

POST US WITHDRAWAL SCENARIO IN AFGHANISTAN: IMPACT ON PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN FATA

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Abstract

The Goal of the research is to understand and forecast the situation in post US withdrawal scenario in Afghanistan and its implications in FATA. The objective of the paper is to understand and study the strategy of militant groups, particularly Taliban, in post-withdrawal situation in FATA. The paper will also enquire the people's response in the changed situation in the region and to aggregate the expectation of people of FATA in relation to peace and development in post-withdrawal scenario. The paper also aims to see the impact on peace building efforts by the Government of Pakistan in FATA. It will also measure the stance of other stakeholders (including religious, political, social groups / parties) in post withdrawal scenario.

Keywords. *Afghanistan, US, FATA, Withdrawal, NATO*

Introduction

The military operation conducted in Afghanistan soon after September 11th 2001 was supposed to be a short mission, however the situation on the ground was graver than previously anticipated, as such when President Obama first took office, while there was hope to end the conflict, he was forced to revive a policy of increased military presence in the region. However in 2009 the Obama Administration committed to withdrawing military presence in the region, a promise it reiterated in 2011 and one that looks to be increasingly likely. In 2011 the president stated “by 2014, the process of transition will be complete and the Afghan people will be responsible for their own security”¹.

Ever since the US President B.H. Obama announced the US policy of withdrawing forces from Afghanistan, it invited a mixed response from the different walks of life and triggered a debate within and outside the US among concerned quarters on the post withdrawal consequences and impact. When in 2011 Obama announced, ‘we are meeting our goals’ and 33,000 US troops would be withdrawn from Afghanistan, the policy was reluctantly taken by US military

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bureaucracy but on the other hand Democratic politicians maintained the call for faster withdrawal. “President Obama left many aspects of transition undefined, even leaving out the mention of defeating Taliban, clearly showed that the current US’ strategy is ‘open-ended’” ²(Khan, 2013). Taking in account the situation inside Afghanistan, a report of Transparency International in 2012 listed it among the “world’s most corrupt countries, ranked at 174 of 176 nations”, and depicting the perceptions about public sector. The Afghanistan Opium Survey cited by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime revealed that the country is a center of drug production and trafficking. The survey showed Opium poppy cultivation increased 18 percent in 2012 from the year 2011. “Afghanistan is already the world’s largest producer of opium, and last year accounted for 75 percent of the world’s heroin supply” Another recent report on Afghanistan Regional Forum, held at The George Washington University vivifies the concerns of neighboring countries. Tajikistan’s anxiety is expressed in a view that “fragmentation of political forces and their struggle for power in context of an extremely weak state and defiance of governance at all levels will exacerbate chaos” in post withdrawal scenario by making it a more fertile place for “global drug trade, terrorism and organized crime”. In these circumstances, Russia also announced to deploy additional troops on Tajik-Afghan border to counter foreseen combined threat of narcotics and terrorism.³

Violence in society, illicit opium cultivation, drug trafficking, presence of militant groups and the large scale corruption in public sector are ubiquitous even in the presence of “about 66,000 U.S. troops in Afghanistan”. But on the other hand, in response to the US announcement of withdrawal of its forces, Afghan government expressed the optimistic note to ‘take over’ the complete control of Afghanistan. The spokesman for the Afghan Defense Ministry, Zahir Azimi expressed Afghan National Army forces are "completely ready" to take the responsibility of security of the country. The drawdown of US and NATO forces from Afghanistan at a time where Taliban still have lot of influence in the region has raised many questions about the post withdrawal scenario. The forces from 49 countries, including NATO member states, were unable to stabilize the heart of Asia Afghanistan and restore peace despite of a long presence. It would be unrealistic to expect the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) to accomplish a task that the well-equipped, 150,000 strong NATO forces could not do.⁴

The future stance of Pakistan on Afghan issue is also highly relevant to ponder on. Three important questions are linked with the departure of the US troops from Afghanistan in 2014: the future shape of Afghanistan; the spillover of the Kabul’s internal dynamics to regional politics, peace and stability with specific reference to Pakistan; and, the response of international community ⁵(Mahmood, 2013). Many among the International Relation scholars opine that Pakistan’s Afghan policy may be interpreted in Maximalist-Minimalist approach whereby the advocates of Maximalist approach say that Pakistan should make efforts to get maximum advantage that fits into its need; and undoubtedly establishing peace in its own territory would be or should be its chief priority

while Minimalists propose that Pakistan should work for achieving a broad based peace in the region, out of the situation⁶ (Shafqat, 2011).

Another point that is being speculated is whether the Taliban will continue to take up arms against the state, or will they attempt to gain legitimacy through seemingly appropriate channels, i.e. contesting elections and being involved in a publically mandated government. Of course, these questions are of burning importance to Afghans, but they have an equally strong impact on Pakistan's tribal areas. With a porous border, a cultural link, and a spillover of the conflict across the border, Pakistan has as much at stake on a national level as Afghanistan. Another matter of concern between the not-so-very friendly Pak-Afghan relations is the problem of acceptance of the Durand Line⁷.

FATA was gravely affected by the US invasion of Afghanistan. To escape US attacks, al-Qaeda and its affiliates exploited a relatively open border and a culturally similar society on Pakistan's border and established several militant sanctuaries in FATA. These same militants then further extended warfare inside FATA and Pakistan by declaring jihad on the Pakistani Government for supporting the War on Terror.

What remains to be seen now, is when the US withdraws from Afghanistan, what justifications militants, across the Afghan border, in FATA will have to continue their Jihad.

It is very important to recognize that in the post withdrawal scenario, existing militant groups will either find methods to continue their violent agenda or they will attempt to re-integrate into society. In the former case the strategy of these groups must be calculated properly so that extremism and radicalization in the region can be controlled and eliminated. "The thinking is that a withdrawal of U.S. forces and a power-sharing deal that empowers the Afghan Taliban would eliminate much of the basis for the militancy in Pakistan. The entry of the Afghan Taliban into the political mainstream would then create fissures within the Pakistani Taliban landscape, making the group much more militarily and politically manageable"⁸.

FATA has a unique history being a semi-autonomous region. Locals have had control of the region for centuries, and they have their own laws and customs that have flourished in the region. In the last decade, their own norms have been ignored and there has been an imposition by the state and international community of control. This imposition has fostered great resentment amongst the local population, who are now yearning for the independence of yesteryear. It is important to take this into account and welcome local input in the post withdrawal scenario.

Thus the scenario after US/NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan will be a unique experiment; there has not been such a pre planned withdrawal of troops from a region in the War on Terror. It will introduce a host of novel prospects and

challenges towards peace building in the region. This study aims to analyze all prospects and challenges in the proposed scenario, to understand the full impact of the withdrawal. The chief purpose of the study is to measure the stance of other stakeholders (including religious, political, social groups / parties) in FATA regarding the impact of post withdrawal.

Study Objectives and Methodology

Following were the objectives of the study:

- To understand and study the strategy of militant groups, particularly Taliban, in post-withdrawal situation in FATA.
- To enquire and aggregate the response and expectation of people of FATA in relation to peace and development in post-withdrawal scenario.
- To study the impact on peace building efforts by the Government of Pakistan in FATA.
- To measure the stance of other stakeholders (including religious, political, social groups / parties) in post withdrawal scenario.

The research is based on both Primary and Secondary data. Primary data was collected through field research. Qualitative method including in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) were used for data collection from different stakeholders in community including businessmen/ shopkeepers, community/tribal elders/leaders/workers/representatives, religious leaders/ imams/Ulamah, students, daily wage workers, government employees, academicians, political analyst, Maliks and local political representatives. Others included government/military officials/representatives, political representatives from mainstream political parties in Islamabad and Peshawar and religious scholars. Quantitative method including surveys was applied to know the point of view of masses. Secondary data was collected through literature review.

The study was limited to seven agencies including South Waziristan, North Waziristan, Orakzai Agency, Kurram Agency, Khyber Agency, Mohmand Agency and Bajaur Agency and the six Frontier Regions including FR Peshawar, FR Kohat, FR Bannu, FR Lakki, FR Tank and FR D.I. Khan. Up to two hundred individuals in each agency and up to 100 in each FR was surveyed to collect quantitative data while up to 200 interviews including group discussions were conducted in all over FATA by giving equal representation to all the agencies. The research subjects were the representative of different age, gender, tribe/ agency/ FR, literacy, religion, economic and political.

The point of view of females was also included in the study although the access to female was limited, owing to cultural norms in the tribal regions. Thus, female who had at least lived and experienced some part of their lives in FATA, but currently residing in settled areas were also interviewed. This sample selection was conducted through ‘snowball process’ to create gender parity.

Analysis

The Anticipated Response of Different Actors in Post us Withdrawal Scenario:

Settling Old Scores is no More a Priority for Tribal People:

The overall consensus was that while people are bitter and mourning their personal and material losses, they are also desperate for peace and prosperity. A vivid majority, 50% of the respondents negated the notion that tribal society (*Qaum*) will respond to the militancy aggressively in the region. People of the region are tired of the blood bath they have witnessed especially in post 9/11 scenario; hence wants to settle the issues through dialogue, peaceful mean and/or by entering into peace accords. They acknowledge that while the transitional period may not be entirely smooth, they are sure it will be a short transition and locals know and understand the importance and urgent requirement for an end to the conflict. It is this ultimate desire to be left at peace and be given a chance to develop that will trump the primal and culturally justifiable need for revenge.

Hard time for Militant Groups with the Diminished Local Support

People from all agencies had similar answers for this question, although with slight nuances that reflect the state of the conflict in their region. In South Waziristan, Bajaur, Kurram and Mohmand, there is a clear cut rejection of militants and their methods to achieve their aims, and a rejection of those aims as well. In Orakzai, Khyber and North Waziristan, respondents were quick to point out that different militant groups have different aims, and some of those aims are not necessarily contrary to popular opinion (an expulsion of foreign troops, the setup of shariah law etc) and while it was important to put an end to their violent methods of achieving their aims, it is important to listen to their demands and negotiate with them, not just because of the threat of them picking up arms again, but because there is some popular support to their demands.

Across the board, there is a consensus that the armed and violent element in the militants will entirely cease to exist, as the primary reason for fighting, was to fight the Americans and those who support them. 76% of respondents said that people will not support the existing militant groups once the US / NATO forces withdraw from Afghanistan. Only a fractional minority, 11% among respondents believe that the militant groups would still be able seek support from the tribal society. Beyond that, their other aims, most respondents point out can be achieved through dialogue and negotiations, and they have faith that these militant organizations will turn to peaceful methods to attain these goals. Thus a shift will occur, the groups will no longer be militant, but social or political, and use socially appropriate methods to attain these goals. A vivid majority 41% of respondents predicted that the local militant groups would prefer negotiation and dialogue. At the same time, a sizeable group of respondents, 26% believe that these militant groups would vacate tribal belt of Pakistan. Contrary to the said

responses, 20% among respondents still predict that militant groups would continue their armed struggle for their cause.

Although there is not a consensus on the issue of as to how militant groups themselves would respond to the situation but most of the people from all over FATA agree that militants will come to the table and negotiate a peace settlement once foreign troops leave Afghanistan. That is the only non-negotiable aspect of their demand. Respondents from South Waziristan, North Waziristan and Khyber also point out that culturally, the accepted methods of dispute resolution call for negotiations and compromise via the institute of the Jirgah. They all advocate for stakeholders to come together under the umbrella of a Jirgah, where ceasefires and treaties are considered binding and mechanisms exist to combat treaty violators.

While there is some reservation and hesitance to approach the topic of foreign militants in the region, overall respondents point out that the Taliban and militant movement in the region is fighting for supremacy of their land, ethnicity and culture. Hence, it seems improbable that these combatants will encourage or indulge in combat elsewhere. Over all, people of FATA believe that foreign militant groups will strategically leave the area because the very reason of their existence diminishes. 45% among the respondents said the foreign militant group would evict the tribal region; 19% among the respondents said that these groups would continue their armed struggle while almost the similar number among the respondents, 18%, believed that these groups would prefer negotiation. When speaking of foreign troops, in Orakzai respondents point out that these militants exist to fight American presence in countries where Muslims live, and if the US withdraws its troops from these countries, these militants will have little reason to relocate their fight.

In regards to the question of surrender, responses varied in regards to what was meant by surrender. In SWA, Orakzai, and Bajaur, those interviewed felt that after the US withdraw, militants in FATA will unconditionally surrender, because they are Pakistanis after all, fighting for the supremacy of their homeland. In North Waziristan, Mohmand and Khyber the distinction between surrender and compromise was nuanced. Respondents from these agencies held that if negotiation succeeds then militants will surrender, for them the term surrender meant to put down their arms, as opposed to give up on their ultimate aims. They were agreed that the militants are fighting because Pakistan is an ally of US in this war and when this question of alliance will come to the end; the militants will retain no justification for their fight and will give up their struggle against government. However, the key informants dispelled the notion that there is a withdrawal taking place. They termed it (withdrawal) a reduction in the number of forces and forecasted the situation to remain same till there is a single foreign soldier left in Afghanistan.

Longing for Peace; Disillusionment from Taliban

Local perception draws that the people of FATA are sick of fight, war and of criminal activity for which it has been a theater since last many years; and drama which staged with the involvement of foreign actors has reached to its catastrophe. On one hand people exposed their strong longing for peace and on the other they expressed their disillusionment and discontentment with the militancy, for which the Taliban are the key characters in FATA. People want peace through peaceful means. 78% among the respondents of this study agree to hold peace talks with the militant groups as they considered negotiation the preferred tool to get rid of militancy from the region. It is now very obvious to the people of FATA that their territory has been used over the years for proxy wars, either in the name of religion or state that ultimately provided room for penetration of intolerance and militancy in the society. Thus people being sick of wars propose to prefer negotiation as tool to bring peace to the area and in this connection they would support any effort to have dialogue with Taliban or other militant groups for their disbanding and reintegration in society.

At the same time people expressed clearly that the local support Taliban enjoyed, under tribal cultural code of hospitality (*Milmastiya*) will be minimized. 56% among the respondent believe that Taliban will not be able to sustain the local support they had in past. Comparatively a small group of people, 25% of the respondents, agree that Taliban will be able to get support from the tribes.

Major Actors for Peace Building

People identified different actors who can play vital role for peacekeeping and peace building. People consider that at national level Tribal nation (*Quam*), militant groups, government (with the involvement of its organs of military and political administration), political parties and religious leadership are all important and have some role to play. Interestingly people considered Tribal nation and militant groups as the top actors for restoration of peace. 32% of the respondents believe that Tribal nation can restore peace by itself while another 30% believe that militant groups are also important to restore peace in the region. The support for militant groups here implies implicitly the examples of cold peace accord among militant groups headed by then Mullah Nazir and the state in South Waziristan during 2008.

Religion to play a major role for restoration of peace

Religious groups and parties have amassed a lot of support and validation in FATA over the years, not just because of the religiously acute and conservative societal norms that exist in the region, but also because political parties were not permitted to carry out any activities in the region till 2012. Because of this, respondents note that religious groups and parties have a big role to play in the peace process. In South Waziristan respondents are quick to point out that religious parties are as vested in peace for the region as the society at large is and so they will facilitate the peace process. This sentiment is shared

across the board, however in agencies closer to mainland Pakistan, respondents note that some religious groups and parties cohort with militant groups and may cause some friction during the process. 16% among the research respondents believe that religious groups can play an effective role for bringing peace and stability to the region.

Political parties to play role for peace and development

Due to the accountability that can be placed on political parties, people from FATA are optimistic that political parties will not only encourage the peace process, but also take the views of the population on board. The respondents were optimistic about the political parties' role in the future peace process. They added that unless 2012, political parties were not allowed to function in the tribal area due to which people remained politically less aware. Now in the withdrawal scenario they will cherish this decision and will play their positive role for peace to strengthen their roots in the area. People consider that dialogue and development are the key tools for restoration of peace. 50% among the respondents believe that development while 30% among the respondents believe that dialogue is a route to restore peace. Both of these tools may effectively be utilized through political development in the region. Thus the role of political parties is ardently foreseen by the people to bring peace and development to this war hit region.

Decrease in visible military presence in the region: a great expectation

The military has played a key role in the conflict so far, and will continue to do so, should it keep in mind local customs and traditions. The presence of the national military in FATA is a cause for gripe among militants, however with the US/NATO withdrawal; locals are hopeful that the army's presence in the region will also decrease. In North Waziristan, a respondent noted "The Pakistani Army is our guardian, but they should not interfere with our tribal matters," while put very sharply, similar sentiments are shared FATA wide. In Khyber, people note the need for the army to patrol the region, just as in Bajaur where people point out that the army's presence on the border is essential to patrol it once the foreign forces evacuate, so that militants do not have an opportunity to travel back and forth into Pakistan. They all however echo the North Waziristan sentiment that they should not interfere locally, it disrupts tradition and causes unease amongst people.

The people of FATA want two things; peace and development. There is an understanding that development cannot occur in an unstable environment and as such peace is the first priority. They reject the idea that more army presence is required in the region. After the US/NATO forces withdraw, the next logical step is to come to peace talks, because the presence of troops was the main non-negotiable element for the militants. With that out of the way, there is room for stability in the region. They also note that peace can be brought to the region, while respecting and promoting the local tribal culture in the region. *Pathans* are

a fiercely proud and traditional people, they have mechanisms in place to handle local problems, and it is important to respect that, this sentiment was very strongly supported in North Waziristan. In Khyber, Bajaur, and Orakzai, people also pointed out development is key, the government must put a concerted effort to develop the region economically and socially, with a focus on education and industrialization, which will create an employment opportunities that will help in the discouragement of militancy in the region. Interestingly, people almost equal in number thinks that the civil government should play role in post withdrawal scenario by empowering the local people, supporting their culture and by signing peace deals undoubtedly with the militants. 39% of respondents argue that civil government should empower local people and their ways of living; 38% of respondents argue that government should sign peace deals with the conflicting parties. While only 20% among the respondents said that military strength should be increased to restore peace in the region.

Political administration sans external influence

There is a consensus that once militancy is under control in the region, the Political Administration will regain its strength and work for the people in the region. The office of the Political Agent is a very influential institution in FATA, and while the system was rendered defunct due to the meddling hands of the militants and army in the last 12 years, people believe that once it is reinstated and has the same powers it had before, it will work together with tribal elders in the region and act for the betterment of the area, with a public mandate (via consultation with Maliks and tribal elders). In North Waziristan and Khyber, respondents mentioned that the office worked till it was exploited and rendered ineffective due to militancy in the region, but that was only possible because of the way the institution was set up and as such some amendments need to be made to the Frontier Crimes Regulation (The Act that grants the PA its mandate and authority) to ensure that the same cycle does not repeat itself.

Pak-Afghan Relations: improvement expected

A decisive majority (74%) of the people agree that US / NATO withdrawal would bring a change in relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan and both of the countries will cooperate for peace building because ultimately it would benefit both of the neighboring states and the region as well. Only a fractional portion of respondents (19%) disagree with the said notion because for them little change is expected after US/NATO withdrawal scenario. The survey also noticed that the people of FATA expect a positive change in Pak-Afghan relations regarding cooperation on curbing the militancy and restoring peace in the region. 75% among respondents expect a positive and cooperative change in Pak-Afghan relations after the US/NATO withdrawal, which may help in peace building on both sides of Durand Line.

Foreseen role of international community: development through international development agencies expected with a note of caution

According to locals, the international community can and should contribute to the peace process in FATA; however their role should be one that facilitates development in the region so that peace prospers the region, not one that interferes in the actual peace process, i.e. in peace treaties etc. There is general distrust of the international community when it comes to security in the region, primarily due to the effect American presence has had not just in Afghanistan but its residue effect on FATA as well. They do not want foreign troops, or interference. When it comes to development, people are hopeful that international organizations can assist in increasing the literacy rate in the region, this sentiment was expressed very strongly in South Waziristan, Khyber and Orakzai. Locals in Mohmand and Bajaur singled out individual nations (namely Japan, China, and Iran) as being possible partners in economically developing the region.

Since it seems advisable to indentify the actors, their importance and the level of support they may inspire for peace and development in the area or region, the public perception on the role of International Community was sought through the intent survey. Majority of the people opined that International Community, i.e. UN, International Development Agencies, International Non-Governmental Organizations and the states will take interest in peace building in the region. 59% among the respondents said the International Community will take interest for peace building. Another sizeable number of respondents 23%, declined this opinion while (18%) of responded gave 'no opinion' on the issue mainly because they did not witness any intervention of NGOs and INGOs or Development Agencies in past in the area where they are residing; hence it becomes unable for them to visualize and opine on the role of actors that have never been present in the area.

While answering to the questions of effectiveness of International Community in peace building, interestingly, 56% among the respondents opine that it (IC) can play an effective role in this regard while 29% among the respondents disagreed with this statement. 15% again presented no view on the issue mainly because of their lack of information regarding these actors.

Contrary to general notions that tribal society in FATA is closed society and does not accept any external intervention for peace and development considering it an effort to undermine their local norms, a vivid majority (74%) of the respondents confirmed that a support for the peace and development interventions initiated by the international community is existent in this tribal society. People would welcome any positive step taken by any actor whether local or foreign if it amounts to alleviating poverty, enhancing education, providing health facilities and fostering peace and development of the region. 21% of the respondents disagreed with this statement and 5% opted the 'don't know' option.

Overall, people in agencies and frontier regions see a positive change in FATA in the post withdrawal scenario. There seems to be consensus on the following

- US is the root cause of every problem in FATA
- Everyone in the region is fed up from wars and is searching for peace.
- Negotiations should be carried out involving all stakeholders.
- *Jirgah* need to be supported, backed and strengthened for smooth and peaceful transition
- Pakistan Army should willingly withdraw troops from FATA after capacity building of local law enforcement institutions amidst NATO withdrawal.
- Reforms in political and administrative structures are required to ensure good governance, transparency and accountability.
- The role of international community is accepted and encouraged but is limited to the development sector.

Recommendations and suggestions

Policy of reconciliation and dialogue

There is an extreme trust deficit among different stakeholders in FATA. The government should take benefit from this “hope for a peaceful change” shown by the people of FATA and make a comprehensive policy for reconciliation and dialogue. According to the present day experts in strategic studies, including Barry Buzan,⁹ ‘conflict management’ and ‘conflict transformation’ is more secure and save than ‘conflict resolution’. Because the former one leads to re-integration of the armed and conflicting groups through peace talks and dialogue, while the later leads to offensive moves like military operations etc. The people of FATA would prefer dialogue over military operations in their areas. The survey gets the impression that any peace process would be highly supported by the people of FATA. Therefore this is the right time for the government of Pakistan to initiate peace talks with other conflicting parties and stakeholders because public support for such peace building efforts is present at large scale.

Withdrawal of Military from FATA

The role of military is important in deciding a future discourse for FATA. People in FATA do not consider military operations as harbinger for peace. There is a need to review military terms of engagement in FATA. In this regard, the government should either withdraw military forces from the tribal areas entirely or selectively or build the capacity of paramilitary forces including Frontier Constabulary (FC) and Frontier Corps (FC), Khasadar and Levies to cope up with the insurgency or militant activities. The people perception in FATA considers army as part of the problem not as part of the solution. Therefore, in this context the counterinsurgency doctrine calls for political over military solutions,

population security over insurgent/enemy targeting, ground forces over airpower, and small, rather than large, force deployments for specified missions such as targeted operations, patrols, intelligence gathering, and development assistance.

Dialogue and negotiations using indigenous sources

The government should adopt the strategy of dialogue, negotiations and development to settle all the disputes with the concerned stakeholders at local level including militant groups through local indigenous sources. The government should conclude peace treaties in accordance with the traditions and customs of FATA as enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan.

Therefore, government should adopt policies that help develop the area along with local initiatives for peace through dialogue. Drone attacks and its collateral damages are increasingly helping the militants to recruit new youth for their terrorist activities, therefore proactive diplomacy and dialogues must be held between the cornered parties to cease the negative impact of drone attacks on civilians and innocents.

Compensation for the Losses

Many people including IDPs have been victims of this war and they have inflicted loss of men and material. There is a public perception that these people may pick up arms to take the revenge of their lost ones. So to avoid further conflict the government should pacify them through involvement in productive activities and compensate them for the losses.

Role of Religious Parties

Religious leaders and parties having strong ties in the area should be given the lead to bring militants to dialogue in areas where they have influence.

Role of Political Parties

The government have extended political parties act and has allowed political parties to function in FATA. Political parties should now play active role to create awareness among the masses. Political administration should play the role of guarantor of peace, provide easy justice and social services to the people. The awareness about the rights, rules and regulations at the citizen's level is strongly recommended.

Role of International Community in Economic Stability

The international community is welcome to put their efforts in providing emergency and relief programs in FATA as earlier. Development projects strengthening education and social morels should be launched to direct the youth to the right modes that will improve the employment opportunity for the unprivileged youth of FATA. Eradication of poverty and generation of employment opportunities can play an important role in the eradication of militancy and escalating crime rate from the area.

Conception of Educational, Civic Facilities and Strengthening Civil Society

People of the war ravaged region, the tribal belt is in dire need of institutionalization specifically up-rise in vocational and non-vocational educational fields. There is a dire need to address the civic facilities factor in order to nourish the healthy brains for constructive and sanguine nation. The political administration should provide space to the civil society to function and deliver.

Judiciary or Tribal Jarga; a Solid Governing Body

No state can function without the presence of strong institutions of law and justice. Jarga system in FATA takes the place of judicial system as per the administrative norms under FCR. The government should review its policy on Governance reforms specifically FCR. However, most of the issues are resolved in local jarga therefore the institution must be respected, strengthened and ordinary people should be empowered. During the study a great number of locals complained that FCR does not serve the purpose of the people. A committee should be made to review all preceding developments in governance reforms so that future status of FCR be decided.

Qaum as a Resolver of Problems

The more the society is closed the more the collective action of the Qaum (tribal community) will be affective.¹⁰ In this context keeping in view the close nature of tribal society in FATA the role of *Qaum* is very important. The natives of FATA should be consulted in any policy regarding FATA. Even they can sort out solution to the ongoing crisis, but for that, tribal institutions such as *Jarga*, *Hujra* etc, should be restored and empowered.

Different *Qaums*, if given lead, can play a significant role in bringing peace in FATA. This would entail a mechanism for accountability and decentralization of decision making at grassroots level.

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⁹ **Barry Gordon Buzan** (born 28th April 1946) is Emeritus Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and honorary professor at the University of Copenhagen and Jilin University. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/researchAndExpertise/Experts/b.g.buzan%40lse.ac.uk>

¹⁰ Collective Action theory