of one gram is 100 dollar and the value of one gram in America is \$ 200. Abid Sher ali Arbab Xinhua, National Research Development Program Officer said that 150 metric tons of heroines come to Pakistan every year out of which 80 metric tons are distributing in different parts of Pakistan and remaining 70 metric tons are smuggle to the other parts of the world. Due to the availability of Heroine in Pakistani society and the huge number of Heroin users not only creating social problem for Pakistan but also it is hurdle in economic growth of Pakistan. The people of tribal areas also adopt the same way to earn more in short time and also involved in the cultivation of puppy in those areas where government ret is weak. Near to 1500 hectares is being cultivated in the tribal belt of the region. According to report published by express turbine claimed that Pakistani smuggler bring the drugs of \$ 30 from neighboring Afghanistan to Pakistan.³² The amount of 30 billion US \$ is hill of amount for a country like Pakistan which economy is already strange. This amount not only creating economic challenges for Pakistan but it also provides uncertainty in local community. Due to the use of heroine thousands of people lost their lives and the life expectancy is decreasing every year. It is estimated that 200,000 people are lost their lives per year. Afghanistan continued its status as the largest country which provides opium to international community. The cultivation of puppy and the smuggling of opium became the easy way to earn more at a short time. that were the main cause which lead Afghani former to increase the cultivation and the increased it from 3,600 tons in 2010 to 5,800 tons in 2011.

In Pakistan the number of drug users is increasing day by day due to drugs availability and easy access of drug smugglers to the market of Peshawar and Baluchistan. Another report published by UNODC (United Nation Organization for Drug control) reported in 2013 that Pakistani society is going to counter with large number of drug users both male and female. In this report they cleared that 6% of overall adult population is facing serious problem of drugs addiction in Pakistan.³⁵ This Report estimates that 6% or 6.7 million children in Pakistan used drugs in the year 2013. The same report highlights that ratio of man and women drugs users in Pakistan is 80% and 20% respectively. From the above discussion, it can be concluded that due to war in Afghanistan Pakistani society became a narcotic society.

Drone Attacks

Sovereignty means the supreme and unrestricted power of a state in the affairs of the state. According to International law Pakistan is a sovereign state but war in Afghanistan creates many problems for the sovereignty of Pakistan.³⁴ Along with some internal influences here is some external influences which compel the policy maker to serve the interest of international community. Because of war in Afghanistan and revenge operation of great power in the region creates a hurdles for the survival of Taliban government in Afghanistan, especially after attacks in Washington and they started migration toward Pakistan. The ideological colleague of Pakistan started war against those who were involved in these attacks inside Pakistan.

After 9/11 united -State of America with its allies launched counter terrorism operation to take revenge from Taliban under U-N resolution article 5” America has the right to protect its civilian inside the country and outside of its country”. In order to protect themselves, Taliban marched toward Pakistan and the people of tribal areas provide them shelter due to their historic ties. During the initial stages of operation, America started dialogues with Taliban leaders like Mullah Umar and Bait Ullah Mehsood to handover Usama Bin Ladin, the mastermind of 9/11 attacks to America. When Taliban refused to hand over the leader of their group U-S started Air and intelligence operation Against Taliban in Pakistan. With the reaction of this operation the new wing of Taliban emerged in Pakistan with the name of Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). TTP got the support of people living in different parts of Pakistan especially in FATA and some areas of Baluchistan. And they got full support of all those who were already in war with the government.

The united –state started war against those which were involved in 9/11 Attacks and started drone attacks on those areas where Taliban were settled. The drone attacks started general instability and dramatic environment in FATA and other tribal areas. The ratio of drone attacks increased further when Barak Obama took oath as president of United States of America. Generally, it is said that war is not the solution of every problem. These drone attacks increased the growing ratio of Taliban. A report published by new American foundation showed that from 2004 to 2011, 222 attacks were made by U-S in Pakistan which caused death of leading leaders of terrorist web.³⁵ Along with some militant, these drone attacks caused deaths of innocent people living in these areas. The missile strikes of NATO in the year 2010 results in the killing of 115 local people.³⁶ These deaths caused frustration in mind of those who suffered from these attacks. This frustration creates sense of insecurity and lead to aggression which further increased the hostility between tribal people and the Pakistani government. The killing of innocent compelled people to give further support to non-state actors on both side of the border. These people also started activities against the law enforcement agencies of Pakistan.

Pakistani official believes that the rising tribes are cancer for the security of the country and are destabilizing the elected government. Such types of statements issued by Pakistani white colors' and policy makers helped further to create ethnic feelings in the society. The ethnic feelings provide firewood to the diversity of people of the region and compelled them to help foreign militant groups.

Pakistan and USA believes that they can suppress the power of militant groups by drone attacks. Conversely, the communal riots are rising and the power of Taliban is increasing day by day. The rising groups in Pakistan are creating hurdles and many new tensions for governments. Drone attacks actually the attacks on the sovereignty of the country. The government wants to withdraw from this war but due to the terrorist attacks in large scale inside the country leads the country in a position where it can't go back." The drone attacks caused thousands of civilian death in the region. The death of innocent civilian is creating social security in danger and people of the region are shifting their capitals from the country. The following table shows the number of drone attacks which have been made in Pakistan to combat terrorism along with death of civilian and militants.

Year	Number of attacks	Civilian	Militants	Unknown	Total
2004	1	2	3	2	7
2005	3	6	5	4	15
2006	2	93	1	0	94
2007	4	0	51	12	63
2008	36	28	233	47	298
2009	54	79	387	92	549
2010	122	16	788	45	849
2011	73	62	420	35	417
2012	48	5	268	33	306
2013	26	4	145	4	153
Total	369	286	2,291	274	2,851

In 2009 a drone attack made in Waziristan caused the death of TTP leader Baitullah-Mehsud. His death injected new blood of revenge in Taliban. They enabled their source to make more attacks on the state law enforcement agencies. The drone attacks are also a challenge for the prosperity and development of the country. The drone attacks have so many of social, political and economic problems for Pakistan. Some of the scholars are of the view that Pakistan is a silent spectator on the issue of drone attacks as it is beneficial for her survival. It will decrease the rising power of militant in the country. USA has made 369 drone attacks from 2004 to 2013 in FATA. Those attacks caused the deaths of thousands of militant and civilian. Hundreds of the people were wounded.³⁷ The drone attacks and killing of innocent people in FATA is injuring the sovereignty of the country. It also compelled the people to migrate internally and move toward other parts of the country. Pakistan has an agro-based economy. Due to this militancy the country destroyed a large area of cultivable land. The standard of life of the people is very low.³⁸ Drone attacks have a negative impact on the economy of the country. FATA is one of the least developed areas of Pakistan. About 60% population of this are living under the poverty line. The unemployment rate is 60-80% and people unable to fulfil their basic needs. As a result of drone attacks; the rate of poverty is increasing day by day. A respondent from FATA when questioned, he exposed:

"We cannot go to markets as they (drones) are always hovering over our heads. The markets usually remained close and people are shifting their businesses to cities due to drone phobia" (Khan G., 2013).

Waziristan, is wealthy in natural resources but due to drone attacks it is difficult to utilize it. The government offered contract to an Australian company for the exploration of these mineral resources in Waziristan, but unfortunately because of the drone attacks in the area, the company had to stop the work.³⁹

II. CONCLUSION:

The use of power is not the solution of any problem. The more power the Pakistani government used against these militant groups, the more they got the sympathy of civilian and became stronger. The killing of militants is producing more militants. The war is not only increasing the power of militant but is also diverting public opinion about government and military. The use of power caused the death of number of innocent civilian in different parts of the country. Pakistan, paid a lot for its commitment towards fight against terror. In this war, Pakistan became not only the front-line state, but also the front-line targeted by the terrorists'. The effects of war on terror for Pakistan are very serious. It is already facing other several problems of poor economy, unemployment, inflation, corruption, bad governance, extremism, sectarianism, and the speedy growing of terrorism is responsible for the economic crises in Pakistan. The present tragic situation of Pakistan required for

a sympathetic treatment of those for whom Pakistan is fighting this war along with their allies. As Pakistan is playing a key role in this war, so it needs financial help to get out of the financial crises which it is facing.

The change in the foreign policy after 9/11 has served the security interests of Pakistan because Islamabad is successfully involved in curbing terrorism. However, Pakistan must remember that its political honeymoon with the America is always for a short period of time.

Extremists and militants have threatened the territorial integrity of the State. The government is sandwiched between two opposite pressures. The U-S and the militant extremists. Pakistan is economically weak. High inflation, lack of investment and the shift of capital to other countries is destroying our economy.

America and the International community should provide economic assistance to Pakistan and should start developmental projects in the affected areas. In the long run, economic prosperity, political reforms, and social development can help to restore peace in the tribal region.

In addition, Pakistan also needs the strategic assistance of Afghanistan to check cross border infiltration. Both the countries can help each other to stop illegal drug trafficking across the border. Finally, we can conclude that for the development and prosperity of Pakistan developed Afghanistan is very important. It's not only for Pakistan but for the entire region the security and development of Afghanistan should be first priority.

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