

Conflict in Waziristan

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Abstract

In the wake of 9/11 attacks and the U.S., lead “War on Terrorism”, Pakistan launched a military operation in Waziristan. A ground for the nourishment of terrorist, today, the government has launched a full-scale operation in North Waziristan against the denial and elimination of terrorist ideology. Military operation conducted has positive and negative impacts and it alone is not the solution for conflict resolution. Learning lessons from other movements of insurgency and their post-conflict efforts’, our success for ending the seven years of insurgency, will be judged through the effort’s made by the government and our model of peacemaking for the state.

Defining Conflict and its Nature in Waziristan

Fisher has penned down the definition of conflict as following:

“Conflict is defined as an incompatibility of goals or values between two or more parties in a relationship, combined with attempts to control each other and antagonistic feelings toward each other.”

According to the researcher, among the three sources of conflict identified by Roger Fisher, the source of conflict and its nature as best applicable to Waziristan is Power Conflict. As Fisher has described distinct power conflict in the following words:

“Power conflict takes place when everyone or each group and party wants to maintain maximum power. It is not possible that each party has power in a system there must be a weaker party, as a result, the stronger party emerges. Power conflict can occur between states, nation, individual, and groups etc. Power conflict also occurs within state like we see in many states that non state actors challenge the writ of government in states.” (Yousufi & Khan, 2013)

Nature of Conflict as Defined in Waziristan

To the researcher if the last line as defined “Power conflict also occurs within state like we see in many states that non state actors challenge the writ of government in states” is inferred, it portrays the situation that from 2001 till the present has shaped the nature of conflict existing in Waziristan.

For every conflict, there exists a root cause and until the cause of the problem is not identified and resolved, chances for its reemergence remains. The nature of conflict, the

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actor's involved, the international and domestic environment, circumstances, time factor and their resolution may not hold same for every conflict, but they do provide unique outcomes for a conflict from which lessons can be learnt and mistakes can be avoided.

The main questions that summarize the research paper are:

1. How in surgency was dealt within countries of Northern Ireland and Sirilank and what were their post - conflict resolution efforts from which lessons for Waziristan conflict can be learnt?
2. What model of conflict can be more appropriate for resolution of conflict in Waziristan?
3. How the study of various perceptions helped in identification of factor of conflict in Waziristan?
4. What are the socio-political, strategic steps and the model of peace building for the resolution of the Waziristan conflict?

Models of Conflict Resolution

As stated by Burton "Conflict resolution means terminating conflict by methods that are analytical and that get to the root of the problem. Conflict resolution, as opposed to mere management or 'settlement', points to an outcome that, in the view of the parties involved is a permanent solution to a problem." (Cunningham, 2014)

In light of the above arguments, the researcher will analyze the similarities, differences, conflict resolution models and the lessons that can be drawn from the conflicts. For the researcher, John Burton's Human Need Model can facilitate conflict resolution in Waziristan.

The following would be the conflicts reflected upon.

1. Conflict in Northern Ireland
2. Conflict in Sirilanka
3. Conflict in Waziristan

Conflict in Northern Island	Conflict in Sirilanka	Conflict in North Waziristan	Remarks
<p><u>Nature of Conflict</u> Conflict was political, religious, historical, cultural and social in nature (Trans-Conflict)</p>	Conflict was political and ethnic in nature	Conflict is defined in terms of power conflict	All three conflicts are those of intra-state conflict. With variation in the nature of conflict, a commonality that is indicative among them is the challenge that they present against the authorities of the state.
<p><u>Actor's Involved in the Conflict</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Nationalist Community of the Protestant 2. The Nationalist Community of the Catholics 3. The Irish Republic Army (IRA) 4. Sinn Fein 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Government of Sirilanka 2. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Government of Pakistan 2. Non-state actor's 	The conflict in Northern Island involved political parties and governments. The conflict in Sirilanka involved an established military terrorist group against the government. The conflict in Northern Waziristan initially involved no clear-targeted or established actor's. However, the denial of the 'terrorist ideology' by the

			state identified those actor's involved in the conflict.
Period of Conflict Three decades of armed conflict	Three decades of armed conflict	The continuing battle began from 2004, in South Waziristan with the Military Operation Rah e Nijat (Path to Deliverance). In 2014, Operation Zarb-e-Azb (Sharp Strike) began in North Waziristan	Conflict in Northern Ireland and Sirilanka came to a halt after many decades. On the other hand, actions against the conflict and its resolution in Northern Waziristan are in its early stages.
International and Domestic Concern's- Attempt's for Conflict Resolution 1920-Government of British passed the Ireland Act 1921- Irish Republic Forces (IRA) and British signed a treaty creating Irish Free State 1960-Violence broke down and British troops were brought in to restore law and order. Act of terrorist violence remained persistent. 1985- The Prime Minister's of British and Ireland signed Anglo-Irish agreement 1994- Irish Republic Force (IRA) declared a cease-fire. Following the peace process, talks were initiated between Sinn Fein (a political wing of Irish Republic Force (IRA) 1995-Talks on joint proposal between the British and the government of Ireland were made. 1995- U.S. senator George	What began as a domestic conflict in Sirilanka, soon invited the regional and global powers interventions for its resolution. The Diaspora community of Tamils residing in UK, India and Canada became the source of securing funds for the LTTE from abroad. According to the U.S. State Department, LTTE had charitable groups like the Tamils Rehabilitation Organization for rising of the funds. 1970- India's external intelligence agency (RAW) supportto LTTE. (Bajoria, 2014) Geographical proximity, Tamil Diaspora in India and concern over destabilization followed. Acts of terrorism committed by the latter let to the India's withdrawal for support. 1980's - After the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), guerilla warfare, bombing capture of territories in the east and north and government response with killings and disappearance continued. 1994- Efforts for peace were made 1995- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam(LTTE) triggered action which lead to government , military campaigns. 2002- A ceasefire agreement between the two parties was established under facilitation by government of Norway 2003 - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) pulled back from the agreement , stating governments non-	2013-The situation in North Waziristan showed uncertainty by the end of the year. It was observed that a full-blown conflict would materialize. The talks on peace process remained ambiguous, for it was not only intricate but also involved many militant groups having unusual agenda's and goals. Officials of the government have stated that in North Waziristan, there are 43 local militant groups in operation , including Al-Qaeda there are 12 groups of foreign militants 2014- Under the ongoing military operation a 15-day interlude was given to the tribes for trying to "bring things in order." The two sides settled on a ceasefire. By March the anticipated direct talks between the leadership of the TTP and government committee facilitated by the intermediaries from the TTP had started to progress. In May, the commanders of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) met for a reconsideration of a non-aggressive treaty with the Government. He provided for a forewarningfor the tribal's to escape and the take up of arms against the Pakistani security forces In June, the elders of the tribes were given the mandate of expelling out the foreign groups . On June 15 th ,2014, the Operation Zarb-e-Azb was initiated. "The attack was launched with the express approval of Government of Pakistan and Army and will continue after till the terrorist have been	Similarities in the Conflict 1. Efforts for peace talks were made. 2. Terrorist activities or violence was used as a strategy to achieve goals. 3. International efforts and interventions. Similarity in Conflict in Sirilanka and North Waziristan 1. The militant organizations of LTTE and those in North Waziristan had been labeled as terrorist organizations. 2. Like the support and withdrawal of Indian for LTTE, the jihadist groups of the 1980 have turned out to be involved in terrorist act. According to Asad Munir "All the terrorist ended up in North Waziristan and there is no writ of government there" (Bajoria, 2014) President Mamnoon Hussain termed the Operation Zarb-e-Azb as a war for survival, eliminating terrorism completely which would also include the Haqqani Network. 3. Both the LTTE and terrorist in Waziristan had large sources of funds, disguised under the charity organizations. 4. In both of the conflicts, there was government withdrawal from the ceasefire. 5. Both the conflicts have witnessed a military offence. 6. Guerilla Warfare 7. The issue of internally

	<p>cooperation <u>2004-</u> Split in Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam(LTTE) resulted in clash between two factions , allianceof the tiger's eastern military commander with the government , trust deficit and end of ceasefire <u>2006-</u> Talks in Geneva failed. <u>2006-</u> Government commenced a military offense. There was massive displacement and number of casualties. Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam(LTTE) renewed the "struggle movement" . <u>2007-</u> Military achieved much success. <u>2008-</u> Formalwithdrawal by the government from the ceasefire. <u>2009-</u> Victory was declared by the government after which there have been no attacks endorsed to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam(LTTE).</p> <p><u>Conflict Resolution</u> <u>Model-Peacemaking</u> Post-conflict Peace Building Initiatives at the domestic, regional and international level have been undertaken.</p>	<p>eliminated completely. On the reciprocal TTP has warned for worse, threatening with attacks. <u>The role of the external actor</u> Providing for the Haqqani network an area from where NATO forces were targeted inside Afghanistan it is viewed that an operation in North Waziristan has been a venerable insists of Pakistan's Western ally. US drone strikes had continued to target suspected militants in the area. Strikes by Washington were suspended in December, for the government to initiate the peace talks. (Middle East News, 2014) <u>Internationally Displaced People (IDP'S)</u> The number of people who have been displaced from North Waziristan are around 0.8 million , the latest figures issued by the Fata District Management Authority (FDMA). The Post-Conflict scenariowill likely determine the success of the conflict.</p>	<p>displace people (IDP's) is common. <u>Similarity between Conflict in Northern Ireland and North Waziristan</u> 1. Engagement in talks of the democratic governments with terrorists 2. Making of concession's with the insurgents 3. Cease-fire and the beginning of the process of peace. <u>Difference in the Conflicts</u> 1. Conflict in Northern Ireland ended not though a military solution. Northern Ireland identifying political problem, as the root cause of the conflict required for a political solution. 2. Having been termed as a conflict of ethno-nationalism, conflict resolution in Sirilanka,involved military solution as a success for insurgency. However, it is viewed that unless the complaints of the Tamil's are not looked into politically, similar activities as ore can recur. 3. Conflicts in Northern Island and Sirilanka dealt with groups which resided and were restricted to a particular space(i.e. islands) The conflict in North Waziristan dealt with various groups, spread inside and across territorial borders. Conflict in North Waziristan, an area of Fata became a breeding ground of extremism in Pakistan. Militancy in the area became an internal and external security challenge for Pakistan.</p>
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Source: Author's Own

Analyzing the Conflicts

1. The conflict in Northern Ireland could have taken a military action as a solution to the conflict, with the British army easily defeating the Irish Republic Army (IRA). However , it was realized that in spite of having been tired of the campaign's by

military , the IRA cannot not be defeated altogether for however long a fight may be put against them.

North Waziristan conflict present's to us a similar lesson. Terrorism today has become a global, lethal, novel issue. Having their reliance on advanced technology, controlled or arranged by transnational non-state organizations, presence of state-sponsored terrorism, endorsement of extremism and total destruction through utmost bloodshed, motivated by revulsion and seen as villains by some and honored hero's for others , global terrorism will be the game of the politics for the twenty-first century.

2. Military solution in Sirilanka against the insurgents had proved to be a success. Likewise, military solutions to the conflict in Waziristan present the prospects of eliminating terrorism from the country, Pakistan. What needs' to be pondered upon is the fact that military solution is the first step in the resolution of the conflict. After, the conduct of the operation it will be imperative for the civilian and democratic government to having been verified the root cause of the conflict, commit themselves to a political framework and prioritizes their efforts of peacemaking.
3. Another important lesson to be learnt from the conflict in Northern Ireland is that providing for security will never be enough. Conflict Resolution is a process that is a long-term, for it necessitates transformation of social, economic and political system. A process based on logical reasoning and problem solving, the method and its practice requires taking into considerations needs of groups or individual. It is to be followed by institutional changes, which becomes the means through which the required needs can be satisfied.
4. Situation's and circumstances that developed in Conflict in Northern Ireland demonstrate some resemblance to how the Conflict in North Waziristan developed. Democratic government engagement and talks with the terrorist groups. Accusation's of appeasement for talking to the groups of insurgents. Those who committed violence would have never stopped their massive killings until, through dialogue; they were influenced into considering political solution. Until, there was a ceasefire, the democratic leadership found that it was not easy to converse with the insurgent's groups. The pre-condition of decommissioning of the weapons of terrorist was a mistake for it hindered the process of talks. Only, then was it understood that to address the issue in the process of negotiations was a better option , for it did would not delay talks before they can even begin. The government of Northern Ireland did not agree to the demands of the Irish Republic Army (IRA). They were not rewarded with the island, which the IRA was seeking to acquire by the use of force. Insurgents in the conflict did not admit defeat. In 2004, just when an agreement was going to be reached upon, it failed at the last minute. (Powell, 2014)
5. Lastly, one cannot ignore the role of third parties, political leadership and political momentum. From 1997, when Tony Blair was elected as the Prime Minister, his objectives to what he needed to achieve were lucid and defined. The guidelines of
 - Developments for politics without violence.
 - Distinguishing and identifying the individual's that would be able to guide the people.

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- Formulation and search for a political framework, which aimed at accommodation, attainment of desires, and a scope for conciliation proved that the “right effort at the right time” could work out towards a solution. (Powell, 2014)
6. The conflict in Sirilanka witnessed the displacement of 450,000 people from their homes. A cohesive policy was outlined which was to resolve the problem of the internally displaced people (IDP’s). In the aftermath of the conflict, there is a gradual withdrawal of the humanitarian agencies. This is the crucial phase, for there is transaction of the conflict from relief towards development. It is important that at this time the government and those involved in the process of development engage with those who have been forced out from their homes. From 2009, the government of Sirilanka worked on economic advance and the buildup of infrastructure in those areas, which had been damaged during the conflict. This allowed for many IDP has to settle back in their homes. (Hain, 2014)
7. The conflict in for eradication of terrorist has been followed by seven-years of insurgency. Decisions made for taking action against those who are a threat for the international community establishes and sends a message of “withholding a right to protect the international community through sacrifices.”

The Model’s of Conflict Resolution have presented for a line of action that is undertaken after the period of post - conflict. Conflict resolution in North Waziristan will require for a model of peacemaking, under an established political framework. To achieve peace through this process the author in the article, will identify the factor’s of conflict , discuss the military operation and prospects in Waziristan and present recommendation will apply John Burton’s human need model for resolution of conflict in Waziristan.

Conflict in Waziristan-Applying Burton’s Human Need Model

It is the individual alone or in groups which create conflicts or cooperation. As Burton stated:

“Conflict is due to an assertion of individualism. It is a frustration-based protest against the lack of opportunities for development and against lack of recognition and identity. Whatever the tensions, conflict, or violence has origins in class, status, ethnicity, sex, religion, or nationalism, we are dealing with the same fundamental issue.” (Rights, 2014)

In this paradigm, the researcher has preferred the application of Burton Human Need Theory.

Two important points given in this theory are:

- In conflict, people stand for their interest, but not their fundamental needs. However, they will make the use power and coercion to fulfill those needs.
- Some of these need identified by Burton include
 1. Reliability in response
 2. Encouragement
 3. Security
 4. Recognition

5. Distributive justice
6. Appearance of rationality
7. Being in command of

When social relationship or social set-up is brought into the mainstream in such a manner as to accommodate the threatened needs of the individuals or groups, only then can we prove to have resolved the conflict.

Into Waziristan

Geographical Location and History of Waziristan

Located in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan (Figure 1), Waziristan is a mountainous area. Called as “wilder than the Wild West” by the U.S. and President George W. Bush (White House, 2007), Waziristan is a lethal land where a conflict between the U.S. backed Government of Pakistan and sadistic’s who identify themselves as Taliban had occurred.



Figure 1: Location of Waziristan

Source: <http://www.outlookindia.com/printarticle.aspx?2265458>. Retrieved on 10th May, 2014.

In his article, S.M.M. Quraishi, describes extensively on the geography of FATA. The area encompassing 27,220 square kilometers forms a 1,200-kilometer boundary with Afghanistan. In this area is Waziristan, which having been divided into two areas consists of the agencies of the North and the South. Being a division of the seven semi-autonomous Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA), this area also holds the districts of North Frontier Provinces (NWFP). Of these are the tribal vicinity, which affix Peshawar, Kohat, Banu and Dera Ismail Khan. The establishment of the Durand Line made FATA come to become recognized in 1893. To take apart the sphere of authority between, the Britisher and Afghanistan, Sir Mortimer Durand drew upon a temporary border, which now is seen as a permanent border between the two countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The government of Afghanistan rejects the prescribed acknowledged international border; however, the government of Pakistan accepts it. (Rights, 2014)

The area that is acknowledged as FATA has a preponderance of population who are Pashtuns. This holds the fact that they are an ethnic group who represent themselves with the identity of being called as a group demanding for a separate entity called as

“Paktunistan”. This political unit to which they have their affiliation of recognition, survival and identity is where the root cause of the conflict lies.

The largest outfit of FATA is South Waziristan; an area of 6, 620 square kilometers encompassing of mainly Mahsud and clans of Wazir. (Hassan, A, 2008). On the other divide is North Waziristan; an area of 4, 707 square kilometers. The agency is second largest of the area of FATA and there lies the tribes of Wazir and Dawar. (Details of the region –Figure 2)



Figure 2 – Tribal Terrain’s of Pakistan

The tribal terrains of Pakistan’s have seven agencies that border Afghanistan having The Khyber Pass as a historical first step between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Source: PBS, “Return of the Taliban,” Frontline.

- ⊠ “Pakistan’s tribal areas comprise of seven agencies bordering Afghanistan. The Khyber Pass is the historic gateway between Pakistan and Afghanistan through which Alexander the Great and founder of the Mughal Empire, Babar, passed through”

Source: http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-H-WE2qQ_sog/TooTQKYFrqI/AAAAAAAAACI/nvoZq1v_cZs/s1600/afghan-paki-map.jpg.

Retrieved on 10th May, 2014

Factor’s of Conflict

The Tribes or Actor’s Involved

According to what has been stated by Hassan Abbas, of the inhabitants of Waziristan, the Waziris are the principal tribal faction. This principally has made the area to be called as Waziristan. However, of them Mahsuds are the foremost. Being among those who to the largest part are illiterate and self-governing, they have established offices of trade and

business. They are proud of their repute as warriors and are notorious for blood feudalism and rivalries. (Quraishi, 1966)

The nature of the conflict is that of

1. Inter –state group enmity
2. Dutifulness towards the Taliban’s and entrepreneur’s who commit violence. (Abbas, 2006)

Geographical and Political Positioning or Leverage

The zone of FATA can be separated into three jurisdictions

1. Areas of diffidence or those which are not easily accessible.
2. Areas those are superintended.
3. Areas those are sheltered.

Those districts, which are not reachable, are out of supervision. Government having diminutive or no insight makes the tribes conduct the command. Areas that are regulated have a political agent. This representative of the government presides over the work of roads, schools, management of law and order and prevention of crimes. Lastly, there are areas of protection or the protected realm. There is a council consisting of those who are old and experienced. They witness to the civil and criminal offences and resolve the issues in accordance to their traditions under a structure of jirga.

To add to the complication of the geography, Waziristan has not a well- distinct political borderline. A part of Pakistan Constitution under article 1, the territory of FATA is ruled under the orders of the President, who holds the executive ability and therefore, any state law, which has been drafted down and implemented is not appropriate and implemented to this area. Province. They have been allowed to follow and reconcile under their customary laws, which is ruled under the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) of 1901. (FATA, “Administrative System,”)



Figure 3 : Federally Administered Tribal Areas or Frontier Region
 Source: http://fatada.gov.pk/fatada/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/fatamap_dim_areas.png.
 Retrieved on 10th May, 2014.

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The British established this idea or system, so that government involvement is minimum. Not wanting to give complete independence to the tribal leaders, there is only one rule that applies to this domain, FCR 1901. (Khan, 2003) When it comes to talking about groups, maliks have the control, for they proceed as intermediates between tribes and admin. (Khan, 2003) With young tribesman increasing and joining in against the government of Pakistan, there has appeared a scenario of unneeded fierce mutiny.

Anthropologist and former Political Agent of South Waziristan, Akbar S. Ahmed said that

“they are one of the largest tribal groupings in the world. “Pathan tribal society is part of the ‘larger’ or ‘greater’ tradition of the Islamic world. To the Pathan there is no conflict between his tribal code, ‘Pukhtunwali’, and religious principles and he boasts no pre-Islamic period. Islamic principles, cultural mores, and jural tradition explain part of Pathan normative behavior”. (Moochmand, 2008)

When the border was recognized and Pakistan and Afghanistan came into being, the Pathan’s found themselves divided on either side of the boundary. “The Pathan tribes on either side of the border saw themselves as the subjects of no power.” (Ahmed, 2012)

The Human Nature and the Pashtun Code

In their community lies anarchy and lawlessness, for unlike groups in other areas of Pakistan, in Waziristan there is no one leader to make or to enforce laws and punishments. If by nature, they are not urbane as said by Imran Khan “the people were wilder than the cowboys he saw in Hollywood movies; every man had a rifle.” (Brobst, 2005) then their code of life does not seem to be logical and rational in the present world.

According to historian Hugh Beattie, “the Pashtuns tend to inhabit their own moral world, which is defined by Pukhtunwali They Follow the mores of courage (tora), reprisal (badal), generosity (melmastia), kindness for an overwhelmed opponent (nanawatee), and the say of the jirga ” (Ahmed , 1991) . For these tribes the concept of principle is embedded in shielding their religion, customs and families, for which taking revenge is hailed. Following their code of hospitality the Pashtuns have had greeted refugees, their fellow Pashtuns and the sympathizers. (Davies, The Problem of the North-West Frontier: 1890-1908, 1932)

Pakistan has faced economic and political problems. To these troubles is the pour of Taliban Sympathizers who have shown violent behavior. For these major reasons, there exists a dilemma for the government of the country and the powers of the West. Compounded upon all of these internal and external problems is the risk of a “spillover effect “of deterioration and instability in the region.

Analyzing the conflict through various perceptions

1. International Perception
2. Media Perception

3. Civilian Perception
4. Army Perception
5. Government and the Taliban Perception

The International Perspective

- Waziristan is the most important area of the region of FATA. It is become a midpoint for militant activities.
- What is seen today, as an area that has been talibanized might be pictured in context of the emergence of a social movement, beginning in 1970's. What gave this movement potency was the incident of 9/11.
- In rummage around for political opportunities, resources and fight against the customary tribal control, there were circumstances that were eventually paving way for a conflict to surface.
- When Pakistan was declared independent in 1947, governor of NWFP Sir George Cunningham asked for an agreement to be signed upon by the tribes. They pledged commitment to the state of Pakistan and requested to be administered under the central supervision. Thus, was formed the Frontier regions.
- Till day , the areas of North and South Waziristan which were created in 1895 , after the military operation and the posting of agents political agents to Miranshah and Wana remains , self-governing of any central power .
- Until the elections of 2002, these tribesmen were not given representation in the legislative body of NWFP. The powers of the judiciary and executive were not divided. Moreover, no essential amendments were made to the regulation of the Frontier Corps of 1901. However, in October of 2008 there were drafts for bringing around certain changes. Nevertheless, to what extend have they been implemented and helpful in resolving the conflict still holds a big question mark.
- Intervention in Afghanistan, invited many to flee to the areas of Waziristan, where they were settled in with the local population.
- Reported by Ahmed Rashid as “al Qaeda central” besides other areas of inside Afghanistan and Baluchistan, this area has become a central point in terms of militancy.
- Those who were unwaged, started to benefit from the business and profit of harboring militants who were foreign .They were sheltered and given food. Tribes started bracing Al-Qaeda .In the society of the Pashtuns, according to Professor Lodhi, “duality structures all the relations. Betrayal is always a threat and the alliances can shift; one is never defeated except by death. While allied Pahtuns are reliable until the point at which it is in their advantage in the local disputes to no longer be reliable”. Perceptions have continued to evolve and it is viewed today that hospitality, a part of their traditions is used by some of the tribes as a way of acquiring wealth single-handedly.
- The polarized, changed demographic structure of Waziristan, with rivalry between the Mehsuds and Wazirs for resources of South Waziristan and the operations conducted under extreme American demands has lingered the conflict to a point where it has become a cause of an existential threat for the state.

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- Signature of peace deals in Shakai in April 2004, Sararogha in February 2005 and agreement of North Waziristan in 2006 created some peace. Still, some were caught spying for the US, while others were caught working against the government. There has not been seen much success for putting an end to this conflict.
- Either by the Arab money or the expensive remuneration paid by the army defines the legitimacy of these new actors. (Khan, 2003)

Media Perspective

- Media plays an imperative responsibility for the formation of perceptions about another country.
- As according to Saleem “Positive image of United States in Pakistan is framed under the positive and favorable atmosphere, whereas negative image of United States is framed under the negative and unfavorable atmosphere by newspapers. Drone strikes in Waziristan led the negative atmosphere for Pakistani press and public.”
- After the War on Terror was started, the American policy favored its own security and interests, which were a cause of concern for the national interest of Pakistan.
- Drone attacks have targeted most of the militants of Al-Qaeda and the Haqaani network. The strikes that have killed many in the name of self-defense have had a blow to the U.S. Pakistan relations. In the newspaper, The Nation, of Pakistan, Jerral writes that :
“After keeping mum for the last nine years, the United Nations has broken its silence on the subject of killings in the Pakistani tribal areas by the US drones. It calls these attacks “violation” of Pakistan’s sovereignty and classifies killings a breach of human rights.”
- The Global Attitude Survey conducted by Pew, 2012 has exposed that drones hit by the American’s on the territory of Pakistan were not accepted, were adverse and had faultfinding.

Table 1: The Global Attitude conducted by Pew

Drones strikes are alleged to be dreadful	97%
America is accountable and no-one else	69%
Pakistan and US synchronized the drone strikes	18%
Drone strikes are the cause of the death of not guilty civilians	94%
To overpower the extremist organization, drone strikes was not crucial	74%
On drones and other predicaments, the US is seen as an enemy of Pakistan	74%
There is no improvement in the bilateral relations of US and Pakistan	58%

Source: The Global Attitude Survey conducted by Pew (2012).

- The data above shows that the highest percentages of attitudes (97% and 94%) lies in the use of weapon and killings. It has been the cause of destruction and killing of civilians who are not guilty. From these negative perceptions, the researcher infer ‘s that there is a feeling of mistrust, deep rooted sense of odium and negativity in the

orientations that would need to be transformed if the conflict is to be resolved. Due to the rebuttal and double principles on the part of United States, Pakistani press (Dawn and Nation) have illustrated the Pakistan-USA relationship as negative. (Khan M. A., 2014)

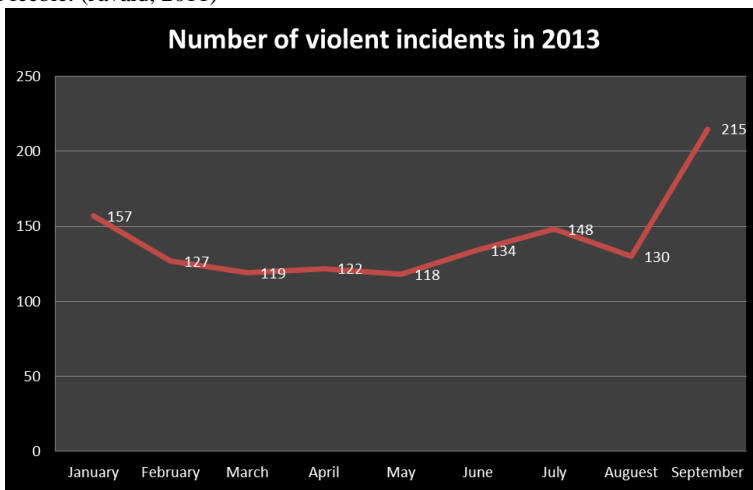
From the Perspective of the Civilians

- It is observed and surveyed, that the local people view military operations that are conducted by the Army of Pakistan in negative.
- Muhammad Amir Rana in his article details that a survey conducted by the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies (PIPS), says that 18% of the madrassas of Pakistan have their links with the sectarian and jihadi association. As for the operation, about 80% people are against the operations that are regulated in the areas where the tribes are settled. About 20% of the people hold the view that insurgency is the rejoinder in its role in the War on Terror. (Report, 2006)
- People hold the panorama, which their ethnicity and identity are under danger. Furthermore, the public contemplate the military interventions as risk for their power and the value system of the tribes. (Mazari, 2004)
- In 2009, when the second operation in South Waziristan was launched, problems of displacement became another problem of security concern. When 2009 was about to end, the total number of IDPs (Internationally Displace Persons) from the South Waziristan had gone up to 428,000. In this regard, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) gave for \$680 million in cremation. (Javaid, 2011)
- To what extent did the locals benefit from it, where it was utilized and to which infrastructural and developmental projects has this aid been put to use is a question to which one would find little information on. It is of the researcher's judgment that deprivation rights including one of ethnic identity, power and system of beliefs would need to be addressed to while one would look to the techniques of conflict resolution. A grass root level approach in which exchange of information and clarification on the subject of misinformation will have to be addressed.
- Moving beyond the social effects, are the socio- psychological factors. The former President of Pakistan Psychiatrist Society, Dr Khalid Mufti states the following in his report: "More than 54 per cent of people living in the conflict zone had shown symptoms of acute stress, post- traumatic stress disorders, depression, fear, anxiety, and loss of appetite and sleep disturbance. Almost 60 per cent of the affectees are women and they are suffering from fear, panic and post- traumatic stress. The men, however, mostly suffer from depression. The total number of such psychological patients may actually be much more than 54 per cent, as many people in far-flung areas do not have access to medical centers. "
- Highlights for political implications indicate that the tribal people have incessantly clamored for the security of their lives and belongings. The government conversely, has not been able to satisfy these requisitions. Criminal groups have accessed the areas, which are spoils for theft, abductions and killings of the innocent. The internal

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security structure is thus; unwrapped to abuse of power that in turn effects the interaction between the government and the people.

- Economic indicators have exposed that there has been a loss of \$ 45 billion. Because of the military operations undertaken from September 2001 to 2009, industries have been shut down. Tourism has declined in the zones of conflict. Necessities of livelihood like agriculture have been loss, due to which there is increase in inflation.
- Professor Umbreen Javaid in her article expresses that, ever since, the War on Terrorism, Pakistan has become a victim to militant extremism. It's internal and external security has been complicated. Militant extremism, having had accessed the areas of FATA, and then dispersed into the settled and established areas of the country. Talibanization becoming a peril has solemn security fears. It has made Pakistan flimsy and feeble. (Javaid, 2011)



Source: www.emcpk.net. Retrieved on 16th May, 2014.

Ten Deadly Strikes	
Date	Summary
September 8 2010	Four children killed alongside six militants
October 18 2010	Ten-year-old killed by shrapnel when next-door house bombed
November 26 2010	Engineering student killed when car destroyed
December 6 2010	Two shopkeepers reported killed
December 17 2010	Two civilians killed along with 32 alleged militants
March 11 2011	Five civilians killed as they attempt to rescue militant victims of previous strike
March 17 2011	At least 19 civilians, including local police, killed in attack on tribal meeting
April 22 2011	Twelve-year-old boy killed along with five suspected militants
May 6 2011	Six civilians killed when restaurant accidentally hit in strike
June 15 2011	Four civilian members of a family killed when their car destroyed

Source: www.thebureauinvestigates.com. Retrieved on 16th May, 2014.

- One can analyze that the social , economic , political and to some extent identity security all stand in relation to the human needs and until they are not focused upon , conflict management and its transformation would be a hard task. A directed, organized and well –thought out strategies, formula’s and suggestions need to be incorporated into the practical civilian and military dealings. With no guarantees of justice for innocent killings, human nature is likely to retaliate by any means, for it is unpredictable.

In Perspective of the Military

Among us, who best can understand the nature of the conflict and its dynamics better than those engaged in it? Yes, the researcher is talking about the military institutions, which go into these areas to battle the militancy. Let some of the journey narrated by Major General Asim Saleem Bajwa be viewed upon to understand the insight to this conflict.

- North and South Waziristan became household labels after the post 9/11 actions.
- In inclusion to the other five tribal quarters of Fata., Waziristan was described in the media of the West as “lawless” and “Al-Qaeda Central ”. No doubt to the fact that local and foreign militant groups settled their bases for sanctuary in Waziristan but some of the information still needs verification before being delivered .
- Being a part to the conflict, he admits to the fact that “they are terrorist due to their involvement in the different acts of terrorism, including suicide bombing and are misusing the name of Islam.”
- When the October 2009 Operation “Rah-e- Nijat” (Path of Deliverance) was inaugurated, huge quantity of arms were discovered. Among them, some were of Indian derivation. Chemicals, extremist literature and the formation of the underground tunnels proved the fact that these groups were in relations to the external forces antagonistic to Pakistan.
- In The chapter entitled “Dealing with the Coalition Forces and Afghan Border Forces”, the author mentions the entangled problems of Pakistan. Being a frontline state, our country got involved in multiple fronts. All together, these fronts included the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and Afghan and U.S.-led forces of coalition.
- The author also mentions the tactics deployed by the militants. The Taliban are well thought-out. They have made independent cells for dealings with media, intelligence, finance, monitoring of the forces and the operational planning.
- Heading Operation Al-Mizan in North Waziristan in 2001 and then moving to South Waziristan in 2003, the author found the area of Banu in bad neglect. There has been no hard work made at the Quaid and Jinnah Park and it is barren and dried.
- His observation and experience with the tribal people have shown that they are “simple and straightforward”. Some of the rare events and pictures attached to annexure 1, shows that the situation can take a positive turn if we, by we the author means the society and its institution take onto the duty to respond to the will and demands of the people not just in saying but by doing something to “protect the people and win their hearts”. (Appendix 1)

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- The tribes are very civilized and intelligent in negotiating skills. There is presence of different tribes. In addition, there is intra-tribe fighting's over land disputes. Some jirgas are cooperative, while others get loud either due to the destitution of the aftermath of the Afghan War or their mélange with the Afghans. Sometimes blunt in terms of money, they are accommodating.
- On the other end, the locals are mostly egotistical with no particular obligation towards the society.
- The locals and the tribes had to be dealt in different ways. While the tribes had to be dealt diplomatically, the locals had either to be paid commission or be made to understand the benefits and conformed protection against anything that was to be done.
- While the locals considered theft, robbery as not an offence but a profession, the population never looked down upon the taken action. In another vase, the Wazir, when interviewed considered the similar acts as a crime. Such is the division within the region.
- According to the author, the way forward is the fulfillment of the demands of the locals.

These include:

1. Education.
2. Providing them with supply of water.
3. Build up of mutual confidence and commitment towards developments on a grass root level. (Bajwa, 2013)

In Perspective of the Taliban and the Government

- In viewpoint of the parties involved in resolving the conflict, the government and the Taliban seem to be divided and unsatisfied on identification of the issue and the setting up of an agenda.
- Spokespersons from the government had stated, "Any specific mission for dealing with terrorism has not been stated. Instead, it has been requested to ask Samiul Haq to use his good office for this purpose. "
- Sami Ul Haq was seen as having disconnecting himself from the peace progression with the Pakistan Taliban Militant's. He was aggravated by Prime Minister's Nawaz Sharif lack of gravity and retort and the airstrikes that had killed 40 people in North Waziristan.
He said, "The government does not seem serious and concerned. I had requested them to avoid a military operation and use of force but yesterday it started bombing in North Waziristan and tribal areas." On the other end of the conversation the spokesperson of the government, left without the giving of any definite charge to the cleric. Furthermore, he denied the inking of the government not being fretful about the peace process. (Daily The Pak Banker, 2014)
- As time passes by, so does the development of the conflict and peace deals. As quoted by Veteran journalist Rahimullah Yousafzai "The initiation of talks by itself is a big achievement. The trust deficit between the government and Taliban had been reduced to some extent when they announced a unilateral ceasefire. They have shown

flexibility by softening their stance over the implementation of their brand of Shariah in the country.” (The Time of India, 2014)

- It is only the factors of time and outcome of the talks on peace process that will decide the fate of Waziristan.

Findings

1. Local Perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paktunistan is a political unit to which they have their affiliations. • Outfits of FATA is South Waziristan; encompassing of mainly Mahsud and clans of Wazir. On the other divide is North Waziristan, there lies the tribes of Wazir and Dawar. • U.S. atrocity (Drone attacks) has allowed them to take badal • Inter –state group enmity. • Dutifulness towards the Taliban’s and entrepreneur’s who commit violence.
2. International Perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reported by Ahmed Rashid as “al Qaeda central” • In the society of the Pashtuns, according to Professor Lodhi, “duality structures all the relations. Betrayal is always a threat and the alliances can shift; one is never defeated except by death”. • These new actors are paid through the Arab money or the expensive remuneration paid by the army defines their legitimacy.
3. Media Perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As according to Saleem, “Positive image of United States in Pakistan is framed under the positive and favorable atmosphere, whereas negative image of United States is framed under the negative and unfavorable atmosphere by newspapers. Drone strikes in Waziristan led the negative atmosphere for Pakistani press and public.”
4. Civilian Perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The public contemplate the military interventions as risk for their power and the value system of the tribes. • The tribal people have incessantly clamored for the security of their lives and belongings. The government conversely, has not been able to satisfy these requisitions.
5. Army Perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tribal people have shown that they are “simple and straightforward.” • Divide between the locals and the tribes. • Peace according to Major Bajwa can be achieved by “engagement to protect the people and by declaration of Fata as a separate province.”
6. Government and Taliban Perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the passage of time, since 2014, opinions showed division, unification and further can only be concluded after the outcome of the peace process.
7. Researcher’s Perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for recognition, survival and identity is where the root cause of the conflict lies, because it is what the people will. • External involvement and exploitation needs to be monitored. Border protection needs to be focused upon with the use of labor and technology. • Negative sensitivity towards the U.S. Formation of a three divergent and unresolved conflict strategies and viewpoint. (Government, non-state actors and U.S.) Attitudes would have to be changed. • Conduct of an Operation, • “Winning the hearts of the people”, Rehabilitation, fulfillment of the basic needs demanded and projection onto media.

Source: Author’s Own

Military Operation and its prospect in North Waziristan

Musab Yousuf and Musa Khan in their article “Conflict Resolution : Military Operations or Peace Deals having elaborating to various conflict and conflict resolution theories, have debated between conduction of operation or build up of peace deals. Stating that conflict takes place in terms of military, non-state actor between and within states, the common people have suffered the most.

It is true that peace agreements and conflicts have terminated many modern civil wars and this has been possible because of the presence of institutions like the European Union and the United Nations e.t.c. However, issues as global terrorism on which there is present there remains to be seen a global set up of institutions that can effectively counter the threat. (The Time of India, 2014)

In case of North Waziristan, a tribal agency of Federally Administrative Tribal Areas (Fata) had become a nurturing ground for international terrorism. This is visible from state the facts.

- According to what has been stated in the World Bulletin, the operation has killed 376 militants, among many of whom were identified as ethnic Uzbeks and Chinese Uigher’s.
- Underground tunnels and bomb making factories have also been found. (World Bulletin / News Desk, 2014)

The ISPR statement quoted DG ISPR Major General Asim Bajwa as saying:

“Using North Waziristan as a base, these terrorists had waged a war against the state of Pakistan and had been disrupting our national life in all its dimensions, stunting our economic growth and causing enormous loss of life and property... They had also paralyzed life within the agency and had perpetually terrorized the entire peace loving and patriotic local population,” (The Daily Dawn, 2014)

In Waziristan, one will come across the different factions of the Taliban’s, locals, foreign and the army. As stated in a report by William & Mathew “When developing the best course of action to accomplish its goals in Waziristan, the U.S. can look to the British colonial experience to help guide its actions. The British dealt extensively with Waziristan from 1849-1947. The British colonial experience demonstrated overt military operations do not guarantee any success in Waziristan and will likely increase the chance of unleashing events” (Matthew W., 2005). Today external environment, the nature and scope of the issue and the circumstances developed in Waziristan are different. Dealing with the non-state actor’s requires a hard-lined approach. Providing them recognition would give them legitimacy within the state, which to any government is not acceptable. Operation Zarb-e-Azb is an operation for the survival of Pakistan, to which there should be no objections.

Social-Political and Strategic Steps Relevant for Resolution of Conflict

The Role of the Institutions

A research by Swiss Programme was conducted in reference to the topic of “Causes of Solutions to Social Conflicts in Contexts of Weak Public Institutions or State Fragility”. The research underlined the commencement and reasons of conflict. It stated that political

and social consortiums have a say in surfacing of the conflict. A conflict takes place due to dishonesty, disparity, social and political insecurity. The foible of the state, which indicates improved social institutions, financial flux, poverty and prejudice between societies also lead to the conflict upsurge. Oliver Ramsbo tham in his book on contemporary conflict resolution has mentioned, "Conflict is human nature and it is aroused by inequality, economic dislocation, instable political system and the mismatched goals between parties or groups." (Matthew W., 2005)

The area of Fata having been, a lawless area is ruled under the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) of 1901. As said by a Western diplomat "The tribal people need a new social contract and a new economic and power structure because the operation in the tribal region has caused irremediable damage to the old administrative and legal governing system." (Rehman, 2014)

Human Nature or the Custom's of a society

In addition, Doucey in 2011 explained Burton's work and said that: "When the human need is not filled like food, water, shelter and financial support then conflicts emerges. When ,worldwide and general need of people on which compromise is not possible like security, independence, identity, recognition, respect, family and community. Then the people feel injustice and inequality that results in conflict can emergence." (Marie, 2011)

These are the issues from which conflict is instigated, so fulfillment of these needs should be prioritized.

The Role of Media

W. Russell Neuman & Lauren Guggenheim states that "According to magic bullet theory the information of media injects in the mind of audience like a fire bullet and the audience quickly responds in the reaction." (Neuman)

As mentioned by Bajwa , in his book , "Mr. Greg Mortenson, who has written the book "Three Cups of Tea" about his hosts and lied that they had abducted him , badly twisted the facts of his visits to Kot Langer Khel , Ldha District of South Waziristan Agency in 1996 ."

In the age of technology, the militants in Pakistan have created misunderstandings among the naive and those not literate. They have also used FM radios to build distrust against the state and military. (Neuman)

Wrong facts and positive initiative that would be taken for the post-conflict period should be portrayed in media, newspapers, e.t.c. Initiatives taken by the PTV Channel in terms of verifying charity organization, which use public money for rising funds for militants reflects the willingness and determination by the state institution towards working in harmony, towards which they should remain dedicated.

Pakistan's Model of Peace Making-Let we make them our strength rather than our weakness

When Pakistan declared independence in 1947, they preferred integration with it. However, they never came to be recognized as part of the country, for their identity became associated to that part of a society, which the world community and people of Pakistan know as the

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terrorist, or Taliban. The 9/11 war has shattered the image of our country, not only among the international community, but also among our own provinces and its people. It is time to refute this image and make them our strength

Stage 1 – Taking Matter’s in your own hand

- Conducting Operation – De-escalating Violence

As said by Shaun Gregory, people have to be taken into confidence. Winning over the hearts and minds of the people to eradicate the negative perception of the Army, embedded in their minds and removing the mistrust between Army and the people (Gregory, 2008)

The Jirga- Government Committee

Before any action is undertaken, it is imperative that the heads of the tribes be informed about what course of action the government would be taking for their rehabilitation and resettlement. This will allow the government to know about concerns or their ways of better managing their people back to their areas. They can help in management procedures or the like.

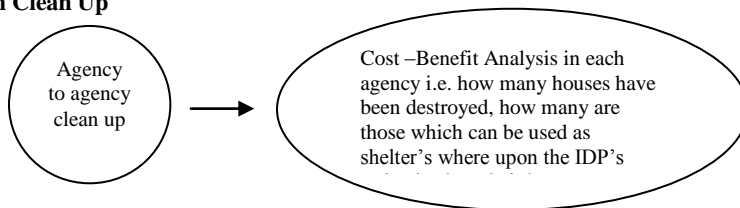
Stage 2

Pakistan-Afghanistan Border Security Agreement

- Planned and well co-ordinate cross-border check posts.
- Border Security Force (BSF) of the respective countries of Pakistan and Afghanistan; guarding the Pak - Afghan border during peacetime and preventing cross border infiltration of illegal goods, weapons or suspected militants across borders.

Stage 3

Mission Clean Up



Stage 4

Mission Implementation

- Clearing the places, where IDP’s can be rehabilitated and are provided with electricity, food and necessities. (A separate place for men and women-their cultural preference)

Stage 5

Area Call up –Rehabilitation Center’s

- Return of Refugee’s
- Team of health worker’s (male ; female)

- Team of Teacher's – Helping to keep children indulge in activities (coloring , telling them a good habit or teaching them value's of a society , what's good , what bad e.t.c) It will help those involved to understand the mindset of these children and how they can be assisted with ,what they want to do and what they want to learn.
- Team of soldier's to oversee , observe and assist the refugee's in settling down in the allocated rehabilitation centers , distributing good's among them e.t.c.

Stage 6

Report Committee

- Knowing what has been done, what more is needed and how can they start their destroyed businesses and source of living. They were dutiful to the Taliban and entrepreneur's who committed violence , therefore finding for them another source of economic activity would be important.

Stage 7

From Relief towards Development

The Sirilankan Model - The government of Sirilanka worked on economic advance and the buildup of infrastructure in those areas, which had been damaged during the conflict. This allowed for many IDP's to settle back in their homes.

Stage 8

From Madrassa Culture to "Foundation's"

If people are not able to pay for the education of their children, installation of foundation, like that of the "Care Foundation," all around Pakistan provides for a perfect system, where upon the citizens of the country contribute 700 monthly to teach a child. Having experienced and practiced the know-how's of dealing with children, these foundation's can help educate children.

Stage 9

Promoting Stability and the Rule of Law – Debating Fata

For people living in Fata, being citizens of Pakistan is secondary to the Pashtun Identity. Four schools of thought have a say in debating the fate of Fata

Fata as an integral part of KP

According to Akhundzada Chattan, former parliamentarian elected from PPP from Bajaur Agency "Council members should be elected through transparent elections, and they should make laws to bring Fata into mainstream Pakistan." Any change in Fata should be in accordance to the wishes of the people. (Rehman, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1117447>, 2014)

Fata be carved out as a separate province and be not integrated with KP

Tribal Politicians are of the view that "Fata should be given the status of a separate province; this means we can have administrative and financial autonomy over our own affairs and people will progress independently and separately," says Habib Malik Orakzai. "With KP itself unable to resolve its issues in the past 67 years, any amalgamation will

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increase the problems of the tribal people.” (Rehman, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1117447>, 2014)

Fata and KP Amalgamation

The “Pakhtun nationalist” support the idea of amalgamation. Fata and KP, being a natural geographical unit, should be together. A Pashto poet Akbar Watanyaar explains, “As one big province, our people would have great influence in national and international affairs. People across the world are struggling for unification of their divided land but some ‘forces’ deliberately impose the colonial principle of ‘divide and rule’ on Pakhtuns.”

No Change Wanted

As argued by Farooq Mehsud , a coordinator of the Save Waziristan Right’s Society “ Some international organizations are “ funding the campaign ” for a new Fata province , damaging the culture and the tribal people in process . ” Instead, what is wanted by mehsud is only the amendment of controversial law’s, while keeping the system the way it is.

Stage 10

Holding a Referendum- Taking decision’s wisely

Fata constitutes of seven agencies. Each of the agencies has its own culture, traditions and values. Before taking onto a decision to carve out a separate province out of this region, according to Saman Zulfar we would need to

- a) Establish Commissions
- b) Develop studies
- c) Make agreements on the distribution of resources
- d) Hold a referendum , for letting the people decide the issue according to their desires

As according to the polls conducted in 2007, by Reform Consultative Dialogue

Merging With NWFP	20%
Separate Province	35%
Status Quo	13%
Reform	29%

55% = Provincial Status

87% =Reform of the existing laws (Rehman, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1117447>, 2014)

A fresh conduct of pool’s after operation and resettlement of the inhabitant’s might provide for a different result. Taking again into confidence the opinion of the people will provide for a ‘final opinion’, according to which the decision can be taken.

According to Saman Zulfqar, Federation in Pakistan has been practiced only on paper, not in spirit.

With other provinces facing their own internal problems, opting out the option of amalgamation with any province should be ruled out. One can begin with the inclusion of Fata , into the legal framework of Pakistan by making it semi-autonomous and then granting it the status of a province, if required.

This process is not limited to a specific time. However, all the above-mentioned steps can help improve mistrust, misperceptions, enmity, and economic inequality between the

people of the province and the institutions of the government at home and reflection of a better Pakistan abroad.

Conclusion

A military operation in North Waziristan is the first step towards the achievement of peace. Many precious lives have been lost and we cannot afford more killings and bloodshed. Facing armed resistance, Pakistan now continues to fight the battle within its own borders. The battle cannot be fought forever. It is important to win the hearts of these people by fulfilling their basic human needs and governing it as an integral part of the country. After the army will have played its role, the vacuum is to be filled by the takeover of the civilian government, for the post - conflict success of the operation is their responsibility and not merely a choice. Their established political framework, willingness and commitment will determine the achievements of their action for the state and the international community.

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