

Political Challenges and Security Issues in FATA and its impact on Economic Development

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ABSTRACT

This research paper pertains to an in depth and profound analysis of both political reforms and change extended in FATA and build up systematically, it focuses on the historical background of the tribal areas, which has the centuries old customs and tradition. The system of judiciary, political, social, economic is based on these traditions. Efforts has been made to remain focus on the measures if taken, to integrate the tribal belt in Pakistan's mainstream and this research paper also focus on the poor level of political administration, human rights, phenomenon and socio economic developments in this deprived and marginalized area of Pakistan. There is dire need of some major steps which must be initiated by the government of Pakistan on war footing to reform the system of education, health judiciary and other services sector. Tribal belt is far behind the rest of the country in all sectors of development. The advantages of modern politico-administration must also be extended to FATA as in other parts of the country. The areas now forming FATA had seen perhaps more invasion than any other country/area in the world. It hold some of the most chequered and fascinating events of the history.

Key Words: Tribal Areas, Agencies, Economic Development, Security.

Introduction

The people of KPK, voted to join Pakistan through a referendum on 6-7 July 1947 and 99.5% votes were cast in favor of Pakistan. This guide was adopted by all the tribes up to Durand line and the Heads of the Princely states of Dir, Swat, Chitral and Amb. Tribal areas expressed their consent through special Jirgas and made agreement to accept Pakistan as their new suzerain on the same term that existed with the British, though famous instrument of accessions. Tribesmen also attended a Darbar/Joint Jirga in Governor House Peshawar on 17 April 1948 presided over by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. (Pervez 2005, p-30). The present constitutional position of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas is enshrined in Articles 246 and 247 of the 1973 constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Article 246 and 247, 1973). FATA is immense area of Pakistan which lies beside the responsive Pak-afghan border and accounts for 27,220 sq km or 3.4 percent of

Pakistan's territory. According to 1973 constitution, FATA take apart from the KPK where FATA is located although the constitution decrees that 'there should be no racial, sectarian, tribal and provincial differences between the people of Pakistan (Raza, 1973, p-73).

The significance of FATA and its location on Pakistan-Afghanistan border offer a distinctive test to Pakistan on different fronts. By studying history, the area remained a hub to imposing contest and also feasible offensive route, the region has consequently been used as a launching pad for maintaining hegemony in Afghanistan. More recently it has emerged as a harbor of terrorist and criminals menace for the national security of Pakistan. The area has a geographical, economic and political importance in that it is a possible route for the fiscal progress of the upcoming newly born Central Asian States. FATA has been a component of the battlefield on which the 'Great Game' of colonial supremacy was executed in the 19th century (Dichers, 1967, p-2). Then for the imperial colonial masters, successful rule of the area was vital as a bulwark against Czarist expansionism in Central Asia. British rulers found it complex to ascertain their authority in the FATA. They oversaw but by no means completely controlled the area through the arrangement of colonial empire chosen agents and tribal leaders, locals were free to run their domestic matters according to tribal codes at the same time British government retained power and what were acknowledged as 'protected' and 'administered' regions on the whole matters linked with British and Indian security. FATA faced the brunt of problems with the invasion of Russian on Afghanistan in 1979. It shared the major brunt in terms of refugees and the resultant narcotics and weapon influx. (Cheema, 2005, p-30). There is thus a requirement to fully integrate these strategically important but neglected areas into the national mainstream while addressing the problems prevalent there. The current account of FATA happened in late 1970s and remained till start 90s, with the attack of the USSR in Afghanistan. Pakistan became a leading country in the Afghan war, of struggle against USSR and the FATA belt of Pakistan became the core logistics course, the induction base and the reinforcement camp for the freedom fighters to wage jihad against the attacking army of USSR.

In the most recent past a new phenomenon in the political history of the area started after the happening of 9/11 and the consequent choice of the government of Pakistan to stay united with the global states, led by the USA in the 'war against terrorism'. This time also Pakistan became the leading state and the FATA has the focus of international attention due to its strategic location. These terrorist attacks on twin towers brought the FATA into the international limelight, the USA and its allies are fighting this menace for over thirteen years in Afghanistan, speculates that these tribal areas are the safe place for terrorists attacks in Afghanistan on US forces. Keeping in account the serious of the international community to fight war against terror and flush out the miscreants from FATA and from the geographical boundaries of Pakistan to maintain law and order, establish the writ of the government, addressing the US concerns, the government of Pakistan decided to

launch a military operation in FATA with the primary focus to finish the terrorism from Pakistan. (Force Commander, NWA S. O.M., 2006).

Geo-politics of FATA

It is group of seven Administrative units called Agencies (Survey f Pakistan, 1995) namely Bajur, Mahmmand, Khyber, Aurakzai, Kuram, North and South Waziristan along with six frontier regions while moving from north to south on the Durand Line, there are different passes which shapes out as main routes of trade and between the subcontinent and Central Asian States. The people and trade caravans used to come to sub-continent by one of the many routes and famous main road, passing through the KPK through Nava pass of Bajur, Torkhum of Khyber agency, Pawaar kotal of Kurram Agency, Ghulam khan of tochi and Gomal in the south and thus reached Peshawar, Dera ismail khan and to the India. All these routes, fall into tribal belt across the Durand Line are open for regular and irregular traffic. Different empires that ruled India in the past having control of the plains through one or two of the passes in mountainous terrain (Olaf, 1957, p-xxii).



Source: FATA Development Authority

Tribal belt lie northwest of KPK along Durand line. It is a strip of land 1200 km long and 130 km wide. Geographically, FATA region are the knots of three the highest mountain series in the world: the Hindu Kush, the Pamer ranges and the Karakurram mountains (Dichers, 1967, p-2). Administratively, FATA is divided into seven political agencies: Khyber, Bajur, Mahmmand, Aurakzai, Kuram, North

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and South Waziristan and six Frontier Regions: Peshawar, Kohat Bannu, Lakki Marwat, D.I.Khan and Tank. The geographical proximity and contiguity of borders with the neighboring state of Afghanistan and shortest possible road links with newly born Central Asian Republics have created a major stir among the political, industrial and commercial circles of Pakistan and tribal areas. The map of tribal areas of Pakistan clearly shows the boundaries between the agencies and further with Afghanistan.

Tribal belt since its origination, remained the focus of geo-political and economic importance being the famous trade route since centuries. The post 9/11 the arena further added up its importance due to ongoing war against terrorism. The second present importance of the area is due to newly born Central Asian States which is the sole interest of economist. Huge mineral and natural resources are in the focus of many countries and the routes of these countries are through FATA region. Aftermath of Peshawar incident dictates a whole hearted attempt both political as well as military is required to root out the menace of terrorism from the country in general and FATA and KPK in particular. Unanimous decisions had been made on 17, December 2014 during All Parties conferences (APCs) are steps taken in the right direction. Implementation of these measures in true letter and spirit will certainly lay down the foundation of peace and prosperity in the region. In this complete process; support from Afghanistan will play a pivotal role especially in eradicating the terrorist network in the region. Later on, development strategy in terms of injecting huge money, creating job opportunities for the locals and making use of huge natural resources can pay rich dividends. The developmental work in FATA will strengthen the support of the local people to the government. It is significant to attain an efficient accord with the people of the tribal area in order to execute growth plans, which in return will have long lasting benefits and the same will be recognized by the poor masses of the tribal belt.

Today FATA is not only sufferings from lawlessness but also lacks serious structural constraints. The centuries old customs based system has given birth to these problems. If the environments are not rectified now it would end up in a serious imbalance in the region. A strong stable, politico-administration system in FATA is the need of the time to thwart the risks of the present situation, even more important than the FATA geographical location. The people should be empowered and should be granted basic human rights which are denied by frontier crimes regulations. Present lawlessness in tribal belt desire the importance for establishment of egalitarian and constitutional system of authority.

Integration of FATA into national mainstream would mean following:

- Political Integration – Integrating the FATA physically with rest of the country is extremely essential for political integration in the national mainstream.
- Ideological Integration – Though, all the elements of ideological integration in tribal areas are there but the real integration can only come from political

integration of the area. The concept of 'Pakistaniat' needs to be integrated into the people.

- Economic integration – the tribal areas have to be brought at par with other areas of the country which is only possible by integrating the areas into national main stream.
- Social integration – cultural co-existence, lingual harmony and social justice are the ingredients of social integration. Nevertheless, keeping in view backwardness of FATA, people are more socially integrated to the people of KPK then to Pakistan.
- Transformation since independence – due to limited employment opportunities in major cities of the Pakistan, independent economic activities like profession of transport and illegal smuggling, people have become economically independent. Thus, they demand equal opportunities for progress. This has led to weakening of Jirga system and authority of Maliks.
- Tribal areas are no longer lawless societies. Today they can be controlled by stoppage of basic necessities of life like flour, ghee etc, closure of business concerns owned by tribal people i.e. shops, patrol pumps etc and putting restriction on their transport business and smuggling. Thus, they are greatly amenable to external pressures.

The religious element and Madrassa culture has greatly eroded traditional power base of Maliks in tribal areas. Mullahs control the hearts and minds of the locals and exert great influence on locals. Due to cultural affinity with population across the Durand Line tribal people are influenced by happening across the international border and mostly same tribes people are divided by the Durand Line.

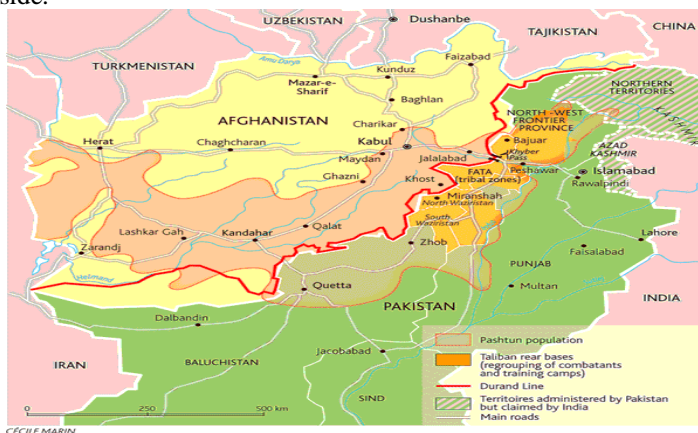
Conflicts in Tribal Areas

Due to extremely harsh terrain the land does not supports the population. Thus the population resorts to other activities to earn livelihood and mostly dependent on illegal trade (smuggling) of goods between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Gap between different classes is increasing every day. The poor is getting poorer and the rich man is getting richer day by day by resorting to illegal earnings. Limited economic activity and potential of tribal areas due to unfavorable terrain and harsh climate, outdated judicial laws are not applicable anywhere in the world. The FCR is strict practiced and followed by the political agents which deprive the common people from basic human rights. Weak administration is the major source of the problem in the tribal belt as there is no trained law enforcing agency. Massive corruption due to which most of development budget goes waste or is swindled away because the political agent is considered as king of the area with having no checks and balances on spending of developmental and non developmental fund.

Lack of political will to integrate the areas. During British era they tamed these tribes and even extracted heavy fines from them thus establishing the authority of government. The same resolve has not been shown by successive Pakistan governments. Policy of appeasement and not to touch the tribal areas due

unjustified pretext of law and order, the government has constantly been blackmailed by tribal Malikis and other beneficiaries of the system and has been accepting and allowing the influential people to carry out smuggling of weapons and munitions and contraband items. The government has been hostage to drug barons as drug trade has flourished in the areas as the tribal areas are major conduit for drugs smuggled into the country from Afghanistan and further transported to the settled district of the country, tribal areas have become dens for criminals from all over the country. Most of the abductees and snatched/ stolen cars in the country are brought here. Successive governments have used tribal MNAs and senators as bargaining chips and have not liked to integrate tribal areas as it would reduce their importance. The tribal politicians used wealth acquired through illegal means to acquire political status and sold themselves to the highest bidder which in most cases was the government. Thus, at the cost of political expediency the whole tribal population was made to suffer.

Status of Durand Line – The government is fearful of it being exploited by the Afghan government. Moreover, as same tribe live along both sides of the border therefore the government remains fearful that people from other side will interfere on own side.



Source: Google maps of Durand Line

Inaccessibility of areas led to fears that the government would not be able to control the area, after Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the government remained hesitant to do anything which could lead to problems in tribal areas. Due to potential of creating law and order problem the political administration has always been recommending not interfere against prejudices of tribal areas. Concept of tribal areas as untouchables – due to proliferation of weapons the government always felt threatened by the tribal people. Due to Kashmir problem and threat on the eastern border the government never wanted to create problems on the western border which could be exploited by the Indian. Due to lack of any economic potential and importance of the areas, the government does not want to touch the administrative political system of the FATA and seems to be reluctant to bring

them under the 1973 constitution. As per the concept of untouchables and tricky train, the state felt no responsibility of the population and the people are left to live and die on their own State felt no responsibility for people of the area.

Internal and External and Opposing Factors challenge for Economic Development

Tribal areas need to be brought in national main stream as they cannot be allowed to continue purple to live in the dark ages for indefinite period of time. The writ of the government has to be established as these areas have become safe heavens for terrorists, drug smugglers, criminals etc. no state can let the system to continue. The administrative system is oppressive and FCR is most inhuman form of law which has no legal justification in any society. The system has outlived its utility and requires major reforms. Pressure from population of rest of the country which see tribal areas as backward areas and as den for criminals/terrorists, these areas get lofty share of resources but most are ripped-off by corrupt government officials. Integration would help in better utilization of resources. As sequel to war on terrorism and US involvement in Afghanistan pressure on the government to integrate these areas as they are considered as safe heavens for terrorists operating in Afghanistan and to negate the threat of Pukhtanistan these areas need to be brought into national mainstream so that people see themselves Pakistanis first and tribal's subsequently. Political administration tends to lose everything if they ask for the change in FATA from centuries old political administrative system to modern democracy under 1973 constitution of Pakistan. FATA Secretariat as they would lose total authority over the areas. The area comprises of over 22000 sq km, and lot of developmental budget is allocated every year for development of FATA. Maliks/Lungi holders are receiving monitory benefits from the political agent on monthly basis without rendering any services to the civil administration. Beneficiaries of the system i.e. smugglers, drug barons, criminals who take refuge in the area, car thieves etc. Political leaders – for vested interests want to make use of sentiments of people e.g., statements against recent operation of Army in Angoor Adha. Population across the border are not willing to favor the change from present status of FATA to present democratic system as they want free trade and moments across the Durand Line. The FATA Reforms Committee initially proposed to form an elected FATA Council with its separate secretariat on the pattern of the Northern Areas, which is already in existence. It will fill the gap between the various units in the FATA as well as the Federal Government, whereas it will exercise all the legislative, administrative, financial and other powers in the manner enjoyed by other provincial assemblies in the country (Ali, 2001, p-52).

General population wants change but has little say and is easily swayed by vested interests. Tribal professionals, educated youth and people who have gone abroad resent the role of Maliks. They demand change. Due to official patronage and indulging in smuggling/ narcotics trade most of the Maliks have accumulated

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wealth. They are hated by the population who has sense of depravation. Most of Maliks have shifted to settled areas and only visit on special occasion. Thus, they are gradually losing their influence. Religious organizations as they would benefit with loosening of hold of Maliks. FATA an independent province, consecutively to resolve the other different dilemmas of the tribal areas and separated Azad Qabail Province, by a nominated assembly vested by legal powers similar to other provincial assemblies in Pakistan be established, though it has observed that currently it is not a feasible opportunity at present due to following reasons (Ali Mumtaz Bangash, 2005, p-50).

Development in their area by coming into the national main stream and should enjoy freedom in political, economical, social and judicial system. Opportunities for employment are more in the other parts of the country being more developed than in comparison to harsh terrain of FATA. Open trade with Afghanistan and rest of the country will benefit the financial status of the poor masses and more opportunities can be created to uplift the financial condition of the people. Preservation of tribal freedom must be maintained as promised by the father of the nation Quaid-e-Azam during the annex time on 15th August, 1947 with the tribal people. FATA people in the KPK assembly were also considered. The tribal areas of the provincial government of the KPK are theoretically independent, however for the entire practical intentions they have indivisible administrative contacts and linkages with the provincial administration. However, it was approved that currently it would be untimely for FATA to seek political representation in the KPK assembly. The tribesmen somehow mistakenly interpret it as a first step in transforming FATA into PATA. The only political, feasibly, economically and less hazardous viable suggestion give to political version to the tribesmen in the KPK Provincial Assembly which has already been decided and announced on 23 Jan 2002 (Ansar Abbasi, 24 January 2002).

Political Challenges and economic development

Evolving of a political system which gradually merges the tribal areas in the national mainstream. The transformation from present system to new system must be expanded over a period of 10-15 years. Evolving a system of administration which can take over from the old system without any problem. Creating an organization for law enforcing through which the administration can control the area. The area is mostly mountainous and having porous border with Afghanistan. Requirement of carrying out census in 'No Go Areas' which was not carried out in 1998, in order to get the exact census report of the tribal belt. A package for socio-economic uplift of the area can be implemented without any corruption by having strong check and balances in the system. Continued stay of the Army till the time entire changes are not carried out and stability is ensured in the area because the FATA does not have regular law enforcing agencies. Presently major development work is in progress in various parts of FATA. It is being carried out in various development packages. A more efficient agency to execute development works

will bring early prosperity to FATA. If all planned projects are undertaken in true letter and spirit, it will change the face of FATA agencies. A large amount of funds is being allocated for development of FATA. Some of these are as following (Major Afsar Munir, 14 July 2005).

AGENCY/F.R AND SECTOR WISE ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME OF FATA, 2013-14

Table No.1 (Rs. in Million)

Agencies/ F.Rs Sectors	Total	Percentage	EDUCATION	HEALTH	P.H.E	COMMUNICATIONS	HOUSING	POWER	AGRICULTURE	LIVESTOCK AND DAIRY DEVELOPMENT	FORESTS
All FATA	2908.733	19.493	601.560	335.339	101.211	375.708	45.766	49.052	115.943	87.092	155.135
Bajaur	1607.876	10.775	504.065	165.997	95.679	463.357	35.959	50.125	28.113	45.376	72.182
Khyber	1685.794	11.297	432.374	171.898	291.809	381.464	40.885	22.765	18.508	44.074	62.651
Kurram	1570.539	10.525	392.834	158.770	128.653	395.971	28.921	36.413	18.443	47.516	70.040
Mohmand	1187.363	7.957	251.627	111.049	183.446	245.414	18.677	82.329	14.333	35.807	48.031
N. Waziristan	1561.646	10.465	378.063	171.532	153.325	370.628	31.435	38.945	85.209	44.313	76.088
Orakzai	764.759	5.125	235.378	71.957	53.553	215.264	10.246	1.000	4.584	30.826	30.983
S. Waziristan	2011.768	13.482	527.158	204.790	147.787	428.227	27.920	19.100	84.349	55.683	82.861
F.R Bannu	219.371	1.470	59.930	7.583	18.214	65.424	1.500	-	3.063	12.474	10.301
F.R D.I. Khan	443.975	2.975	79.738	54.394	37.034	153.613	13.189	-	-	10.624	11.068
F.R Kohat	331.970	2.225	56.125	33.589	58.919	94.842	2.643	4.652	4.973	8.624	19.996
F.R Lakkki	101.497	0.680	13.310	8.258	20.323	27.414	3.626	1.843	-	3.752	0.506
F.R Peshawar	224.158	1.502	50.432	33.006	10.356	52.036	-	6.379	2.917	7.797	19.952
F.R Tank	302.551	2.028	93.499	39.840	20.720	66.062	2.150	3.500	3.554	9.974	10.137
Total FATA ADP	14922.000	100.000	3676.093	1568.002	1321.029	3335.424	262.917	316.103	383.989	443.932	669.929

Continued

AGENCY/F.R AND SECTOR WISE ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME OF FATA, 2013-14

Table No.1 (Rs. in Million)

Agencies/ F.Rs Sectors	FISHERIES	RURAL DEVELOPMENT	REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT	IRRIGATION	MINERALS, INDUSTRIES AND TECH EDUCATION (MITE)	SOCIAL WELFARE	SPORTS, CULTURE AND YOUTH AFFAIRS	POPULATION WELFARE
All FATA	15.339	52.055	503.461	200.216	57.215	15.012	107.344	91.285
Bajaur	1.396	6.281	17.000	87.361	24.953	3.532	6.500	-
Khyber	6.118	39.928	6.600	166.720	-	-	-	-
Kurram	4.832	48.496	115.860	102.136	13.654	-	8.000	-
Mohmand	3.138	7.767	59.804	113.404	7.537	-	5.000	-
N. Waziristan	1.604	6.666	5.000	185.238	5.600	-	8.000	-
Orakzai	-	25.222	35.652	42.842	6.236	1.016	-	-
S. Waziristan	1.900	33.572	70.789	281.113	24.205	4.563	17.751	-
F.R Bannu	0.324	-	-	40.558	-	-	-	-
F.R D.I. Khan	-	10.000	-	74.317	-	-	-	-
F.R Kohat	-	7.949	-	39.658	-	-	-	-
F.R Lakkki	-	2.882	-	19.583	-	-	-	-
F.R Peshawar	-	2.165	-	39.118	-	-	-	-
F.R Tank	-	6.040	-	47.075	-	-	-	-
Total FATA ADP	34.651	249.023	814.166	1439.339	139.400	24.123	152.595	91.285

Source:- Annual Development Programme 2013-14, P & D Department, FATA

Health sector of the tribal belt has also very negative indicators. The number of hospitals in the whole tribal areas is 45, and 180 dispensaries and only one doctor for a population of 8189.

Like the other sectors, agriculture is also having poor indicators which is basically due to water scarcity, land reclamation and forestry development, modern tunnel farming for vegetables and fruits, all these measures will boost the

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overall development in the region. Mineral exploration is also neglected in the tribal belt. The populace faces serious shortage of power and energy. In view of these developments and resultant effects, it has become need of the time for Pakistan to integrate tribal region into the mainstream of politic administration system.

The tribal people associate themselves with Pakistan and are equally patriotic as rest of the people of the country. With grant of right of business and own property in settled areas most of the tribal people have developed significant economic interests and stakes which they will not allow to be jeopardized. Over the years after creation of PATA and creation of additional agencies the momentum has been built for gradual integration into rest of the country. Grant of Adult Franchise was not met with any opposition indicating loosening of hold of Maliks. With the induction of Army in 'No Go' areas one of the major pre-requisite for integration has been met. Hospitality is the basic code of tribal society and it is always without any favor or return protection is provided to seekers from all miseries. This code of pashtoons society created numerous hurdles to the British empire and even in the recent past Osama bin Ladan was provided shelter under this code of ethics from the hostile enemy.

Badal is pushto word which means revenge. Revenge has no limits and consequences in FATA society. The enmity between tribes and sub tribes extends up to years and years, travels from generation to generation. Positive angle of this code of ethnic is that crime rate is very low as everyone is sure that he has to face the consequences of his deeds. The decisions of the tribal elders are always taken as right and must be implemented even by force.

Security issues and operation Zarb-E-Azab

The operation in the tribal belt was well received at the international and national level but some portion of the FATA people, due to their mollified interests not only resisted but also supported the fugitives and terrorists seeking shelter in the tribal belt. Many hostile countries to Pakistan are also injecting financial support to the terrorists and people harboring them. List of invaders contain some of the most magnificent names of the history – Cyrus, Alexander the Great, Mahmud Ghazanavi, Ameer Taimur, Zaheer ud Din Babur and Ahmed Shah Abdali. The situation of the sub-continent change after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir, who was the last dominant king of the Mughal Empire and the Durrani rule of Afghanistan gained foothold in the area but were defeated by the Sikhs in 1818Ad who attempted to control the area (Olaf, 1957, p-xxii).

At long last, the political government of Pakistan was able to take the decision of tackling the outlawed Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan through a language, they understand. The largest agency of FATA saw a military expedition in 2004 which was ended as a result of peace deal with militants after two years. The military operation 'Zarb-e-Azab' infects the name of military operation against the terrorists, miscreants and obscurantists was launched in the start of June 14 with a

goal of eliminating the militants along with their sanctuaries. Though, initially divided over the government's decision to launch the operation, all political and religious parties except very few showed their consensus over the operation later on. Pakistan has lost more than 40,000 lives with approx more than 70 million US Dollar spending. Pakistan Army started tackling the militancy in 2004 with launching Operation Rah-e-Raast and Operation Rah-e-Nijaat. Swat and SWA were effectively cleared of militants, however control was not handed over to the civil authorities. Pakistan Armed Forces started its Operation in Miran Shah Sector that had become the epicenter of terrorism in Pakistan. Charged with highest level of patriotism, brave and gallant officers/soldiers of Pakistan Army hunting down the terrorists hiding in the compounds and hideouts. After clearance of Miran Shah, the armed forces moved towards Data Khel sector where faced tough resistance from militants that also included foreign fighters especially in Boya and Datta Khel. Subsequently, operation was further expanded towards Mir Ali where militants could not withstand the ultimate display of courage and valour by security forces. According to intelligence reports, the Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan gathers around rupees 2 billion in extortion money from metropolitan Karachi daily and also involved in generating money in Karachi (Intelligence Report Operational Commander, 2014) from the Pashtun traders and transporters through extortion. Operation Zarb-e-Azab has successfully destroyed the financial base of the terrorism including the future plans of terrorists. To reunite the structure and developed base militants would need a considerable time and resources in NWA. They would never openly challenge the professional Law Enforcement Agencies including Pakistan Army. Development works were started in FATA by the Army as part of operation Al-Mizan. Initially a few projects were undertaken with meager allocations, however, as the writ of government was extended to the 'No Go Areas (Gen. Orakzai says army opened up all of FATA, 16 March 2004, p-10) elaborate funds were provided both by GHQ and Federal Government, through FATA Secretariat (Siddique Basharat, 2005). These development works have not only helped pacify the hostile tribesmen but will have a far-reaching effect on their social and economic situation.

Recommendations

- Improvement of road communication, road communication forms the backbone for any industrial / economic activity. A net work of road communication needs to be developed as Arterial Roads, Link roads, Farm to market roads (Connecting various villages), Linkage with adjoining areas of Punjab, Balochistan and KPK, Development of roads for cross border trade with Afghanistan.
- Extension of Railway Link, Rail communication is the cheapest mode of transportation but is comparatively expensive to develop. Railway link is available till Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan and if the same is extended to

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Wana, Thall and Miran Shah, it would create a revolutionary change in the outlook of the tribal areas as it would connect the belt with the main country.

- Establishment of Airport, in view of the large distances involved, smaller airport for supporting operation of light aircraft may be considered at Razmak / Wana and Kurram.
- Energy Needs in order to develop the cottage industry of this area, electric power should be available in the most parts of FATA. Moreover, natural gas should be provided for cottage industry and as a replacement for wood as fuel to conserve forests.
- Administrative/Judicial changes in all laws of the country should be extended to the tribal area to replace existing FCR and tribal Jirga system.
- Provision of security is a creation of a conducive security environment is essential for economic activity. Frontier constabulary and Khasadar force be organized to operate as police in the area. In this multi pronged strategy, the focal point of army's role should be to maintain concentrated presence in the area and keep low profile in day-to-day affairs.
- Revenue and land records should be prepared ad for the settled area as the communal land ownership (Qaumi Milkiat) in the tribal areas is a major impediment in the way of economic growth. An ownership system should be evolved by modern land settlement system to promote economic progress. This way, apart from agricultural development, individual ownership of land would enable the people of FATA to seek loans for running business by mortgaging their land. Settlement of land on individual ownership basis would also help in improving socio-economic infrastructure, which is otherwise compromised due to political and tribal disputes in FATA.
- Participatory role in development is highly important that common man in tribal areas should be granted participatory role in development and welfare of the area as previously only Maliks have been benefiting from the existing development process and common man has always been ignored.
- People of FATA are mainly dependent on hospital in settled areas as BHUs and hospitals are mostly unmanned and under equipped. These aspects need immediate attention.
- Revitalization of existing development schemes is a very sore and unfortunate aspect of development schemes (schools, BHUs, water supply etc.) in FATA is the fact that either these are left incomplete or even on completion these remain inactive (Pakistan Participatory Poverty Assessment). Thus these schemes decay without accruing any benefits to the community. A vigorous drive to re-activate all such schemes should be launched and strict measures should be adopted to avoid such happening in future.
- Extremely low literacy rate necessitates extensive improvement in education sector. Education and human resource development should be used as powerful instrument of socio-economic and political change.
- Special measures should be initiated to impart technical education to the people of the area to increase the employment opportunities.

- The existing number of degree colleges should be increased including separate colleges for males and females.
- Community schools should be opened up near all major villages to impart primary and secondary education to the children.
- Existing Madrassahs should be incorporated in overall education strategy after a revision of their syllabus.
- FATA education department to take possession of the schools recently opened by Pakistan Army and provide necessary teaching staff as early as possible.
- Compulsory education to all children between the ages of 5-14 years must be imparted.
- The institution of mosque can also be effectively used for promotion of literacy and education.
- Media plays vital role in spreading of education. The potentials of print and electronic media should be fully utilized for motivating the public to support the literacy programmes.

Conclusion

In today's geo political climate, FATA is unable to continue to remain closed off from the mainstream of Pakistani society. After an analysis of the overall political, administrative, socio-economic and security environments, it can be concluded that there is a need to undertake effective measures to address the concerned issues and initiate a process for integration of FATA into national mainstream. The recommendations are covered in this part of case study. These have been divided into two major segments i.e. short term recommendations oriented at reforms affecting a particular system and long term recommendations giving out an overall integration plan. Because of the nature of problem, however, at places the distinction between the two may be slightly blurred.

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