

WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION'S AGREEMENTS AFFECTING PAK- AFGHAN BORDER TRIBES

*Noreen Naseer**

Abstract

This paper attempts to highlight the perceived threats of World Trade Organization's certain agreements to the livelihood of the tribes residing erstwhile FATA and adjacent five-border provinces/wilayatona of Afghanistan. There are seventeen agreements of WTO that deals with issues related to trade and commerce. The Agreement on Agriculture offers obligations for member states in the area of market access, tariff regulations, export competition, domestic support, export subsidies, food security, and environmental protection. If agreements such as Agreement on Agriculture, General Agreement on Trade and Services, Trade Policy Review Mechanism and Social Clause are extended without adjustment to the needs of poor nations and sub-nations living on the peripheries, then it may prove detrimental to their survival. To substantiate my argument, I have briefly discussed the adverse affects and recorded protests against such agreements by the poor indigenous people living across the world's different peripheries.

Key Words: WTO, FATA, Afghan Wilayatona and Tribes' livelihood

Introduction

In 1989 with the collapse of Communism, independent system¹ dissolved, security concerns replaced economic concerns, although two systems, one of North-North interdependence (corporate capitalists) and second of North-South (neo-colonization) dependence prevailed. To address certain economic concerns in the North, first wave of theorists emerged, integrating the world with the 'Theory of Globalization'² and its inherent

* Presently serving as Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Peshawar

¹ During Cold War communist states refused to interact economically and politically outside their own states and ideological partners, hence many scholars defined it isolated and independent system.

² The term globalization used by the marketing professor Levitt Theodore in his article for *Harvard Business Review*, "The Globalization of Markets" 1983, and stated that globalization promotes convergence, harmonization, efficiency, growth, democratization

capitalist view. They associated globalization with the new economic world order, identifying it with the development and growth agenda.³ Globalization is defined in different contexts but in the framework of economics, Joseph Stiglitz defined globalization as "the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, capital, services, knowledge, and people across borders."⁴ Stiglitz, while defining globalization, also discussed that the needs of the poor South in this arrangement should be re-thought by the rich North.⁵ This view by the eminent economist generated a debate of 're-thinking of South's needs' and many scholars started a debate of reforming the present economic system. They are of the opinion that the integrating world economy in the framework of globalization through free and liberal trade with neoliberal principles of WTO can prove fatal for the South's impoverished economies and people (nations/sub-nations/tribes living on the impoverished peripheries too).

The first wave of globalization advocates known as globalists/hyperactive globalists, consider globalization and liberalization of international trade essential and favorable for all states including developing and least developed states. The supporters of globalization believe that through liberal trade, capital and services will flow easily amongst the states with the help of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and foreign direct investment, thus will create employment opportunities for economically hard-pressed poor states. It will also assist in transfer of technology from industrialized developed states and create a competitive environment that will improve the quality of goods and facilitate consumers for better and affordable choices.⁶

The second wave of scholars, skeptics of globalization theory, also known as anti-globalists/traditionalists, they are of the view that globalization increases inequality amongst rich and poor people within the states, also marginalized states in the world economy and international markets. They consider it an old phenomenon and sees it largely as a myth or 'globaloney' and unjust. They hold a view that international economy has

and homogenization. In addition, Alvin Toffler in *Future Shock* (1970) and *The Third Wave* (1980) uses its different manifestation.

³ Joan Edelman Spero, *Politics of International Economic Relations*, (New York, St. Martin Press, 1990), 13-18.

⁴ Joseph Eugene Stiglitz, *Globalisation and Its discontents*, (London, Penguin, 2002), 3-22.

⁵ South's North-South dialogue on economic vulnerabilities of developing and least developed states in UNCTAD compelled many Western scholars to accommodate the concerns of poor states in world economic structure and system.

⁶ Joan Edelman Spero, *Politics of International Economic Relations*, (New York, St. Martin Press, 1990), 40-47.

not progressed enough to be global. Because there are states, where free trade will harm their domestic produce and foreign investments will exploit their poor workers (both developing and least developed states). In addition, it is not possible to create a uniform international economic system without undermining states' policies and affecting people.⁷

However, the post-skeptical transformationalists, third wave perspective, acknowledge that interdependence and integration of economies is occurring, and it is not only changing international economic system but also affecting national economies. They argue that long evolutionary process of closed and open economies will result into a hybrid economic culture, which will not be simple and linear or have similar gains for the least developed, developing or even developed economies.⁸ Third wave transformationalists do not assert future trajectory of globalization, thus, they do not predict the impact of globalization, however, they observed that policies of globalised agencies (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, & World Trade Organization) benefitted some states and harmed others. In fact, they are more accommodating in comparison to hyperactive globalist, who perceives the ideal type of one world in terms of politics, economics, culture and nation without recognizing economic inequalities and disparities evolved by the corporate agendas. Transformationalists are also critics of radical anti-globalists, who are of the view that the present system is unjust, thus advocating for the abolishment of prevailing economic system. Transformationalists differ with anti-globalists on a view that the world community is static and is not moving towards new economic arrangements. Third wave perspectives acknowledge that changes are occurring and it is a long-term historical process with pre-modern forms, such as trade and movement of people amongst different regions. However, with progress in technological and other political changes in the 19th century, it has rapidly transformed the growth, volume and intensity of trade and other new things such as international economic and political organizations, global media communications and economic interdependence emerged.⁹

Transformationalists argue that for economic activities such as trade and investment, states' power as sovereign entity reconstituted to accommodate them in the world organizations, thus, for economic gains, states have become more activists, which is totally in opposition to both globalists and anti-globalists discourses. They are of the opinion that there is an uneven

⁷ Chamsy el-Ojeili and Patrick Hayden, *Critical Theories of Globalisation*, (New York, Palgrave, Macmillan, 2006), 14-25.

⁸ Paul Hirst and Graham Thompson, *Globalisation in Question*, (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1999), 22-30.

⁹ Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and David Held, *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, (US: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1-31.

integration, disparity and distribution of power, hence for survival in the regional blocs, nation-states adopt different possible activist strategies. They are also staunch critics of economic integration idea of the globalists that negate human needs and can have negative impact on social integration. For economic gains, social aspect should not be ignored. Although, they favor politics of cosmopolitan global democracy, however, they do recognize the inequalities and conflicts, which will obstruct global integration both at economic and political level. However, they believe that the nation states without compromising their sovereignty can control and manage its role in the global economic agencies.¹⁰

Third wave advocates observe that the globalists' approach is abstract, generalized, see globalised world only, while anti-globalists in their methods are empirical, and perceive world with clashes of the cultures, nation-state, tirade and inequality. While in defense of their views, transformationalists approach is qualitative, accept global transformation but with differentiation, and perceive no particular future or system.¹¹ The transformationalists generated the moderate debate on globalization; however, the idea of bringing reforms in the economic system is started by the dependency theorists.

Proponents of dependency theorists are closer to the third wave transformationalists, they along with the critique of globalists started questioning relationship between the rich and the poor states in the economic setup and developmental processes in the Third World. They observe and establish that the economic relations between poor and rich will always be asymmetrical, and the rich will dominate poor. Moreover, they also criticize both rich capitalists and communists states, even though both groups are supporting and practicing two different economic systems. They also challenge their developmental approaches in the South, stating that the strategy is for their own gains and political interest. Dependency theory argues that, "states and nations are integrated parts of one single political economy (trade, markets) but there is hierarchical division of labor, capital, resources and power".¹²

They classify states into core (developed/capitalists), semi-periphery (developing) and periphery (least developed). Defined core states more productive, govern and control economic system, which led to economic disparity and inequality amongst nations. Semi-periphery states (developing) are placed between the core and periphery, this group is manipulated by the

¹⁰ Held et al. 1999, 1-31.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Sing, C. Chew and Robert A. Denemark, *Development of Underdevelopment: Essays in Honour of Andre Gunder Frank*, (New York, Sage Publications, 1996), 24- 40.

core states due to asymmetrical economic relations between them, while they (semi-periphery states) take advantage of periphery states due to some economic influence. In the economic arrangement, the periphery states (least developed) is dependent on both core and semi-periphery states due to their fragile economy. The dependency theorists discuss the division of states on the economic status and advocate for egalitarian international economic system but without any agreeable strategy.¹³

To further the arguments, the reformist dependistas accepts the views of dependency school of thought on inequality and disproportionate relationship amongst rich, middle and poor income economy states but they do not believe that only the economic structures are responsible for the present arrangements of the states. They are anti-core but not anti-capitalists as they are of the view that with structural reforms, the dependency and underdevelopment in the developing and least developed countries can be eradicated. They observe that some of the semi-peripheral and peripheral states with the comparative advantage have taken off and experienced a rapid economic growth.¹⁴ Hence, instead of abolishing the prevailing system, reforms should be introduced to address the economic disparity and deprivation.

The proponents (North core states/capitalists) of globalization through structural explanation advocate that a liberal and free trade is an important component and lawful process for economic development. According to them, trade in the economy is recognized as a major tool or engine for economic growth and development. However, as dependistas and reformists argue that a connection between trade and development is multifaceted, therefore, there is no assurance that a trade or free trade will improve economic growth in all the countries. In the developing world, industrial and agricultural policies (to export more and import less) are to be framed in such manner that address the vulnerabilities and exploit the potential. In fact, all states need to frame policies that can protect their domestic production and industries. Therefore, it is observed that no state whether from poor South or rich North is ready to experiment with an absolute free and liberal trade.¹⁵

Presently, there are two contradictory trends at work in global trading patterns. One is towards integration of the industrialized and non-industrialized regions in super trade structure such as World Trade

¹³ Sing & Robert 1996, 24- 40.

¹⁴ Tamas Szentes, *The Transformation of the World Economy New Directions and New Interests*, (London, Zed Books Ltd. 1988), 12-22.

¹⁵ Szentes. 1988, 12-22.

Organization (WTO)¹⁶ and other is emerging potential division of the industrialized North and some developing South into competing trading blocs. Therefore, integrated (regional liberal/free trade) internally while closing its markets to other states/non-members. Intra-regionally, some pacts and free trade areas are established such as European Union, Economic Cooperation Organization and North American Free Trade Areas to facilitate trade amongst the member states.

WTO, a proponent of free trade in 1995 (General Agreement Trade Tariff final round held in Punta del Este, Uruguay, transformed agreement into WTO without bringing concrete reforms for semi-peripheral and peripheral states); became one of the important agency of globalization; advocating interdependence and integration of nations by eliminating social, cultural, economic borders and national economies through free trade. In this process of eliminating borders and integrating national economies, WTO through single undertaking is forcing every member state, irrespective of nature of its economy to accept all the agreements and policies.¹⁷

Developing nations of the South are also attracted to the WTO's trade liberalization, non-discriminatory and reciprocity policies without realizing their shortcomings and economic vulnerabilities. Moreover, many states of the South also had undergone through numerous economic changes in 1970s and 80s, some states became huge exporters (China and Brazil) and needed to be a part of some economic arrangements while others (India and Mexico) for economic growth, invited and encouraged foreign investment and multinationals. Thus, participation of the developing South (which has hardly 40 percent share in the world economy) in the economic institutions was inevitable as many complex issues associated with trade and commerce needed to be resolved. In addition, the fear of political and economic isolation by the capitalists' bloc also forced many developing states to join the new trade arrangement. Hence, due to economic compulsions and requirements, developing and least developed states including Pakistan and recently Afghanistan joined the WTO. Presently, 74% of the representation in the organization is from the developing and least developed states.¹⁸

WTO produces general rules and agreements that apply to all members and individual governments make specific commitments. However, in return, the member state cannot put-up demands for the organization to bend or reform rules. It is also observed that in WTO there is an absence of equally binding regulations in human rights, labor conditions, health and

¹⁶ World Trade Publication, *Understanding WTO*, (Switzerland, Geneva, 2003), 4-28.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Constantine Michalopoulos, *Developing Countries in the WTO*, US, Palgrave & Macmillan 1999),117.

environmental protection, clearly indicating that it gives economic supremacy over social objectives. Its rules generally dictate redesigning of domestic laws, rules and regulations, to further policies that in turn subordinate domestic trade.¹⁹ Its policies implement a broad array of non-trade related barriers to states' trade under its regulatory structures and approaches. It also challenges state's laws if they claim to pose barriers to international trade and investment. Thus, several policies of the organization have become controversial; in reality, recently many developing nations consider it a direct threat to their economies.²⁰

As mentioned above, the global South's attraction and economic compulsions forced the majority of developing states to become a member of WTO, but in the beginning, many joined it without understanding the agenda of the North and its establishment. However, now some of its policies are so blatantly ruthless that it is overtly hurting the poor states and till to date none of the ministerial conferences of the WTO can be considered a complete success or without being protested by the South. The ongoing Doha Round is facing tough resistance on expanding free trade from developing states. The former Director General of WTO, Pascal Lamy, showed his concerns about the failure of the Doha Round that can even threaten the very existence of WTO.²¹ Hence, since its inception, certain agreements are debated amongst the developed states as well in relation to free trade, competitive markets, environmental issues, the and labor standards problems but no consensus has been achieved on any of these problems.

While joining the WTO, many states of the South envisaged to achieve goals and objectives such as to develop cordial relations with the member states to facilitate the smooth functioning of trade and commerce, improve standards of living of their population by providing them opportunities through trade and commercial activities with other states. For developing states, the attracting clause was that by being a member of the WTO, they would gain access to the developed markets with special concessions. Moreover, it is not possible for any state to avoid the WTO, which is regulating more than ten trillion dollars trade amongst the world community.²² In the process of joining the WTO, several states completely

¹⁹ George Sores, *George Sores on Globalisation*, (New Delhi, Viva Books, 2004), 31-38.

²⁰ Ashu Pasricha, *W.T.O: Self-Reliance and Globalisation*, (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publishers, 2005), 115-122.

²¹ WTO News, *Speeches- DG Pascal Lamy*, retrieved from <http://www.wto.org>, accessed on 22nd April 2009.

²² Christina L Davis and Sarah Blodgett Bermeo, Who Files? Developing Country Participation in GATT/WTO Adjudication, *The Journal of Politics*, 71/3, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, July 2009), 55-59.

ignored the problems of such nations that are living in the most precarious economic conditions. In such a vulnerable group are the indigenous and tribal populations living on different peripheral areas.

Reservations of the Indigenous and Tribal People towards WTO Policies

There is a huge scholarship available on the indigenous and tribal people that are raising their voices against the WTO's implemented agreements and policies in their respective regions. They were already facing numerous problems at the hands of settlers and stakeholders in their areas but they are now confronted with another threat in the form of the WTO. Several groups lobbied for their rights in the International Labor Organization and United Nations, expressing their concerns regarding WTO and its agreements and policies. To them this global corporate entity is forcing states to open up their trade and commerce at the expense of several sub-nation's livelihoods.

In 1999, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, director TEBTEBBA foundation (Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education), shared concerns about the WTO's policies in a "Human Face of Trade: Health and Environment" Peoples' Tribunal, published by the United Methodist Church in Seattle, Washington. She raised some very important issues, which WTO ignored while devising its agreements and policies. In criticism of WTO's Agreement on Agriculture, she stated that the major economic activity of the indigenous and tribal community is agriculture and they feel that through liberalization agenda, non-taxed cheap inorganic agriculture products will destroy the organic produce of traditional farmers.²³

She pointed out that the policies of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization are identical, accusing them of investment without any barriers and acquiring access to cheap raw materials and labor. It was mentioned that the states are taking dictations from these financial institutions, thus, appropriating and opening up their (indigenous & tribal people) natural resources for investment and employment incentives". In many states, indigenous and tribal people are forced to leave their ancestral homes and many were persecuted. For example, in the Philippines, they were forced out of their homeland while in Bangladesh, tribal people were prosecuted.²⁴

²³ Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, *Impacts of WTO on the Environment, Cultures and Indigenous Peoples*, (Seattle Washington 1999), 1-5. Retrieved from <http://www.ratical.org/co-globalise/impactsOfWTO.html>, accessed on 22 April 2014.

²⁴ Ibid.

In criticism of the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights, it is observed from different cases that the agreement is protecting intellectual property rights of the developed states. In addition, the concerns were raised that the US, UK and Japan are stealing and patenting indigenous people's biogenetic resources without their knowledge. There are many plants grown and used by indigenous people that are now patented by these states, which disallows them to use or commercialize it as herbs. Many states, after stealing their knowledge and natural resources, use TRIPS as an excuse to stop indigenous people from practicing their centuries old usage and knowledge of natural resources.²⁵

Due to such concerns and protests, indigenous and tribal people were invited to the 5 Ministerial Conference of WTO in 2003 at Cancun, Mexico. The invited panel discussed the problems of indigenous and tribal farmers that lost their farms and jobs as they failed to compete with cheap agriculture imports. They pointed out that Bolivia was asked to privatized its essential services like water and energy for the indigenous people under the pressure of WTO's GATS Agreement. They criticized the Trade Policy Review Mechanism Agreement which forces states to liberalize their investment laws and facilitate transnational mining, gas, and oil corporations. Due to their excavation and extraction activities, indigenous communities in Bangladesh, India, the Philippines, Indonesia, Nigeria, Ecuador, Papua New Guinea, Guyana, Venezuela, Colombia, Chad Cameroon, the US, and Russia have suffered badly. In some states they are forced to leave their homelands, in others they have been persecuted and detained. Moreover, due to such activities, the environment of the areas is polluted and in some cases, sacred places of the indigenous and tribal people have been demolished.²⁶ During the conference, a tragic incidence occurred an activist and South Korean farmer Lee Kyung-Hae self-immolated himself in protest. Meanwhile, conference members from the developed, developing and least developed discussed trade liberalization and lack of agriculture support programs for poor communities. The issue of thousands indigenous farmers in Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia and Vietnam were also discussed although it was concluded without any consensus on reforms. The issue of indigenous populations with the WTO is a warning to other downtrodden communities too. It gives the impression that the WTO is a corporate body and has no consideration for the vulnerable indigenous and tribal people's identity, culture, habitat, environment, livelihood, and existence. There are no doubts that the WTO's agreements and policies, if not reformed, will prove detrimental for the war torn Pak- Afghan border tribes too. Hence, to argue

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ministerial Conference of WTO Cancun, *The International Declaration of Indigenous Peoples*, (Cancun 2003), 1-6. Retrieved from <http://www.ifg.org/programs/indig/CancunDec.html>, accessed on 22 April 2014.

the case of erstwhile FATA and adjacent five Afghan border provinces, I have borrowed both the transformationalists and reformist dependistas approaches. It argues against the globalist ideal stance of one integrated world without recognizing economic disparities in poor peripheries. Thus, it is advocating for reforms in the WTO's agreements to suit the needs of poor sub-nations and tribes.

WTO and Pak-Afghan Border Areas' Tribes

Pakistan (semi-peripheral) and Afghanistan (peripheral) in WTO are attracted to trade liberalization, non-discriminatory and reciprocity agreements and policies. After becoming members of the WTO, they have to abide by certain strenuous commitments such as reduction of trade obstacles, regulation of subsidies, countervailing measures and technical barriers, discouraging antidumping rules, abolishment of restrictive trade related to investment measures, devising transparent national policies and abiding by the dispute settlement procedure. Erstwhile FATA and adjacent five wilayatona are the periphery of Pakistan and Afghanistan in the global economic system. The Pakhtun border region (erstwhile FATA and adjacent Afghan five border provinces) total population is 8.7 million, average literacy rate among the tribes is hardly 15.5 percent, while the average per capita income of semi-skilled population is \$225 and annual growth rate of the region is .1 percent to 1.5 percent. This places the region in the category of the periphery of the peripheral and semi-peripheral states.²⁷ This peripheral region (not only in terms of geography but economic health too) has poor agriculture and fragile manufacturing sectors, hence border tribes are dependent on trade for their livelihood.²⁸

Table I Basic Information about Erstwhile FATA and Five Afghan Border Provinces/Wilayatona

Total population of border provinces	8.7 million
Border shared	1400 miles
Literacy rate (average)	15.5 percent
Per capita income	\$225
Poverty index	60 percent
Annual growth rate	0.1 to 1.5 percent

²⁷ Dependency theorists classify states into; core (developed), semi-periphery (developing) and periphery (least developed).

²⁸ Government of Pakistan, *Province Wise Census*, (Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 2017), 1-15. Retrieved from official website <http://pbs.gov.pk> accessed on 1 June 2018. Central Statistics Organisation, *Afghanistan's Socio Economic and Demographic Profile*, (Government of Afghanistan, Kabul 2014). Retrieved from C.S.O. <http://cso.gov.af/en> accessed on 22 April 2013. Its an official estimated population, however, according to many reports and articles is more than 9 million tribal Pakhtuns living across the border.

Unfortunately, border areas' resources and facilities are also limited and can hardly sustain the onslaught of any economic change or pressure. Ironically, WTO's regulations explicitly state that the policies and agreements signed by the members shall be extended and applied to every part of the state. In addition, there is no special concession or clause for the underdeveloped/least developed/periphery areas with-in a state. Therefore, it is observed that certain specific WTO agreements can prove detrimental to the poor tribes/sub-nations and will adversely affect their traditional agriculture, fragile industries, both formal and informal trade, labor and environment. Even if the WTO, through some mechanism, tried to extend special concessions for another decade or more, these border areas on both sides will still not be able to cope with its regulations. Both states do not possess the capacity and resources to improve the social and economic structures of their respective areas for the next three to four decades. Erstwhile FATA needs more than \$75 billion annually for development and mainstreaming,²⁹ while in the case of the five Afghan border provinces, least developed Afghanistan needs huge funding for its progress and development in the core areas and then will be able to assist its border areas. If a state whose 71 percent of its budget is financed by external sources and funding and hardly .04 percent of the budget is allocated to its poor border provinces, then how will it compete in the WTO with other states and how will its sub-nations living on the periphery with no or minimum resources survive the onslaught of the WTO's policies?³⁰

It is also very alarming to note that farmers and traders in rural areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan have no idea about the WTO and its binding agreements.³¹ If they are not aware of such economic arrangements and policies, then how will they be able to improve or prepare themselves for economic changes? WTO is a corporate entity; its only consideration is profit and more profit, while border areas need a far more sensitive approach.³²

²⁹ Ejaz Ahmed Qureshi, *Interim Report FATA REFORMS COMMISSION*, (Governors' Secretariat Peshawar, 2015), 43-68.

³⁰ Ministry of Finance, *National Budget Document 1394*, (Government of Afghanistan, Kabul 2015), 14-29.

³¹ Interviews by the author with the officials in Islamabad that are working in the WTO Centre. Also, see Mary Kirkbride, *Getting the Fundamental Right: The Early Stages of Afghanistan's WTO Accession Process*, (UK, Oxfam Briefing Paper 2007), 1-42.

³² Reforms should be introduced in WTO to accommodate the needs of poor states and impoverished sub-nations or else its policies will rob them of livelihood.

Impact of WTO's Agreement on Agriculture in Border Areas

The major economic activity in the erstwhile FATA and adjacent five Afghan border areas is agriculture. Almost 50 percent of the population is involved in agriculture-related activities such as farming, livestock rearing and dairy products. The land area utilised for agriculture in these border areas is less than 2 percent that supports on average 20 people per hectare,³³ while Pakistan's core areas land utilization is 25.2 percent and Afghanistan is 6.83 percent.³⁴ In comparison to the core areas of both states, these border areas' farmers are using centuries old farming tools and equipment, irrigation facilities are non-existent and no efforts are being taken by either government to improve them, thus huge areas of land due to such problems are not properly utilised. In addition, border areas are declared highly food insecure due to government's apathy, poor farming methods, underutilization of the land and security situation³⁵.

Table II. Pakistan-Afghanistan Core Area Land Utilization Percentages

Pakistan Core Areas Land Utilization	25.2 percent
Afghanistan Core Areas Land Utilization	6.83 percent
Pak-Afghan Border Areas Land Utilization	2 percent
Support Per Hectare	20 persons

Since 1995, following the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture, Pakistan has reduced custom duties from 65 percent to 25 percent on agricultural products. In addition, it imposed 15 percent of sales tax on domestic agriculture products and exempted seeds, while on imports of agricultural products, regulatory duty has been converted into fixed (minimum) specific duty. During 1995 to 2005, Pakistan reduced 40 percent of the domestic support to agriculture and livestock. In 1999-2000, subsidies on fertilizers, sugar, wheat, electricity, tube wells and other related sectors to agriculture were cut by 30 percent without the consideration of the farming community.³⁶ Afghanistan in the process of adopting Agreement on Agriculture will have to abide by the three major instruments of market

³³ Bureau of Statistics, *FATA* (Government of Pakistan, Peshawar, 2014), 37. Civil Secretariat FATA, *FATA Sustainable Development Plan 2007-2015*, (Government of Pakistan, Peshawar, 2005), 15. Central Statistics Organisation, *Afghanistan's Socio Economic and Demographic Profile* (Government of Afghanistan, Kabul, 2014). Retrieved from official website of C.S.O <http://cso.gov.af/en>, accessed on 20 July 2015.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ World Food Programme Pakistan, *Rapid Needs Assessment Report of FATA*, (Islamabad 2012), 2-29. World Food Programme Afghanistan, *National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment*, (Kabul 2014), 4

³⁶ Anwar F Chishti, Waqar Malik and Mohammad Ghaffar Chaudry, WTO's Trade Liberalisation, Agriculture Growth and Poverty Alleviation in Pakistan. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 40:4 Part II Winter, (Islamabad 2001), 1035-1036.

access, domestic support and export subsidy.³⁷ Implementations of such measures means Afghanistan will gain access to foreign markets but on the condition of reciprocity. The major concern is that Afghanistan's poor agriculture sector is in no position to provide domestic support (subsidized quality seeds, fertilizers, modern machinery etc.) to its farmers.³⁸

The WTO's Agreement on Agriculture aims at maximizing market access for agriculture products by lowering tariffs and converting non-tariff barriers into tariff ones, however supporting certain concessions and subsidies to local farmers.³⁹ As per the Agreement on Agriculture, low tariffs will give access to agriculture imports, consequently the local organic produce in border areas will face competition from cheap inorganic agriculture imports that might displace local production. As discussed above, that it is already happening in the case of many other tribal and indigenous communities. Hence, while it will not rob tribes from their major source of income but it will threaten their health and life with cheap inorganic fruits, vegetables and other edibles.

The poor farmer across the border is engaged in farming activities with his own available resources and without any subsidies on seeds, fertilizers and required safe pesticides. Therefore, due to lack of facilities and subsidies, farmers in the Pak-Afghan border areas have failed to grow enough wheat, rice and vegetables to fulfill the needs of their own population. Different World Food Program reports and surveys have declared Pak-Afghan border areas food insecure.⁴⁰ Many programs by the respective governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan were devised and launched in the past but existed only on papers and was never adopted in practice.⁴¹

³⁷ Micheal Holden, *Afghanistan: Economic Activity and Policy Challenges*, (Ottawa: Canadian Parliamentary Information and Research Service Publication PRB 07-29E 2008), 16- 22. The Afghan farmers interviewed by the author at Kabul in the year 2012.

³⁸ Afghan farmers interviewed by author in Kabul between years 2014 and 2015.

³⁹ For agriculture, there is no red box; hence, governments can provide subsidies in the agriculture sector. Developing and least developed states cannot give subsidies to its farmers. Thus, the Agreement on Agriculture can be disastrous for the agrarian economies of developing and least developed states. According to the WTO agreement, market forces should control agriculture policies rather than the concerned farmer community. This particular arrangement erodes the concept of farmer and food security.

⁴⁰ World Food Programme Pakistan, *Rapid Needs Assessment Report of FATA*, (Islamabad 2012), 2-29. World Food Programme Afghanistan, *National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment*, (Kabul 2014), 4.

⁴¹ Bureau Report, "FIA given go-ahead to investigate FATA Secretariat corruption case", *Express Tribune* 16/4/2013, 4. Also, see Khan, M.M, "50 pc Fata officials corrupt, says PA", *The News International* 4 /8/2014, 7. Bertelsmann Stiftung, *BTI 2010 — Afghanistan Country Report*, (Gutersloh, Bertelsmann Stiftung, Germany 2009), 12.

Moreover, border area farmers have no idea or knowledge about the specific standards of the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture in terms of food safety, packaging, sanitizing and labeling. Even if they tried to use comparative advantage in certain organic products, they still would not be able to export them to international markets/developed markets due to lack of facilities and knowledge about the WTO's standards. Due to all such problems, the border tribes are not ready for the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture, it is important that both Pakistan and Afghanistan should devise policies that give preferential treatment to border areas' agriculture sector.

Impact of WTO's Agreements on Fragile Industries in Border Areas

The erstwhile FATA had several major industrial units of sports equipment, arms and ammunition, mining, cement, leather and tanning, woolen mills, edible oil, and match factories.⁴² However, in 2002, many major units were closed down and now hardly 1815 medium and small-scale units are in working condition. On Afghanistan's side, approximately 100 medium and small-scale units are operating and fulfilling the needs of the local population.⁴³ On both sides of the border, there are several agro based small and medium cottage industries, providing employment to the semi-skilled tribes living there. In the Afghan border areas, mostly small-scale agriculture units such as dairy products, dry fruits, rugs, and carpets are providing employment and livelihood.⁴⁴ While in erstwhile FATA, there are medium and small-scale units of arms and ammunition, marble, brick making, furniture making, and textiles along with several agro-based cottage industries operating. These units on both sides were established with limited financial resources are using outdated machinery, employing semiskilled labor, and are sfacing long hours of power breakdown. To help these border tribes, in 2006, the US administration promised to set-up an economic program called the Reconstruction Opportunity Zone but it never materialized due to security concerns. Under this proposed program, several incentives were devised such as loans and tax breaks for investors, which would have helped in establishing and strengthening the industrial sectors of the border areas and would have prepared the industries for WTO's agreements.⁴⁵

It is understandable that the implementation of WTO's agreements and regulations related to manufacturing and industries will be automatically extended to the border areas too. Ironically, Pakistan is a top reformer in the

⁴² FATA Development Authority & CAMP, *Survey Enumeration of Industries, Labour Force and Identifying constrain in FATA*, (Peshawar, October 2010), 25-150.

⁴³ Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook, (Government of Afghanistan Kabul 2011), 119.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ikram Sehgal, Border trade zone, *The News International*, 16/6/2011, 12.

region and 10th in the world regarding adjustment performance related to the WTO's agreements and regulations in the manufacturing sector. These reforms include relaxation in the rules to establish businesses, minimizing costs to register property, devising penalties for violating corporate governance rules and framing of convenient laws to acquire import and export licenses for traders.⁴⁶ In the process of liberalization and facilitation, Pakistan is adversely affecting its fragile manufacturing sector and infant industry at the core, and even the core areas' industrial sector is not ready to comply with the WTO's regulations. In case of the Afghanistan, industrial aid by donors is provided to the major cities. With foreign assistance, Afghans have been able to develop a few textiles industries of wool, cotton, carpets, and rugs. Presently, these industries accounts for 2 percent of Afghanistan's total GDP and engaging 10 percent of the labor force. However, these industries are only from the core areas and cities, peripheral areas do not contribute to it.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Afghanistan, a new member of the WTO, is playing to the tune of its trade liberalization, that is "tax your local produce and allow every imports with no or nominal duty". Today Afghanistan's local produce has to pay 30 percent of taxes along with the electricity problem, red-tape system and land acquisition problems while imported commodities are taxed from 1 percent to 60 percent, which are encouraging foreign commodities with no or minimum trade barriers and harming Afghanistan's fragile manufacturing units.⁴⁸

In border areas, there is a dearth of sufficient skilled human, capital, land, availability of funds, energy, and security issues. Hence, it is highly unlikely that better quality, high tech goods can be manufactured and will be able to compete in the international market. In fact, due to low tariffs, imports will replace the local goods and oust the local population of employment in the existing operational units. If Pakistan and Afghanistan succumbs to the policies of the WTO without adjustment at home, then poor and nominal industries of the border areas will be completely destroyed, which is providing employment to those tribes who refused to migrate from their villages.

⁴⁶ World Bank. *Doing Business in South Asia 2007: Pakistan is Runner-up Reformer in Region; Karachi has the country's most business-friendly regulations*. International Finance Corporation, Washington DC 2007, p.p. 6-27.

⁴⁷ United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, *Integrated Program of Cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and UNIDO 2009-2013*, (Government of Afghanistan, Kabul 2009), 1- 7.

⁴⁸ Bakhtyar Shahpur, *Foreign Imports Killing Off Afghan Industry*, (Institute For War & Peace Reporting, Afghanistan 2011), 9. Retrieved from <http://iwpr.net/report-news/foreign-imports-killing-afghan-industry>, accessed on 7 December 2014.

It is observed in the case of indigenous populations that states' start appropriating and opening up natural resources for (so -called) industrialization and employment incentives in the border areas, which results in hurting the local communities. There is a possibility that through a Trade Policy Review Mechanism agreement⁴⁹, Pakistan and Afghanistan, like others, would be forced to liberalize investment laws to facilitate transnational mining, gas and oil corporations in the mineral rich border region which might have serious consequences.

Impact of WTO's Agreements on Trade and Commerce in Border Areas

WTO's Trade Policy Review Body's major objective is to pave the way for regular consultations, reappraisal and liberalization of the trade policies of member states. Pakistan and Afghanistan's⁵⁰ governments are trying to liberalize trade. Both the states revised their transit trade agreement in 2010 (Afghanistan Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement) and formulated it to suit the WTO's policies. However, in this ambitious process, they have completely ignored the troubled and impoverished border areas tribes' trade. Pakistan and Afghanistan's formal bilateral trade is worth 2.3 billion dollars and 34 percent (2.10 billion dollars) of the Afghan transit commodities pass through erstwhile FATA, thus involving tribesmen in trade related services and provide livelihood to 1 million people.⁵¹

Table III Annual exports of Pakistan to Afghanistan

	Goods & Commodities	Value in millions \$	Pk.Imp.dut	Afgh. Exp. duty
1.	Salt, sulphur, earth (fuller clay), stone, plaster, lime & cement	127	1% - 10%	1%-5%

⁴⁹ The major objective of TPRM is to review members' economic policies and make sure that they adhere to the rules and commitments made under Multilateral and Plurilateral Trade Agreements. It states that no member shall apply any measures that discriminate against foreigners and foreign products.

⁵⁰ Recently Afghanistan is elevated to full member of WTO from an observer state and, thus, it is in the process of introducing economic reforms to adjust to WTO agreements related to trade and tariff.

⁵¹ Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, *Trade Annual Report 2013-14*, (Islamabad 2014). Afghanistan National Statistics Organisation, *Import and Export of Afghanistan*, (Kabul, 2014). Also, see Najeeb R Abbasi, *Afghanistan- Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement 2010*, (Peshawar, Pakistan Customs 2013), 3.

2.	Sugar confectionery	56	10% - 15%	2.5%-10%
3.	Milled products (wheat, corn etc.), malts(germinated cereal), starches, wheat gluten	42	10% - 25%	5%-10%
4.	Animal, vegetable fats & oils	34	10% to 15%	5%-10%
5.	Processed food & fresh food products	50	5% to 15%	1%-20%

Table IV Annual Exports of Afghanistan to Pakistan

	Goods and Commodities	Value in million \$	Afgh.Exp.duty	Pk.Imp.duty
1.	Mineral fuels, oils, distillation products for crude oil	56	10%-25%	5%-10%
2.	Iron & steel (scrap)	42	5%	1%-10%
3.	Edible fresh fruit & nuts	34	2.5% to 15%	10%-20%
4.	Edible vegetables, certain roots & tubers	25	2.5% to 5%	10%-25%
5.	Cotton, apparel, rugs & carpets	127	1% to 10%	20%-40%

Both states are members of the World Custom Organization (WCO);⁵² however, either of them has signed the Custom Valuation Code, thus implementing import values according to their states' needs. Pakistan applies tariff and custom duties from 60 to 150 percent on some of the commodities such as luxury items and electronics according to commodity value evaluation and some on weight. Afghanistan applies the lowest duties i.e., 1 to 60 percent, on almost all kinds of commodities (food, beverages,

⁵² This organisation formed in Brussels in 1952 as Custom Cooperation Council and later transformed into World Custom Organisation (WCO), its task is harmonisation and approximation of tariff among the trading communities of WTO. The WCO has devised a mechanism of codes system for goods and commodities. For details see Wolfgang, M.H. Emerging Issues In European Custom Law. *World Custom Journal* Vol. 1, No. 1. Australia: International Network of Customs Universities (INCU) 2007, p. 5.

luxury items, electronics, and vehicles) using evaluation of goods on weight and value.⁵³ Due to the above difference of custom duties, most of the goods are re-exported to Pakistan's settled markets through border areas. However, the elimination of custom duties and taxes on imported goods as per WTO's agreements will adversely affect all kinds of trade happening on the border. Many tribesmen are involved in transit cum informal trade and earning profits. Three tiers of organizations are involved in the transit cum informal trade, at the top is importing commodities from different parts of world, second is the middle man who carries these goods across the border and the third party is re-exporting it back to Pakistan, involving 1 million people from both sides. If taxes and tariffs are completely abolished, the profit of 8–120 percent (1 billion dollars) earned by the border areas' traders on both sides through transit cum informal trade will diminish, destroying markets developed over the last three decades, and would be robbing thousands of people of jobs and other economic opportunities.⁵⁴ In this process of trade liberalization, the second and third tier trader of the border areas will be adversely affected, especially the small shopkeepers selling tax-free goods worth \$2.10 billion. Several major markets in the seven Agencies and six Frontier Regions, comprising approximately 50,000 retail shops dealing with goods and commodities, exchanged through formal, informal and transit trade will also be drastically affected.⁵⁵ An official report of the FATA Secretariat states that there are approximately 15,000 major shops that sell goods (formal, informal and transit), engaging more than 50,000 people from erstwhile FATA and adjacent areas. Karkhano market near Peshawar has more than 2,000 shops that engage more than 10,000 people from the border areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Similarly, Frontier Regions adjacent to every tribal district has 7,000 shops in FR⁵⁶ Peshawar, FR Kohat, FR Bannu, FR Tank, FR Lakki Marwat and FR DI Khan that is the source of livelihood for many people.⁵⁷ Recently, women are also seen on the roads of Peshawar, travelling from Karkhano market to the settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and transporting goods on motorcycle pull carts.⁵⁸ If WTO's

⁵³ Notifications by Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of Finance Customs and Revenues and Ministry of Commerce Pakistan. These notifications are issues every year to change the tariff and custom duties.

⁵⁴ Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, *Trade Annual Report 2013-14*, (Islamabad, 2014). Afghanistan National Statistics Organisation, *Import and Export of Afghanistan*, (Kabul 2014).

⁵⁵ Custom Collector Najib-ur-Rehman Abbasi and Custom Officer Herat Abdus Saboor interviewed by the author at the Custom House Peshawar in 2013.

⁵⁶ Frontier Regions located at the confluence settled district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and erstwhile FATA.

⁵⁷ FATA Secretariat, *Summary Policy Paper 2014*, (Peshawar 2015), 12-16.

⁵⁸ See The News International clips and reports on women traders involved in transit trade. I have personally seen these women and interacted with them on Peshawar University road too.

agreements such as Multilateral Agreement on Trade in Goods, also known as General Agreement on Tariff and Trade for free trade (zero taxes and duties), is enacted then it will rob the border tribes of profits earned by the spillover of transit commodities into settled areas through informal/illicit trade. It will have serious consequences for border tribes if some policy is not introduced to adjust the people involved in transit trade and informal trade. See the table V for fuller understanding of profits earned by the tribes through the transit trade.

Table V Difference of Commodities Prices in Informal Markets of Erstwhile FATA and State Regulated Markets and its Economic impact on Border Tribes Food Commodities

No	Commodities	Price in Border Areas Pk. Rs.	Price in State Regulated Market Pk. Rs	Price Difference and Profit
1.	Ghee/Oil 5kg.	410-570	600-750	39%
2.	Tea 1kg.	150-200	475-550	195%
3.	Coffee 1kg.	270-300	400-475	53%
4.	Green tea 1kg.	140-145	200-250	58%
5.	Biscuits dozen	180-200	250-300	41.4%
6.	Beverages 5kg	450-500	550-600	21.1%
7.	Jam/Jelly bottle 300 ml.	120-125	150-175	32.5%
8.	Honey bottle ml.	150-160	270-300	83.7%
9.	Pickles bottle ml.	100-120	120-130	14%
10.	Spices/1kg	200-250	300-350	45%
11.	Dry Fruits/1kg	500-1000	700-1800	60%
12.	Butter 250 gm.	100-120	125-140	20.5%

Electronics

No.	Commodities	Price in Border Markets	Price in State Regulated Market	Price Difference
1	T.V (21-32 inches) LCD/LED(46-55 inches)	10,000-22,000 45000-70,000	20,000- 44,000/65000- 100,000	100%
2	Refrigerator(small/large)	10,000-40,000	15,000-55,000	43.7%
3	Washing machine	17,000-25,000	20,000-30,000	18.8%
4	Sewing machine	2,300-2,500	2,500-3,000	14.3%
5	Vacuum cleaner	4,000-7,000	5,000-8,000	19.5%
6	Air conditioner AC splits (1/2 ton)	12,000-23,000	20,000-30,000	48.5%
7	Video camera	10,000-15,000	15,000-20,000	41.6%
8	Digital camera	9,000-15,000	15,000-22,000	56.6%
9	VCP/VCR	6,000-10,000	10,000-15,000	58.3%
10	VCD/DVD	1,500- 3,000	2,500-5,000	66.6%
11	Telephone	500-3,000	1,000-5,000	83.3%
12	Fax machine	8,000-10,000	10,000-15,000	37.5%
13	Iron	1,300-2,200	1,500-2,500	14.4%
14	Iron rod	500-1,200	700-1,500	32.5%
15	Electric juicer/grinder	1,400-3,500	2,000-4,500	35.5%
16	Microwave	7,000-22,000	10,000-30,000	39.7%
17	Toaster/sandwich maker	2,200-3,000	2,700-4,500	36.3%
18	Electric kettle	1,700-2,200	2,500-4,000	64.4%
19	Electric shaving machine	500-1,200	900-2,000	73.3%

Household and Luxury Items

No	Commodities	Price In FATA Market	Price In State Regulated Market	Price Difference
1	Sweater/Jacket	400-1,000	800-1,500	75%
2	Unstitched cloth	1,200-2,000	1,800-2,800	45%
3	Gents Suiting material	2,000-5,000	3,500-8,000	67.5%
4	Shoes ladies/gents)	600-1,000	1,000-2,200	93.3%
5	Blanket (single/double)	1,200-2,200	1,800-3,300	50%
6	Carpets	2,000-10,000	5,000-20,000	125%
7	Crockery/crystals (tea/dinner sets)	12,000-25,000	20,000-45,000	73.3%
8	Toiletries (medium soap/ toothpaste/ shampoo)	50/75-120	70/120-200	55.5%
9	Cosmetics (body sprays/ perfumes)	80-500	135-1,200	101.2%
10	Cigarettes (dozen)	360-500	700-1,200	117.2%

Other Heavy Machinery

No.	Commodities	Price in Border Areas Markets	Price in State Regulated Market	Price Difference
1.	Generator	18000-90,000	25,000-100,000	24.9%
2.	U.P.S.	5,000-12,000	8,000-20,000	63.3%
3.	Rechargeable lights/ Torches	150-2000	300-2,800	70%
4.	Vehicle spare parts	2,000-50,000	4,000-80,000	80%
5.	Vehicles (only used in FATA, can't sell it in settled areas)	400,000-100,0000 (from 800 cc to 1300 cc)	100,0000-250,0000 Rs	Benefit FATA only

Pakistan Tribal Areas and Adjacent Afghan Border Areas and WTO Social Clause

The non-tariff barrier Social Clause is a conditionality attached to the exports of developing and least developing countries. As in the rest of Pakistan, in erstwhile FATA, Pakistan labor laws and mechanisms to protect labor rights are absent.⁵⁹ Therefore, labor engaged in different sectors is under-paid and without any cover for life and job security. However, in Afghanistan, the National Labor Policy was adopted in 2012.⁶⁰ It has been extended to border wilayats too but the government failed to implement it due to incapacity and lack of proper structures. In border areas, the majority of women and children -- although they are underpaid but support families with their meager income -- are engaged in various sectors such as agriculture, carpet making, textile embroidery, leather goods, wood and stone carving, brick making, jewelry making, and trade. Most of male children are actively participating in trade and transit trade by carrying goods across the border on donkeys, pull carts and on their backs. Different newspapers also reported that some women are also carrying goods for trade across the Pak-Afghan border and into Peshawar city.⁶¹

According to limited official data available on child labor, in erstwhile FATA, 17.1 percent children aged 5 to 14⁶² and in Afghan border provinces, 20 percent children aged 5 to 17 are working in different sectors as laborers and support their families.⁶³ Both the Pakistan and Afghanistan governments do not have the financial strength or will to stop the violation of labor laws and child labor in their respective states and border areas. If WTO's Social Clause is applied to these border areas, it will not only put a stop to fragile economic activities at the borderland but will also affect the underage labor that is supporting families for food, shelter and protection. The underage labor is forced and helpless, as the state has completely ignored the plight of many affected by conflict and poverty. In an ideal situation, grants coming for erstwhile FATA and adjacent border areas should be invested in these areas' children and women.

⁵⁹ FATA Social and Welfare Department at Peshawar deals with labour and other welfare issues but no structural mechanism in FATA is present to deal with labour rights violations. In addition, recently announced to launch a child protection policy but it is yet to be implemented.

⁶⁰ Government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, *National Labour Policy*, (Kabul, 2013), 2-7. This law deals with issue of child labour too.

⁶¹ Nabi Jan of Tribal Network Peshawar interviewed by the author on 2 February 2015.

⁶² FATA Secretariat, *Child Protection Policy Report*, (Peshawar 2015), 8.

⁶³ US Department of Labour, *Child Labour in Afghanistan*, (Washington DC, 2008), 88-97.

By protecting women and children under the Social Clause without any proper strategy such as forcing both states under different UN conventions, international trading communities will involuntarily threaten the livelihood of the border tribes. These areas are poor, lack resources to meet international labor standards, and are struggling to survive. However, if WTO regulations are enacted then Social Clause will also be a part of several agreements, although people living in such underdeveloped peripheral areas cannot afford the luxuries of those sitting in the 'green room' and living in developed societies.

Conclusion

Afghanistan and Pakistan are pressurized by the phenomenon of globalization. Thus, to be a part of the "global village," Afghanistan and Pakistan are involved in intense reforms in agriculture, industry and trade (APPTA 2010) to suit the wishes of globalized agency WTO. Unfortunately, both Pakistan and Afghanistan, like many agrarian economies, have failed to provide support and subsidies to their agriculture sectors as prescribed by the WTO. It is also a paradox, as in many developing states, agriculture exports, outputs, wages, and profit have failed to reduce poverty in their respective states. Thus, both states started experimentation with industrialization and privatization policies and ignored the agriculture sector. Afghanistan instead diverted its maximum foreign funds and loans to building its security apparatus due to massive security concerns. For Afghanistan, it is mandatory to reform its economy (without considering her vulnerabilities) to gain membership, and Pakistan (being a member) is under pressure from WTO to implement the organization's agreements. In this process of adjusting their domestic economies with WTO's policies, both governments are ignoring their fragile economies and above all the sub-nations living in the conflict ridden Pak-Afghan border region.

It is so ironic that many developing and least developed states cannot afford even a team at Geneva to defend their economic interest in the WTO. The whole procedure devised by the organization is too expensive and cumbersome. Afghanistan, with no resources and no representatives, will be at a serious disadvantage if there is any dispute or any issue that is needed to be heard or handled at the WTO. This corporate entity is also using non-tariff barriers such as Social Clause and environmental issues to stop access of Afghanistan and Pakistan's commodities to international markets, robbing them of exports and their population of jobs while flooding and dumping markets with cheap global goods and commodities.

In the economic scheme of arrangements, border areas are the periphery of poor states that needs to adopt a sensitive approach towards impoverished and war-torn regions. Indigenous and tribal people of other states have

already expressed and recorded the adverse effects of WTO's agreements on their communities at the ILO, UN and WTO. Therefore, if the WTO fails to introduce humane reforms to accommodate impoverished and war-torn border areas and tribes, then it will trample all the values, cultures, environment, and human dignity inherent within these communities.

Bibliography

- Abbasi, Najeeb-ur-Rehman. *Afghanistan- Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement 2010*. Peshawar: Pakistan Customs, 2012.
- Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook. *Import and Export of Afghanistan*. Government of Afghanistan: Kabul, 2010.
- Bureau of Statistics. FATA Cell. *Important Agency/FR wise Socio-Economic Indicators of FATA*. Government of Pakistan: Peshawar, 2014.
- Bureau Report. FIA given go-ahead to investigate FATA Secretariat corruption case. *Express Tribune*, 2013.
- Central Statistics Organization. *Afghanistan's Socio Economic and Demographic Profile*. Government of Afghanistan: Kabul, 2013. Retrieved from <http://cso.gov.af/en> accessed on 22 April 2013.
- Civil Secretariat FATA. *FATA Sustainable Development Plan 2007–2015*. Government of Pakistan, Peshawar 2005.
- FATA Development Authority & CAMP. *Survey Enumeration of Industries, Labor Force and Identifying constrain in FATA*. Government of Pakistan: Peshawar, 2010.
- FATA Secretariat. *Child Protection Policy Report*. Government of Pakistan: Peshawar, 2015.
- FATA Secretariat. *Summary Policy Paper 2014*. Government of Pakistan: Peshawar, 2015.
- Government of Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. *National Labor Policy*. Government of Afghanistan: Kabul 2013.
- Khan, M. 50 pc Fata officials corrupt, says PA, *The News International*. 2014.
- Kirkbride, Mary. *Getting the Fundamental Right: The Early Stages of Afghanistan's WTO Accession Process*, UK: Oxfam Briefing Paper 2007.
- Ministerial Conference of WTO. *The International Declaration of Indigenous Peoples*. Cancun, 2003. Retrieved from <http://www.ifg.org/programs/indig/CancunDec.html>, accessed on 22 April 2014.
- Ministry of Finance. *National Budget Document 1394*. Government of Afghanistan: Kabul 2015.

- Pakistan Bureau of Statistics. *Trade Annual Report 2013-14*. Government of Pakistan: Islamabad 2014.
- Qureshi, Ejaz Ahmed. *Interim Report FATA REFORMS COMMISSION*, Governors' Secretariat Peshawar, 2015.
- Sehgal, Ikram. Border trade zone, *The News International*. Islamabad, 2011.
- South Asia Joint Planning Group Report. *Joint Strategic Oversight Plan for Afghanistan 2015*. Washington DC 2016.
- Stiftung, Bertelsmann. *BTI 2010 — Afghanistan Country Report*. Gutersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, Germany, 2009.
- Tauli-Corpuz, Victoria. *Impacts of WTO on the Environment, Cultures and Indigenous Peoples*. US, 1999. Retrieved from <http://www.ratical.org/co-globalise/impactsOfWTO.html>, accessed on 22 April 2014.
- US Department of Labor. *Child Labor in Afghanistan*. Washington DC, 2008.
- World Bank. *Poverty Status in Afghanistan: A Profile based on National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment (NRVA)*. Washington DC, 2008.
- World Food Program Afghanistan. *National Risk and Vulnerability Assessment*. Government of Afghanistan: Kabul 2008.
- World Food Program Pakistan. *Rapid Needs Assessment Report of FATA*. Islamabad 2012.