

## FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN AFTER 9/11 CONCERNING U.S. & ITS OMINOUS PITFALLS FOR FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREAS (FATA)

Naqeebullah Kakar\* and Nazir Ahmed Kasi\*\*

### Abstract:

*Since its inception on the map of the world, Pakistan's Foreign policy has been facing grim challenges. Undeniably, the challenges of the 21st century have imperilled Pakistani state and its foreign policy. Specifically, in an international context; the event of 9/11 and its aftermath; globalization; international terrorism; drone strikes in FATA and in domestic context; extremism and economic decline have added to the ineffectiveness of foreign policy. Pakistan has been projected by the international community and the media to be the hub of terrorism. This research paper will unfold the foreign policy of Pakistan, certain characteristics that imperil various aspects of it and specifically the foreign policy of Pakistan in the 21st century with regard to the U.S. after the twin towers event in 2001 and its ominous pitfalls for the federally administered tribal areas (FATA) of Pakistan. Finally, it will provide with doable options for tailoring sustained, efficacious and progressive foreign policy of Pakistan in regional and international context.*

**Keywords:** Pakistan, Foreign Policy, FATA, 9/11, 2001, War on Terror.

### Introduction:

Foreign policy is the practice of political influence to persuade other states to put into effect their legislative authority in a modus operandi as craved by the state concerned.<sup>1</sup> In the contemporary anarchical international system, the only component that matters, is the foreign policy of a state

---

\* M. Phil Scholar International Relations, Pakistan Study Centre, UOB, Quetta

\*\* Lecturer, Pakistan Studies, Pakistan Study Centre, UOB, Quetta

<sup>1</sup> Northedge, F.S. *The Foreign Policies*. London; Faber and Faber, 1968, 6-7

because it is the face that a nation-state wears to the outer world, which, in turn, is the sum total of the principles, the interests and objectives duly articulated while conducting its relations with other states. Since its inception on the map of the world, Pakistan's foreign policy in one way or the other has been highly inclined to the relations with the United States of America. Pakistan has remained, precisely, in the rein of the United States, because of her fear from Eastern neighbour, India, neologised as 'Indian fear' or 'existential threat'.<sup>2</sup> To address the issue of survival, Pakistan joined hands with the West and United States, specifically after the historical visit of first prime minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan to the U.S. in 1950.<sup>3</sup>

Worth-mentioning, Pakistan signed defensive treaties subsequent to United States' directions, likewise, South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954 and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)—formerly known as 'Baghdad pact' in 1955 and the ample manifestation is the logistic support to West during Korean War.<sup>4</sup> After the U-2 spy plane incident in 1960, Pakistan, somehow, tried to formulate independent foreign policy but the debacle of 1971 didn't let her succeed, hence Pakistan again aligned with West. These 'On and Off' relations with U.S. couldn't help Pakistan compete her arch-foe—India. The most critical period in Pakistan's foreign policy began in the aftermath of assault on the United States' emblem; Twin Towers fortress in New York and Washington on Tuesday, September 11, 2001. Moreover, the U.S. administration, via Richard Armitage—Deputy Secretary of State, threatened Pakistan to be an ally of the U.S. against the so-called 'War on Terror', or else, be ready to be bombed and be prepared to go back to the stone age.<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, a uniformed military dictator ruled over Pakistan then who wished to legitimise his illegitimate ruling, hence unilaterally decided to join the U.S. against her war on terror and provided bases, passage, and logistic support against the erstwhile neighbouring important strategic territory (NIST)—Afghanistan.<sup>6</sup> The government of Pakistan didn't analyse the cost-benefit repercussions of alignment with the West and United States in its entirety. Equally important, historical evidences explicitly reveal that in 1980s, Pakistan was the bastion of the international community to pull out Russia out of Afghanistan, but in the wake of 21<sup>st</sup> century, she turned out to

---

<sup>2</sup> Yasmeen, S. Pakistan's cautious foreign policy. *Survival*, 36(2), 1994, 115-133.

<sup>3</sup> Goswami, A. *3-D Deceit, Duplicity & Dissimulation of US Foreign Policy Towards India, Pakistan & Afghanistan*. Author House, 2012, 79

<sup>4</sup> Arnett, E. H. *Military Capacity and the Risk of War: China, India, Pakistan, and Iran*. Oxford University Press on Demand, 1997, 150

<sup>5</sup> Musharraf, P. "*In the line of Fire: A Memoir*". Free press, New York, United States, 2006

<sup>6</sup> Fair, C. C., & Watson, S. J. (Eds.). *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015

be a part of the invasion of a territory—Afghanistan, for the liberation of which she fought a powerful nation of the world in the 1980s. The federally administrated tribal areas (FATA) were the training camps of Jihadis who were trained, supported and funded by the West with the approval of Pakistan to fight against the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1980s.<sup>7</sup>

The long mountainous terrain of FATA adjacent to Pak-Afghan border was treated as a laboratory where-of militants were stationed, funded, trained, encamped and made them fight as a proxy in Afghanistan.<sup>8</sup> It is pertinent to mention here that FATA even in those heydays could not witness progress, social mobility, educational facilities, hospitals, sound infrastructure, basic and fundamental human rights, and equal citizenship rights as enjoyed by the other citizens of provinces, rather it was exploited by the stationing of foreign fighters and militants, Kalashnikov culture was nurtured, bomb and explosives magazines were created and it was projected to the outside world as an epicenter, hub and bastion of militants.<sup>9</sup> In the wake of new alliance with U.S. and grant of title of major non-NATO ally to Pakistan, FATA was again considered to be the focal point in the war against terror because U.S. deliberated that Al-Qaeda militants were hiding there who were considered a potential threat to U.S. security.

Pakistan’s foreign policy after 9/11 brought home and specifically to FATA nothing but violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty; set back to Kashmir cause because United States didn’t discriminate between struggle for self determination and terrorism<sup>10</sup>; drone attacks; several military operations; destruction of socio-cultural fabric; issues of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs); socio-economic deprivation; destruction of agricultural sector; and devastation of infrastructure etc. Before the incident of 9/11, Pakistan faced U.S. economic and military sanctions such as Pressler, Glenn and Symington amendments aimed against Pakistan, but all this was washed from Pakistan’s memory in the wake of war on terror led by U.S.<sup>11</sup>

### **Characteristics of Pakistan Foreign Policy:**

Ever since times memorial, and its inception on the map of earth over the pretext of Islamic ideology, Pakistan’s foreign policy had revolved around in quartet manifestations such as, neutralism—1947-50; alignment

---

<sup>7</sup> Sial, B. *Pakistan’s role and strategic priorities in Afghanistan since 1980*. Norwegian Peace building Resource Centre, 2013, 2

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Hussain, T. *FATA: Terrorists or victims of a covert war?*, 2016. Retrieved from Al-Jazeera: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/09/fata-terrorists-victims-covert-war-160912084500746.html>, accessed on January 20, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Akhtar, S. War on Terrorism and Kashmir issue. Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies (IRS), 2010

<sup>11</sup> Collins, L. *United States diplomacy with Pakistan following 9/11. A case study*. 2009

with West—1950-62<sup>12</sup>; search for alternatives; formulation of Independent and interest oriented foreign policy; and finally, alignment with West again—2001. After independence Pakistan was confronted with Indian aggression which was perceived as ‘Indian fear’ and an existential threat. To address this issue, the newly born state aligned with West for defensive, strategic, diplomatic and economic gains. Having aligned with west for more than a decade, and after an adverse development—whereby, a U-2 spy plane was shot by Russia which flew from Pakistani territory, Pakistan changed the external policy and tried to search for alternatives.<sup>13</sup> In this phase, Pakistan resolved outstanding territorial disputes with China and ample manifestation are bilateralism; neutralism; the hosting of OIC summit in 1974; and detente of United States with China was a hall mark of this phase. The third phase began after the invasion of Afghanistan by Russia and yet again Pakistan aligned with West and United States.<sup>14</sup> This very stage brought with it disastrous repercussions in the morph of millions of refugees, arms and ammunitions, breeding the militants in FATA, and a proxy war in Afghanistan.<sup>15</sup> Finally, after the disintegration of USSR in 1990s Pakistan tried to put into effect independent foreign policies because in this very phase Pakistan withstood the mounting pressure regarding atomic programme and nuclear proliferation, and recognition of Taliban’s government.

### **Foreign Policy of Pakistan after 9/11:**

Unequivocally, Pakistan’s Foreign policy has highly been inclined towards United States in particular. In the wake of 9/11, 2001 and the subsequent developments, United States president came up with hawkish designs against the third world country i.e. Afghanistan and demanded extradition of Osama bin Laden on the charges levelled against him regarding the twin tower attacks. This was the first time in its history that United Nations passed a resolution and practically got involved in a foreign invasion under the aegis of United States and in the guise of UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan). Before this assault, Pakistan was threatened to be thrown back to the Stone Ages if it didn’t

---

<sup>12</sup> Pande, A. *Explaining Pakistan’s foreign policy: escaping India*. Taylor & Francis, 2011, 138

<sup>13</sup> Azam, I. *Pakistan and the Asian Collective Security System*. Matboat-e-Hurmat, 1983, 52

<sup>14</sup> Farooq, N. T. *US-Pakistan Relations: Pakistan’s Strategic Choices in the 1990s*. Routledge, 2016, 3

<sup>15</sup> Ahmad, A. *The Afghan Policy*. 2011, October 28. Retrieved from Pakistan Today: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2011/10/28/the-afghan-policy/>. Accessed on February 27, 2017.

succour U.S. invasion of Afghanistan.<sup>16</sup> The irony doesn't end here, Pakistan became the practical demonstration of U.S. bastion against the erstwhile neighbouring Muslim country, perhaps, perceived as “*Neighbouring important strategic territory (NIST)*.” The past tripartite decade long foreign policy could be comprehended in three phases.

### **Compatibility in relations and complementary objectives 2001-06:**

Foreign policy of Pakistan since 1947 has been defensive in form and nature owing to the Indian factor, termed as Indian fear and policy had been neologized as India-centric. Equally important, 21<sup>st</sup> century witnessed a thrilling development in Indian foreign policy known as India's neighbourhood policy aimed at developing peaceful relations with all neighbouring countries so that she may supplement her bid for United Nations Security Council membership. This policy stemmed from the Vajpayee's statement, ‘*you can change your friends but not neighbours*’.<sup>17</sup> In the wake of 9/11, and with apprehensions from India for she would support U.S. against war on terror unconditionally, nonetheless, United States pressure, Pakistan took a U-turn and decided to side-line with the emerging idea of war on terror.

From 2001 till 2006 India badly failed to formulate cordial relations with neighbouring countries.<sup>18</sup> Hence, she came up with blame game against Pakistan by blotting the image of Pakistan on international level. Moreover, India's 21<sup>st</sup> century foreign policy believed in the internationalization of South Asia because of her bid for UNSC. In this phase, in order to contain Indian adventurism, Pakistan became active member of Coffee Club. Pak-U.S. relations from 2001 till 2006 were compatible and objectives were complementary. Approach and policy towards war on terror were alike. Pakistan under U.S. pressure launched major military operations in Waziristan in, 2002, 2004 and 2006. However, Pakistan's sovereignty was put on stake by the drone attacks that began in 2004. The earmark of this phase was the status of “Non-NATO-ally” granted to Pakistan by U.S. and West.

### **Compatibility in interests but different policies from 2006-10:**

---

<sup>16</sup> Musharraf, P. “*In the line of Fire: A Memoir*”. Free press, New York, United States, 2006

<sup>17</sup> Vajpayee, A.B. *You Can Change Friends, Not Neighbours*. 2003, May 09. Retrieved from:[http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2003-05-09/news/27547221\\_1\\_india-and-pakistanjammu-and-kashmir-lahore-declaration](http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2003-05-09/news/27547221_1_india-and-pakistanjammu-and-kashmir-lahore-declaration), accessed on July 26, 2016

<sup>18</sup> Behuria, Ashok K., Smruti S., Pattanaik., and Gupta. Does India Have a Neighbourhood Policy? *Strategic analysis* 36, no.2, 2012: 229-246.

The relations between Pakistan and U.S. from 2006 till 2010 beheld bizarre developments. Though the objective of eliminating terrorism was complementary but shift in objectives was quite distanced. United States wished to eliminate terrorism once for all, but Pakistan opted for the policy of appeasement and dialogue mechanism because it had witnessed ground realities after the 2004 and 2006 military operations in Waziristan. Pakistan carried out systematic dialogue with extremist groups Vis the Shakai peace agreement 2004; Sararogha agreement 2005; Miranshah peace accord 2006, Swat-I and Swat-II 2008; Khyber agreement with Mangal Bagh etc. In order to build pressure on Pakistan to change her policy on terrorism, in 2006 and 2008 U.S. signed 123 agreements with India, worth-mentioning was the civil-nuclear deal between U.S. and India. Not only this, but U.S. approach in this phase side-lined Pakistan in the domain of her South Asian policy. The South Asian Pivot by U.S. regarding Pakistan, specifically the prosperity idea with Pakistan was completely antithetical because U.S. didn't opt for active direct involvement, collaboration and trade etc. nonetheless, U.S. put forward a meagre assistance package and marginalized Pakistan. Unlike Bangladesh and India, security context in South-Asia was supplemented by Af-Pak policy to deal with Pakistan and Afghanistan as a single geographical unit.<sup>19</sup>

### **Peak of irritants between Pakistan and U.S. from 2011 to date:**

This phase of foreign policy quite resembled 1990s foreign policy because instead of considering for alternatives Pakistan tried to formulate independent policies irrespective of external pressures. 2011 was the peak of irritants between Pakistan and U.S. Manifest instances were the Raymond Davis episode; unilateral OBL operation in Abbottabad; Salala check post viciousness etc. Pakistan response to these untoward developments was the ban on NATO supply and non-participation in Bonn conference. Thereafter, the Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Parvez Kiani visited Russia in 2012 and signed arm deal resulting in softening of relations. Pakistan kept herself in this phase isolated from Middle Eastern crisis and acted smartly. Had Pakistan interfered in Iraq and Syrian crises, sectarian bloodshed would have been witnessed. In this very phase, Pakistan developed strong relations with European Union and got GSP plus status. Worth-mentioning, the \$46 billion projects with China were signed neologised as 'China Pakistan Economic Corridor'.

---

<sup>19</sup> Mitton, J. *Regional Realities: The India-Pakistan Enduring Rivalry as an Obstacle to Success in Afghanistan*. Library and Archives Canada= Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, 2011

## **War on terror and its ominous pitfalls on FATA residents:**

### **Military operations in FATA:**

Quite contrary and antagonistic to the perceived principle of loss and injury: Pakistan which has not been in direct conflict with U.S. or other powers, yet, suffered more than 60,000 casualties and more than \$188 billion economic losses because of the foreign policy dimension towards U.S. against her so-called war on terror.<sup>20</sup> After Iraq and Afghanistan, Pakistan is the only country that got more damage in the American war on terror.<sup>21</sup> Pakistan became a battle ground of U.S. war on terror and critics termed this alliance as ‘war of terror’ because of its ominous pitfalls for the government in general and the masses in particular. Pakistan army conducted many major and smaller military operations in FATA since 2001 to eradicate militancy under duress. These included, but no limited to:

- Operation Al-Mizan (2002-2006)
- Operation Rah-Haq (November 2007)
- Operation Sher-e-Dil (September 2008)
- Operation Zalzala (2008-2009)
- Operation Sirat-e-Mustaqeem (2008)
- Operation Rah-e-Rast (May 2009)
- Operation Rah-e-Nijaat (October 2009)
- Operation Koh-e-Sufaid (July 2011)
- Operation Zarb-e-Azb (2013)
- Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad (2017)

The captioned military offences resulted into abundant number of displaced persons, especially, at the height of the conflict in 2009, some 3 million people suffered and turned out to be IDPs.<sup>22</sup> As a result of these operations and terrorist activities carried out by various outfits of militants, 61927 casualties have taken place including military personnel, militants and

---

<sup>20</sup> Ishaq Dar. Pakistan suffered loss of \$188bn during war on terror. *Daily Dawn*. Retrieved from Dawn: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1262750>. Accessed on January 04, 2017.

<sup>21</sup> Baloch, J. A. The implications of war on terror on Pakistan. *African Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(2), 2012: 23-33.

<sup>22</sup> Hussain, T. *FATA: Terrorists or victims of a covert war?* 2016. Retrieved from Al-Jazeera: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/09/fata-terrorists-victims-covert-war-160912084500746.html>. accessed on February 20, 2017

civilians.<sup>23</sup> Though, these operations were aimed at eliminating terrorist camps and targeting Al-Qaeda leaders and to some extent Pakistani forces arrested key leaders such as Abu Zubaydah, Ramzi bin al-Shibh and Sharib Ahmad.<sup>24</sup> According to media, the Pakistani security forces demolished over 4,000 houses in South Waziristan in January, 2007 and the operation Zalzal (Earthquake) displaced around 200,000 local residents resulting into bitter hostility.<sup>25</sup> Another adverse of these operations in the social domain was the deprivation of boys and girls from the basic right of education. The terrorist attacks and counter-terrorism strategies in FATA have severely hampered the educational standard which was hitherto lowest in literacy rate.

#### Fatalities in FATA: 2006-2017

Years	Civilians	SFs	Terrorists	Total
2003	140	24	25	189
2004	435	184	244	863
2005	430	81	137	648
2006	608	325	538	1471
2007	1522	597	1479	3598
2008	2155	654	3906	6715
2009	2324	991	8389	11704
2010	1796	469	5170	7435
2011	2738	765	2800	6303
2012	3007	732	2472	6211
2013	3001	676	1702	5379
2014	1781	533	3182	5496
2015	940	339	2403	3682
2016	612	293	898	1803
2017	178	51	201	430
<b>Total*</b>	<b>21667</b>	<b>6714</b>	<b>33546</b>	<b>61927</b>

Data till April 2, 2017

Source: SATP. (2017). Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2017. Retrieved from:

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>; accessed on April 2, 2017.

<sup>23</sup> SATP. *Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2017*. 2017. Retrieved from: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>. Accessed on April 2, 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Abbas, Z. Operation Eye wash. *Herald*, 2005, 64

<sup>25</sup> Ali, Z. Over 4,000 Houses Destroyed in Waziristan Operation. *Daily Dawn*, 2008. Retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/971551/over-4-000-houses-destroyed-in-waziristan-operation-report> accessed on February 21, 2017.



## Drone Attacks in FATA:

Apart from death and physical injury, the drone strikes, precisely known as unmanned aerial strikes or targeted killings via drones, that began in 2004, have caused considerable harm to the daily lives of ordinary citizens of FATA.<sup>26</sup> These planes hover 24/7 in the atmosphere of frontier regions specifically bordering Afghanistan and had caused panic, stress, anxiety, traumatic repercussions, depression, physical and mental injuries to the innocent masses without discrimination. United States began this targeted killing to hit the Al-Qaeda militants who were supposed to have hid themselves in the region of FATA. Quite antithetically, neither the U.S. nor the international community had analysed the cost-benefit results of drone campaign which had resulted into the death of hundreds of thousands innocent lives. Though, the United States against the ground realities and antagonistic to the International norms implicitly lie that high-valued-targets have been killed as a result of drone strikes, but the high-level targets’ percentage out of total casualties is extremely low—assessed to be only 2%.<sup>27</sup> The United States began all this after having passed a resolution coded as ‘Authorization to Use Military Force’ (AUMF) against people, organizations and countries as potential threat to U.S.<sup>28</sup> The United States has explicitly violated the United Nations charter article 51—because United States has violated Pakistan’s sovereignty and Pakistan has not been in active conflict with United States.<sup>29</sup> Anti-drone activist, Benjamin writes, that United States’ Presidents now act as Judge, juror and executioner: all-in-one, by executing drone targeted killings, that is a de-facto license to kill anyone without checks and balances.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Cavallaro, J., Sonnenberg, S., & Knuckey, S. Living Under Drones: Death, Injury and Trauma to Civilians from US Drone Practices in Pakistan. *International Human Rights and Conflict Resolution Clinic at Stanford Law School and Global Justice Clinic at NYU School of Law*, 2012: 1-165.

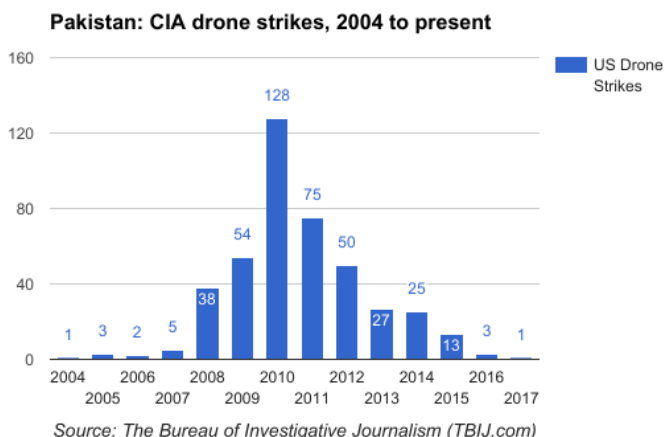
<sup>27</sup> Bergen, P., & Braun, M. *Drone is Obama’s Weapon of Choice*. Retrieved from CNN, 2012, September 6. Retrieved from <http://www.cnn.com/2012/09/05/opinion/bergen-obama-drone/index.html>, accessed on January 10, 2017.

<sup>28</sup> Yousaf, F., Rahmanullah. *Drone Strikes in FATA, a violation of Pakistan sovereignty*, 2014, June 23. Retrieved from FATA Research centre; <http://frc.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/7.pdf>, accessed on 12-02-17.

<sup>29</sup> O’Connell, M.E. *Drones under International law*. Washington University Law, 2010. Retrieved from <http://law.wustl.edu/harris/documents/OConnellFullRemarksNov23.pdf>, accessed on January 10, 2017.

<sup>30</sup> Benjamin, M. *Drone Warfare, killing by remote control*: New York and London: OR Books, 2012

The drone strikes in Pakistan are a clear-cut violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty and against the norms of International Law and Human rights because these had resulted into a collateral damage and constitute war crimes. Women, children and aged people have been killed as a result of these targeted killings. Not only this but drone program had resulted into permanent psychological diseases, such as trauma, anxiety, depression etc. The innocent residents of FATA had been severely affected by the drone strikes, constant military operations, bomb blasts, militant attacks, suicide bombings, anarchy, and lawlessness.



Year	US Drone Strikes	Minimum people killed	Maximum people killed	Minimum civilians killed	Maximum civilians killed	Minimum children killed	Maximum children killed	Minimum people injured	Maximum people injured
2004	1	6	8	2	2	2	2	1	1
2005	3	16	16	5	11	4	5	1	1
2006	2	94	105	90	100	73	76	3	3
2007	5	36	56	11	46	1	1	20	37
2008	38	252	401	59	173	26	45	146	228
2009	54	471	753	100	210	36	39	266	404
2010	128	755	1,108	89	197	23	23	351	428
2011	75	362	666	52	152	6	11	158	236
2012	50	212	410	13	63	1	2	100	212
2013	27	109	195	0	4	0	1	43	89
2014	25	115	186	0	2	0	2	44	67
2015	13	60	85	2	5	0	0	25	32
2016	3	11	12	1	1	0	0	3	6
2017	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	424	2,499	4,001	424	966	172	207	1,161	1,744

Source: TBIJ. (2017, January 13). CIA and US military drone strikes in Pakistan, 2004 to present. Retrieved from TBIJ: <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1NAfjFonM-Tn7fziqiv33HIGt09wgLZDSCP-BQaux51w/edit#gid=694046452>



Source: Tribal News Network. (2016, May 24). Tribesmen from Miranshah Ask Government To Rebuild Their Damaged Houses. Retrieved from TNN: <http://www.radiotnn.com/tribesmen-from-miranshah-ask-government-to-rebuild-their-damaged-houses/>. Accessed on February 23, 2017.



Source: Rizvi, M. (2013, October 24). Silent victims of Drone Attacks. Retrieved from ARY News <https://blogs.arynews.tv/silent-victims-of-drone-attacks/>. Accessed on February 20, 2017.



Source: Murad, A. (2012, October 4). Drones: A Price Worth Paying?  
 . Retrieved from RedWishDotCom: <http://redwishdotcom.wordpress.com/drones-a-price-worth-paying>.  
 . Accessed on February 20, 2017.

### **Implications on Psyche:**

There is no denying the fact that conflict has left behind deep psychological impacts on the Pakistani society in general and the people of FATA in particular. The fear, perhaps, permanent psychological in nature bread in the minds of FATA residents owing to the sound of shelling, cannons, bomb blasts, suicidal attacks and hovering of drones upside, especially, the women and children suffered to the level of trauma. Though, residents of FATA had not been involved in 9/11 attacks directly or indirectly, yet they suffered the most from the so-called war on terror which resulted into a permanent nightmare. Depression, anxiety, fear, tense atmosphere, helplessness, insecurity and stress had all been the symptoms amongst women, children, youth and aged alike. According to a rough calculation by the president of Pakistan psychiatry society, more than 54% of FATA residents have suffered from acute stress, post traumatic situation, fear, sleep disturbance, loss of appetite, and panic.<sup>31</sup> In actuality, this all resulted owing to entanglement between tripartite armed men: Taliban on one side, Pakistani military on the other and the unmanned drones upside.

---

<sup>31</sup> Mufti, D. K. *Interview of Dr. Khalid Mufti, the Ex-President of Pakistan Psychiatric Society, 2012*. Retrieved from: <http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/295028,suicide-bombings-causetormentfor-pakistani-children--feature.html>, accessed on February 15, 2017.

## **Unthinkable repercussions on Agricultural productivity:**

Apart from the social, economic, political and physical implications, one of the unthinkable offshoots of war on terror concerning FATA has been the destruction of agricultural productivity. This war not only destroyed agriculture but also left behind lowest per capital income of the peasants, farmers and those related to this field directly or indirectly. The case study of Malakand in general and Bajaur agency in particular explicitly depicts that the agricultural products and crops were destroyed severely. Additionally, people lost their properties, destruction of fields resulting into low income.<sup>32</sup> The frequent operations, bombings, and militancy in the areas made the people displaced from their origin hence they could not focus their agricultural land. This episode added to the miseries of the residents of FATA who were already war trodden. However, the direct repercussion of unrest affected farmers, reduced the supply and the quality of materials, ill functioning of market, and inflation etc.<sup>33</sup>

## **Conclusion**

To sum up, it could aptly be stated that Pakistan's foreign policy has been highly inclined towards the relations with United States irrespective of neighbouring countries. The major obstacle had been the formation of independent foreign policy and its implementation by the respective governments. By having a bird eye view, it can easily be inferred that military have had substantial role in determining the foreign policy of Pakistan because of Indian threat perception, known as 'Indian fear'; strained relations with U.S. and lack of political leadership in the country. There is no denying the fact that owing to economic dependence we have been dictated by the super powers for their nefarious agendas and goals. The ample proposition to the fact is that in Pakistan Peoples Party's government from 2008-2013, abolished the subsidy on electricity under the influence of International Monetary Fund (I.M.F) and World Bank. All in all, the obstacles, pitfalls and perils can be addressed as a result of independent, efficacious, self-centred foreign policy which is being determined by the cherished goals of Pakistan.

This policy had proved to be a downright fiasco, because Pakistan had lost \$182 billion in economic perspective and more than 60,000 lives of military personnel and civilians. The worst war ridden society had been that

---

<sup>32</sup> Naz, D. A., Khan, D.Q., Khan, Tariq., Shah, D.I., Khan, D. F., Khan, N. . The Impact of Violent Conflict on the Agricultural Economy of FATA: A Case Study of Bajaur Agency Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *Journal of Applied Environmental and Biological Sciences*, 6(9), 2016: 31-37.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

of FATA which was used as a laboratory in 1980s to fight the Communism and in the wake of 21<sup>st</sup> century it again became a place of permanent military operations by Pakistan and drone strikes by the United States. It is high time that Pakistan had resorted to certain realistic propositions that could address the lingering issues, perhaps, imbroglios to get rid of terrorism, extremism and U.S. led war on terror. Pakistan shall bring to front a narrative and disseminate that to international community and thereafter persuade them that compensation must be given to the people of FATA who suffered in U.S. war against terror; drone strikes must not be carried out at any cost because of its negative offshoots; honourable solution to Kashmir issue shall be extended at an earliest; safeguarding Pakistan against any Indian aggression; writing off Pakistan's loans; restoring the prestige of state and nation etc. and on national front, the issue of IDPs must be resolved immediately; reforms in FATA shall be carried out within a span of 1 year by extending the basic human rights to all citizens of FATA; putting an end to the Frontier crimes regulation (FCR); building of infrastructure; schools and hospitals in FATA; effective dialogue with the militant outfits to resolve the issue peacefully.

## Bibliography

- Abbas, Z. [2005]: *Operation Eye wash*. Herald
- Ahmad, A. [2011, October 28]: The Afghan Policy. Retrieved from Pakistan Today: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2011/10/28/the-afghan-policy/>. Accessed on February 27, 2017.
- Akhtar, S. [2010]: War on Terrorism and Kashmir issue. *Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies (IRS)*.
- Ali, Z. [2008]: Over 4,000 Houses Destroyed in Waziristan Operation. Retrieved from Dawn: <https://www.dawn.com/news/971551/over-4-000-houses-destroyed-in-waziristan-operation-report>. Accessed on February 21, 2017.
- Arnett, E. H. [1997]: *Military Capacity and the Risk of War: China, India, Pakistan, and Iran*. Oxford University Press on Demand
- Azam, I. [1983]: *Pakistan and the Asian Collective Security System*. Matboat-e-Hurmat
- Baloch, J. A. [2012]: The implications of war on terror on Pakistan. *African Journal of Social Sciences*, 2(2)
- Behuria, Ashok K., Smruti S., Pattanaik., and Gupta. [2012]: Does India Have a Neighbourhood Policy? *Strategic analysis* 36, no.2
- Benjamin, M. [2012]: *Drone Warfare, killing by remote control*: New York and London: OR Books
- Bergen, P., & Braun, M. [2012, September 6]: *Drone is Obama's Weapon of Choice*. Retrieved from CNN: <http://www.cnn.com/2012/09/05/opinion/bergen-obama-drone/index.html>. Accessed on January 10, 2017.
- Cavallaro, J., Sonnenberg, S., & Knuckey, S. [2012]: Living Under Drones: Death, Injury and Trauma to Civilians from US Drone Practices in Pakistan. *International Human Rights and Conflict Resolution Clinic at Stanford Law School and Global Justice Clinic at NYU School of Law*
- Collins, L. [2008]: United States diplomacy with Pakistan following 9/11. *A case study*.
- Dawn. [2016]: Pakistan suffered loss of \$188bn during war on terror, says Dar. Retrieved from Dawn: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1262750>. Accessed on January 04, 2017.
- Fair, C. C., & Watson, S. J. (Eds.). [2015]: *Pakistan's Enduring Challenges*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Farooq, N. T. [2016]: *US-Pakistan Relations: Pakistan's Strategic Choices in the 1990s*. Routledge
- Goswami, A. [2012]: *3-D Deceit, Duplicity & Dissimulation of US Foreign Policy Towards India, Pakistan & Afghanistan*. AuthorHouse
- Hussain, T. [2016]: FATA: *Terrorists or victims of a covert war?* Retrieved from Al-Jazeera: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/09/fata-terrorists->



- victims-covert-war-160912084500746.html. Accessed on February 20, 2017.
- Mitton, J. [2011]: *Regional Realities: The India-Pakistan Enduring Rivalry as an Obstacle to Success in Afghanistan*. Library and Archives Canada= Bibliothèque et Archives Canada.
- Mufti, D. K. [2012]: *Interview of Dr. Khalid Mufti, the Ex-President of Pakistan Psychiatric Society*; retrieved from: <http://www.earthtimes.org/articles/show/295028,suicide-bombings-causetormentfor-pakistani-children--feature.html>. Accessed on February 15, 2017
- Musharraf, P. [2006]: *“In the line of Fire: A Memoir”*. Free press, New York, United States.
- Naz, D. A., Khan, D.Q., Khan, Tariq., Shah, D.I., Khan, D. F., Khan, N. [2016]: The Impact of Violent Conflict on the Agricultural Economy of FATA: A Case Study of Bajaur Agency Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *Journal of Applied Environmental and Biological Sciences*, 6(9)
- Northedge, F.S. [1968]: *The Foreign Policies*. London; Faber and Faber
- O’Connell, M.E. (2010, October 8): *Drones under International law*. Retrieved from Washington University Law: <http://law.wustl.edu/harris/documents/OConnellFullRemarksNov23.pdf>. Accessed on January 10, 2017.
- Pande, A. [2011]: *Explaining Pakistan’s foreign policy: escaping India*. Taylor & Francis
- SATP. [2017]: *Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2017*. Retrieved from: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>. Accessed on April 2, 2017.
- Sial, B. [2013]: Pakistan’s role and strategic priorities in Afghanistan since 1980. *report by Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre*
- Vajpayee, A.B. [2003, May 09]: You Can Change Friends, Not Neighbours. Retrieved from: [http://articles.economicstimes.indiatimes.com/2003-05-09/news/27547221\\_1\\_india-and-pakistanjammu-and-kashmir-lahore-declaration](http://articles.economicstimes.indiatimes.com/2003-05-09/news/27547221_1_india-and-pakistanjammu-and-kashmir-lahore-declaration). Accessed on July 26, 2016).
- Yasmeen, S. [1994]: Pakistan’s cautious foreign policy. *Survival*, 36(2)
- Yousaf, F., Rahmanullah. [2014, June 23]: *Drone Strikes in FATA, a violation of Pakistan sovereignty*; retrieved from FATA Research centre; <http://frc.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/7.pdf>, retrieved on 12-02-17.