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### The Costs and Consequences of US Drones Warfare in Pakistan

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#### Abstract:

This research delves into the multifaceted impacts of the United States' drone warfare strategy in Pakistan. The study adopts a comprehensive approach to examine the various dimensions of this strategy, including its political, social, economic, and psychological consequences. Through an empirical analysis, the article scrutinizes the toll of drone strikes on both militant targets and civilian populations in Pakistan. It evaluates the effectiveness of drone warfare in achieving its intended objectives of eliminating terrorist threats while also considering the collateral damage and civilian casualties incurred. The study places a particular emphasis on the psychological and emotional ramifications experienced by Pakistani citizens living under the constant threat of drone attacks. Furthermore, the article assesses the diplomatic implications of the US drone warfare program in Pakistan. By focusing on Pakistan as a case study, this article contributes to the broader discourse on the ethical considerations, strategic efficacy, and unintended consequences of employing drone warfare as a counterterrorism tool. The study provides a more nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between security strategies, human rights, diplomacy, and the wellbeing of civilian populations in regions affected by drone warfare.

Keywords: Pakistan, United States, Al-Qaeda, drone strikes, terrorism, war on terror

# INTRODUCTION

The United States of America invaded Afghanistan in pursuit of Al-Qaeda and the hostile Taliban Regime, which she considered responsible for the 9/11 attacks on the American soil. As a result of this invasion, Al-Qaeda leadership and other such militant elements regrouped themselves bordering areas between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Pakistan became a front line state in the US led war against terrorism and was a principal ally of the US. As a result of flee of these elements in Pakistan's border areas, the US Government initiated covert drone strikes in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. These drone strikes were initiated during the presidency of George W. Bush, when approximately 50 drone strikes occurred. As President Obama took office, the drone strikes' intensity increased to six folds. During his presidency, he ordered about 292 strikes that happened mostly in the trouble region of FATA in Pakistan. Due to these

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attacks, there was a continuing environment of mutual distrust between Pakistan and the US because nothing important was being achieved through these strikes (Ayoub & Ahmed 2013).

This paper discusses about the costs the Pakistan had to suffer with respect to drones. The US tried to justify the use of drones under her right of self-defense that how the Pakistani Government was unable to halt the terrorist attacks in the country. It is the States' responsibility then to protect the lives of the people in Pakistan and for its own security and of its allies as well. Since 2004, Pakistan suffered much due to these drone strikes in respect of the distrust of its own people, for not being able to protect them from deadliest bombing, for compromising its sovereignty and for not stopping the killing of its innocent civilians. This paper aims to discuss United States' goals and interests in Pakistan, and; to, highlight the socio-economic and political repercussions of US drone strikes in Pakistan.

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The drone strikes were doing much harm than good; it was a campaign of extra judicial killing of innocent civilians and the percentage of terrorists being killed in these strikes remained low. Moreover, the terrorists killed in these strikes are low value targets (LVTs) and no prominent damages occurred to their high value targets (HVTs). Since these strikes happened in 2004, approximately 3500 people have been killed and there are a much low percentage of terrorists whereas most of the people killed in these strikes are civilians. In the year of 2009 alone, 700 innocent civilians had to die while the number of terrorists killed in this year is less than 30, thus for every terrorist killed 140 civilians had to die in these strikes. These strikes promoted hostile attitudes in the local tribes giving rise to strong anti-American stance. The feelings of hatred and revenge are creating violence and instability in the region and this all is exploited by the terrorist's network in the region that is using this anti-American stance of the civilians against the US and especially against the Pakistan Government. Thus, new army of fresh terrorists was recruited and that is the cause of increasing terrorism and suicidal bombings in the country (Singer, 2005).

Pakistan Government opposed this drone policy of George W. Bush in 2004, when the strikes were initiated saying that these strikes are against the territorial integrity of Pakistan. Former President Zardari had criticized this policy stating that these strikes were counterproductive and were also increasing anger and hatred for the US. Moreover, he said that these strikes violated the principles of International Law and were against the sovereignty of Pakistan. Since that time, the anti-American sentiments have risen in the Pakistani Public to a great extent. In addition to it, there were several protests in the FATA and other regions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) regarding the inability of Pakistan Government in stopping these strikes. The NATO shipments were blocked but the strikes did not stop. In the year 2008, the number of these drone strikes increased to six times during the administration of Barak Obama. American Administration holds the stance that Pakistan Government secretly gave consent for these strikes and since then, the US has been carrying out these strikes as their main weapon irrespective of the high civilian toll (Shah & Akhter, 2012).

As far as the cost-benefit analysis of these drone strikes are concerned, it holds much importance for the US. As a result of this signature and personality strikes, several Taliban Leaders were killed including Baitullah Mehsud in 2009, Khan Muhammad, Molvi Nazeer's deputy commander, Atya Abdal Rehman , Ilyas kashmiri and several others as well. CIA Director Leon Panetta holds the opinion that drones are the most important weapon in the fight against terrorism. One of the main flaws of this drone technology is that the drones are not able to differ between the terrorists and the civilians and that's the reason of a high civilian death rate. According to the Bureau of Investigative Journalism, there are more innocents than terrorists who are killed in these strikes and the percentage of the terrorists killed is approximately 2 percent. As a result of these extrajudicial killings in both Pakistan and Afghanistan and in other depressed countries, there is an increased feeling of hatred for US drone policy. The US herself had to suffer as in the Faisal Shehzad's case, when he tried to blow New York's Times Square. During his trial he told the judge the reason for this act was the US's involvement in the killings of innocent Muslims population.

The educational opportunities in the region dwindled as the parents stopped sending their children to school due to the fear of drone strikes. The people also suffered from severe post traumatic syndrome where they always hear the sound of buzzing drones and also the fear of being killed any time never fades (Aslam, 2011).

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This study used qualitative research method and relied mainly on secondary data. Selected primary data such as the speeches and/or interviews of the Pakistani and the US top officers and leaders have also been utilized for the study. Thematic analysis method was employed to scrutinize the data in order to generate patterns and themes and draw conclusions etc.

### COSTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF US DRONE STRIKES IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan suffered much from these drone strikes as far as the civilian casualties of the drone attacks are concerned. Apart from the civilian casualties, the drone strikes caused of violence and chaos in the society. Moreover, there was a much loss of the property of the people as their houses were destroyed. Due to the death of their male bread earners, the families were left with no source of income and they have to send their children to earn some money.

# Unpopularity of Drone Strikes in Pakistan

The drone strikes in Pakistan have become a serious issue in Pakistan and this is mostly because of the media coverage of these strikes. When a strike is made, the people of Pakistan get aware of the situation because each and every detail regarding these strikes is telecasted on the electronic media across the country. People also get the live coverage of the videos of the dead people, destroyed vehicles and property of their own people. Hence there comes a strong feeling of hatred for the US and its drone program. The polls conducted in Pakistan show that only 9 percent of the respondents in Pakistan approve these strikes (Kaltenthaler, Miller & Fair, 2012). Having understood about the general trends in public, the Pakistani government and military officials have condemned these strikes and stated that these should have been banned as they are against the integrity of their country. Both the military and the civil establishment tried to get a hold of these strikes and may use it. Though a number of foreign terrorists and the local hostile forces have been killed by drone attacks but they want to ensure that none of the civilians get killed in these strikes. The civil and military administrations have recorded their remarks in the public that they want to get rid of the drones and act according to the whims and wishes of their people.

The US drone program in Pakistan earned so much hatred and unpopularity among the people that the government of Pakistan started criticizing the drone strikes openly. After an attack on Miranshah in North Waziristan on 11th and 12th June 2013 that killed approximately 13 people, Foreign Ministry's spokesperson said that, "the drone strikes in Pakistan are highly unpopular and against the sovereignty and integrity of the country and should be halted." After approximately six months this drone strike again raised the feeling of distrust towards US' policies as the last attack was made on December 25, 2013. The attacks were also made, first at Tabbi Village near Afghan border and the second at Dande Darpah Khel, killing 6 people. The strikes were made with the justification that the Government of Pakistan had done nothing in the pursuit of terrorists involved in the Karachi Airport incident. These strikes became so much unpopular that the feeling of anti-Americanism increased many folds (Johnston & Sarbahi, 2016).

As President Obama took oath as a President, it was hoped that he would make efforts to improve the image of America across the globe, but due to his Targeted killing policy by drones and his other strategic policies, the image got worse. Regarding the drone program in Pakistan, many of the countries do not approve it. According to a survey conducted regarding the unpopularity of the drones 17 of the 20 countries abhorred it and the percentages were as Greece 90 percent, Egypt 89 percent, Jordan 85 percent, Turkey 81 percent, Spain 76 percent, Brazil 76 percent, and Japan 75 percent. Besides India, which considers any attacks on Pakistan as a positive step, all the countries in the poll showed unpopularity regarding these strikes. Besides drones, the feeling of anti-Americanism and unpopularity of America is rising across the globe since the presidency of Obama. To counter these, America needs to reconsider its policies, especially drone, which has become a main tool in counterterrorism strategy, to enhance its image if she wants to (Salon, 2012).

### Civilian Casualties as a Result of Drone Attacks in Pakistan

From December 1, 2009 to December 31, 2009, approximately 140 civilians were killed in drone strikes if there is one terrorist killed. The efficiency rate of these strikes is only 11 percent. It has also been reported that 89 out of 100 drone strikes kill only innocent civilians. When drone strikes were in full swing, there were 58 people killed each month due to these strikes. And during this whole month, approximately 5 al-Qaeda members died but the number of civilians killed was 700, and out of 44 drone strikes that hit during this whole month, there were only 14 drone strikes that hit their targets, others were a miss. Amir Ali in his work has also stated that from January 2006 to April 2009, approximately 687 civilians were killed in drone strikes whereas the number of al-Qaeda members killed was only 14. It means that for every al-Qaida member killed there was a loss of approximately 50 innocent civilian lives, and hence the percentage of the civilians killed in these strikes remained 94 percent (Geo News, 2005).

The reason for low civilian casualties reported by the US is that there is the underreporting of these civilian deaths as the data provided was not true. The resources are vague and the chances of their entry into these tribal areas even are not possible. Whereas the statistics shown by the sources in Pakistan are true as they report the live coverage of the deceased persons and wretched property. The authenticity of the Pakistani data is even proved by the US' authorities as well. In a meeting with the Congress, the advisor on the counterinsurgency to the Army of the US, David Killcullen said that, "We have killed 14 al-Qaeda members in drone strikes in Pakistan and approximately 700 civilians have also been killed during the same time interval (Gusterson, 2019).

It has been proved through many surveys conducted by the International Organizations and the data regarding the civilian casualties in Pakistan as depicted by these; there are more innocent civilians who get killed in these done strikes than the terrorists. According to Brookings Institute, 90 percent of the people killed in these strikes were civilians whereas the percentage of the terrorists killed was only 10. This horrifying data raised many questions about the legality of these strikes and this brutal killing of innocent civilians. The Pakistani public has been experiencing a strong feeling of distrust to its country as it is not able to halt this murderous program of US that is killing only innocent personnel (Mehmood, 2010).

Both Pakistan and the US do not share anything about the data of the drones. Both the countries adopt the total secrecy formula, especially the US. Since the initiation of drone attacks in Pakistan, the US Government has not shared anything regarding drones either with the media or the public. Gareth Porter, a leading investigative journalist in the US says that the US Administration totally negates any statistics brought out by any surveying organization and does not talk at all about its drone policy, even its successes. The reason behind is that the US Government wants to hide the actual story especially the brutal killing of the innocent civilians out there (Porter, 2009). On the other hand, it has been claimed by the US that these drone attacks are carried out with extreme care and exact data so that there does not come any collateral damage. They have killed 140 innocent civilians for each member of al-Qaeda and claimed that these strikes are done with full care and exact information. The US needs to reconsider its drone policy and should stop it instantly as it is annihilating the already aggravated situation.

American Military Institution named Center for New Americans Security (CNAS) issued a paper based on the actual information that the CIA's use of drones in the Northwest region of Pakistan is not bringing the desire result for them. Here, the use of drones is based upon the microchips which need to be present near the site of the terrorists as the missiles follow it, and secondly the thermo sensory cameras of the drones. The reporters in the Waziristan told the Time Magazine that for placing of these microchips, CIA has a broad number of spies in this region who place these chips in the areas where there is the gathering of the terrorists planning their attacks. The local people call these spies as Patari. It has been proved and stated, even by some spies when they get caught by the local men that the CIA's agents assured them that they would be rewarded with the 1000\$. This method of locating the terrorists is not good, first, as it is not easily possible to locate them as they gather at some private places and these Pataris have no efficient knowledge and hence drop these microchips at random places and bring total havoc, that results in the killing of innocent civilians. The thermal cameras used are also not working efficiently as reported by Time. Most of the images even in the day time are so blurry that it is not possible to tell that they are either offering their prayers or there is the battle formation of the groups (Thompson & Ghosh, 2014).

The UN is also in the opposition of the US's drone program in Pakistan. Whenever the UN has tried to halt these attacks, the US was in extreme opposition of the UN and being the only subjugator of the major powers; the UN could do nothing but remained silent. Philip Austin, the Australian and UN's Human Rights activist before presenting a report on drone's use by US in the UN, tried to ask a question to the US's spokesperson but could not get it. After the proceedings, the UN asked the US to justify even the brutal killing of the innocent civilians as a result of these attacks and said that the US was doing nothing but only violating the International Law (Mayer, 2009). Whenever the US

succeeds in killing some members of al-Qaeda in these operations, it is said to be a victory of the US but whenever innocent lives get wasted, the US refuses to talk about it and even denies it. This is international terrorism and the US has been doing it under the on looking eyes of the peacekeeping body like the United Nations.

The senior officials inside America even criticized it for its wrongful air strike and its consistency of believing that the suspect was killed. Jim Miklaszewski, a senior Pentagon respondent, said that, "The Intelligence Agency claims that they had monitored the area for two weeks and found strong evidence of Zawahri's presence. Even, then who gives US the authority to go and use its lethal killing drones and operate in Pakistan (Miklaszewski, 2006). One of the reasons for such low numbers of casualties reported by the US is the conflicting media reports. If a drone strike happens in FATA, then there are different opinions about the total innocent people killed as well as the militants. All the media sources in the West are dependent upon the US's military leaks or their correspondents in this region. So this becomes very difficult for them to come up with the exact figures whereas the statistics provided by the Pakistani sources are valid as they have an access to the region of FATA, which is otherwise impenetrable. FATA is a large region and has a different governing pattern, and works under an act called FCR, Federal Crime Regulation Act. After the upsurge of militancy in Pakistan, it has become a difficult region to manage and is also inaccessible even to common citizens of Pakistan, so the data put forward by the Western media cannot be trusted. Other reason for the underreporting of the civilian casualties is that the Obama Administration considers all the military age personnel in the area as combatants. This low estimate of civilian casualties is even not supported by their media reports, or the reporters who have seen in person the havoc done by these strikes; the witnesses, and the US's leaked military and intelligence sources (Bachman, 2017).

Jeffery Addicot who is a legal advisor to the Special Forces in the US Army, in a reply to the US Authorities who claim that the civilian casualties are only in single digits, says that, "On the basis of my personal experience it is obvious that when a drone is hit from such a height, then there are always civilian casualties. You can never escape them as it is not even possible (Entous, 2010)." Another Military Official Col. David Sulliman, who is Director of Operations in the White House also focused on a point that, "It is not possible for an air strike to be 100 percent efficient (Shane, 2011)." In the same way many US Officials who did not want to expose their identity have told media that the civilian casualties are not so much low as narrated by the Administration.

As narrated above, there are a number of reasons why the civilian toll is reported lower by the US Administration, and it has been observed that even in the US high command, there are persons who believe that there are a large proportion of civilian deaths in each strike. The US is continued to hide the actual data regarding drones as it wants not to be ashamed of brutal killing policy. It does not make the data regarding drones public and whoever wants to expose the actual results of this covert drone policy under CIA, he has to face severe criticism and even allegations of spying as there are many cases. On the other hand, the Pakistani sources present the true picture as they provide the first-hand knowledge by actually going to these war stricken areas and by bringing the views of the people residing there. Even if the casualties are low, it is not justifiable under any circumstances to kill innocent civilians in the name of US's combat with the militants, when their actual hideouts are not known and as a result of signature strikes a lot of collateral damage occurs.

#### The Counter-productivity of US' Drone Strikes

According to David Killcullen, who is a senior counter insurgency advisor, "The Drone attacks being conducted in Pakistan create a strong feeling of hatred and anger among the population of these stricken areas and it is proving counterproductive and is doing more harm than good (Killcullen, 2009)." The Ambassador of Pakistan to the UN, Zamir Akram, talking about the drone strikes in Pakistan stated that, "The drone attacks in Pakistan are counterproductive; they are doing nothing but increasing the terrorism in the region in spite of the US's efforts to minimize it" (Bowcott, 2012).

According to the US, the drone program is effective and fulfilling its agenda of eliminating the terrorists, but it has proved counterproductive. Although some of the terrorists in Pakistan have been killed but the havoc of this drone policy has raised a feeling of hatred and anger among the people of Pakistan and they have a strong feeling of resentment towards the US and their own local government as well. This program of the US is annihilating the militancy but increasing the terrorism. The people of these stricken areas are joining the militant networks and they think by doing this they can avenge the death of their loved ones by fighting against the US and the Pakistan Army. The basic purpose of the Pakistani Army is to protect the people of Pakistan, which army is not doing at all, this is the thinking prevailed among the people of the tribal areas. This is all exploited by the militant networks in this region and hence they attract a large number of people from these areas to be recruited in their terrorist networks. These militant organizations then target those places where they can harm more security forces. Osama Bin Laden before his death and Ayman al-Zawahri spoke on several occasions about the dreadful results of these drone strikes and have attracted a large number of support groups from these areas. These people have increased resentments towards America and Pakistan and are involved in the terrorist attacks in Pakistan and also may be planning against the US.

During his senatorship and campaign for presidency, Obama had intended to attack North Waziristan with the drones and when he became president, the drone strikes in Pakistan increased as compared to the strikes made during the Bush's presidency. Since then the terrorism in Pakistan increased and also proved to be detrimental for the US.

Due to the unpopularity of drone strikes in Pakistan, resentment about the government policies among the people of the troubled areas increased. In the suicide bombings, most of the targeted places belong to the law enforcing agencies of Pakistan. The attack on the Police Academy in Lahore was the result of the resentment as the government was doing nothing to stop drone attacks, once said TTP leader Baitullah Mehsud. In this incident estimated 18 people were killed. Hakimullah Mehsud, who became TTP leader after Baitullah Mehsud's death, said that, "The suicide bombings inside Pakistan will continue if the US does not stop its drone attacks." The militancy in Pakistan increased irrespective of the US's claims of eliminating terrorism in the region and much of this was due to the continuation of drone strikes which need to be stopped (Bergen & Tiedmann, 2009).

### Drone Attacks and the Rise of Anti-Americanism in Pakistan

Since 2004, when the first drone strike hit the tribal areas of Pakistan, there has been a rise in anti-Americanism in Pakistan. People have become more concerned about the policy of the US towards third world countries as these are the people that get much affected by these revengeful policies in the name of terror. The similar feelings are also prevalent in Pakistan as well. According to a research conducted by the Pew Global Research Center, about 79 percent people of Pakistan believe that there has been a sharp rise in the militancy and extremism in Pakistan. There is a short percentage of approximately 16 percent of the people who believes in the US policies and only 4 percent people who support the US war against terrorism especially in Afghanistan. A renowned journalist Raheem ullah Yousufzai states that, "These drone attacks have forced the people in the region to go against their government and support Taliban who are fighting against government and the US." Tehrike Taliban Pakistan Leaders Baitullah Mehsud, before his death, and Hakimullah Mehsud have exploited these drone attacks and said that the suicide bombings in Pakistan will not stop if the US does not stop drone attacks in the FATA (Yusufzai, 2010).

Drone attacks conducted by the CIA in Pakistan have done nothing good but have worsened the already dwindling situation. Pakistan has been protesting about these strikes since their initiation both publicly and on the international front. These drone attacks in Pakistan have fueled anger among the people of the bereaved areas and there is an anti-Americanism found in these areas, and they consider the US as their worst enemy. The US Administration did not stop these attacks and now as a result of these attacks, the suicide bombings in Pakistan have increased and this has proved to be a counterproductive mechanism. Due to the increased feeling of hatred and the anti-American stance of the people, these emotions have been exploited much efficiently by the militants in these areas and now recruitments of the fresh soldiers among these networks has increased to harm the society of Pakistan.

The anti-Americanism in Pakistan is in full swing now a day. Pakistan is now among those countries where the percentage of the anti-Americanism is very high. This anti-Americanism did not arise with the happening of the first drone strike in Pakistan but it has a long history which begins with the existence of Pakistan. There are two different factors being responsible for this anti-American stance, first is the cultural advancement in the US and its hegemonic designs and economic system, with the imperialistic designs and the second is the policies mainly the foreign policy of the US. The running situation has accelerated this process as mostly the innocent civilians get killed in these drone strikes and very less loss occurs to the actual high value targets.

There are two political scientists and the philosophers, Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane who have stated different types of anti-Americanism in Pakistan. The first type is the radical and in this people desire for the total annihilation of the US mainly for its bad policies. Second is the socio religious which occurs because of the perception of the US that Islam harbors terrorism and people of these countries sympathize with the al-Qaeda and its role that it is fighting with the worst enemy of the Muslims, the US. Third is the sovereign nationalist, in which there is a belief that all the policies of the US towards Pakistan are the anti-Pakistan, for example the US is conducting drone strikes that are doing more harm and are against the integrity of Pakistan. The last one is of liberal type in which it is perceived that the US acts even against its own ideals, for example the US has not been able to close Guantanamo Bay, and several other tactics that are against its promises. These all factors provide a strong reason for not believing in the policies of the US and hence a feeling of hatred for its policies (Afzal, 2013).

### The Military Operations by the Pakistan Army

The military operations by the Pakistan Army also increase the severity of the circumstances of the people living in these areas. The drone attacks do not differentiate much about the militants and the civilians and a lot of damage to the lives of the civilians occurs. In the military operations conducted in the Waziristan, there is also a lot of collateral damage. Due to this also, some of the civilians get killed but the number of those killed are much lesser as compared to those killed in the drone strikes. In military ground operations, there is intelligence and the information about the terrorists' hideouts. The government of Pakistan conducts these operations to escape from the criticisms done by the other international actors. The US instead of praising and supporting these operations, considers these as pretentious and continues its drone operations in the tribal areas. Although there are some achievements being attained through these but the US administration does not approve them enough to counter terror. So the people of these areas are in a constant fear that they may be hit again either by the Pakistani Army or the US' Drones. The US is neither in favor of the peace process between the Pakistani Government nor supports the military operations by the Pakistan Army, thus leaving no option for Pakistan, who just keeps on protesting.

There is also this point of view that when the Pakistan Army gives civilians the time to evacuate the area before initiating the operation, sometimes the people cannot leave the area in that short time. As a result of this the people who get entrapped in these areas face deaths and injuries. The army uses mortar shells, air bombs, artillery and other horrifying weapons which have large chances for the collateral damage. The common people get injured or killed in these operations because the terrorists also dwell in these areas and use the local people as shields. As a result, military operations seem unfair and unlawful to the people of the tribal areas who get injured and killed and this adds to the already dreadful situation in these areas (Orr, 2011).

As a result of the drone strikes, the security situation in Pakistan became worse. Tehrik e Taliban Pakistan said that it will not stop the bombings in Pakistan, if the drone attacks in the tribal areas do not stop. Pakistan had to initiate operation Zarb e Azb in the North Waziristan, in which Pakistan army has been successful in killing hundreds of terrorists (javaid, 2015). It is hoped that the going military operation gets the desired results, and there may not be much civilian's toll. If this operation does not eliminate the threat of terrorism in these areas, there surely comes a peace establishment even for some time.

# CONCLUSION

The US carried out drone strikes in Pakistan since 2004 that have killed a large number of innocent civilians. By the year 2010 alone, more than 1200 innocent people were killed in drone strikes. According to the US, drone strikes are their important weapon of the counterinsurgency mechanism in the war against terror. Through signature, personality and the rescuer strikes, a lot number of civilians got killed as they have no mechanism to differentiate between the terrorists and the civilians. Only short term objectives were attained by the US whereas the program proved counterproductive for both US and Pakistan as it is increased hostility, anti-Americanism and instability in the region. The civilians in these areas got much disturbed and suffered from the loss of their lives, property, education and severe psychological syndromes. The US strove to rationalize drone strikes on the basis of her right of self-defense and under jus and bellum; the strikes even do not meet their criteria of proportionality, the occurrence of armed conflict and immediate threat.

Moreover, the strikes totally negated the laws of war and were a serious violation of the UN Charter, Geneva Convention, UDHR, IHRL, IHL besides others. The US drone's program deprived the innocent people of their lives which are protected by the basic principles of these humanitarian bodies.

The US needed to publicly disclose all the data regarding the use of drones in Pakistan so that it could be processed through public scrutiny and be subjected to the codes of law. There should be a proper procedure of the recognition of the terrorists who get killed in these strikes. The US should take a joint action with the collaboration of the Pakistani government, to curtail the menace of terrorism with less or negligible civilian toll. The US should also make efforts to provide monetary help to the injured civilians as well as provide compensation to the families who have lost their loved ones. The US should also initiate judicial review of drone strikes and should stop the global war doctrine and ensure that all of its military actions comply with the international law and the UN charters.

Pakistan also needs to disclose publicly all the data and information regarding drone strikes that the authorities are aware of and if there are officials involved, bring them to justice and there should be open and fair trials. Pakistan should ensure that all the injured people get proper treatment and justice be provided to them instantly by initiating unbiased investigations of the drone program. Pakistan also should take a stance against these drone strikes which are violating the international law and her sovereignty. The international community including the UN and other humanitarian bodies should oppose the lethal killing of the innocent civilians which is against the International Law. They should urge the US to stop these strikes at once. Other states should not carry out any activities to help US in its drone program and inhibit the transfer of the drones internationally. In this way only they would be able to force the US to stop these strikes which have turned counterproductive and against the international law to ensure the maintenance of peace and harmony globally.

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