

Afghanistan's Security Imbroglia: Strategic Implications for Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Fata)

Saima Perveen¹, Professor Dr. Jehanzeb Khalil² and Professor Dr. Babar Shah³

^{1,2}Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan

³Director and Chairman, Regional Studies, University of Peshawar

Received: September 12, 2014

Accepted: November 23, 2014

ABSTRACT

Pakistan's stability is interconnected with that of Afghanistan. Afghanistan's turmoil has affected Pakistan's internal security, economy and foreign policy. Recently, our foreign policy is 'Afghan centric', where fall out from western border has triggered militancy and extremism in FATA. There is strategic stalemate and Pakistan interests in Afghanistan have been transformed into challenges which need to be grappled at exigency. The incomprehensive skepticism has halted various developmental aspects. Both minor states of Pakistan and Afghanistan have common problems of militancy and insurgency with is a palpable gnaw and can be fissiparous to their state structure. The US exit from Afghanistan is cross to bear for Pakistan policy making elites to direct their course of action. The recent past and ongoing strategic challenges need exigency and responsible role in likely situation in order to safeguard any infringement on national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

KEYWORDS: Militancy, National interests, Extremism, Foreign Policy, Strategic.

1 INTRODUCTION

Pakistan interests in Afghanistan have been converted to challenge for Pakistan foreign policy due to turmoil in Afghanistan. Pakistan security has been deteriorated from the last three and half decades. During Soviet invasion in Afghanistan Pakistan role was applauded for curbing communism by freedom fighters (Mujahedeen). Besides, Pakistan was in great fear that this imbroglia and Soviet military forces might stretched to Pakistan province Balochistan and further to warm water of Arabian Sea, which has been proved only as paranoid only by Politburo. Pakistan President General Zia availed this juncture as an opportunity to secure his goals in the garb of Islamization and established Mujahedeen training camps on the soil of Pakistan. This pave the way to not only Afghan refugees, drug trafficking, Klashinkov but to sectarianism which led to numerous evils in society. The matter did not stop here, after Soviet exit from Afghanistan, there arise various challenges for Pakistan foreign policy as Pakistan embassy was set on fire by forces of Ahmad Shah Masoud, who deemed that Pakistan has backed Taliban in capturing Herat. (Sheikh, 2012)

In all this background Pakistan's foreign policy has become subservient to the US. We are not only dependent with regard to our defense requirements but are also at the mercy of the US financially. Due to dependence, Pakistan's foreign policy is also dictated by that country. (Khan, 2013) The Afghan war and terrorism spill over has ruined Paskistan's economy and internal security. Mir, 2013) There is escalation in cases of terrorism and extremism throughout Pakistan. The institutional distortion has exacerbated the existing infamous kidnapping, maladministration and sleaze in most of the governmental sectors. There are horrible challenges looming large to the fortune of lay person. Above all the religious intolerance has aggravated sectarianism. (Khan, 2013) Much of this has happened because of our involvement in the Afghanistan conflict. We are in a difficult, complicated and despicable situation from which it is hard to escape.

In Pakistan militancy and extremism have been originated in the past military regimes of General Zia ul Haq and General Pervez Musharraf as both envisaged Afghanistan's turmoil as an opportunity to facilitate themselves with the US assistance in multiple sectors. The menace of military dictatorship of these two mentioned dictators have dumped Pakistan with extremism and sectarianism. Resultantly Pakistan is suffering from multitude of miseries as weak economy, distortion of national image, undermined national sovereignty and to cap it all Pakistan is near to be an isolationist state. During Soviet

* **Corresponding Author:** Saima Parveen, Department of Political Science, Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan.
Saima_perveen32@yahoo.com

invasion Pakistan had taken that insurgency quite normal which could not be followed by fall out for Pakistan. After Soviet exit from Afghanistan, the US had abandoned Pakistan in the midstream, no post war cautionary measures, pacification and adjustment facilities were provided to the hardened fighters so that they might accustom to the society. (Ilahi, 2010, p. 140) The end of Afghan Jihad was start of Pakistani extremism. The first phase of extremism was in the shape of various bomb blasts in various parts of Pakistan, instigated by Indian conspiracy. It was prompted by Indian motive to revenge Pakistan for their patronage of Kashmiri cause in Indian occupied Kashmir and secondly to hoist Pakistan for its petered of supporting Sikh's Khalistan stance in East Punjab. Pakistan alleged Indian role in the blasts with due grounds as proof of their complicity. (Ibid, p. 142) Second phase was started in late 1980s with collusion of three extremist organizations namely, Sipah e Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), Sipah e Lashkar e Jhangvi, Muhammad Pakistan (SMP). These organizations had ruthlessly killed so many professionals, civil servants, clerics and carried their callous ventures until severely punished by Government as result of which some these extremists moved to FATA. Meanwhile, ethnic strife was alarming in Karachi, where Mahajar Quomi Movement (MQM) was troubling other factions in Sindh. At last resort Operation 'clean up' was launched in Benazir era to curb these uprising. (Review, 1996, p.628) Third phase was started in 2001, where Afghan Taliban infiltrated to Pakistan tribal area and gradually this area was turned to Al-Qaeda and Taliban's hub.

On Afghan soil we have faced challenges and costs as we could an alternative transit path for Central Asia trade to the globe for transfer of fossil fuel to the South Asia so as to counter Russia dominancy. (Sheikh, 2012) Afghanistan turmoil will keep Pakistan with myriad security threats in shape of restive FATA, illegal infiltration, consequently refugees deluge, spike in drugs trafficking, uprising in Pashtun nationalism which will ignite Afghanistan imbroglio and both Pakistan and India will try to steal the march on each other. (Report, 2011, p. 24) Pakistan policy elites conceded with US allegation about Haqqani network and 'Quetta Shura' presence inside Pakistan but refuted about their dominant influence. (Yusaf and Zaidi, 2011)

Pakistan is accused for the presence of Al-Qaeda and Afghan Taliban who attacked coalition forces in Afghanistan. Al-Qaeda was originally the organization with norm and tradition of Arab countries especially Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Now Al-Qaeda has its cell in approximately forty countries. As far as Al-Qaeda is concerned then is clear that it became an organization against US forces occupation of different Muslim territories and it had fought against Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. In the garb of terrorism it wants to get rid of foreign occupation and to work for renaissance of the real soul of Islam. For them 9/11 was turning point to military and political joint venture for realisation of this goal and to prepare world as field for Jihad. (Aziz, 2010)

Al-Qaeda was arch rival of the US with no resentment against Pakistan, but when Pakistan launched military operation in FATA as per Musharraf's order, since Al-Qaeda has been turned against military dictator without any grudges for the state. (Ilahi, 2010, p. 153) The motive behind Al-Qaeda arrival to FATA was to flourish its agenda of Jihad and to give tough time to the US, and for the same very sake another frontline organization was needed in order to escape from Pakistan state and army focus. This space was filled by Tehrik e Taliban Pakistan which remained active in Swat, FATA and so many other parts of Pakistan.

Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan is the alliance of various Islamic militant groups being known as Pakistani Taliban is aboded in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas. This coalition of militants have allegiance of majority of groups who are working under the agenda of TTP in all of the seven agencies Frank commented, that he adopted light footprint doctrine because there was uncertainty about Osama Bin Laden's presence. (Samad, 2011, p. 37) Kerry contradicted Frank statement and emphasized that due to no more troops and to rely on Afghan forces has caused Osama to flee away from Tora Bora. (Kerry, 2005, pp. 2-3) Al-Qaeda was divided into two groups, as one infiltrated into Pakistan's tribal areas Parachinar, harboured by tribes men of Ghilzai for which they were facilitated with satisfactory money and weapons. (Yunas, 2011, p. 38) This operation was conducted at critical area on Paki-Afghan border and Pakistan was kept in oblivion about it. Later on, when the militants spread to far flung tribal areas of Pakistan, only then Pakistan was assigned the task to trace them out. Consequently, Pakistan military was deployed to Miranshah and Wana with Frontier Constabulary and after an arduous search approximately 250 Al-Qaeda/Taliban infiltrators were captured from Tirah valley. (CENTCOM, 2002)

This lead to consistent military deployment in tribal areas in order to curb militancy in FATA as in 2005 nearly 80,000 Pakistani of FATA. This organization emerged in December of 2007 under the command of Baitullah Mehsud, a hardliner who formed Tehrik Taliban Pakistan especially as retaliation of

Lal-Masjid Operation. The Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan's basic aims are to entangle Pakistani state in numerous hardles in order to bring them to the point of enforcement of Taliban conceived vision of Shariah and proved as unshakeable force against foreign forces of NATO in Afghanistan in the shape of suicidal assaults and the likely tactics in this regard. (Fair and Jones, 2010, pp. 161-188)TTP is validating their ruthless attacks inside Pakistan in retaliation of US engagement in Afghanistan and due to Pakistan key role in combating terrorism. Militants or Taliban have firm belief in Muslim Theologian Ibn Tamiyyah doctrine, to launch offense against Non-Muslim and who do not concede to Islamic fundamental mode of interpretation. (Siddiq, 2010, p. 153) There existed Takfir ideology, which deem non-believers as Kafir. Ayman Al-Zawahiri of Al-Qaeda is with the same Takfir doctrine. (Mujahid, 2010) To sum up, the justification of aggression in the garb of Islam is contrary to the spirit of Islam. The two concepts 'fitnah' (sedition) and 'fasad' (corruption) are acrimonious political crimes perpetrated against Islamic political community (the Ummah). To label a Muslim as non-Muslim is the taking of Allah's judgement in own hand which is committing of 'shirk' or most probably 'kufr'. (Commission Report, 2013, p. 325)Al-Qaeda and Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP) are interconnected and according to Aamir Rana an expert on terrorism, terrorist commander Ilyas Kashmiri, leader of HUJI is new commander of Al-Qaeda Pakistani wing. (Rana, 2010).

In order to ponder over the root causes of terrorism there have been different views. Those people, who have been berefted of socio-economic provisions, unable to keep body and soul together, illiterate having no judgement of right and wrong and to cap it all living in areas where exists no state writ are flourishing grounds to instill extremism and terrorism in minds. According to Ayesha Siddiq the basic reasons behind militancy can be poverty as South Punjab and Upper Sindh are areas which are deprived of socio-economic provisions. There is lower Human Development indices of World Bank and Asian Development Bank. Lower education is also main cause. (Aftab, 2010)There are Madrassas where minds of youth are groomed for militancy and terrorism. (Siddiq, 2010, p. 158)

There are three types of forces among Taliban as, various category is good Taliban, who are friendly and are aboded in North Waziristan Swat and the rest of Pakistan as TTP, LeT, JuD, JeM. They are longing for establishing political order conceived by them and deemed Mullah Omar as their leader. They get inspirations from him but operate on their own lines. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan Taliban are concerned about their respective states and are supporting each other. (Rizvi, 2013)

There is contrast in the activities of Al-Qaeda, the TTP, and Afghan Taliban. Albeit they have common enemy as West especially the US to fight against her, but Al-Qaeda is fighting against the US and her coalition allies, Afghan Taliban are fighting against foreign forces who have invaded Afghanistan since 9/11 and TTP is active against Pakistani state and against security personnel. (Haqqani, 2010) Mehmood Shah, a former security official in Pakistan's tribal areas, said "there is no doubt that a link between the Haqqani network and the Pakistani Taliban exists" The insurgency and consequently military operation in FATA had been stretched to the US intervention in Afghanistan. The Al-Qaeda and its associates infiltration to Pakistan was triggered by the US military attack on 'Tora Bora' by taking it as safe haven for the former. This attack was carried out at the time when the US was not sure about Al-Qaeda's presence, resultantly, there are divergent comments even among the US defense officials, as CENTCOM commander General Tommy troops were in Waziristan. Local residents of FATA sided with these militants by deeming military presence as an infringement on their sovereignty. The other reason of their favor can be the aggression of militants, who cannot bear the resistance from these tribes. They have their own norms and traditions without any other consideration. Gradually, not only wazirs and mehsud but foreign non-state actors as Uzbek and Chechen had joined this rampage against the state of Pakistan and military with all possible aerial power which have turned it a war. Militancy get infested to all the seven agencies of FATA under myriad militant groups and strengthened the roots.

TTP is paid sumptuously for its service and in return has been enabled to maintain militia with this money. It is like a mercenary force and has provided base to Al-Qaeda. (Rashid Interview) Afghan Taliban have linkages with their counterparts in North and South Waziristan and they have been infested into Punjab, Baluchistan and Sindh which have deteriorated Pakistan security. Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP) under Hakimullah Mehsud and some other similar groups have links with Al-Qaeda who had not deterred even from assaulting on Pakistan Military Headquarter (GHQ) and intelligence organization, the Directorate for Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) they have sanctuaries in FATA. (Siddiq, 2010, p. 150)

Pakistani military have four level of approach 'clear, hold, develop and disintegrate' which have been used in Swat in 2007 and in South Waziristan in 2009. (Ibid, p. 151) Clear and Hold is an attempt to integrate these agencies into Pakistan which were apart from Pakistan legal and political system in past. Furthermore, the US is highhanded in asking Pakistan to launch military operation in north Waziristan but

Pakistan has refuted because some Taliban groups in North Waziristan have ties with military on terms and conditions that they will never assault on Pakistani state until they would not be attacked. Besides Pakistan cannot afford war on all fronts. Operations at the same time on diverse fronts would undermine military capacities. Wherein, Positive public opinion is also indispensable for successful military operation as was in case of Swat and Waziristan operations. Keeping these reasons in consideration Pakistan military would prefer to held talks with Taliban. Rustom Shah Mohamad also deemed that military Operation in North Waziristan would be very expensive for Pakistan military. (Yusaf, 2010)

Mullah Omar stepped forward in December 2008 and the first quarter of 2009 by sending an envoy Mullah Abdullah Zakir for the very purpose of taking high command of TTP on board in order to give tough time to the US in the shape of integrated force of Taliban. A transitory Shura Ittehadul Mujahideen (SIM) was formed by Baitullah Mehsud, Hafiz Gul Bahadur, and Maulavi Nazir. They pledged to be abided by the very doctrine of Mullah Omar and Osama Bin Laden in dismantling the foreign forces but that alliance burst down in short a while without any fruitful outcome.

Pakistan civilian government and security personnel are on the same page on the issue to curb militancy. Pakistan military has found involvement of external hand in assisting Pakistan Taliban. (Rizvi, 2010)

Militancy in FATA has been enhanced by the counterinsurgency (COIN) plan of military General McCrystal, by surge of troops in east and southern part of Afghanistan lying adjacent to Pakistan's FATA so resultantly militants infiltrated to Pakistan tribal areas and trembled security inside Pakistan. Pakistan military and civilian government were on different terms with different Taliban groups along the border. Afghan Taliban aboded at North Eastern part of Afghanistan in Kunar and Nuristan provinces have affiliation with non-state actors TTP and TNSM who have created battle fields in Swat and Bajaur. These Afghan provinces lies adjacent to Khyber and Mohmand agencies in FATA which were under intense military operations. (Khan, 2010) Afghan Taliban associated with Haqqani Network active in North and South Waziristan and with so called "Quetta Shura" confining forces in South as in McCrystal means to pressurize Afghan Taliban based in North and South Waziristan and in Balochistan border.

Meanwhile the US was apprehensive of Al-Qaeda and Taliban activities in FATA on four grounds, firstly, FATA is in process to perpetrate another attack on the US from Pakistan, secondly, these local connections and associations are detrimental to both the US and Pakistan security which can make Pakistan a failed state, thirdly, if any assault launched on the US by these militants then Pakistan would be accused for it. Fourthly, these militants are disrupting the US coalition efforts in Afghanistan. (Ilahi, p. 157)

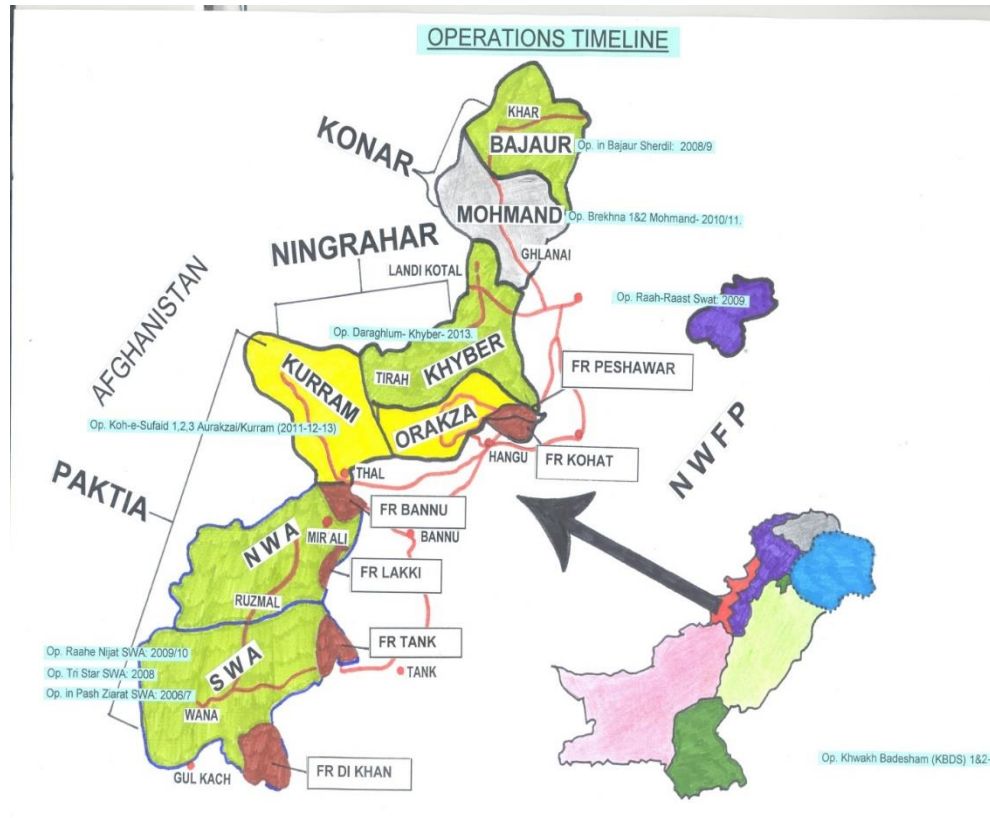
There is major defect in Pakistan counterterrorism policy, that it is solely dependent on military and strategic goals. It goes towards strategic operation rather than to sort out root causes of terrorism and extremism. By contemplating the performance of Pakistan military its certain that it cannot be overridden by militants because it is stable and strongest institution. It has performed well in military operations in tribal areas since 2007 to subdue militancy.

Pakistan has availed services of the Army, the Frontier Constabulary, the Frontier Corps and Frontier Police in major operations against militants. (Fair and Jones, 2011) Pakistan Army has round about 550,000 Active duty organizational strength and 500,000 reservations. It has nine Corps Headquarters in addition to the Army Strategic Force Command, and is called 'Tenth Corps' which is in command of all land based strategic assets of the country.¹ The Frontier Corps is Federal Paramilitary that belongs to ministry of Interior but it is under operational control of the military. It consists of two separate forces, FC N.W.F.P (KPK), all are Pashtun and FC Baluchistan, who are not altogether Baluch. (Abbas, 2007)The Frontier Constabulary is a policing organization which is established to provide law and order in the settled areas outside FATA and cordoned the Afghanistan and Pakistan border. It has performed security duty in Swat and is currently performing in Islamabad and Punjab.

Pakistan Army is confronting two main challenges; one is to curb insurgency in all the seven agencies of FATA and second is to tackle overwhelming extremism in Pakistan. Albeit Pakistan Army is to defend the frontier against external threat but in case of inside insecurity and militancy Pakistan civil government can ask the Army to launch counterinsurgency operations. Military operation is lawful according to constitutional provision, as "To defend Pakistan against external aggression or threat of war, and, subject to

¹ Each Corpse has two or Three Divisions and Is Commanded by a Lieutenant General . Each Division Holds Three Brigades and is Commanded by a Major General. A Brigade is Commanded by a Brigadier and Has Three or More Battalion. A Battalion has Roughly 600 to 900 Soldiers Under the Command of a Lieutenant Colonel. IISS, The Military Balance 2009 (London: Routledge, 2009); Federation of Atomic Scientists, Pak (sic): Total Military Force <http://www.fas.org/programs/ssp/man/militarysumfolder/pak.html?formaction=297&ContentId=165>.

law, to act in aid of the civil power when called upon to do so.” (Pakistan constitution, 1973) So military operation being launched in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto era in Baluchistan in 1973 was lawful within context of ‘civil power. (Ziring, 1997, pp. 392-3) The same civil power is used to curb militancy in FATA by military operations as last resort. Pakistani military has launched following major operation in order to curb militancy.



Sources: Consulted Books, Journals, Wikipedia about Operations timeline. Counterinsurgency Books and Journals.

2a. Rah-e-Haq operation: Swat is Switzerland of Pakistan with its natural marvelous beauty and fecund soil. The names found in ancient sources for Swat are Udyana and Suvastu because of the scenic beauty of the valley and name of the river respectively. Muslims occupied this valley in 10th century, and afterwards Afghans known as Swati Pakhtun came and settled here as an independent power. Yousafzai conquered Swat in 16th century and lived as tribal fashion headed by tribal chiefs called Khans and Maliks. In Swat khans and then chief arise with status of king type ruling. There were dictatorial rulers with austere ruling. (Rome, 2006) The state of Swat was coalesced to Pakistan on 28 July, 1969, by the then Chief Martial Law Administrator and President of Pakistan, General Yahya Khan; resultantly, the ruler domineering status come to an end. However, the special status of Swat remained unaffected in spite of abolition of state of Swat. Moreover, the Interim Constitution’s article 260 (which was later on retained in 1973 Constitution), given birth to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA); and the Districts of Chitral, Dir and Swat beside other areas were brought into it in order to stretch basic provision of law and order passed by central and provincial legislature. The people of Swat nostalgically remembered the Swat state era, when judicial system at their disposal was quick and easily accessible.

Shariah was imposed in Swat under a religious Group Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) led by cleric Sufi Muhammad in 1994. Government’s agreement for established Shariah courts in Malakand under Nifaz-e-Nizame-Shariah Regulation, 1994 and Shari-Nizam-e-Adl Regulation, 1999 resulted in subsidence of the problem for the time being. However, the regulations were mainly procedural in nature and the grievances of the population remained unaddressed, which were further exploited by TNSM and other radical factions, who strengthened their roots there. Political leadership in the city failed

to nip militancy in the bud. The matter came out of police control also. After 9/11 Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) come to government focus when it crossed border to assist Taliban in Afghanistan but mostly remain unsuccessful and on return to Pakistan, were arrested by Pakistani authorities. After Sufi Muhammad's arrest his son in law Fazle Hayat under the nom de guerre of Fazal Ullah took over command of TNSM and started broadcasting from an illegal FM radio at Imam Dheri, in the Matta Tehsil.

First serious signs of trouble came, when polio vaccination teams were attacked in Swat and MMA government surrendered its own writ by taking 'permission' from TNSM for kids polio drops. Police was targeted all over the area and there were large scale desertions. Eventually, TNSM / TTPS took physical control of police stations besides Saidu Sharif Airport. Frontier Constabulary (FC) also surrendered in a large number.

Some Afghan and foreign militants, who earlier had crossed over into FATA, now found another battle ground and joined hands with TNSM and JM. For further strategy Fazal Ullah labelled his group as Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan Swat (TTPS) in Jan 2008 which facilitated a nexus with TTP to ensure that they are integral part of Hakeemullah Mehsud led TTP of Waziristan. (The News, 2008) These Taliban have played havoc with whole infrastructure and have disrupted time long practiced Malik system with killing of Malik, and destroyed private property in order to establish their own writ in these areas. (The News, 2009a) Fazlullah and his associates were involved in detonating bombs, demolishing schools and turning these schools as their operational bases, to cap it all they captured security personnels. (The News, March 22, 2009) In spring 2009 when Fazlullah admonitory asked Police to leave their jobs or be ready for punishment then resultantly 700 of 1,700 officers deserted Police jobs. (Wiseman and Sheikh, 2009) TNSM with incendiary propensities were creating state within state by renouncing democracy as un-Islamic. They summoned that any one deviated from their conceived and established Shariah law would ultimately be killed. In Swat the TNSM had initiated ruthless killing of people by wildly segregating their bodily organs and even throwing corpses on roads to be viewed by other people. (The News, 2009b)

These callous and unbridled terrorist activities could only succumbed by military operations. At last resort Federal government deployed Pakistan Army for Operation Rah-e-Haq, in order to wrestle the control of Swat valley back from TNSM. Rah e Haq operation was launched by Pakistan's army on October 25, 2007 against Taliban forces and this operation was with three phases. Pakistan army get victorious. Chief of army Gen Kayani instructed throughout operation that collateral damage be shunned. Triumphant of operation depends on conduct of strategies, minimizing collateral damage and managing Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The first phase of Operation Rah-e-Haq was started in November 2007 with the collaboration of local police in order to clear Swat Valley, but the militants were gradually infested into key cities. . The operation continued for almost half a year and Pakistan Army partially managed to take the control of Swat back.

The second phase of operation began in July 2008 and continued throughout the year. The military operation was carried out in the Swat valley at the request of the provincial government, resulted in the death of 36 security personals, nine civilians and 615 activists. In order to fulfil promises made during the 2008 elections, the newly formed government of ANP in KPK, brokered a peace deal with TNSM by announcing the enforcement of Nizam-e-Adal Regulation and release of all prisoners. The matter of fact is that these Terrorist were not honest about Nizam-e-Adl regulation but were using it as garb for own interests to be secured. (Commission, 2009)

A 15 points resolution calling for eviction of Terrorists from the valley, agreed in All Political Parties Conference and passed by the Parliament, was aimed at developing national reconciliation in war against terrorism. National consensus against Terrorists was developed through media campaigns by exposing the true intentions of Taliban after they refused to abide by peace terms and enforcement of Shariah. Massive media campaign was launched to rally support for military operation and for projection of Army's image.

Consequently, the army launched third phase of operation Raah-e-Haqin 2009 because the incendiary grudges of militants were unbridled and this time severe curfew was imposed where the militant would have fired on the first sight. TNSM forces retaliated by educational institutions destruction and assaulted security forces in order to dismantle the morale of military. The fighting ended in February as a result of an agreement between the government and the TNSM, popularly known as the Malakand Accord. There are myriad of militants groups who are lords of their respective areas as Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (Taliban Movement of Pakistan, TTP), established in December 2007 by senior leaders of myriad of militants groups round about forty in number and all of them have unanimity. Led by South Waziristan based main commander Baitullah Mehsud, who got his fatal end in one of drone strike on 5 August 2009 and now by

one of his aide Hakimullah Mehsud, the TTP is firmly connected to jihadi groups from Punjab including the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba and the Jaish-e-Mohammed.

A peace deal was made by ANP and TNSM in Swat which was signed on 16th February, 2009. The same fate was faced by it like the previous agreements and more or less the reason for its failure is attributed to the government's inability to learn from experience that the Taliban know nothing of tribal traditions and ethos, where once entered in pact, a person will strictly abide by it. These militants were still with same propensities of rampage and were away from rationality. Moreover, Sufi Muhammad a hardliner was mediating between TTP leader Fazlullah and N.W.F.P government. (The Nation, March 2009)

In spite of peace agreements and imposition of Nizam e Adl regulation the brutal activities of Fazlullah and Baitullah Mehsud were not halted. By late April 2009, however, the militants had occupied shops and government buildings in Mingora, the capital city of Swat, and started moving forward into the neighboring districts of Shangla and Buner. They had assaulted police stations and unending attacks were instigated on NGOs, frontier constabulary personnel and built their check posts along roads.

The US was pressing Pakistan to launch military operation and at last resort Pakistan military launched Rah-e-Rast (the virtuous path) operation on 26th April, 2009 against TTP of Swat and other associates of them. (The Nation, August 2009) Army campaign was launched with 20,000 troops, air power by Army Aviation attack aircraft. The Army Chief General Kayani stated that this operation was launched with basic motive of reforming the misguided.

The Swat operation was successful and stretched to the Lower Dir, Malakand, Buner to eradicate the militant's safe havens. For Army there were challenges, as they have to restore government's writ, to carry out rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and to enlist former soldiers in the police and have 25,000 police in the area. (BBC News, 2009)

b.Bajaur agency: Bajaur is Northernmost Agency lying close to Afghanistan's Kunar province. This agency was hub of foreign militants with round about 2,000 militants including local as well. In Bajaur Harkat-ul-Jehadi Islami (Movement of Islamic Jihad) led by Qari Saifullah Akhtar, Islamic Jihad Union, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Jaish-e-Islami led by Waliur Rehman, Karwan-e-Naimatullah (Caravan of Naimatullah now defunct) led by Haji Naimatullah, Qari Zia group. These militants had caused rampage to this agency and terrorized people there. There occurred many ambushes on convoy of military and intelligence agencies. Consequently, on September 9, 2008 Operation 'Sher Dil' (Lion Heart) was launched. Main aims of this operation were, to eradicate militants from Bajaur, to clear and hold Bajaur population and to secure Lines of Communication (LOC). Faqir Muhaamad was main militant leader. This Operation was grandiose with airpower, bulldozers and tanks. In Loe Sam, nearly all tunnels consisting houses were blazed by the security forces. By December 1000 militants and 63 Security personnel were killed. (Fair, p. 88) Pakistani Forces come to notice of underground tunnel complex, which have been used for weapons storage, bomb making, ammunition and training to militants. (Lloyd, 2008) During this operation exodus of millions of people from this agency occurred. After conquest military contracted peace deal with militants in 2009, which soon shattered and come to end by militants, gave rise to discord among tribal lashkar, military and militants and violence erupted in that part of Pakistan. (The News, October 2009)

Besides the Tehrik Taliban Pakistan, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hizb-e-Islami, who is behind both the Taliban of Afghanistan and international terrorism caused networks as al-Qaeda, have safe haven in Bajaur, with covert assistance from Pakistan military. (Washington Post, 2008) Recently curfew in Bajaur agency lifted away after four years of imposition. This agency was stroked by drone which killed 69 people, while the building being attacked has been considered as militants training camp. (Hussain, 2012)

In operation Sher dil Pakistan Security personnel have cleared Loe Sam from militants. It was ample manifestation of cooperation not only of the Army and the Frontier Corps but also of the US and Pakistan as well. Due to successful operation 28 points agreement was signed, according to which the militants would surrender, to lay down weapons and to stop training camps in Bajaur. (Ilahi, p. 126) After Sher dil operation the military, the Frontier Corps moved to Mohmand agency in order to tackle and curb militants there.

c.Mohmand agency: In Mohmand agency main militant groups are Ahle Hadith (now defunct) led by Shah Khalid, Muqami Taliban (Local Taliban) led by Omar Khalid. Operation Brekhna (Thundar) has been continued in the Mohmand agency since April 6, 2011. Violence had escalated in Mohmand agency followed by the militant takeover of a mosque in Lakaro in July 2007, (Mohmand, 2007) leading to a series of peace deals which have taken place between tribal chiefs and military, in which the tribes vowed to break strangles of militants, including foreign fighters safe haven in the agency. These agreements came in

vain within a year as miscreants escaped from the 2008 and 2009 military operations in Bajaur and were given safe haven in Mohmand agency, resulted in restoring of military action. (Khan, Dawn, 2009) Local leader of TTP Omar Khalid's network conspired with that of Afghan Taliban leader of TTP in launching assault on military. (Opel and Shah, 2009)

Despite the apparent triumph of military there is continued skirmishes and the stubborn militants are putting the locale under various ban. Resultantly the children are crippling due to no access of polio vaccination. The clerics in Mohmand agency have termed it un-Islamic to facilitate the children with vaccination. In spite of killing of many militants there is still violence and security of the area is trembled.

d.Orakzai agency: Orakzai agency is of paramount value for militants because from here they launch assaults on military in Waziristan and Afghanistan. Here, minority of Shia is residing due to which perpetual rift existed between Shia and Sunni. Moreover, an ongoing tussle exists as SSP and LeT are in confrontation with TTP and Lashkar-e-Islam. There occurred several incidents which led to enhanced sectarianism as in October 2006, skirmishes happened between the two sects after Sunni hardliners tried to prevent Shias from visiting a centuries-old shrine, which is sacred for both communities. Sunni leaders through a summon abstained Shia from usage of roads in Shia dominated areas as well as from construction of new roads in the agency, essentially splitting the agency into Sunni/Shia groups. To cap it all Militants have attacked Jirga convened to resolve sectarian conflict. (Paracha, 2008) Orakzai-based miscreants were master mind for the 9 June 2009 bombardment of the Pearl Continental hotel in Peshawar which caused great terror. The Pakistani military has to control miscreants by aerial strikes in Orakzai Agency in 2009. Orakzai agency is overwhelmed by miscreants and security personnel are engaged since long there to succumb incendiary propensities. Resultantly, military has vanquished militants to greater extent by dismantling their safe havens. (Daily Times, 2012)

e.Khyber agency: In Khyber agency militant groups comprised Ansar-ul-Islam (Brother of Islam) led by Pir Saif-ur-Rehman, Tanzeem Ansar-ul-Islam-Qari Mehboob-ul-Haq, Amr Bil Maruf Wanahi Anil Munkir led by Haji Namdar, Lashkar-e-Islami (Army of Islam) led by Mangal Bagh. This militancy began in 2003 when a Taliban-style organization Amr Bil Maruf Wa Nahianilmunkir (promotion of virtue and prevention of vice) was set up by Amir Haji Namdar Khan, (killed in 2008 by missile) who ordered an austere living style and punishment for breach of any provision of his settled code(included head covering for women and beards for men). This was aghast for local people, who were spending lives according to relaxed religious provisions. He used Tirah valley as a spot from where to assault into Afghanistan on coalition forces. At the end a targeted operation was launched in Malikdinkhel area Bara tehsil in Khyber agency of FATA on October 20, 2011 to curb insurgency.

The Khyber agency which is surrounded by orakzai, Mohmand agencies is hub of militancy. There are three main militant groups operating in Khyber Agency, Lashkar-i-Islam (LI) led by Mangal Bagh, who has been disconnected ideologically from Afghan Taliban and is operating independently, Ansar Islam (AI) led by Maulana Ghazi Mehboob ul- haq has its own trial and court set up. (Crisis Group Report, 2009) and TTP which is headed by Tariq Afridi. There has been contesting ground among these three groups. For curbing militancy Special forces (SFs) have launched four operations. Pakistan military launched operations in this agency which afterwards succeeded in reconciling two militants groups by contracting agreement with them on July, 2008 but it had lasted only for one year due to adamant stance of militants. (The news, July 2009) There was unbridled rampage from militants, for which in 2008 Sirat Mustaqeem (Righteous Path) operation was launched in Bara Tehsil due to mass killing of minorities by LI militants. This operation was followed by Darghlam (Here I came again) on September 1, 2009. The most recent operation Khwakh Ba Di Shum (I will teach you a lesson) was launched on November 24, 2009. Nonetheless, numerous operations have been conducted but in Khyber agency the militancy is in upward spiral. Albeit militants were vanquished and ousted from this territory but they were reinvigorated with receding military operations.

f.Kurram agency: Kurram Agency is spot of sectarian violence, where Shia Turi is fighting the Sunni Banghash tribe. Punjabi Taliban are troubling Shia communities by hindering their access to essential goods. This confrontation was escalated since April 2007 with an assault on Shia procession which have taken lives of fifty people and caused standstill in this Agency. Approximately eighty percent of Local population is Shia, who are affiliated with TTP Punjab based Deobandi groups backed by Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) and Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP). Stern sectarian labeled TTP leader Hakimullah Mehsud and the "scourge of the Shia in Kurram", (Daily Times, August 2009) is dynamic figure in Kurram. The Lashkar-e-Islami has also been stretched to Kurram agency.

Operation Koh-i-Sufaid (White mountain) was conducted in Kurram agency between May 2, 2011 and August 17, 2011. Countless people of both sects have been injured and lost their precious lives

g.North Waziristan: Graphically, the whole of Waziristan is a single unit. However for the administrative convenience it has been split into two agencies that are North and South Waziristan. Mir Ali Sub division lies in North Waziristan Agency. It is bounded by Kurram Agency and Khost District of Afghanistan in the North, Frontier Region Bannu in East, South Waziristan Agency in South, Miranshah in the West and Razmak in South West. The total area is 4707 square kilometers.

The historical analysis of law and order situation is necessary in order to fully understand the recent situation. British never wanted to enter into tribal areas initially because of its economic insignificance. Henceforth Russian movement in Central Asia, forced them to maintain control of the area initially British maintained only a skeleton administration. As both the Wazirs and Daurs used to be at logger heads amongst themselves, the Daurs felt it best options for their protection from Wazirs and to establish peace in the area through British intervention. Henceforth, the footsteps of British touched this soil in 1894 by making contract with tribes. The Britishers introduced a registration system of land record and revenue administration for the most fertile part of the Tochi valley. In 1910, North Waziristan was made a full fledged agency, with its Head Quarter at Miranshah.

In 1919 during Third Afghan War, when Wazirs rose in revolt, British decided to build up regular garrison in Waziristan so as to reduce the possibility of a similar debacle in future. The Jirgas in Waziristan decided in favour of joining Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam decided to withdraw army from tribal areas and left the defense of the area to local tribes. Wazirs and Mehsuds formed the bulk of Lashkar that moved to Kashmir in 1947 from NWFP. Afghanistan never enjoyed good relations with Pakistan mainly because of "Pakhtunistan" issue and had good relations with India. But Afghans never threatened our border during 1965 and 1971 wars due to presence of loyal tribes in FATA area. The area remained peaceful during Russian invasion of Afghanistan despite bomb blasts in various parts of Pakistan in 1980 with the involvement of Russian, Afghan and Indian Intelligence Agencies.

There was no worth mentioning incident in the area till 9/11. After start of "Operation Enduring Freedom", tribesmen from all tribal areas in general and Waziristan in particular went to Afghanistan to fight against Americans and Northern Alliance. Similarly after initial success of Americans in Operation Enduring Freedom, there was influx of foreigners in Waziristan. Till 2005, situation in Waziristan remained bridled, nonetheless, infiltration to Afghanistan for operation against Americans and NATO was impeded, hardly any action was taken against army by the locals. It was only after 2005 when military permanent stationed in North Waziristan Agency and South Waziristan Agency, the locals felt betrayed and started operation against Pakistan Army.

North Waziristan has been deemed safe haven of foreign militants as Uzbeks and Arabs linked to Al-Qaeda's by the US. Haqqani network is nightmarish for the US which has put the US on tenterhooks. Albeit Haqqani network founder Jalaluddin Haqqani and his son Sirajuddin Haqqani presence in Waziristan has been uncertain but the US is claiming so. The US has been in covert operations in the shape of drone strikes in Waziristan since 2004 which have caused death of civilians besides high profile militants. As regard the Taliban groups in North Waziristan, Pakistani Taliban groups led by Hafiz Gul Bahadur and Maulvi Nazir Ahmed are active members. Various peace agreements have been conducted with Bahadur, Nazir and other groups in the agency in 2006 and 2007. These agreements have remained unproductive and just provided space to the militants to operate against the coalition forces in Afghanistan. The Bahadur led group not only continuously launched attacks against NATO and ISAF in Afghanistan but have broken peace deal, in spite Pakistan military still abstained from launching operation against militants in North Waziristan while keeping some grounds in consideration. (The News, June 2009)

Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP) is engaged in frequent suicide blasts which have costs thousands of innocent lives. Their callous propensities have been manifested by attacking fourteen years girl Malala Yusafzai of Swat, on the ground that she advocated female education. Simultaneous to this tragic incident, Pakistan interior ministry was considering military operation in North Waziristan. (Dawn, October 2012)

As contemplate the Pakistan and the US interests in north waziristan then there is difference, as for Pakistan Hafiz Gul Bahadur group is not troubling because they have only tussles with them within North Waziristan's boundaries. They are enemies to the US because she deemed them supporting Al-Qaeda and assaulting coalition forces in Afghanistan. Due to this diverse interests both Pakistan and the US would always be at daggers drawn and with different strategies and policy options. The more the US wants include her demand for military operation North Waziristan, Pakistan is hitherto unwilling for this

operation while keeping resources and troops in consideration. Pakistan must concentrate on own nation security rather than to concede with others dictation. (Yusafzai, The News Report, 2013)

h.South Waziristan: South Waziristan is with major tribes the Mehsud and the Wazirs. Waziristan is a safe haven of religious militancy, as TTP leader Baitullah Mehsud's planned from this agency till his death in Drone strike. A Peace agreement was contracted between military of Pakistan and militants of South Waziristan by Maulana Fazlur Rehman's Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-F), the Mutahidda Majlis-e Amal (MMA), who lead NWFP government at that time as being main party in 2004. This agreement proved flourishing ground for Taliban as they had infested to far flung tribal areas and established their austere trial and tribunal system. The TTP, are closely allied to another terrorist group in Malakand district Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM). The Al-Qaeda aboded in Waziristan have given tough time to Pakistan's military by kept them engaged in Lal-Masjid in Islamabad, Swat, Bajaur in the north, and Tank and D.I.Khan in the south in order to escape from focus in Waziristan. (Aziz, 2010) Al-Qaeda has realized that it cannot launch a successful operation in West therefore it is now in perpetual flux in perpetrating terrorism inside Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is flourishing sanctuaries in Pakistan for assaulting coalition forces in Afghanistan and escalating extremism in Pakistan. All the AL-Qaeda, Afghan Taliban and their associated are creating vacuum for their Jihad based activities. (Ibid, p. 11) Taliban have strengthened their roots in Waziristan, where they have killed more than 270 influential of different areas besides policemen and soldiers. These heinous acts are anguish of frustrated people at ruling class and state. Government writ has been vanished in those areas under stronghold of Talibans. (Ibid, p. 22)

Pakistan military has launched Tri-star one and two operation in South Waziristan to eradicate the menace of terrorism from this agency most probably on the U.S. pressure. (Iqbal, 2009) Militants have been succumbed to the greater extent and developmental work by civil administration has been also in process. (MacDonald, 2009) At last resort due to myriad terrorist assaults everywhere in country and major militant attack on military Head Quarter in Rawalpindi compelled military to launch major ground operation there. (The Dawn, October 2009) People of South Waziristan suffered a lot due to exodus and now after completion of one year these people yearn to return but are scared of militants there. (Los Angeles, 2010) Pakistan in order to curb Hakimullah Mehsud, strived to take Pakistani Taliban Gul Bahadar and Maulvi Nazir in confidence and to secure their support. But this arrangement was suspected by civil society for unreliable nature of Taliban, for being their engagements with Al-Qaeda in inflicting atrocities in tribal areas. Operation Raah-e-Nijaat was launched and its three years after Sarogha had been cleared. How internally displaced people are allowed to come back to their homes. Main strategies used by militants are hit and run and to assault on security personnel's. (Dawn, August 2012) According to figures announced by FATA secretariat in July 2009, 550,000 people were displaced from Bajaur and Mohmand; 80,000 from Kurram; 50,000 from North Waziristan; and 250,000 from South Waziristan, almost majority is from this agency and this figure is escalating with passage of time due to military operation. (Dawn, October 2009)

Recent military and paramilitary operations in Khyber agency in September 2009 have troubled and led to an estimated 56,000 to 100,000 IDPs. (IRIN, 2009) As during the military operations in Malakand in the spring of 2009, FATA residents are barely given notice of imminent airstrikes or sufficient time to leave before the imposition of curfew, resulting in high civilian casualties. Exact figures are impossible to calculate because the military denies access to local and international humanitarian agencies, or the media, to the conflict zones. "The curfews in FATA are different from curfews in normal cities", said Mukhtar Bacha, a founder and steering committee member of the Aman Tehreek (Peace Movement), a secular NWFP-based grassroots coalition that includes labor unions, political parties, professionals and other civil society groups. "There are barriers preventing access to entire areas. The militants can cross them but it affect everyone else". (Crisis Group Interview, 2009)

Baitullah Mehsud has escalated violent activities in Pakistan in 2008-09 after the failure of Operation Zalzal (operation Earthquake). (Fair Interview, 2009) There were 2,148 insurgent assault and enhanced suicide blasts in 2008 as there were 746 percent increase from 2005. (Peace Studies Institute, 2009) Chief of Army Staff Ashfaq Kayani made it clear that operation has been launched against foreign forces fighting there, who are callous militants and not against Mehsud tribe. (Kayani Letter, 2009) On August 5, Baitullah was killed in drone strike. (Fair, p. 95)

Pakistan was successful in disrupting TTP command, control in Mehsud areas of South Waziristan. Pakistan Forces transiently secured important Line Of Communications (LOCs) in South Waziristan, Sarogha, Makin and Ladda. There were involvement of 15 Brigades in Raah-e Nijat operation because it was strategically pivotal to Pakistan therefore Pakistan shifted Brigades from Eastern border to the South Waziristan. Pakistan army objectives in Raah-e-Nijat (way of salvati on) operation were to secure line of

Communication (LOC), to overcome the menace of militancy by destroying their strongholds in South Waziristan. (Fair, p. 94)

In Waziristan operation, air power was used to vanish the abode and sanctuaries of TTP in Waziristan's mountains. (The Nation, July, 2009) According to analyst it was not appropriate approach for such tough militants who were veteran guerilla fighters. (Ibid) Pakistan government has contracted four peace agreements, three in South Waziristan (2004 and 2005) and one in North Waziristan (2006) but all were subsided by militants on one or other ground. (Monitor, 2006). Pakistan military has vanquished militants and restored the state's writ to greater extent. These operations have enabled tribesmen to come out of oblivion and worked for socio-economic provisions.

But Pakistan internal security is at dismay and militancy and extremism are giving a very tough time to the civil government. Due to war on terror Pakistan's economy is in downward spiral as domestic and foreign industries are not investing here and it led to capital flee. Tourism has been stopped due to insecure and frighten situation in Swat, which has caused social and economic standstill. (Ilahi, p. 167) Former foreign minister Shah Mehmud Qureshi stated that Pakistan has faced financial brunt of US \$34.5 billion since 9/11 there is \$5 billion loss in foreign direct investment, export has been dwindled with loss of \$5 billion and \$5.5 billion is in privatization, there is no basic provision for jobs, IDPs rehabilitation have been strained Pakistan's economy. (Ibid, p. 165) There are direct losses due to war on terror in the shape of loss of human lives and injuries, destruction of infrastructure, huge expenses on security maintenance. Indirect losses are in the shape of loss of employment due to dislocation, capital flee, tourism has been halted, there are mega assaults as in suicide blasts the assassination of Benazir Bhutto and Merriot hotel blast. (Ilahi, Aziz, p. 97) Total terrorism costs in Pakistan assessed is Rs. 430 billion at 2007-08. Pakistan minister of state and economic affairs Hina Rabbani Khar stated that Pakistan has lost \$ 35 billion in war on terror since 2007. (Khar, 2010) In 2007-08 US inflow of economic assistance was \$1.9 billion while the loss was \$ 6 billion. (Ibid, p. 105)

The theory of national interests is of prime significance in aspect of foreign policy. "National interests is a concept which could be used to describe, explain and assess the foreign policies of nations." (Rosenaus, 1964, p. 35) National interest is a basis for evaluating the appropriateness of foreign policy. "Each state plots the course it thinks will best serve its interests." (Waltz, 1979, p. 113) There are two types of national interests, objective national interests are permanent and embodied factors as geography, ethnicity, history, neighbours, population size and resources. Subjective national interests are transient dealt with preferences of government and policy elites, comprised ideology, religion and class identity and get transform with change of government. (Frankel, 1970) Realists have attributed to the domain of national interests. For Morgenthau, national interests are legitimization of foreign policy while for Kenneth Waltz national interests are survival of state in anarchical world. Anarchy determined the national interests, if not power based but at least to serve material ends. The states internal preferences run up against challenges of anarchy, which reshaped national interests. (Donnelly, 2000, p.153) Under anarchy, the primary national interest is security, to defend territorial integrity, protect citizen militarily, either by having adequate means to launch war or by cooperative defense and security arrangements.

Pakistan's foreign policy stands for cordial relations with immediate neighbours, especially Afghanistan on western border, a country religiously, cultural and strategically connected to Pakistan. Pakistan's interests in Afghanistan have been stretched to political interests, where Pakistan not only to have favorable Afghan government but to have peaceful western border, to counter Indian enhanced influence, to relegate Pashtunistan issue to the background. Economically, Pakistan wants to have trade and commercial agreements with Afghanistan, where Afghanistan is also dependent on Pakistan for transit route to the outside world. Through Afghanistan as channel Pakistan's can access the Central Asian Republics, which are rich in oil and gas. Afghanistan has strategic significance for Pakistan by providing defense industries and military training.

When Pakistan and Afghanistan relations are contemplated then both countries national interests are inter-connected because stability of one is leading to stability of other. Both are minor states, where their main national interests are security, survival and to defend territorial integrity. Their foreign policies are to serve the same ideology, religion and culture and to strive against foreign threat to their states. As the national interest theorized by neo-realist conceded that international order is anarchical and national interests should serve material ends. Considering Pakistan-Afghanistan terms then its apparent that despite the host of opportunities, these bilateral relations are acrimonious. The US engagement in Afghanistan has instigated a series of mistrust and accusations by both the states for the sake of national interests. In this background across the border infiltration has muddled security in Pakistan tribal areas and her interests

have been transformed into strategic challenges. National interest demand that for defense of territory and population a state has to wage war in case of having adequate means, Pakistan was with no other option than to launch military operation in FATA as these were militants hubs and imminent threat to the state. The use of military force is still continued with ongoing suicide blasts and extremism. Moreover, the turmoil in Afghanistan has led to the radicalization of Baluchistan, where segregation ideology is flourishing with regional and international conspiracy.

Pakistan's new government led by Nawaz Sharif has taken decisions in consensus during the recently held All Parties Conference (APC), due to which nowadays there is consideration on peace talks with Pakistani Taliban. Since last decade the Taliban have challenged the state writ. Be it Taliban, be it a state, be it Uzbek, be it a group of Turks, be it group of Taliban, none to be allowed for challenging the writ of state. For the very purpose the APC is stepping stone to held peace talks with Taliban. But the unresponsiveness of other side is dismay because Taliban leaders are continuously perpetrating against the state. (Khar, 2013) To my mind the biggest folly, the biggest challenge for the state is to allow non-state actors entry and their survival within the state. This has raised countless questions from our immediate neighbours, extended neighbors and from all over the world, besides it has deteriorated internal security, peace, law and order situation and above all Pakistan equanimity has been destroyed. Pakistan can no longer afford such horrendous challenge to persist any more so peace talks is the only viable policy option in this regard. It is a very good sign that all the political leadership has finally reached a consensus on initiating a dialogue with the Taliban. It has further been strengthened with the support assured by the Army which is extremely important and vital in this whole process. It will now depend on the positions both sides adopt for commencing dialogue. Issues decided by APC dialogues should be undertaken within specified timeframe, then future strategy should be based on its outcome. (Noorani, 2013) A lot of patience, maturity and sincerity will be required on both sides. If hard positions are adopted on both sides then will be no chance of negotiations e.g., if TTP insists that they don't recognize the Pakistani constitution or its laws, where do we go from there? As the TTP put forward its preconditions for talks in December 2012 which are as follows;

“end of Islamabad's alliance with Washington, the cessation of Pakistan's participation in the war in Afghanistan, the rewriting of Pakistan's constitution in accordance with Islamic law, and the refocusing of the country's military efforts on India”. After couple of days Hakeemullah Mehsud stated that without disarming he is ready to talk and negotiated with government. By considering these conditions there hardly seems any long lasting peace deal with Taliban. The only way can be when they come to the table, offer politically administered Maliks to be strengthened then the situation can be addressed. (Sherpao, 2013)

Unfortunately, simultaneous to these positive omen in the shape of all parties conference, there occurred some critical incidents which can be detrimental to peace process. The Dir incident was very provocative and dangerous. It understandably angered the Army. There could have been serious retaliation by the Army. However, its leadership showed great maturity and patience. Following this there have been terrorist attacks like the bombing of a Church in Peshawar killing 84 persons and injuring a large number. If such activities continue, it could derail the whole peace effort currently underway. (Khan, 2013) Negotiation can be operated if there exist some pressure on non-state actors. Recent proposals in this regard seems just a damp squib. (Pervez, 2013) There seems muddled scenario for APC because the ongoing is basically religious war between the salafist and others. (Aziz, 2013) Furthermore, Dir incident with General Naizi may adversely affect the ongoing peace talks. However, in every case Pakistan should keep both options open for dialogue as well as military operations. Pakistan peace process will be limited to local Taliban and none to Al-Qaeda, Haqqani Network, Central Asian non-state actors. Moreover, in case of peace agreements there will be guarantee on behalf of local Taliban either to oust these foreign militants from Pakistan territory, or to abide them by law because onwards there can be no illegal residence of non-state actors. (Yusafzai, 2013) But it is a wild goose chase.

3. Recommendations: In context of Pak-Afghan; a peaceful and stable Afghanistan is the only interest of Pakistan. More than a Decade US occupation has troubled not only Afghanistan but Pakistan is also the ultimate victim of Afghan fall out. There is escalating militancy in Pakistan due to non-state actors in the shape of Al-Qaeda and Taliban myriad groups.

Pakistan should firstly undermine militancy and insurgency, through reconciliation process. On Afghan side Pakistan can use her leverage by bringing Taliban, Hekmatyar group to the negotiation table with Afghan government and the US. On Pakistan side, according to time, situation the dialogues should be carried out with all militants who are willing for talks. Albeit the interests of the three countries are not aligned but the best possible compromise can bring peace and harmony in the region.

Secondly, good governance and the writ of state is indispensable for settlement of militancy in FATA. Like the British model the writ of state should be strengthened despite the ongoing insurgencies because it is the best way possible to counter terrorism.

Thirdly, to evolve structure according to local people value system, because abrupt turn of situation cannot end in positive goals.

4. Conclusion: Pakistan being the immediate bordering country and its KPK Province and Tribal Areas get immediate fall out of any turmoil within Afghanistan. The three decades long war in Afghanistan have changed entirely the internal and external security parameters and paradigm in Pakistan. Since 9/11 Pakistan has been experiencing acrimonious situation while her role in the war on terror has been unflinching, nonetheless, the losses in terms of human lives and material suffered by her during this long period have exceeded the gains. Pakistan has been caught in a state of quagmire. The survival and security of FATA is thus at exigency. There is an ongoing imbroglio in FATA where Pakistan armed forces are engaged in a head on operation to clamp down local Taliban and other non-state actors/insurgents. Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is on tenterhooks due to fall out from Afghanistan. The situation has been remained murky since one and half decade and still the peace seems far away. The recent government of Pakistan is head on to give peace a chance by making arrangements for peace talks with Taliban but day to day happening are manifestations of Taliban unwillingness for the same very purpose. On Afghanistan side new political dispensation is going to be emerged and Pakistan policy making bodies have no other option than to wholeheartedly support that new set up and successfully cope with regional dynamics. Pakistan can restore stability by ensuring to keep its own home in order and it is only possible through strong strategies for curbing non-state actors.

REFERENCES

1. Abbas, H., 2007. *Transforming Pakistan's Frontier Corps, Terrorism Monitor*, Vol 5, no. 6.
2. Aziz, K. 2010. *Genesis of Insurgency in FATA And Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*. RIPORE. P. 8.
3. Abbottabad Commission Report., 2013. p. 325.
4. Aziz, S., 2010. *Pakistan Quagmire, Security, Strategy and the Future of Islamic Nuclear Nation: "The Economic Costs of Extremism"*. Continuum International Publishing. p. 97.
5. CENTCOM., 2002. <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/pakistan-unscentcom.htm> .
6. Crisis Group Report, 2009. *The Militants Jihad Challenge*.
7. Crisis Group Interview, Peshawar, 23 July, 2009.
8. Daily Times, 2012. *Terrorists Killed in Orakzai Operation*.
9. Daily Times, 2009. *Hakimullah as Taliban Leader*.
10. Dawn.com 2012. South Waziristan Operation: Only Sararogha Declared Cleared.
11. Dawn, 2009. *4 Soldiers Killed, 12 Injured in South Waziristan Operation*.
12. Dawn.com. 2012. *North Waziristan Operation Under Consideration*
13. Donnelly, J., 2000. *Realism and International Relations*. Cambridge. p. 153.
14. Fair, C. and Jones, G. S., 2010. *Pakistan's War Within*, Survival Vol. 51, No. 6. pp. 161-188.
15. Fair, C. 2009. Interview with Pakistani and British Government Officials, Pakistan.
16. Frankel, J., 1970. *National Interests*, London.
17. Hussain, K., 2012. *End of The Curfew in Bajaur*, Dawn.
18. Ilahi, N. and Butt, O., 2010. *Pakistan's Quagmire: Security, Strategy and the Future of the Islamic Nuclear Nation*, Bloomsbury Publishing. p.140.
19. Iqbal, A. 2009. *Pakistan Launches Soften-Up Strikes in Waziristan*, Dawn.
20. Iqbal, K., 2010. Haqqani, Al-Qaeda and the Taliban Share Links, Central Asia Online.com.
21. IRIN, 2009. Pakistan Tens of Thousands Displaced from Khyber Agency Official.
22. Jinnah Institute, Annual Report 2010-11. Islamabad. p. 24.
23. Kerry. 2005. *Tora Bora Revisited*. pp.2-3. Michael Hirsh, Exclusive: CIA Commander: US Let Bin Laden Slip Away; MSNBC Newsweek.
24. Khan, A., 2013. Former Chief Secretary of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Interview with Author, Peshawar.
25. Khan, F. 2009. *Mohmand Bajaur Offensive in Mohmand over 40 Killed*. Dawn.
26. Khar, H. 2010. Pakistan Lost \$ 35 Billion in 3 Years in War on Terror, Daily Times.
27. Kayani, P., 2009. *Chief of the Army Staff, Letter to Mehsud*.

28. Khan, S., 2010. “*The End Game in Afghanistan: The McCrystal Plan and Its Impact on Pakistan Security*”. ISSI, Reflection. No. 2.
29. Lioyd, A., 2008. Captured Battle Plan Shows Strength and Training of Taliban Forces, Times.
30. Los Angeles Times, November 28, 2010.
31. MacDonald, M. 2009. *Pakistan South Waziristan Operation: Defeat or Dispersal?*
32. Mir, N., 2013. A Defence Analyst. Interview with Author. Lahore.
33. Mohmand, M., 2007. *Lal Masjid in Mohmand Agency*.
34. Mujahid, Y. and Shehzad, S. S., 2010. Discussion with Ayesha Siddiqa, Islamabad.
35. Muhammad Amir Rana. Discussion with Ayesha Siddiqa, Islamabad, July 30, 2010.
36. Oppel, R. Jr and Shah, P., 2009. *Clashes as Afghanistan militants enter Pakistan*, The New York Times.
37. Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies., 2009. *Pakistan Security Report* Islamabad. p. 3.
38. Paracha, S., 2008. *Suicide Blast in North West Pakistan Kill 6*. Rueters.
39. Rashid, A.,N.D. Interview by Farah Zia and Ather Naqvi, “We Have Not Taken North Waziristan Seriously”, Special Report The News (TNS).
40. Rizvi, A., 2013. Political Scientist and a Defence Analyst of Pakistan, Interview with Author. Lahore.
41. Rizvi, A., 2010. “New Dimensions of Counter Terrorism”, Daily Times (Lahore).
42. Rondeaux, C. and Vicse, D. Daniel., 2008. Aid Worker With Md. Firm Killed in Pakistan. Washington Post.
43. Rosenau, J. 1964. National Interests in Sells, D.L. (ed) *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. II, New York. p. 35.
44. Safiya Aftab. Poverty and Underdevelopment, The Friday Times, April 9, 2010.
45. Samaa TV., 2009. Rah-e-Raast Operation by Armed Forces, *Human Rights Commission of Pakistan*.
46. Samad, Y., 2011. *The Pakistan-US Conundrum, Jihadists, the Military and The People: the Struggle for Control*. : London: Hurst and Company. p. 37.
47. Sheikh, A., 2012. “*What Pakistan Want?*”, The Express Tribune.
48. Siddiqa, A., 2010. *Pakistan Counterinsurgency. The Washington Quarterly*, Routledge. p. 153.
49. Sultan-I-Rome., 2006. *Administrative System of the Princely State of Swat*.*Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, Lahore Vol. XXXXIII.
50. Terrorism Monitor, October 5, 2006.
51. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973. Chapter 2, Paragraph 245 (1).
52. The Dawn, 17 October, 2009.
53. The Nation, March 26, 2009.
54. The Nation, August 15, 2009.
55. The Nation, July 10, 2009.
56. The Nation, July 2009.
57. The News, 2009a. *Banned Outfits Claim Gains Against Each Other In Tirah*.
58. The News, 2009b. *Bajaur Militants Give 6 Days to Surrender*.
59. The News International. January 3, 2008.
60. The News International. February 7, 2009.
61. The News, March 22, 2009.
62. The News, March 22, 2009.
63. The News International, February 17, 2009.
64. The Pakistan Development Review (Winter 1996), p. 628.
65. Waltz, K., 1979. *Theory of International Politics*, New York: McGraw Hill Inc. p. 113.
66. Wiseman, P. and Sheikh, A., 2009. Pakistani Police Underfunded, Overwhelmed, USA Today. http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2009-05-05-pakistanops_N.htm.
67. Yusaf, M. Yusaf, H. and Zaidi, S., 2011. *Pakistan, the US and the End Game in Afghanistan: Perceptions of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy Elite*. Jinnah Institute Research Report.
68. Yusafzai, M. and Khan, M. 2009. *NWA Militants Scrap Peace Deal*, The News.
69. Yusafzai, R. 2013. “New Battlegrounds”, *The News Special Report*.
70. Yousaf, K., 2010. “Pakistan, US at Odds Over Definition, The Express Tribune, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/69816/pakistan-us-at-odds-over-definition/>.
71. Ziring, L., 1997. *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press. pp. 392-3.