

## GC University Lahore



### US Drone Policy and Anti-American Sentiments in Pakistan (2001-2012)

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## DEDICATION

*We dedicate*

*This work to our beloved Parents for their love and persistent support  
throughout our careers.*

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*Waseem zeab khan and Jamshed-ur-Rehman*

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# Chapter: 1

## Introduction

After 9/11, it is observed that those anti-sentiments which were for India in Pakistan are replaced by the US nowadays. Although anti-American sentiments were there in Pakistan, but not that much severe as it increased after the US led war on terror. The US blamed al-Qaeda for the twin towers attack of 9/11. The US government demanded al-Qaeda members from Taliban government of Afghanistan. The Taliban government demanded proofs in case of al-Qaeda from the US government that to prove whether al-

Qaeda was involved in the 9/11 attacks or not. But the US refused this demand of Taliban government, and declared Taliban government, and al-Qaeda as terrorists. The US started war on terror to eliminate these elements. Pakistan, whose border is attached with Afghanistan, is affected very much from this war on terror. Pakistan had lost and is losing many of her civilian population in suicide attacks which is a reaction to the US involvement in Pakistani territories by launching drone attacks. In these covert drone strikes, many civilians are being killed which are not mentioned so much by the US government and CIA. Observing the history, the Pak-US relations never remained same as several times, Pakistan has been labeled by the US with the tag of 'friend and not friend'. It is also observed that the US interests which really matters to her, whenever changed, the attitudes of the US with other countries are also changed. The US had also adopted unilateral policies to achieve its interests and no doubt, Pakistan has also suffered by the US unilateral policies. This is true that, it was always need of the time when Pakistan cooperated with the US and became her ally, but it is also true that, questionnaire given to Pakistan by the US after 9/11 was not of multiple choices, but having only one choice that was, 'with us, or against us'. What else a hegemon in this unipolar world will do to achieve its interests instead of using unilateral policies to achieve its interests.

It is true that majority of population in Pakistan is religious minded which helped raise the anti-American sentiments in Pakistan, but it is also true that, to counter soviet union in Afghanistan, the US used this religious tool in her favour. Many Islamist jihadist militants were trained in camps, and were provided with aid of every type by the US government. The same product of the US interests, were declared terrorists by the US after 9/11. It shows that when the US interests changed, the friends Taliban of the US also changed, and were declared as terrorists.

The drone attacks started in Pakistan in 2004 under the Bush presidency, and are still operating, targeting the so-called 'High value' targets. But the high value targets are not achieved, but the local Taliban, and many civilians are being killed in these covert drone strikes. It is noteworthy that, Obama administration has increased these drone strikes in Pakistan as compared to that of Bush administration. President Obama has adopted the

policy of 'to kill and not to capture' to pursue the high value targets or al-Qaeda members which have taken asylum in some areas of Pakistan. But this policy had caused many civilian casualties, and also destroyed the Pakistan's sovereignty. The covert drone strikes in Pakistan are conducted by CIA which is not the part of the US army.

Many innocent civilians are being killed in these covert drone strikes. Besides loss of life, many people in the drone affected areas had lost their houses and shops in these covert drone strikes. It has been established by many independent research organizations that the covert drone operations cause the civilian casualties, but CIA and the US government has rejected this notion, and the US presidency has shrouded the CIA's covert drone operations, killing civilians, from congress and courts. The news agencies in the US are given orders, not to show the civilian casualties as it could cause hatred of American people against the US government. This is so because the US government does not want to lose support of its people.

In Pakistan, many political parties like PTI, JUI, and JI have opposed the drone strikes, which besides causing civilian casualties, and destroying the sovereignty of Pakistan, are further increasing tensions, and chaos in Pakistan. It increases the rate of suicide attacks, as a reaction to drone attacks. It is also a hurdle in the way of negotiation with Taliban because, whenever Pakistan's government had tried to negotiate with Taliban, the drone attacks had ruined the process of negotiation by targeting those elements to which, Pakistan government tried to negotiate. It also links Pakistan to the war on terror by the US. Imran khan, the PTI chairman has demanded identification of those who are being targeted in drone strikes, but the US government has not mentioned much of them, which shows that, drones are targeting unidentified individuals, which are identified by many independent research organizations as innocent civilians. This is because the drone technology has some flaws. This technology relies on the metallic chips which are provided by CIA to the local informers, who were not so trained, and reliable. The local informers, for the sake of money, do this job of throwing metallic chips, which is traced by drone operators through satellite, and launch a hellfire missile there. These drones rely on thermal cameras, which stops working in cloudy weather, and at night, but many



drones are noticed to be striking at night, God knows, what they target with the blurred thermal cameras.

Education also plays a role in identifying and analyzing things. As the people of Pakistan are getting more educated, they are becoming more aware of the dual face of the US. The educated elites and the religious elites are also some factors, which had helped in the rise of anti-Americanism in Pakistan. It is because majority of the people are religious minded, and many of educated elites of Pakistan belong to media, which is on fire against the US unilateral policies and injustices.

Creating fear in one's mind leaves no space for love and appreciation rather than, grievance and hatred. What would one expect from an underage child after losing his father, his sisters, and, his mother? Will he be a productive man of the society after losing all his relatives? And what should be expected from a person who loses his children and wife? The anti-American sentiments got raised in Pakistan after war on terror, and the start of covert drone operations, because many of the civilians got affected by the US unilateral policies, and many people have no good feelings for the US in Pakistan.

This research paper is followed with the theoretical framework after introduction which will highlight the variation in the definition of terrorism, will explain various types of anti-Americanism, and will discuss the drone technology. After giving a historical view of anti-Americanism in Pak-US relationships from 1954 to 2001, this research paper will analyze the drone attacks in Pakistan, and the civilian casualties due to it, and will also check the drone attacks under international law. This paper also tries to explore the consequences of drone attacks in Pakistan, and finally a sound conclusion is made.

### Objectives:

- To analyze the US drone policy towards Pakistan.
- To provide an account of civilian casualties due to drone attacks in Pakistan.
- To examine the covert drone attacks in Pakistan under International law.
- To analyze the rise of anti-Americanism in Pakistan due to drone attacks.
- To examine the consequences and impacts of drone attacks on Pakistan.

### Hypothesis:

US drone policy towards Pakistan has resulted in extrajudicial killing of many innocent civilians, and collateral damage, which is the cause of the rise of anti-American sentiments in Pakistan.

### Significance of the Research:

The phenomena of anti-Americanism has got importance after war on terror because it had affected many civilians lives due to which severe hatred had raised in the hearts of Pakistani people. Some people of Pakistan are in favour of the US drone policy towards Pakistan, thinking that, these drones are helpful in eliminating the terrorist elements, unaware of the fact that, these drones also cause collateral damage, and breaking the International law. This research provides a sound account of civilian casualties due to these drone attacks, and also examines these drone operations under the International law. Many people in Pakistan are unaware of the fact that, drone attacks in Pakistan are conducted under which authority. This research enables a reader to find answer of the question of legality of drone attacks in Pakistan. This research provides a sound record of civilian casualties occurred by these covert drone strikes in Pakistan, creating hatred in the heart and minds of people of the drone affected areas of Pakistan.

### Chapterization:

Apart from introductory chapter, there are four other chapters.

- Theoretical framework.
- Historical Background.
- Drone attacks in Pakistan and the extra judicial civilian killings.
- Drone attacks and its consequences and impacts on Pakistan.

### (ii) Theoretical Framework:

The term 'Terrorism' is not having a standard and universally accepted definition. The definitions are being changed from time to time, which shows the US influence on UN, which is not offering a standard definition of terrorism. The anti-Americanism is also a vague term, and is defined by many scholars. The anti-Americanism had risen in Pakistan

due to the covert drone strikes causing many extrajudicial killings of innocent civilians while hunting the high value targets in Pakistan. The civilian casualties in Pakistan due to these drone strikes, is also because, drone technology have some flaws.

### (iii) Historical Background:

It gives the account of anti-American sentiments found during different phases of Pak-US relations. This chapter explains that, Pak-US had no permanent relations, but it consists of variations. It had the combination of sour and sweets in Pak-US engagements in the history. The relations of both are observed to be having a continuous change in the history as, in the start, the relation between Pakistan and the US was good, but in 1970, the good relation between Pakistan, and the US turned bad, and Pakistan faced many sanctions from the US. In 1980, the relation was again changed, and Pak-US became close ally to each other. In 1990, the relation again became bad, but in 2001, Pakistan and the US again became ally. By this continuous change in the relation of both, the public of Pakistan perceived the US as only a seasonal friend to Pakistan, which caused the rise of anti-Americanism in Pakistan.

### (iv) Drone attacks in Pakistan and the extra judicial civilian killings:

The drone attacks in Pakistan had caused many civilian casualties in comparison to that of the achievement of high value targets. The collateral damage in the drone affected areas of Pakistan had created a severe hatred in the minds and heart of the innocent tribesmen of Pakistan. These covert drone strikes also break the international law and the sovereignty of Pakistan. The factors included in the rise of anti-American sentiments are the educated elites, and the religious elites of Pakistan.

### (v) Drone attacks: consequences and impacts on Pakistan:

These covert drone strikes had many impacts on Pakistan, and the people living in drone affected areas of Pakistan. Families are being traumatized, and many people are being disturbed in their daily life routine due to these drone strikes. There is also a psychological impact on the society due to these drone attacks, and the cultural norms and education system are also affected due to these drone strikes.

## Methodology:

This research paper was completed within a period of 3 months duration. The method used in this research is analytical and descriptive. This research paper analyzes the civilian casualties, and collateral damage resulted by the covert drone strikes in Pakistan, and the rise of anti-American sentiments due to it in Pakistani society. The secondary and tertiary data have been consulted, in dealing with this research. Primary data was also collected, in the form of interviews from our friend, which belongs to drone affected areas. Due to the matter of privacy, we have changed their names. This research contains an Appendix, which provides the Pictures of those civilians who are affected by drone strikes.

## Literature Review:

Anti-Americanism got very much importance in Pakistan after 9/11 event, and the US led war on terror. Many scholars had work on the phenomena of anti-Americanism by analyzing the Pak-US relations, and its variation in history. Tariq Ali, in his book '*The Duel*' gave a clear perception about Pak-US relations, and the wrong policies of the US for countering terrorism. Husain Haqqani, in his book '*Pakistan: Between mosque and military*' reveals the role of Islam in the politics and policies of Islam, in the prism of history. This book also highlights the Pak-US cooperation in different times of history, only based on their interests. K.K.Aziz, in his book '*The murder of history*' highlights the facts regarding Zia that, Zia was presented as Islamic hero by biased text books of his time.

In the research work of Chriscole, Mary Dobbing, and Any Hailwood which is, 'Convenient killing: Armed drones and playstation mentality', the drone technology is being discussed and the human costs due to it. A research journal from CQ Researchers, 'Drone warfare: Are strikes by unmanned aircraft ethical?' has a detailed drone history, and the technology of drones is discussed. This journal also contains information regarding, the increase in drone attacks, and the rise of anti-American sentiments. A research work from Columbia law school, Centre for civilians in conflict, 'The civilian impacts of drones: unexamined costs, unanswered questions' provides a sound account of

the consequences of drone attacks and its civilian impacts in Pakistan. The same civilian impacts and consequences of drone attacks are being discussed in a research work from International human rights conflict resolution clinic 'Stanford law school' and Global justice clinic, NYU School of law, 'Living under drones'. A research work by Karl Kaltenthaler, William Miller, and Christine fair, 'The Drone war: Pakistani public attitudes towards American drone strikes in Pakistan' provides their poll results of Pakistani public attitude, in which majority of the people were against the US unilateral policies, and drone attacks. Michael J. Boyle in his research work, 'The cost and consequences of drone warfare' has described the consequences of drone attacks, and the rise of hatred against the US. The research work of Asif Mehmood 'Drone attacks: International law burns at hellfire' provides a sound account of civilian casualties, and the breaking of international law by these drone strikes. In this research paper, the drone technology is also criticized. The thermal cameras, which are used for surveillance stops working in bad weather, and at night, but drones, are noticed to be operating for 24 hours. This technology also relies on metallic chips, which through poor local informers are thrown in the areas where militants live. These poor local informers are not so reliable according to this research paper.

# Chapter: 2

## Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 Conceptualization of Terrorism:

Terrorism is a vague concept which leads to various interpretations, and many people, scholars, groups, organizations, and even different states have a little agreement on it. This confusion could have been solved if the term terrorism had an internationally accepted standard definition. It's simple and dictionary meaning is, "The unofficial or unauthorized use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims."<sup>1</sup> There were many more definitions which were changed or amended with passage of time.

The basic philosophy of a terrorist group is to compel and convince a ruling state authority for achievement of their aims and objectives. "Generally, the purpose of terrorism is to demoralize a civilian population in order to use its discontent as leverage

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<sup>1</sup> The oxford dictionary meaning of "Terrorism." accessed June 11, 2013, <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/terrorism?q=terrorism> .

on national governments or other parties to a conflict related to this, is the aim of creating drama in order to gain media attention for a cause.”<sup>2</sup>

“The US State Department lists 42 foreign terrorist organizations. Some are motivated by religion (e.g., al-Qaeda) but others by class ideology (e.g., Shining path in Peru) or by ethnic conflict and nationalism (e.g., Basque Fatherland and Liberty).”<sup>3</sup> From all these groups, one thing is obvious that they all are fighting for some cause. In present day scenario, Al-Qaeda is on top list of terrorist groups list as declared by the US. Al-Qaeda, as was hosted by Taliban government in Afghanistan, and due to this reason, the US also declared, the Taliban government as government of terrorists. After declaration of the Taliban as terrorist organization, tussle is started between Taliban and the US. But the US has still not defined clearly the term terrorism.

Terrorism is at its peak since September 2001 attacks on twin towers. The US declared Al-Qaeda and Taliban responsible for those attacks. After 9/11, the US invaded Afghanistan and declared the war which is war on terror. Since 1983, the definition of terrorism for the US State Department was, “the term terrorism means pre-meditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”<sup>4</sup>The definition was altered by the US State Department afterwards which is, “The unlawful use of, or threatened use of, force or violence against individuals or property to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious, or ideological objectives.”<sup>5</sup> The UN general assembly after passing resolutions, and making ad-hoc committees, which meets every year, but they are still in search of the sound definition of terrorism.<sup>6</sup> “The main hurdle, then as now, is the insistence by the bloc of Islamic states that any

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<sup>2</sup> Joshua S. Goldstein, and John C. Pevehouse, *International Relations* (India: Dorling Kindersley, 2009), 199.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.,198.

<sup>4</sup> Livio Nimmer, “De-Contextualization in the Terrorism Discourse: A Social Constructionist View,” accessed June 10, 2013, [http://www.ksk.edu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/KVUOA\\_Toimetised\\_14\\_10\\_livio\\_nimmer.pdf](http://www.ksk.edu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/KVUOA_Toimetised_14_10_livio_nimmer.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Goodenough, “Almost 10 Years After 9/11, U.N. Still Grappling to Define Terrorism,” accessed June 12, 2013, <http://cnsnews.com/news/article/almost-10-years-after-911-un-still-grappling-define-terrorism>.

definition of terrorism leave a loophole for resistance against foreign occupation.”<sup>7</sup> The OIC secretary –General Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, in his speech in the UN general assembly, addressed that, “The OIC member states supported the U.N’s global counter terrorism strategy, but stressed that the strategy must address the root causes of terrorism, including the unlawful use of force, aggression, foreign occupation, prolonged conflict of people and denial of the rights of self-determination living under foreign occupation.”<sup>8</sup>

UN has not yet clearly defined or suggested a standard definition of terrorism, which also turns one’s mind towards the US influence on UN. It is because the US, violating the International law on many occasions for pursuing her interests, doesn’t want to be known officially as terrorist state. 9/11 attack on twin towers created a huge sympathy for the US in whole world, but the US attack on Iraq, changed the scenario from sympathy, to Anti-Americanism. A renowned scholar and intellectual of the US, in an interview to a news agency declared the war in Iraq as unjust. According to him, “The fact of the matter is that there is no War on Terror. It’s a minor consideration. So, invading Iraq and taking control of the world’s energy resources was way more important than the threat of terror.”<sup>9</sup>

The US and CIA is having covert drone operations in Pakistan for targeting the so called, high value targets. In these covert drone strikes, thousands of civilians are being killed, many injured, and many have lost their houses which were destroyed in these drone strikes. The US government has not mentioned so much, these civilian casualties. On one occasion that was of Boston Marathon bombings, President Obama said, “Any Time Bombs Are Used to Target Civilians It Is an Act of Terror”<sup>10</sup>. Like this, on many occasions, the US administration has criticized Israel for the civilian casualties of Palestine due to the Israeli drones, but why this is only the matter of US interests? Why only American citizens are declared civilians, and an act of terror of killing them? Why

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Geov Parrish, “There Is No War on Terror,” accessed June 6, 2013, <http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/20051223.htm> .

<sup>10</sup> John Glaser, “Obama: Any Time Bombs Are Used to Target Civilians It Is an Act of Terror,” accessed July 4, 2013, <http://antiwar.com/blog/2013/04/16/obama-any-time-bombs-are-used-to-target-civilians-it-is-an-act-of-terror/> .



the innocent civilians of Pakistan's tribal belt are not recognized as civilians while crushing them through drones? Several questions comes in mind of a Pakistani, directly or indirectly affected by drone attacks, affected or not affected by drones, but have sympathy in their hearts for the fellow Pakistanis.

Observing the above amendments and changes in definition of terrorism, it is not because the essence, shape, or structure of terrorism is changed or it might have changed a little, but the main thing which exist, is the US interests which are superior for her. One can predict that changes in definition of terrorism, is directly proportional to the changes in the US interests.

## 2.2 Conceptualization of Anti-Americanism:

Anti-Americanism is a complex term and a vague concept which is not clearly defined and it leads to various interpretations. It means hatred or disliking of people for America and their policies. It is defined and explained in different ways by different scholars and writers. They had no agreement on one universal definition and concept. Some of them explained it in their own way as Shafqat Hussain Naghmi defined it as "Anti-Americanism as an, un favorable or hostile attitude towards the American people, government, symbol, or policy."<sup>11</sup>

Some writers explained it as a dynamic approach or concept, but not a static one as one of the Scholars named Brendon O'Connor explained it as "Chronologically the term is first associated with European cultural laments about American manners and uncouthness and then, as America becomes a global power, more politically and economically based criticism comes to the fore. Finally, in recent times what has been labeled anti-American terrorism"<sup>12</sup> Anti-Americanism is a dynamic term, and now a days it has been shifted from cultural and ideological hatred to terrorism. As now in the world and especially in that region where war on terror takes place that concept emerges in severe form.

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<sup>11</sup> Shafqat Hussain Naghmi, "Pakistan' Public Attitude towards the United States," The Journal of Conflict Resolution 26, no. 3(September, 1982):508.

<sup>12</sup> Brendon O'Connor, "A brief History of Anti-Americanism: From Cultural Criticism to Terrorism," The Australian Journal of American Studies: 77, accessed June 6, 2013, [www.anzasa.arts.usyd.edu.au/a.j.a.s/Articles/1\\_04/OConnor.pdf](http://www.anzasa.arts.usyd.edu.au/a.j.a.s/Articles/1_04/OConnor.pdf).

After 9-11 attacks on world trade Centre, the whole map of anti-Americanism changed because after that the US declared war on terror or, war against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. After that, the US adopted different unilateral policies for countering terrorism. Realists believe that anti-Americanism is a byproduct of the structure of international system, as we live in unipolar world the US did what she wanted.<sup>13</sup> The US is a sole power in the world. It implements all her policies unilaterally. Such type of attitude of the US over International system caused anti-Americanism.

Some scholars are of the opinion that, Anti -Americanism cannot be isolated as a consistent phenomenon and that the term originated as a rough composite stereotype, prejudices and criticism toward America, evolving to more economically and politically based criticism. The abrupt change in anti-Americanism occurred due to war on terror after 2001. These sentiments increased in the whole world and in the states which were mostly affected by war on terror as Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan was the closest ally of the US in war on terror. The US applied many policies in both of the states which were not liked in Pakistan which increased anti-American sentiments.

### 2.3 Conceptualization of Anti-Americanism in Pakistan:

Pakistan is the most affected state from war on terror by being ally of the US, and also located on the border of Afghanistan. Pakistan is also the front line state for the implications of the US policies. The anti-American sentiments increased in Pakistani society due to many factors. "Since 9/11 the concept of Anti-Americanism has become an important topic of media debates, intellectual discussions and political campaign. Surveys of the Pew Global attitudes clearly indicates rise of Anti Americanism in the whole world particularly in Pakistan."<sup>14</sup> Anti-Americanism is also very vague and confused term in Pakistan. There is also a wide gap between Pakistan government and public perception of US policies. That gap produces the trust deficit between the people and government toward the US policies. Some of the policies are based on national interest, but people of

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<sup>13</sup> Goldstein, and Pevehouse, *International Relations*, 45-47.

<sup>14</sup> Fahad Khan, "Dynamics of anti-Americanism in Pakistan" (BA Hons diss., Government College university Lahore, 2012), 16.

Pakistan perceived it in a different way which increased the existing anti-American sentiments.

The phenomenon of anti-Americanism in Pakistan according to Kazalbash is a reaction to U.S policies, which he explored after interviewing many Pakistanis. He finds that it was due to disregarding of Pakistan's national interest, support for Israel, and uninvited interference in domestic politics.<sup>15</sup> These anti-US sentiments were mostly the reaction to the US unilateral policies as the US for many time didn't cared for Pakistan. Ayesha Saddiqa explained it as, "Anti-Americanism exists not the US but for what US does."<sup>16</sup> It is the reason of Anti-Americanism as Ayesha saddiqa said, and mostly anti-Americanism is found in the poor people and middle class of Pakistan because they were mostly affected by the US unilateral policies. But now it is shifted to the whole society. It is obvious from the recent surveys as conducted by Al-Jazeera, and Gallop, "In Pakistan, they found that 59 percent of Pakistanis felt the greatest threat to the country was the United States. A separate survey in August by the Pew Research Center, an independent pollster based in Washington, recorded that 64 percent of the Pakistani public regards the U.S. "as an enemy" and only 9 percent believe it to be a partner."<sup>17</sup> There are different types of Anti-Americanism, as how the US is viewed by people. We will elaborate different types of Anti-Americanism in the case of Pakistan. On these types, there is no mutual consensus, but some of the scholars explained it in a very explicit way. Scholars like Keohane and Kazenstien gave different types of anti-Americanism which are discussed below.

### **2.3.1 Social Welfare Anti-Americanism:**

This type of anti-Americanism is prevailed in Pakistani society due to the unjust character of the US. US adopted the principle of self-interest as her unjust, and hostile

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<sup>15</sup> Hamid H. kazilbash, "Anti Americanism in Pakistan," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences 497,(May, 1998), 58-67.

<sup>16</sup> Ayesha Sadiqa presented her views in conference organized by Heritage Foundation in June 2010 on topic "Anti-Americanism in Pakistan: what fuels it can be countered?"

<sup>17</sup> Saeed Shah, "Anti-Americanism rises in Pakistan over U.S. motives," accessed July 2, 2013, <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2009/09/07/74966/anti-americanism-rises-in-pakistan.html> .

attitude towards weak, or third world states like Pakistan. The US only implements her policies for its own interests, means she had unilateral policies toward such states. In such states, she also had violated International Laws and Humanitarian laws for achieving her own interests. “Among these values social humanistic and humanitarian values also have been a source of welfares anti –Americanism during the last decade. This was for the behavior of American forces with the war prisoners in Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib jails.”<sup>18</sup> The US exploits, and suppresses the societies in order to maintain their capitalist ideology. All these actions and steps of the US contribute to produce such type of anti-Americanism in Pakistani society.

### **2.3.2 Domestic Anti-Americanism:**

This type of anti-Americanism is found in Pakistan due to interference of the US in her domestic policies and affairs. The US is the sole power in the world and it is justified by her through its ‘Might is right’ rule. The US only prefers her interests. For the achievement of her interests, the US had many times interfered in Pakistan’s domestic policies, and those policies of the US were strongly opposed by people of Pakistan as “one of the sublime argument of patriotic Pakistanis is that owing to the pride of national sovereignty, we reject American hegemony and their aid with strings, because at the end of the day, the aid with strings does not take you anywhere.”<sup>19</sup>

One of the scholars also interprets that “people dislike the US not because the US is there, but because the US is here. This approach points out the fact regarding US engagement in different parts of the world. Particularly in Pakistan, major source of anti-Americanism is the US engagement in country, in the form of economic, political, and military.”<sup>20</sup>

### **2.3.3 Historical Anti-Americanism:**

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<sup>18</sup> Omer Hayat Abbasi, “Anti-Americanism in Pakistan since 9/11 causes and consequences” (M.phil diss., Quaid-i-Azam university, 2010), 13.

<sup>19</sup> “Anti-Americanism in Pakistan,” The frontier post, accessed June 6, 2013, <http://www.thefrontierpost.com/article/170880/> .

<sup>20</sup> Khan, “Dynamics of anti-Americanism in Pakistan,” 19.

This form of anti-Americanism is found in a society due to historical character of the US, and the past mistakes committed by her. “Historical anti-Americanism is rooted in resentment over historical wrongs, such as the US attack on Mexico, the US intervention in Iran, and the US influence over Pakistan, and effects of that influence in history.”<sup>21</sup> It is obvious that the US had different approaches towards Pakistan in different times in history. Sometimes she had supported Pakistan while some time she left Pakistan alone. One of the other aspects of history is that, sometime the US had supported dictators in Pakistan while some time democracy. This shows that she had used both form of government of Pakistan for her own interests. The US supported dictators for their own interests as in cold war era, and in war on terror for the achievement of her own interests. History also shows that, the US is a seasoned friend and not perpetual.

#### **2.3.4 Radical Anti-Americanism:**

Radical anti-Americanism is the most severe and practical form of anti-Americanism. In this type of anti-Americanism, the society directly reacts to the US policies and actions. In this type of anti-Americanism, people turn aggressive towards the US and starts attacking them. The people become Radicals. They involved themselves in war like activities against the US. Many people turned radical against her unilateral policies, and directly attack her. The US called these type of people as terrorists. Radical anti-Americanism may have religious motivations, such as in the Middle East or Afghanistan, or be purely secular.<sup>22</sup>

This type of anti-Americanism is emerged due to the clash of ideologies as before the demise of USSR, it was the clash of communism and capitalism, but now it has been turned into Islamic Jihadist movement against the US.

#### **2.3.5 Sovereign-Nationalist Anti-Americanism:**

This type of Anti-American sentiments in the society and state is due to the US aggressive policies toward Pakistan. Such unilateral policies of the US become threat for the sovereignty of the other state where the US interference is involved. The US

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<sup>21</sup> Tod Lindberg, and Suzanne Nossel, “ Report of the Working Group on Anti-Americanism,” The Princeton Project of National Security: 10, accessed July 2, 2013,

[www.princeton.edu/~ppns/conferences/reports/fall/AA.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/conferences/reports/fall/AA.pdf) .

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 10-11.

influence on economy, political issues, and other controls, are perceived in a society as threat to the sovereignty, and national interests of their country. In Pakistan this is one of the major forms of anti-Americanism caused due to direct interference of the US in Pakistani territory, the most important one of them is the Drone Attacks in Pakistan.<sup>23</sup> These drone attacks has created a lot of trust deficit, and hatred in the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan, because it is the clear violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan and on other hand, the covert drone strikes caused many civilian casualties in Pakistan which is also a violation of international law by the US.

## **2.4 Conceptualization of Drones:**

The unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), which are also known as ‘Drones’ because of one of their character, which is a continuous buzzing sound, which they make during flight. These UAVs are controlled by pilots on the ground. The duty of operating drones is divided among three operators. One person control the flight of drone, another person’s duty is to control and monitor the cameras and sensors, which through satellite provide images of the suspected area on real time. The third person is in contact with commanders and ground troops in the war zone. Some drones are used for military observation of a region to locate an enemy or for ensuring strategic features of a particular area while, some drones are armed, which are used for bombing and launching missiles.<sup>24</sup>

### **2.4.1 Drone History:**

The UAVs are not new. But it is also a fact that, targeted attacks by drones are intensified by the US in the war on terror. “Charles Kettering in the year 1918 for the first time invented this UAV, and named it as ‘Kettering Bug’, which was a pilotless biplane.”<sup>25</sup> Shape and size of this Kettering bug was five feet long, six feet across, which was powered by a ford engine. This was designed to fly and go towards enemy. This

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<sup>23</sup> Abbasi, “Anti Americanism in Pakistan since 9/11 causes and consequences.” 14.

<sup>24</sup> Chris Cole, Mary Dobbing, and Amy Hailwood, “Convenient killing: Armed Drones and PlayStation Mentality,” Fellowship of Reconciliation (September 2010): 6, accessed June 14, 2013, <http://www.for.org.uk/files/drones-conv-killing.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> “Drone Warfare: Are Strikes by Unmanned Aircraft Ethical?,” CQ Researcher 20, no. 28 (August 6, 2010): 662, accessed June 14, 2013, [http://www.asil.org/files/cq\\_dronewarfare.pdf](http://www.asil.org/files/cq_dronewarfare.pdf).

Kettering bug was capable of carrying 250 pound warhead. The US made approximately 50 Kettering bugs, but they were not used as the WW1 was ended.<sup>26</sup>

Later after that, a person named Reginald Denny, which was a British pilot and a film actor, pursuing his hobby, made a radio-controlled 'OQ-2' or 'Denny mite' UAV, which was afterwards sold to army for using it in the target practice in WW2.<sup>27</sup> Drone attacks were launched in Pakistan in 2004 and these drones are still operating in Pakistan. In the very first year, the predators destroyed roughly 115 targets in Afghanistan, which shows the poor and immature technology of drones.<sup>28</sup>

The birth of the US UAVs begin in 1959, when the US administration started fear of losing pilots over hostile territory, began planning of using unmanned vehicles. In the words of USAF General George S. Brown, Commander of Air Force Systems Command in 1972, This is the only reason that we need drone because we don't want to our pilots in the cockpit of the plane.

There are some drone attacks which comes under the control of military department of US, and are also recognized by public, while some of the drone attacks are done under command of the CIA, which are neither recognized by public, nor displayed openly. There are two prominent drone programs within the United States: that of the military and that of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The military's drone program is overt, meaning it is recognized by the public and therefore only operates where US troops are stationed. The CIA's program is covert. Missions performed by the CIA's drone program do not always occur where US troops are stationed.

#### **2.4.2 Drones Multiple Functions:**

Drones are used in many ways like, when army or troops of one country attacks another one's army, or comes under attack of another's army then the drones are sent to that battle field for bombing. Similarly drones are also used for ground surveys, for watching the suspected areas, and to check the patterns of life on a specified area. During this survey and patrolling by drones, when operators meet with suspicious activity, they start

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 665.



bombing and also fire missiles when needed. These drones are also used for targeted killings of suspected militants.<sup>29</sup> The whole mechanism of drone attacks is controlled through satellite. The operators, with help of a metallic chip, trace the suspected area where these operators have to launch hellfire missile. This metallic chip which has now a common name 'Patrai' in Pashtun drone affected areas. This metallic chip or Patrai is been given to an ordinary person to throw it in the suspected area where militant lives, or visits. That ordinary person or inappropriate spy gets money for this duty. His duty is to just throw the chip there and vanish away. The operators with the help of satellite trace that metallic chip and starts bombing there.<sup>30</sup>

### **2.4.3 Flaws in the Technology of UAVs:**

One would obviously laugh at the so called advance technology of the US's product, UAVs, and hellfire missiles which, are fired on targets traced by the GPS (Global positioning System). A paper was published by (CNAS) Center for a New Americans Security which is a pro-military and an influential institution, criticizing the US president Barack Obama for use of drones in Pakistan by saying that, "drones are precise and limited (in terms of collateral damage) can aptly be termed a faux pas. Drone operators basically rely on two things, local spies who drop microchips near targets and thermal cameras who verify the targets."<sup>31</sup>

Metallic chips are provided by CIA to the local agents. These local agents are paid thousands of dollars by CIA. Further duty of these local agents is to distribute these chips among local ordinary poor persons, who in need of money take these metallic chips. The ordinary poor person, who has no specialization in art of spying are told to drop these chips in houses where militants comes and lives. Gareth Porter writes, "Press reports that CIA is paying Pakistani agents for identifying al-Qaeda targets by placing electronic microchips at farmhouses supposedly inhabited by al-Qaeda officials, so they can be bombed by predator drones, has raised new questions about whether the CIA and Obama

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<sup>29</sup> Cole, Dobbing, and Hailwood, "Convenient Killing," 6.

<sup>30</sup> Asif Mehmood, "Drone Attacks: International Law Burns in Hellfire," International Institute of Strategic Studies and Research Islamabad (June 2010): 14, accessed June 1, 2013, <http://iissr.org/images/Drone-Attacks.pdf>.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.,



administration have simply redefined al-Qaeda in order to cover up an abusive system and justify the program. The initial story of the CIA payments for placing the chips by Carol Grisanti and Mushtaq Yousafzai of NBC new April 17 was based on confession, the young man says, “I was given 122 dollars to drop chips wrapped in a cigarette papers at al-Qaeda and Taliban houses. I was successful, I was told, and I would be given thousands of dollars.”<sup>32</sup>

These ordinary spies, God know, where they drop these metallic chips, but just in need of money, they do this job. Gareth porter had interviewed a spy which was assigned this duty to drop these chips at houses of militants. According to Gareth porter, the words of that spy were, “I thought it was a very easy job. The money was so good so I started throwing the chips all over. I knew people were dying because of what I was doing, but I needed the money.”<sup>33</sup> This also reminds us the 2002 incident which took place in Afghanistan, when few men were collecting scrap metal and they were all killed in a drone attack. “In 2002 Daraz khan and two afghan men were collecting scrap metal when a hellfire missile fired from a predator drone killed all three.”<sup>34</sup>

Thermal cameras are also not producing satisfactory results. They are also unreliable. Asif Mehmood, in his research work on drone attacks say that, “Thermal cameras are notoriously imperfect. Even under ideal conditions, images can be blurry. In one of several stills from drone video seen by TIME, it is hard to tell if a group of men is kneeling in prayer or the men are militants in battle formation.”<sup>35</sup>

Further in his research work. Asif Mehmood has quoted the New Yorker report, which unveils the errors in the drone technology. In this report, above stated three men which were killed in a drone attack of 2002 in Afghanistan, were presumed as one of these three men was Osama bin laden. The presumption was just on the basis of height, as the man which was targeted was approximately of same height as that of Osama bin laden. “But the strikes are only as accurate as the intelligence that goes into them. Tips from informant on the ground are subject to error, as is the interpretation of video images. Not

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 14-15.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>34</sup> “Drone Warfare,” CQ Researcher, 667.

<sup>35</sup> Mehmood, “Drone Attacks,” 17.

long before September 11, 2001, for instance, several US counterterrorism officials became certain that a drone had captured footage of bin Laden in locale he was known to frequent in Afghanistan. The video showed a tall man in robes, surrounded by armed body guards in a diamond formation. At that point drones were unarmed, and were used only for surveillance. “The optics was not great, but it was him.” Henry Crumpton, then the CIA’s covert operations officer for the region, told time. But two other former CIA officers, who also saw the footage, have doubts. “It’s like an urban legend”, one of them told me. “They just jumped to conclusions, you couldn’t see his face. It could have been Joe Schmo. Believe me; no tall man with beard is safe anywhere in Southwest Asia. “In February 2002, along the mountainous eastern border of Afghanistan, a Predator reportedly followed and killed three suspicious Afghans, including a tall man in robes who was thought to be Bin Laden. The victims turned out to be innocent villagers, gathering scrap metal.”<sup>36</sup>

Above few mentioned incidents undoubtedly reveals the flawed mechanism of drone attacks. It just depends on information given by poor local informers. These poor men are part of Pashtun society, where many of them have rivalries between their tribes. They can drop the Patrai or the metallic chip in houses of their enemies without acknowledging that they are militants, Taliban’s, or al-Qaeda members.

## 2.5 Drone Attacks and Increase in Anti-American sentiments in Pakistan:

Creating fear in one’s mind leaves no space for love and appreciation rather than, grievance and hatred. What would one expect from an underage child after losing his father, his sisters, and, his mother? Will he be a productive man of a society after losing all his relatives? He will obviously grow up as a destructive man with having severe hatred in his mind against those who had killed his relatives. And what should be expected from a person who loses his children and wife? He would rather break his head, or stood up for revenge.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 17-18.

The continuous buzzing sound of drones hovering over the North-West areas of Pakistan, left the people with continual fear that God knows, when these predators will blow up their houses and kill their children. The families are totally traumatized. A report by Kathy Kelly and Josh Brollier, who are co-coordinators of voices for creative non-violence, reported accounts of drone strikes in Waziristan as told to them by an eye witness. According to this report, “The social worker recalled arriving at a home that was hit, in Miranshah, at about 9.00pm (May 2009)... The drone strike had killed three people. Their bodies, carbonized, were fully burned. They could only be identified by their legs and hands. One body was still on fire when he reached there. Then he learned that the charred and mutilated corpses were relatives of his who lived in his village, two men and a boy aged seven or eight. They couldn’t pick up the charred parts in one piece. Finding scraps of plastic they transported the body parts away from the site. Three to four others joined in to help cover the bodies in plastic and carry them to the morgue. But these volunteers and nearby onlookers were attacked by another drone strike, 15 minutes after the initial one. Six more people died. One of them was the brother of the man killed in the initial strike.”<sup>37</sup> In another incident, Khan lost his 2 dearest son and daughter in a drone strike which took place in August 2008, of which a report says, “Black smoke and dust choked villagers as they dug through the rubble. Four year old Zeerek’s legs were severed. His sister Maria, 3, was badly scorched. Both were dead. When their cousin Irfan, 16, saw them, he gently curled them in his arms, squeezed the rumped bodies to his chest, lightly kissed their faces, and slid into a stupor.”<sup>38</sup>

In this type of situation, where innocent children and women are dying due to drone attacks, people cannot visit one another’s houses with having fear of drone attacks, and many who cannot sleep well at night due to drones and their buzzing noise as an angel of death hovering on their heads, how one could expect good feelings and words of respect in heart and mind of these people for the US.

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<sup>37</sup> Cole, Dobbing, and Hailwood, “Convenient killing,” 8.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.,

# Chapter: 3

## Historical Background

Looking over the history of Pakistan and the US, it is the history of ups and downs, sour and sweets. There is no consistency in their relations and all other issues as friendship. In 1947 after the creation of Pakistan, Pakistan and its people faced a lot of problems at their initial stage. Pakistan had many problems and issues mainly that of Security and Economy. Pakistan was in the move of survival at that initial and early stage. Pakistan had many options at that time to become part of any block. After World War II, world was divided into two blocks, capitalism and communism. Communism was the ideology of Soviet Union and their allies and Capitalism was the ideology of United States and her western states.

Pakistan for its survival and resolution of problems had to cooperate with one of them. Pakistan had three options:

1. To remain neutral
2. To ally with United States
3. To ally with USSR.

Pakistan remained neutral for some years. Then Pakistan decided for cooperation with one of them due to need of the time.

At that time Pakistani society perceived USSR and communism as a threat to their religion because Pakistan was created in the name of Islam. People of Pakistan had good feelings for United States at that time. Pakistan started cooperation with her, as the circumstances favored that relationship. Pakistan supported United States in all her policies and considered as closest friend. The year 1946 was marked with the Cold War demonstrations when “Henry Truman declared that no more recognition of communist governments and I am sick of babying the Soviets.”<sup>39</sup>At that time, communism was main threat to the US, so their main focus was containment of communism. US wanted to spread her influence and relations so that they could achieve their objectives. She introduced her policy of Containment. “By 1947 these policies came to be known as containment. George Kennan became the father of containment with his long telegram of February 22 Kennan’s depiction of communism as a malignant parasite that had to be

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<sup>39</sup> Dr. Lubna Saif, “Pakistan and SEATO,” Pakistan Journal of History and Culture XXVIII, no. 2 (2007):77, accessed June 22, 2013, [http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/latest\\_english\\_journal/pakistan\\_and\\_seato.pdf](http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/latest_english_journal/pakistan_and_seato.pdf).

contained by all possible measures, became the ideological foundation of the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and National Security Act of 1947.”<sup>40</sup>For the purpose of containment, Pakistan was very important for them. Both started cooperation with one another. In that cooperation the US gave Aid to Pakistan for strengthening her economy and also gave military aid for her security purpose. Both of them welcomed one another and also at the same time Pakistani society perceived the US as a friend due to her friendly behavior.

In that time Pakistan fully supported the US policies and joined mutual defense agreement which resulted in signing of SEATO against communism in 1954, and become partner of the US. That alliance was made for containment of the USSR. The alliance had many partners and started working in 1955. In 1955 Pakistan also joined Baghdad Pact later changed to CENTO, which was based on Eisenhower Doctrine. Both of the agreements signed by Pakistan were against the communist bloc, and the threat of communism.<sup>41</sup>

At the same time Pakistan started receiving a huge Aid from the US, both financial and military, and became the closest ally for the containment policy. Pakistan was preserving the US interests in her policies against communism.

### **3.1 Ayub Khan Era:**

In 1958 Pakistan witnessed a military Coup by Ayub Khan and dictatorial rule started. After military Coup the situation of Pak-US relation also changed. Ayub Khan introduced foreign policy in which he mentioned that, we had many issues such as security problems including Kashmir issue, and also economic issue which needed to be resolved, for that we had to depend on western bloc. Ayub Khan was aware of that, for the US, Pakistan was needed in fulfilling her policies. Ayub Khan told the US that we would continue cooperation if she gave us the right price for our demands. He told her that the army of Pakistan will be your army if she wants, but she had to pay a right price for this.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 79-80.

<sup>42</sup> Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Lahore: Vanguard, 2005), 35.

Ayub Khan put forth some major demands including Pakistan military expansion program, and financial assistance for it, security and resolution of some major issues. The US agreed on those demands and in that way both of them started cooperation with one another. Ayub Khan provided the US, air bases etc. In 1959 Pak-US signed bilateral agreement of defense for bilateral cooperation. US gave Pakistan hope for resolving her issues and also gave huge military and financial Aid. At that time Pakistan was vital for the US interests and for Pakistan its preservation and independence was important and for that, Pakistan needed help of major power. Both of them depended on one another for their interests and started cooperation. The US considered Pakistan as her faithful ally, and also secured Pakistan's security against any aggressor.<sup>43</sup>

It was perceived by society in a good type of feelings and supported the Pak-US relations with one another. People liked the US for her friendly policies like security assurance, and help for military expansion. She also gave huge Aid to Pakistan.

With the passage of time, as people were hoping for solution of conflicts like Kashmir, the US did not make any effective steps for it and as a result people became disheartened from the US. Ayub Khan demanded from the US, resolution of Kashmir issue as he says in conversation with Canadian diplomat, "we want Kashmir back but we cannot win it by military action. If only you people would show some guts, we would have it."<sup>44</sup> The US did not take serious steps for it and it made her attitude doubtful for Pakistan. It was revealed in 1965 war against India, US did not support Pakistan. She did not give any military aid to Pakistan and remained neutral. This attitude of the US made Pakistani state and people disheartened because the US was to give security assistance in any form of aggression against Pakistan, but she didn't.

In 1965 war the US showed no interest in the issues faced by Pakistan which proved the US only a seasonal friend for Pakistan. The US behavior in 1965 war led to a rise of anti-Americanism in public for the US as she was no more a faithful friend of Pakistan, but she only for the achievement of her own interest, made Pakistan her ally.

### **3.2 Return of Democracy: Bhutto's Era:**

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 49.

In 1970 after elections, democratic government was installed in Pakistan. Complete scenario was changed at that time after the elections. In Yahiya Khan government many problems were created, main problem was the Dhaka crisis as civil war had erupted in Bangladesh. After elections Bhutto's Peoples party came into power but the crisis continued in Bangladesh. That crisis became severe when it erupted into war and India supported Bangladesh. After war India captured about 1 lac Pakistani army and when negotiations held, Bangladesh was given a separate status and became a new state of Bangladesh.<sup>45</sup>

In that war against India, and chaotic situation in Pakistan, the US did not help Pakistan and also did not resolve the conflict effectively. It created anti-Americanism in Pakistani people. The character of Bhutto played a vital role in the minds of people because Bhutto was not so much tilted toward the US, but to some extent, toward socialism because he mostly introduced the socialist type of policies.<sup>46</sup>

The US response and Bhutto's character produced a gap between the two countries and that gap became wider by attitudes of both. The US policy during the five-year rule of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was unpredictable and suspect. PPP regime's socialist policies increased the suspicion over one another and both of them did not support one another. US became angry over the relationship of Pakistan and USSR. It was the time of nuclear weapons when the race started between Pakistan and India, and the US also became angry on that. Bhutto nationalized all of the industries and corporations that made Pakistan's character suspicious for the US.<sup>47</sup> "Bhutto's tilt towards religious conservatism was related to his economic and national security agendas. The Arab oil embargo in 1973 caused higher prices for oil in the world and boom in the economies of the Persian Gulf states."<sup>48</sup> That was one of the most unacceptable steps of Bhutto as he started uniting Muslim world by presenting himself as emerging Muslim Ummah leader, for that he organized Islamic summit conference and other steps. "The 1974 Islamic Summit in

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 127-128.

<sup>46</sup> Ayaz Ahmed Khan, "Pak-US ties in Historical Perspective," accessed June 28, 2013, <http://sixhour.com/pak-us%20ties%20in%20historical%20perspective.htm> .

<sup>47</sup> Tariq Ali, *The Duel: Pakistan on The Flight Path of American Power* (New York: Scribner, 2008), 108-109.

<sup>48</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 107.



Lahore, formation of a fascist Federal Security Force- FSF, and ZAB emerging as a leader of the Islamic Ummah was suspect in US eyes. When India carried out its first nuclear weapon test at Pokharan in 1974, ZAB's angry retort, "We will eat grass to get the weapon", made Bhutto unacceptable to Washington."<sup>49</sup> All these steps show the alienation of Pakistan from the US. US also showed her concerns on Pakistan and she supported India in many actions like in nuclear program she did not forbid India and did not impose sanctions on her.

At that time anti American sentiments were very high in society due to the US behavior towards Pakistan. The US did not support Pakistan in 1971 against India and also alienated Bhutto's government. Bhutto's pan-Islamism which was the unity of the Islamic world gave the people of Pakistan hope of unity of the Muslim world, and hatred for the west specially the US, because there was no good feeling between the US and Pakistan at that time. The hatred of Muslim world for the west created the anti-American sentiments in society.

### **3.3 Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan:**

In Bhutto era, relations of Pak-US were not good. The US had many reservations on Bhutto's activities. The notion among people of Pakistan was that, the US played her role in overthrowing the Bhutto's government. This notion was existed among the people of Pakistan because Bhutto himself in his various speeches accused the US for supporting the people of Pakistan and provoking the mass protests against him as Hussain Haqqani in his book says, "Bhutto citing the conversation of a US embassy official that could only have been intercepted by Pakistan intelligence services accused the United states of orchestrating the agitation against him."<sup>50</sup> On one other occasion, "Bhutto made an impassioned speech in the National assembly in which, He accused the US government of hatching an international conspiracy against him. In this context, he referred to his defiant posture against U.S. pressure to scrap the French sale of a nuclear reprocessing plant to Pakistan, the devaluation of dollar in the local currency market pointing to U.S.

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<sup>49</sup> Khan, "Pak-US ties in Historical Perspective," accessed June 28, 2013, <http://sixhour.com/pak-us%20ties%20in%20historical%20perspective.htm> .

<sup>50</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 125.

financial input on the PNA side and American annoyance over his efforts to uphold the Palestinian cause in the world forums and to mediate in the Greco-Turkish and Korean conflicts.”<sup>51</sup>When negotiations between government and opposition came to a conclusion and agreed on re-elections, at the 11th hour military took over under Zia-ul-Haq. Zia just after seizing of power told that elections would be held under the military supervision soon. But after the announcement of elections, he cancelled it and stated that it would be military government.<sup>52</sup>

For his military rule he made certain arrangements so that he could reign effectively. For this purpose he made the state heavily Islamized. He made all the institutions Islamized. Zia banned all political parties by labeling them unislamic except the Islamic parties. He gave many Islamist ideas to people as Pakistan was created on the basis of Islam and in Pakistan, Islamic ideology should prevail only. He suppressed all the liberal voices and parties. He controlled all the texts and all the writings under government supervision. K.K Aziz is of the opinion that, Zia’s rule was justified by many text books which were taught to students in schools and colleges in the Zia’s ere. Zia was presented by these biased text books as the real man dreamed by the Pakistan founders.<sup>53</sup> Zia highly promoted the society toward Islamization. He promoted madrassas and gave them the status equal to HEC degree.<sup>54</sup>

In 1979 the Soviet Invaded Afghanistan. After that invasion the importance of Pakistan increased for the US and her policy of containment. The US was inclined toward Pakistan and showed her interest for making close alliance with Pakistan in the war against USSR in Afghanistan. US had her own interests in the war against USSR because she wanted to take her revenge of Vietnam War from USSR. When the US offered Pakistan to become her ally in war against USSR, Pakistani people warmly welcomed the US for supporting one another in that war. Pakistani people accepted it because of many reasons of which, one reason was that, the society was heavily Islamized and perceived the communists as

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<sup>51</sup> Mohammad Waseem, *Politics and the State in Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 2007), 337.

<sup>52</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 123.

<sup>53</sup> K. K. Aziz, *The Murder of History: A Critique of History text Books used in Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2010), 190.

<sup>54</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 152.

godless people and also threat for Islam. The people of Pakistan wished the removal of this communist threat for Islam, and wanted to support their afghan brothers. This was because people of some of the regions in Pakistan as tribal northern areas are located at borders of Pakistan which are attached to that of Afghan border areas had closed ties with Afghan people. There was sympathy for one another. Government of Pakistan also accepted this sympathy for one another because of its Islamic character and due to its own interests in Afghanistan.

After becoming ally of the US, Pakistan fully supported US policies and took the war as its own war. Pakistan fought proxy war for the US and fully supported the US for her aims. The US gave Pakistan huge militarily and financial aid against USSR. That aid boosted Pakistan's economy. US supported Pakistan in every field for winning that war. That war was fought by Pakistani Taliban and Afghan Taliban and also local groups and people of Pakistan and Afghanistan against USSR. Pakistani Taliban called Mujahidin were heavily trained in Pakistan through US support and after getting the training in the camps, these mujahidin were sent to Afghanistan for war. The war against USSR was fought by Pakistan for the US like its own war. Western media and states praised Pakistan very much for that war and also exploited it for their own purpose. At that time the jihad sentiments were very high in society. The mujahidin fought bravely through all that backing forces and trainings.

In 1985 with the character of Garbachev, change occurred in USSR attitude as Tariq Ali says, "with the elevation of Mekayal Garbachev to general secretary of polit buro in 1985, it soon became obvious that the Soviet Union would accept defeat in Afghanistan and withdraw its troops."<sup>55</sup> Finally in 1988 USSR completely accepted defeat and started to withdraw their forces after Geneva accord.

During Zia era, Pakistan and the US enjoyed good relationship and also there were good feelings in people due to the US policies. It was because society was heavily Islamized and that Islamisation created hatred for communists as godless people. The people of Pakistan welcomed the US support in Jihad against USSR, and also they liked them for huge military and financial aid.

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<sup>55</sup> Ali, *The Duel*, 130.

### **3.4 Democracy From 1988 to 2001:**

After Zia's death, elections were held in Pakistan and all the political parties participated. Benazir won and became prime minister of Pakistan. It had become evident from the previous history that the US was a seasonal friend, who mostly supported dictatorships in Pakistan and enjoyed good relations with dictators and had no good relationship with democratic governments. As the democratic government had come once again in Pakistan, it had changed the situation as far as the US interests were concerned. After withdrawal and subsequent break down of the Soviet Union in 1989, nature of the US interest changed and Pakistan was alienated.

The Soviet collapse made the US victorious and successful in her aims. The US started to ask Pakistan about her internal programs of nuclear weapons. The US started suspecting and stressed Pakistan to close its nuclear program. Pakistan under Benazir Bhutto continued nuclear program as her father had done. The US threatened Pakistan and imposed Pressler Amendment, which banned economic and military assistance to Pakistan unless the President certified on an annual basis that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear explosive device and that the proposed United States assistance program will reduce significantly the risk that Pakistan will possess a nuclear explosive device. No President has issued this certification since October 1989. When President George H. W. Bush determined that Pakistan had developed such a weapon, aid and commercial relations to Pakistan were cut off. However, Pakistan had already footed the \$463.7 million bill for a fleet of F-16 aircraft and had emerged empty-handed from this aborted purchase.

At that time Salman Rushdie's book 'Satanic Verses' created another conspiracy theory that Zionist America hatched a conspiracy against Islam through Salman Rushdie in the form of the controversial book, which created a lot of hatred in Muslim society. Huge rallies were launched against the US and US information Centre in Islamabad was attacked. Protesters were carrying sign boards on which they mentioned that America and Israel are enemies of the Muslim world.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 208-209.

This aroused anti-American sentiments among people of Pakistan against the US. The relation no more was in position to deal with one another. Public response was also hostile as the US banned aid due to our nuclear program, which was the dream of every one due to India hostilities. In 1990 Benazir government was toppled on the charges of heavy corruption and president used his powers to dissolve the parliament.

### **3.4.1 1990 Elections and IJI Government:**

In 1990 the US global policies were criticized in Muslim world as according to Muhammad Waseem, “frustration of the Muslims in Pakistan and elsewhere is due to perceived American policies about regional conflicts.”<sup>57</sup> Those policies were evident as they intervened in gulf war and attacked Iraq. Against the US policies in Middle East, people in Pakistan made protests and demonstrations in Pakistani streets. Many critiques portrayed that the US waged war in Iraq for cutting down her size because Iraq was an emerging power and threat for the US allies as Israel. Also the Israel factor aggravated anti-Americanism in the society as Israel was aggressor in Palestine and the US was the staunch supporter of Israel.<sup>58</sup>

After the fall of Benazir, next elections were held soon. In those elections many parties combined together and formed alliance called IJI, which won the election and made their government under the Premiership of Nawaz Sharif.

### **3.4.2 Benazir Government in 1993:**

Benazir Bhutto again came in power in 1993. “Bhutto also proceeded to improve Pakistan’s relations with the United States, which had reached a low point with the U.S. threat to declare Pakistan a state sponsor of terrorism in 1992.”<sup>59</sup> Government started negotiations with Clinton administration. Relations between the two countries improved enough as Pakistan was allowed to take military equipment from the US. Provision of

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<sup>57</sup> Mohammad Waseem, “Perception about America in Pakistan,” accessed July 3, 2013, <https://www.google.com.pk/url?sa=f&rct=j&url=http://www.jaas.or.jp/pdf/50-2/34-44.pdf&q=&esrc=s&ei=wpvMUefsMcWN7QbV9YGoBA&usg=AFQjCNEw8jcpixohvFBZAFmMx9-TD9eGIQ>.

<sup>58</sup> Najam Sethi, “Roots and Fall out of anti-Americanism in Pakistan,” Friday times, January 10, 2003.

<sup>59</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 230.

military equipment was frozen during the previous years. She also removed some of the sanctions from Pakistan.<sup>60</sup>

At that time the US was bent upon finishing of Pakistan's nuclear program. Benazir Bhutto was not ready to discontinue it, which again created a gap in Pak-US relations. The US was not so much happy of her role in Afghanistan as Benazir's "Interior minister General Nasser Ullah Babar, together with the ISI, devised a plan to set up the Taliban as a politico-military force that could take over Afghanistan, a move only halfheartedly approved by the US embassy. The truth was, once the Soviet Union had withdrawn their forces, Washington had lost interest in the country."<sup>61</sup>

In this scenario it became obvious to people that the US is not permanent friend as they imposed many sanctions on Pakistan. It also affected Pakistan's economy very much. The US attitude was not good towards Pakistan as compared to that of India. All these factors led toward anti-American sentiments in the Pakistani society. In 1996 Bhutto government came again under heavy corruption charges and was dismissed by president Laghari.

### **3.4.3 Nawaz Sharif in 1996:**

After the fall of Benazir Bhutto, next elections were held in 1997 and Pakistan Muslim league under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif won elections by heavy majority. Nawaz Sharif became the prime minister of Pakistan. At that time the US pressurized Pakistan for leaving her atomic program. Pakistan was close to complete its Atomic program. The US pressurized Pakistan very much and threatened of sanctions. In 1998 Pakistan tested its atomic device in the province of Baluchistan. It made Pakistan a nuclear power and created balance of power in the region in view of its Indian rival. Pakistan's atomic bomb was called as "Muslim Bomb"<sup>62</sup>, and Pakistan became the first Islamic nuclear power.<sup>63</sup>

At the same time the US made allegations on Pakistan that she was sponsoring terrorism in Afghanistan as Pakistan supported Taliban government in Afghanistan. "Besides, threatening Pakistan for labeling as a state sponsor of terrorism, more sanctions were

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>61</sup> Ali, *The Duel*, 136.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>63</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 246.

imposed on Pakistan under the MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime) for allegedly receiving missile technology from China.”<sup>64</sup>

On account of atomic tests, the US got angry toward Pakistan and imposed many economic and other sanctions. That attitude of the US was perceived in society as hostile and caused rise in anti-American sentiments.

Another major event that occurred was the Kargil War. Pakistan captured Kargil in Kashmir and a dispute occurred between India and Pakistan. In that war the US instead of helping Pakistan, she pressurized Pakistan for finishing kargil war.<sup>65</sup> Kargil episode also turned the society against the US because it is great desire of Pakistani society to make Kashmir freed or to make it part of Pakistan. When the US forced Pakistan to cease fire, it also generated hatred in Pakistani society against the US.

The main character in that war was General Pervez Musharraf, who designed the whole plan of occupying Kargil. Musharraf launched that war in winter when Kargil was empty. It was designed secretly, and all precedents were also made secretly. He made a plan of limited war and wanted to boost the Kashmir freedom movement. Occupation of the Indian Territory made conditions worsened and war started between them at Kargil. The US intervention made them able to negotiate on that Kargil issue. After that issue, Nawaz Sharif wanted absolute power. For this he removed Musharraf from his post of chief of army staff, but Musharraf made arrangements for Martial law and once again Pakistan became under Military rule.<sup>66</sup>

History of Pak-US relations reveals that relations between the two countries were characterized with ups and downs. It also becomes evident that the relations between the two countries were good during military rule instead of democratic governments. But in early time of the Musharraf coup, the US imposed democratic sanctions on Pakistan and did not support the government. But importance of military government increased after the 9/11 incident. The situation changed after the Al-Qaeda and Taliban government in Afghanistan.

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<sup>64</sup> Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, “Engagement and Estrangement in U.S.-Pakistan Relations,” accessed July 3, 2013, [www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/.../1\\_4/2\\_US%20Pak\\_Major.pdf](http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/.../1_4/2_US%20Pak_Major.pdf).

<sup>65</sup> Ali, *The Duel*, 141.

<sup>66</sup> Haqqani, *Pakistan*, 251-253.



### **3.5 Post 9/11 Onwards:**

On September 11, 2001 when the twin towers of USA were attacked and destroyed, a new chapter in Pak-US relations was opened up. The US declared Al-Qaeda responsible for that incident. The most important station of al-Qaeda was Afghanistan as Taliban Government gave them protection and ground for their activities. US declared al-Qaeda a terrorist organization along with the Taliban government. Pakistan, which was the most sanctioned state in 90s, became the most important state for the US. The US thought that al-Qaeda was involved in the 9/11 attack, she wanted to punish them and all those who helped them in that attack.

“The US after 9/11 incident demanded Al-Qaeda members from Afghanistan. President Bush in his address to the nation gave five demands to Taliban.

1. Hand over all Al-Qaeda leaders and members to the US
2. The US stressed to close all terrorist camps in Afghanistan.
3. Give access to US authorities to verify the elimination of training camps.
4. Taliban should release all foreigners.
5. Taliban should protect foreign aid workers.”<sup>67</sup>

But Taliban rejected those demands. They were not willing to give Osama to the US authorities. After that the US launched the War on Terror against Afghan Taliban government and Al-Qaeda. In that war Pakistan was very important for the US and she sought Pakistan for its complete support in War on terror. She forced Pakistan for her support. Pakistan was further warned reportedly "American officials had told Musharraf's government that Washington would use every lever short of war to punish Pakistan unless it cooperated.”<sup>68</sup> Role of Pakistan become very crucial and the US wanted to get its support at any cost. For receiving help of other states, the US launched the policy called Bush Doctrine which is, “you are either with us or against us, and ultimatum was

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<sup>67</sup> Waqas Sohrab, and Ishtiaq Ahmad Choudhry, “Pak-US Relations in 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan,” accessed July 2, 2013, [www.berkeleyjournalofsocialsciences.com/March121.pdf](http://www.berkeleyjournalofsocialsciences.com/March121.pdf) .

<sup>68</sup> Baloch, “Engagement and Estrangement in U.S.-Pakistan Relations,” 40.



given to Pakistan for that.”<sup>69</sup> The US presented Pakistan their seven unilateral demands to cooperate with them.

Their demands are as follows;

“1. Stop Al-Qaeda operatives at borders, stop arms transfer through Pakistan and also end logistical support to Osama.

2. Pakistan should allow the blanket over flight rights to conduct air operations.

3. Provide territorial access to the United State, which included use of naval ports, air bases and strategic locations and borders.

4. Pakistan should provide intelligence support to the US authorities, about the Taliban and Al-Qaeda.

5. Continue to condemn publically the terrorist attacks of 11 September and also any other act of terror against the US and its coalition partners.

6. Cut off all shipments of fuel and any other items to the Taliban.

7. Pakistan should cut off all diplomatic ties with the Taliban (Harrison, 2009).”<sup>70</sup>

These demands were very humiliating for Pakistan, but the US made it a vital to accept it.

“This was a direct challenge to Pakistan’s sovereignty, reducing it to the status of Britain.

Musharraf later denied that he had agreed to the second and third points, but that was certainly not the view in Washington. Colin Powell informed the National Security council that the Pakistan had agreed to everything.”<sup>71</sup>This shows that the situation for Pakistan was very tight and Pakistan was compelled to cooperate with the US. Musharraf and entire establishment was under pressure to cooperate with the US, accordingly Musharraf decided in favor of the US and accepted all demands and became the front line ally in war on terror. Musharraf explained that it was the need of time to ally with the US and to cooperate with her.

President Musharraf addressed the nation saying that, “We in Pakistan are facing a very critical situation, perhaps as critical as the events in 1971. If we make wrong decisions our vital interests will be harmed.....I want to tell them to ‘layoff’. Our forces are on full

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<sup>69</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban* (New Delhi: I.B.Tauris, 2010), 219.

<sup>70</sup> Ali, *The Duel*, 146.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

alert and ready for a do or die mission. In this situation if we make wrong decisions it can be very bad for us. Our critical concerns are our sovereignty, second our economy, third our strategic assets (nuclear and missiles), and forth our Kashmir cause. All four will be harmed if we make wrong decision. When we make these decisions they must be according to Islam....We have to save our interests. Pakistan comes first, everything else is secondary....”<sup>72</sup>

Musharraf explained and gave arguments about Pakistan’s support for war on terror, but this created a lot of reaction in people as most of the US policies were unilateral and imposing in nature. The US policies and support of Pakistan for her war was not welcomed in Pakistan and it aroused the existing anti-American sentiments in the people. “President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf supported the US coalition partners in War against Terror, that decision created great problems for him. The religious leaders and people in FATA and also in other parts of the country turned against him. They all stressed that Pakistan should not support US in that war against a Muslim country. Musharraf was targeted more than once by the militants after taking the decision to support US led coalition forces in War against Terrorism. In fact Musharraf’s decision to support US made more enemies than few friends inside the country as well as in the outside world.”<sup>73</sup>

US was perceived very unjust in the Pakistani society as she first created Mujahidin and trained them in Pakistan against USSR, and then the same Mujahidin were declared terrorists for the US interests. At that time the US had no objections on Osama Bin Laden, but afterwards she reversed the policy and called him terrorist for her own interests and launched war against him. For that war Pakistan had to pay a very heavy price as its involvement in the US war made Pakistan a front for the terror attacks. The US led war created a lot of security problems in the whole country. Suicide attacks became very high in number due to war on terror. Many groups emerged in Pakistan against the US and even Taliban named Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) started

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<sup>72</sup> Pervaiz Musharraf, “President Musharraf address to the Nation, 19 Sept 2001,” accessed July 4, 2013, <http://presidentmusharraf.wordpress.com/2006/07/13/address-19-september-2001/> .

<sup>73</sup> Sohrah, and Choudhry, “Pak-US Relations in 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan,”.

targeting security agencies and innocent people in Pakistan. The TTP believed that, entire crisis in Pakistan is due to the Pakistan's involvement in the US war in Afghanistan.

Another formidable US policy introduced in 2004 for targeting their targets in Pakistan territory was that of Drone attacks. Drone attacks increased anti-Americanism in Pakistan by leaps and bounds. Drones technology has been explained in early chapter. That policy is very controversial and people strongly resist to that policy. The drone policy continued from 2004 up till now and created much anti-American sentiments in Pakistani society, which is obvious from the direct reactions of the people to Drones. Anti-Americanism caused by drones would be explained in detail in further chapters.

# Chapter: 4

# Drone Attacks in Pakistan and Extrajudicial Civilian Killings

It is obvious that, the US targeted killing drone policy towards Pakistan, increased the existing anti-American sentiments among people of Pakistan, both who are directly affected by these drone attacks, and those who although not directly affected by these attacks but, stand aside as observers. It is also not something unbelievable of being Pakistani, and have anti-American sentiments in heart and mind because, if one thinks about the US, where even a husband is getting punishment for beating his wife, a state where individual's words are considered most prior one, and a state where even dogs and other pets get respect, and on other hand what the US is doing concerning others. The US administration is targeting civilians, those who are non-combatants, children, women and many more innocents. The only mercy which CIA shows is that, while pointing among casualties, women are declared non-combatant, while rest as combatants.

Drone attacks were started in Pakistan by the US during presidency of George. W. Bush in 2004. After G.W.Bush, Barack Obama became president of the US. He during his first term increased the drone strikes which were six times more than President Bush did in his both terms.<sup>74</sup> President Obama also helped in shrouding the CIA's clandestine drone program for not been scrutinized by the congress and courts.<sup>75</sup>The factor that Obama's

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<sup>74</sup> Michael J. Boyle, "The Costs and Consequences of Drone Warfare," *International Affairs* 89, no. 1 (2013): 2, accessed June 13, 2013, [http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/International%20Affairs/2013/89\\_1/89\\_1Boyle.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/International%20Affairs/2013/89_1/89_1Boyle.pdf).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

government is hiding all civilian casualties and missteps of CIA's clandestine drone program is to gain mass support. That's why many news agencies of the US are told not to publish pictures of civilian casualties and collateral damages. Noam Chomsky had criticized this disposition of the US government by saying that, "They don't want people to know what they are doing."<sup>76</sup>In an article on drone strikes and anti-Americanism in Pakistan by Madiha Afzal, she is of the opinion that, Obama when became president of the US, John Kerry was appointed as secretary of state, and John Brennan as CIA director. It was seen in 2009 that, on one hand senator Kerry gave a huge civilian aid program in shape of Kerry-Lugar bill to Pakistan while, on other hand, CIA's director launched 242 drone strikes in Pakistan, and the surprising comments of John Brennan further increased anger of Pakistanis that, none of the drone strikes caused civilian casualties.<sup>77</sup> She further says that, "The debate on whether drone strikes increase anti-Americanism in Pakistan is ongoing, with most vocal opponents of drones arguing that they increase recruitment for terror organizations. Opponents argue that this mainly happens in two ways: first, drones can give radicals ammunition for recruiting those on the margin of becoming terrorists. But such individuals are enemies of the United States in any case, and would likely remain so, whether the U.S. is actively engaged in drone strikes or not. The second argument is that drones may convert entirely non-radical individuals into joining terrorist groups since non-radical individuals could become riled up by the havoc wreaked by U.S. drone strikes. However, this is frankly hard to imagine. It is quite plausible that individuals might be radicalized if drone strikes were to harm their families, friends or communities."<sup>78</sup>

Regarding drone attacks, there have been many public protests. Many political parties among them, the PTI, JUI, JI, have forced the government to clearly oppose drone strikes and to convey message to the US to stop these drone attacks. The issue is has been

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<sup>76</sup> Noam Chomsky, "Chomsky terms surveillance an attack on US citizens," accessed on June 22, 2013, <http://x.dawn.com/2013/06/21/chomsky-terms-surveillance-an-attack-on-us-citizens/> .

<sup>77</sup> Madiha Afzal, "Drone strikes and Anti-Americanism in Pakistan," accessed June 19, 2013, <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2013/02/07-drones-anti-americanism-pakistan-afzal> .

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.,

debated in the parliament for several times.<sup>79</sup> According to the Pew 2011 poll, 95% of Pakistanis having knowledge about drone strikes were of the opinion that, drone strikes are bad or very bad thing, while 91% were agreed with the statement regarding killing of too many innocent people.<sup>80</sup> Although the US has rarely accepted that, there might be civilian casualties by drone strikes but, there are many evidences which show civilian casualties and injuries to people resulted from drone strikes. The US government has done its best for shielding her drone program from fair accountability in the areas of Pakistan where drone strikes are launched. But, data which is provided by independent journalists organization, 'The Bureau of investigative journalists' (TBIJ) is fairly contrary to others. According to TBIJ report, from June 2004 through September 2012, 2,562-3325 people were killed in Pakistan due to drone strikes, in which 474-881 were civilians, which includes 176 children. 1,228-1362 individuals were injured in these drone strikes.<sup>81</sup> By these drone strikes, aim of the US is 'High-level' targeting which is also not seemed fruitful as according to Peter Bergen and Megan Braun, the rate of high level targets is very much low as 2% of the total casualties occurred by drone strikes in Pakistan.<sup>82</sup>

#### **4.1 Civilian Casualties:**

In a research paper by Asif mehmood 'Drone attacks: International law burns at hell fire', he quotes Daniel Bayman, a senior fellow of Brookings institute. Bayman says that, "for every militant killed, 10 or so civilians also died."<sup>83</sup> Asif Mehmood also quotes Marx Kantar, a human rights activist from US. Kantar says that, "Among 1000 Pakistanis killed so far, only 20 were affiliated with the terrorist organization."<sup>84</sup> Civilian casualties are

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<sup>79</sup> Karl Kaltenthaler, William Miller, and Christine Fair, "The Drone War: Pakistani Public Attitudes Toward American Drone Strikes in Pakistan," Paper prepared for Annual Meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association Meetings, Chicago, IL (April 13-17, 2012): 2, accessed June 14, 2013, <http://www.uakron.edu/dotAsset/4823799c-34eb-4b4f-992e-ac4a2261e0c4.pdf>.

<sup>80</sup> Afzal, "Drone Strikes And Anti-Americanism in Pakistan,".

<sup>81</sup> "Living Under Drones: Death, Injury, and Trauma to Civilians from US Drone Practices in Pakistan," Stanford Law School, and NYU School of Law (September 2012): 6-7, accessed June 13, 2013, <http://livingunderdrones.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Stanford-NYU-LIVING-UNDER-DRONES.pdf>.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>83</sup> Mehmood, "Drone Attacks," 12.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.,

hidied out by the US government to justify its clandestine drone operations which is in fact, not so precise regarding collateral damages. “It has been repeatedly said by the US administration that drone attacks are being carried with due care and are very precise and limited in terms of collateral damage. It adds to our list of wonders that you kill 140 innocents for each al-Qaeda operative terrorist and still you claim that attacks are precise and limited in terms of collateral damage.”<sup>85</sup> In his article, ‘Is secrecy on drone attacks hiding civilian casualties?’ Ken Silverstein says that, “Since early 2009, Barack Obama administration officials have been claiming that the predator attacks in Pakistan have killed nine of 20 top al Qaeda officials, but they have refused to disclose how many civilians have been killed in the strikes.”<sup>86</sup> Following are some US drone strikes discussed due to which civilian casualties occurred.

The International human rights and conflict resolution clinic, ‘Stanford law school’ and Global justice clinic, ‘NYU School of law’ in their research report, ‘Living under drones’ has discussed in detail the civilian casualties due to the US drone strikes. According to this report, Obama after few days of becoming president deployed the US drones to launch hellfire missiles which were on two houses, one in North Waziristan and another one in South Waziristan on January 23, 2009. The US news agencies posted these attacks as targeting the high suspected militants but, out of 10 people which, were killed by this drone strike, no one was identified as militant. All of them were civilians, of whom 3 to 4 were children. Thousands of tribesmen attended their funeral having hatred in their hearts against the US. In this report, researcher met with the only left, injured teenage boy, who was with full proofs, and evidences regarding casualties, and was confident to declare them innocent. Besides loss of relatives, he also lost his eye in this drone strike and his leg. As he was an intelligent student of his class, after this drone strike, he faced many hurdles in managing his studies. Victims of this incident also left behind their 3 to 9 children and their wives who are now facing harsh challenges in managing their daily life affairs.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>86</sup> Ken Silverstein, “Is Secrecy on Drone Attacks Hiding Civilian Casualties?,” accessed June 20, 2013, <http://harpers.org/blog/2009/06/is-secrecy-on-drone-attacks-hiding-civilian-casualties/>.

<sup>87</sup> “Living Under Drones,” Stanford Law School, and NYU School of Law, 66.

In same report from Stanford-NYU, researchers discussed another drone strike which killed tribal elders of Datta khel, North Waziristan, when they were attending a Jirga on a dispute. This incident occurred on March 17, 2011, and US government had officially declared all of them insurgents who were killed in this drone strike. According to evidences collected by Stanford-NYU researchers, at least 42 were killed and most of them were civilians. According to this report, a Jirga was to be held on a dispute on chromite mine, in which all stake holders, tribal elders, and many of Khassadars were supposed to attend this conflict resolution meeting. In this Jirga, 4 men from local Taliban were required to sit, as this was a necessary norm according to the terms and conditions of Jirga. The Maliks or tribal elders had also informed local military posts about that Jirga many days before, and tribal elders were having no fear of drone strike, because for them, drone strikes were only for terrorists and combatants. So they were confident of attending Jirga. When Jirga started, the US drone launched a hellfire missile on this Jirga, which killed all the attenders of Jirga, instead of one, who was left alive, but lost his leg, eyesight and hearing. Among those tribal elders, many left 8 to 10 children behind them, who are now in a critical situation regarding earning of money to take care of their families. Government had offered 3 to 4 lac rupees to the families of deceased ones but, they refused to take this money, because according to them, their relatives were priceless, and government was trying to count them in price.<sup>88</sup>

In same report from Stanford-NYU, another incident is discussed due to which civilian casualties occurred. According to this report, the US drone launched 5 to 6 hellfire missiles on a car in which 5 person were sitting travelling to their village named Spulga, which is in North Waziristan. All of them were declared as militants by the US government but, the fact was that, none of them was a militant, but innocent civilian who were going to their village in their car. Among them, two were cousin to each other, of whom one was a taxi driver who worked for Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA). One was a student. One was running his pharmaceutical shop and another one was also a teenage student, who was working in a pharmacy shop of the former. The above stated two cousins left 4 to 5 kids behind and their wives. Their

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 57.



families are traumatized by this incident and wife of one of the deceased one is suffering mental illness by this great shock of losing her dearest husband. Children whom they had left behind are not in the age to know that what actually happened to their fathers. But it is for sure that, one day they will come to know about this. Relatives of the deceased ones with help of other villagers staged a protest before funeral, claiming to the government that, their relatives who were killed in this deadly drone attack were actually not terrorists or militants but innocent civilians.<sup>89</sup>

The basic thing, on which drone mechanism works, as stated earlier in theoretical framework chapter, is the micro metallic chip, which CIA provides to local poor informers to throw it in areas where militants live. These poor and unreliable informers for the sake of money do this job. God knows better where they drop these chips. Analyzing this, Asif Mehmood says that, “The innocent residents of tribal area are at the mercy of these informers. If an informer wants someone die along with one’s family, he simply has to drop a microchip near one’s home and drones are there to do the rest.”<sup>90</sup>

Another incident described by Asif Mehmood in his research paper has been considered as the deadliest drone strikes. According to, Asif Mehmood, “On Tuesday, June 23, 2009, the drone aircraft struck a funereal gathering in the Makeen district of South Waziristan, leaving behind 80 innocent people killed. It is considered the deadliest ever drone strike. People were gathered for a funeral procession of a militant killed earlier in the day in a prior drone attack, when three missiles were fired in the crowd.”<sup>91</sup>

The Damadola incident of January 13, 2006 is also another tragic event of civilian casualties. The people were gathered at a dinner, which is a cultural norm because it was the sacred day of eid-ul-azha. A drone predator launched hellfire missile on this gathering of eid-ul-azha night killing 22 people in which, many children and women died. They all were suspected as militants but, none of them was militant. They all were innocent civilians.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>90</sup> Mehmood, “Drone Attacks,” 16.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 22.

Above few stated incidents clearly show that innocents are dying due to the US clandestine drone program. It also creates hurdles in way of Pakistani government to tackle prevailing chaotic situation.

#### **4.2 Drone attacks in Pakistan and International law:**

Many people were killed due to the US government and CIA's clandestine predator drone program, in Pakistan. Among them, many were civilians. Some of them were killed when they were attending Jirga, which was for conflict resolution, some of them were killed when they were attending funeral, some of them were hit while they were offering prayer in mosque, some were killed when they rushed to give medical assistance to those who had been killed and injured in a drone strike. Many small children and innocent women have also been killed in these deadly drone strikes. There are also many civilians, some of whom lost their legs, eyes, and hearing. Besides their lives, properties of these tribal people were destroyed by drone strikes. The US government has done its best, to hide these civilian casualties or either, legitimized their acts. It is also interesting to see that, the US government have no care of civilian casualties caused due to its drone strikes and on other hand, they criticized Israel for extra judicial killings of Palestinians due to Israeli drone strikes, as ambassador of the US to Israel, Martin Indyk said on record that, "the United States government is very clear on record as against targeted assassinations. . . There are extra judicial killings and we don't support that."<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, in this part of the chapter, objective is to highlight the fact that beside killings of these innocent tribesmen by the US predator drones, do these innocent civilians have some words of relief for them in the International law? And is the US on right and justified path regarding civilian casualties in Pakistan due to their drone strikes, in International law, or she is just breaking it?

Following are some articles of Geneva conventions, human rights commission, Hague rules of air warfare, and UN resolution, in the light of which, it will be easy to ascertain position of the US.

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 18.

According to article 4 of 4th Geneva Convention (12 August 1949), tribal people are protected people. Article 4 says, “Persons protected by the convention are these who, at a given moment and in any manner whatsoever, find themselves, in case of a conflict or occupation, in the hands of a party to the conflict or occupying power of which they are not nationals.”<sup>94</sup>

Article 33 (PART 3) of Geneva Convention says, “No protected persons may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed. Collective penalties and likewise all measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited.”<sup>95</sup>

The US drone strikes in Pakistan, for many times launched hellfire missiles on those who came to rescue and give medical assistance to drone victims, as was in Raghazai, on June 18, 2009.<sup>96</sup> It was to give message to people that to not even rescue these drone victims. For this, Article 17, of additional protocol 1, of Geneva Convention (August 12, 1949) says that:

“The civilian population shall respect the wounded, sick and shipwrecked even if they belong to the adverse party and shall commit no act of violence against them. The civilian population and aid societies, such as National Red Cross Societies shall be permitted even on their own initiative, to collect and care for the wounded, sick and shipwrecked even in invaded or occupied areas. No shall be harmed for such humanitarian acts.”<sup>97</sup>

Article 10 of the Additional Protocol 1 also for these rescuers says that:

“(1) All the wounded, sick and shipwrecked to whichever Party they belong, shall be respected and protected.

(2) In all circumstances they shall be treated humanely and shall receive the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, the medical care required by their condition. There shall be no distinction among them founded on any ground other than medical ones.”<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 53.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 57.

Many civilians are being killed in these drone strikes, mere on suspicion or wrong information. For this Article 48 of the Geneva Convention IV says:

“The parties to the conflict shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives and accordingly shall direct their operations only against military objectives.”<sup>99</sup>

Article 51, in additional protocol of Geneva Convention, is seemed to be one of the complete article, in which rights of civilians are discussed in detail. According to this article:

“1- The civilian population and individual civilians shall enjoy general protection against dangers arising from military operations.

2- The civilian population as such, as well as individual civilians, shall not be object of attack. Acts or threats of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population are prohibited.

3- Civilians shall enjoy the protection afforded by this section, unless and for such time as they take a direct part in hostilities.

4-Indiscriminate attacks are prohibited.

Indiscriminate attacks are:

a. Those which are not directed at specific military objectives.

b. Those which employ a method or means of combat which cannot be limited at a specific military objective; or

c. Those which employ a method or means of combat the effects of which cannot be limited as required by this protocol;

d. And consequently, in each case, are of a nature to strike military objectives and civilians of civilian objects without distinction.

5- Among others, the following types of attacks are to be considered as indiscriminate:

a. An attack by bombardment by any methods or means which treats as a single military objective a number of clearly separated and distinct military objectives located in a city, town, village or other area containing a similar concentration of civilians or civilians or civilian objects; and

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 60.

b. And attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilian,

damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated.

6- Attacks against the civilian population or civilians by way of reprisal are prohibited.”<sup>100</sup>

But many of the US drone strikes had ruined civilian houses, mosques which are sacred places of worship. What should be expected by the US in civilian damages, because they didn't even spare the house of God. Many drone attacks are launched mere on doubts that a place might be occupied by terrorist, irrespective of acknowledging that, there might be civilians too.

Article 52(3) Additional Protocol of Geneva convention, is prohibiting attacks done mere on doubts. This article says:

“In case of doubt whether an object which is normally dedicated to civilian purposes, such as a place of worship, a house or other dwelling or a school, is being used to make an effective contribution to military action, it shall be presented not to be so used.”<sup>101</sup>

For precautionary measures, Article 57 of Geneva Convention IV, chapter 4 says:

“1. In the conduct of military operations, constant care shall be taken to spare the civilian population, civilians and civilian objects.

2. With respect to attacks, the following precautions shall be taken:

a. Those who plan or decide upon an attack shall:

i. Do everything feasible to verify that the objectives to be attacked are neither civilians nor civilian objects and are not subject to special protection but are military objectives...

ii. Take all feasible precautions in the choice of means and methods of attack with a view to avoiding, and in any event minimizing, incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians and damage to civilian objects.

iii. Refrain from deciding to launch any attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 60-61.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 63.

thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated;

b. An attack shall be cancelled or suspended if it becomes apparent that the objective is not a military one or is subject to special protection or that the attack may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian object or a combination thereof, which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated;

c. Effective advance warning shall be given of attacks which may affect the civilian population, unless circumstances do not permit.”<sup>102</sup>

But it is surprising that no precautionary measures, as stated above are adopted by the US government and CIA, while launching hellfire missiles from their drones.

Article 3 of the Human Rights, Universal Declaration says:

“Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of persons”<sup>103</sup>

But it seems that, this right to life, liberty and security is for others and not for Pakistani tribal innocent civilians.

Article 5 of Universal Declaration (UDHR) says:

“No one shall be subjected to torture, or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”<sup>104</sup>

But besides killing, the US drones have injured many civilians, of whom, many of them lost their eyes, legs, and hearing.

Article 17 of the above (UDHR) says:

“No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property”<sup>105</sup>

But many houses of the poor civilians are destroyed by these drones.

Article 20 of (UDHR) says:

“Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association”<sup>106</sup>

But innocent tribesmen cannot even go to funerals, fearing from drone strikes.

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 64-65.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.,

Article 6 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) says:

“Every human being has inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.”<sup>107</sup>

But innocent tribesmen are being butchered on daily basis in these drone strikes.

Hague Rules for Air warfare (1923) are also important to notice, which are relevant to drone strikes. Article XXII of Hague rules says:

“Aerial bombardment for the purpose of terrorizing the civilian population, of destroying or damaging private property not of a military character, or of injuring non-combatants is prohibited”<sup>108</sup>

But innocent civilians cannot sleep peacefully. All time they have fear of unpredictable drone strikes.

Article 25 of the Hague Convention IV says:

“The attack, or bombardment, by whatever means of towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings, are undefended and prohibited.”<sup>109</sup>

The UN resolution of December 19, 1968, which is on human rights, clearly prohibits bombardment of civilians. It says:

“b. It is prohibited to launch attacks against the civilian populations as such;

c. That distinction must be made at all times between persons taking part in hostilities and member of the civilian population to the effect the latter be spared as much as possible.”<sup>110</sup>

But people are being killed by these drone strikes mere on the basis of suspicion and doubts, resemblance of their heights with heights of the terrorists.

The question regarding legality of CIA’s involvement in Drone strikes arises here that, whether CIA’s clandestine drone operations are legal or not? Michael Walzer, in his book ‘Just and Unjust War’ says that, “Under what code CIA operates? I don’t know. The military operates under a legal code and it has a judicial mechanism. There should be a limited finite group of people who are targets, and that list should be publicly defensible

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 79.

and available. Instead, it is not being defended. People are being killed and we generally require some public justification when we go about killing people.”<sup>111</sup> CIA is not a part of the US army, but it takes part in hostilities. It shows CIA’s mercenary nature, which is defined in article 47 of UN resolution.

Article 47 of Additional protocol 1 says that:

“Mercenary is a person who:

- a. is especially recruited locally or abroad in order to fight in an armed conflict;
- b. does, in fact, take a direct part in the hostilities;
- c. is motivated to take part in the hostilities essentially by the desire for private gain and, in fact, is promised, by or on behalf of a party to the conflict, material compensation substantially in excess of that promised or paid to combatants of similar ranks and functions in the armed forces of that party.
- d. is not a member of the armed forces of a party to the conflict; and
- e. has not been sent by a state which is not party to the conflict on official duty as a member of its armed forces.”<sup>112</sup>

Observing the above characteristics of mercenaries, given by UN resolution, CIA seems to be a mercenary, and acts of mercenaries are declared illegal by the UN.

After observing the above articles of international laws, the US’s and CIA’s clandestine drone program, clearly violates the International law.

### **4.3 Factors Arousing Anti-American Sentiments:**

Education plays a vital role in framing minds of any society. According to our personal experiences of life, we are on a track of learning. As we step forward, many new things reveal, to which, we were blind before. Our four year experience in GC University enables us to feel proud when we sit in discussion circles here in Lahore, and anywhere else outside Lahore, especially in the discussions with the youth of our village. There are many things, which pass through our eyes, might not be available to those who are not educated. But as we think of ourselves, we are not aliens in them. We are a part of this society. We can help the uneducated and unaware people through our knowledge, and

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 79-80.



yes, we are helping too, to aware uneducated and unaware people of our village, and elsewhere we sit and meet the people. According to Madiha Afzal, these educated people form, heart of the society, and hence, they matter a lot because, these educated people are working for Pakistan. In media, these educated people have lion's share because, if we check out newspapers, not a single day is there that, in these newspapers, we not find the articles on the US attitudes, the US drone policy towards Pakistan, the US aims and interests in Pakistan, and analysis on the US's hypocritical, dual faces.<sup>113</sup> The US has also done its best, to get control over these sound minds because they can create a mess for the US. The US government, to gain sympathy, has launched many Fulbright scholarships, and cultural exchange programs for students of Pakistan, of whom, many belong to northern areas of Pakistan. But this effort of the US seems to be discouraged, as youth of Pakistan is becoming more educated; they become more anti-US.<sup>114</sup>

Media has basic role in shaping minds of the people of society. Media of Pakistan, no doubt, has left no space for the US, as in current scenario of the war on terror, journalists, and news anchors are conducting many social awareness programs. Geo news, and many other Pakistani news channels, almost daily, criticizes the US clandestine drone program due to the collateral damages by drone strikes.

Imran khan, the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf, on other hand, has criticized the US drone policy towards Pakistan, on many occasions, and in his every procession, before the 2013 elections. The general perception about grabbing majority seats, in KPK, by PTI, is this that, what Imran khan was talking about, he has got a right ground for him to play. No doubt, Imran khan is considered, as most influential change factor, and his contributions in the awareness of youth of the society, are countless. Imran khan once launched a mass rally, towards, South Waziristan, as an anti-American drone campaign, in which, thousands of people, including a group of dozens of the US anti-war activists joined this rally. The US anti-war activists were of the opinion that, they are joining this

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<sup>113</sup> Afzal, "Drone Strikes And Anti-Americanism in Pakistan,".

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.,

rally because they know their government is committing international crimes regarding war on terror.<sup>115</sup>

Religious elites also play their vital role, in furnishing, the existing anti-American sentiments in religious minded people of society. As it is observed that, majority of the Pakistani population is religious minded, and many people of rural areas, send their children to madrassas for Islamic education. The basic notion of religious elites is this that, the US is at war with Islam, which helps to shape minds of most of the people of Pakistan, who are religious minded people, and turned them against the US. The JUI, JI, and many religious parties, although have some contradictions in their sects, and beliefs, or political ideas, but they all are one against the US. In this regard most of radical and fundamental religious people think that Al-Qaeda is at right path because, it is a war between west and Islam.<sup>116</sup>

Political parties like, Difa-e-Pakistan, JUI, and JI, had also criticized the US's policies towards Pakistan. PTI, on many occasions had pressurized the existing government to openly oppose the US drone policy towards Pakistan because, silence of Pakistani government on this issue creates a perception that, Pakistani government is with the US government in this drone program, which further increase tensions for Pakistan, in the shape of increase in suicide bombings.

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<sup>115</sup> "Americans join Imran Khan's march against US drone warfare in Pakistan," accessed June 20, 2013, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/oct/06/imran-khan-march-us-drone-warfare-pakistan> .

<sup>116</sup> Kaltenthaler, Miller, and Fair, "The Drone War," 13.

# Chapter: 5

## Drone Attacks: Consequences and Impacts on Pakistan

The US drone policy towards Pakistan after 2004 have no doubt, affected each and every person of drone affected areas of Pakistan. Those who are not directly affected by these drones also have fear of these deadly drone strikes in their hearts and minds. They are left with no hope of help and mercy from others rather than, their own native tribesmen. They look after in a way that, when drone attack happens, crushing houses, killing innocent people, and many more who had lost their legs, eyes, hearing, and mind, these tribesmen go there, collect pieces of human bodies, tie them in a piece of cloth not knowing, to who's body these pieces of flesh belong. After collecting these pieces, tribesmen then arrange a combine funeral of all these dead victims of drone strike and then burry them

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all, without knowing, what crime these innocents have committed to which they are sentenced to such a disgusting death. No one from outside comes to share their sorrows but mourners and tribal natives share sorrows with relatives left of drone victims. This is because these mourners and tribesmen know and feel each other sorrows as they, in one form or other are being affected by these deadly drones. People are affected by these covert drone strikes in form of losing house, shop, vehicle, injuries or deaths of the loved ones. But it is observed that, drone operators don't like their sharing of sorrows, and tribal attitude of helping one another during crucial time when innocent people are being hit by these drone strikes. Drone operators hit the same place twice or thrice with duration gap of five or six minutes which cause further deaths. In re-strike, mourners and those people who come to rescue the injured people are killed. These tragic events increase fear factor among tribesmen who due to fear of re-attack, cannot be able to collect pieces of their drone affected natives. Many of these tribesmen have left their customary norms of going to one another houses at weekly and monthly gatherings and gatherings of special occasions as Eid and marriages. Many people due to continuous fear have lost their minds and many became psych patients, who cannot sleep properly and get up after any type of noise, thinking that, it might be drone, which is going to launch hellfire missile to pierce his body into pieces.

Many people in tribal areas are poor and have no fixed source of earning. Most of them do labor work to earn their two times meal. Now, if these tribesmen can only manage their daily meal, the injured ones on the other hand, is another heavy stone on their heads. In most of drone affected families, two to three injured people are there. The expenditure rises high above lacs on these injured people which becomes very hard to manage for these poor people, and the US government instead of helping these poor drone affected people, reject the news and notion of civilian casualties, knowing that their drone technology, although identify human beings but, these drone cannot distinguish between militants and civilians, between mosque and houses, and shops.

Following are some impacts of drone attacks on the drone affected areas of Pakistan.

## **5.1 Impact on the Will to Rescue The Injured and to Give**

### **Medical Assistance:**

As discussed earlier, tribal people live together under a love bond and mutual harmony. They care for each other and share their happiness and sorrows because, they feel, happiness and sorrows of other tribesmen as their own. After drone program policy of the US towards Pakistan, these tribal people were still having care for each other but this is now affected by clandestine drone operations as generally mentioned “Double Tap”<sup>117</sup>. In this type, a drone predator hit one place, two to three times consecutively, with duration gape of few minutes. Due to these re-strikes, rescuers and helpers are also killed. Chris woods of (TBIJ) has reported in February 2012 that, “Of the 18 attacks on attacks on rescuers and mourners reported at the time by credible media, twelve cases have been independently confirmed by our researchers. In each case civilians are reported killed, and where possible we have named them.”<sup>118</sup> With this fear, no one now goes to help drone victims and injured people and cannot go to drone affected area for several hours. In North Waziristan, some Humanitarian organizations had redesigned their policies due to these re-strikes of drones. According to a health professional of North Waziristan, “One humanitarian organization had a policy not to go immediately to a reported drone strike because of follow up strikes. There is a six hour mandatory delay. Therefore, it is only the locals, the poor, who will pick up the bodies of loved ones.”<sup>119</sup> Even on a road, if drone affected injured people ask for help, no one stops their vehicles to help them because, people know that, if they lift these drone affected injured people in their vehicles to carry them to hospital, their vehicles will also be droned. According to a person of North Waziristan, when he was travelling in his car, he saw a drone strike over a vehicle at a distance from him. He thought that, if he goes there, he will also become prey of drone re-strike. But with sense of humanity, he tried to go there to rescue injured people of that drone strike. When he was at some distance from that site, another hellfire missile from drone struck that vehicle which resulted in death of those remaining people in

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<sup>117</sup> “Living Under Drones,” Stanford Law School, and NYU School of Law, 74.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 76.

vehicle, who were injured from a strike before at that same vehicle. Among those who were killed, there was also a teacher sitting in that vehicle.<sup>120</sup>

## **5.2 Impacts on Property and Economy:**

Besides death and injuries, people also lost their precious houses and shops, which were their places of earning. Each of their houses was of price worth more than 5 to 6 lacs. It is because when drone hellfire missile strike any target, the attached two to three houses are also affected by this. Already poor people got these houses from their parents and grandparents. Now it is hard for them to rebuild these houses. According to a farmer, who lost his house in a drone strike, “A drone struck my home. . . . I was at work at that time, so there was nobody in my home and no one killed. . . . Nothing else was destroyed other than my house. I went back to see the home, but there was nothing to do—I just saw my home wrecked. . . . I was extremely sad, because normally a house costs around 10 lakh, or 1,000,000 rupees [US \$10,593], and I don’t even have 5,000 rupees now [US \$53]. I spent my whole life in that house . . . my father had lived there as well. There is a big difference between having your own home and living on rent or mortgage. . . . I belong to a poor family and my home has been destroyed . . . and I’m just hoping that I somehow recover financially.”<sup>121</sup>

There is also an economic loss in a form that, if a family is drone affected and a person who was earning money for his family had been killed in a drone strike, it becomes hard for his family left, consisting his wife and children, to manage their daily life affairs. This family and hundreds other like this, spend their days and nights in a very crucial situation. A strike survivor told about his friend’s family, who was killed in a drone strike. His friend, according to him, “left behind a mother, two sisters, and a young baby brother. And they now live on whatever the village gives them as charity. The man’s younger brothers tried to go out as laborers but they cannot do it. The other village men help them. And there are sometimes these neighbors that give them food, sometimes not, but they are basically living on charity.”<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 78.

### **5.3 Psychological Impacts:**

Families of drone affected areas are in general traumatized. Each and every person, including children, women, aged people, who are directly or indirectly affected by these deadly drone strikes, are having severe shock of these drone strikes. According to Michael Kugelman of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, “I have heard Pakistanis speak about children in the tribal areas who become hysterical when they hear the characteristic buzz of a drone. Imagine the effect this has on psyches, and particularly on young ones already scarred by war and displacement.”<sup>123</sup> People fail to sleep properly at night, and during day time due to continuous buzzing sound of drone. People cannot concentrate on their any type of work due to these drone strikes. One of our friends, Faiq khan who belong to North Waziristan, and currently studying in GC University Lahore, shared his feelings with us. He said that, “I cannot concentrate on my studies living here in Lahore because of the drone attacks in my village. My family lives there, and I think of them every time. I love my relatives very much, and I don’t want to lose them in drone attack.”<sup>124</sup> According to a person, who is father of three children, “Drones are always on my mind. It makes it difficult to sleep. They are like a mosquito. Even when you don’t see them, you can hear them, you know they are there.”<sup>125</sup> One of our friends, Khuram khan who belong to North Waziristan, and currently studying in GC University Lahore, shared his personal experience with us. He said that, “one night, I was using my laptop in the lawn of my house. I heard the buzzing sound of drone which was very scary. I ran towards my room, and locked the door. That night, I didn’t sleep because of the fear of drone attack.”<sup>126</sup> This continuous fear has affected daily routine of these tribesmen. People even cannot eat properly with drones hovering over their heads. Many women lost their husbands and children in these covert drone strikes. Among these

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<sup>123</sup> “The Civilian Impact of Drones: Unexamined Costs, Unanswered Questions,” Centre For Civilians in Conflict and Human Rights Clinic at Columbia Law School (2012): 24, accessed June 13, 2013, [http://civiliansinconflict.org/uploads/files/publications/The\\_Civilian\\_Impact\\_of\\_Drones\\_w\\_cover.pdf](http://civiliansinconflict.org/uploads/files/publications/The_Civilian_Impact_of_Drones_w_cover.pdf).

<sup>124</sup> Faiq khan (Anonymized Name) who belongs to North Waziristan, Pakistan, expressed his feelings with the researcher in an interview on (June 2, 2013).

<sup>125</sup> “Living Under Drones,” Stanford Law School, and NYU School of Law, 83.

<sup>126</sup> Khuram Khan (Anonymized Name) who belongs to North Waziristan, Pakistan, expressed his feelings with the researcher in an interview on (June 3, 2013).

women, many had lost their mentality, and many women after getting this great shock, act abnormally as weeping and screaming all the time. According to a person, who describes condition of his sister in law, who had a great shock after the death of her children and husband, “After their death she is mentally upset...she is always screaming and shouting at night and demanding me to take her to their graves.”<sup>127</sup> A psychiatrist described his patient, who was a female, “She was having shaking fits, she was screaming and crying . . . . I was guessing there might be some stress . . . then I discovered there was a drone attack and she had observed it. It happened just near her home. She had witnessed a home being destroyed—it was just a nearby home, her neighbor’s.”<sup>128</sup>

#### **5.4 Impacts on Education:**

Drone attacks have also a severe impact on education system of these tribal areas, where drones are deployed to launch hellfire missiles. How a student can concentrate on his studies in this havoc situation. According to Faheem Qureshi, who survived in a drone strike, “Our minds have been diverted from studying. We cannot learn things because we are always in fear of the drones hovering over us, and it really scares the small kids who go to school. . . . At the time the drone struck, I had to take exams, but I couldn’t take exams after that because it weakened my brain. I couldn’t learn things, and it affected me emotionally. My mind was so badly affected.”<sup>129</sup> Buzzing sound of these horrifying drones and their terrifying characteristics have affected studies of many students. Many people have pulled out their children from schools because they cannot afford their school expenses due to ongoing expenses on their injured relatives caused by drone strikes. Many children, due to loss of their parents, are at mercy of others. An underage girl, who lost her parents in a drone strike who is now with her aunt, says that, “I have no source of income with my parents gone... my aunt looks after me now and I help her in the house... but I want admission to school. I want education.”<sup>130</sup> But who will tell her that, her aunt might only be able to afford her, not her education. A drone strike also

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<sup>127</sup> “The Civilian impact of Drones,” Columbia Law School, 24.

<sup>128</sup> “Living Under Drones,” Stanford Law School, and NYU School of Law, 86.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>130</sup> “The Civilian impact of Drones,” Columbia Law School, 25.



injured a boy who lost his leg and eye and his family members. He says that, “I wanted to be a doctor... but I can’t walk to school anymore. When I see others going, I wish I could join them.”<sup>131</sup> Education in these tribal areas was not good already, but drones made it worse. On importance of education and destruction of educational system due to drone strikes, a Malik says that, “We want our children to get education, to take our story to the world and get exposure for what’s going on here. We lag behind because of our lack of education and lack of facilities in our area. . . .We want our girls and boys to get a proper education. We want someone to become a doctor, someone to become an air pilot, but just because of drone attacks we can’t take them to school, can’t allow them.”<sup>132</sup>

### **5.5 Impact on Mutual Trust:**

As stated earlier in chapter 2, drone technology also relies on metallic chips. These chips are provided by CIA to local agents who further distribute these chips among local poor informers. The poor informers, in need of money throw these chips on targeted areas. Samina Ahmed, who is a policy analyst, says that, “Many have told her that the Americans have got people, who throw parchiz [a local word for chips] into a car, or at the side of a house, and then the drone comes and it attacks that target.”<sup>133</sup> Most of these drone strikes were not exactly on their targets and they had killed civilians. Due to this, element of distrust came among tribal people. The notion was that, local informers throw chips in houses of their rivals to take revenge and local informer might be any one among local tribesmen. A resident from a drone affected area says that, “People have internal enemies and conflicts with each other. To get revenge on another party, they put chips on that house, which then signals to the drones that the house is a target.”<sup>134</sup> This brought an element of distrust among tribesmen, as according to Farah kamal, “People start to think that other tribes are throwing the chips. There is so much confusion and mistrust created within the tribal communities. Drone attacks have intensified existing mistrust.”<sup>135</sup>

### **5.6 Impediment to Negotiations and Peace:**

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>132</sup> “Living Under Drones,” Stanford Law School, and NYU School of Law, 92.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 100.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.,

Drone attacks have varied effects on process regarding negotiations with Taliban, and peace in Pakistan. This is the US policy of striking Taliban inside Pakistan's territory. Pakistan from the US drone policy is facing chaotic situation, and increase in suicide attacks. It is observed that, whenever Pakistan government tried to negotiate with Taliban, the US drones became hurdle in way of negotiations. In 2004 the famous treaty of Shakai was to be signed between Nek Muhammad and Pakistan government, but it was failed. Among many reasons of failure of this treaty, one reason was hitting of Nek Muhammad from drone. After the death of Nek Muhammad, his group became stronger, and started violence against Pakistani government. After that, Pakistan government, for several other times managed to sit in negotiation with Taliban, but the US drones made Taliban out of negotiation.<sup>136</sup> Sohail Habib is of the opinion that, "Consequently even when an agreement with the militants was in the works, US drones strikes continued inside Pakistan. These strikes not only violated Pakistan's sovereignty but also undermined the state's ability to ensure the promised peace and cessation of hostilities."<sup>137</sup>

One other aspect of drone attacks in Pakistan which have affected the whole process of resolution, and widening the existing gap between TTP and government is that, drone attacks link us with the war of the US. The US drone attacks created the sense that, if the US is targeting her targets in Pakistan, and Pakistan has not taken proper actions for countering the US drone strikes under her territory, the notion will always be there that Pakistan government's consent is involved in it. In Pakistan, there were some groups of Taliban, which had good relations with Pakistan government, as in South Waziristan, in Wazir tribe there was Mullah Nazir group, which was in alliance, and cooperation with government. The Nazir group fought with Uzbek fighters, and pulled them out of South Waziristan on government's demand. This group didn't create any disturbance in the area, but the leader of this group, Mulla Nazir was killed in a drone strike. The killing of

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<sup>136</sup> Sohail Habib Tajik, "Analysis of Peace Agreements with Militants and Lessons for the Future," Pakistan institute of peace studies, 6, accessed July 5, 2013, <http://san-pips.com/download.php?f=140.pdf> .

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 14.

Mullah Nazir by the US drone strike affected peace of South Waziristan.<sup>138</sup> “Saifullah Khan Mehsud, executive director of the FATA Research Center, said that his death could unleash chaos given that Nazir tried to contain the Pakistani Taliban and keep Wazir tribes and militant groups united. Nazir had sporadic alliances with Pakistan's umbrella Tehreek-e-Taliban faction, which is dominated by members of the rival Mehsud tribe. If he is dead then it is a big problem for the Wazir tribe, it is a big problem for the Pakistani army.”<sup>139</sup>

### **5.7 Reactionary Effects:**

Every action has a reaction, and this is the universal concept, and we have applied this concept to our conceptual framework. The US drone policy also had a reaction, and Pakistan has faced a lot because the reaction was from the Taliban's side, and Taliban increased the suicide attacks as a reaction to the US drone attacks. Whenever the US drone strikes them, in the reaction, the Taliban hit Pakistan government's property, and innocent people. TTP has targeted our security agencies as a reaction. This is because Pakistan government had no clear policy in war on terror, and that led us to be the part of that war. Drone attacks come in the same way as Pakistani government has no clear policy regarding the containment of drone strikes in Pakistani territory, and these covert strikes continued from 2004 up till now which link us with the war of the US. The Taliban's reaction to drone strikes caused a lot of disturbance in Pakistan. Taliban have killed many security officials of Pakistan government.

Drone attacks have made Taliban very much angry because many members of Taliban are being killed in these covert drone strikes. In reaction, Taliban have created more violence, claiming that it is their revenge of the members killed in drone strikes. Faisal Shahzad, who was arrested in New York while planting bomb in time square “On 21 June

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<sup>138</sup> “The death of Waziristan's Mulla Nazir, and American victory on Pakistani loss?,” Jamestown Foundation, accessed July 6, 2013, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews%5Bsword%5D=8fd5893941d69d0b%20e3f378576261ae3e&tx\\_ttnews%5Bany\\_of\\_the\\_words%5D=CSTO&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=40365&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=f7780b4396f309e3d6dcc1626b6291b](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Bsword%5D=8fd5893941d69d0b%20e3f378576261ae3e&tx_ttnews%5Bany_of_the_words%5D=CSTO&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=40365&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=f7780b4396f309e3d6dcc1626b6291b) .

<sup>139</sup> “Mullah Nazir killed in South Waziristan drone strike: officials, The Nation, Monday July 1, 2013,” accessed July 6, 2013, <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/national/03-Jan-2013/mullah-nazir-killed-in-south-waziristan-drone-strike-officials> .

2010, Pakistani American Faisal Shahzad told a judge in a Manhattan federal court that he placed a bomb at a busy intersection in Times Square as payback for the US occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq and for its worldwide use of drone strikes.”<sup>140</sup> Drone attacks increase the radical elements in society, as most of the society is religious and has sympathy for those who are fighting against the US. The people of drone affected areas have faced many civilian casualties of their relatives. Those who have lost their parents, children, or other loved ones, however were not radical, but they turned radical due to their hatred against the US.

# Conclusion

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<sup>140</sup> Boyle, “The Costs and Consequences of Drone Warfare,” 1.

It is obvious that, after the US led war on terror, the phenomenon of anti-Americanism has got importance. Although there were anti-American sentiments in Pakistan before the war on terror, but these sentiments are increased after that war due to US unilateral policies to achieve her interests which had also affected the people of Pakistan. No doubt, the anti-sentiments in Pakistani society were against India, and India was considered as the prior enemy of Pakistan, but after the war on terror, and the US deployment of covert drone strikes in Pakistan's northern areas, these anti-sentiments turned from India more over to the US. In Pakistan, people hate the US now more than India. The US had declared al-Qaeda and Taliban as terrorists and started unilateral policies to eliminate these elements from areas where they reside. The US government should have taken this case for fair and legal trials, but the US government started a unilateral program to eliminate them. Pakistan is affected very much from this war on terror because its borders are attached with Afghanistan, and many al-Qaeda members for having safe heavens, take asylum in the northern areas of Pakistan. The US and CIA's drone operation was started in Pakistan in 2004, to target these al-Qaeda members, and drones are still operating there. These covert drone strikes resulted in many civilian casualties while hunting the 'high value' targets. President Obama has adopted the policy of 'to kill and not to capture', and his government is much successful in this policy of killing, but what? The answer for us will be definitely the innocent civilian casualties in Pakistani drone affected areas, and obviously not the high value targets, because they were quite few in comparison with the civilian casualties. Many independent research organizations have criticized these covert drone strikes in Pakistan due to many flaws in the drone technology. The drone technology relies on the local, unreliable informers who throw metallic chips provided to them by CIA, and thermal cameras which stops working in bad weather and at night. But drones are seen to be hovering for 24 hours in the northern areas of Pakistan without taking care of bad weather and darkness of the night, and many strikes are noticed at night, God knows what they target at night with blurred cameras. The US government has defended its drone technology many times, by declaring it the most sophisticated and precise technology, but one thing is for sure, that thermal cameras

although identify the human beings, but these cameras are not capable of distinguishing between civilians and terrorists. People and families of drone affected areas of Pakistan are being traumatized by these covert drone strikes. Many have lost their relatives, parents, houses, and shops. Many are facing economical problem. This is also obvious that, these drone strikes turn a non-radical person to be a radical one, and enable him to join a militant group where he can take the revenge of his innocent relative's blood and satisfy his anger.

The daily life of the people is filled with fear due to drone attacks. The civilian casualties have increased hatred against the US in hearts and minds of the people living in drone affected areas. Pakistanis which are not affected by these drone strikes also have anti-American sentiments due to their fellow Pakistanis' extrajudicial killings through the US drones, and this is also proved by many polls results.

Education has also played a vital role in increase in anti-American sentiments. Educated elites which are related to media, through their columns, articles, research works, and the TV shows are showing the dual face of the US. It is also proved by observation of the history that the US is just a seasonal friend of Pakistan, and whenever she needs to pursue her interests in Pakistan, she comes to make Pakistan ally, and in crucial times she left Pakistan alone on many occasions. Pakistan has faced many sanctions from the US. Media has its own role, highlighting issues regarding Pak-US relations, and the ongoing covert drone strikes in Pakistan, and the extra judicial killings of civilians, and the collateral damage due to it. This has also increased anti-American sentiments in Pakistani society. Many political parties like PTI, JUI, and JI have openly condemned the drone strikes in Pakistan, and have pressurized the sitting government to take practical steps against these covert drone strikes.

A massive increase in suicide attacks is seen after these covert drone strikes. After every suicide attack, the message from Taliban is that this suicide attack was the revenge of the drone strike. These drone strikes are also a hurdle in the way of negotiation with Taliban because, whenever Pakistan's government tried to negotiate with Taliban, the drone attacks ruined the process of negotiation by targeting those elements to which, Pakistan government tried to negotiate. If the US can sit in Qatar to negotiate with Taliban, then

Pakistan's government can also negotiate with them to find the cure of chaotic situation in Pakistan, and for this Pakistan's government should design a sound and clear policy. It is observed that, in both cases, civilians are being killed which has nothing to do with the terrorists, and the war on terror. These covert drone strikes are also violating sovereignty of Pakistan and violating the International law. Pakistan's government should have a clear policy regarding drone attacks because they are violating the sovereignty of the state. The silence, and only theoretical and vocal approaches by government officials and state representatives on the issue of drone attacks, leave a loophole, and creates a perception in Pakistani society about Pakistan's connivance with the US. This is also a reason of increase in the suicide attacks.

Moreover, the tribal areas of Pakistan, where tribesmen were comfortable with the Jirga system of solving disputes, drones have snatched away the tribal elders from these tribesmen. These tribesmen are now left with no roofs on their heads. These innocent tribesmen are at mercy of God. The government of Pakistan should think about her tribesmen, and provide security of life to them because this is their constitutional right.

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# Appendix



*10 Year old Nadia whose Father and Mother were killed in a drone strike, and she is left now with no source of income. She lives with her aunt now.*

*Source:*

[http://civiliansinconflict.org/uploads/files/publications/The\\_Civilian\\_Impact\\_of\\_Drones\\_w\\_cover.pdf](http://civiliansinconflict.org/uploads/files/publications/The_Civilian_Impact_of_Drones_w_cover.pdf) .



*6 Year old Sameeda Gul was injured in a Drone Strike in Pakistan on October 21, 2009.*

*Source:* <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2011/08/11/more-than-160-children-killed-in-us-strikes/> .





*7 Year old Syed Wali Shah who was killed in a drone strike in Pakistan on August 8, 2009.*

Source: <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2011/08/11/more-than-160-children-killed-in-us-strikes/>.



*Syed Wali Shah's Parents, and the Parents of many innocent Children like him, who were killed in drone strikes in Pakistan are having protest.*

*Source:* Pakistan\_drone+attack.jpg. arcticcompass.blogspot.com.



*Gul Nawaz, a Pakistani Civilian whose house was destroyed in a Drone strike. 11 members of his family were also killed in this strike including women and children.*

*Source:*

[http://civiliansinconflict.org/uploads/files/publications/The\\_Civilian\\_Impact\\_of\\_Drones\\_w\\_cover.pdf](http://civiliansinconflict.org/uploads/files/publications/The_Civilian_Impact_of_Drones_w_cover.pdf) .