

Global War on Terror, Human Security and FATA

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The traditional concept of security, related to military threats, has been changed. The concept of security is now associated to humans. According to UN Human Development Report 1994, human security includes Economic, food, health, environment, personal, community and political security. Since 1994, the concept of human security has gained popularity. FATA remained peaceful throughout its history with Pakistan. However, after 9/11 the area has been turned into war zone and considered as a center of international terrorism. It is argued here that beside many other factors, the growing extremism and militancy in FATA is due to the deteriorating situation of human existence, which is the root cause of growing militancy in FATA.

Keywords: War on Terror. FATA. Human Security. Extremism

In international relations the traditional concept of security is military oriented and related to threats to national interests and protection of the state from external military threats. In international relations the security concept is explained by the terms like ...“balance of power”, “deterrence”, “peaceful coexistence” and “collective security”(Concepts of Security, 1986).On the other hand security policies are promoted by the means related to” ...such as disarmament and arms limitation arrangements or the maintenance and development of military capabilities”(Concepts of Security, 1986)Thus security of a nation or state remains the top priority of any government. However, the post-cold war period and the UNDP report of Human Development Report (HDR) 1994 has changed the concept of security. HDR identifies freedom from fear and freedom from want as the main two components of human security. Human security is defined as:

“Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity”(Human Security Now, 2003).

This definition identifies non-traditional security concept, further it highlighted different threats to humans and emphasized aspiration for peace and security not only with in a state but also among different states.

UN Human Development Report 1994 identified seven human security components. Human securities with main threats are explained in following table.

Possible Types of Human Security Threats

Type of Security	Examples of Main Threats
Economic security	Persistent poverty, unemployment
Food security	Hunger, famine
Health security	Deadly infectious diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental security	Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters, pollution
Personal security	Physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child labor
Community security	Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity based tensions
Political security	Political repression, human rights abuses

Source: Based on the UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 and the HSU. Cited in Human Security In Theory and Practice :An Overview of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security Human Security Unit United Nations, p. 6. http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf

Presently the human security is widely discussed and adopted phenomenon and get international recognition. It is hard to discern one component of human security from the other; they are overlapping and intricately intermingled with each other. One aspect of human security is bound to have a domino effect on other dimensions of security. Hence, the need is for adopting a human security approach (Weaver, 2011, pp.465-480).

FATA and Human Security

The Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) is located in the north west of Pakistan. It covered 27, 220 square kilometers of area and comprises of seven tribal agencies and six frontier regions.¹ According to 2008-9 estimates, FATA population is 4.02 million, dominated by Pakhtun or Pushtun or Pakhtoon tribes (In Post Crisis Assessment, 2010, p. 23).

FATA has a long history of invasions and attacks; this area was considered as a gate way to Afghanistan and Central Asia. The area was influenced by Aryans, Achaemenian, Alexander the Great, Sassanians, Khusan, Huns, Arabs, Turks, Mughals and Sikhs (Shinwari, 2008, p.1). Finally the Great Game of 18th century between Russian and British Empire resulted in control of British Empire over the area of FATA. To control the local population, British Raj introduced a system which was based on:

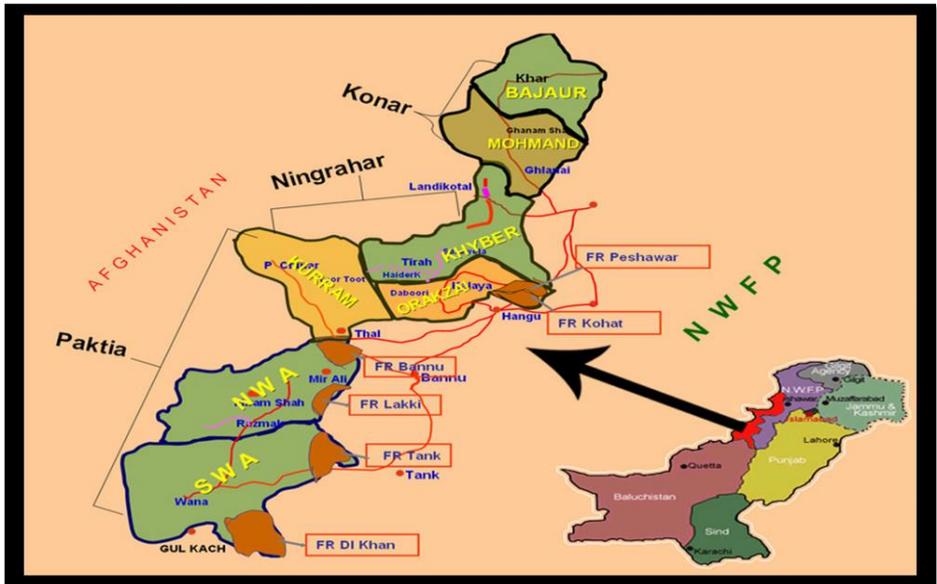
- a) Political agent (PA), a senior bureaucrat, with judicial, executive and administrative powers,

¹. The Tribal Agencies are are Bajaur, Mohmand, Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan. The Frontier Regions include Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat, Lakki, Peshawar and Tank. In Post Crisis Need Assessment Khber Pakhtunkhwa & federally administered Tribal areas Pakistan September 2010. <http://lgkp.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/10.-Consolidated-report-on-the-Post-Crisis-Needs-Assessment-for-KP-and-FATA.pdf>

- b) Tribal elders (Maliki System) who cooperate with state and received privileges and subsidies.
- c) Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) (Haider, 2009, p.5)

This set of law denied the people of FATA from their basic right to “...appeal, wakeel, daleel (the right to appeal their detention, the right to legal representation, and the right to present reasoned evidence.)”(Ali, 2011) The FCR was amended in 2011, which introduced laws related to Legal Protection, FATA Tribunal, Qaumi Jirga, Jail Inspection, Audit by Central Government (ullah, 2015, pp.215-235).

After independence FATA tribes men joined Pakistan and British Raj system (to control FATA) remained intact. Thus, Pakistan’s national laws, police, courts and agencies have no jurisdiction and writ in FATA. This system failed to provide basic human rights, education, socio-economic development and security to the people of FATA.



Source: Ali Mohammad Jan Orakzi, Situation in FATA: Causes, Consequences and the Way Forward. Policy Perspectives , Volume6 , Number1, January - June 2009
<http://www.ips.org.pk/global-issues-and-politics/1057-situation-in-fata-causes-consequences-and-the-way-forward>

Global War on Terror brought FATA to international prominence as it is considered a safe haven for all those militants and terrorists who escaped from US led Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. From the territory of FATA not only these militants attacked foreigners in Afghanistan but also started militancy against the state of Pakistan. With the passage of time the militants were reorganized, strong and their activities increased (Yunas, 2014). To counter militancy in FATA the government in Islamabad first try to enter in peace accords with militants and later when peace agreements were violated, military operations started in FATA in 2003. Since 2001 onwards the

growing militancy, extremism and military operations resulted in grave human security situation which further created internal security issues for the state of Pakistan.

Situation of Human Security in FATA

As compare to other areas of Pakistan, FATA socio economic indicators are much below. With poor health facilities, education condition and non-availability of basic facilities of life, with old rotten administrative system, with hardly any support from power corridors of Islamabad, people of FATA are struggling for their survival. Such conditions are conducive for terrorism to thrive (Nawaz, 2009).

FATA economy is among the underdeveloped economy and is pastoral based "...with agriculture practiced in a few fertile valleys. Most households are engaged in primary-level activities, such as, subsistence agriculture and livestock rearing, or small-scale business conducted locally. Others are involved in trade within the tribal belt or with down-country markets..." (federally Administered Tribal areas (FATA) n.d). Additionally, people of FATA are doing minor jobs in limited industries, unorganized mining, and unskilled labors also work in Middle East countries (federally Administered Tribal areas (FATA) n.d). Further FATA economy is based on following pillars: illegal trade and transaction with Afghanistan, Weapons manufacturing, Marble Industry, Timber, Smuggled Goods, Bara Market, Plundering of NATO supplies, Mining, Narcotics (Mian, 2009). Economic situation in FATA deteriorated due to Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, ISAF attack on Afghanistan in 2001 and controlling of area by militants. Moreover when area came under the control of Taliban, they do ask for their economic share, "... Taliban collect around four billion rupees annually (approximately US \$50 million) (Sardar, 2009). Also Taliban earned money from different sources selling natural resources (like marble. Gems, timber), toll taxes, fines, drugs, weapons etc. Thus control over smuggling and trade routes and economic resources are the main factors behind controlling the areas of FATA by extremists (Sarda, 2009).

The U.S. invasion resulted in the migration of millions of Afghan refugees in to the tribal areas of Pakistan along with the Internally Displaced Peoples movements into other parts of Pakistan. Pakistan's economy faced a huge setback in 2009 when around 3 million IDPs moved as a result of terrorist attacks and military operations in Tribal areas of Pakistan (Chughtai, 2013).

The business sector of FATA disrupted after the extremists organization captured the trade routes and demanded taxes on transportation of goods which declined the tribal control over the business transactions. The tribesmen became involved in the cultivation of poppy and trade of narcotic substance after the fall of Taliban in Afghanistan. Another important source of earning is the increasing weapon industry, even at a smaller scale in FATA region, providing small arms and light weapons to the militants in conflict areas (Mian, 2009).

All this resulted in poverty and 70 percent of population of FATA lives below poverty line and earn less than a dollar a day (Khan, n.d). Due to such economic situation and unemployment tribesmen are involved in illegal economic activities to support their families and are the source of militant recruitment. As mentioned by Raza Khan

"Many youths have joined the ranks of the insurgents for the stipend which the insurgent groups like the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) are believed to pay to their fighters. So if it is thought by someone that youths have been joining the bandwagon

of local clergy to set up Taliban brigades because they have been highly religiously motivated people they were completely at a wrong. The unemployment factor has been the underlying reason for inflating Taliban's ranks"(Khan, n.d.).

According to world food summit 1996 Food security means "when all people at all times have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet the dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life"(Sustainable Development Policy Institute. n.d). Food security rest on three pillars: physical availability of food, socio-economic access to food, and food absorption. 67.7 per cent population of FATA is considered as food insecure with 5 districts declared as worst food security (Sustainable Development Policy Institute. n.d).

With the escalation in military operations to wipe out terrorists and their support groups in FATA, food security became a major cause of worry for the regions when thousands of people have been forced under ongoing circumstances to evacuate their houses (Khan & Shah, 2011). It is estimated that 1.5 million people are displaced from FATA (Returning Home: Livelihood and Food security of FATA Returnees. nd). This created humanitarian emergency and security situation at the same time. According to a recent report, the FATA's available land for agriculture is 7 percent of total whereas the rest of 93 percent is barren land consisting of mountains. Majority of the FATA's land belong to the Maliks and local Khan, whereas, the remaining 50 percent of population have no cultivable or uncultivable land to earn income (Malik, n.d.). According to survey IDPs when return to their homes, face severe shortage of food, with 54% having not enough food to consume (Returning Home, n.d).

There is strong nexus between terrorism, militancy and food insecurity. World Food Program report declared six regions of FATA as severely food insecure areas include Dera Ismail Khan, Tank, Kohat, South Waziristan Agency, North Waziristan Agency and Orakzai Agency have been put in the category of severely food insecure. Khyber and Mohammad agencies are categorized as 'high food insecure.' Reasons given are prevailing law and order situation, poor food availability, poor access to food due to very poor socio-economic conditions, low local production, physical remoteness and insecurity (Ali, 2015).

The ongoing conflict in FATA region (militancy and armed conflicts) disrupted the livelihood of thousands of people, destroyed their natural habitat which resulted in social and psychological health issues among people of FATA mainly school going young children, and women (Abbasi, n.d.).As a result of movement of around 5 million people in FATA causing joblessness, education problems, health and food issues, security crisis, and psychological issues like depression, phobias, stress disorder, and Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome. A 2009 report by the SHPD recorded around 97,000 psychological cases from FATA and 90,000 cases in 2011 from a local clinic among which 50,000 cases were the result of ongoing conflict (Abbasi, n.d.). The health situation of FATA is quite miserable where the hospitals are not adequate enough with modern technologies or doctors. The hospital facilities are mostly destroyed and very few hospitals and clinics are left and even those are located quite apart from each other.

Another problem regarding the health facilities in FATA arises due to the factors that many doctors are unwilling to work in the tribal areas under the prevailing military operations. The

shortage of specialist surgeons lead to the surgical procedures done by the paramedical personnel's in many of the FATA's hospitals (FATA Reforms, 2014). There is only one doctor and one health care center for 7800 and 4200 people respectively. There is only one dentist for 14,800 people of FATA. 32 percent and 60 percent positions for doctors and specialist doctors are vacant in FATA (Butt, 2015).

Children are mostly the victim of health insecurity as mentioned by UNICEF-funded study of Children's Complaint Office, Islamabad on "The State of Children in Pakistan" the spread of disease, including through contaminated drinking water and other preventable causes, and the dearth of adequately equipped hospitals, trained doctors and other medical staff adversely impact life expectancy. The mortality rates from treatable illness, particularly for women and children, are particularly high in Fata. Human development indicators for Fata are poor" (Butt, 2015).

Further polio cases increased from 63 in 2013 to 179 in 2014. In North Waziristan 70 cases, Khyber Agency 76 cases followed by South Waziristan 24 cases, and Frontier Region Bannu 9 cases are reported. Security of polio workers, inaccessible to certain areas, propaganda against polio drops, ongoing conflict and regular migration are cited some reasons for low immunization in FATA (Butt, 2015). Further for 6428 females there is only one lady health visitor (Participatory rural development society, 2011) with no private hospital. Thus it is evident that the health facilities in FATA are not adequate and are not available to the majority population of the area.

The key factors for threatening political security will be political authoritarianism and human right exploitations. The political security profile of FATA is more multifarious and complicated than any other dimensions in the area where the government role in other security sectors of FATA can be dealt extensively even in isolation; however, political security is an only aspect which requires full responsiveness of all the political parties and other stakeholders (Khan, 2013). Most of the people in FATA link religious extremism in region with poor and deteriorating system of governance. "Based on 19th century British rules and institutions, FATA's colonial administration raises serious human rights concerns and is fueling militancy in the region" (Haider, 2009, p.2). Thus the existing governance system (weak political and judicial system) is unable to protect rights of people of FATA with no writ of the state of Pakistan and here the constitution of Pakistan is not practiced. It's in 1997 that the adult universal franchise has been given to the people of FATA; also they have no political participation in the main stream political system of Pakistan. Hence the people of FATA are not given even their constitutional protected rights. Such situation created a nexus between governance and militancy in following way: Political vacuum has been created and extremists' elements filled it, weak judicial system forced people to turned to Taliban for quick judicial decisions, with no writ of state, the criminals, militants and terrorists have free hand to set their own empire and emerging class conflict between locals and outsiders (trying to implement their own administrative system) (Haider, 2009, pp.2-6).

Personal security in perspective of its physical facet is related to the law and order situation in the region and is associated with the criminality and extremism. The shadows of terrorist activities and the regulation of crime is a common phenomenon in the present world and is deeply rooted in the area of FATA particularly after the U.S. invasion in Afghanistan. (Khan, 2013) The fighting between security forces and Taliban resulted in the migration of millions of people from FATA. The Pakistan's federal government and provincial government of KPK along with the numerous non-governmental organizations assisted these migrants but even years later they are somehow lacking to provide basic relief to the threat of their personal well-being. Nonetheless with ongoing operations in the tribal

area the threat to their physical well-being and shelter is still a major concern for many humanitarian organizations. The suffering of these migrants are further intensified due to the price hike and weak registration processes thus forcing them to take advantage of meager facilities provided by these shelter camps. One of the surveys conducted in these camps showed that many of the IDPs were dissatisfied with government's efforts and around 12 percent of these migrants responded that they don't even have any idea of these registration processes. The reports also concluded that approximately 95 percent of the FATA's migrants were not even registered according the NGOs and FC data base ("Crisis of IDPs in FATA: Issues, Challenges and a way forward. n.d). These IDPs have to face worst living conditions including less or no access to food, water, hygiene, shelter, increased crimes and violence against children and women, child and women safety, health issues, and much more ("Crisis of IDPs in FATA: Issues, Challenges and a way forward, n.d). Women and children are more vulnerable than men (Khattak, 2015). Personal security is the main concern of the IDPs.

The tribal areas of Pakistan are branded under the strong influence of tribal and ethnic traditions and heritage. The area of FATA consists of numerous major tribes including Utmankhel, Mohmand, Tarkani, Safi, Afridi, Shilmani, Shinwari, Mulagori Orakzai, Turi, Bangash, and Masozai, Darwesh KhelWazirs and Mahsuds. Other communities of FATA include the tribes of Utmanzai, Ahmadzai, Dawar, Saidgai, Kharasin, and Gurbaz (Government of FATA.n.d). Other than the tribal communities of FATA, number of minorities also resides in FATA including the Christian Sikh and Hindu (Samiullah, n.d.).

With the rise of Taliban's and their extremist's ideology, the minorities of FATA badly suffered. The members of minor community were tortured by terrorist's organizations, whereas government remained unmoved on this act of violation. The year 2009 observed the abduction of two members of Sikh community by the Taliban's for ransom, and were later released after the transaction was completed (Samiullah, n.d.). These communities despite of living in FATA for centuries are still not acknowledged by the authorities who take their security for granted. As a result in 2013 the former governor of KPK made a commitment to resolve the domicile issues of Christian community residing in FATA for which he met with the members of Christian community promising them hope for a prosperous future. Even after living for centuries in FATA the government hardly acknowledged their rights and privileges as per the constitution of Pakistan (Samiullah, n.d.). Sectarian violence also polluted the social fabric of FATA society.

Environmental situation in FATA is not confined to limited resources of water and food shortage or to the chaos caused as a result of natural disasters. The environmental security of FATA can be observed as the source of ultimate threat for the stability and can even result in further aggravating the situation(Congressional Report, n.d). As the result of WoT and military operations carried out to eliminate terrorists holding in the tribal areas, the regions environmental structure was badly smashed resulting in reduction of woodlands, soils water retaining capacity, and several climatic conditions. Moreover, with the migration of refugees from the neighboring country also divided these minimal reservoirs. A 2014 conducted research reported that the change in climate will put a huge threat to water, food, and energy security in overall state. This sudden change will particularly flood the northern region of Pakistan. The major reason behind the change in environmental situation results due to exploitation of lush green forests in the mountainous regions of Pakistan. This situation will continue to deteriorate until a fruitful plan is generated. The conducted

report also connected environmental threats to the lack of resources and increase in population among the working class who are mostly generating their income through agricultural, deforestation, and fishery sectors (Muhammad, 2014).

FATA and Human Security: A Way Forward

Post NATO withdrawal not only have implications for Afghanistan but is also influencing the peace and stability in the neighboring state of Pakistan, particularly FATA, which many analysts have predicted a bleak situation from human security framework. A report conducted by the FRC on Post NATO withdrawal Scenario in Afghanistan and its implications on FATA concluded that around 89 percent people in FATA believe that the U.S. withdrawal will result in a much stable and somewhat on a road to a peaceful region which will positively affect FATA. The NATO withdrawal is not only seen as a hope for a stable region but also as a way for improved human security indicators of the FATA area. Government of Pakistan in collaboration with NGOs and international donors and international actors, introduced new and improved socio-economic reforms and projects that help the settlers in achieving a more improved and stable lifestyle.

Military operation in FATA destroyed any safe havens for militants and terrorists and their capability to fight and to terrorize the people has been also destroyed. It is declared that 95 percent of the area of FATA has been cleared from the militants and people are started returning to their native lands (Yusafzai, 2016). Business activities are resumed, schools are rebuilt, sports activities started, (Yusafzai, 2016) and cultural events are celebrated. NADRA is verifying those people who are returning to their homes. Roads and infrastructure are rebuilt, Army chief and civilian leaders like president visited FATA and civil, local and military administrations are keeping a vigilant check over the law and order situation in FATA. Prime Minister of Pakistan constituted FATA Reforms Committee to recommend proposals for FATA. Administrative and political reforms are implemented. International community is also shouldering the responsibility to bring peace and prosperity in FATA. Different projects are launched by U.S. Japan, Korea, UN, ADB for upgrading water and irrigation systems, safeguarding food and economic security, job opportunities for youth, health and hygiene awareness campaign has been started. Environmental issues are discussed and tackled.

Conclusion

The concept of security has changed. Any vulnerability to the existence of human being is labeled as security threat. Consequently there is strong nexus between poverty, unemployment, hunger, diseases, environmental degradation, resource depletion, violence, crime, Inter-ethnic, and inter- religious human rights abuses and terrorism. Therefore wider security agenda, human security, has to be given preference while discussing any kind of security threats to and from FATA. The human security can be enhanced in FATA by providing basic necessities of life. Although, government and other private and semi-government organizations are extensively working for the human development in the region and it is hoped that the FATA's socio economic condition will improve and thus will minimize the threat of militancy and will reduce sympathizers' with terrorists, but still the situation cannot be labeled as ideal or even satisfactory for the survival of people of FATA. It needs a long term strategy and investment in the sector of well being of human beings.

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