

## Role of Afghan Political Culture in the Growth of Terrorism in Pakistan

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### Abstract

In International Politics and International Relations, it is verified that neighbouring countries always affect each other. In this article we investigated the role of Afghan political culture in the insecurity of Afghanistan as well as Pakistan. Most of the countries considered Pakistan as a sponsor of terrorism in Afghanistan. But this study analysed that Pakistan is a victim of terrorism due to the political culture of Afghanistan. Afghan people obey a set of laws called Pakhtunwali. According to one of its law, they provide shelter to anybody who requests them for it. So that some terrorist organizations use this law and succeeded to get safe place in the country. This took the country into the chaos. Afghanistan has been encountering civil disintegration for many decades. On the other hand Pakistani and Afghan people have close relations to each other. So Pakistan is also affected by the chaos in Afghanistan. Although Pakistan has been alleged as a terrorist country by its rival neighbour India throughout their post-independence history, but this is Afghan relations which make Pakistan notorious in all over the world.

**Key words:** Afghanistan, Pakistan, Terrorism, Pakhtunwali, Afghan Political Culture

### Terrorism: An Introduction

Terrorism is the deadliest political issue of the day. It has become a problem for each and every country, whether it is developed or underdeveloped. Defining the terrorism, Merriam-Webster dictionary describes its origin from 1795. It defines it as follows: "the use of violent acts to frighten the people in



an area as a way of trying to achieve a political goal.”<sup>1</sup> Likewise Oxford Dictionary relates its origin to the period of French Revolution in 18th century. It defines the terrorism as follows: “the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims.”<sup>2</sup> It is defined in the both dictionaries with the same meaning. It means to frighten people with the violence for political ends. This is clear that terrorism is a political step and concerns with politics. P. Wilkinson refined it as a political strategy in his book *Terrorism and the Liberal State*, Second Edition in 1986.<sup>3</sup> Mr Hoffman said in his book *Inside Terrorism* that terrorism is different to other types of violence. He also said that the definition and meaning of the terrorism is frequently changing throughout the two centuries.<sup>4</sup> Terror means fear and terrorism means the use of fear against common people by the political or non-political actors to get their political ends. These actors are normally non-state actors. There are so many systematic methods and ways to use terror against civilians. It could be shooting with guns and rockets, bombing at public places, massacre, and suicide bombing, hijacking a vehicle or plane, kidnapping, assassination, and releasing chemicals in the atmosphere, etc. Suicide bombing is started by 1980s.<sup>5</sup> As for as contemporary terrorism concerned, there are some famous terrorist attacks in the recent history. For example Tirkat, Iraq hostage taking on 15th June, 2014 ranking on the number one at the Global Terrorism Database with 1500 fatalities. The second is World Trade Centre attacks, New York, USA on 11th September 2001 with 1382 fatalities. Third is Gikoro, Rwanda Armed Assault on 13th April 1994 with 1180 deaths. The 9/11 incident is the most famous in Pakistan because after these attacks the US President George W. Bush commenced and announced a War on Terror.<sup>6</sup> NATO allies started to sponsor USA to combat with Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden, who was dwelling in Afghanistan at that time. The war was started and US sent NATO Forces to Afghanistan to find out Osama Bin Laden and to kill him. For this Pakistan was demanded to provide platform for NATO Forces.<sup>7</sup>

### **Terrorism in Pakistan**

Pakistan: whether it is a victim of terrorism or the sponsor of terrorism? This is the question which is arisen in the mind of every individual talking about terrorism. Afghanistan a neighbouring country to Pakistan also alleged that Pakistan is sponsoring Taliban in Afghanistan.<sup>8</sup> There are some other allegations that Pakistan is playing a dual role in the War on Terror. The media played a very vital role in the making of the sense that Pakistan is backing terrorism. It is obvious that media is a superpower of the day. The words of Theodore H. White, was quoted in the book *Terrorism and the Media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to the World Trade Center Bombing* by Brigitte Lebens Nacos as follows: "Power, said Karl Marx over a century ago, is control over the means of production; that phrase, said Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., recently, should be changed- power in America today is control of the media of communication."<sup>9</sup>

Pakistan has come into existence in August, 1947.<sup>10</sup> Throughout the history of Pakistan, it has security issues with its neighbouring state India. These both state are rivals of each other.<sup>11</sup> Pakistan is not secure having such rival states in the region. It has encountered terrorism and extremism throughout the history. Hassan Abbas wrote a book *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. In this book he thoroughly described the history of Islam since 712 A.D. he further described the events and reasons of emergence of extremism in the country. Pakistan's first assassination against its good leadership was the Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination in 1951.<sup>12</sup> Terrorism is a political phenomenon, and it is obvious that it is related to states. Despite India, Pakistan has other neighbouring states with cold relations such as Afghanistan which influences Pakistan's geopolitical role in the region.<sup>13</sup> Being a Nuclear power is also considered Pakistan as a threat to the regional security but in fact Pakistan was insecure before holding Nuclear power. Pakistan was seeking security guarantee from its rival neighbour India. Zafar Iqbal Cheema explained this security issue very profoundly in his article *Pakistan's Case Study for a Nuclear Security Guarantee*. In this article he quoted former Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as follows: "A more grave and serious event has not taken place in the history of Pakistan"<sup>14</sup> Pakistan was insecure before

possessing Nuclear arsenals. Afghanistan and Pakistan are both Muslim states, and encountering the problem of terrorism. They have the home-grown terrorism<sup>15</sup> in their territories. There are many of the terrorist attacks in history of Pakistan but since 2001, most popular attacks are listed at the end of the document in the table No. 2. To understand their relationship and the impacts of Afghanistan's neighbourhood on Pakistan first the political culture of Afghanistan should be analyzed.

### **Political Culture of Afghanistan**

#### **Political Culture**

Political culture is a set of beliefs, values, opinions, attitudes, traditions, history and participation of people towards politics of a specific area or state. According to Almond and Powell, Political culture is defined as "the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system".<sup>16</sup> As far as Afghan political culture is concerned, this is traditional and parochial; Afghanistan is a poor country and people are unaware of their political decisions taken by the governing body and live a backward life. In Europe there is a complete value system, there are so many events, revolutions, wars and philosophical works in the history, at last Europeans discovered democracy as the best form of government regarding liberty, rights, and political stability that is why they are advanced and well developed politically. But the case is different in Afghanistan, the Kings in the history of Afghanistan made no developments, they followed traditions. People lived in remote areas and knew less about the central government. This is the discussion about the political participation of the people, awareness of the people about their political system, political organizations and role of political parties. In addition to know about political culture of a country, it is necessary to analyze their political history, as history influences on our today, Afghan influencing traditions, ethnical divisions, etc.

#### **Role of Political Parties in Afghanistan: Historical Background**

In the history of Afghanistan, there were forms of government i.e. oligarchy, autocracy, and monarchy since 1747-1978<sup>17</sup>. Although, elections were held during Durrani dynasty rule in 1964 and 1969 but it was not exact democracy. In these elections People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan

(PDPA) emerged which was the representative of the feudal lords and tribal elites rather than the people of Afghanistan<sup>18</sup>. PDPA played vital role in Saur Revolution and made some reforms to convert Afghanistan from capitalist to communist state. Afghan people are conscious about their ethnicity, so this was also dominant in PDPA members, this political party split into two factions: Khalaq and Parcham, due to their languages, the former had members from Pashto speaking, mostly urban people who were radical reformists and the later was a mixture of Dari speaking, non-Pakhtoons and Tajiks, they were gradual reformists<sup>19</sup>. The party was failed in the rural areas where the people were backward and conservative; they do not like the change and reforms in the society. They were influenced by their religious lords who did not accept the modernization by the communist PDPA. Afterwards, in 2001 we can see in the history of Afghanistan that political parties were officially registered as political organizations but the parties could not play a significant role in the elections of 2009, these parties were working for the mere collective objectives, but after this, the political parties started to work hard, they started to think about the change in their behaviours, young educated people were also be recruited in the parties, this change came due to the communication technology, urban people were joining the parties because the parties were changed, giving more opportunities and more space for female members, preparing for next elections in September 2014 and starting the national issue-based politics. This shows the advancement in the political culture of Afghanistan<sup>20</sup>.

### **Characteristics of Afghan Political Culture**

Afghan political culture is dual in the sense of urban-rural political culture. The political behaviour of the people: individually and collectively different in the rural areas and in the urban areas. The both cultures are discussed beneath.

#### **Rural Political Culture of Afghanistan**

(i) Conservative and Religious: The people of Afghanistan are following an un-written, ethical code of conduct as their tradition which is called Pashtunwali tradition, according to this tradition people of Afghanistan are bound to give respect to visitors regardless to their caste and creed, to protect

and give refuge to the person who request them, to take revenge against the wrongdoer, to defend their land, property and their families, to be loyal to their families, friends, and their tribes, to be good in their thoughts, words and deeds, to believe in one God, to be courageous, to protect the honour of their women, to secure the weak person, and to protect the land of Pashtuns which is Afghanistan. In the reign of Taliban government, this ethical code of conduct is included in the constitution along with the Deoband School of Thought (An Islamic Sect). Following this tradition, Taliban refused to hand over Osama bin Laden to United States of America because they were bound to protect and to give refuge to Osama bin Laden. The religion oriented behaviour of the people is the main cause of the failure of the PDPA in the history, when the communist PDPA want to change and to modernize the country politically, socially and economically. But the people of rural areas were influenced by their religious clergy which caused a civil war in Afghanistan<sup>21</sup>.

(ii) Lack of Political Awareness: The dimension of the rural political culture of Afghanistan is Cognitive; they do not know their political leader and the objectives of their political party, they only participate without any awareness about their national political issues. Even there are some people who do not know the importance of their vote and do not cast their vote for any political party.

(iii) Political Exclusion of Women: Women in Afghanistan are not only politically excluded but also socially. They cannot enjoy a single right, even they are not supposed as “human being” by the society. A book “Kabul Beauty School: An American Woman Goes Behind the Veil” by Deborah Rodriguez and Kristin Ohlson described the backwardness, hardships, problems and social and political exclusions of women. In this book Rodriguez called Afghanistan, “Manistan”<sup>22</sup> which means that a society of men or a country of men. The literacy rate of women is almost 5%<sup>23</sup>. This low literacy rate, of women in Afghanistan is due to the backwardness of the people in the rural areas as well as Taliban regime, who were against to the women education. As an NGO RAWA recorded, “Islamic Fundamentalists (1992) regarded as a tragedy for women’s rights”

### **Urban Political Culture of Afghanistan**

(i) More Modernized than Rural Culture: People in the urban areas are more modernized organized and civilized than the rural people. They are well known of their political affairs and political decision taken by their political parties. They know that for whom they are going to cast their vote, who is their best leader, who can lobby for involvement in the government, what is the manifesto of their political party. In the history, they were also affected by the civil war and external interventions but they did not lose their heart and tried to find the best way for the stability and integrity. They accepted the PDPA reforms for modernization. But their populace is less than that of rural areas that is why they are less influential than rural people

(ii) Lack of Organized Political Party: In 2014, Ghani's presidency has been started who was the vice chancellor at Kabul University and the most intellectual person in Afghanistan. Before 2001, there was no consensus on transfer of power as well as decision making, but Karzai proved to be a democratic president of Afghanistan. Ghani is the successor of Hamid Karzai and being an intellectual he took steps to legalize the political parties, "A constitutional Loya Jirga apparently scheduled for some point before the end of 2016 may provide the necessary opportunity for parties to lobby for greater involvement in government". Before Karzai's administration there was no organized political party in Afghanistan which can communicate to the government, which can represent the demands of the people of Afghanistan as well as the public opinion over the governmental policies.

### **Common Characteristics (Rural-Urban Political Culture**

(i) Multi-ethnicity and Social Fragmentation: Afghanistan, according to Arend Lijphart's categories of political culture, has a political culture of elite in which the contradictory element is very high; there are two ethnic groups influencing the society and politics of Afghanistan both have a high level of contradiction, they oppose one another without thinking about stability of their political system. They never co-operate each other. Society and politics are separate in developed states, but being a developing state, Afghanistan's society is interlinked with politics. People are distributed in ethno-linguistic groups. There was a time when Pashtuns were trying to expand their power

politically and economically, it was unbearable for others i.e. Tajiks, Hazara, Uzbeks, etc. “Thus the stage was set for an internal contestation of power, as well as a questioning of state legitimacy, as Afghanistan is entered the latter part of the twentieth century” This social fragmentation created hurdles in the way of prosperity of Afghanistan. This is the major cause of underdevelopment and this made Afghanistan state.

(ii) Sectarianism: The islamisation by Taliban government created a new fragmentation and serious problem which was Shia-Sunni conflict. It drove the country into further power contestations. Before the Taliban this contestation was known as the Pashtun-Hazara conflict which forced Iran to influence Afghanistan. Iran did not recognize the Taliban government due to their conflict, which creates more critical conditions for Afghanistan.

(iii) Weak Governing Body: The political institutions have been weak in Afghanistan for many centuries; Durrani dynasty always wanted the economic and military support by their kin tribes as Samina Ahmed said, “the Durrani state was distinguished by the existence of a weak centre and a relatively autonomous periphery, with the authority of the state circumscribed by an underdeveloped political and administrative infrastructure fiscal resources”<sup>24</sup>. After Durrani, many people came and fight for power but failed to have a strong administration, which can integer the factions of different ethnic, sectarian and linguistic groups. Even the democratic Hamid Karzai was also influenced by the Taliban, and could not overcome the national problems. Barack Obama assumed Afghanistan stability problem could be resolved very soon answering an international opinion that Afghanistan is a “second Veitnam” and could never be stabilized. He thought that only USA can resolve this problem. <sup>25</sup> So, he sent his Forces to Afghanistan which was another sign of instability of Afghanistan.

(iv) External Problems: Weakness of the government made Afghanistan a renter state which always wanted the help of other powerful countries and the neighbouring states. Civil war in Afghanistan gave strength to external power to interfere in the internal affairs of the state, Anglo intervention, Soviet intervention and western interventions are results of internal disintegration which is due divergent ethnicity and culture. Contest between leftist Khalaq



and Parcham caused the Soviet intervention and Taliban's Islamization and Shia conflict forced United States of America to intervene in and kill many innocent Afghans through different means i.e. drone attacks and etcetera. This is the political culture of Afghanistan itself which caused so many external invasions in Afghanistan.

### **Political System of Afghanistan**

S.E. Finer called such type of political culture a low political culture as the attachment of the people to their governmental institutions is weak,<sup>26</sup> but assessing the last elections in 2014, we can say that it is going to be developed and more organized than that of history. We can analyze it in two categories which are as follows. Political System in History: According to the types of cultures by Almond and Powell, this is the parochial political culture because the populace of the state were distributed in the tribes and clans who were ignorant to their governing body, its institutions, its decision made by policy makers and their political affairs. The people did not think about to get information about the above all. They were literally backward and ignorant about the political developments of the other world. Before many decades the state was an isolated state which did not want to make bilateral relations to other states.

### **Contemporary Political System**

The ratio of rural population is more than the urban people that is why the political development is slow, but the western intervention and regional influences created a sense of democracy in the overall country. The elections of 2014 showed a difference between the traditional perceptions and modern perceptions. Emerging political parties is a proof of modern perceptions. The concepts of democracy, liberalization, human rights and equality are introduced. Now Afghanistan has a developing political system. More space has been given to political groups, and parties.

The political culture of Afghanistan is lower to the political cultures of other developing states in the world. People are unaware to the benefits of proportional representation, consensus on the disputing issues, elected governing body and the sovereignty. Civil disintegration caused external interventions which they often experienced, they always seek the economic,

military, even political help to the other neighbouring developed countries. The Afghan government is not accommodating all factions prevailing in the nation; it should accommodate all ethnic groups and sectors to overcome disunity of the ethno-political groups. It should make some amendments in the constitution to provide proportional representation to all factions of the state to make them unite, so that there would be consensus and satisfaction among these factions. Benefits of the democracy should be propagated because for such a vibrant culture the democracy is the best form of government. Pashtuns are the leading and governing people through many centuries; no government could stand without their support, there should be a special space for them. The political communication should be made smooth and effective because it is not still prevailing in Afghanistan which caused the backwardness, political and social exclusion, inequality, disintegration, and hostile behaviour of the people towards other than their own faction.

Cultural relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a land-locked state which has its longest border with Pakistan called Durand Line. Pashto is one of the two official languages of Afghanistan. There are 42% Pashtuns living in Afghanistan and 15.42 % in Pakistan. The Pashtuns of the both sides are bound in cultural relationships across the border. Although Pakistan has been facing hostility from Afghan government throughout the history of Pakistan, but the people have been friends, relatives even family members. They inter-marriage and have close relations with each other. As far as the emergence of Islam in the Sub-continent is concerned, Afghan rulers are highlighted. There are several Indian rulers who belonged to Afghanistan for example, Mehmood of Ghazna, Mohammad of Ghor, Mamluk Dynasty, Lodhi Dynasty, Babar, Sher Shah Suri, Ahmed Shah Durani, Nawab Sir Khan Zaman Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan etc. These rulers ruled on India for centuries. They had affected the people of India through their Islamic ideas and culture. There is a sole role played by these rulers in the cultural change in India. After British colonial period commenced, Afghanistan and British India had cold relations and there was a phenomenon introduced as a "Great Game" in their history.<sup>27</sup> This was between the Britain and Russia over the intervention of

Russia in Afghanistan. When Pakistan came into existence in 1947, Afghanistan was one and only state which voted against Pakistan's membership in the United Nations Organization. There are many political differences and conflicts between Afghanistan and Pakistan. But the masses of the both countries are same and influencing each other. There are several Urdu words intervened in the Pashto and Dari languages of Afghanistan. Likewise there are several people who know Pashto and Dari languages in Pakistan especially the people of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtun Khwa. These areas are much affected by the Tehrik-e-Taliban and other militant groups belonged to Afghanistan.

### **Aspects Causing Terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan**

Terrorism is a common phenomenon of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Masses are aware of the terrorism even children know that what is terror and what is terrorism. There is a song prepared by Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR), the media wing of the Pakistan Armed Forces, for children after the Army Public School Peshawar attack on 16 December, 2014 titled "Mujhay Dushman k Bachon ko Parhana Hai" This attack was the most terrifying in the whole history of Pakistan.<sup>28</sup> There are several such incidents in the history of Pakistan and Afghanistan when Tehrik-e-Taliban or Al-Qaeda attacked and several civilian people killed and injured. There are internal and external aspects which caused terrorism in Pakistan.

(i) Internal Aspects: Pakistan is facing many internal problems for example economic demise, inflation, illiteracy and exceeding population. Political instability is another hindrance in the way to prosperity. These all impediments create the biggest problem, the terrorism. Although the existence of terrorism is backed by any political goal but other social, economic and educational factors make the issue many folded. Pakistan is a Muslim country according to its constitution as well as its culture. There is diversity in the social culture regarding the region of territory but their religious culture is same to each other i.e. Islam. Their living standards are different but their ideology is same. There are some religious schools which called locally "Madrassa". They teach the students how to fight against the social evils in short they grow them as Mujahids. They are responsible of home-grown

terrorism in the country. They taught Islamic teachings regarding war but not all of them. They want to form them according to radical Islam of Taliban as it is in Afghanistan. Some people are opine of that Islamization and Talibanization are both the actual causes of terrorism in Pakistan, on the other side some thought that Pakistan's policy makers are the exact routes of terrorism in the country. Exceeding population and lack of accurate awareness in Pakistan lead the country to inflation. Then inflation leads to corruption which leads to injustice. Then injustice creates depression in the society. After that the country went to the stream of extremism which finally brought it to the hole of terrorism.

(ii) External Aspects: The plant of terrorism is also irrigated by the foreign powers. India standing in the whole east of Pakistan always tries to disintegrate Pakistan. It backed all the foes of Pakistan. This is not enough for India; its raw agents penetrate in Pakistan to investigate what Pakistan Army is doing for the security of Pakistan. It raised the Balochistan disintegration issue through backing tribal Lords of Balochistan. On the other side it backed the Afghanistan government against Pakistan. Its Chabahar Port project is just to surround Pakistan.<sup>29</sup> Afghanistan's government is sought to be a pro-Indian government. Both countries alleged that each and every security problem in the region is created by Pakistan. But Pakistan is a peace-loving country. Pakistani people are suffering from extremism and terrorism in the country. Shia people have sentiments in their heart for Iran; Pashto people have the same for Afghanistan. There are two out of four provinces of Pakistan lying on the Line of Control (LoC) Punjab and Sindh. The other two are lying on the Durand Line and the border of Iran. Baloch people of Balochistan province in Pakistan show their affiliation with the neighbouring Iran and the Pashtoo show their affiliation with Afghanistan which creates sectarianism. Sects always bring in to extremism. So the sectarianism developed by the external rivals.

### **Impacts of Afghan Political Culture on Terrorism in Pakistan**

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report, Pakistan is the second largest host of the refugees after Turkey in 2015, as it has hosted 2.7 million Afghan refugees.

But in 2013 it was the largest host in the world with 1.6 million refugees. Afghanistan is also second after Syria finding refuge to other countries due their internal political disorders and insecurity. There are two major hosting countries for Afghan refugees: Pakistan and Iran. The 95 percent of the total refugees are living in the both neighbouring countries.<sup>30</sup> According to the reports of NHCR there are several thousand of Afghans who came to Pakistan depressed by the chaos in their own country. There is a table regarding a ten year review of Afghan refugees in Pakistan at the end of the document. The source of this table is Global Trends: an annual report of the UNHCR. This has been included to analyze how many refugees are coming to Pakistan every year. The average number of refugees worldwide is 16.62 million people including the average of 2.629 million Afghan refugees. This is the 16.81 percent of the world wide refugee population. The average of the Afghan refugees hosted by Pakistan is 1.708 million, which is 64.96 percent of the total Afghan refugees. The average of the returnees from Pakistan to Afghanistan is 145,931. On 31st December 2016 Pakistan's total population is 194.8 million. According to this the share of Afghan refugees in Pakistan's total population is 0.88 percent. But there are two provinces which are affected by these refugees socially and culturally. These are KPK and Balochistan along with Afghan border.

There is sectarianism, multi-ethnicity and social fragmentation in Afghanistan which smooth the way of extremism and terrorism in the country. This is not enough; there is lack of political awareness and organised political parties. The people are conservatives and religious, they also politically exclude their women. Afghan political culture has been remain for many centuries a parochial political culture now after the US withdrawal the country is backing from chaos and ranked as a developing country. Following the Pakhtunwali: their code of conduct, and being the radical sunni Muslim they believed in the teachings of Islam. They also believe in the setting up the Islamic State everywhere in the world. They love Pakistan as well, so they seek Islamic conventional state stabilising in Pakistan.

There are some militant organizations in Pakistan which work for the stability of Islam in the country and want to secure Pakistan from foreign

secular ideologies. If we analyze the table 2 of some selective most popular attacks in history of Pakistan since 2001, we must find Tehrik-e-Taliban on the first having responsibility of 24 attacks on different places and different times. Al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi on the second, having 4 attacks each and Jamaat-ul-Ahrar on the third having 3 attacks. There are 28 attacks whose responsible attackers are still unidentified. TTP, Al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi all have links to Afghanistan, even they all belong to each other.

They all are fighting against the Shia sect and wanted to emerge Pakistan and Afghanistan into a Sunni Islamic State.<sup>31</sup> Pakistan is facing such deadly situations of extremism and terrorism due to these militant organizations. Political culture of Afghanistan as discussed thoroughly above is not so much against these militant groups. People of Afghanistan living in Pakistan are also pro-TTP and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. American War on Terror was started in Afghanistan in 2001. The conditions were very critical for the people of Afghanistan. They were seeking shelter places and Pakistan was the country which provided them the shelter. In these refugees there were some militants who migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan. They do the same in Pakistan as they do in Afghanistan: trying to set up an ideological Islamic state even Pakistan, according to its constitution, is an Islamic Republic. They fight to the people who are pro-American by their work or by their mind. This situation creates problems in Pakistan and become the cause of the growth of terrorism in the country. Pakistan Army through its Operation Zarb-e-Azb, is fighting against these militants and cleared the country. There are several Internally Displaced People of FATA and other Agencies who suffer due to this operation but it was necessary to clear their areas so that the territory could be clear and vacant from the militants hidden in these areas. Pakistan is so much affected by these terrorists that it had to suffer from displacement and Armed operations in its own territory. The decision to return the un-registered refugees to Afghanistan is another step taken by the government of Pakistan. But still there is a need of perfect policy making which can be effective in clearing and securing Pakistan. Pakistan and Afghan governments should work together on such issue except being rivals because both countries

are interrelated socially and they suffer from the same problems at the same time.

### Conclusion

In this research, it is concluded that Afghan political culture is parochial and traditional almost, as it is discussed above in this report and the people of Afghanistan seriously obey the law or code of conduct: Pakhtoonwali which was exploited by the Al Qaeda's leader Usama Bin Laden. It is found in this paper that the political culture of Afghanistan is harmonious for such militants who seek shelter as it is a law in the Pakhtoonwali that if anyone requests to a Pakhtoon for they not only provide it for him even they protect him without caring about their own life's security. There are so many reasons for such conditions in Afghanistan for example sectarianism, multi ethnicity, social fragmentation, weak governance, conservative people and their low level of political awareness. Then how it can be possible that the chaos in Afghanistan will never disturb the security of Pakistan, which is not only neighbouring country but also has provided refuge to the internally displaced people in the past when Afghanistan was suffering from civil war. Khyber Pakhtoon Khaw and Balochistan are two provinces of Pakistan are sharing borders with Afghanistan and these are the most affected areas of Pakistan. These provinces witnessed lawlessness and terrorism and later they went through Pakistan Military Operations. After this study, the report concluded that Pakistan is not a sponsor of terrorism but it is, in fact a victim of terrorism and this terrorism came from Afghanistan which was developed by the political culture of Afghanistan.

7-Annexures

7. Tabulation: Table No. I

A Ten Year Review of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan					
Serial No.	Year	Number of World Wide Refugees (in millions)	Afghan Refugees (in millions)	Afghan refugees in Pakistan (in millions)	Returned to Afghanistan
I	2015	21.3	2.7	1.61	61,400

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2	2014	19.5	2.59	1.51	13,000
3	2013	16.7	2.56	1.63	39,666
4	2012	15.4	2.58	1.64	98,609
5	2011	25.9	2.66	1.71	71,145
6	2010	10.5	3.05	1.93	118,032
7	2009	15.2	2.88	1.74	57,582
8	2008	15.2	2.05	1.78	278,500
9	2007	16.6	3.11	2.03	374,000
10	2006	9.9	2.11	1.5	387,000

Table No. 2

Popular Terrorist Attack in Pakistan History Since 2001					
Serial No.	Place of Attack	Date	Killed in Numbers	Injured in Numbers	Responsible Organization
1	Karsaz bombing	18.10.2007	180	500	Unknown Militants
2	Peshawar APS Massacre	16.12.2014	141	200	TTP
3	Peshawar bombing	28.10.2009	117	213	Unknown Militants
4	Lakki Marwat suicide bombing	01.01.2010	105	105	Unknown Militants
5	Yakaghund, Mohmand Agency Attack	09.07.2010	104	120	Unknown Militants
6	All Saints Church Peshawar	22.09.2013	78	130	TTP
7	Lahore suicide bombing	27.03.2016	75	340	TTP
8	September 2010 Quetta bombing	03.09.2010	73	200	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
9	March 2010 Lahore bombings	12.03.2010	72	190	TTP
10	Quetta Attacks	08.08.2016	70	130	Jamaat-ul-Ahrar



11	Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF) Wah Attack	21.08.2008	70	100	TTP
12	Quetta police training college attack	24.10.2016	61	165	Islamic State
13	Shikarpur bombing	30.01.2015	61	50	Sunni Sect
14	Wagah border suicide attack	02.11.2014	60	100	Jundallah and Jamaat-ul-Ahrar
15	Parachinar bombing	26.07.2013	57	100	Unknown Militants
16	Lahore bombings	07.12.2009	54	150	Unknown Militants
17	Islamabad Marriott Hotel bombing	20.09.2008	54	266	Unknown Militants
18	Data Darbar Lahore bombings	01.07.2010	50	200	Unknown Militants
19	Dera Ghazi Khan bombings	03.04.2011	50	120	TTP
20	December 2010 Mohmand Agency bombings	06.12.2010	50	100	TTP
21	Karachi bombing	03.03.2013	48	180	TTP
22	Khyber Agency bombing	19.08.2011	48	100	TTP
23	Khuzdar bombing	12.11.2016	47	100	ISIS
24	December 2010 Bajaur bombing	25.12.2010	47	100	TTP
25	Karachi bus shooting	13.05.2015	46	0	<a href="#">Jundallah</a>
26	Quetta mosque bombing	04.07.2003	44	65	Lashkar-e- Jhangvi
27	Quetta Ashura Massacre	02.03.2004	42	100	Unknown Militants
28	Dargai bombing	08.11.2006	42	20	Al-Qaeda
29	Qissa Khawani Bazaar	29.09.2013	41	100	Unknown

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	bombing				Militants
30	Parade Lane, Rawalpindi Attack	04.12.2009	40	80	Unknown Militants
31	Multan bombing	07.10.2004	40	100	Unknown Militants
32	September 2010 Lahore bombings	01.09.2010	38	250	TTP and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
33	Jinnah International Airport attack	08.06.2014	36	18	TTP
34	Peshawar bombings	12.06.2011	34	100	TTP
35	Shangla military convoy bombing	12.10.2009	32	46	Unknown Militants
36	Khyber Agency bombing	10.01.2012	30	78	Unknown Militants
37	Khyber mosque bombing	18.02.2010	30	70	Unknown Militants
38	Pakistan Air Force base Attack in Badhabar Peshawar	18.09.2015	29	15	Unknown Militants
39	Mastung bus shooting	20.09.2011	26	6	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
40	Faisalabad bombing	08.03.2011	25	127	TTP
41	Mohmand Tribal District, bordering Afghanistan	16.09.2016	24	31	Jamaat-ul-Ahrar
42	Assassination of Benazir Bhutto Rawalpindi	27.12.2007	24		Unknown Militants
43	Bacha Khan University Attack	20.01.2016	22	20	TTP
44	Mastung bus attack	29.05.2015	22	0	United Baluch Army
45	Peshawar mosque attack	13.02.2015	19	63	Unknown

46	Roman Catholic Church and Christ Church Lahore Bombing	15.03.2015	19	70	India
47	Pakistan CID Building Attack Karachi	11.11.2010	18	100	TTP and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
48	PNS Mehran attack	22.05.2011	18	16	TTP
49	Pearl Continental hotel Peshawar bombing	09.06.2009	17	46	TTP
50	Peshawar Church Attack	28.10.2001	16	6	Unknown
51	Bajaur bombing	30.01.2010	16	25	Al-Qaeda
52	Quetta suicide bombing	08.08.2016	15	25	TTP and Jaishul Islam
53	Multan Bombing	13.09.2015	15	57	Al-Qaeda
54	Peshawar bus bombing	16.03.2016	15	25	Unknown
55	Mardan District Court Peshawar	02.09.2016	14	52	Unknown
56	R.A Bazar Rawalpindi Attack	19.01.2014	13	29	Unknown Militants
57	<a href="#">Quetta Airbase Attack</a>	15.08.2014	12	11	Ghalib Mehsud, TTP
58	Quetta bus bombing	19.10.2015	11	22	Unknown Militants
59	Nanga Perbat Attack	23.06.2013	11	1	TTP
60	ISI Peshawar HQ truck-Attack	14.11.2009	10	60	Unknown Militants
61	Bacha Khan International Airport attack	15.12.2012	9	40	TTP and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
62	Danish Embassy Islamabad Bombing	02.06.2008	8	24	Al-Qaeda
63	Girls' school Lower Dir	03.02.2010	8	18	TTP

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	bombing				
64	Sri Lanka National Cricket Team Lahore	03.03.2009	8	9	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
65	Manawan Police Academy Lahore Attack	30.03.2009	8	95	TTP
66	International Islamic University Islamabad bombing	20.10.2009	6	29	Unknown Militants
67	Death of Osama bin Laden	02.05.2011	5		USA
68	Islamabad Frontier Corps post bombing	04.04.2009	5	5	Unknown Militants
69	Navy War College Lahore Attack	04.03.2008	4	21	Unknown Militants
70	Memorial of Quaid-e-Azam Residency Ziarat Attack	15.06.2013	1		Balochistan Liberation Army
71	Attack on Musharraf Islamabad	14.12.2003	0	0	Unknown Militants

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