

FRC Security Report Third Quarter 2012

July to September

Dedicated to the innocent victims of conflict



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The report was shared with Saifullah Mahsud, Executive Director to seek expert opinion and consultation.

FATA Research Centre

FRC is a non-partisan, non-political and non-governmental research organization based in Islamabad. It is the first ever think-tank of its kind that focuses on the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in its entirety. The purpose of FRC is to help concerned stake holders better understand this war-ravaged area of Pakistan with independent, impartial and objective research and analysis. People at FRC think, write, and speak to encourage all segments of Pakistani society and the government to join their strengths for a peaceful, tolerant, progressive and integrated FATA.

This FRC Quarterly Security Report reviews recent trends in conflict such as the number of terrorist attacks, type of attacks, tactics used for militancy and the resulting casualties. It gives updates and other security trends. The objective of this security report is to outline and categorize the forms of violent extremism taking place, the role of militant groups and the scale of terrorist activities. This report is the result of intensive monitoring and research by the FRC team.

FRC also inherits certain limitations due to the persistence of high-intensity security zones in FATA. The research center collects data through its field reports and other reliable sources present on the ground. The area under discussion is security sensitive so spans of curfew, cross firing and / or other limitations on mobility are common in different parts at different intervals. Thus, the number of actual occurrences of violence may be greater than those are being quoted here, mainly due to under reporting.

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List of Abbreviations

APA:	Assistant Political Agent
AL:	Aman Lashkar
BA:	Bajaur Agency
FATA:	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FDA:	FATA Development Authority
FC:	Frontier Corps
FR:	Frontier Region
FCR:	Frontier Crimes Regulation
IDP:	Internally Displaced Persons
IED:	Improvised Explosive Device
KPK:	Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa
KHA:	Khyber Agency
KA:	Kurram Agency
LeJ:	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
LI:	Lashkar-e-Islam
MA:	Mohmand Agency
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NWA:	North Waziristan Agency
OA:	Orakzai Agency
SWA:	South Waziristan Agency
SF:	Security Forces
Sect:	Sectarian
TTP:	Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan

Glossary

Military Operation: Large-scale operations launched by military and paramilitary troops against militants and separatist insurgents in FATA to preserve law and order and the writ of state.

Operational Attack: Pre-emptive attacks launched by military and paramilitary troops to purge an area of militants.

Militant Attack: Indiscriminate use of violence by militant outfits such as Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Lashkar-e Islam (LI) and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) etc., manifested through suicide attacks, beheadings and destruction of educational institutions, CD/video shops, etc.

Security Forces: Groups including the military, frontier corps, frontier constabulary, Khassadar force and the police to combat militants and militant attacks.

Inter-tribal Clash: Clashes or feuds reported between tribes, mainly in FATA.

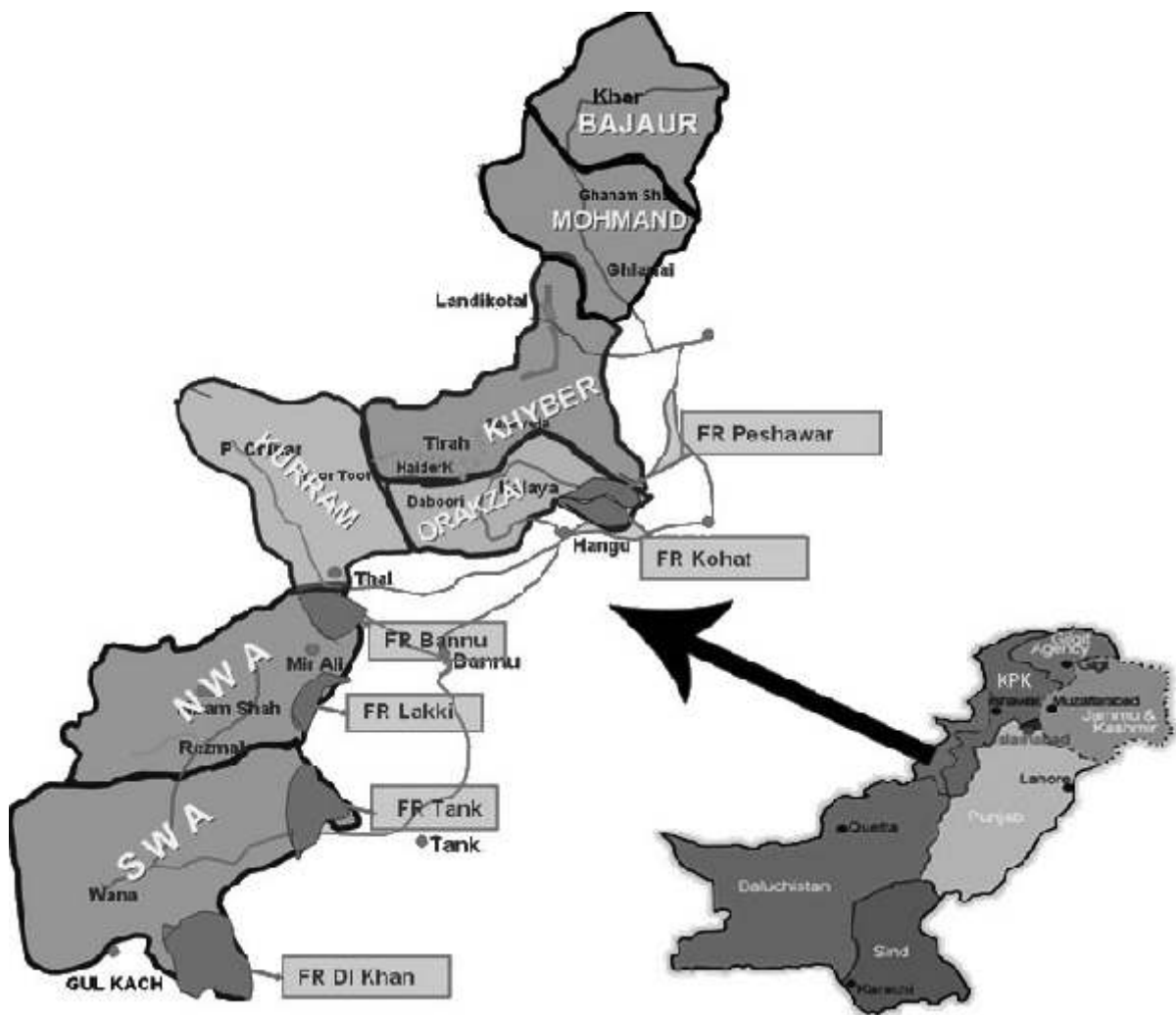
Sectarian Attacks: Indiscriminate use of violence on differences between the various Islamic schools of thought. Incidents involve indiscriminate use of violence perpetrated by banned sectarian outfits against rival schools of religious thought.

Sectarian Clashes: Violent clashes between armed factions of banned sectarian outfits or between followers of rival sects such as Sunni/Shia, and Deobandi/Barelvi strife. Sectarian clashes also include tribal feuds between followers of Sunni and Shia schools of thought such as in Kurram Agency, where Sunni Turi tribesmen frequently clash with Shia Bangash tribesmen.

Peace Forces: People from tribes of FATA who are battling militants and terrorists on the ground. Examples include the *Aman Lashkar*/Civil Militias/Peace Committees.

Total Number of Casualties: The sum of total killed and injured in FATA due to violence and social unrest.

Map of FATA



FRC Quarterly Security Report (July to September) 2012

Introduction

In today's world, FATA is often cited as a region rife with militants, and as such the area is seen as a center for militancy and a global source of terrorists. However, besides having certain administrative and political problems, the region has overall been one of the most peaceful areas of Pakistan since 1947. The agencies remained intact and largely stable even during, and after the Soviet Union attack in Afghanistan, a conflict right on FATA's porous borders. However, due to political difficulties that have been present since Pakistan's independence, combined with the absence of credible political leadership and a renewing of conflicts on its borders (with the US invasion of Afghanistan), FATA's largely administrative issues have succumbed to pressure, resulting in violent conflict in the region.

Armed conflict not only takes many lives in the region, but it also destroys the region's physical and economic infrastructure, which has a direct impact on the environment and political stability in the region. Despite the loss of life and the destruction of any socio-economic development efforts, there has been very little research or analysis attempting to understand the true nature of the conflict in the region and its effects on its people.

FATA Profile

The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is strategically located on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, between the settled areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. FATA, both historically and traditionally, has had a unique administrative and political status since British control over the area in 1894. In 1893, a demarcation line was drawn between Pakistan and Afghanistan known as the Durand Line, marking the boundary of British control and artificially dividing the lands held by the local tribes between the two domains. British colonizers controlled the agencies through an effective combination of Political Agents and Tribal Elders while leaving people with their traditions and internal independence. The administrative head of each tribal agency is a Political Agent who wields extensive powers. Each agency, depending on its size, has about two to three assistant political agents, about three to four Tehsildars, four to nine Naib Tehsildars and requisite supporting staff. Pakistan inherited this system and it continues, with a few minor changes even today. FATA is characterized by a very strong tribal structure, and a very diverse, ethnic cultural heritage. There are 26 main tribes with approximately 32 sub tribes in FATA. FATA's population is estimated to be 4.45 million with an average growth rate of 3.76 percent and an average household size of 12.2 since 1998. Administratively, the Governor of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) is the chief executive for FATA as an agent of the President of Pakistan. There are three administrative set-ups, namely, the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions (SAFRON), the FATA Secretariat, and FATA Development Authority (FDA) which supports and runs FATA under the direction of the Governor KPK. FATA is governed through the Frontier Crimes Regulation Act (FCR) of 1901.

FATA SECURITY OVERVIEW

Overall view of violent occurrences

The security situation in FATA remained unstable during the third quarter of 2012. There were reports of persistent attacks by militants on security forces, civilians and educational institutions. At the same time, military operations against militants in Bajaur Agency continued unabated, killing 209 militants. The rate of US drone attacks in 3rd quarter remains similar to the 2nd, having 13 drone attacks. A total of 171 incidents were reported with 1269 casualties including 878 killed and 391 injured. Khyber and Orakzai Agency have reportedly faced the greatest number of incidents (66 and 34 respectively) in the region, while Mohmand and South Waziristan Agencies reported the least number of incidents (10 each).

The following table shows number of incidents and casualties in the seven agencies of FATA during the third quarter of 2012.

Security Situation in FATA Third Quarter 2012				
S. No.	Agency	Incidents	Killed	Injured
1	Bajaur	18	302	66
2	Muhmand	10	10	8
3	Khyber	66	102	97
4	Orakzai	34	257	51
5	Kurram	13	35	100
6	NWA	20	131	50
7	SWA	10	41	19
Total		171	878	391
Total Number of Casualties		1269		

Nature of Attacks

Clashes between security forces and militants were the most commonly reported violent attacks in FATA, with 48 such incidents this quarter, out of a total of 171 incidents. Such clashes killed 337 people, and injured 71. Bomb blasts, occurring 30 times in the last quarter alone, are the second most common type of violent incident in the region. Car bomb blasts, roadside blasts and others took 71 lives and injured a total of 171 individuals. Improvised Explosive Devices (IED) took a total of 24 lives and injured a total of 27 people with 20 such attacks occurring in the region. The following table gives in greater detail the number of attacks, individuals killed and injured separately in all seven agencies of FATA during the third quarter of 2012.

Nature of Attacks in FATA Third Quarter 2012				
S. No.	Nature of attacks	Incidents	Killed	Injured
1	Military operation	1	209	0*
2	Clashes b/w security forces and militants	48	342	71
3	Attack on military	3	4	13
4	Cross border attack	7	43	37
5	Terrorist attack	6	8	6
6	Bomb blast	30	71	127
7	Kidnapping	5	3	0
8	Firing	7	11	2
9	Drone attacks	13	113	15
10	Target killing	8	8	4
11	Suicide attack	1	10	20
12	Mortar shells	11	23	41
13	Clashes b/w tribal lashkar and militants	4	6	5
14	Landmine	7	3	23
15	IED	20	24	27
Total		171	878	391

*The details of injured were not available

The third quarter overall saw an increase in violent incidents in FATA. A systematic breakdown of violent occurrences shows that clashes between militants and security forces caused the greatest loss of life in the region with over 300 people dying in such attacks. Military operations by the Pakistani army follow close behind resulting in 209 deaths. The third major cause for loss of life in the region was drone attacks by the US military, resulting in 113 deaths. Other incidents include bomb blasts, targeted killings, kidnappings and mortar shells, each costing less than a 100 lives each. Looking at these numbers it is clear to see that militant activities like blasts and kidnapping etc are not the only cause of instability in the region, but rather, the presence of the military is a greater contributor with the total deaths of military operations, combined with clashes with security forces being greater than 550 out of a total of 878.

Although this initial level of analysis indicates the presence of the military as problematic in the region, it is important to view these numbers in context. Without military presence, the area would be under militant control, as past efforts at negotiations with militants have failed without stern military backing. Additionally, it is important to note (and a statistical breakdown further down in this report will further reveal) that when security forces are involved, although there are some civilian casualties, the majority of those injured or killed are militants. This is in stark contrasts to those cases in which only militants are involved.

Type of victims

During the third quarter of 2012 a total of 1269 casualties were reported including 878 killings and 391 injuries. These included 625 militants, 479 civilians, 126 security personnel and 39 peace forces personnel.

S. No.	Casualties Type Second Quarter 2012	Killed	Injured
1	Militants	540	85
2	Civilians	236	243
3	Security Forces	77	49
4	Peace Forces (<i>Aman Lashkar</i>)	25	14
Total		878	391

Comparative Analysis: 2nd and 3rd quarter 2012

A comparative analysis between the second and third quarter of 2012 shows a worsening insurgent situation across the agencies in FATA. The third quarter saw 45 more violent incidents than the second quarter, resulting in 259 more casualties. The third quarter also saw a rise in clashes between security forces and militants. There was a significant increase in incidents in Bajaur and Orakzai agencies. The increase in casualties in Bajaur is largely due to the military operation in which more than 200 casualties occurred. In Orakzai, the main reason of escalation was clashes between security forces and militants in upper Orakzai agency and the increase in casualties is also because of this.

The following table shows in detail, a comparison between the second and third quarters across FATA for incidents, killings and injuries.

Comparative Security Situation in FATA Between Second and Third Quarter 2012							
S. No.	Agency	Incidents Second Quarter 2012	Incidents Third Quarter 2012	Killed Second Quarter 2012	Killed Third Quarter 2012	Injured Second Quarter 2012	Injured Third Quarter 2012
1	Bajaur	8	18	48	302	100	66
2	Mohmand	17	10	47	10	38	8
3	Khyber	39	66	182	102	153	97
4	Orakzai	14	34	91	257	11	51
5	Kurram	17	13	80	35	53	100
6	NWA	22	20	126	131	33	50
7	SWA	9	10	27	41	21	19
Total		126	171	601	878	409	391
Total Casualties 2 nd Quarter				1010			
Total Casualties 3 rd Quarter				1269			

The overall security situation remained unstable during the third quarter of 2012

Bajaur Agency (BA)

Bajaur Agency (BA) is geographically the smallest agency in FATA. Despite its size, it is strategically important to Pakistan and Afghanistan as it shares a 52 km border with Afghanistan's Kunar province. Bajaur's population is estimated to be between 850,000 and 900,000. The small town of Khar is the administrative capital of the agency. A majority of the population belongs to the Tarkani Tribe, a Pushtun tribe with several sub tribes or clans, such as Utman Khel , Tarkalan, Mamund, and Safi. The Utman Khel clan is present largely in southeast Bajaur whereas the Mamund clan is based in the southwest. Bajaur also faces a significant militant problem, with the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan , Tehrik Jaish Islami Pakistan, the Karawan Naimatullah group, the Dr Ismail Group and the Moulana Abdullah Group asserting their presence in the region.

Security Situation in BA

With the presence of so many militant groups, Bajaur was marred by violence this last quarter. There were a reported 18 incidents this quarter, including a major military operation lasting two full weeks, killing an estimated 209 militants.

Security Situation in Bajaur July to September	
Military operation	1
Clashes b/w Security forces and militants	4
Attack on military	1
Cross border attacks	7
Firing	1
Bomb blast	3
Target killings	1
Number of attacks	18
Killed	302
Injured	66
Total Number of Casualties	368

Casualty types

Facing 18 attacks in total, the total number of casualties in Bajaur was 368 people out of which 302 were killed and 66 were injured. The following table shows the casualties segregated as militants, civilians, security forces and peace forces (*Aman Lashkar*).

Casualty Types	Killed	Injured
Militants	209	29
Civilians	39	25
Security Forces	35	9
Peace forces (<i>Aman Lashkar</i>)	19	3
Total	302	66

Comparison between the 2nd and 3rd Quarter 2012 in BA

The third quarter saw a hundred and twenty five percent increase in violent incidents from the second quarter (from eight incidents in the second quarter to eighteen in the third). The largest number of casualties reported happened due to a military operation in the agency, killing 209 militants. Bajaur also faced 7 cross border attacks in the third quarter, a type of attack absent in the second quarter. The following table shows the comparison between the last quarter and the 3rd quarter 2012.

Security Situation in Bajaur Agency		
Comparison of Two Quarters	Second Quarter 2012	Third Quarter 2012
Criminal activity	1	-
Terrorist attacks	5	-
Search operation	1	-
Suicide attacks	1	-
Military operation	-	1
Clashes b/w security forces and militants	-	4
Attack on military	-	1
Cross border attacks	-	7
Firing	-	1
Bomb blast	-	3
Target killing	-	1
Number of Attacks	8	18
Killed	48	302
Injured	100	66
Total Number of Casualties	148	368

Early on in the quarter, two militants were killed and eight others injured as security forces fought off a cross border attack by the Mamond Quami Lashkar in the town of Kagga. After this attack, Mamond tribal elders in Bajaur threatened to take action against any militant cross border attacks. This decision, as well as the support of the Pakistan Army resulted in militants fleeing the Bajaur/Kunar border in to Afghanistan and security forces once again regaining control of the region. Militancy in Bajaur, particularly along the border with Afghanistan resulted in many internally displaced people, who had to leave their homes in search for safety and security. Bajaur's political administration has now set up five registration points for individuals and families who have been displaced due to militant attacks in the hopes of organizing and relocating those affected. Additionally, tribal elders in the region have announced a strengthening of the Salarzai Quami Lashkar, in the hopes of improving the security situation in the border regions of Bajaur.

On 24th August 2012 militants across the border in Afghanistan launched a surprise attack on Pakistani soil. Catching the Pakistani army unawares, militants managed to take control of key border regions in Bajaur Agency. The Pakistani army however struck back and killed 29 Taliban fighters in the Batwar area, and forced hundreds of insurgents back across the border. As many as 87 militants, 18 security personnel, 14 volunteers of the local peace committee and 20 civilians including 8 women and 6 children were killed and several injured in the clash.

Overall, cross border attacks in FATA occur most often in Bajaur. Militant groups including the TTP (who were expelled during military operations, and are based in Afghanistan's Kunar province) are alleged to be involved in such terrorist activities. Nuristan and Kunar are perceived as poorly governed areas in Afghanistan and that is why alleged militant sanctuaries lie there. Pakistan has repeatedly demanded Afghanistan to flush militants out of the border area but these demands have not been met. Apparently, it is believed that NATO forces in Afghanistan face resource constraints and are already too far stretched and so cannot assist in flushing out militants from the border areas.

On the other hand, Hundreds of *Aman Lashkar* (Pro government Peace Committee) members have lost their lives in fighting militants in cross border attacks. As mentioned earlier, during the third quarter there was a spike in overall terror attacks in the agency but these were predominantly outside in nature from across the border in Afghanistan. Tribal Lashkars have proven to be an effective force to counter militancy in Bajaur, however, there is little insight into their funding and compensation mechanism, and this is a cause for concern in the region.

Within Bajaur, the government seems to have established control, resulting in few violent incidents occurring within the agency itself. This seems to be different from other regions and so it is speculated that this change is largely due to Bajaur society's feudal nature and so there is a hierarchy in authority (Nawab, Khan and Malik) where as societies in agencies like South and North Waziristan are egalitarian in nature.

Overall, government writ in Bajaur is being strengthened; internal peace is stronger however, cross border attacks need to be looked into. Overall, internal differences within the ranks of TTP are impacting its overall capacity.

Mohmand Agency (MA)

Mohmand Agency came into being as a separate agency in FATA in 1951. With Ghalani as its administrative capital, MA is 2,296 square kilometers and borders Bajaur Agency in the north, Khyber Agency in the south and Malakand/Charsadda in the southeast. With around 32,000 households in the agency, it has an estimated population of 325,000.

The population is divided amongst many tribes in MA, the majority being Musa Khel, Daud Khel, Mero Khel, Tarakzai, Utman Khel and Halimzai. The Safi tribe is a minority in the region; however it is the most radically traditional tribe.

Security Situation in MA

The security situation remained unstable in the agency with 10 incidents and 18 casualties.

Security Situation in Mohmand July to September	
Clash b/w security forces and militants	2
Target killings	1
IEDs	2
Firing	1
Blasts	2
Kidnapping	1
Landmine	1
Number of Attacks	10
Killed	10
Injured	8
Total Number of Casualties	18

Casualty types

Mohmand agency had a total of 18 casualties in the third quarter, which included 10 individuals killed and 8 others injured. Out of the ten killed there were 4 militants, 4 civilians, 1 security force personnel and 1 peace force volunteer. Out of the 8 injured, 3 were civilians and the other 5 were security force personnel.

Casualty Types	Killed	Injured
Militants	4	-
Civilians	4	3
Security Forces	1	5
Peace forces (<i>Aman Lashkar</i>)	1	-
Total	10	8

Comparison between the 2nd and 3rd Quarter 2012 in MA

Mohmand Agency had fewer violent clashes, and as such, fewer casualties in the third quarter than in the previous quarter. Another positive development was that there were no terrorist attacks; search operations or border clashes in MA, which is another step forward from the second quarter where such instances occurred at least once during the second quarter.

Security Situation in Mohmand Agency		
Comparison of Two Quarters	Second Quarter 2012	Third Quarter 2012
Criminal activity	1	-
Clash b/w security force and militants	4	2
Terrorist attacks	8	-
Search operation	1	-
Border clash	3	-
IEDs	-	2
Firing	-	1
Target killing	-	1
Blasts	-	2
Kidnapping	-	1
Landmine	-	1
Number of Attacks	17	10
Killed	47	10
Injured	38	8
Total Number of Casualties	85	18

In MA, the government does seem to have more control of the region than in the previous quarter. The political administration set up three more check posts in the region, all located in Khwezai tehsil and this seems to have had a positive impact in the region, however target killings, kidnappings and firings still occur in the region indicating internal strife.

A son of a pro-government peace committee chief survived a roadside blast in Halimzai tehsil which led to further talks where the elders of the Halimzai tribe assured the political administration of their support in restoring peace in MA.

Mohmand Agency's social structure is similar to that of Bajaur's, where Nawabs, Khans, and Maliks provide a hierarchical, almost feudal structure to society insuring obedience of some sort from fellow tribesmen. The tribal elders have a positive relationship with the political administration, which was made evident on Pakistan's Independence Day when a prize ceremony was held in MA to honor and

award 225 tribal Maliks, officials and other key note figures in the area for playing an active role in restoring peace and stability to the agency.

The agency does however have pockets of resistance and as such is still marked as unstable. Difference mainly center around administrative and tribal clashes as the local anti-taliban peace committee accuse the Political Agent of certain misgivings.

For his own role, PA, Mr. Adil Siddiqui urged the heads of peace committees and common tribesman to fulfill their collective responsibility and check movement of militants in their respective areas. The argument here is that the Frontier Crimes Regulations hold that tribes are expected to fulfill their own territorial responsibilities, including those responsibilities of security and law and order. The peace committee however wants greater involvement from the government as they fear they cannot fight of the Taliban on their own.

Khyber Agency (KHA)

Khyber Agency is located in the heart of FATA, sandwiched between Mohmand, Khurram and Orakzai Agencies. Spanning 2,576 square kilometers, KHA has a population of about 600,000. Its administrative capital switches depending on the seasons, with Peshawar being its winter capital and Landikotal being the administrative base during the summers. The Afridi tribe, with around eight clans makes up the majority of the population in the region however there are important pockets of Mallagori, Shilamni, and Shinwari tribes as well.

Lashker-e-Islam of Mangal Bagh Afridi, Ansar ul Islam of Qari Mahboob ul Haq, the Naamdar group and the slained Tariq Afridi Group of TTP are the main militant groups active in Khyber Agency. Mangal Bagh Afridi, a local militant, is currently in conflict with the slained Tariq Afridi group and Abdul Wali group of TTP.

Security Situation in KHA

Khyber Agency was the worst affected area in both the second and third quarter 2012. In the 3rd quarter a total of 66 attacks took place resulting in a total of 199 casualties, including 102 killed and 97 injured in KHA. The security situation in the region remained very tense during the reporting period. A poor law and order situation was reported in the agency which is evident from the number of incidents and casualties. Security forces are reported to have launched operations in the agency. Since there are several militant groups operating in the area, the security situation remains fragile. During the third reporting quarter Khyber Agency underwent many devastating incidents having the highest rate in bomb blasts (16) resulting in 18 deaths and 12 injured. The following table shows in detail the numbers and kinds of incidents and casualties occurred in the agency.

Security Situation in Khyber July to September	
Kidnapping	1
Clash b/w SFsand militants	14
Clashes b/w tribesman and militants	3
Mortar shells	10
IED	14
Bomb blast	16
Target killing	4
Firing	3
Terrorist attack	1
Number of Attacks	66
Killed	102
Injured	97
Total Number of Casualties	199

Casualty types

In the third reporting period there were a total of 102 killings and 97 injuries respectively. Killings included 51 militants, 45 civilians and 6 security force personnel. 9 militants, 79 civilians, 7 security force personnel and 2 peace force personnel were left injured.

Casualty Types	Killed	Injured
Militants	51	9
Civilians	45	79
Security Forces	6	7
Peace forces(<i>Aman Lashkar</i>)	0	2
Total	102	97

Comparison between the 2nd and 3rd Quarter of 2012 in KHA

Comparatively, there were fewer incidents of violence in the third quarter of 2012, following this there were also fewer casualties in the third quarter. There was no criminal activity and no clashes between tribal lashkars and militants. There were bomb explosions this quarter however, with a total of 16 being recorded. The following table shows comparative figures for the last quarter and the third quarter of 2012.

Security Situation in Khyber Agency		
Comparison of Two Quarters	Second Quarter 2012	Third Quarter 2012
Operational attacks	9	-
Clash b/w SFs and militants	1	14
Clash b/w tribesman and militant	4	3
Terrorist attacks	14	-
Clash b/t tribal lashker and militants	7	-
Criminal activity	2	-
Bomb blasts	-	16
Target killing	1	4
Border clash	1	-
Mortar shells	-	10
IED	-	14
Firing	-	3
Terrorist attack	-	1
Kidnapping	-	1
Number of Attacks	39	66
Killed	182	102
Injured	153	97
Total Number of Casualties	335	199

The first incident of the quarter centered around Farida Afridi, a female NGO worker in KHA. She was shot dead by unknown armed men in Jamrud Tehsil.

Other incidents centered around NATO containers resulting in life and material losses. Volunteers of peace committees were also killed. Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) asked all non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and owners of shops dealing in mobile phone ring tones to close down their offices and shops in Khyber Agency.

Clashes between *Aman Lashkars* (Peace committees) and militants were also reported. Militants were also killed in security forces shelling on suspected hideouts in Tirah Valley and Shalobar area of Bara tehsil.

The central *shura* (Committee) of the Zakhakhel tribal militia, known as Tauheedul Islam (TI), removed commander Dost Muhammad as the deputy head of the peace body and replaced him with Komandaan alias Munshi. The Shalobar *Aman Lashkar* has offered amnesty to all militants involved in petty crimes and asked them to play their role in restoring peace in Bara tehsil of Khyber agency.

In addition to these violent incidents, administrators in Khyber also confirmed that militants demanded the release of 20 militants in exchange for 20 Peshawar Electric Supply Company employees.

After the killing of Tariq Afridi differences between followers of Tariq Afridi group and Abdul Wali Alias Umar Khalid, head of TTP in Khyber increased. Abdul Wali was head of the TTP Mohmand faction and moved to Afghanistan after a military operation in Mohmand. He later returned and set up base in Tirah, where he was made head of TTP Khyber by Hakimullah Mahsud. He belongs to the Mohmand agency. After the killing of Tariq Afridi, there is confusion among different ranks of TTP militants; and leaders have started to feel threatened for their lives. The situation remains unstable and must be closely observed as critical decisions are being made amongst the top tier of militants in the region.

Orakzai Agency (OA)

Orakzai Agency is located in a mountains tract in FATA. Lying in-between Kurram Agency, Peshawar, Khyber and Kohat, the region was given agency status in 1973 by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Spanning 1,538 square kilometers, OA has a total population of about 530,000. The administrative capital of the region in Kalaia town. The main majority of the population belongs to the Orakzai tribe, however there are other tribes present in the region including the Ali Khel tribe, the Mullah Khel tribe, the Mishti tribe, and the Shaikhan tribe. In OA, as opposed to other agencies, many of these tribes have assimilated into the Orakzai tribe and consider themselves as such. TTP is the main militant group active in Orakzai Agency, along with some reported activity by the Shia Hydri Taliban. Shia Hydri Taliban is mainly concerned with countering attacks from the TTP.

Security Situation in OA

A total of 308 casualties were reported in Orakzai Agency, with 257 people killed and 51 injured from 34 attacks.

Security Situation in Orakzai July to September	
Clash b/t security forces and militants	22
Blast	5
Landmine	1
IED	4
Clash b/w tribesman and militant	1
Kidnapping	1
Number of Attacks	34
Killed	257
Injured	51
Total Number of Casualties	308

Casualty types

Out of total 308 reported casualties 257 were killed and 51 were found injured. There were 208 militants, 34 civilians, 15 security force personnel killed while 34 militants, 13 civilians, 3 security force personnel and 1 peace force member was found injured. Following table shows the details.

Casualty Types	Killed	Injured
Militants	208	34
Civilians	34	13
Security forces	15	3
Peace forces(<i>Aman Lashkar</i>)	-	1
Total	257	51

Comparison between 2nd and 3rd Quarter 2012 in OA

Orakzai Agency faced an increase in violent activity in the 3rd quarter of 2012. There was a 201% increase in the number of casualties between the quarters, with 102 people suffering in the second quarter and 308 in the third quarter. The number of those killed more than doubled, with 91 dead in the second quarter and 257 dead in the third. The following table shows comparative data for the two quarters:

Security Situation in Orakzai Agency		
Comparison of Two Quarters	Second Quarter 2012	Third Quarter 2012
Clash b/w SFs and militants	2	22
Operational attacks	9	-
Miscellaneous attacks	3	-
Blast	-	5
Landmine	-	1
IED	-	4
Clash b/w tribesman and militant	-	1
Kidnapping	-	1
Number of Attacks	14	34
Killed	91	257
Injured	11	51
Total Number of Casualties	102	308

The table shows that the majority of damage in Orakzai Agency comes from the increase in clashes between Security forces and militants. Most of this fighting occurred in Upper and Lower Orakzai, on the borders of other agencies. Security forces jet fighters carried out many strafing attacks on militants' hideouts in Ghaljo and Dabori areas in northwestern Orakzai killing 10 militants and wounding several others. In Upper Orakzai security forces killed 14 militants. Search operations were also carried out, in particular in Mamozai Area and Gawak Area in Lower Orakzai. Elders of seven clans of the Orakzai tribes set a one month deadline for the government to repatriate tribesmen and women who had to leave Orakzai due to army involvement in the region.

Kurram Agency (KA)

The Kurram area was declared an Agency in 1892, while the region was still under British rule, and was made a part of Pakistan in 1947. Covering a total of 1,278 square kilometers, Kurram can be divided into three geographical areas, Upper Kurram (with an 80% Shia Muslim population), Central Kurram (with a 90% Sunni Muslim population), and Lower Kurram (with an 80% Sunni Muslim population). Kurram has North Waziristan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Orakzai Agency and Khyber Agency on its Pakistani borders. It also shares its border with Afghanistan, on the border of Nangarhar province, made famous due to the Al-Qaida base in Tora Bora.

Kurram Agency has a history of sectarian tension and clashes between the Sunni and Shia sects that have resulted in thousands of deaths on both sides. Major Shia militant groups include Hizbullah, Mehdi Militia and Hydri Taliban. Major Sunni militant groups include TTP, Tehrik e Taliban Islami Pakistan (TTIP) of Fazal Saeed Haqqani and Haqqani Network. Fazal Saeed Haqqani has separated from TTP and formed TTIP in Kurram Agency.

Security Situation in KA

The security situation in Kurram Agency remained volatile in 2012's third quarter. There were 135 casualties reported in 13 incidents. A total of 35 people were killed and 100 were injured.

Security Situation in Kurram July to September	
Clash b/w security forces and militants	2
Firing	1
Blasts	2
Target killing	1
Landmine	5
Kidnapping	1
Mortar shells	1
Number of Attacks	13
Killed	35
Injured	100
Total Number of Casualties	135

Casualty types

Out of total 135 reported casualties 35 were killed and 100 were found injured. There were 8 militants, 23 civilians, 1 security force personnel and 3 peace force personnel killed while 92 civilians and 8 security force people were injured.

Casualty Types	Killed	Injured
Militants	8	-
Civilians	23	92
Security Forces	1	8
Peace forces (<i>Aman Lashkar</i>)	3	-
Total	35	100

Comparison between 2nd and 3rd Quarter 2012 in KA

Comparative figures show a minor decrease in the intensity of the security situation, with a decrease in total number of incidents from 17 to 13. There is also a decrease in the total number of killings, which fell from 80 to 35, the number of injuries however almost doubled. The table below shows comparative figures for both quarters:

Security Situation In Kurram Agency		
Comparison of Two Quarters	Second Quarter 2012	Third Quarter 2012
Clash b/w security forces and militants	2	2
Terrorist	6	-
Operational attacks	8	-
Clash b/w tribal lashkers and militants	1	-
Bomb blast	-	2
Target killing	-	1
landmine	-	5
Firing	-	1
Kidnapping	-	1
Mortar shells	-	1
Number of Attacks	17	13
Killed	80	35
Injured	53	100
Total Number of Casualties	133	135

The quarter started with a pro-government tribal chief, Malik Abdul Wazah Khan gunned down in the area of Buggan in Parachinar. Clashes between security forces and militants in Masozai Area of Central Kurram were also reported. Five Tribesmen were also kidnapped from Kurram agency. A car bomb ripped through a crowded market at the busy Kashmir chowk in Parachinar, the capital of Kurram Agency, killing 14 people and injuring 76 others in what appeared to be a sectarian attack. Tall Parachinar road is open with some attacks reported on and off.

The Nature of extremism in Kurram Agency is different from that of other tribal agencies where Talibanization and Sectarian Violence accelerate each other. A dominant view in Kurram considers the sectarian tendencies in one sect invites extremism which further leads to the formation of militants groups in other sects. This sectarian conflict facilitates clashes between militant groups that have been supported or backed by national and international forces.

The war in Afghanistan has kept militancy alive in Kurram as the flow of Mujahideens through Kurram's porous borders. Kurram's militant problem is directly related to the US presence in Afghanistan. Additionally, in Kurram, where there is limited access to education, literacy plays an important role in triggering conflicts. Areas with high literacy rates are less prone to militancy and vice versa.

North Waziristan Agency (NWA)

North Waziristan borders South Waziristan, FR Bannu, Karak, Hangu, Kurram Agency and Afghanistan. Its headquarter is Miranshah and other major towns include Mir Ali and Razmak. It consists of three subdivisions and nine Teshils. The population of North Waziristan is estimated to be 840,000. Its total land area is 4,750 square kilometers. It is an extremely conservative area socially and religiously. Major tribes in the agency include the Utmanzai tribe and the Dawar tribe. There are dozens of militant groups operating in the area. Major militant groups include the Gul Bahadur Group, the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), the Haqqani Network, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), the Islamic Jihad Group (IJG), the Punjabi Taliban and the Abu Akasha Iraqi Group. Mullah Nazir is an ally of Gul Bahadur Group and TTP in NWA.

Security Situation in NWA

This quarter witnessed 20 incidents in NWA, with a total of 181 casualties including 131 killed and 50 injured. 13 US drone attacks were also recorded.

Security Situation in North Waziristan July to September	
Suicide attack	1
Attack on military	2
Terrorist/insurgent attack	4
Drone attacks	13
Number of Attacks	20
Killed	131
Injured	50
Total Number of Casualties	181

Casualty types

There was a total of 131 killings and 50 injuries. Out of the total dead, there were 39 militants, 89 civilians and 3 security force personnel. Out of the total injured, 42 were civilians and 8 were security force personnel.

Casualty Types	Killed	Injured
Militants	39	-
Civilians	89	42
Security Forces	3	8
Peace forces (<i>Aman Lashkar</i>)	-	-
Total	131	50

Comparison between 2nd and 3rd Quarter 2012 in NWA

The table below shows the variation between the two quarters. Comparative figures show an increase in the total number of casualties from 159 to 181. The total number of incidents decreased from 22 to 20 but the total number of casualties increased by 22. The table below shows comparative figures for both quarters:

Security Situation in North Waziristan Agency		
Comparison of Two Quarters	Second Quarter 2012	Third Quarter 2012
Kidnapping	1	-
Clash between tribesmen and militants	4	-
Drone attacks	11	13
Terrorist attacks	5	4
Suicide attack	-	1
Attack on military	-	2
Miscellaneous attacks	1	-
Number of Attacks	22	20
Killed	126	131
Injured	33	50
Total Number of Casualties	159	181

13 drones struck in different areas killing at least 113 people and injuring 15 others. The quarter started with a drone strike on the 1st of July in which seven suspected militants were killed in Shawal Tehsil. This was followed by a deadly drone strike in which 24 persons were killed in Gorweek village of Dattakhel Area.

Notable Events in 3rd Quarter 2012

Along with many others, the notable developments in this quarter were related to the consistent drone attacks that killed, among others, seven Uzbek militants; a Jarga among Maliks, Elders and TTP representatives in which TTP warned the tribal not to move towards settled districts of Pakistan but towards Afghanistan in case of military launches the operation; security forces' targeted operations against the militants and a loud gossip about the full scale military operation in the agency. Activities of the peace committee, Taliban's linking anti-polio campaign with drone attacks and shuffle among Taliban ranks were also prominent in this quarter in NWA.

Peace committee

The role of Peace Committee members, in countering the militancy was also visible in this quarter. Members of the North Waziristan Peace Committee (a permanent body named as 'Grand Waziristan Peace Jarga' consists of traditional and religious leaders of the area) launched a crackdown against anti-state elements and demolished suspected hideouts in NWA that were reportedly used for attacking security forces and government officials in Machis area. According to the reports the operation was launched on the direction of Political Administration on the basis of collective and territorial responsibility.

Taliban's imposed ban on anti-polio vaccination

Taliban imposed ban on a state-run polio vaccination campaign and resultantly this campaign failed in most of the areas of the agency. Taliban linked anti-polio campaign with US drone attacks and

proclaimed through spreading literature in the agency that they would not allow this anti-polio campaign until the US drone attacks were stopped. Undoubtedly, it was out of fear of Taliban that the most of tribal families did not support this anti-polio campaign in NWA. The writ of the state was seriously challenged by Taliban and majority of children could not be vaccinated against polio. Thus the plight of families residing in NWA was heightened as they were caught between the devil and the deep sea, i.e. neither they could influence the US to stop drone attacks nor they got a power to oppose Taliban for vaccinating their children. So, the US drone attacks, Taliban's strategy to use human shield against such attacks and polio germs in itself, all affected badly to the civilian population of the agency.

Targeted military operations

Army chief General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani paid a visit to North Waziristan unfolding security scenario in the region. There is an argument that the army seems to be stretched in other regions of FATA however their presence is still widely felt in NWA. Targeted operations often took in the third quarter; however the Gulbahadar and Haqqani groups were not targeted. Only the TTP and their allies, who have actively declared war against Pakistan, were targeted during military planned operations.

The Pakistan army said no understanding had been reached between Islamabad and Washington on a joint operation in North Waziristan, which ran contradictory to a Wall Street Journal report.

The Military establishment has categorically spurned the possibility of a joint Pak-US operation against the Haqqani Network in North Waziristan however; it has decided to scale up targeted operations against militant sanctuaries in NW. Given the frequency of drone attacks, the attacks are expected to continue in the fourth quarter. On the operation front, the dominant view is that the operation in NWA will create a severe back blow to the government as it is, not ready to face the consequences in the shape of IDPs and the resulting economic fallout. On the other hand militants groups in NW have previously proved their reach in Pakistan's settled areas repeatedly through bomb attacks and militant takeover of important military landmarks. More importantly, the operation will not succeed unless the links between the Pakistani Taliban and the Afghan Taliban are severed.

The reinforcement and safe escape opportunities into Afghanistan will not bear fruits for the military establishment in Pakistan. Peace in Afghanistan is a precondition for any military operation in NWA and vice versa. In an another scenario, if the Afghan Taliban get a better position and they strike a deal with the Afghan army/NATO forces, the Afghan government may be in a position to delink the Afghan Taliban from the Pakistani Taliban. On the same front, drone controversy needs to be addressed whereby the ownership of drones must be passed on to the government of Pakistan as requested by Pakistan Foreign Minister Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar.

Analysts believe that shifting of Taliban to Afghanistan will cause a great loss to Taliban, Mehsud think of themselves as superior and they don't trust their Afghan counterparts and feel insecure in Afghanistan, from NATO, Afghan Army and local allies. Shifting to Afghanistan will result in loss of business like theft, kidnappings and extortions and overall revenue loss. It is believed that TTP Mehsud Taliban will not shift to Afghanistan. For them living with families is difficult in Afghanistan. However, Gulbahadar (Utmanzai Wazir, Dawar) have strong links so they may go but Mehsud wont. Reason being, Mehsud are believed to be proud and hot headed and Mehsud are already cash strived.

Local Taliban shura and Maliks who support Taliban decided that tribal people would avail the option to take refuge in Afghanistan if the government launches a military operation in North Waziristan.

Insight into taliban groups

Reports suggest that Wali Rehman is getting stronger than Hakim ullah Mehsud. Hakimullah is believed to be on drugs these days, he is considered mentally weak, and is on constant run from military.

Hakimullah has also reportedly issued orders for killing Tariq Afridi and as a result has lost his support from high profile Taliban commanders. On the other hand, his counterpart Wali Rehman is considered comparatively cool minded, realist and rational.

In this quarter Tariq Afridi, chief of banned outfit Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Darraadam Khel chapter and key leader and commander, was killed by his brother-in-law. Local sources disclosed that Mr. Afridi was riding a horse when his brother-in-law shot him to death in Khyber Agency of the tribal region. The commander of banned outfit TTP was a proclaimed offender and on wanted list of Peshawar police in several kidnapping cases including the Polish engineer. Tariq Afridi was believed to have switched to Wali Rehman group, so Hakimullah was reported to have issued orders for killing him. Tariq Afridi, was a great source of revenue, so Hakimullah lost his major financial source. TTP is reportedly getting weak day by day. Divisions among its ranks are affecting its strength.

Khurasan group, the intelligence wing of NW Taliban, whose main assignment is to counter anti talib propaganda, had become more active during the third quarter. They were in low profile for few months but reportedly have regained activities.

Overall situation remains insecure; there is a great anxiety among people.

South Waziristan Agency (SWA)

South Waziristan is a mountainous region in North-Western Pakistan, bordering Afghanistan and covering an area of 6,620 square kilometers, with a total estimated population of 430,000. Waziristan is divided into two agencies for administrative purposes (South and North). It comprises of the area lying west and south west of Peshawar between the Touchi River to the north and the Gomal River to the south. South Waziristan is the largest agency in FATA. It has two headquarters, Tank in winter and Wana in summer. The civil administration in South Waziristan Agency has been functioning since 1895 under a Political Agent who administers civil, criminal and revenue cases in accordance with the Frontier Crime Regulation and Customary Law. The Agency is divided into three administrative sub divisions: Sarwakai, Ladha and lower Wana. There are five tribes in the region; namely the Mehsud, the Ahmadzai Wazir of Wana, the Bhattani of Jandola, the Burki of the Kaniguram area and the Dotani near the border of Zhob.

TTP and the Mullah Nazir group of Wana are the main militant groups active in South Waziristan Agency.

Security Situation in SWA

The overall number of casualties in the third quarter of 2012 reached 60 including 41 killed and 19 injured. 2 bomb blasts were also reported from the field. The Following table shows in detail the number of incidents that took place.

Security Situation in South Waziristan July to September	
Clash b/t security forces and militants	4
Target killing	1
Firing	1
Terrorist attack	1
Kidnapping	1
Bomb blasts	2
Number of Attacks	10
Killed	41
Injured	19
Total Number of Casualties	60

Casualty types

Casualty Types	Killed	Injured
Militants	21	13
Civilians	4	1
Security forces	16	5
Peace forces (<i>Aman Lashkar</i>)	-	-
Total	41	19

In the third quarter of 2012, SWA suffered 41 killings and 19 injuries through 10 violent incidents. Out of the reported killings 21 were militants, 4 were civilians and 16 were security force personnel. There were 13 militants, 5 security force personnel and 1 civilian was found injured.

Comparison between 2nd and 3rd Quarter in SWA

In comparison with the previous quarter, the number of casualties increased from 48 to 60. There was an increase in the total number of incidents by only 1 (from 9 to 10). There was a witnessed increase in killings from 27 to 41 in both quarters. The following table shows details of the incidents and casualties in both quarters:

Security Situation in South Waziristan Agency		
Comparison of Two Quarters	Second Quarter 2012	Third Quarter 2012
Clash b/t security forces and militants	3	4
Target killing	-	1
Drone attacks	3	-
Operational attacks	2	-
Terrorist attacks	2	1
Firing	-	1
Kidnapping	-	1
Bomb blast	-	2
Miscellaneous attacks	2	-
Number of Attacks	9	10
Killed	27	41
Injured	21	19
Total Number of Casualties	48	60

Issue of IDPs' rehabilitation

During this quarter, the 5th phase of repatriation of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) began under the supervision of the Army and civil administration to different areas of Tehsil Sararogha under which over 1500 affected families returned to the agency. However, TTP distributed pamphlets in the agency issuing death threats to the Mehsud IDPs, stating that the agency was a war zone where its militants were fighting against Pakistan security forces. The 6th phase of the repatriation was also initiated in the third quarter and 721 families returned to SWA.

Another warning came when the commander in chief of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Hakimullah Mehsud who said that the Taliban had extended their guerilla war to the settled areas of the country and were close to striking fresh targets.

Political Activities

Political activities are being initiated particularly in Wana where predominantly Ahmadzai Wazirs' have reached a point where people are able to initiate political activities. Banners of different political parties are visible at different locations.

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, first reported to have threatened PTI Chief Imran Khan over a march but then later denied reports in the media that they had threatened to kill Imran Khan if he entered Waziristan. However, the Hakimullah Mehsud led TTP had reportedly conveyed to the PTI's central leadership that they would not make any attempt to disrupt their scheduled peace march to Jandullah.

Military response to militancy

Army chief General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani also paid a visit to South Waziristan to celebrate Eid with the troops. Militants belonging to the Maulvi Nazir group attacked a security check point manned by the Pakistan Army soldiers in Azam Warsak area of South Waziristan agency. The soldiers retaliated and killed eight militants and injured 13 others. A soldier was also injured in the clash with militants. Eight soldiers and over a dozen militants were reportedly killed in another clash when Taliban stormed a check post in Badar area of South Waziristan.

The residents of Tehsil Tiarza were ordered to vacate the area, Ziarat Zay, Salway, Sanjla, Kondaygarr, Gharsar, and others, for a likely operation against militants but the Chief of the Difa-e-Pakistan council (DPC) Maulana Samiul Haq warned the government against launching a military operation in South Waziristan.

Kidnapping: a revenue source for TTP

Kidnappings being one of the main sources of revenue generation for Taliban, was also practiced in SWA by TTP. Eight workers of Gomal Zam dam were kidnapped including an engineer Mushtaq who was killed later on as the government failed to pay the ransom amount demanded by TTP. It is reported that the Taliban are asking for the release 17 TTP men and 150 million rupees in ransom for the kidnapped dam workers.

Clashes between army and TTP continued during the third quarter. Though it is being portrayed that the security situation is getting better, three years after launching the Rah-i-Nijat military operation in the Mehsud area of South Waziristan Agency, the government has denotified only one out of six subdivisions as a conflict zone in the volatile region since October 2009.

Conclusion

The report concludes that a huge number of human losses, including military personnel, civilians, militants, and members of peace committee, were witnessed as result of persisting conflict in FATA. A large number of casualties among the member of peace committee is an emerging phenomena; sometimes state sponsored civil militia (peace committee members) are left vulnerable to suffer in the many regions in FATA. Cross border clashes especially in Bajaur, along with causalities among militants, military and peace committee, played havoc with civilians. Kidnapping for ransom and other demands by Taliban and shuffle in the ranks and leader among militants groups was also noticeable. Drone attacks, though the US claimed targeting militants' hideouts, also affected the civilian population directly and indirectly.

Bajaur Agency's primary issue seems to be cross border attacks from militants across the border in Afghanistan. The porous border with Afghanistan means that even when militants are pushed out of the region, they face little resistance when they attempt to get back inside Pakistan's border. Although this point is troubling, it is important to note that military involvement is not the only solution in the region. Bajaur's social set-up calls for a hierarchical system where obedience to authority is observed. It is essential to utilize this system to ensure that the rule of law can prevail in the region. Thus in Bajaur, administrative reform, and a commitment to social development may be the key to resisting militants as opposed to military involvement from Pakistani side only.

Mohmand Agency is a testament to the solution suggested for Bajaur. Mohmand saw a decrease in violence in the region this quarter and saw no cross border violence or terrorist attacks. Like Bajaur, society in Mohmand Agency is feudally organized indicating that there is an adherence to authority. The administration and local tribal elders have by and large managed to maintain order in society. There are however pockets of resistance still, indicating a need for further efforts on the administrative and governance front.

Khyber Agency faced the bulk of violent incidents in FATA this quarter. Although overall attacks have decreased in the agency from the previous quarter the numbers are still dismal and indicate a worsening situation. Unlike in Bajaur and Mohmand social structure in Khyber is still tribal and as such lacks any enforcement power. Khyber also faces the issue of having the most number of militant groups within its borders who cause violence in the region two-fold. First off, each militant group plays the role of the moral police, disallowing any social change and sticking a strict and extremist Islamic code. Secondly, each militant group is at odds with the other causing internal strife in the region. The military holds that it is too stretched out amongst the other agencies to give greater importance to Khyber, however it is suggested that the army could lessen its presence in regions where the administration has some sense

of control and where there are little internal issues (like Bajaur and Mohmand) and focus more on agencies like Khyber that are finding it difficult to fight of militancy internally.

Orakzai Agency saw a major increase in violent incidents and casualties in the region this quarter. Although unstable, it must be noted that the majority of those engaged in violence were security forces and militants, and the majority of those suffering casualties by are large margin were militants. Although this still affects stability in the region, this ability to isolate militants and use the army effectively could be used in operations to come across FATA.

Kurram Agency is unique amongst the regions in FATA as the cause of its instability rises from sectarian differences as opposed to militant, or Taliban resistance to national forces. Kurram needs administrative assistance and an assurance of security for the minority Shia population in order to progress.

North and South Waziristan are the central focal points of Pakistan's Army's efforts at curbing militancy in the region, as well as America's War on Terror. Facing military operations as well as drone strikes the region has produced the largest number of IDPs from FATA and has lost most of its infrastructure. Despite the dismal situation, militant presence is still strongly felt in the region and combined with other social factors, such as low literacy rates, lack of electricity in region and little or no access to the outside world means that change in the area will be slow and hard to come by. Unlike Bajaur and Mohmand society in North and South Waziristan is tribal and as such anarchical, with power being exercised by the militants in a coercive and violent manner. It is important in this region to weed out the extremists, through military means before efforts can be made to develop the economy or social structure of society.

Overall it is important to note that FATA comprises of seven different agencies, each with its own complex set of issues, and each facing different threats on their borders. FATA's unique constitutional status as well as its unique social structures means that there is not a single straight forward solution to its security situation. Although the current state of affairs is dismal at best, it is important to identify areas of change and give credit to efforts being put to stabilize the region.

