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Pakistan's Counter-Terrorism Strategies on the Shadow of Taliban's Return in Afghanistan

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Abstract

For the last two decades, Pakistan has been engaged in countering the threat of terrorism, primarily emanating from its western border. However, the resurgence of the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2021 significantly impacted the region's security landscape and raised concerns in Pakistan about its counter-terrorism strategies. This paper examines how Pakistan has recalibrated its counter-terrorism approaches in response to the Taliban's return to power. The paradoxical nature of Pakistan's position, balancing direct military confrontation with insurgent groups, such as Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), and its historical ties to the Afghan Taliban, undoubtedly, complicate its policy responses. It argues that while Pakistan has intensified its border security through fencing of the 2600 km long porous border with Afghanistan and launched military operations in the former tribal districts, these measures have been undermined by the Taliban's resurgence. Furthermore, the study underscores the role of international partnerships, particularly with the United States and China, in shaping Pakistan's counter-terrorism discourse. The re-establishment of Taliban rule in Afghanistan has also intensified challenges related to the flow of refugees, the smuggling of weapons, and the cross-border movement of insurgents. All these developments exacerbate Pakistan's internal security challenges. The paper concludes that while Pakistan has made significant strides in enhancing its counter-terrorism capabilities, the geopolitical and strategic implications of the Taliban's return necessitate a more nuanced, multifactorial approach that integrates regional cooperation, intelligence sharing, and domestic policy reforms.

Key Words: Pakistan, terrorism, TTP, Afghanistan, Counter Terrorism Strategies

Introduction

The ascent of the Taliban to power in Afghanistan in August 2021 marked a profound geopolitical shift in

the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. This development instigated a significant alteration in the regional security dynamics, directly impacting Pakistan's western border, which stretches for over 2,600 kilometers, and its protracted counter-terrorism efforts¹. The immediate and subsequent implications for Pakistan's internal security were substantial, most notably the resurgence and emboldening of domestic militant groups, particularly the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). The Taliban's victory in Afghanistan seemingly provided a morale boost and potentially material support to groups like the TTP, leading to a discernible increase in attacks against Pakistani security forces and civilian targets in the aftermath. This study aims to critically analyze Pakistan's counter-terrorism strategies adopted and implemented in response to the altered security paradigm following the Taliban's return to power in Afghanistan. This analysis will delve into the multifaceted approaches undertaken by Pakistan, their effectiveness, the challenges encountered, and the broader implications for regional stability. The subsequent sections will explore the evolving security landscape post-2021, provide an overview of Pakistan's counter-terrorism strategies, examine specific military and law enforcement operations, analyze border management and control measures, discuss intelligence and de-radicalization efforts, assess regional and international cooperation, and finally, outline the key challenges and potential future directions for Pakistan's counter-terrorism endeavors.

The Taliban's return to power was not merely a change of administration in Afghanistan; it fundamentally reshaped the strategic calculations for Pakistan's counter-terrorism efforts. Islamabad had historically maintained a complex relationship with the Taliban, hoping that their ascendance would lead to a more stable and perhaps even compliant neighbor. The initial expectation within Pakistani strategic circles was that this long-standing connection would translate into the Taliban government acting against groups like the TTP that posed a direct threat to Pakistan's security. However, the reality that unfolded was markedly different. Instead of curbing the TTP, the group experienced resurgence, indicating a significant miscalculation in Pakistan's strategic planning. The Taliban government, facing its own internal challenges and adhering to its own set of priorities, which included familial ties with the TTP and a fear that cracking down on them could potentially drive fighters towards the Islamic State Khorasan Province (ISIS-K), did not take the decisive action against the TTP that Pakistan had anticipated².

The tangible increase in TTP-led attacks in Pakistan following August 2021 suggests a direct causal link between the Taliban's takeover and the emboldening of this particular militant group. This surge in violence effectively undermined the significant strides Pakistan had made in countering terrorism in the preceding years³. Prior to the Taliban's return, Pakistan had achieved considerable success in reducing terrorist attacks through sustained military operations and other counter-terrorism measures. The abrupt spike in attacks after the Taliban's takeover strongly indicates that the altered environment in Afghanistan

provided the TTP with renewed strength, access to perceived safe havens across the border, and potentially logistical and material resources. The release of numerous TTP prisoners from Afghan jails by the Taliban further substantiates this connection, demonstrating a direct action that facilitated the TTP's resurgence.

The Evolving Security Landscape Post-2021

Following the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in August 2021, Pakistan witnessed a significant and concerning rise in terrorist activities and the associated casualties. The Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) emerged as the primary perpetrator behind a substantial number of these attacks. Data indicates a sharp increase in terrorist incidents, with the number rising from 267 in 2021 to 365 in 2022. This upward trend continued into 2023, with some Pakistan-based security research institutions reporting an increase of over 50 percent in both the number of attacks and casualties compared to the previous year⁴. The geographical concentration of these attacks was predominantly observed in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Balochistan provinces, which share a long and porous border with Afghanistan. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa alone accounted for a significant 64 percent of the reported casualties in 2022 (ibid).

The TTP's operational tactics also appeared to evolve, demonstrating increased precision and lethality, particularly in their attacks targeting Pakistani security forces. The group increasingly employed tactics such as suicide bombings and complex attacks on security installations, inflicting heavy losses⁵. The stated objectives of the TTP remained consistent with their long-term goals: to overthrow the Pakistani government and establish an emirate based on their strict interpretation of Islamic law, mirroring the ideology of the Afghan Taliban. This ideological alignment, coupled with familial and tribal connections, fostered a close relationship between the two Taliban factions. Reports suggested that the TTP underwent organizational restructuring following the Taliban's victory and allegedly received support from elements within the Afghan Taliban's General Directorate of Intelligence (GDI), including the provision of weapons and financial resources⁶.

The relationship between Afghan Taliban and TTP is critical to understand as both the groups ideological are closely annexed and operationally support each in various capacities. This factor complicates Pakistan's counter-terrorism strategies effectively. Despite Pakistan's repeated requests and the sharing of evidence regarding TTP activities, the Afghan Taliban demonstrated reluctance or an apparent inability to effectively counter TTP safe havens located within Afghanistan. This inaction drew sharp criticism from Pakistani government officials, who openly expressed their frustration with the Taliban's "failure to control the TTP," describing terrorism as a major irritant in their bilateral relationship⁷. The Afghan

Taliban, while denying any support for the TTP, cited their own governance challenges, including the need to combat the threat posed by ISIS-K, as potential reasons for their limited action against the TTP. Arguably, Taliban's success against the foreign forces in Afghanistan has become a motivational factor for the groups inspired to implement Shari'ah within Pakistan, that indeed, exacerbating Islamabad's security concerns.

Beyond the resurgence of the TTP, the Afghanistan-Pakistan region continued to harbor other significant terrorist groups, including ISIS-K and Al-Qaeda. United States government assessments indicated that ISIS-K posed a more immediate and significant threat within Afghanistan and beyond, even conducting major terrorist attacks in Russia and Iran in 2024⁸. While Al-Qaeda's overt presence in Afghanistan appeared limited, its senior leadership reportedly maintained relations with the Taliban. There were also growing concerns about the potential for a merger between the TTP and Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS), which analysts warned could significantly escalate the terrorist threat against Pakistan and potentially other countries in the region. The freedom of movement afforded to the TTP within Afghanistan also allowed ISIS-K to potentially shift across the Durand Line to evade Taliban detection and conduct attacks in Pakistan, further complicating the counter-terrorism landscape. The presence of these diverse and often interconnected terrorist groups with varying objectives presented a complex and fluid security environment, making it increasingly challenging for Pakistan to formulate and implement a singular, universally effective counter-terrorism strategy.

Pakistan's Counter-Terrorism Strategies: An Overview

Pakistan's counter-terrorism policies and strategies have undergone continuous evolution, particularly since the Taliban's resurgence in Afghanistan. Following the significant geopolitical shift in August 2021, Pakistan largely continued and adapted its pre-existing counter-terrorism approaches, which encompass a range of measures including military operations, intelligence gathering, legislative actions, and efforts to counter the financing of terrorism. A key component of Pakistan's strategic framework remained the revised National Action Plan (NAP) of 2021. Originally formulated in 2015 and subsequently revised to include 14 key points, the NAP aimed to provide a comprehensive roadmap for countering terrorism. However, progress on some of its most critical aspects, specifically the pledge to dismantle all terrorist organizations without delay or discrimination, remained limited.

The legal framework underpinning Pakistan's counter-terrorism efforts continued to be anchored by the Antiterrorism Act of 1997, along with its major amendments in 2014 and 2020. These legislative measures provide law enforcement agencies, prosecutors, and courts with enhanced powers in terrorism-related cases, including provisions for preventive detention and the death penalty for terrorism offenses.

Specialized courts were also established to expedite the trials of terrorism cases.

Countering the financing of terrorism remained a significant focus of Pakistan's strategy. The country continued its engagement with the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and implemented measures aimed at strengthening its Anti-Money Laundering and Counter-Terrorist Financing (AML/CFT) regime. While Pakistan made progress in addressing technical deficiencies identified by FATF, it remained on the gray list for a considerable period, highlighting the ongoing challenges in effectively curbing terrorist financing. Efforts included the monitoring of financial transactions, regulation of non-profit organizations, and attempts to prevent the flow of funds through both formal and informal channels.

The National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) continued to play a crucial role in coordinating counter-terrorism efforts across various government agencies and in overseeing the implementation of the National Action Plan. NACTA's functions included intelligence sharing, policy formulation, and public awareness campaigns aimed at countering violent extremism. The authority also facilitated discussions and workshops with experts and stakeholders to refine Pakistan's counter-terrorism approach⁹.

Pakistan's counter-terrorism strategy post-2021 largely represented a continuation and intensification of its established approaches, with a heightened emphasis on countering the resurgent TTP. However, the fundamentally altered regional context, characterized by a Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, necessitated a critical re-evaluation of the long-term effectiveness of these strategies. Simply increasing the scale of existing measures might not have been sufficient to adequately address the novel challenges posed by a stronger TTP operating from perceived safe havens in Afghanistan. Despite the existence of a comprehensive National Action Plan, the persistent *"meager progress"* in dismantling all terrorist organizations without discrimination suggested enduring challenges in the plan's implementation. These challenges likely stemmed from a complex interplay of internal factors, including potential resource constraints, bureaucratic hurdles, and perhaps even strategic considerations related to Pakistan's historical relationships with certain militant groups. The deeply entrenched nature of these terrorist networks further complicated the task of their complete elimination.

Military and Law Enforcement Operations

In response to the surge in terrorist attacks, particularly those attributed to the TTP following the Taliban's takeover, Pakistan intensified its military operations in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces bordering Afghanistan. These regions became the epicenters of militant activity, necessitating a robust security response. A notable development in this regard was the launch of Operation Azm-e-Istekham (Resolve for Stability) in June 2024¹⁰. This operation, approved by Prime Minister Shehbaz

Sharif, aimed to decisively combat the menace of extremism and terrorism in a comprehensive and decisive manner. The stated objectives included not only military action targeting militant hideouts and disrupting their networks but also socio-economic uplift initiatives intended to deter extremism in the long term ⁶.

However, these military operations, including Azm-e-Istekham, were not without their challenges and criticisms. Concerns were raised regarding the potential for civilian displacement and the adverse impact on local communities, echoing the experiences of previous operations. Human rights organizations also flagged concerns about transparency and the potential for the operation to be used to justify enforced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, and other human rights violations¹¹. Furthermore, analysts questioned whether simply launching another military operation would yield the desired long-term results, given the history of similar campaigns, including Operation Zarb-e-Azb launched in 2014, which achieved tactical successes but did not eradicate terrorism from its roots. The core issue identified by many was the failure to formulate and implement a long-term proactive strategy that addresses the structural issues fueling extremism, rather than relying solely on short-term military tactics.

Beyond military operations in the border regions, Pakistan's law enforcement agencies, including the police and paramilitary forces, played a crucial role in counter-terrorism efforts within the more settled areas of the country. These agencies were responsible for maintaining law and order, preventing terrorist attacks, and investigating incidents that occurred. However, they faced significant capacity challenges in terms of training, equipment, and intelligence gathering to effectively counter the increasingly sophisticated threats posed by terrorist groups like the TTP¹². The TTP specifically targeted police and security services in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, highlighting the risks faced by law enforcement personnel. While specialized counter-terrorism units existed within the police forces, there was a recognized need for strengthening the overall capacity of civilian law enforcement to ensure sustainable counter-terrorism efforts in the long run (ibid).

The continued reliance on military operations as the primary counter-terrorism strategy in Pakistan, while achieving certain tactical victories, has not translated into a definitive long-term strategic triumph against terrorism. The repeated need to launch new operations, such as Azm-e-Istekham, suggests that previous military actions have not successfully dismantled the underlying networks and ideologies that drive extremism. This pattern indicates a need for Pakistan to adopt a more holistic and integrated approach that goes beyond military solutions. The initiation of Operation Azm-e-Istekham, despite the mixed record of past similar endeavors, underscores the persistent pressure on the Pakistani government to demonstrate a strong response to the escalating terrorism. This pressure likely originates from both domestic public

opinion and international concerns, particularly from China given the threats to its investments and personnel. However, significant skepticism remains regarding the operation's potential for long-term success without a fundamental shift in strategy. Furthermore, the capacity of Pakistan's law enforcement agencies to effectively counter terrorism may be a crucial limiting factor. Compared to the military, civilian law enforcement often lacks the resources and specialized training required to deal with sophisticated terrorist threats. Investing in and strengthening the capabilities of these agencies could be vital for achieving more sustainable counter-terrorism outcomes within Pakistan's urban and settled areas¹³.

Border Management and Control

Pakistan's border management strategy in the context of the Taliban's return to Afghanistan has focused heavily on the extensive border fencing project along the Durand Line. Initiated in March 2017, this ambitious project aimed to physically secure the approximately 2,670-kilometer-long border and was largely completed by December 2023¹⁴. The stated objectives of the border fence included preventing the cross-border movement of militants, arms, drugs, and illegal immigrants, thereby enhancing Pakistan's internal security and curbing terrorism. The project also involved the construction of nearly 1,000 military forts and over 1,200 border posts equipped with surveillance technology¹⁵. Pakistan asserted that the fence had contributed to a decrease in cross-border terrorist attacks from Afghanistan.

Despite Pakistan's claims of reduced infiltration, the border fencing project faced significant opposition and challenges. The Afghan Taliban, adhering to Afghanistan's long-standing refusal to recognize the Durand Line as the official international border, vehemently opposed the fencing. This fundamental disagreement led to frequent border clashes and heightened tensions between the two neighbors. Moreover, while the fence might have posed an obstacle to large-scale militant movements, it did not entirely prevent infiltration, and the TTP continued to operate and launch attacks within Pakistan. The construction of the fence also had a significant impact on local communities residing along the border, disrupting traditional cross-border trade, livelihoods, and long-standing people-to-people ties¹⁶.

In addition to the fencing project, Pakistan implemented other border control measures aimed at managing the flow of people and goods. These included the establishment of designated border crossing points, the collection of biometric data from individuals crossing the border through the International Border Management Security System, and the enforcement of customs regulations. However, the effectiveness of these measures in completely preventing terrorist infiltration and the smuggling of illicit materials remained a challenge, particularly given the difficult terrain and the adaptability of smuggling

networks. Frequent border closures, often triggered by disputes over the construction of new border posts or incidents of cross-border firing, further disrupted bilateral trade and the movement of people, causing financial losses and hardships for communities on both sides (ibid)¹⁷.

A significant and controversial border management measure undertaken by Pakistan was the decision in late 2023 to deport unregistered Afghan refugees. Citing anti-terrorism efforts as a primary justification, the Pakistani government ordered over four million Afghan refugees, many of whom had sought shelter in Pakistan for decades, to leave the country¹⁸. This decision had profound humanitarian implications, placing immense strain on the already struggling economy of Afghanistan and raising serious human rights concerns. The mass deportations also further exacerbated the already strained relationship between Pakistan and the Taliban government in Kabul, which urged Islamabad to slow down the repatriation process. International human rights organizations strongly criticized the deportations, highlighting reports of abuses during the process and arguing that they violated international norms against repatriation⁴⁶.

While the border fence constructed by Pakistan along the Durand Line might have some deterrent effect on large-scale movements of militants and contraband, it has not proven to be a comprehensive or foolproof solution to the persistent problem of cross-border terrorism. The fence has also become a major source of diplomatic friction with the Afghan Taliban, who views it as an attempt by Pakistan to solidify a border they do not recognize, potentially fueling further instability in the region. The deportation of Afghan refugees, while framed by Pakistan as a necessary counter-terrorism measure, appears to be a broad and arguably indiscriminate approach. Linking the entire Afghan refugee population to terrorism is a significant generalization, and this action has likely alienated the Taliban government further and incurred substantial humanitarian costs. It remains questionable whether this measure effectively targets the specific individuals involved in terrorist activities¹⁹.

Intelligence and De-radicalization Efforts

Pakistan's intelligence agencies, most notably the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), play a critical and multifaceted role in the country's counter-terrorism strategy. The ISI is responsible for the collection, processing, and analysis of intelligence relevant to national security, including information pertaining to terrorist threats and activities. These agencies are deeply involved in counter-terrorism operations, often working in coordination with military and law enforcement forces. Furthermore, Pakistan's intelligence apparatus engages in intelligence sharing with international partners, such as the United States, particularly in tracking and apprehending individuals involved in terrorism. The National Intelligence Coordination Committee (NICC), headed by the Director-General of the ISI, serves as the overarching

body for intelligence coordination within Pakistan²⁰.

However, the role of Pakistan's intelligence agencies, particularly the ISI, has also been a subject of complexity and controversy. Historically, there have been allegations of the ISI providing covert support to certain militant groups, including the Afghan Taliban and some anti-India outfits. These past associations have raised questions about the consistency and sincerity of Pakistan's commitment to dismantling all terrorist organizations, potentially undermining the credibility of its counter-terrorism efforts both domestically and internationally²¹.

In addition to intelligence operations, Pakistan has also implemented various de-radicalization and rehabilitation programs aimed at disengaging individuals from extremist ideologies and facilitating the reintegration of former militants into society. These programs typically offer a range of components, including corrective religious education, vocational training, psychological counseling, and therapy. While some successes have been reported, the effectiveness of these programs has been debated, and challenges in their implementation have been noted. These challenges include the lack of a comprehensive national strategy, the predominantly military-led nature of many initiatives with limited civilian involvement, and the need for better coordination among various effort²².

Reported recidivism rates among former militants who have participated in de-radicalization programs are generally lower compared to those for other types of offenders, often falling below five percent in some studies⁵⁷. However, these rates are not zero, indicating that a small percentage of individuals do re-engage in terrorist activities. Furthermore, ex-combatants often face significant challenges in reintegrating into their communities, including social stigmatization and a lack of adequate long-term support⁵⁴. A more community-based approach to rehabilitation, involving local communities in the process, has been suggested as a promising avenue for improving reintegration outcomes²³.

While Pakistan's intelligence agencies are undeniably crucial in the fight against terrorism, the historical allegations surrounding the ISI's past relationships with certain militant groups create a persistent trust deficit. This ambiguity can undermine the credibility and effectiveness of Pakistan's overall counter-terrorism strategy, both within the country and in its engagement with international partners. The heavy reliance on military-led de-radicalization programs, coupled with the absence of a cohesive national strategy and limited involvement of civilian expertise, may also hinder the long-term success and sustainability of these efforts. A more inclusive approach that incorporates community participation and addresses the underlying socio-economic and psychological drivers of extremism could yield more impactful results. Despite the relatively low reported rates of recidivism in some de-radicalization

programs, the challenges in implementation and the difficulties faced by former militants in reintegrating into society highlight the need for continued efforts to refine and strengthen these initiatives²⁴.

Regional and International Cooperation

Pakistan's counter-terrorism efforts are significantly intertwined with regional and international cooperation. The country has actively engaged with regional partners, particularly China, on issues of counter-terrorism, especially in the context of increasing threats to Chinese nationals and investments within Pakistan⁶. China, with its substantial economic interests in Pakistan through initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative, has expressed growing concerns about the security situation and has urged Pakistan to take concrete actions against terrorist groups operating within its borders⁶. This has likely exerted considerable influence on Pakistan's counter-terrorism policies and its approach towards the Afghan Taliban, given Pakistan's reliance on Chinese economic support²⁵.

Pakistan has also been a participant in various international forums and initiatives focused on counter-terrorism, including the United Nations, the Global Counterterrorism Forum, and the Financial Action Task Force (FATF)⁹. Engagement in these platforms allows Pakistan to share its experiences, learn from international best practices, and coordinate efforts to combat terrorism on a global scale. Pakistan's continued efforts to comply with FATF requirements, despite remaining on the gray list for an extended period, underscore its commitment to addressing the financing of terrorism (ibid)²⁶.

The US remains a key international actor in the region's counter-terrorism dynamics. Despite the withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan in 2021, the US maintains a vested interest in preventing the resurgence of terrorist threats emanating from the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. The US has continued to engage with Pakistan on counter-terrorism issues, providing intelligence sharing and security assistance aimed at enhancing Pakistan's capacity to counter threats, particularly from groups like the TTP. The US also retains "over-the-horizon" military capabilities in the region, which could be employed to target terrorist groups in Afghanistan that pose a direct threat to US interests. However, the nature and intensity of US-Pakistan counter-terrorism cooperation are likely to be influenced by broader strategic considerations, including competition with China and Russia, and the complexities of engaging with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan (ibid)²⁷.

The security situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan also has regional implications for neighboring countries, including India and the Central Asian states. Concerns exist about the potential for the spillover of militancy and the movement of terrorist groups across borders. Central Asian states, for instance, have

remained vigilant against the potential for violent extremist elements from Afghanistan crossing into their territories. Regional cooperation on counter-terrorism is therefore crucial but faces inherent challenges due to historical mistrust, competing strategic interests, and the intricate and often strained relationships between various actors in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region²⁸.

China's increasing concern regarding terrorism in Pakistan, particularly the threats to its significant economic investments, is likely to exert a strong influence on Islamabad's counter-terrorism policies and its relationship with the Taliban government in Afghanistan. Given Pakistan's need for Chinese economic support, it is compelled to address China's security concerns seriously, potentially leading to adjustments in its counter-terrorism strategies. Despite its withdrawal from Afghanistan, the United States maintains a clear interest in counter-terrorism in the region and continues to collaborate with Pakistan on this front. However, the nature of this cooperation is likely to be more targeted and potentially conditional, shaped by broader geopolitical dynamics and the complexities of dealing with the Taliban. Effective counter-terrorism in this region necessitates robust regional cooperation and intelligence sharing among all stakeholders. However, historical tensions, unresolved border disputes, and divergent perspectives on the Taliban and other militant groups present significant obstacles to achieving such coordinated efforts²⁹.

Challenges and Future Directions

Pakistan's counter-terrorism strategies in the shadow of the Taliban's return face a multitude of complex challenges. A primary obstacle remains the continued presence of TTP safe havens within Afghanistan and the apparent reluctance or inability of the Afghan Taliban to take decisive action against them. The long and porous border with Afghanistan poses another significant challenge, as effectively controlling cross-border movement, even with the extensive fencing, remains a difficult task³⁰.

There is a recognized need for Pakistan to develop and implement a more comprehensive and unified national counter-terrorism strategy that extends beyond a primarily military-focused approach³⁶. Addressing the root causes of extremism, which include socio-economic disparities, political grievances, and the propagation of extremist ideologies, is crucial for achieving long-term stability. Strengthening the capacity of civilian law enforcement agencies and the judicial system is also essential for effectively investigating and prosecuting terrorism-related cases while upholding the rule of law.

Ensuring transparency and accountability in counter-terrorism operations and addressing persistent human rights concerns remain critical challenges. The ongoing political instability and the delicate civil-military balance within Pakistan also impact the coherence and effectiveness of its counter-terrorism efforts. Furthermore, the economic consequences of terrorism, including the disruption of trade and investment,

necessitate a focus on economic development in the regions most affected by militancy.

Looking towards the future, several potential directions and recommendations emerge. Enhanced diplomatic engagement with the Afghan Taliban is crucial to address the TTP issue, focusing on mutual security concerns and exploring potential incentives for cooperation. Strengthening intelligence sharing and coordinating operations with regional partners and international actors, including the US and China, can also enhance the effectiveness of counter-terrorism efforts (ibid)³¹.

Developing a long-term, multi-faceted national counter-terrorism strategy that integrates military, law enforcement, intelligence, socio-economic, and political dimensions is paramount. Investing in socio-economic development and addressing grievances in marginalized regions can help counter the appeal of extremist groups. Reforming and strengthening the civilian law enforcement and judicial system will ensure more effective prosecution and adherence to the rule of law. Implementing comprehensive de-radicalization and reintegration programs with greater community involvement and long-term support for former militants holds the potential to reduce recidivism. Ensuring greater transparency and accountability in counter-terrorism operations and upholding human rights standards are essential for maintaining public trust and legitimacy. Fostering political consensus and addressing the civil-military imbalance can lead to a more unified and effective approach to counter-terrorism. Finally, developing a robust counter-narrative to challenge extremist ideologies and promote tolerance and inclusivity is paramount in the ideological battle against terrorism³².

Pakistan's future success in countering terrorism will significantly depend on its ability to transition from a predominantly reactive, military-focused approach to a more proactive and comprehensive strategy. This strategy must address the intricate web of political, economic, social, and ideological factors that contribute to the rise and persistence of extremism. Furthermore, the delicate balancing act of maintaining regional stability, addressing its own domestic security concerns, and navigating its complex relationships with key international actors like the Afghan Taliban, the United States, and China will play a crucial role in shaping the trajectory of its counter-terrorism endeavors.

Conclusion

The return of the Taliban to power in Afghanistan in 2021 has profoundly impacted Pakistan's counter-terrorism landscape, most notably through the resurgence of the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). This study has analyzed Pakistan's multifaceted counter-terrorism strategies adopted in response to this evolving security paradigm. These strategies encompass military and law enforcement operations, border management and control measures, intelligence gathering, and de-radicalization efforts. The relationship

between Pakistan and the Afghan Taliban has emerged as a critical factor, with the latter's perceived reluctance or inability to curb TTP activities posing a significant challenge. While Pakistan has intensified its military operations and border security measures, including the extensive border fencing project and the controversial deportation of Afghan refugees, the long-term effectiveness of these approaches remains a subject of debate. Intelligence agencies continue to play a vital role, but historical complexities surrounding their involvement with militant groups persist. De-radicalization programs offer some promise, but their impact is limited by implementation challenges and the difficulties faced by former militants in reintegrating into society. Regional and international cooperation, particularly with China and the United States, remains crucial but is often complicated by competing interests and geopolitical dynamics. Ultimately, Pakistan's ongoing struggle against terrorism in the shadow of the Taliban's return necessitates a comprehensive and adaptive strategy that addresses the root causes of extremism, strengthens civilian institutions, fosters regional cooperation, and upholds human rights principles. The path forward requires a nuanced approach that goes beyond short-term military solutions and embraces a long-term vision for a stable and secure Pakistan.

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