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War in Pakistan the effects of the Pakistani-American War on Terror in Pakistan

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WAR IN PAKISTAN: THE EFFECTS OF THE PAKISTANI-AMERICAN WAR
ON TERROR IN PAKISTAN

by

AKHTAR QURESHI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in Political Science
in the College of Science
and in the Burnett Honors College
at the University of Central Florida
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ABSTRACT

This research paper investigates the current turmoil in Pakistan and how much of it has been caused by the joint American-Pakistani War on Terror. The United States' portion of the War on Terror is in Afghanistan against the Al-Qaeda and Taliban forces that began after the September 11th attacks in 2001, as well as in Pakistan with unmanned drone attacks. Pakistan's portion of this war includes the support to the U.S. in Afghanistan and military campaigns within its own borders against Taliban forces. Taliban forces have fought back against Pakistan with terrorist attacks and bombings that continue to ravage the nation. There have been a number of consequences from this war upon Pakistani society, one of particular importance to the U.S. is the increased anti-American sentiment. The war has also resulted in weak and widely unpopular leaders. The final major consequence this study examines is the increased conflict amongst the many ethnicities within Pakistan. The consequences of this war have had an effect on local, regional, American, and international politics.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Background

Pakistan is often in the news and media for a variety of troubles and turmoil, from terrorist networks in the nation to an unpopular government in power. The Taliban and Al Qaeda have taken refuge in tribal areas of Pakistan and have used these safe havens to carry out attacks in Pakistan and Afghanistan.ⁱ Just two years ago President Pervez Musharraf was forced to resign due to pressure from opposing parties led by current president Asif Ali Zardari and former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Events leading up to Mushharaf's resignation included: declining approval ratings, the dismissal of Supreme Court Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary on corruption charges, and declaring a state of emergency which suspended the Constitution. The assassination of Benazir Bhutto and the Red Mosque siege incident, where Pakistani military stormed a mosque to apprehend extremists that took civilians captive, were some of the early major attacks carried out by religious extremists against Pakistan.

The U.S. War against the Taliban and Al Qaeda began in October 2001 after the September 11th attacks were found to have originated from Afghanistan. Pakistan has paid a huge price for these wars with terrorist attacks, the loss of thousands of lives, 2.5 million internally displaced people, and an estimated \$45 Billion cost for the war. Since the war began guerrilla groups of the Taliban and Al Qaeda have retaliated with terrorist attacks against coalition forces in Afghanistan. Pakistan first became a target of these Taliban forces when it allied itself with United States. Over time other factors came in to play to threaten Pakistan: the anger over the Red Mosque siege and the military campaigns in the Swat region and South Waziristan of

Pakistan.ⁱⁱ

Pakistani military campaigns on its own soil in Swat Valley and South Waziristan have resulted in retaliatory terrorist attacks by Taliban and extremist forces throughout the nation. Violence in Swat Valley began in July 2007 when religious leader Maulana Fazalullah urged his followers to avenge the Red Mosque military operation with a series of bombings on government and civilian targets in Swat. The Musharraf government fiercely responded by deploying troops to the region. Once the Zardari government came to power, a 16-point peace agreement was signed in May 2008 between the government and Fazulullah's followers which included denouncing suicide attacks, allowing Islamic Law in the area, and a gradual military withdrawal. A few months later Taliban forces broke the agreement by attacking girls schools, and the government responded with a large scale military offensive in late 2008, which displaced hundreds of thousands of people from the region and eventually brought Swat under government control in June 2009. Taliban and other extremist factions in Pakistan responded to this military campaign with terrorist attacks throughout Pakistan, which have had a profound impact on the nation's leadership and society.ⁱⁱⁱ

Following the military offensive in Swat Valley the Pakistani military launched a similar offensive in South Waziristan in order to root out Taliban and Al Qaeda forces responsible for terrorist attacks in Pakistan and American forces in Afghanistan in October 2009. Along with the ground offensive by the Pakistani army, the United States continued its drone strikes over the region. The Pakistani army announced victory over the Taliban in South Waziristan in February 2010, however violence between insurgents and the military continues. One way to view the war against insurgents is as an ideological war between Pakistan's moderate Islam and the radical

version that the Taliban is trying to impose upon the region. While ideology is a component of this war, the primary reason for this war is because of Pakistan's assistance to the United States, which is the Taliban and other radical groups' biggest foe.^{iv}

The U.S. and Pakistani War against the Taliban has been at the root of many of Pakistan's contemporary troubles. The United State's war is composed of the war in Afghanistan and drone attacks in the Northwest Frontier Province in Pakistan, and Pakistan's portion of the war includes the offenses in Swat and South Waziristan. The war has weakened leadership and created unfortunate trends among society in Pakistan. As the war continues to go on Pakistani leadership continues to weaken as seen with former President Pervez Mushharaf's resignation and President Asif Ali Zardari's low approval ratings. The Taliban has increased ethnic and religious sectarian hostilities in an already tense social structure. As a result of the complex situation Pakistan has fallen into favorable views of the United States have significantly decreased to an all-time low.

II. Significance of Topic

Turmoil and instability in Pakistan caused by the war not only has a significant impact on the country itself but also on the rest of the world. The three major impacts of war in Pakistan that this study plans to investigate are: weakened leadership, suspicion and hatred of the United States in Pakistani society, and increased sectarian and ethnic divisions. Weakened leadership and suspicion of the United States in Pakistan has a significant international impact. Ethnic and sectarian divisions run deep in Pakistan's diverse societal composition and increased tensions may actually threaten to divide the country, with violence amongst different factions and

potentially even civil war. It is because of the magnitude of these issues that they must be studied, along with their primary catalysts: the U.S. war in Afghanistan and the Pakistani war against the Taliban.

As seen throughout history prolonged wars have caused the public to blame the nation's leader, especially when the war is viewed as unnecessary. This was the case in the United States, with declining approval ratings of President George W. Bush as the Iraq War continued on. At the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom President George W. Bush's approval rating was 70 percent, and by the end of his presidency his approval rating fell to about 28 percent, the lowest of any American president.^v The instance of President Bush and the Iraq War exemplifies that war has been found to weaken leadership, not only in Pakistan but throughout the world. A weakened leadership in Pakistan, caused by reacting to war and turmoil in country as well as other factors, is what removed President Pervez Musharraf from power and made Asif Ali Zardari president. Whether or not this changing leadership was to Pakistan's benefit, this situation demonstrates that a leader weakened by war can be removed from power. Presently the Zardari presidency has waned for a number of reasons, the war against the Taliban being a significant one. Should the Zardari presidency continue to lose credibility, a revolution or military coup may break out and bring someone of international controversy to power. While this may all be hypothetical, in 1979 the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was weakened by factors other than war, and eventually the current Islamic government came into power by revolution. The current Iranian government has violated human rights, developed a nuclear program, and been a significant problem for the international community, especially the United States and Israel.^{vi} Similarly the unpopular President Zardari could be ousted from power and a

controversial one could come in, such as a military dictatorship or a radical Islamic government.

Over the course of history Pakistan has been a crucial ally to the United States, especially recently in the War in Afghanistan and the international effort to combat terrorism. In an effort by the United States to show its dedication and good faith for its ally the Kerry-Lugar Bill was passed in September 2009. White House spokesman Robert Gates stated “This law is the tangible manifestation of broad support for Pakistan in the US”.^{vii} The United States is making an effort to win the support and approval of the Pakistani people. The U.S. drone attacks in Pakistani territory, which is claimed to have killed many innocent civilians, and the popular sentiment of being dragged into the United States' war are major reasons why only 17 percent of Pakistanis have a favorable view of the U.S.^{viii} The United States needs to improve its tarnished image which has come about from the War on Terror.

Pakistan is a nation filled with numerous different ethnic and sectarian groups. The major ethnicities in Pakistan are: Punjabi, Pashtun, Sindhi, Sariaki, Muhajirs, and Balochi. The major religious groups in Pakistan are Sunni Muslim, Shia Muslim, Ahmedis, Christians, and Hindus. The targets of many Taliban attacks have been other religious groups, such as Shias and Ahmedis. These attacks may lead to large scale sectarian violence between Sunni, Shia, Ahmedi, and other Islamic sect groups. Ethnic feuds have also been amplified by war in Pakistan, as seen with increased Pashtun support for their brethren Taliban. The Taliban is composed primarily of Pashtuns, and as Pashtuns in the Afghan-Pakistani border are living under instability due to the war they are beginning to support the Taliban. Pashtun groups are beginning to believe that they can turn to the Taliban to combat Pakistani and American forces and eventually develop an independent nation, known as *Pashtunistan*. Pakistan needs to be extremely careful with dealing

with the different ethnic groups, the nation lost its eastern portion in 1971 because of unresolved ethnic divisions. The United States has also expressed its interest in expanding the drone program into the Balochistan province of Pakistan, a place where independence movements have gained momentum and become militarized. These ethnic divisions, which are expanding as a result of the war against the Taliban, threaten the unity of the Pakistani nation. Ethnic and sectarian divisions in the region predate even the existence of Pakistan; early tensions included those between Muslims, Hindus, Christians, and Sikhs. Since Pakistan's creation, there have always been tensions between the ethnicities and religious groups, particularly Sunnis and Shiites which exist through much of the Islamic world. This study is limited in scope to exclusively examine the recent intensified ethnic conflicts that have unfolded and how they relate to the American-Pakistani War on Terror.^{ix}

III. Hypothesis

This study aims to show the effect of war, specifically the U.S. war in Afghanistan and Pakistan's war against the Taliban, on Pakistani leadership and society. The hypothesis of this research endeavor is that war, the independent variable in this case, has influenced the dependent variables: Leader power, Pakistani approval of the United States, and ethnic divisions. Leader power and favorable views of the United States have decreased as a result of war in Pakistan, and ethnic divisions have increased. Therefore, the relationship between the independent and first two dependent variables is negative while the last one is positive. In order to understand these relations this study will look at past history, current trends, and future trends that may result.

IV. Literature Review

In the past, many scholars have examined the different dependent variables that this study plans to examine: Leadership power, approval of the United States, and ethnic divisions.

However, there has not been an extensive look at these dependent variables in relation to the independent variable, war. The American war in Afghanistan began in 2001, and the large scale Pakistani military campaigns did not begin until 2007, which is why there are not very many academic articles that have examined their effects upon Pakistan yet. The source that provides the most discussion of these wars in Pakistan comes from daily newspaper articles, such as the New York Times.

Most scholars writing on Pakistani sentiment towards the United States agree that there is a long history of resentment, much of which originates from the United States' proxy war in the 1980's against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Once the Afghan forces took victory over the Soviets the U.S. pulled out without properly helping to rebuild the torn nation, which is a fear Pakistanis have for their own nation once which has been torn from the U.S. war in Afghanistan. In the article *Hating the Taliban, Hating the United States: Trajectories of Pakistan's Anti-Americanism*, Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi examines Pakistani distrust of the United States, and the underlying reasons for this history of distrust. The article presents quite a few different statistics and figures, a few of which revealed that only 27 percent of Pakistanis believe the U.S.-Pakistan strategic alliance was beneficial to their nation and that 64 percent distrusted the U.S. to act responsibly in the world. Zaidi points out that the United States has only made an effort to reach out to the Pakistani bureaucracy and not to the people, which is where widespread disapproval

lies. Because of this gap between the U.S. government and the Pakistani people society has come to distrust the U.S., develop its own conspiracy theories, and blame the U.S. for the actions of their leaders. Zaidi discusses the double standard of American foreign policy that Pakistanis detest, the fact that the nation promotes democracy yet throughout history has supported dictators, an example of this would be the presidency of former President Pervez Mushharaf. It is believed that Mushharaf supported the controversial American War on Terror in order to prop up his regime internationally. When Mushharaf began to act out against the will of the Pakistani people with the dismissal of the Chief Justice and declaration of emergency rule the Pakistani public began to blame the United States as well as the president.^x

Zaidi contends that conspiracy theories have been a result of this gap between the U.S. and the Pakistani people, and presents the statistic that 86 percent of Pakistanis believe that the U.S. was out to weaken and divide the Islamic world. These sort of anti-American conspiracy theories are present throughout Pakistani society, as Sabrina Tavernise discusses in the article *U.S. is a Top Villain in in Pakistan's Conspiracy Talk*. In this article Tavernise goes into detail to describe conspiracy theories about a union of the United States, Israel, and India to dismantle and denuclearize Pakistan, and how this is present in the media and even among educated groups, such as lawyers' organizations.^{xi}

Literature on the Presidency of Pervez Musharraf agrees that the president was forced into the American war on Terror and that his support for the U.S. was a major reason of contention among the Pakistani public. In the article *Pakistan After Musharraf The 2008 Elections* Larry Goodson discusses the events leading to Musharraf's resignation and the 2008 election. Goodson mentions certain events in Musharraf's presidency that crippled him, many of

which were related to the U.S. war in Afghanistan and Pakistan's war against insurgents. After Mushharraf pledged his support to the U.S. war in Afghanistan and initiated a brief military campaign along the Afghan border due to American pressure, two assassination attempts were made against him. The Red Mosque incident and retaliatory attacks by extremist forces undermined Mushharraf's authority. The assassination of Benazir Bhutto was found to have been carried out by Baitullah Mehsud, Taliban leader of Waziristan, yet many of the Pakistani public believed that Mushharraf was actually responsible. Godson goes on to discuss Mushharraf's dismissal of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary and emergency declaration weakened his presidency.^{xii} In the article *Musharraf and Pakistan: Democracy Postponed* Mohammad A. El-Khawas discusses the presidency of Pervez Musharraf and how he managed to remain in power. In El-Khawas' look at the Mushharraf presidency he also describes the contempt Musharraf received for supporting Washington's War on Terror and the Red Mosque military seize.^{xiii}

Ethnic divisions in Pakistan have been widely acknowledged and studied by academics, and the new divisions as a result of the U.S. War on Terror and Pakistan's war against the Taliban are now being examined. In the article *Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Question of Pashtun Nationalism?* Amin Saikal discusses the history of the Pashtun people, their goal for an independent state, and how they are reacting to the U.S. War on Terror and Pakistan's military operations. Saikal states that the Taliban is using the ethnic factor to gain support from their Pashtun brethren, and using the fact that the Pakistani army is Punjab-dominated to show the war as an ethnic issue. The Pashtun population in Pakistan and Afghanistan has actually reacted by accommodating the Taliban with aspirations of helping their own and perhaps one day developing a sovereign nation.^{xiv} Ron Moreau expands on the support of the Pashtun people for

their ethnic brothers the Taliban in the article, *Sheltered in Karachi*, by discussing how they are being provided shelter not only along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border but also in Pakistan's biggest city, Karachi.^{xv}

Along with literature discussing the ethnic divisions amplified by the Taliban is the sectarian tensions that have unfolded from terrorist attacks. These new sectarian tensions have been caused by very recent attacks by the Taliban, which is why at the moment there is no scholarly work on the issue, however the New York Times has managed to describe and analyze the issue. Samra Habib described the effects of the attack on an Ahmadi Mosque in Lahore this past May, and the long history of persecution of the Ahmadi people in Pakistan in the article *A Tragic Day for a Faith Under Siege*. Habib explains a sort of lack of trust in the Pakistani government by the Ahmadi community to protect them, especially a long history of oppression.^{xvi} The Shia population of Pakistan has also been described in recent newspaper articles after a series of attacks carried out against them by the Taliban, as seen in the article *Militants in Pakistan Strike Shiites Again, Prompting Fears of Sectarian Violence* by Richard A. Opiel. Opiel describes how attacks on Shias are causing sectarian clashes just as the Taliban aims to do when carrying them out. The article goes on to describe the Shia population turning on the government with riots and anger at law enforcement for failing to protect them.^{xvii}

There are a number of articles covering much of what this study aims to examine, the effects of war on Pakistan. While much of the literature does not directly explain how war in Pakistan has caused a weakened leadership, decreased approval of the U.S., and increased ethnic conflict they do study these individual topics. Also since some of the most consequential parts in this war are so recent, including the Pakistani military campaigns and the series of terrorist

attacks, there is a limited amount of academic journal article on the subject.

V. Research Design

This research will have five main sections: Introduction, Pakistani leadership (first variable), approval of the U.S. in Pakistani society (second variable), sectarian and ethnic divisions (third variable), and conclusion. The first section, the introduction, will introduce the topic of the effects of war on Pakistan, state the hypothesis, and provide background information explaining the tense political situation. The introduction will also describe the independent and dependent variables. The second section of this research will look at the dependent variable of Pakistani leadership and how the war has undermined their authority and even turned the public against them. The next section will cover the dependent variable of Pakistani sentiment for the U.S. and how this has plummeted as a result of conflict in Afghanistan. The fourth section will describe the ethnic conflicts in Pakistan and how they have been amplified by the American-Pakistani War on Terror. The final section of this study will be the conclusion where the hypothesis and main points will be restated, and the argument will be briefly summarized.

The second section of this research will cover the first variable, approval of the United States in Pakistan. This section will begin by discussing the history of relations with the United States since Pakistan was created. The extent of anti-Americanism in Pakistan will also be discussed, including the statistic that in 2010 only 17 percent of Pakistanis had a favorable view of the United States. The reasons of widespread disapproval of America are also discussed, including the drone attacks and other repercussions of the war for Pakistan. Attempts by the U.S.

Government to fix its tarnished reputation in Pakistan are also discussed.

The third section of this research will discuss the second variable, which is the resulting ethnic conflict in Pakistan from the war. This section will discuss how the Taliban and other insurgent forces have shook ethnic tensions by attacking minorities and calling upon their ethnic brethren to join them in arms, primarily the Pashtuns. The insurgents Pakistan is battling have upset the religious minorities, Shias and Ahmedis, by attacking their places of congregation in hopes that they will turn against the Pakistani nation.

The fourth section of this research will cover the final variable, the weakened leadership in Pakistan. The section will begin with a brief history of leaders in Pakistan and how war has managed to weaken president in Pakistan and other nations. The Presidency of Pervez Musharraf and how the War on Terror led to its eventual downfall will be discussed, along with how the new administration under President Asif Ali Zardari is handling it.

Due to the recentness of the issues planned to be discussed in this research many newspaper articles will be used. The New York Times newspaper covers an extensive range of international issues, particularly with those surrounding Pakistan and American efforts in Afghanistan. Another news source that will be utilized in this research is Dawn, which is Pakistan's leading English news source.

VI. Conclusion

Overall the primary question this research strives to answer is what effects the American and Pakistani War on Terror has had on the Pakistani nation. Pakistan is currently involved in the

U.S. war in Afghanistan and its own military campaigns against Taliban insurgents. This research will answer the question of what effects the War on Terror has had on Pakistan by describing the resulting weakened leadership, low approval ratings for the U.S., and increased sectarian differences.

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ANTI-AMERICANISM IN PAKISTAN

I. History of American and Pakistani Relations.

At first glance it may seem ironic and harsh that despite billions of dollars of aid provided by the U.S. government to Pakistan that only 17 percent of Pakistani have favorable views of the U.S. The core reason for the low approval ratings of the United States is war, both the U.S. War on Terror and Pakistan's war on insurgents. This answers the question of how the War on Terror has effected Pakistani society, with the resulting anti-Americanism as one of the many effects. In order to properly understand the current context of Anti-Americanism in Pakistan it is vital to look at the history of relations between the two countries. Pakistani-U.S. Relations originate from the Cold War era, when the U.S. was concerned about Soviet expansion and Pakistan felt threatened by India. It was from these common fears that the two nations developed a mutual defense assistance agreement in the 1950's, and that the U.S. provided Pakistan with nearly \$2 billion in aid from 1953 to 1961. This was only the beginning of Washington's aid to Pakistan, aid has continued to be provided since by various different administrations. As a result of widespread disdain for the United States a number of conspiracy theories have arisen throughout Pakistani society. There is a significant need for a healthy partnership between both nations, as both have much to gain from one another.

Aid to Islamabad was held back at certain points in history, one of the major reasons for this was the nation's nuclear ambitions. In 1974 India launched a test of it's nuclear weapons, which prompted Pakistan to begin developing it's own. The Carter administration cut off aid in

1979 when Pakistan covertly constructed a uranium enrichment facility. Similarly, President George Bush suspended aid to Pakistan in 1990 again for its nuclear weapons program.

Due to events that unfolded around Pakistan the United States has been forced to continue to provide assistance to the nation, despite its unease and skepticism. The relationship between the two nations has become viewed as a matter of necessity for the United States as seen when aid to Pakistan was quickly reinstated in late 1979 when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. The Reagan administration went even further by providing a five-year \$3.2 billion aid package to Islamabad. This increased amicability on Washington's part was the realization that Pakistan had the potential to be a strong base for opposition to the Soviet Union. Pakistan became a transit country of supplies and a training center for the Afghanistan Mujahideen and also took in over three million refugees. Another key point in history where the United States was forced to reconcile differences with Pakistan and provide aid was in the aftermath of the September 11th attacks. When President George W. Bush announced his War on Terror, President Pervez Musharraf pledged his nation's full cooperation and assistance. As a gesture to improve relations between the two countries Washington waived sanctions that were imposed on Pakistan for the nuclear tests in 1998 and Musharraf's coup in 1999. George W. Bush went as far as naming Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally of the United States.ⁱ

II. The Extent of Anti-Americanism

Table I- Pakistani Views of the United States and Other Nations.

Years	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Pakistani Views					
Pakistanis with Favorable views of the U.S.	27%	15%	19%	16%	17%
Pakistanis in support of the War in Afghanistan	---	3%	9%	4%	7%
Pakistanis with favorable views of Iran	72%	68%	67%	74%	72%
Pakistanis with favorable views of China	69%	79%	76%	84%	85%

Statistics reveal the extent of disdain for the United States among the Pakistani people. As of the year 2010 only 17 percent of Pakistanis have a favorable view of the U.S., this number was 27 percent in 2006. Although both percentages are miserable, favorable views dipped by 10 percent over the course of four years; this was most likely due to the increased presence in Afghanistan and drone strikes within the nation. Confidence in American leadership has also been relatively low, from the years 2003 to 2008, ten percent was where confidence peaked.

President Barack Obama coming into power only slightly increased confidence to 13 percent in 2009, and fell again to only 8 percent in 2010. The United States must pay close attention to these numbers, because U.S. rivals, Iran and China have much more favorable views amongst Pakistani society. In 2010 85 percent of Pakistanis had favorable views of the China and 72 percent had favorable views of Iran. The U.S. needs to maintain it's influence in Asia and the Middle East, otherwise nations with contrary views and goals will come in to fill this gap of trust. ⁱⁱ

III. Drone Attacks

The American unmanned drone attacks against Taliban and Al-Qaeda targets within Pakistani territory have been a significant source of enmity in Pakistani society. A major reason for the percentage of Pakistanis with favorable views decreasing after 2006 is that the drone attacks intensified since then. Unmanned drone attacks were first used by the American government in Yemen in 2002 in the wake of the September 11th attacks with Congressional approval. In 2006 the drone attacks were increased in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province under President George W. Bush, and the campaign has actually been further expanded since Barack Obama came into the office. The primary purpose of the drone attack campaign is to eliminate Al Qaeda and Taliban forces and not allow the region to be used as a safe haven. The unmanned drones are seen as a valuable asset by the U.S. military primarily because of how inexpensive it is, the Reaper drone plane only costs \$10 million. The News, a leading Pakistani newspaper, reported that between the years 2006 and 2009 60 drone strikes have killed 687

civilians and only 14 Al-Qaeda leaders. Whether or not this ratio of civilian deaths is true it's widely believed throughout Pakistani society and viewed as unacceptable. Despite the financial benefits of the drone attack campaign, the political cost on the U.S. image and Pakistani leadership in Pakistani society is immeasurable. The new, already unpopular, civilian government has had little choice but to accept the drone attacks, which in turn has brought on criticism of the government. The U.S. government essentially must decide whether the drone attacks program is worth the price of it's image in the region. Another approach to the U.S. drone attack program could be to give Pakistan the drone planes and to allow the strikes to be carried out on behalf of the Pakistani military, which is something that President Pervez Musharraf has recently expressed. From the U.S. point of view, the U.S. could no longer be blamed for violating Pakistan's sovereign rights and furthermore any civilian casualties that may result would no longer be their fault. This is a bold recommendation however, since it would grant Pakistan the authority and power to determine where to strike with the drone and the U.S. may not agree with their decisions.ⁱⁱⁱ

IV. Conspiracy Theories and Suspicion of the U.S.

Part of Anti-U.S. Sentiment in Pakistan is the widespread conspiracy theories across the country. The conspiracy theories found throughout Pakistani society show the serious extent of distrust and suspicion of the United States, especially in the War on Terror. The United States in alliance with India, are believed to be at the root of all of Pakistan's troubles. Much of the current terrorism throughout Pakistan, from the Balochistan province to the North-West Frontier

Province, is believed to have been carried out in collaboration of India and the U.S.. The aim of the two nations is believed to be to destabilize Pakistan and strip it of its nuclear weapons. This theory is not just present amongst Pakistan's uneducated lower class, but also amongst the nation's intellectuals. Even a distinguished American scholar, Juan Cole, has expressed the belief that U.S. policy makers are secretly searching for a means to deprive Pakistan of its nuclear weapons.^{iv}

Nothing exemplifies the extent of anti-Americanism in Pakistan more than that seen in the media and entertainment industry. In recent times Pakistani pop music has become widely politicized criticizing American policy and blaming the nation for much of Pakistan's problems. Pop star musicians such as Ali Azmat and Shehzad Roy have mentioned their criticism of the U.S. by singing about and showing in their music videos conspiracy theories, Muslims being tortured, and especially U.S. drone attacks.^v

A major reason for these rampant anti-American theories is the fact that the majority of U.S.-Pakistani policy is carried out in secret, with American military leaders slipping in and out of Islamabad. U.S. policy is made with Pakistani leadership and not with the public, which has resulted in a trust gap between the American government and the Pakistani people. These conspiracy theories are being propped up by strong opinionated television personalities such as Zaid Hamid, who relies on Google searches to support his theories of the U.S., Israel, and India all being in league to dismantle Pakistan. While the media plays a huge role in spreading these conspiracy theories it is important to note that only one-third of Pakistani society has access to satellite television, and much of them are actually being spread through grass root methods by extremist groups.^{vi}

Misunderstandings by the United States of the Pakistani nation and its needs since the war in Afghanistan began fueled widespread disapproval. The U.S. has failed to recognize the importance of Afghanistan and the fear of a pro-Indian government in Kabul to Pakistan. India and Pakistan have had a mutual hatred for one another since the two nations were born, based on land disputes and religious rivalry. The two bordering countries have fought three large scale wars and numerous border skirmishes, which explains why Pakistan fears Indian motives in Afghanistan. With the exception of the Taliban, who ruled Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001, Afghani governments have held strong relations with India, and the Karzai government continues to value this relationship.

Pakistani military and national intelligence believe that India is utilizing Afghanistan to increase its influence over the region and weaken Pakistan. There have been reports that India's external intelligence agencies are using consulates in Afghanistan to funnel weapons and supplies across the border to separatists in Balochistan. While these accusations and this fear by Pakistan may seem far-fetched it is important to look back at history when India assisted Bengali separatists in Pakistan's civil war in 1971 and Bangladesh was created. In 2009, 80 percent of Pakistan's military continued to be positioned along the Indian border despite the ongoing war against insurgents and extremists along the Afghan border. The U.S. has continuously asked Pakistan to do more in the War on Terror, however Pakistan still views India as its biggest threat and being pressured to divert assets by U.S. has created a resentment by Pakistanis for not being able to focus on their primary enemy.^{vii}

Now, more than ever, there is an essential need for healthy relations between the United States and Pakistan. Pakistan has been a major ally in the United States war in Afghanistan

starting with President Pervez Musharraf's promise of unconditional support when the conflict first began in the wake the September 11th attacks. Pakistan provides a number of benefits to Afghanistan that the United States utilizes, one of which is that Pakistan shares the largest border with the landlocked country. Goods and supplies, both for domestic Afghans and for the U.S. military, are imported and exported to and from Afghanistan through ports in southern Pakistan along the Arabian Sea. The strong ethnic links between Pakistani and Afghans, especially among Pashtun ethnicity, makes Pakistan a great asset to U.S. when working and negotiating with Afghanistan. Pakistan has had a long history of being an important ally to Afghanistan, as seen during the Soviet invasion of the country in the 1980's, when Pakistan was used as a base of opposition and millions of refugees took refuge in the country. These are all substantial reasons why Pakistan is a necessary partner for the United States in Afghanistan.^{viii}

A very unfortunate result of Anti-Americanism in the wake of the U.S. war in Afghanistan has been terrorist attacks against American targets, most notably the recent attempted bombing in Times Square in May 2010. Faisal Shahzad pleaded guilty in June to attempting to set off an S.U.V. Filled with explosives in the middle of Times Square in New York City. Shahzad was an American citizen who worked as a financial analyst in Connecticut and originally from the North West Frontier Province in Pakistan. During a visit to Pakistan in 2008 Shahzad came into contact with the Pakistani Taliban, and its leader Hakimullah Mehsud. Shahzad stated on behalf of the Pakistan Taliban that until the U.S. pulls its troops out of Afghanistan and Iraq, and ends drone attacks in Pakistan "We will be attacking the U.S. and I plead guilty to that." This profound statement exemplifies the most violent form of Anti-Americanism as a result of the U.S. War in Afghanistan and Pakistan.^{ix}

V. American Attempts to Improve Relations.

The United States is beginning to understand the toll that the war in Afghanistan has taken on Pakistan and truly would like to improve the nation's image. In 2009 President Barack Obama unveiled the AfPak policy document, which focused on deepening relations with Pakistan. This document sought to improve the economy of the nation through bilateral trade, support the new civilian government, and to combat terrorism by providing equipment and technical assistance to the army. President Obama expanded upon the policies of the Afpak document by signing the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act, more commonly known as the Kerry-Lugar Bill, into effect in October 2009. The Kerry-Lugar Bill triples non-military aid to Pakistan with \$1.5 billion a year, for five years, in order to revitalize the nation's decrepit economy.^x

On the other end of the Kerry-Lugar Bill, many Pakistani politicians and journalists have been very critical of the bill. Despite the United States' best intentions, Pakistanis still believed that they cannot trust the U.S. and the true intention of the bill are to control their country. There are a number of criticisms of the bill, one of which is that U.S. President must work with “relevant governments and organizations in the region and elsewhere” for implementing counter-insurgency efforts in Pakistan. This stipulation is viewed to violate Pakistan's foreign interests, because it implies even rival nations, namely India, would be given an influence over the nation. Another stipulation of the bill which Pakistanis disagree with is that it forbids Pakistan from purchasing defense equipment even from its own resources unless if the U.S. government,

monitors, and other relevant countries allow. The primary argument that many have made in Pakistan has been that nation would save far more than \$1.5 billion a year if they were not engaging in military campaigns against Anti- American and Anti-Indian groups. It may be ironic that an effort to improve approval ratings of the U.S. is actually responsible for fueling more hatred in Pakistan, but these are real concerns of the Pakistani people who still feel they cannot trust America.^{xi}

Another recent effort by the United States to improve it's image in Pakistan has been by assisting through the disastrous flood which has sank a fifth of the country. Flooding began in late July 2010 and continued to ravage the nation through September. The floods devastated nearly 62,000 square miles and 20 million people. Destruction from the floods includes damaged crops and farmlands, schools, bridges, roads, and other essential infrastructures of Pakistan. Despite the immense implications of this disaster the international community remained slow to respond and provide aid to Pakistan. The United States provided fifteen helicopters, which were used to rescue over 6,000 victims, and over 700,000 pounds of supplies. While these figures seem impressive the Pakistani public and government believe that this support is still not sufficient. Comparisons to previous international disasters demonstrate that United States is not providing as much aid to Pakistani flood relief as the nation should be. In the aftermath of the earthquake in Haiti the U.S. provided far more assistance, for example the American organization World Vision raised \$44 million for the Haiti earthquake and only \$660,000 for floods in Pakistan. One trend that partially explains this discrepancy between the two disasters is that earthquakes generate ten times more attention than floods, however looking back five years at the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan World Vision only raised \$ 9 million in the United States.

Humanitarian organizations believe that the media in the United States has been lagging in proper coverage of the disaster compared to other parts of the world. The United States must continue to provide aid and assist Pakistan through this catastrophe not only to help millions of people in need, or fix their image in the country, but also in order to counter aid efforts by extremist organizations in devastated parts of the nation. Many of the worst hit areas in Pakistan are also areas with a large presence of Taliban and insurgent forces, and should the American and Pakistani government fail to provide sufficient aid they will continue to gain support. The floods in Pakistan are not only a humanitarian crisis that the United States should aid as a world leader, but also an opportunity to improve its image which has been tainted by the war in Afghanistan.^{xii}

VI. Conclusion

The United States has the ability to repair its tarnished image in Pakistan, and in fact much of the rest of the world that resents the country, with soft power, a term used by the author Joseph Nye in his book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Nye uses the term soft power to refer to the ability what one wants through attraction rather than coercion. According to Nye this sort of power can be exerted with economic assistance and cultural exchange. In Pakistan this can be done by catering to the specific needs of the people, such as improving education since only 49 % of the nation is literate. In accordance with soft power, a strategic move by the U.S. would be to help build schools and development projects along the Afghanistan border, since it is incredibly underdeveloped and a severe lack of opportunity; This would not only help to improve the United States' image but also be a way to deter the Taliban

by providing opportunity and support that they cannot fulfill.

Pakistan is a vital ally to the United States in the war in Afghanistan, and has been one since the nation formed in 1947. The current U.S. war in Afghanistan has brought anti-Americanism to an all time high in Pakistan. As part of American efforts to battle extremist forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan had to confront extremists within its own country which has resulted in a full-fledged war and a series of terrorist attacks throughout the nation, all of which the Pakistani people blame on the U.S.. A widely unpopular policy of the U.S. has been the drone attacks within Pakistan's borders which are believed to be illegal, in violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, and responsible for the deaths of many civilians. Pakistan has the potential to be an ally of immeasurable importance to the United States, a few of its key benefits being its close ethnic ties to Afghanistan and its ports which assist with war efforts and rebuilding the country. The United States is truly trying to improve its image in Pakistan with efforts such as aid, the Kerry-Lugar Bill, and assistance in flood relief. These gestures are a great effort, but may not be enough to improve anti-Americanism, since much of it lies in the war in Afghanistan and drone attacks in the Northwest Frontier Province.

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ETHNIC CONFLICT IN PAKISTAN

I. The Balance of Pakistan's Diverse People

One of the most crucial ways the War on Terror has had an impact on Pakistan is the increased ethnic tensions. Pakistan is an incredibly diverse nation with countless ethnic and religious groups. Some of the major ethnicities in Pakistan are: Punjabi, Pashtun, Sindhi, Saraiki, Muhajirs, and Balochi. The major religious groups are Sunni Muslims, Shiite Muslims, Ahmedis, Christians, and Hindus. There is a very delicate relationship between the different groups and there have been tensions in the past. An unfortunate result of the U.S. war in Afghanistan and Pakistan's war against the Taliban has been increased tensions among the different religious and ethnic groups. In the war between the Pakistani military and insurgent forces near the Afghan border, insurgents have carried out attacks against religious minorities. Since much of the Taliban and insurgent forces whom the Pakistani military are fighting belong to the Pashtun ethnic group, many Pashtuns are beginning to support their brethren and turn against other groups, resulting in a dangerous ethnic division since Pashtuns live all over Pakistan. Shiites and Ahmedis have been attacked by Taliban forces and as a result do not feel safe in their own country and begin to resent the Sunni majority, this is a classic move in order to divide and conquer.

Although Pakistan has a history of ethnic and sectarian conflicts, they have been exacerbated by the American and Pakistani war on terror. Pakistan's diverse society began with its creation by a Shiite leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, of a predominately Sunni society in 1947.

Since its creation, Pakistan has been unable to create a national identity and unity and the rise of the ethnic political parties in the 1970s only further divided society. Economic scarcity, which has been facilitated by inter-provincial migration, has also been a major reason for sectarian conflict in Pakistan. Scarcity of resources has typically been believed to cause ethnic tensions and instability. Sindhis and Mohajirs in the Sindh province, and Balochis in the Balochistan province, have resented Punjabi and Pashtun newcomers in their respective provinces and used them as scapegoats of troubles such as scarcity of jobs. Ethnic disdain is not one-sided and only done by natives against newcomers, but has also been seen on the other end by newcomers, as seen with the development of the Pushtoonkhwa Milli Awam Party, an anti-Balochi Pashtun separatist party.ⁱ

A major sectarian conflict throughout Pakistan's history has been between its Sunni and Shiite population. Roughly 75 percent of the Pakistani population is Sunni, and about 20 percent Shiite. Between the years 1990 and 1999, just before Musharraf's military rule, Sunni-Shiite sectarian conflicts claimed 926 lives throughout Pakistan. Sectarian conflict on the Shiite part in Pakistan began after the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 led by Ayatollah Khomeini. In 1980 a series of demonstrations advocating Shiite rights and an increased representation in the Pakistani government were carried out by Tahrik-i Nifaz-i Fiqh-iJa'fariyya (Movement for the Implementation of Jafri Law, TNFJ). The TNFJ was interpreted by Sunnis, and the overall Pakistani society, as a potential revolution imported from Iran. During the 1970's similar groups were created by Sunnis, such as Sipah-i Sahaba. The goal of this particular organization was to have Shiites declared a non-Muslim minority in Pakistan, denounce Shiite religious processions, and make Sunni Islam the official religion of Pakistan. Tensions have always existed between

these two religious dominations, not just in Pakistan but throughout the Islamic world. The American and Pakistani War on Terror is a cause for the increased violence between Sunnis and Shiites in Pakistan in the last few years.ⁱⁱ

There are a number of ethnic tensions and rivalries that have occurred during Pakistan's existence, and there are several that even predate the nation's creation. One ethnic issue in Pakistan has been from a sense of resentment and anger towards Punjabis in Pakistani society and a major reason for this has been their overwhelming presence in the military and government. Punjabis and Pashtuns have both been resented by Balochis, Sindhis, and Muhajirs for immigrating into their areas and impeding on local resources. These are just part of the very basic level of ethnic conflict in Pakistan and demonstrate the already tense ethnic relationships that have existed even before the War on Terror became a factor. The research that follows is limited in its scope specifically to the recent ethnic conflicts in Pakistan and how they are related to the War on Terror.ⁱⁱⁱ

II. The Pashtun People

In the Pashtun culture family and ethnic allegiance is extremely important. The Pashtun people of Pakistan present a case of where ethnic relations have been shook by the American-Pakistani War on Terror. Since the September 11th Attacks Pashtuns in Pakistan and Afghanistan have been the subject of U.S. and Pakistani efforts to combat Taliban and Al-Qaeda forces that live in their areas along the Pakistan-Afghan border. Many Pashtuns are beginning to react to Pakistani and foreign forces they feel are encroaching their land by actually providing overt

support to the Taliban with nationalist ambitions for an independent land for Pashtuns, known as “Pashtunistan”. This is a dangerous result of Pakistani and American efforts against the Taliban, Pakistan already lost a civil war in 1971 when Bangladesh was created and cannot afford to fight another. The first ambitions of an independent land for Pashtuns during the Red Shirt Movement led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan during British Rule of India. Once Pakistan and India gained their independence from the Britain, British colonial authorities organized a referendum for the Pashtuns to decide whether they wanted to join Pakistan or India and eventually became part of Pakistan. Pakistan pledged a weak federal government to all of its provinces, including the Northwest Frontier Province, with strong provincial governments with a great deal of sovereignty.

Recent tensions between the Pashtuns and Pakistan have unfolded specifically after the Pakistani military campaign in Swat region of the nation against Taliban forces. This military campaign placed the primarily Punjabi military against the Pashtun Taliban forces. The Swat military operations resulted in civilian casualties, destruction of the city Mingora, and the dislocation of some two millions people. The Taliban have utilized the ethnic differences and the damage caused by the Pakistani military campaign to draw in support. The current Pashtun sentiment is that foreign forces are encroaching upon their land, resources, values, honor, and overall way of life. This sentiment is leading to a desperation amongst the Pashtun people to accommodate the Taliban as a nationalist movement with hopes of stability and the historical goal of Pashtunistan. In order to improve relations with Pashtuns the Pakistani government should increase their participation in the government, because Punjabis and Sindhis are viewed as having the most power in the country. The Pakistani government should also work to improve

living conditions of the Pashtun people through social and economic development such as wealth distribution. Pakistan must also remain mindful of the collateral damage of the Pashtun population of Pakistan as a result of their military campaigns against Taliban and insurgent forces.

The United States must make changes in order to satisfy the Pashtun population and prevent further instability in the region that would come about as a result of Pashtun aspirations for an independent nation and an increasingly popular Taliban. The U.S. must encourage the Karzai administration to establish a united government that all of Afghans, especially Pashtuns, can trust. Hamid Karzai has been criticized for a number of reasons, a few of which being that his appointments of senior officials have been based upon personal connections rather than merit, and his reliance on Afghan diaspora and international allies. Another issue with the Karzai government and its reliance on the United States and foreign powers is that the Afghan people feel that he is simply a puppet leader serving foreign interests. The Afghani people have always valued their sovereignty based upon the fact that they have never been conquered by foreign forces and they interpret Karzai's international support as infringing upon their sovereignty. The Pashtuns would be less likely to support the Taliban and demand an independent country if they felt they were adequately represented by a legitimate government in Afghanistan.^{iv}

Another cause of ethnic hostility for Pashtuns in Pakistan has been from the massive amounts of refugees entering into the country from Afghanistan fleeing war and a lack of opportunities in their homeland. The city that the majority of Pashtun refugees have flocked to is Karachi, which now hosts over 3.5 million Pashtuns making it the world's largest urban center for the ethnic group. The Pashtun minority in Karachi has begun to clash with the local Muhajir

and Sindhi population. The recent influx of Pashtun refugees in Karachi is being blamed as the cause of the increased presence of Taliban in the city. These ethnic conflicts have evolved into disputes between local political parties, such as the Pashtun political party, Awami National Party (ANP), and the Muhajir party, Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). The MQM has been calling for screening of all Pashtun immigrants into Karachi for Taliban supporters, and has even blamed the ANP for supporting local Taliban forces. On the other hand the ANP claims that the refugees are fleeing from the Taliban and have no allegiance to them. The ANP believes that Pashtuns have been migrating to Karachi for decades and have not been able to live as well as their Muhajirs neighbors. Many Pashtun neighborhoods lack paved roads and basic services. Afghani refugees in Pakistan have already been the source of conflict, and their increased migration only threatens to worsen ethnic conflicts.^v

III. Sunni-Shiite Sectarian Conflicts

The Sunni-Shiite tensions have increased in Pakistan as a result of the American and Pakistani war on terror. As part of the recent series of attacks carried out by the Taliban in retaliation to the Pakistani military campaigns, numerous places of gathering for Shiites have been targeted. Some of the most violent of recent attacks include a three day series of bombings in December 2009 and another series of bombings in early September 2010. One particular bombing in the December 2009 series killed 30 people at Shiite religious procession in Karachi, and one bombing in the September 2010 series killed 52 people in Quetta during a Shiite religious gathering. After the December 2009 series of bombings during the Shiite religious

holiday, Ashura, President Asif Ali Zardari, a Shiite himself, came out in an attempt to calm sectarian tensions and stated “a deliberate attempt seems to be afoot by the extremists to turn the fight against militants into a sectarian clash and make the people fight against one another”. The Taliban forces that carried out this attack did so with the intention of destabilizing the government and creating conflict among the different religious groups, and were successful in this motive. After the bombing, riots immediately broke out in Karachi and neighboring city Hyderabad, dozens of stores and cars were set on fire as the crowds blamed law enforcement for failing to protect them.^{vi} The Taliban carried out the more recent series of bombings with the same intention as previous attacks on Shiites, to infuriate the minority and stir up sectarian tensions. Just as in the previous bombings, mourners began to riot by clashing with the police and setting cars aflame. These bombings and their aftermath demonstrate that the Taliban is bombing strategic targets in order to cause civil unrest throughout Pakistan in order to distract the government from its military campaigns. The recent Shiite-Sunni conflicts are a result of U.S. and Pakistani military efforts against the Taliban and stand to further destabilize the nation.^{vii}

IV. The Ahmedis

Another religious sectarian tension that Taliban forces have intensified in retaliation to Pakistani military campaigns is between Ahmedis and mainstream Muslims, many of whom reject Ahmedis as a sect of Islam. The Ahmedis have been persecuted and discriminated against since they were first founded in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, whom Ahmedis accept as a

promised messiah. Discrimination against the Ahmedis became a state policy in the 1970's when President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared them a non-Muslim minority. In 1984 Pakistan's military dictator took oppression of the Ahmedis to the next level when he required that all Muslims in the country apply for national ID card or passport they must sign an oath that states: "I consider Mirza Ghulam Ahmad an impostor prophet. And also consider his followers, whether belonging to the Lahori or Qadiani group, to be non-Muslims.". These unfair government policies have already inclined the Ahmedi population to feel alienated in their country. Recently the Taliban have targeted the Ahmedi community with the intention of further fragmenting Pakistan's diverse society. On May 28th, 2010 Taliban forces carried out two near-simultaneous assaults with rifles and grenades on two Ahmedi mosques in Lahore, killing 82 worshipers. This attack has turned Ahmedi Pakistani even further away from their government, as they now feel that Pakistani law enforcement failed to provide them with adequate protection. After numerous attacks the Shiite minority of Pakistan rose up and began rioting against the government throughout the country in retaliation, and should another attack be carried out against the already oppressed Ahmedis similar riots may be seen. ^{viii}

V. Conclusion

Pakistan is a nation with a variety of religions and ethnic groups. The major ethnic groups of Pakistan are Punjabi, Pashtun, Sindhi, Saraiki, Muhajir, and Balochi. The largest ethnicity in Pakistan is Punjabi, making up 45 percent of the nation, followed by Pashtun and Sindhi, each making up about 15 percent of Pakistan. The major religions of Pakistan are Sunni Muslim,

Shiite Muslim, Ahmedis, Christians, and Hindus. One of the many consequences of the American War in Afghanistan and Pakistani military campaigns in the North West Frontier Province has been the disruption of the delicate balance amongst the different ethnic and religious groups. One ethnic conflict that has arisen is with the Pashtuns who have begun to turn against Pakistan and support their brethren in the Taliban with ambitions of a separate nation for them. The Taliban has also shook up Pakistan's religious minorities with a series of bombings with the intention of destabilizing Pakistan by having them turn against the country.

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WEAKENED LEADERSHIP IN PAKISTAN

I. History of leadership in Pakistan and the surrounding region.

A weakened leadership in Pakistan is what removed President Pervez Musharraf from power and brought Asif Ali Zardari into power. A significant way the war has affected Pakistan is the crippled leadership in the country. The Musharraf government was weakened by the military campaigns against insurgents in the country and his support for the American war in Afghanistan. The frustration with the Musharraf government led to the rise of the widely unpopular Asif Ali Zardari as president. Whether or not this changing leadership was to Pakistan's benefit, this situation demonstrates that a leader weakened by war can be removed from power. The Zardari presidency has waned for a number of reasons and the war against the Taliban is a major one. Should the Zardari presidency continue to lose credibility, a revolution or military coup may break out and bring a government of international controversy to power.

A weak leader in charge of the Pakistan could potentially lead to a coup that could bring in a hostile government that would present a challenge to the Pakistani people and the international community. While this scenario is hypothetical, in 1979 the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was weakened by factors other than war, and eventually the current Islamic government came into power by revolution. The Shah was weakened by factors besides war but the point is that it brought in the current Iranian government which has violated human rights, developed a nuclear program, and been a significant problem for the international community, especially the United States and Israel. Should the Pakistani people continue to be

upset by their leaders, which is what is occurring as a result of the Pakistani-American War on Terror, an equally oppressive government as their Iranian neighbors may come to power.ⁱ

As seen throughout history prolonged wars have caused the public to blame the nation's leader, especially when the war is viewed as unnecessary. This was the case in the United States, with declining approval ratings of President George W. Bush as the Iraq War continued on. At the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom President George W. Bush's approval rating was 70 percent, and by the end of his presidency his approval rating fell to about 28 percent, the lowest of any American president.ⁱⁱ The instance of President Bush and the Iraq War exemplifies that war has been found to weaken leadership, not only in Pakistan but throughout the world.

War had weakened a president in Pakistan in the past during the rule of military dictator, Yahya Khan. In 1971 the Pakistani military initiated a campaign to combat Bengali separatists in Eastern Pakistan, which erupted into a civil war. The Pakistani army was pitted against the guerrilla Bengali army Mukti Bahini and Indian military. The war resulted in not only the surrender of the Pakistan military, but also the split of Pakistan's eastern portion into Bangladesh and the largest number of prisoners of war since World War II. The civil war was an enormous embarrassment to Pakistan and demonstrations broke out throughout the nation against Yahya Khan, whom they blamed for the defeat. Eventually in order to prevent further unrest Khan handed power over to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the well-known leader of the Pakistan's People's Party in late 1971.ⁱⁱⁱ

An understanding of the history of leadership in Pakistan is necessary in order to completely understand why leaders have recently become feeble. Pakistan has been ruled by military governments for nearly half of its existence, as seen under the army chiefs Ayub Khan

(1958-1969), Zia-ul Huq (1977-1988), and Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008). The army has consistently played an influential role in Pakistani politics and a major reason for this has been external factors, including the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iranian Revolution of 1979 (during which time Zia-Ul Haq's military government was in power), and the U.S. War on Terror after the September 11th Attacks. Another source of power for the military in Pakistani politics was the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution introduced during Zia-ul Huq's rule, which allowed the president to dismiss the prime minister on the behest of the army chief. ^{iv}

II. Pervez Musharraf's Presidency

The pressure from the American-Pakistani War on Terror was a significant reason for President Pervez Musharraf to leave his post and flee the country in August 2008. Pervez Musharraf took control of Pakistan in 1999 when he deposed the democratically elected president, Nawaz Sharif. First Musharraf declared himself chief executive of Pakistan and then President in 2001. Musharraf's rise to power was appreciated domestically, including a confirmation by the Supreme Court, however was criticized internationally. Upon Musharraf's arrival to power the British Commonwealth removed Pakistan's membership and President Bill Clinton visited the country in March 2000 for only five hours, and then immediately spent five days in India.^v

The events of September 11th would forever change the relationship between the United States and Pakistan. In a speech in the United States in 2006 Musharraf stated that Pakistan would have been “bombed back to the stone age” if they had not complied with United States in

its War in Afghanistan. The U.S. viewed President Musharraf as the best leader for Pakistan as he was viewed as an enlightened moderate with his policies of easing religious law and restrictions on women. The U.S. supported Musharraf out of fear of a less moderate and secular leader coming into power. The Musharraf administration immediately began assisting the United States in its war in Afghanistan with vital intelligence and operational support to U.S. military forces, allowing military bases in Pakistan, and permitting the U.S. to use Pakistani airspace. As soon as Musharraf pledged his support in the War on Terror street demonstrations broke out across the nation. Not only did Musharraf's turn against the Taliban for an alliance with the United States upset the Pakistani public but also granting the U.S. government permission to carry out drone attacks on its territory against Al-Qaeda targets. As explained earlier the U.S. drone attack program has been a huge source of discontent for the U.S. government, and it has also created a resentment against the President Pervez Musharraf for allowing this to carry on. Throughout his presidency Musharraf came to be viewed simply as a pawn of the United States particularly by the right-wing conservatives of Pakistani society.^{vi}

The widespread disapproval and blatant hatred of President Musharraf became clear with numerous attempts at his life. After the American War on Terror there were two major assassination attempts against Musharraf in 2003 and two more in 2007. The two assassination attempts in 2003 occurred just eleven days apart, one on December 14th and another on December 25th. The stimulus for these attacks was a decree by Al-Qaeda's second-in-command Ayman al-Zawahiri to overthrow the current Pakistani government for its secular policies and support for the United States.

The 2007 assassination attempts came about as a response to Musharraf's siege against

the Red Mosque in Islamabad where links to terrorists attacks within the country were found and students attempted to carry out anti-government Islamic law in the areas. When the insurgent forces refused to comply with the government they took arms and sheltered themselves in the Red Mosque, it was then that Musharraf ordered special forces to storm the mosque and take out the insurgents. Although many Pakistanis supported Musharraf's actions, anti-government sentiment continued to increase amongst clerics and Taliban supporters of society especially in the turbulent North-West Frontier Province. Throughout the nation radicals began rioting and chanting slogans of "Down with Musharraf". During the midst of the Red Mosque conflict terrorists made an attempt on Musharraf's life by firing a machine at his plane as it took off.^{vii}

Terrorist attacks by insurgents reacting to Pakistan and America's War on Terror also under minded Musharraf's leadership. One major attack in particular was the assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on December 27th, 2007 in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. After leaving a rally for the Pakistan People Party her vehicle was shot at and then suicide bomber detonated a bomb next to her vehicle. The Musharraf government came under fire after the assassination of Bhutto with claims of failing to provide adequate security and even being implicit in the attacks. Benazir Bhutto returned to Pakistan on October 18th, 2007 after living eight years in exile in Dubai and London. As soon as Bhutto landed in Karachi she was greeted with suicide bombs that killed 150 of her supporters, which established the dangerous extent of a threat on Bhutto's life in Pakistan. After this first assassination attempt Bhutto sent an email to a friend in America saying "We have a lot of security issues the government of Pakistan says it will solve, but then there is no movement." This statement shows that Benazir was not confident in the Pakistani government's willingness to protect her life, and would later spread the belief

amongst her supporters after her death that the Musharraf government failed to protect her. Musharraf has responded to these claims by stating that his government provided adequate security and that she acted irresponsibly by standing up through her sunroof, which is the reason she was taken out. Not only has Musharraf been criticized for the assassination itself but also the poor response by the government in the riots that broke out throughout the nation afterwards, which resulted in the deaths of some 60 people and over \$1 billion in damages throughout all sectors the economy, including: manufacturing, revenue, and exports.^{viii}

Conspiracy theories are very common in Pakistani society, and are used to solve the mysteries of Benazir's murder. Officially the pro-Taliban and Al- Qaeda militants led by Baitullah Mehsud are held as responsible, but Musharraf has become the brunt of most conspiracy theories of the assassination. One oddity that feeds into conspiracy theories is that police cleaned up the scene of the bombing immediately after the attack, which may have destroyed important evidence from the bombing. Another reason for suspicion of President Musharraf has been his refusal of a United Nations investigation into the murder, which the Bhutto family has called for. On the other hand, Musharraf has made an effort to clear his name and find out more details of the attack by calling for an autopsy, however the Bhutto family has refused this. President Pervez Musharraf's approval in Pakistan was devastated as a result of this one major terrorist attack by insurgent forces his government was fighting in the North-West Frontier Province. The assassination and ensuing aftermath would eventually lead to the removal of Musharraf from power.^{ix}

Eventually Musharraf was forced to resign as a result of widespread criticism. While much of the reason that Pervez Musharraf lost power was a result of the U.S. war in Afghanistan

and Pakistan's war on insurgents, there were other major events that weakened him. One major action by Pervez Musharraf that contributed to his downfall was the dismissal of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary, which resulted in anti-Musharraf protests throughout the nation. Another major event that ruined Musharraf's presidency was the return of his exiled political rivals, Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto, who challenged the constitutionality of his presidency. On August 18th, 2008 Musharraf officially announced his resignation.^x

III. Asif Ali Zardari's Presidency

Asif Ali Zardari was elected and assumed the office of president September 9th, 2008 in the wake of Musharraf's removal from power. It is still early to say the exact extent of damage that terrorism and the War on Terror has had on the power of Asif Ali Zardari, however these have been major issues of his presidency. President Zardari went ahead and continued Musharraf's policies of assisting the United States in it's War on Terror. The November 2008 Mumbai terrorist attack brought upon international criticism upon the Pakistani government and the Zardari administration as the suspects were found to have been trained in Pakistan.

Under Asif Ali Zardari's leadership Pakistan went ahead and expanded it's war on terrorism by combating Taliban linked militants who took control of the Swat region of the nation. The Swat military campaign eventually did manage to rid the region of Taliban forces, however it also resulted in the loss of thousands of lives and the displacement of over two million civilians from Swat.^{xi} The unfortunate results of the Swat military offensive resonated over the victory against the Taliban forces among Pakistani society. The core issue of the Swat

military offensive for President Zardari is that the majority of Pakistani society does not view terrorism as the nation's biggest problem, and view the economy instead as its biggest problem. It is because of this sentiment that eighty percent of Pakistanis approved of the peace pact that had been established with the Taliban forces in Swat a few months before the military offensive to have their own Sharia governance over the area.^{xii}

Asif Ali Zardari's presidency has been hampered by the war on terror, however in many ways he was not the most ideal individual to be elected as the president of Pakistan. The primary reason that Zardari was able to rise to power was by taking advantage of the widespread disapproval of President Musharraf that resulted from terrorism and the joint U.S.-Pakistani war on terror. Asif Ali Zardari has been on the Pakistani political scene for some time and enjoyed a significant amount of influence during his wife's time of power as prime minister between 1988 and 1996. It was during Benazir Bhutto's time in power accusations of corruption and murder by Asif Ali Zardari were made. Cases were made against Zardari for a number of corrupt actions from using government funds to build a polo ground at the prime minister's residence in Islamabad to accepting millions of dollars in kickbacks and bribes from different corporations. Evidence of corruption was not only found by the Pakistani government but even in a report on private banking and money laundering by the United States Congress which said Zardari used Citibank accounts in order to disguise \$10 million in kickbacks from the gold importing company, ARY International Exchange. In 2003 a Swiss magistrate found Asif Zardari and Benazir Bhutto guilty of money laundering and ordered the couple to return \$12 million to the Pakistani government. Accusations of kickbacks and corruption earned Zardari the nickname "Mr. Ten Percent" amongst the Pakistani people. Another government charge that landed Zardari

in jail was for the conspiracy to kill his brother-in-law Murtaza Bhutto, a political rival to him and his wife. Asif Ali Zardari stated that these criminal cases against him were all politically motivated, however it is difficult to understand the accuracy of this because many of these corruption charges have been confirmed by foreign governments as well.^{xiii}

Another issue with Asif Zardari assuming the role of president of Pakistan is that evidence that he may not have even received a college degree. Zardari claims that he attended a commercial college in London called Pedinton School, however a search of schools in London showed that there was no school with that name and many associates confirm that he never finished school. This is especially important because in 2002 Musharraf introduced a law which required parliamentary candidates to hold a degree in order to qualify for electoral office. Asif Ali Zardari's criminal cases and his failure to complete college show that at the very least he is not the most ideal individual to be elected president of Pakistan. The reason that Zardari was elected president was because of the widespread disdain of Musharraf, which as stated earlier was primarily caused by the Pakistani-American War on Terror and the terrorism in retaliation. This all shows the true extent of how the Pakistani-American War on Terror has altered the leadership structures of Pakistan, by bringing in someone as unpopular and unqualified as Zardari as the nation's president. This frustration amongst the Pakistani people from the War on Terror and Pakistan's support for the United States could potentially lead to the rise of a radical new administration.^{xiv}

IV. Conclusion

The question of this research has been how the War on Terror has affected Pakistan, and this chapter shows that Pakistani leadership has been severely weakened as a result. Unpopular wars have weakened leaders and waned their influence over the course of history throughout the world. This trend was seen during the American presidency of George W. Bush, whose approval ratings dipped down to 28 percent as a result of long-lasting unpopular Iraq War. A nation with a weak leader can be an opportunity for a radical leader to come, this was the case with Pakistan's neighbor to the west, Iran, where the weakened Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was exiled and Ayatollah Khomeini came to power. In Pakistan's past General Yahya Khan, former president, was ostracized after the miserable loss in the 1971 war that resulted in the secession of East Pakistan into Bangladesh. Pervez Musharraf's presidency was waned down by the joint Pakistani-American War, and led to his resignation. After Musharraf the less than ideal candidate Asif Ali Zardari was elected as the nation's president, and the War on Terror poses a significant challenge to his administration.

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CONCLUSION

I. Conducting Research

The research on the topic of the effects of American-Pakistani War on Pakistani society began with Pakistan constant being in news headlines about suicide bombings and political instability. These incidents raise a very simple, but important question, why is there so much chaos in Pakistan? While Pakistan, like much of developing world, has had violence and instability in it's history, it became clear after studying current events in the nation that much of the recent events of that nature were the result of U.S. Invasion of Afghanistan. That is why the American-Pakistani War on Terror was selected as the independent variable that was believed to have caused the dependent variables of anti-Americanism, weakened leadership, and ethnic tensions.

II. Summary of Findings

This study has examined three major issues plaguing Pakistan and how they have either been caused by or been exacerbated by the joint American- Pakistani War on Terror. The first issue discussed is the increased anti-American sentiment in Pakistani society which the war has inflamed. The next issue is increased ethnic and sectarian conflict in Pakistan's diverse and already divided society. The final result of the War on Terror examined is weakened leadership in Pakistan. There are a few common factors involved in all of the war's results, and they include

the U.S. drone attack program, President Pervez Musharraf, and the Taliban.

One major aspect of the American-Pakistani War on Terror that has been commonality of all three issues stated earlier is U.S. drone attack program in northern Pakistan. The drone attacks have been a major reason for Pakistanis to disapprove of the United States and actually loath the nation. Congressional representative Dennis Kucinich has been a vocal opponent of the American drone program and explained the implications when he states that the United States is being pushed “into an area of unaccountability that would lead to blowback, where we actually lose friends, where we help inspire anti-American sentiments and fanaticism and radicalism.”. This statement explains how American drone strikes have resulted in Anti-American sentiment in Pakistan.ⁱ The drone attacks have also been directly responsible for causing ethnic tensions, primarily among the Pakistan's Pashtun population. The Pashtun people feel that foreign powers, the United States, are encroaching upon their territory in Afghanistan with ground troops and in Pakistan with drone strikes. It is because of this feeling the Pashtun have come to accommodate and assist the Taliban against Pakistan and American, with hopes of stability and possibly even an independent nation for Pashtuns.ⁱⁱ The drone strikes have also weakened Pakistani leadership, namely Pervez Musharraf who first allowed them to be carried out in 2004. Musharraf has been criticized for succumbing to too many American demands, and the drone strikes have been a major source of criticism.ⁱⁱⁱ

A key individual in the American-Pakistani War on Terror has been President Pervez Musharraf, and he has been a common factor across all three issues that have resulted from the war. A major reason of anti-Americanism in Pakistan has been President Musharraf's overly accommodating policies towards the U.S. in it's war in Afghanistan and the fact that the U.S.

continued to support Musharraf's presidency despite that he was a military dictator. Musharraf immediately agreed to work with and assist the United States in order to legitimize his rule, and because of this many Pakistanis began to associate their hate for him with America. In a statement early in the U.S.-Pakistani alliance in the War in Afghanistan a businessman in Islamabad summed up the overall sentiment of much of Pakistani society when he stated "If America stops its support, Musharraf wouldn't last for a day,". As stated in previous sections it was Pervez Musharraf's presidency that was significantly weakened by his continued support for the United States in Afghanistan.^{iv} Ethnic conflict which has been exacerbated by the terrorists attacks against religious minorities, and several of these attacks have occurred in Pakistan under Musharraf's presidency. What many of these minorities have felt is that the government has failed to properly protect and this anti-government sentiment has in turn become anti-Musharraf.

The Taliban and related extremist groups from Northwest Pakistan and Afghanistan are essentially Pakistan and America's common enemy. The purpose of the U.S.-Pakistani War on Terror is to combat the Taliban to take control of Afghanistan and counter their insurgency and continuing operations in Pakistan. The Taliban have been responsible for much of the anti-Americanism in Pakistan, creating ethnic and sectarian tensions, and weakening Pakistani leadership, which have been explained in depth throughout this research.

III. Levels of Interaction

The following table explains the three largest issues that have resulted from the Pakistani-American War on Terror at four levels of interaction: local, national, U.S. policy, and

international. The three issues again are anti-Americanism, increased ethnic conflicts, and weakened leadership. These issues being present in all four realms show their severity and far reaching effects.

Table II- Levels of Interaction of the Effects of War

Level of Interaction Issues	Local	National	U.S. Policy	International
Anti-Americanism in Pakistan	Grassroots by the Taliban in NWFP.	Media, TV Personalities, and entertainment industry.	Drone attacks, Attempts to fix perception.	Conspiracy Theories, Attempted Times Square Bombing.
Increased Ethnic and Sectarian Divisions	Pashtuns in the NWFP.	Religious sectarian conflicts.	U.S. Policies that have upset the Pashtuns.	Weak state in Afghanistan and Karzai government.
Weakened Leadership	Red Mosque Siege	Bhutto Assassination, Terrorism	Policies with Musharraf.	A loss of credibility amongst world leaders.

Local anti-Americanism in Pakistan has been seen amongst the Taliban in the NWFP, which has been a safe haven for Taliban and Al Qaeda forces for some time. The Taliban have begun to utilize grassroots campaigns to spread their platform and gain support across the NWFP. Much of these grassroots campaigns have included anti-American propaganda, in order to garner more support to their cause. While much of the anti-Americanism in Pakistan has been vocalized through television, it is important to note that only one third of the nation has access to satellite television, which shows the significant impact these grassroots have had.^v

Anti-Americanism has been seen throughout Pakistani society at the national level. Anti-American sentiment has been engraved in Pakistan's media and entertainment industries. Pop music in Pakistan has become radically politicized since all the recent turmoil in the country. Some of Pakistan's biggest musicians, such as Ali Azmat and Shehzad Roy, have actually begun singing lyrics and showing images criticizing the United States. Many popular music videos display images of conspiracy theories, Muslims being tortured by the American government, and especially of U.S. drone attacks.^{vi}

U.S. foreign policy in Pakistan is the most significant stimulus of anti-Americanism in Pakistan. The primary purpose of the United States' unmanned drones is to target Al-Qaeda and Taliban operatives and not allow the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to be utilized as a safe haven. A major issue with these drone strikes for the Pakistani people is the number of civilian casualties, it was reported in *The News*, a leading Pakistani newspaper, that between the years 2006 and 2009 sixty drone strikes have killed 687 civilians and only 14 Al-Qaeda leaders.^{vii} A major reason for the gap of trust between the Pakistani people and the United States is that the majority of U.S.-Pakistani policy is carried out in secret, with American military leaders slipping in and out of Islamabad. U.S. policy is made with Pakistani leadership and not with the public.^{viii} The U.S. has recognized the extent of anti-Americanism in Pakistan and has taken measures in order to salvage its tainted reputation. In September 2009 the U.S. Senate passed the Kerry-Lugar Bill which tripled non-military aid to Pakistan with \$1.5 billion a year for five years. While the U.S. may mean well the bill has actually backfired with many Pakistani politicians and journalists criticizing it for depriving the nation of its sovereignty. One requirement of the bill is that the U.S. President must work with "relevant governments and organizations in the region

and elsewhere” for implementing counter-insurgency efforts in Pakistan. This interferes with Pakistan’s foreign interests, because it implies even rival nations, namely India, would be given an influence over the nation. Another stipulation of the bill which Pakistanis disagree with is that Pakistan is not allowed to purchase defense equipment even from it's own resources unless if the U.S. government and other relevant countries monitor and approve. The most widespread argument that the Pakistani people make in that their nation would save far more than \$1.5 billion a year if they were not engaging in military campaigns against Anti- American and Anti-Indian groups that are not perceived as their own enemies.^{ix} Another more recent attempt by the U.S. to fix it's image in Pakistan has been by providing assistance to the nation in the aftermath of the floods of Summer 2010. While the U.S. has provided assistance to Pakistan, the amount provided barely compares to that which was provided to Haiti when the earthquakes struck earlier in 2010.^x

Anti-Americanism in Pakistan has gone beyond the confines of just the two nations with conspiracy theories of the international community working to dismantle Pakistan. It is also important to note that these widespread conspiracy theories are no longer a minimal domestic issue due to the terrorism that is has inspired. Most of these international conspiracies believed in Pakistan involve the United States, India, and Israel being responsible for all the terrorist attacks plaguing the country in order to destabilize Pakistan and eventually strip it of it's nuclear weapons. This view is not only expressed amongst Pakistan's lower-class but also the nation's intellectuals and journalists. A specific international conspiracy that Pakistani military and national intelligence are concerned about and investigating is the importance the U.S. is giving India in Afghanistan. India is perceived as using Afghanistan to increase it's influence in the

region and weaken Pakistan. Furthermore, there have been reports of Indian external intelligence agencies using consulates in Afghanistan to funnel weapons and supplies across the border to separatists in Balochistan. These conspiracies of the Indian influence in Afghanistan being used against Pakistan have also fueled disapproval of the United States.^{xi} The international implications of anti-Americanism in Pakistan were seen in May 2010 when Faisal Shahzad attempted to set off a vehicle filled with explosives in the middle of Times Square in New York City. Shahzad was an American citizen; however, he originated from the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan. During his trial Shahzad claimed that he attempted his attack on behalf of the Pakistani Taliban and that until American troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan and Iraq, and drone attacks in Pakistan are stopped “We will be attacking the U.S. and I plead guilty to that.”^{xii}

Ethnic and sectarian conflicts have been a major issue in Pakistan, and have been seen on the local level in the country amongst the Pashtun population. Pashtuns in Pakistan and Afghanistan have become the subject of U.S. and Pakistani anti-insurgent efforts along the Pakistan-Afghan border. Many Pashtuns are reacting to foreign forces they feel are encroaching their land by beginning to support the Taliban with hopes for an independent land for Pashtuns, known as “Pashtunistan”. This is a dangerous result of Pakistani and American efforts against the Taliban. Pakistan must counter these secession ambitions by Pashtun people by improving relations with the Pashtuns within its borders. The Pakistani government should increase Pashtun involvement in the government and work to improve their living conditions through social and economic development such as wealth distribution. Pakistan must also remain mindful of the collateral damage of the Pashtun population of Pakistan as a result of their military

campaigns against Taliban and insurgent forces.^{xiii} Ethnic conflict on a local level in Pakistan has also been seen with the influx of Pashtun refugees from Afghanistan into Pakistan's largest city Karachi. Karachi is currently home to 3.5 million Pashtuns, making it the world's largest urban center for the ethnic group. The Pashtun population is beginning to clash with the local Muhajir and Sindhi population, and the increased presence of Taliban is being blamed on the recent refugees. The local Muhajir political party Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) has been calling for screening of all Pashtun immigrants into Karachi for Taliban supporters, and has blamed the Pashtun party Awami National Party (ANP) for supporting local Taliban forces. On the other hand the ANP claims that the refugees are fleeing from the Taliban and have no allegiance to them. The ANP believes that Pashtuns have been migrating to Karachi for decades and have not been able to live as well as their Muhajir neighbors.^{xiv}

Ethnic and sectarian conflicts in Pakistan as a result of the War on Terror can be seen on a national level with increased tensions between religious minorities in the nation. The Taliban has retaliated to Pakistani military campaigns with bombings across the country, many of which have been against Shia and Ahmedi places of gathering. After a series of bombings in December 2009 during the Shia religious holiday, Ashura, President Asif Ali Zardari, a Shia himself, came out in an attempt to calm sectarian tensions and stated “a deliberate attempt seems to be afoot by the extremists to turn the fight against militants into a sectarian clash and make the people fight against one another”. As Zardari stated the aim of the Taliban is to destabilize the nation by upsetting the Shia population, which was seen in the aftermath of the attacks when riots broke out throughout the country with cars and businesses being set aflame and clashes with police.^{xv} Ahmedis and mainstream Muslims have had a history of strained relations in Pakistan. Ahmedis

are discriminated against in Pakistani with a number of laws that infringe upon their freedoms. Legally Ahmedis are not even considered Muslims, even though they themselves claim to be Muslim. Recently the Taliban have targeted the Ahmedi community with the intention of further fragmenting Pakistan's diverse society. On May 28th, 2010 Taliban forces carried out two near-simultaneous assaults with rifles and grenades on two Ahmedi mosques in Lahore, killing 82 worshippers. This attack has turned Ahmedi Pakistanis even further away from their government, as they now feel that Pakistani law enforcement failed to provide them with adequate protection. After numerous attacks the Shia minority of Pakistan rose up and began rioting against the government throughout the country in retaliation, and should another attack be carried out against the already oppressed Ahmedis similar riots may very well break out.^{xvi}

U.S. policy has been a major stimulus for Pashtun anger and demands for an independent nation. As discussed later the Pashtun people of Afghanistan are frustrated with their president, Hamid Karzai, and the United States has continued to support the widely unpopular leader whom has come to be viewed as an American agent, thus his failures are perceived as failures by America. The United States has also continuously pressed the Pakistani military to combat militants in Pashtun dominated lands in the NWFP, which is interpreted by them as infringing upon their sovereignty. Recent Pakistani military campaigns endorsed by the United States have been in predominately Pashtun lands in Waziristan and Swat. Pashtun people are also upset by American drone strikes in their lands, which have killed several civilians, and which the Pakistani government has allowed.^{xvii}

Certain international issues have been responsible for the recent ethnic and sectarian differences, namely those of the Pashtuns. The Pashtun people demanding their own independent

nation has a lot to do with the current situation in Afghanistan. The Pashtun people feel that they are not properly represented and the Karzai regime lacks legitimacy amongst all of the Afghani people. Hamid Karzai has been criticized for a number of reasons including corruption in his government, and his reliance on the Afghan Diaspora and international allies. The Afghani people, the Pashtuns in particular, have always valued their sovereignty based upon the fact that they have never been conquered by foreign forces and they interpret Karzai's as a puppet leader and his international support as infringing upon their sovereignty. The Pashtuns would be less likely to support the Taliban and demand an independent country if they felt they were adequately represented by a legitimate government in Afghanistan.^{xviii}

Weakened leadership in Pakistan as a result of the War on Terror at the local level has been seen with the Red Mosque Siege, which was essentially a local issue in Islamabad. Students of the Red Mosque began promoting anti-government Islamic Law doctrine in the area, beginning by closing down businesses they felt were not Islamic and actually clashing with authorities. When the insurgent forces refused to comply with the government they took arms and sheltered themselves in the Red Mosque, it was then that Musharraf ordered special forces to storm the mosque and take out the insurgents. This siege against the insurgent forces, while supported by many Pakistanis, led to heavy cast of blame upon President Musharraf. Animosity for Musharraf grew amongst clerics and Taliban supporters of society especially in the turbulent North-West Frontier Province. During the midst of the Red Mosque conflict terrorists made an attempt on Musharraf's life by firing a machine at his plane as it took off. This instance is a local issue caused by the Pakistani War on Terror that led to widespread disapproval for the president at the time, Pervez Musharraf.^{xix}

A national issue that severely hampered the presidency of Pervez Musharraf was the assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Bhutto was assassinated on December 27th, 2007 in Rawalpindi after a rally when her vehicle was shot at and a suicide bomb was detonated. The Musharraf government came under fire for failing to provide her proper protection and security and was believed to even be implicit in the attack by many Bhutto supporters. After an earlier attempt on her life, Benazir stated “We have a lot of security issues the government of Pakistan says it will solve, but then there is no movement.” This statement shows that Benazir was not confident in the Pakistani government’s willingness to protect her life, and would later spread the belief amongst her supporters after her death that the Musharraf government failed to protect her. The official explanation of the murder is that it was carried out by pro- Taliban and Al-Qaeda forces led by Baitullah Mehsud, however there are numerous conspiracy theories that hold Musharraf responsible. A few reasons for these conspiracy theories is that Musharraf had the police clean up the scene of the bombing immediately after the attack, which may have destroyed important evidence from the bombing, and the he refused to have a United Nations investigation into the murder. Another reason the Bhutto assassination devastated Musharraf’s presidency is the lack of response on his part in the aftermath. After the assassination riots broke out throughout the nation and resulted in the deaths of some 60 people and over \$1 billion in damages throughout all sectors the economy, including: manufacturing, revenue, and exports. The people felt that the government did nothing to counter the riots throughout the nation.^{xx}

The United States’ policies with Pakistan have had an impact on the leadership of the nation. A major reason for Musharraf’s downfall was his overwhelming support for the United

States. American foreign policy towards the dictator ruler Pervez Musharraf was completely altered by the reliance upon him in the War in Afghanistan. Prior to the war relations between Pakistan and the United States were strained by the recently developed nuclear weapons and rise of a military dictator, and included a number of sanctions which barred military and economic assistance to Pakistan. Soon after the September 11th Attacks President George W. Bush lifted these sanctions and began to cozy relations between the nations. The Musharraf administration began providing vital intelligence and operational support to U.S. military forces in Afghanistan, allowed military bases within it's borders, and granting permission to use their airspace. One particular American policy as already mentioned several times that upset the Pakistani people was the drone attack program, and Musharraf was criticized for allowing this. The Pakistani cooperation with America that Musharraf authorized led to him being viewed as a pawn of the United States and significantly weakened his presidency.^{xxi}

The international aspect of weakened leadership in the face of the War on Terror is apparent with the international community doubting Pakistan's leadership. A recent Wikileaks U.S. diplomatic cable disclosed the explicit doubt and disdain by the British government for President Asif Ali Zardari when he first came to power soon after Musharraf's dismissal. The cable shows that a month after Zardari was elected a diplomat stated that the British government "makes no attempt to hide from us its disdain for Zardari." The cable goes on to describe British officials describing Zardari as "highly corrupt and lacking popular support, simply having benefited from his wife's unfortunate demise." The most shocking statement revealed was by former British head of military, Air Chief Marshall Jock Stirrup, stating about Zardari that "He's clearly a numbskull." The perception of a leader reflects how their nation is viewed. Asif Ali

Zardari came to power because of how weakened Musharraf became primarily by the War on Terror, and is acknowledged by the international community as not a worthy president.

IV. Answering the Research Question

The question of this research has been: How has the American War in Afghanistan and the joint American-Pakistani War on Terror has effected Pakistani society?. This essay answered this research question by describing how Pakistan has been devastated by the joint War on Terror with a weakened leadership, increased ethnic and sectarian conflict, and a growing anti-American sentiment. Several other questions that could be answered in future endeavors were brought to light during this research. One these questions is: How has the international community shaped Pakistan?. This research looked into the recent effects of the world upon Pakistan, but specifically looked into only the United States' impact on the nation after the invasion of Afghanistan. Another subject to study that came up over the course of this research is the effects of terrorism on a nation, where case studies could be done between a few countries to see how it's impact varies. These countries could include Pakistan, a nation with constant terrorist attacks, the United States, which has been completely changed by one major attack, and Afghanistan, a nation where a major war is taking place and terrorist attacks are also constant.

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