CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Reason of Title Selection

"War on Terror" is an international military campaign initiated by U.S. Former President, George W. Bush, after the 9/11 attack on the WTC building in New York. The main objective of this campaign is to destroy all forms of terrorism worldwide. Drone is an aircraft either controlled by 'pilots' from the ground or increasingly, autonomously following a pre-programmed mission. The drones used by U.S. military are the ones that are equipped with missiles and bombs. U.S. claim that drones are effective and that the target would be direct leaving no civil victims. However, footage shows that there are civilians even women and children who are being part of the victim. This is quite interesting for the researcher as very little as far as the researcher acknowledged has brought this issue to the International eye.

B. Background of the Research

Following the terrorist attacks in 2001, on the U.S. territory, the U.S. and its allies launched a war on terror (WOT) in Afghanistan. Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan became a battleground of the WOT military campaign as it lies in the neighborhood of Afghanistan. These areas have been frequently attacked by unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), called Drones, by the NATO forces.[1] After the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda leaders fled to the federally administered tribal areas, where they were

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[1] D.A. Mahmood. (2015) *US DroneAttacks in Pakistan: An International Law Perspective*. International Journal of Business and Science. 2015. p. 1 – 12

given refuge by the local sympathizers. The militants regrouped and recuperated in FATA; and from the western border of Pakistan they initiated a guerrilla war against the governments, military and civilians of United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. In order to counter the militancy in the tribal areas of Pakistan, the U.S. government under the Bush administration initiated the campaign of target killing against the suspect members of Al-Qaeda, Taliban, and other militant groups. The U.S. carried out the first drone strike in June 2004; however, after this strike 53 more drone attacks were reported until January 2009 (under Bush administration). During the Obama administration, this program was further expanded and signature strikes were introduced based on pattern of life analysis. The number of drone strikes reported to increase to 292 from 23 January 2009 until September 2012 under the Obama administration.[2]

The vast majority of U.S. drone strikes in Pakistan have taken place in the North Waziristan tribal agency, which shares a porous and largely unregulated border with Afghanistan, a fact of geography that has had considerable impact on events in the area. Since late 2001, when thousands of Taliban and Al-Qaeda members fled to North Waziristan to escape U.S. military operations in Afghanistan. The area has become a refuge for militants as well as a training ground and base for attacks in Pakistan and Afghanistan.[3]

The first known drone strike in Pakistan occurred in November 2004. In an attack allegedly conducted at the behest of the Pakistani military, Taliban commander Nek Mohammad, three of his close associates, and two boys –

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[2] "Drone Strikes in FATA: Impact on Militancy, Social, Economic and Psychological Life" Retrieved on April 2, 2015 from, http://frc.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Research-Paper-52.pdf
[3] "US Drones Strikes in Pakistan" Retrieved on May 4, 2015 from, https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/.../asa330132013en.pdf

brothers Irfan Wazir and Zaman Wazir, 14 and 8 years old respectively were killed in the village of Dhok in South Waziristan. After taking office in January 2009, President Barack Obama markedly expanded the use of drone aircraft for killings. During the Bush administration, USA indicated that it generally targeted only specific known individuals on a "kill list". Under the Obama administration, there has been an increased use of "signature strikes" attacks in which the victim's identity is unknown but their behavior appears suspicious to U.S. security authorities undertaking surveillance of the Tribal Areas.[4]

Drones are man-less small airplanes which can spy with their cameras and infrared rays. It can carry missiles as well and this one is often called as a *predator drones* and can attack a target. The people working in USA in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) headquarters and other locations in the United States control drones.[5] There are many problems associated with drone attacks. The first one is that the United States is attacking a country that they are not actively engaged in a state of war with and it has also attacked on Pakistan's sovereignty. Secondly, it caused collateral damage on a larger scale. To kill one or two terrorists, the United States possibly kills ten or more civilians including children, women, and senior citizens, although this statement is still debateable on both sides, i.e. Pakistan and United States.[6]

The exact impacts from drone strikes are still debatable and least known. The purpose of drones strikes according to the initiator was to give a precise strike

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Medea Benjamin. (2013) *Drone warfare: killing by remote control*. New York: Verso Books. p.30

[6] Ahmed Rashid. (2012) *Pakistan on the brink: the future of America, Pakistan and Afghanistan*. London: Penguin. p. 24

on the targeted terrorist. While, this is not known for a fact, the work by Benjamin acknowledges that,

"the missile can instantly incinerate their victims or kill them with flying shrapnel or powerful blast waves capable of crushing internal organs. Survivors often suffer painful wounds and disfiguring burns, limb amputations, vision loss and hearing loss...survivors can face a lifetime of misery and pain".[7]

This explanation that is mentioned by Benjamin highlights how bad a drone strike can kill its target in an area where it is highly populated and how it is not always possible to target only terrorists. With this thought in mind, it is not surprising that Dennis Gram estimated only 1 in 49 individuals hit by drones and killed are terrorists, with the rest being Pakistani civilians.[8]

The CIA could only target individuals based on their 'pattern of life' or their suspicious daily behaviour. These 'signature strikes' use the same legal justification as the 'personality strikes' of the AUMF (Authorization of Use of Military Force) signed by Bush immediately after 9/11, and was then re-signed by Obama in 2009. Both represent the apex of modern biopower and surveillance, honed and developed over decades.[9] With these legal justification, CIA claims to have the authority to perform drone strikes in an area where they believe to be "suspicious".

The keypoint to be highlighted in this case would be the moral issue and there may also be some other impact that make the drones strikes in Pakistan be

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[7] Op. Cit.
[8] "Dennis Gram, Drone strikes in Pakistan kill on terrorists for every 50 deaths." , Retrieved on August 4, 2015 from, http://www.policymic.com/articles/15340/drone-strikes-in-pakistan-have-killedthousands-of-civilians
[9] Mark Mazzetti. (2013), The Way of the Knife: The CIA, a Secret Army, and a War at the Ends of the Earth.

taken into consideration when the cost outweighs the benefits with regard to the civilians of Pakistan.

The drones strikes program are justified by the U.S. government and in this case the CIA is the one that execute the program. The U.S. has carried out drones strikes overseas where they claim to be the hideout of many terrorist groups for the sake of U.S. citizens' safety.

In the Federally Administed Tribal Areas (FATA) region, there are many check points and the area is very securely guarded. This makes it quite impossible to go out of the region or vice versa. Before the FATA region was declared as a military operation region by the U.S., many Pakistani civilians have already lived in that area. Therefore, innocent people living in that area may be anytime at risk.

The choice of choosing drones strikes as a mean to eradicate terrrorism completely may not be the only choice. The United States have the choice of treating the terrorist attack as a crime against humanity and can call upon the coordination of police worldwide and bring them to justice. This is considered as a much better choice in the eyes of humanity. The strikes is still on going up to today and apart from the civilians killed there may be some other impact towards the people living in the FATA region and the Pakistani civilians as a whole.

In this researched paper, I use some particular terms, those are *Drones, Strikes, Civillian Casualties, Human Rights Violation and Displacement*. Unmanned Aerial vehicles (UAVS), also known as *drones,* are aircraft either controlled by 'pilots' from the ground or mostly and autonomously follows a pre-programmed mission. While there are dozens of different types of drones, they basically fall into two categories: those that are used for reconnaissance and

surveillance purposes and those that are armed with missiles and bombs.[10] In this case, it is the latter that is used. *Strike* is a sudden attack and is typically a military one.[11] In this case, it particularly means the sudden missile attack with drones by U.S. in the FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) region. *Civillian Casualty* is a military term describing civilians killed, injured, or imprisoned by military personnel or combatants. Civilian casualties can be associated with the outcome of any form of action regardless of whether civilians were targeted directly or not.[12] *Human Rights Violation* means that human rights for the Civilian Casualties are not uphold. The *displacement* of people refers to the forced movement of people from their locality or environment and occupational activities. It is a form of social change caused by a number of factors, the most common being armed conflict.[13]

C. **Purposes of Writing**

1. As a partial requirement for achieving the Bachelor of International Relations from University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

2. To explain the purpose of drones strikes in Pakistan as the means of 'War on Terror'.

3. To find the impacts of drones strikes on the Pakistani Civilians.

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[10] "What are Drones ?" Retrieved on May 3, 2015 from, http://dronewars.net/aboutdrone/
[11] "The Meaning of the word *Srikes"* Retrieved on May 5, 2015 from http://www.thefreedictionary.com/strike
[12] "What are Drones ?", loc. cit.
[13] "Displaced Person / Displacement" Retrieved on June 1, 2015 from, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/displaced-person-displacement/

4. To prove that there are civilians death, economical impacts, and also social impacts on the society.

D. Research Question

Based on the background and issues that have been previously discussed, the research question can be formulated as follows:

What are the impacts of the drone strikes towards the Pakistani Civilians?

E. Theoretical Framework

To assess and to implement a phenomenon that occurs in the social environment, we need a tool or important instrument to help analyze the problem. Therefore, the writer uses a concept and a theory as an important part needed to analyze or describe the issue in this research. There are many ways on how to analyze an international phenomenon. Therefore, a theoretical framework is needed in order to sort out the available data and facts to be categorized on which are significant. The theory and concept will assist this undergraduate thesis in analyzing the impact of drones strikes towards the Pakistani civilians critically and coherently.

1. Human Security Concept

The Commission of Human Security (CHS), in its final report Human Security Now, defines human security as:

"...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating

political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity."[14]

The Human Security concept emphasize on the people-centered aspect and hence justify that the "war on terror" does threaten human security aspect.[15]

a) Negative Human Security

Negative human security has the following implications:

1. the failure of incorporating human security concerns in policy making,

2. a policy which creates a condition of pervasive threats,

3. a policy impacts which lead to human insecurity or survival.

This negative human security includes military invasion, human rights violation, environmental degradation, state sponsored terrorism, state-drug mafia nexus, state funding for ethnic violence and military aid to developing countries. For example if military is engaged only in peace keeping and humanitarian intervention, we can call it positive security. At the same time when military supports arms race and conflict, it becomes negative security.[16]

It is quite apparent that the drones strikes in Pakistan does create arms race and conflict. International studies and evidence clearly shows that U.S. foreign policy in its spirit is not yet ready to imbibe human security centric governance at the international level. So, this U.S. International Campaign can not be taken as positive as it radiates negative signals to global peace keeping and disarmament efforts.

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[14] Human Security Unit of United Nations. "Human Security in Theory and Practice" Retrieved on November 24, 2015 from, http://www.undp.org/content/dam/turkey/docs/news-from-new-horizons/issue-41/UNDP-TR-HSHandbook_2009.pdf
[15] Ibid
[16] "Munich Personnel RePec Archive, Human Security : Concept and Practice" Retrieved on November 24, 2015 from, http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/2478/MPRA Paper No. 2478

According to the negative human security mentioned above, drones strikes in Pakistan that serve as the counter-terrorism of the U.S. government in realizing its international campaign on "War on Terror" can become a threat to the human security and may lead to negative human security. According to the concept of negative human security, "when military supports arms race and conflict, it becomes negative security".[17] Landing missiles on a region without the acknowledgement of the people living in that area can be considered as supporting arms race.

Other aspects of human security according to UNDP include,

1. Economic Security: the basic income of individual, either through gainful employment or from a social safety net.

2. Food security: individual has the right to access to food through their assets, employment, or income.

3. Health security: an individual's right to access health care and the freedom from diseases.

4. Environmental security: an individual's right to have habitation which is suitable for its living.

5. Personal security: an individual's freedom from crime and violence, especially women and children who are more vulnerable.

6. Community security: Cultural dignity and to inter-community peace within which an individual lives and grow

7. Political security: Protection against human rights violations [18]

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[17] Ibid
[18] "UNDP, Redefining Security." 1994, p.230 Retrieved on June 6, 2015 from, http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en/pdf/hdr_1994_ch2.pdf

All of the above human security may also be violated as FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) has been attacked by predator drones ever since the year 2004. Drones strikes according to human security is against it because it can result in violation of the innocent civilians and may also deprive them from all of the human security aspects. The region of FATA has been targeted as the base camp of militants groups and terrorist. However, it is also a region in which innocent civilians live.

2. Theory of Cognitive Dissonance

The theory of cognitive dissonance was introduced by Leon Festinger in the 1950s. It is adapted from social psychology and applied to the study of international relations. This theory says that when a deeply held belief is contradicted by a new message from the environment (a dissonant cognition) , the message (fact, cognition) will be rejected and the value or belief retained. This may not take the form of outright rejection of the discrepant message; rather it may take the alternative form of reinterpretation of the datum to make it consistent with existing belief.[19]

Walter S. Jones in his book titled *The Logic of International Relations* also mention that perception in international relations are divided into three components. The three components are values, beliefs and cognition. A value is a preference for one state of reality over another. Values do not specify what is but, rather, what ought to be. Values assign a relative worth to objects and conditions.[20]

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[19] Walter S. Jones (1988). *The logic of International Relations*. London : Scott, Foresman and Company. p. 237
[20] Ibid. p. 239

A belief as mention in the book is a conviction that a description of reality is true, proven, or known. Often it is based on prior reception of information from the environment. It is an analytical proposition that relates individual pieces of data into a "proven" pattern. A cognition is data or information received from the environment; for example, Russia is selling war planes to Syria. Cognitions are key elements in establishing perceptual systems and in changing those systems. The concept of changing national perceptions refer to introducing cognitions that will revise beliefs and values.[21]
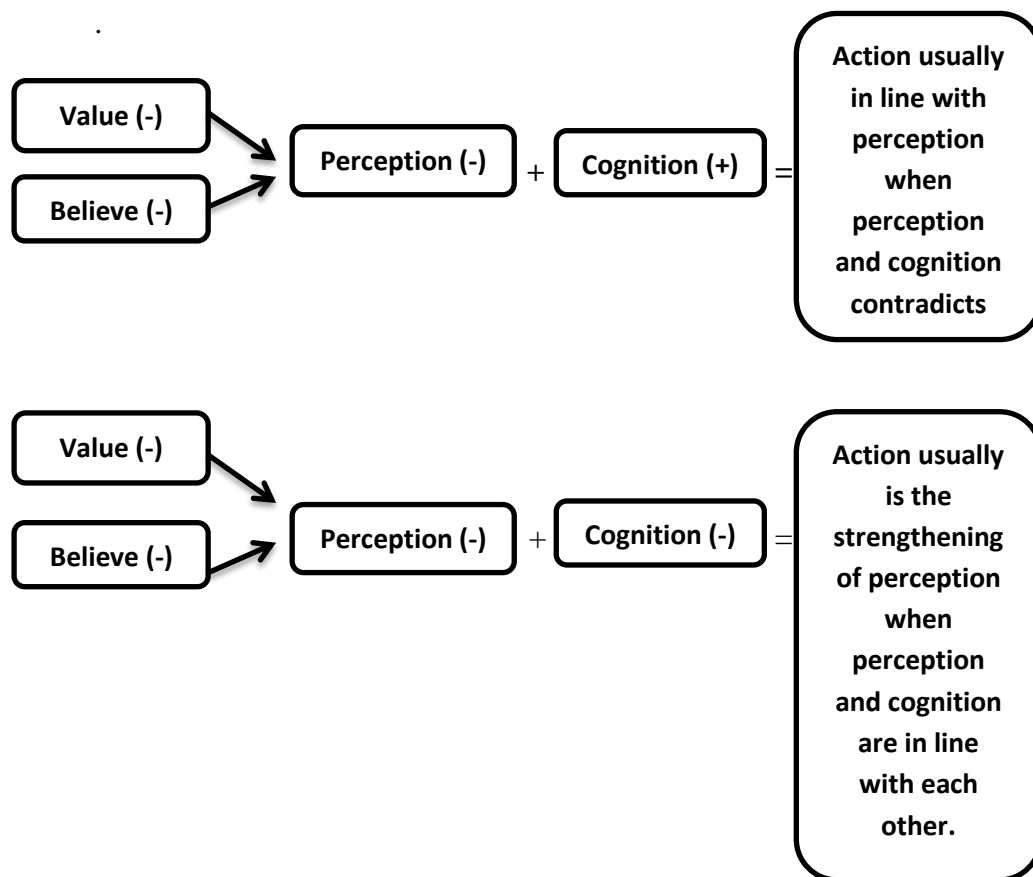

Figure 1.1 Brief explanation on theory of cognitive dissonance

As we know the U.S. is very liberal and totally different with Pakistan which is an Islamic state. Majority of the people living in Pakistan holds

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[21] Ibid.

perception in which the values and beliefs that the U.S. have are different with that of Pakistan. This perception has been in the people of Pakistan for years and even if the fact/cognition says the opposite, the action would still be the same as the perception if the perception and cognition contradicts each other. However, if the perception and cognition does not contradicts each other, then the action would be more than before or the same. Elimination or reduction of dissonance (difference between perception and cognition) is the key to this theory.

The perception that Pakistan has towards the U.S. before the drones strikes was negative. This negative perception has probably increased with the beginning of drones strikes especially in muslim country. Apart from this, the U.S. was considered as a non-Muslim state which is different from Pakistan. All of this has already built a negative perception towards the U.S. amongst the Pakistani civilians. According to the theory of cognitive dissonance, drones strikes may escalate anti-American sentiment even further as drones strikes are regarded as a negative act amongst the Pakistani civilians. The perception (anti-America because the U.S. are liberal, non-Muslim) and cognition (drones strikes) of the Pakistani civilians are both negative, therefore the actions (anti-American sentiment) are also negative or in this case, there is a possibility of getting worse. Getting worse means that anti-American sentiment that is already present may further increase.

F. Hypothesis

This undergraduate thesis draws two hypotheses in answering the research question mentioned prior. First, the impacts of U.S. drones strikes towards Pakistani civilian victims are the depletion of human security. Second is the

possibility of the escalation of anti-American sentiment amongst Pakistani civilians.

G. Scope of Research

The researcher's main scope of writing this paper is between the period of 2004 up to 2014. The main reason of choosing these periods is because the first known drones strikes that occur in Pakistan was started on 18 June 2004. This strike killed 5-8 people in Wana, South Waziristan.[22] The drones strikes in Pakistan is still on going up to today. However, to get a clear record and to set a limitation to the research, the researcher would only analyze the data until 2014.

H. Method of Research

The researcher uses qualitative method of research. This research is common in analysing issues in international relations. Therefore, taking into account this qualitative method, all of the material will be collected from secondary sources such as library research, internet media, couple of journals, books and newspapers.

I. System of Writing

System of writing is needed in scientific writing like this so that the framework of research in clear outline is formed. The following are the description of the outline:

Chapter I. This chapter contains the background, reason of title selection, purpose of writing, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, scope of research and method of research.

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[22] The Bureau of Investigative Journalism. "The Bush Years : Pakistan Strikes 2004 – 2009" Retrieved on July 7, 2015

Chapter II. This chapter gives an explanation and background on the drones strikes in Pakistan. A profile of the types of drones use for the attack, reports on the number of strikes from 2001 until 2014 along with the objectives of the drones strikes would also be highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter III. This chapter gives a view on the impacts of drone strikes towards the humanity of the civilians. Response of the international regime would also be mention in this chapter. With the view point of human security concept, the impact of the drones strikes on the Pakistani Civilians living in FATA region can be analytically assessed.

Chapter IV. This chapter will bring us towards another angle of looking at this issue. With the view point of Frustration – Aggression theory, the impact of the drones strikes towards the Pakistani Civilians can also be assessed

Chapter V. This chapter would put an end to this undergraduate thesis as the conclusion would be written in this chapter.