NECROPOLITICS AND BIOPOLITICS OF DRONE WARFARE: A CRITICAL POSTHUMAN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY PAKISTANI ANGLOPHONE FICTION

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Abstract

Humans have entered posthuman era where human activities, productions and cultures are being transformed by increasing enmeshment of technology. Accordingly, one of the most defining factors of contemporary Politics and Literature is the overwhelming presence of machines in their narratives. This research is an inter-disciplinary study which demonstrates that contemporary Pakistani Anglophone fiction is a political statement against the necropolitical and biopolitical usage of drone technology in underprivileged countries like Pakistan and Afghanistan. There are not many notable researched available on the interrelation between drone technology, politics and Pakistani literature. This paper is, therefore, unique and innovative in its approach towards drone warfare and its political and literary implications. By conducting a hermeneutic textual analysis of three novels by Nadeem Aslam, Uzma Aslam Khan and Mohsin Hamid from a posthuman theoretical framework, this article illustrates that technology has

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transformed the characteristics of international politics in the twenty-first century Pakistan.

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INTRODUCTION

Technology has deeply affected the social, political, and cultural dimensions of human existence. Global politics and creative works have also got affected by the overwhelming presence of scientific gadgets around us. Some of these scientific inventions are a boon for humanity while others are disastrous for all or certain communities. Drone technology is one such dangerous technology which kills people as well as keeps an eye on their lives. In this sense, it is a necropolitical and biopolitical tool by its users. In order to critically analyze the implications of such a war machine, critical posthuman theoretical framework is the most suitable discipline because it provides tools and terminologies for critically evaluating the impact of machines on human societies. In order to study the impact of drone ware on contemporary politics, this paper conducts a hermeneutic textual analysis of three Pakistani novels *The Wasted Vigil* (2008) by Nadeem Aslam, *Thinner than Skin* (2012) by Uzma Aslam Khan, and Exit *West* (2017) by Mohsin Hamid. This study demonstrates that one way to evaluate the necropolitical and biopolitical implications of drone warfare in any society is to study fictional accounts from that location which provide ample scope for evaluating the repercussions of drone usage for contemporary politics and literary stylistics.

Literary works are never written in vacuum and they have larger bearing on the society, cultural, history and traditions of that era in which they are written. It is also true in case of Pakistani literature as renowned Pakistani literary critic Muneeza Shamsie writes in her seminal work *Hybrid Tapestries* (2017) that the younger Pakistani fiction writers are "strongly political writers and capture the changing face of Pakistan in the twenty-first century" (p.384). Similarly, eminent Pakistani literary critics Dr. Aroosa Kanwal and Saiyma Aslam contend in *The Routledge Companion to Pakistani Anglophone Writing* (2018) that Pakistani Anglophone literary works are not only "aesthetic objects" (p.1) but are:

…cultural products tremendously influenced and constrained by national and international religious and political grievances and the socio-political circumstances of their times, as well as by geographical factors (Kanwal & Aslam, 2018, p. 1).

Pakistani literature has a rich history of political engagement and literary activism. Before the Partition of Pakistan, poets like Allama Iqbal (1877-1938) gave the message of fighting for independence from the British colonial powers and self-realization. In post-partition era, majority of literary activism happened against the dictatorship of Zia regime led by Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-1984), Habib Jalib (1928-1993), and Kishwar Naheed (1940-) along with many other artists. Some of Pakistani novels written in post-partition era like *Udaas Naslein/ The Weary Generations* (1963) raised voices against the exploitation of Indian manpower in the two World Wars by the colonial power. *Khuda ki Basti/God's own Land* (1957) by Shaukat Siddiqui initiated a literary activism for the rights of the marginalized groups of Pakistan. So, Pakistan has a history of literary activism. The real political turn in Pakistani Anglophone literature occurred in the aftermath of 9/11. Novels written by Mohsin Hamid, Uzma Aslam Khan, and Nadeem Aslam depicted the atrocities and repercussions of 9/11 wars for Pakistan. The mentioning of drone also started appearing in Pakistani novels when Pakistani society started experiencing the legitimate and illegitimate drone strikes and instances of drone surveillance on its territory.

Pakistani fiction is replete with references to drone politics. Drones are used as motifs and tropes in Nadeem Aslam's novel *The Wasted Vigil* (2008). Uzma Aslam Khan's novel, *Thinner than Skin* (2012), also portrays drones in an intriguing way. In contemporary Pakistani fiction, there are multiple references to drones. These novels "have a poetological component" (Motyl & Arghavan, 2018, p. 137) which reflect upon "the role of art in the face of large-scale death" and human suffering (Motyl & Arghavan, 2018, p.137). Waqar Azeem, in his article, *Drones, State of Exception and Truck Art* (2019) argues that drones are being used for "cultural genocide" (p. 105) and a mean to inflict "transnational violence" (p.101). By using a drone, "empire controls, adapts and domesticates the people's lives to suit its whims" (Azeem, 2019, p. 108). Cara Cilano, in her book *Post-9/11 Espionage Fiction in the US and Pakistan: Spies and "Terrorists"* (2014), argues that drone is one of the many tropes of invisible spy in Pakistani espionage fiction (p. 111). Therefore, drones are, in a sense, both spies and weapons in the hands of imperial powers. But what makes Hamid's fiction more suitable for the study of Pakistani cultural node of drone is its recurrence in his fiction and his deep insight into proliferation of drones in contemporary society. Clair Chambers (2019) studies drones in his novel *Exit West* and Angelia Poon (2017) analyzes the trope of drone in *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*. So,

there is already a general consensus among literary critiques about the presence of drones in Pakistani fiction but a full-fledge study is missing on the possible role of drones in the creative works written by novelists.

Literature Review

Before initiating a posthuman critical discourse analysis of the literary texts, it is crucial to understand the meanings and significance of the terms 'necropolitics', 'biopolitics', 'posthumanism' and significance of drones in contemporary politics. Therefore, a brief overview of the existing literature on all these aforementioned notions will be discussed now.

'Posthumanism' is a newly emerging field of study which has become really popular in the last two decades. According to Cary Wolfe (2010), a major posthuman theorist, 'posthumanism':

comes both before and after humanism: before in the sense that it names the embodiment and embeddedness of the human being in not just its biological but also its technological world, the prosthetic co-evolution of the human animal with the technicity of tools and external archival mechanisms…. it comes after in the sense that posthumanism names a historical moment in which the decentering of the human by its imbrication in technical, medical, informatic, and economic networks is increasingly impossible to ignore, a historical development that points toward the necessity of new theoretical paradigms. (pp. XV-XVI).

For Wolfe, 'posthumanism' is not a pessimistic approach neither does it announce the doom of everything related to the notion of being human. He claims that posthumanism compels us to reconsider conventional forms of human experience, "including the normal perceptual modes and affective states of Homo sapiens itself, by re-contextualizing them in terms of the entire sensorium of other living beings" (Wolfe, 2010, p. xxv).This notion does not surpass or reject the concept of human, rather it provides with the opportunity to reflect on the notion of 'human' and its distinctive methods of interaction, communication, social significations and sentimental investments with his fellow species.

A drone can be called posthuman because by definition it is "an aircraft without a pilot, controlled from the ground" (*OALD,* 2015*,* p. 459). A drone or an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) is the latest form of weapon which has become popular topic of study in international politics. Since 2011, the use of drones in wars has been" explosive" (Rogers and Hill, 2014, p. 1) and "accelerated

exponentially" (Ahmed, 2013, p. 1) that has made it "a symbol of America's war on terror" (Ahmed, 2013, p. 1). Drone warfare is "robotised warfare…nexus of access–persistence–accuracy is the core of drone warfare" (Roger and Hill, 2014, p. 2). A drone is the most "appropriate metaphor for the current age of globalization" (Ahmed, 2013, p. 4). In this sense, drone stands as a metonym for contemporary military quests.

Pakistani Anglophone fiction is replete with the references to drone attacks in both Pakistan and Afghanistan by American. These novels do not only further the discourses of posthuman forms of impunity, unreliability, evasion of sovereignty, intrusion of private lives, panoptic surveillance, neocolonialism and necropolitics associated with the use of a drone but they also collectively construct a discursive discourse against the use of drone use in any war or peace situation. The works selected for analysis portray drones being used against, migrants, Muslims, people of colour and innocent civilians which highlight the violation of human rights of countries from countries outside Euro-American vicinity. They draw a trajectory of literary activism against the inhuman use of drones on social, moral, political, democratic, and humanitarian reasons.

Eminent posthuman theorist, Rosi Braidotti (2013), calls drone technology as "tele-thenatological devices" (p.126). Akbar Ahmed (2013) calls drone as "the weaponry of globalization…mysterious, distant, deadly, and notoriously devoid of human presence" whose "destruction resounded in its names: Predator and Reaper" (p. 2). She hypothesizes that the "posthuman predicament entails specific forms of inhuman(e) practices that call for new frames of analysis and new normative values" (Braidotti, 2013, p. 138), in addition, the "bio-political and the necro-political combine to re- locate embodied subjectivity in a posthuman continuum that calls for new ethical coding" (Braidotti, 2013, p. 141). Therefore, it is imperative to study this new political and ethical coding of drone warfare and its implications on human societies.

One very significant mode of know more about any human society is to study its literature. Therefore, literary texts from Pakistan have been taken in this study for analyzing the political implications of "automated weaponry capable of human-free decision making" (Braidotti, 2013, p. 138) like drone warfare- a posthuman military tactic which is ravaging the developing nations' ecology.

Many contemporary researchers in the field of Social Sciences have used the concept of necropolitics to study the use of drone technology in the under-

developing conflict-hit areas like Afghanistan, Sudan, Syria but this research analyzes literary texts to trace a qualitative and humanistic aspect of drone use as a neocolonial strategy. The concept of 'necropolitics' was proposed by Achille Mbembe in his 2003 research article. He developed this concept by taking inspiration from Michel Foucault's concept of biopolitics and Georgio Agamben's concept of *Homo Sacer* and state of exception. He constructs his argument by quoting examples from the historical instances of slavery and Israeli occupation of Palestine. According to him, the contemporary world is more immersed in political gains by killing enemies and putting the fear of death in the heart of the enemy. Related to the Foucault's ideology of bio-politics is Mbembe's concept of necro-politics that refers to the power to inflict death:

This deployment of technologically mediated violence cannot be adequately described in terms of disciplining the body, fighting the enemy or even as the techniques of a society of control. We have rather entered the era of orchestrated and instrumental massacres, a new 'semiosis of killing', leading to the creation of multiple and parallel 'death-worlds'. (p.37).

In addition to the necropolitical aspect of drone warfare, Jamie Allinson (2015) contends that drone use against certain communities is an "apparatus of racial distinction" (p. 117). He further elaborates upon the concept of 'necropolitics' in the following words:

Necropolitics refers to the arrogation of, in Foucauldian terms, the sovereign's command of death, but within the apparatuses of surveillance, auditing, and management which characterize "biopower." It is this dual character, defining a population through the methods of biopolitics yet rendering it as the potential object of the sovereign power of death, which distinguishes necropolitics from a broader logic of racism. (Allinson, 2015, p. 114).

Hence, necropolitics is different from the concept of 'racism' in its implications as an unfair use of power to manage lives and distribute death in underprivileged communities. Hence, drone warfare have implications for both necropolitical and biopolitical modes of study.

A drone is a significant posthuman motif and there is a need to discuss the impact of this technology on human societies in order to critically analyze its posthuman implications for its victims which has not yet been studied in Pakistani academia. This research paper will initiate debate into this domain for future

research.

METHODOLOGY

This critical posthuman strand of the 'posthuman' is integral for conducting the hermeneutic textual analysis of literary texts and provides a framework for the literary critiques. A critical posthuman reading of a text strategically exploits the ambiguity of the term posthumanism and critically the discourse and representations of the non-human at work. It critically examines both of illustrations of the posthuman and the 'human'. This kind of textual analysis is a materialist and deconstructive evaluation of the:

cultural politics that underlie the actual representations of the posthuman and the processes of ongoing posthumanisation, it helps to envisage alternative conceptualisations of both the human and the posthuman, and of their mutually informing relationship. (Herbrechter & Callus, 2008, p. 97).

Hence, a critical posthuman analysis of a literary text focuses on many emerging forms of human and posthuman technologies which are drastically changing human societies and cultures.

DISCUSSION

The selected Pakistani Anglophone texts reflect upon this inhuman use of drones on the global scale. Two major themes emerge under the praxis of inhuman use of weapons in the posthuman era. First concern of the narratives is to illustrate realistic depiction of the unethical use of weapons by imperial powers to mercilessly kill underprivileged communities – 'necropolitics' (Mbembe 2003) and the second is the biopolitics. This paper will now elaborate upon these two types of posthuman discourses related to drones.

Posthuman Necropolitics

Death of innocent civilians in a targeted drone strike is a recurrent theme in Pakistani fiction. *The Wasted Vigil* by Nadeem Aslam and Uzma Aslam Khan's novel *Thinner than Skin* (2012) describe the death of innocent civilians and children. Khan, in her novel *TTS* narrates a "missile strike in Waziristan" (p.200) that has:

…not been launched by Pakistan but by an American drone armed with missiles that were MALE, with Pakistan's consent, from one of its airfields….

The thirty civilians dead, included three children" (p. 201).

This excerpt hints at the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, children rights, human rights and civilian rights in a war situation. The narrative magnifies the human security threats to Pakistani nationals and the willingness of Pakistan to tolerate such offensives. As noted by Grégoire Chamayou, drone warfare not only raises questions about the use of killing technologies against extraneous subjects, but it also demands the radical re-evaluation of 'the relations between the state and its own subjects' (2015, p.18). Drone warfare also faces criticism because of deaths of civilians and legal issues (Peron, 2014, p. 81). Here, Pakistani fiction takes an aesthetic turn to participate in the international drone politics and explicitly depict the unfair human cost of drone warfare. In these texts, "Racial distinction" (Allinson 2015) and "oriental gaze" (Espinoza 2018) of the drone are responsible for these inadvertent killing.

Pakistan's Anglophone fiction also raises the issue of violation of Pakistan's sovereignty by drone strikes which is also a heated debate related to drone studies by social scientists on the ethical (Ahmed 2014), Christian morality stance (Vorster 2015), and legal (Zwickle, Farber and Hamm 2019) implications. Ian, Shaw and Majed Akhter in their article *The Unbearable Humanness of Drone Warfare in FATA, Pakistan* (2011) argue that:

…the drone is a political actor with a fetishized existence, and this enables it to violate sovereign Pakistani territory. In this sense, the continued violence waged by robots in Pakistan's tribal areas is a result of the deadly interaction between law and technology. (p.1490).

There is a clear reference to drone strikes' collateral damage and failure to deliver the precise results while harming the innocent civilians without any legal, moral or ethical implications. It is an effort to educate and raise a community against the injustice and unjustified violence and impunity of drone strikes and preparing them to stand against inequality, violence and promote globally more active and responsible communities (King, 2015). Khan (2012) is giving voice to the underprivileged innocent civilian communities who are being killed in target drone strikes meant for terrorists and insurgents.

There were total 430 minimum confirmed drone strikes in Pakistan between 2004-2020 which killed between 424-969 civilians and 172-207 children (The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, 2020). But there might be more number of
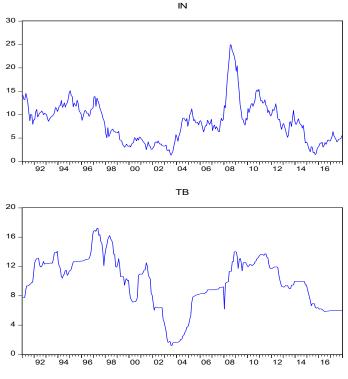
civilians and children affected because of these strikes because these statistics are usually tempered with to hide truth (Plaw, Fricker & Williams, 2011, p. 51; Walzer, 2016, p. 16; Delori, 2017, p. 16). The critics of drones have mostly studied the use of drones according to the theoretical frameworks of necropolitics (Allinson, 2015; Braidotti, 2013), bare life by Agamben (Azeem, 2019; Cilano, 2014), illegitimate life by Judith Butler (2004) and orientalist discourse (Espinoza 2018). Theorists also believed that discourse and programming of a drone is a continuation of racist, orientalist and colonial myopic vision which considers it justified to kill people who are less civilized than the superpowers. Drone warfare is a continuation of colonial quests of 19th and 20th centuries where dominated are suppressed by dominant nations. There is historical evidence that colonizers have almost always associated themselves with science, progress, civilization, rationality objectivity, and modernity (Said, 2003; Quijano, 2007; Dunford, 2017).

This hints at the necropolitics and biopolitical of the neo-imperial powers like US already discussed by Allinson (2015), Wilcox (2015 & 2017), and Kordela (2016). Necropolitics highlight the sovereign power of the empire to kill- a new "semiosis of killing" (Mbembe,, 2003, p.37) and "command death" (Allinson, 2015, p.215) biopolitical suggests the management of life (Espinoza, 2018, p.377). Marina Espinoza, in her paper, *State terrorism: orientalism and the drone programme* (2018), also argues that these matter-of-fact discourses propagated by the imperial powers to defend drone use are neither neutral nor novel (p.379). Pakistani Anglophone fiction implies drone strikes are guided by oriental gaze and therefore the use of these weapons to fight terrorism is not reliable because they are necropolitical tools to unleash a politics of unnecessary death. Since the drone use inherits "racism, inherited from colonialism, is what informs the gaze of surveillance as to who is targetable" (Espinoza, 2018, p.379), its inability to distinguish between a target and non-target is fallible. This inaccurate information collected by the machines causes the death of hundreds and millions of innocent people and no one is answerable for such a horrible crime against humanity. This incident in the novel does not only foreground the fallibility, orientalist ideology, posthuman inhumanity and inaccuracy of a drone's performance but it also highlights the impunity with which a drone strikes masses without any legal, moral and ethical implications.
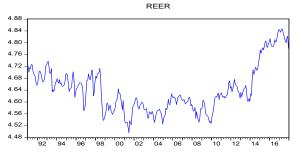
Theorists also believe that drones are "the militarised prosthetics of empire" (Pugliese, 2013, p.214) and are run by "an algorithm of racial distinction"

(Allinson, 2015, p.114). There are multiple concerns related to the use of drone assassinations in Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen related to the violation of international war laws (Aslam, 2011; Allinson, 2015) and the questions related to their ethical use (Allinson, 2015, pp. 114-115). So far, researchers in the area of drone studies have highlighted the terror which drone surveillance causes among the masses (Cavallero, Sonnenberg, & Knuckey, 2012; Salama, 2013; Saif, 2014; Salama, 2014) and drone's biopolitical and necropolitical power (Allinson, 2015; Wilcox, 2015, 2017). Drone's bird eye view is a continuation of a long history of imperialist frame of mind that bifurcate the world into the rightful subjects and puny objects under the colonizer's gaze (Stahl, 2013). Contemporary drone warfare draws its legitimacy "from an ideological offensive against Muslims and Arabs in particular" (Espinoza, 2018, p. 380). It is a "neocolonial necropolitics" (Motyl & Arghavan, 2018, p.128). Drones:

…are synonymous with terrorism and absolute impunity—they kill without the invading nation having to risk its own soldiers. It is a one-sided war; a video game for one side, the horror of destroyed villages, murdered individuals and mutilated bodies for the other. (Chomsky & Vltchek, 2013, p.172).

REER

Unchecked drone use imply that certain races are considered as *homo sacer*, a "life exposed to death" as "less than life, or as dangerous life whose extinguishing must be managed in order for valuable life to flourish" (Allisnon, 2015, p. 117), and "a population understood as, by definition, illegitimate, if not dubiously human" (Butler, 2004, p. 91). *Thinner than Skin* by Uzma Aslam Khan illustrates that during a drone attack, a "target became a non-target, a non-target became a target. Before the camera could tell them apart, the world could be saved…" (Khan, 2012, p. 103). This excerpt hints at the real life death and destruction which drone use has wrought upon human societies without any impunity. In the real world, drone warfare has caused a huge bloodshed in the underdeveloped counties. Along with the targeted terrorists, drones have killed multitude of innocent civilians. Drone studies experts Roger and Hill (2014) argue: "Like earlier examples of air power, drone warfare has failed in its attempts to produce peace through targeting civilians" (p. 92). They further argue that the "human cost of this alliance between man and machine is high as around 2,500 -3,500 people were murdered by US drones between 2004 and 2013, and most probably 20 to 30 per cent of them were civilians" (Roger & Hill, 2014, p. 92). Since 2005 till 2018, 328 drone attacks were executed on Pakistan by US army (SATP, 2017, n.p.). In 2011, the US killed twice as many wanted terrorists than wanted in what they called as their "signature strikes" conducted in order to find and kill terrorist group leaders (UNAMA, 2013, p. iii).

Similarly, in Nadeem Aslam's novel *The Wasted Vigil* (2008), drone strike implies the fallibility of drones' decision making which is guided by both necropolitical oriental gaze and racial distinction. *The Wasted Vigil* is "a poetic mediation on the destructive urges that bind us together, and a literary quest to find humanity in the most unlikely of places" (Hanif, 2008). The narrative "contemplates civilization, history, art, and the scars of war and violence" (Shamsie, 2017, p. 367). Aslam's novel *The Wasted Vigil* is also one o those novels which mentions drone strikes once but that one drone strike incident adds upto

the overall devastation, destruction and loss of lives in Afghanistan led by USA. The novel's title has been taken from a painting of the same name which signifies the wasted watch of a woman who is waiting for her beloved uselessly because he is not going to turn up. The novel also signifies the wasted wait of Afghani nation to find peace and happiness among intermittent attacks by imperial powers like Russia and America. The one target drone strike that novel mentions goes wasted because it could not kill the targeted person but ruins everything else in the vicinity. This drone surveillance can also be called as wasted vigil in this scenario because one possible connotation of the word vigil is also surveillance. The drone's surveillance of the area could not identify the exact location of the targeted person and missed him. Therefore, this drone vigil kept by the empire in Afghanistan is wasted just like the Afghani war proved as a waste of resources, human lives and environments. Therefore, drone in this scenario is a posthuman wasted vigil whose wasted surveillance resulted in the loss of many innocent lives and dilapidation of their environment which goes against the human and environment rights.

Walzer (2016) also questions the reliability of targeted drone strike by highlighting the safety of the people "who happened to be in the vicinity of the actual target were never themselves targeted; they were not the specific object of the attack; we had no knowledge of what they had done, or were doing, or were planning to do (Walzer, 2016, p. 17). WV raises the same issues of civilians' rights in the times of war thus raising a voice against the violation of human rights. It promotes an "activism based on reading and empathy" (Cosgrove, 2009, p. 233). It urges its readers implicitly to think about the fallibility and lack of accountability of a drone strike in which the target was not actually present on the site bit everyone else was burnt. In all the examples quoted above by Aslam and Khan, the inhuman killing of drones signify total "loss of dignity" (Sadaf 2018, 119) for human beings under drone strikes and reiterate the injustice and human atrocities (Sadaf 2018, 119). These instances from the novels illustrate "dehumanizing effects of injustice" (Braidotti & Hlavajova, 2018). It is also an eye opening account for the Western audience to read and empathize with these subaltern who could not even voice their protest and were innocent but burnt to ashes because of a technological device set lose on the underprivileged human communities.

Posthuman Biopolitics
Drones are often appraised for their counter-terrorism capabilities to restore

order in the terrorist locations. However, the communities under surveillance are changing as "this omnipresent threat is leading to changes in how lives are lived under drones ….People who live under drones behave like people under air attack" (Roger & Hill, 2014, p.83). The combined project called *Living Under Drones* (2012) which was conducted by the researchers of Stanford and NYU law school documented the experiences of the inhabitants and identified that the kind of harm which is beyond death and injury is being inflicted on ordinary people. The report claimed that the social fabric of the communities living under the gaze of drones has been damaged by the 24-hours-a-day presence of a threat that is unseen but can be heard over their homes. These drones strike people without any prior warning while they are doing their daily life chores like sleeping, eating, praying, talking, and attending the funerals of drone victims. The threat of a drone strike "anywhere at any time led to constant and severe fear, anxiety, and stress" (p.55). Hence, drone warfare has mortal as well as biopolitical surveillance of the communities under surveillance.

This omnipresent intrusive power of drones has also been reflected upon in *The Wasted Vigil* (WV) by Nadeem Aslam and *Thinner than Skin* (TTS) by Uzma Aslam Khan. These two novels hint at the psycho-social implications and biopolitical management of life which Afghani and Pakistani civilians have faced in the aftermath of drone strikes. Both writers imply the disturbance of natural course of lives of the people living under drones.

Aslam depicts in his novel *The Wasted Vigil* (2008) that in Afghanistan, "a faint continuous rumble from the sky above the street" (p. 68) can be heard from an "unmanned Predator drone collecting intelligence on behalf of the CIA" (p. 68). The passage hints at the continuity of the drone surveillance which has become rampant in Afghanistan's geography and has affected the civilian population and their daily lives, they are under constant surveillance and threat. This causes a psychological state of continuous anxiety for the masses under surveillance. They are never at peace and never feel secure and at home. The drone use is a very strong violation of the environmental justice rights of the populations under control whose daily life, homes, work paces and recreational places are not safe and under a constant threat.

Khan's TTS (2012) also implies the same environmental injustice when she writes that a "target became a non-target, a non-target became a target. Before the camera could tell them apart, the world could be saved…" (p. 103). None of the

innocent human civilians are safe who are living under the constant surveillance of drones because they are always exposed to the risk of death and destruction from the drones hovering above their heads. Similarly, Nadir, the main protagonist of TTS, wonders that a drone "*camera shows us images of daily life in an area most of us never think about*" (Khan, 2012, p.103). Furthermore, the text also describes the evasive power of a drone camera that is violating the privacy of the human lives being observed. The drone camera can capture "entire villages, where dark figures slid quickly into labyrinths, their shadows shifting, crisscrossing, into walls, into rooms, into each other" (Khan, 2012, p. 103). The language used for the surveillance images of the human activity clearly indicates that the status of human beings is reduced to reptiles or insects who are slithering through one street into another. The report *Living under Drones* (2012) also hints at the same moral and ethical issue of being under surveillance and within reach during the sexual activities is a huge question mark on the moral and ethical considerations of warfare (pp. 80-82). The presence of drone surveillance technology deprives these communities from the "privileges of being considered fully human" (Braidotti & Hlavajova, 2018, p. 2). These Pakistani texts highlight the psychological trauma caused by panopticon surveillance of machines. These texts reiterate the "giant panopticon" (Smethurst & Craps, 2018, p. 8) image of Gaza created in Saif's drone fiction *Drone Eats with Me* (2013). These environments portrayed in Pakistani Anglophone fiction do not treat human beings as eligible lives. These societies living under surveillance is a big environmental injustice to all the human beings who are hearing constant rumbling of drones and have an ongoing fear of a drone strike which can kill them anywhere any time. These societies under surveillance are giant panopticons where people are being hunted and a watch is being kept on them they feel like rodents before snakes who can snatch and kill them any time. This is environmentally unjust to keep human societies under constant fear and surveillance.

Exit West (2017) by Mohsin Hamid gives another angle of drone related human rights violation. This novel is about global refugee crisis in which refugees from different places of the world are trying to enter the West where they are under constant surveillance of drones. *Exit West* is "not just 'about' refugees but also constitutes a reflection on how they and their journeys are represented and mediated by actually-existing technologies" (Perfect, 2019, p. 187) because drones "loom large" (Chambers, 2019, p. 218) in this novel. Hamid invites us to envision a world where drones are keeping watch on entire human populations. He wants

his audience to sympathize with his refugee characters Nadia and Saeed. Both of them are living under London's "drone-crossed sky" (Hamid, 2017, p. 188). They are constantly under the surveillance of "flying robots"—drones "high above in the darkening sky" (Hamid, 2017, p. 88). These frightening drones overhead suggest "an unstoppable efficiency, an inhuman power, and evoked the kind of dread that a small mammal feels before a predator of an altogether different order, like a rodent before a snake" (Hamid, 2017, p. 151). This depiction by Hamid amplifies the horrible biopolitics which drone victims face every day.

CONCLUSION

Contemporary Pakistani Anglophone fiction constructs an anti-drone discourse which implies the fallibility, inhumanity, illegality, immorality, and unethical use of drones in human communities on both political and moral basis. These drones are necropolitical tools of neocolonial states on the one hand and are imperfect spies of these powers on the other hand. They are mechanical birds in the air who hunt, destroy, collect information, and have negative impact on human psycho-social environments. Additionally, drones are used to keep an eye on the masses, during their daily and communal lives, have far-reaching impacts on the psyches of communities under surveillance. In this sense, drones are both biopolitical and necropolitical tools of posthuman neo-colonization for the communities like Pakistan and Afghanistan who are living under drones.

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