6

Mapping conflicts in Pakistan: State in turmoil

A defining moment in Pakistan occurred with former president Pervez Musharraf’s decisions reversing the country’s pro-Taliban Afghan policies in favour of supporting the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the global war on terror against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Pursuing a pro-Western agenda caused a realignment of Pakistan’s enemies within the country, especially the ultra-conservative factions (Schofield 2011: 623). Scores of analysts have written about Pakistan’s problems of identity, national security and ethnicity, and how these have contributed to its instability (Lodhi 2011; Nawaz 2008; Rashid 2010b, 2012). Due to various conflicts in the region—in particular, in Afghanistan and the internal conflicts in Pakistan—the state has been in turmoil since its creation in 1947. The crises of Pakistani statehood lie in the inherent tension between Pakistan’s deep religiosity and its quest for a secular disposition. In the previous chapter, we saw that the departure of the British was accompanied by riots and violence. This has been analysed by political scientists and historians from the perspective of both religious nationalism and communalism.

In this chapter, we begin with a brief introduction to Partition and then move on to the current conflict narratives of Pakistan. National policies—whether or not seemingly neutral in relation to various ethnic groups—are ‘superimposed’ on local settings that may be marked by class, caste, gender and community inequalities (which are mutually constituted rather than additive). Thus, the embedding of discrimination
in local institutions also affects the state apparatus. While the importance of local-level or lower-level state functionaries contributes to the rise of religious politics and various kinds of discrimination, our initial focus is on the impact of religious politics at the national and international levels. In the conclusion to the chapter, we summarise how interstate wars such as those in Kashmir, civil wars in Balochistan and against the Pakistani Taliban are national cleavages that link to local ones. This lays a foundation for the discussion of international–national–local peacebuilding in Part III of the book.

Cascades of violence and identity politics that involve gender, race and minorities are also raised in this chapter. The proliferation of non-state armed groups in Pakistan is a factor in the notable rise in violence over the past four decades. In their analysis of armed militias of South Asia, Laurent Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot (2009: 3) argue that the privatisation of violence generalises so that militias can operate without any connection with the official public sphere, although ‘they do maintain relations with institutional political forces and even the state—by default or intentionally, depending on the case at hand’. They also suggest that these militias often take part in their own way in state formation. This practice is common in both authoritarian and democratic political systems. Each successive government in Pakistan has used armed militias to achieve short-term objectives. As we discuss later in the chapter, Talibanisation in
Pakistan is just one kind of appropriation of young men by armed militia groups. Cascades of violent radicalisation are manifest in a number of forms, through the Pakistani Taliban, Shia and Sunni extremism and also through the rise of violent urban outfits.

We conducted 92 interviews in Pakistan and held a focus group with 27 Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) politicians, civil society actors and senior journalists, including women and minorities, who are often at the bottom of the conflicts in the region.

**Context: Communalism, Islamism and fundamentalism**

Pakistan is like Israel, an ideological state. Take out Judaism from Israel and it will collapse like a house of cards. Take Islam out of Pakistan and make it a secular state; it would collapse.


A dispute between the modernists and the radicals predates the creation of Pakistan (Bennett Jones 2002: 11). Pakistan owes its existence largely to British colonial rule of India, without which it would not have become a sovereign entity in 1947. The growth of Islam was a direct consequence of the Mughal invasion in the third decade of the sixteenth century. The bulk of Indian Muslims were—mostly voluntary—converts from Hinduism (Ali 1983: 16). Akbar (1556–1605), one of the most successful Mughal rulers—and a secularist—established an administrative network for the collection of revenue and a military apparatus for the maintenance of order that were not based on the principle of religious loyalty. However, Aurungzeb (1658–1707), the last of the Mughal monarchs—with an allegiance to orthodox Islam—reintroduced separate taxes for Muslims and Hindus, including the *jizya* tax on non-Muslims. Mughal economic policies were unproductive and based on the extraction of revenues and taxes from a peasantry that obtained nothing in return (Ali 1983: 17). As we saw in the previous chapter, the British encouraged communal politics, both ideologically and through constitutional measures, in India, as part of its politics of divide and rule.

---

With the end of World War II, anticolonial nationalism reached its highest peak of intensity in the Indian subcontinent. With the election of the Labour Government of Clement Attlee in the United Kingdom, it was only a matter of time before the British would quit India as a result of demands made by both the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League. But there was a clear rift between the Congress and the Muslim League about the process of independence. The Muslim League strongly maintained that a separate state comprising Muslim-majority areas would serve the interests of Muslims. In March 1947, Lord Louis Mountbatten was sent to India as a new viceroy to arrange the British withdrawal from the country. Meanwhile, the Congress leadership accepted the Muslim League’s demand for the division of India and the creation of two countries on the basis of religion (Jalal 1995; Khilnani 1999).

On 3 June 1947, the UK Government announced the ‘Mountbatten Plan’—a policy statement that recognised the inevitability of the Partition of India. The plan was implemented with the birth of Pakistan on 14 August 1947 under the provisions of the British *Indian Independence Act 1947*. Pakistan was to comprise five provinces—Punjab, Sindh, North-West Frontier Province, Balochistan and East Pakistan—each with a provincial assembly. But, from its inception, Pakistan was confronted with insurmountable problems that arose from its federalist nature and the relationship of its constituent provinces with the central government (D’Costa 2011).

The Bengal and Punjab Partition riots had distinct characteristics. While both were extremely brutal, the Punjab riots were also quite militarised. The pivotal role of Punjab as the cornerstone of the Raj’s military establishment is well established; in fact, the proportion of Punjabi men in the army far exceeded that of men from any other province (D’Costa 2014). The disruption and upheaval of Partition not only divided communities but also splintered the existing state machinery. During Partition, there were in fact three authorities: the outgoing British regime was handing power over to the two successor states, India and Pakistan. In considering the breakdown of social order during this period (Proposition 7), it is therefore necessary to keep in mind its context. The transfer of power, the division of resources and the general disarray that followed the dismantling of the colonial state were followed in turn by the attempts of the two new states to build up viable alternatives. The responses of the successor states to Partition—especially
with regard to administrative reforms—reveal not only the resilience of the structures inherited by them from the departing colonial state, but also their attempts to consolidate a unified national identity. On the one hand, colonial structures were inherited and modified. On the other hand, political leaders used the rhetoric of nationalism and a common national identity to restore the morale of a people traumatised by the widespread violence that accompanied Partition.

Bolstering the inherited state structures of authority and making them more responsive were difficult tasks. Rival communities that included a large number of demobilised soldiers conducted military-style violence and abduction. This presented an extremely unusual and serious challenge to the authority and legitimacy of the two nascent successor states at the very moment of their birth. Further complications arose because, at the very time these former soldiers were needed by the new states to help control the situation caused by Partition, they were in fact among the aggressors. As former soldiers of the outgoing colonial state, these men participated in the violence and abduction, but, soon after, many of them were reinstated to military life and formed the security apparatuses of India and Pakistan. This is important to understand because revenge and retaliation were key sentiments expressed by Punjabi soldiers during the 1971 Bangladesh war when they vowed to make proper Muslims out of Hindu Bengalis. The 1971 war was an opportunity for them to make things right again. This chapter argues that, when that war failed to make things right, the Balochistan civil war became another push to make things right by restoring the dignity of the Pakistani military and political leadership that were humiliated in the 1971 war.

There is a large body of literature on violence in South Asian societies. Veena Das and Ashis Nandy (1985), for example, attempted to assemble the structure of ideas within which we could understand the movement for violence as generative of society and culture. Loss of signification occurred in periods of anomie when violence could not be contained within any structures of ideas (Proposition 7). The language by which order was created and communicated is easier to comprehend. Loss of signification cannot find a language within which it can be represented. South Asian literature has addressed the deafening silence that accompanied the trauma

---

2 Chapter 7 discusses this in detail. Also see D’Costa (2011, 2013).
of being simultaneously the subject, object and instrument of violence.\(^3\) The stories of Partition—their symbolic significance—provide us with a picture of transition, a progression from normality to nightmare (Das and Nandy 1985). Das and Nandy analyse the opening statement of Saadat Hasan Manto’s 1940 novel *Khol Do (Open It)*, which describes a train journey carrying refugees across the border:

The special train left Amritsar at two in the afternoon, arriving at Mughalpura, Lahore, eight hours later. Many had been killed on the way, a lot more injured and countless lost.

It was at 10 o’clock the next morning Sirajuddin regained consciousness. He was lying on bare ground, surrounded by screaming men, women and children. It did not make sense.

They argue that this is the context in which we must understand that the only people who retain the memory of good and evil are the impersonal witnesses because, for Das and Nandy, the entire society was entangled in a pact of violence. They suggest ‘the victims are not even killed for themselves, for they are merely the medium through which this pact is concretised’ (Das and Nandy 1985: 193). Indeed, during Partition, the normal condemnation of wanton killing, destruction and mass rape was replaced with an unashamed approval of such acts (Proposition 9).

Agarwal (1995) argues that very little attention has been paid to the making of the ‘communal mind-set’ in both its active and its supportive variants. He observes that, more often than not, scholars try to explain communalism only in the context of religion and the socioeconomic causes of anger and frustration. With this kind of simplistic justification, the remedy becomes either broad democratic mobilisation or socioeconomic remedies, with confrontation within the political context of communalism given very low priority. There have, however, been attempts to convince people of the need to be either religiously tolerant or rationally intolerant of a religion. Agarwal (1995: 32) notes that what is usually ignored is the point that ‘[c]ommunalism is essentially a political project, which uses religion not only in an ephemeral or spiritual sense, but as a racial denominator of the political community’. By its own

\(^3\) Das and Nandy (1985) draw from Rabindranath Tagore’s 1935 novel, *Cār Adhyāya (Four Chapters)*, which narrates the lives of two lovers trapped in a world of revolutionary violence, imperial terror and the politics of resistance. Partition’s unspeakable violence has been depicted in various novels and short stories, such as Khushwant Singh’s *Train to Pakistan* (1956); Saadat Hasan Manto’s *Khol Do (Open It)* (1940), *Thanda Ghosht (Cold Flesh)* (1950) and *Toba Tek Singh* (1955); Bapsi Sidhwa’s *Ice-Candy Man* (1988); and Salman Rushdie’s *Midnight’s Children* (1980).
admission, the primary agenda of communalism is to transform the traditional and religious identity into a modern political one. In this sense, the communalist project is as non-religious as any other nation-building project. Therefore, the fundamental conflict is not between religious fanaticism and secularism, but rather between two notions of nationalism itself: authoritarian and democratic. The previous chapter conceived India as the swing state in shifts to authoritarian capitalism. In this chapter, we conceive Pakistan as subsumed with authoritarianism from those first moments of the communal crises of Partition. Pakistan, we will see, was also more successfully capitalist and less socialist than India in the decades immediately after Partition. Islamabad was more drawn to Washington, and New Delhi more to Moscow, from the beginning to the end of the Cold War.

Some noted scholars have explained communalism in terms of a disease in the body politic, although they differ on where it may be located (e.g. Mohanty 1988). But this positioning does not explain the process through which communal ideology is transformed into violent conflict. The misplaced contextualisation of communalism within the confines of religious intolerance and socioeconomic collision leads analysts to observe communal conflicts simply as ‘us versus them’. However, to abettors or collaborators, every communal conflict is actually a battle in an unfinished war, not only between two religious communities but also between two racially defined nations (Agarwal 1995). In this context, whether in wars or identity conflicts, communalism appropriates the collective memory and constructs—if not false, then only partly true—historical narratives to justify its current political performance. This self-image of the community at war becomes crucial in the complex process of the construction of the communal mind-set, with its horrible tales of decimation and marginalisation of rival religious communities and with the performance of rape as a spectacle (Proposition 9).

This discussion of communalism helps us to explain the rise of religious fundamentalism in Pakistan today. Religious movements in Pakistan have undergone two different forms of radicalisation—namely, Islamist and neofundamentalist (Zahab and Roy 2004). Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), the largest Islamist party in Pakistan, was founded by Maulana Maududi in the 1940s and dominated the discourse of political Islam until the 1980s. JI’s active collaboration with the Pakistani army in carrying out genocide in the East Pakistan/Bangladesh war is widely documented (see the proceedings of the International Crimes Tribunal). During that war,
JI employed the discourse of communalism in portraying Hindus as the enemy of a unified Pakistani identity, and provided the justification for the targeted killings of Hindus and the rape of Hindu women and girls in 1971 in the ‘Liberation War’ of Bangladesh. In addition to working closely with the Pakistani army, JI also helped maintain a relationship between the army and Hizb-i-Islami in Afghanistan. After the 1980s, JI gradually became an Islamist nationalist party, and has never been included on the terrorism watch list of the US Government. Interestingly, calling the sentencing of alleged war criminals by the Awami League Government of Bangladeshi Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina ‘state terrorism’, the chairman of the Hurriyat Conference in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), Syed Ali Geelani (2015), noted that this process was lacking the element of justice and the decisions were based on political vengeance only. He added:

In this process of injustice, the Bangladesh government has got the full backing of India and they want to silence all those people who can raise their voices against the rising interference of India into the affairs of Bangladesh. The silence of the Pakistan government over the movement against the leaders of the Jama’at-i-Islami Bangladesh is meaningful and the Jama’at people are being punished for the crime that they have committed in 1971 when they opposed the split of Pakistan and when they protested against the interference of India. (Geelani 2015)

The Islamic parties in Pakistan, especially JI, have always managed to organise street demonstrations by successfully mobilising youth. They also strategically groom people to take up future powerful positions. In our conversations with JI senior party cadres, we were told:

In Pakistani student politics, we have strong alliances, and there is personal grooming for the welfare and betterment of the society. We are not involved in mainstream politics but we often take our demands to the streets. Our main focus is to build skills and give students a vision regarding Islam and Pakistan.

Another activist noted: ‘We have given many scholars, politicians, parliamentarians, vice-chancellors and other visionaries to Pakistani society. Ours is basically a platform to groom the future leaders.’ Mainstream, ‘secular’ or Western actors largely misunderstand the intellectual thinking within the Islamic parties. Islamic parties target young minds to influence

---

4 Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s mujahidin pro-Pakistan party.
the politics of Pakistan and shape the society. They aim for a resilient imaginary of power in the society more than for power itself, more than for direct control over pulling levers of power (Proposition 2).

One JI party member, a lecturer in law at a university in Islamabad, explained in 2013:

[T]he true Islamic concept is about human life. Islam is the complete code of life and it should be prevalent in the world. That is why we are working in particular with the students.

They also differentiate between the petro dollars poured into the country by Saudi Arabia and the military aid from the United States. Another senior JI party cadre said in 2013:

Saudis are not controlling the policies of Pakistan. Saudi interest does not clash with Pakistan’s interest but that is not the same for the US. We do not want the Americans. US policies are directly affecting our society. US and European intervention is influencing our social norms and community. Saudi Arabia is not exploiting our society in the shape of aid. The US is the biggest threat for Pakistan.

In the 2013 elections, Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI), the party founded by former Pakistani cricket captain Imran Khan, campaigned hard along religious lines to win conservative votes. Many political observers were surprised when Khan’s party received approximately 20 per cent of the popular vote, key seats in the National Assembly and provincial coalition control in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (KPK). A senior leader from the Insaf Students’ Federation, the youth wing of the PTI, reflected: ‘Youths are mostly crazy about Imran Khan. Election was about junoon vs noon.’ He was citing Imran Khan, who had earlier predicted a battle between noon (the status quo), meaning the Pakistan Muslim League–Nawaz (PML-N), and junoon (passion). This leader also applauded Khan’s anti-American campaign and religious views. He noted:

Imran Khan is against the war on terror, and he is against the US influence. Some Talibans are created by the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency] and the Indian intelligence. This war on terror is not our war.

Imran Khan’s views on the drone war, the Pakistan–United States relationship and an interest in negotiating with the Taliban instead of fighting made the PTI an ally of JI (Ullah 2013). Similar to JI, the PTI was successful in mobilising Pakistani youth, many of whom were disillusioned by the state’s authoritarian policies and the corruption of politicians. They
turned to leaders who were able to portray a clean image of themselves. Leaders from Islamic parties were thus able to garner support from young Pakistanis in their struggles against rampant corruption among political and military elites.

Haroon K. Ullah, in his important book *Vying for Allah’s Vote* (2013), argues that the Islamist parties are not driven solely by ideological principles. With appropriate incentives, he argues, they can moderate their policies. Reflecting on Stathis Kalyvas’s typology of confessional political parties that are organised by leveraging ‘aspects of religious ideology and culture to mobilise, recruit, and campaign in electoral contests’, Ullah (2013: 7) lays out a new typology: the Sharia–secularism spectrum within which Islamic parties exist. This spectrum includes those ‘who believe that Pakistan should be governed by Islamic law with little or no lay person’s input, to those who believe that religious authority has no place in governance’ (Ullah 2013: 9). Based on ideological underpinnings, organisational structures and political strategies, Islamic parties could be organised in three distinct types: Muslim democrats, hierarchical Islamists and network Islamists.

The Muslim democratic parties such as the PML-N are thin, hierarchical organisations with high walls to entry. These involve highly educated technocrats from among the economic elites and the middle class (Ullah 2013: 48). For votes, these elites primarily turn to local political entrepreneurs (Ullah 2013: 49). Islamist groups are defined by their commitment to impose Sharia law. Hierarchical Islamists such as JI—and not unlike Muslim democrats—also have among them prominent religious intellectuals from prestigious institutions. A high and rigidly controlled hierarchy ensures compliance (Ullah 2013: 48), including well-trained leaders who organise local groups and serve as gatekeepers of the parties (p. 50). Many of their supporters have an urban base. Finally, the network Islamists involve individual political entrepreneurs who were trained in local madrassas. Organisationally, these parties are broader and more accessible than other Islamist groups and are deeply embedded in the rural underclass (Ullah 2013: 48, 50). In Ullah’s typology, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Sami (JUI-S) is a network Islamist party that is a breakaway faction of the original Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind (JUH, Organisation of Islamic Scholars). It is a Sunni Deobandi party that experienced another factional split in 1998. The JUI-S faction is led by Samiul Haq and has a support base in KPK. JUI-F, led by Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, is based in southern KPK and northern Balochistan. In the 2013 election, JUI-F won 3.2 per cent of the popular vote, giving it 15 seats in the 272-seat National Assembly.
Ullah (2013) believes there are five myths of political Islam in Pakistan. The first is that extremist violence is ad hoc. Ullah argues that there are links between key voting districts, campaign rhetoric and extremist violence. Parties that leverage violence to push political agendas through connections with extremists use fear as a form of securitised patronage. The second myth proposes that democratisation moderates Islamic parties and, if the parties compete for longer periods, they are more likely to adopt moderate practices. He notes that if party instrumentalism prevails then there is a danger of being more extremist than moderate. This reinforces the Kashmir analysis in Chapter 5 that finds democracy can be a driver of domination and extreme violence. The third myth presupposes the homogeneity of Islamic parties. Ullah counters that, in fact, they compete intensely with each other because of out-group bias. The fourth myth, about Islamic parties not winning big, is countered by Ullah’s argument that Islamic parties prefer and do better in lower-level elections. They are stronger by being smaller and they enjoy controlling the 5–7 per cent of votes that can swing elections. Extreme positions sometimes provide them with the opportunities to swing votes. The fifth myth—that Islamic parties focus only on national elections—is, in Ullah’s view, incorrect, as these parties perform better at local levels because of their strong connections through mosques and their volunteers. Islamic parties prefer to steer the moral debate, and this is easier to do in local communities.

Pakistan held seven elections between 1988 and 2013. Except for the 2002 elections, the Islamist parties have not managed to win more than about 6 per cent of the vote. In the 2002 elections—widely understood as a flawed electoral process—Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), a coalition of some 58 Islamist parties, won about 12 per cent of the vote. Some commentators believe that even the limited success of the Islamist parties in the national elections, such as those held in 1970, 1988, 1993 and 2002, has largely been the result of assistance from the military and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) (e.g. Schofield 2011). We explain this strategic alliance below in our analysis of the military–mullah (Islamic cleric) nexus.

---

5 There was a six-month opposition blockade in Islamabad in 2017 and court proceedings over corruption allegations, which led to disqualification of prime minister Nawaz Sharif by the Supreme Court in July 2017. Sharif resigned after a short delay. At the time of the publication of our book, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi is serving as prime minister of Pakistan.
The conflicting beliefs between the modernists and the radicals in predominantly Muslim Pakistan have been carefully manipulated to generate profound ideological divisions that have contributed to conflicts in KPK, Karachi, Balochistan and elsewhere. Factions in the military have also taken advantage of these opposing perspectives. For the international community, the military is at the heart of three interlinked concerns about Pakistan: the war-prone conflict with India, the jihadi threat and the security of its nuclear weapons (Shah 2014). Ahmed Rashid (2010b: 367–9), one of Pakistan’s most senior journalists and public commentators, observes that three similar factors have prevented Pakistan’s stability. First, there is the question about Pakistan’s Islamic identity—whether or not its people are Muslim first and Pakistanis second or whether regional identities should be prioritised. Second, the national security paradigm perceives India as the main external aggressor, with Afghanistan, Iran and the United States as other threats. This view ensures the dominance of the military over Pakistan’s politics and prevents the consolidation of civilian power. Finally, Rashid (2010b: 367–9) argues that differences according to ethnic identities and the dominance of Punjab have contributed to internal conflicts, especially in Balochistan and Sindh. We argue that economic inequality has exacerbated Pakistan’s instability; a new lens on inequality becomes one of the general themes of this book in Part III.

In the first decade of Pakistan’s statehood, agriculture accounted for 60 per cent of the country’s output and 70 per cent of total employment. Industry provided 6 per cent of output and 10 per cent of employment (Ali 1983: 43). While large-scale production was virtually non-existent, British control of trade and credit enabled it to determine Pakistan’s economic growth. While 3.5 million peasant households existed in the countryside, just 6,000 landlords owned the bulk of the land. These landlords also dominated the Muslim League National Council (the supreme authority of the Muslim League) and barred crucial reforms in Pakistan’s socioeconomic structure. Often these reforms were stopped on the basis of being ‘un-Islamic’. This book argues that the economic disparity with East Pakistan was a major contributor to war in 1971, following which Pakistan lost Bangladesh and had to concede defeat to India.

---

6 For example, in the Sunni community, there are those who follow a more orthodox Deobandi view and those who subscribe to moderate Barelvi traditions. The Deobandi madrasas became the major recruiting ground for the Taliban movement in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

7 Former Pakistani president Asif Ali Zardari in 2008 publicly overturned Pakistan’s ‘first-use’ nuclear deterrence policy as a counter to India’s military superiority, only to watch the demise of the policy shift when his commander-in-chief announced this was not strategically wise (Shah 2014).
Civil war in Balochistan

Balochistan is the largest of Pakistan’s provinces. From 1947, Afghanistan claimed that Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province and Balochistan were both part of Afghan Pashtunistan (Nadiri 2014: 134). Pashtuns make up 35 per cent of Balochistan’s 9 million residents. For their part, some Baloch feudal leaders (sardars) aspired to a Balochistan that was combined with the Baloch regions of southern Afghanistan and southern Iran. A major Baloch civil war from 1973 to 1977 cascaded from three more localised Baloch uprisings in 1948 (over resistance to joining Pakistan), 1958 (over centralisation that eroded provincial autonomy) and 1963. It was, at times, an independence war and, at other times, a struggle for autonomy—in response to a variety of grievances that included dramatic erosion over time of the limited autonomy promised to Balochistan in the independence settlement. As in Bangladesh (Chapter 7), in Balochistan, important grievances were about the failure to nourish and respect Baloch language and culture, structural inequality and systematic discrimination against the periphery by the centre.

Plate 6.2 Balochistan liberation soldiers.
Source: NewsGram.
The 1973–77 war saw 70,000 to 80,000 Pakistani troops (some say supported by as many as 100,000 armed police), with helicopter support from Iran and some Iranian pilots, dispatched to fight 55,000 Baloch fighters. Approximately 3,300 state forces and 5,300 militants were killed (Gazdar et al. 2010: 4; Harrison 1981: 3). Unknown numbers of civilians perished in horrific atrocities, such as the napalming of villages by aircraft (Harrison 1981). The tactic that succeeded in decimating the Baloch army was the herding of large numbers of refugees, who were mostly women and children, on to the plains and attacking them, thereby drawing the Baloch fighters down from the hills to defend their families (Proposition 6). The ruthlessness of the militarisation, shunning a peace settlement in pursuit of total victory, may have been driven by the shame the Pakistani army and government were managing over the loss of Bangladesh. Bansal (2004: 45) describes the Balochistan war of 1973 as ‘a Godsent opportunity to redeem their honour and reputation, which had been tarnished by their meek surrender at Dhaka’. It was, in fact, an opportunity provoked by Pakistan’s prime minister Bhutto rather than by God! Mansfield and Snyder (2007: 244–7) argue that this is one of a number of examples from the democratic periods of Pakistan’s history that support their conclusion that emerging democracies with weak institutions are particularly likely to go to war (Proposition 5(a): weakly institutionalised democracy as a driver of domination and violence).

The conflict reignited in 2003. While the war was significant in 2004, with 626 rocket attacks and 122 bomb explosions (Bansal 2008: 192), it took off in a major way in 2006 after Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, a symbolic but non-combatant leader of the Baloch resistance, was assassinated along with 35 of his colleagues (Proposition 9).8 That phase of the conflict continues today, though with perhaps as few as 3,000 to 5,000 armed militants continuing to hold out in the mountains (Brown et al. 2012: 6–7). More disruptive than the limited contemporary fighting itself has been what it cascaded to:

[A] new cycle of bombings, abductions and murders … a major security operation pitting the security forces against the Baloch people, attacks against Punjabi settlers and sectarian violence against Hazara Shias. (Samad 2014: 293)

---

8 An earlier crime that caused an earlier escalation of the conflict was the rape of Dr Shazia Khalid at the Sui Gas Plant on 2 January 2005. Anger boiled over when the army refused to give local police permission to interview suspects, who included an army officer (Amnesty International files).
Our interviews suggest that probably more than 1,000 people have disappeared during this phase of the conflict (Baloch activists claim the number is 8,000–12,000). Narcotics trafficking funds insurgent purchases of weapons ‘from the same black market pool accessed by the Taliban, Al Qaeda and common criminals’ (Samad 2014: 315). The Afghan war caused a flood of Pashtun and Hazara refugees to Balochistan. This has dramatically upset traditional balances and historically harmonious relationships between the two dominant groups in the province—Baloch and Pashtuns—and of both with Hazaras (Proposition 6).

While security analysts see the trouble in Balochistan through the prism of political divisions, during our interviews, the separatist groups—Balochistan-based political parties and civil society in Quetta—noted that there was a humanitarian crisis in the region. Baloch experience is of discrimination against them by the Pakistani state, with Baloch underrepresentation in the military and other key institutions. Until 2008, only four of the 179 individuals who had reached cabinet rank in Pakistan were ethnically Baloch (Bansal 2008: 185–6). At the time of the outbreak of the current phase of the conflict in 2003, fewer than 500 of the 3,200 students at Balochistan University were ethnically Baloch. For politicians and the military, the Balochistan crisis is interlinked with Pakistan’s territorial integrity and national defence. In addition, Balochistan’s energy-rich strategic location makes it an important region through which the United States, China, Europe and Indo-Pacific littoral states can access Central Asian and Caspian resources (Malik 2013). For landlocked Afghanistan, Gwadar port provides access to the Indian Ocean. When completed, the Gwadar deep-sea port, being constructed with massive Chinese support as part of its ‘One Belt, One Road’ initiative, will grow as a gateway to the 34 km wide Strait of Hormuz, through which 40 per cent of the world’s oil is transported (Malik 2013). One of the world’s largest copper deposits has also been found in Balochistan as well as rich reserves of gas, coal, oil, chromite, zinc and gemstones. One major grievance relates to the fair sharing of those resources, with Baloch people believing that benefits primarily accrue to Punjabi elites and military cronies. During our interviews with senior Indian and Pakistani political and military elites, they stressed Balochistan’s enormous potential to emerge as a regional hub and a transhipment port.

---

9 Gwadar deep-sea port became partially operational, with some Chinese ships departing for the first time, in November 2016. The Chinese ‘One Belt, One Road’ vision is for a new Silk Road that integrates the region with China and that reconfigures the Chinese economy from one driven by the building of infrastructure in China to an infrastructure exporting economy.
Balochistan’s strategic location makes it a significant factor in Pakistan’s security policies. It shares its western border with Iran and northern border with Afghanistan. China, the United States and Central Asian states have strategic interests in Balochistan due to the Gwadar deep-sea port. In our interviews with Pakistani military officials, they indicated that India’s interest has also shifted in Balochistan following its own energy crisis. In the 1970s, a politically unstable Pakistan would have been desirable, but for energy-starved India today, supporting a stable Pakistan is a more pragmatic choice (Khan 2015). India is keen on a proposed 2,600 km Iran–Pakistan–India gas pipeline. Even India’s criticism of Pakistani army operations in Balochistan is more about ensuring support from Baloch nationalists for future economic objectives than about India’s relationship with Pakistan (Khan 2015).

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan notes that Pakistan has used a ‘blinking vision’ in dealing with the Balochistan crisis. In Balochistan, military cantonments, four of the 28 districts and 250 of the 28,000 villages are the primary sites of the province’s natural gas that supplies 70 per cent of the needs of the whole country. Quetta continues to experience a high level of violence, both by Islamist extremists and by Baloch nationalists. Additionally, since it shares a border with Afghanistan, Balochistan has been used as a base from which to carry out military operations against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. The United States has military forces based in Dalbandin and Pasni on the Baloch coast. Unlike the Tamils and the Kashmiris, the Baloch diaspora does not have mass engagement in vigorous advocacy work with the international community.

At the heart of the Balochistan crisis is the short-sightedness of successive regimes in responding to people’s grievances. Kachkol Ali Khan, a Baloch nationalist, observes: ‘The people of Pakistan did not get a nation—the Pakistani army got a state’ (ICG 2006: ii).

Baloch demands have included an end to state surveillance, particularly by the ISI, and cancellation of all allotments of civil-military lands made between 1998 and 2008 in Gwadar and Lasbela districts. Other demands include a redirection of funds towards the socioeconomic development of the province, immediate assessment and repatriation of the internally displaced populations of Dera Bugti and Kohlu districts and a policy of paying equal wellhead prices for gas and a 30 per cent royalty to Balochistan.
In a bid to address the widespread grievances within Balochistan, Pakistan’s then interior minister Rehman Malik in 2012 offered to drop all cases against Baloch leaders who had left the country and were spearheading the movement for independence from overseas. In response, Nawabzada Jamil Bugti, a key nationalist leader in the province, demanded a UN-supervised referendum to see whether or not the Baloch people wanted to remain in Pakistan. From our interviews, we conclude that the violence carried out by the insurgents against unarmed people and minorities has created resentment towards those groups. Ordinary people do not necessarily support the nationalist movement the way they did even until the 1990s. With the younger generation finding education and employment outside the province, they no longer have the kind of tribal loyalties that allowed rigid control of communities. This has made possible recent progress with reconciliation of fighters, surrender of their weapons and development assistance to help them with jobs and reintegration into Pakistani society. In April 2017, 487 militants, including at least eight senior commanders, joined this reconciliation to become part of the development opportunities associated with the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (the Belt and Road initiative) (Hindustan Times 2017).

Violence and underdevelopment

Decades of internal political disputes and low levels of foreign investment have now led to slow growth and underdevelopment in Pakistan. This is most emphatically the case in Balochistan, which is the poorest province. But today this economic toll is being felt right across Pakistan. After the country’s most significant metropole, Karachi, experienced record levels of killings in 2013, ‘possibly 40 per cent of business [fled] the city to avoid growing extortion rackets’ (ICG 2014b: i). Karachi accounts for 70 per cent of Pakistan’s gross domestic product (GDP). It is hard to judge how much of this exit of legitimate business is caused by criminal gangs or jihadist networks. Both have cascaded to the point where they are killing the economy. When jihadist groups fund their operations by kidnapping for ransom and bank robberies, criminal gangs seize the opportunity to

---

10 On 29 May 2015, 20–25 Baloch separatist militants stopped the buses ferrying over 30 passengers, mostly Pashtuns, in south-western Mastung District. The United Baloch Army (UBA) claimed responsibility for the attack, which was widely resented across civil society. The UBA is a splinter group of the Baloch Liberation Army. Pakistan's paramilitary Frontier Corps later sent 200 troops in an operation that killed the perpetrators.
exploit a pretence that they are militarily invincible jihadists. Criminals then engage in the same crimes, confident they can terrorise the police against enforcement action. Carjacking in Karachi has flourished thanks to the ease with which stolen cars can be disposed across the porous Balochistan–Afghanistan border (Rashid 2010b: 192). Intermittently throughout Pakistan’s history, Islamabad has responded to the chronic failure of local policing with panic bursts of nationally sponsored extrajudicial paramilitary assassinations of criminals. Just as insurgency conditions have motivated many major and minor political parties to forge alliances with insurgent groups and with the mullah–military complex, these same anomic conditions motivate major parties in locales such as Karachi to forge alliances with criminal gangs who help them strongarm their way to electoral domination (ICG 2014b) (Propositions 7 and 9).

Agriculture accounts for more than one-fifth of national output and two-fifths of employment. Textiles account for most of Pakistan’s export earnings, and Pakistan’s failure to expand a viable export base for other manufactures has left the country vulnerable to shifts in world demand. Several of our respondents raised the issue of Pakistan’s underground economy and the criminalisation of the state and society (see also Rashid 2010b: 192). Since 2004, Pakistan has experienced much lower growth than it enjoyed in the 1960s and 1970s, and 2008 saw a severe spike in inflation led by a spurt in food prices that acutely increased poverty. The government agreed to an International Monetary Fund (IMF) Standby Arrangement in November 2008 in response to a balance-of-payments crisis. Although the economy has stabilised since the crisis, it has failed to recover. Foreign investment has not returned, due to investor concerns related to governance, energy and security. Remittances from overseas workers, averaging about US$1 billion a month since March 2011, remain the bright spot for Pakistan. Pakistan is stuck in a low-income, low-growth trap, with growth averaging about 3.5 per cent per year from 2008 to 2013, though edging slightly above 4 per cent from 2014 to the time of writing. Pakistan has been unable to respond to some longstanding issues related to government revenues and energy production to spur the economic growth urgently required to employ its growing and rapidly urbanising population, more than half of whom are under 22 years of age. Other long-term challenges include expanding investment in education and health care, adapting to the effects of climate change and natural disasters and reducing dependence on foreign donors.
Cascades of militarisation

US military investment in Pakistan since 2001 has been one of the unsustainable props to Pakistan’s economy that support elites with limited trickle down to the poor. The majority of research on militarism critically analyses three dimensions of military impacts on societies—on the economic and social structure, the legal and political system of the state and the attitude of citizens towards the ideology and values of the military (Hook 1996). These are primarily interrogated in this literature through two perspectives. First, the Marxist approach argues that militarism is a problem specific to the social and economic structure of a capitalist society that requires external expansion and internal repression as integral to the development of the capitalist mode of production and class system (Hook 1996). As such, militarism is viewed as a tool of the ruling class, serving its interests and accomplishing accumulation of capital, according to writers such as Rosa Luxemburg (1913: Ch. 32), as discussed by Kowalik (2009: 105).

The second liberal approach, through an interrogation of legal and political systems, focuses on the functional relationship between the military and the civilian sectors of the state (Hook 1996). The popularity of military services, uniforms, insignia and songs—‘martial spirit’—is a representative indicator of the extent to which militarism has taken root in the society. For liberals, militarism is also a product of military supremacy over civilian control of state affairs.

Until 2013, Pakistan did not have a single democratic and peaceful transfer of power from one democratically elected government completing its tenure to another. The longstanding pattern in Pakistan had been to use military force to address interstate and intrastate disputes. Pakistan has used its military forces to influence relations with neighbouring states—in particular, India, Iran and Afghanistan. Max Weber’s notion of the state’s monopoly on the legitimate use of violence provides a crucial grounding for Pakistani military culture. The security forces perceive that they use violence in the interests and with the sanction of the population.

Senior Pakistan policy analyst Maleeha Lodhi (2011) argues that Pakistan is at the crossroads of its political destiny. She opines that the growing and politically assertive urban middle class is utilising various opportunities that are available to them in the globalised world. In her opinion, they now have a greater voice in Pakistan’s politics and demand better
governance. From our field research in Pakistan, we have identified this as one of the polarising factors in Pakistan today. The gap between an urban, technologically savvy, English-speaking middle class and those in rural or semi-urban areas is gradually increasing. Those who speak in regional languages also believe that their opinions are often sidelined in matters of national security and development.

People from FATA and the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) have less faith in the central government and the army. While there is much support for the army’s presence in FATA, for example, civil society leaders also believe that army operations are responsible for massive displacement of the civilian population.

One of our respondents from South Waziristan noted: ‘Government has done nothing for South Waziristan’s internally displaced population. Following the military operation, more than five million people were displaced. Our Government did nothing for them’ (Interview, Peshawar, 2013, No. 061301).

As early as June 2007, the National Security Council of Pakistan decided to take a number of measures to stop the ‘Talibanisation’ of South Waziristan. About 79,000 Mehsud families had to leave their homes when security forces launched the Rah-i-Nijat operation against the banned Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP, or Pakistani Taliban) in the region in June 2009. By mid-2015, 5,122 internally displaced person (IDP) families were repatriated by the government. About 1 million registered IDPs were living in camps and rented houses in Bannu district.11 During our 2013 interviews with displaced families, we heard that many were reluctant to return as they were worried that they would be targeted by the militants for the support provided by the government and the military. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) co-chairs a voluntary returns task force with the FATA Disaster Management Authority, which also includes other humanitarian agencies. A lack of trust in the UNHCR and other international agencies was also evident in our interviews. Several respondents implied that many UN staff were present on the ground ‘just for money and status’ and were also ‘part of the corrupt system’. IDPs face some immediate threats such as insecurity and restricted access to education, employment and health services. With regard to insecurity, militarisation of South Waziristan is one of the major concerns for the

IDPs. Despite repeated assurances from the government—and from the UNHCR—many people for many years have perceived the situation on the ground to be too hostile for them to return home.

As Rashid argues, the role of the military in Pakistan's politics sees most of the regions in Pakistan heavily militarised. Civil society leaders believe that militarisation directly contributes to the plight of displaced populations:

"The army gives an impression that there is peace in South Waziristan. The army forced people to go to the areas. When people returned the army confined them to certain areas. People need fuel, they cannot go out. Taliban tell us you should not return, but the army is forcing them to come to the area. People feel like they are in a sandwich." (Interview with civil society leader, Peshawar, 2013, No. 061301)

We do not conclude that Pakistan is a failing state—as development agencies following some US leads tend to suggest. Protracted conflicts and emerging tensions have created deep divisions. Pakistan has quite a resilient civil society, legal and constitutional framework and state agencies of variable capacity. The strength of Pakistani civil society was evident, for example, in the lawyers' movement in 2007.\(^\text{12}\) Pakistan's role in the global war on terror meant that conflicts within the state—especially the political crises in Balochistan and Sind—have fallen off the radar. The pervasive insecurities that women and minorities face in these provinces are now in the oppressive hands of the Pakistani security sector and local leaders, which include even more oppressive insurgency groups.

---

\(^{12}\) In March 2007, president Musharraf asked chief justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry to resign. Following his refusal, Chaudhry was suspended, sparking a lawyers' movement that resulted in his reinstatement in July of that year. In November, Musharraf declared a state of emergency and arrested Chaudhry. At that time, 60 other judges were also suspended. The emergency was lifted in December 2007 and a general election was held in 2008. Although Musharraf resigned after the election, the new president, Asif Ali Zardari, did not reinstate the chief justice. In March 2009, lawyers and opposition political parties under the leadership of Nawaz Sharif, who was re-elected as prime minister of Pakistan later in 2013, undertook a long march from Karachi to Islamabad to demand the reinstatement of Chaudhry and other judges ousted from office by Musharraf. The long march was successful and the reinstatement of the judges was announced by then prime minister Yousaf Raza Gilani. During Chaudhry's term as Pakistan's chief justice, the country experienced unprecedented judicial activism including cases of missing persons in Balochistan, environmental concerns and privatisations of Pakistani steel mills. These issues and their connection to judicial activism were much discussed in our interviews.
The *mullah*–military nexus and covert operations

Pakistan’s security policies from the very beginning of its statehood have been marked by four challenges:

1. a quest for security and survival as a sovereign state
2. the legacy of a troubled relationship with India
3. reliance on Western allies for economic, military and political survival
4. divisions over support for Muslim causes.

Commentators on Pakistan’s security refer to a *mullah*–military nexus that implies a symbiotic relationship between these two groups. Asaf Hussain reflected on this as early as 1979 and stated:

> The military–state relation conceptualizes a dialectical relationship between Islam, Pakistan and the military. Without Islam, Pakistan would not have been able to come into existence; without Pakistan the military would not be able to exist; and without the military, Islam and Pakistan would be threatened. In perpetuating such a state, the military was perpetuating Islam. (Hussain 1979: 133)

In a recent analysis of a political alliance forged between the *mullahs* and the military, Akhtar et al. (2006) argue that the dialectical nature of the relationship between the *ulema* (the body of Muslim scholars) and the state was apparent in the first decade of Pakistan’s independence—in the riots of 1953, when the *ulema* were crucial in instigating anti-Ahmadi sentiments, provoking the Pakistani army’s first intervention in civil life in the name of re-establishing order. Akhtar et al. (2006) further note that the 1950s and 1960s set the stage for a mythical construction of the army as the defender of the Pakistani nation:

> As the protector, the army established a mandate to intervene when civilian authority had failed. In practice, the episode reinforced both the image of the Ulema and the military as defenders of Islam and Pakistan, even if they were apparently pitted against each other on this occasion. (Akhtar et al. 2006: 389)

---

13 Also see D’Costa (2014).
In Pakistan’s north-western regions, KPK and FATA, the mullah–military nexus has seen compromises made to bring ‘stability’ to the region. It is estimated that over 50,000 members of Pakistan’s security forces fought Taliban militants in the Swat Valley and more than twice that number has fought in FATA since then, in a surge involving more troops and causing greater losses than president Obama’s surge against the Taliban in Afghanistan over the same period. In our interviews, activists from the region stressed that this massive militarisation only added to the fear and insecurity in rural communities generated by Taliban violence. Essentially, the Taliban leadership and most of its fighters fled Swat without resistance as soon as the military arrived in force, leaving the civilian population to suffer the brunt of a heavy-handed militarisation that included heavy artillery and air bombardment. Lashkars (civilian militias armed by the military) sometimes used their armed might to ‘settle personal vendettas’ (Swat Valley non-governmental organisation (NGO), quoted in ICG 2013b).

Senior military officials maintain that Pakistan’s army has always been at the forefront of peace politics. Brigadier Mohammad Khan told us in one of our interviews:

- The Pakistani military has been defamed because it has been ruling the country. The military rulers have been more peaceful in the region. If Pakistani military had been discriminatory then they would not have been forthcoming in forming peace between India and Pakistan.

The presence of Indian intelligence throughout the region and its support of insurgents in Karachi, Balochistan and elsewhere are significant sources of insecurity for Pakistan. In fact, as noted in Chapters 5, 7 and 9, covert operations carried out by both Indian and Pakistani intelligence in the region and the funding of insurgents have essentially shaped the conflict dynamics in South Asia. One senior army official in Islamabad stated in his 2013 interview:

- Let me to tell you frankly. Where is TTP getting the funding? Who is working in Balochistan? One of the journalists working in Iran said that she found huge Indian intelligence. India should not promote insecurity in FATA, Balochistan and PATA. I want to ask the Indian leadership that they should stop external intervention and really promote cooperation.

In 2016, Pakistan arrested an Indian intelligence operative in Balochistan who was alleged to have been working with Baloch nationalist armed groups and who was a recently retired commander of the Indian navy.
In February 2014, three months before he became India’s national security advisor, Ajit Doval said: ‘You do one more Mumbai [a reference to the 2008 terror attack in which gunmen killed 172 people], you lose Balochistan’ (Balachandran 2016). India, the United States and other parties in the global war on terror have likewise accused Pakistani intelligence of covert operations and fuelling conflict. The ISI was established in 1948—as Pakistan engaged India in the first war over Kashmir—to be the top body coordinating the intelligence functions of its army, air force and navy. In the 1950s, when Pakistan joined anticommunist alliances, its military services and the ISI received considerable Western support in training and equipment. The ISI’s attention was focused on India. But when Ayub Khan, the army’s commander-in-chief, mounted the first successful coup in 1958, the ISI’s domestic political activities expanded. As a new state bringing together diverse ethnic groups within what some described as contrived borders, Pakistan faced separatist challenges—among Pashtuns, Balochis, Sindhis and Bengalis.

Much of the country’s early history was shaped by politicians seeking regional autonomy while the central civilian and military bureaucracies sought to consolidate national unity. The ISI not only mounted surveillance on parties and politicians, it also often infiltrated, coopted, cajoled or coerced them into supporting the army’s centralising agenda. The army ran the country from 1958 to 1971, when East Pakistan broke away with Indian and Soviet help to become Bangladesh. The ISI and the Pakistani military were thoroughly discredited and marginalised after the war, but they gained fresh purpose in 1972 when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the new civilian leader, launched a clandestine project to build nuclear weapons.14 A year later, military operations were launched against nationalist militants in Balochistan. These two events helped rehabilitate the ISI and the military.

14 Paradoxically, the resumption of civilian government in the context of the militarised Pakistani state brought to power a man who was a greater extremist on military strategy than his predecessors. Bhutto (1969: 152–3) had written: ‘Pakistan’s security and territorial integrity are more important than economic development … All wars of our age have become total wars; all European strategy is based on the concept of total war; and it will have to be assumed that a war waged against Pakistan is capable of becoming a total war … our plans should, therefore, include the nuclear deterrent.’ Two years earlier, his predecessor, Ayub Khan, expressed greater hesitation in his diary: ‘If India was to acquire atomic military capability, we shall have to follow suit and it will just ruin us both’ (Hoodbhoy and Mian 2014: 1127).
After Bhutto was ousted by General Zia ul-Haq in 1977, Balochistan military operations were ended (until they reignited in 2003). The nuclear program, however, was expanded. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 transformed the regional setting. All foreign assistance to mujahidin rebels at that time arrived via Pakistan, to be handled by the ISI, whose Afghan bureau coordinated operational activities with the militias. This was done in such secrecy that the Pakistani military itself was kept in the dark. Foreign money helped to establish hundreds of madrassas in Pakistan's cities and frontier areas. These turned out thousands of talibs (students) who joined the mujahidin in the anti-Soviet campaign. The ISI managed this operation, handling tens of thousands of tonnes of ordnance every year and coordinating the action of several hundred thousand fighters in great secrecy. In 1989, the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Afghanistan. A decade earlier, this had seemed an implausible outcome. Consequently, the ISI analysis (which was shared by the CIA, according to our interviews—for example, Interview No. 051305) was that only a highly radicalised imaginary would motivate the martyrdom of the young talibs to throw themselves at the Soviet war machine.

This 10-year Afghan war against the Soviets not only bestowed on the ISI huge experience of covert warfare in the 1980s, it also created for it a vast reserve of motivated humanpower that could be used as its proxy in the geostrategic games of regional powers. Despite denials from Islamabad, many analysts say that there is evidence aplenty that, in 1988, without directly involving Pakistan in a conflict, the ISI moved Islamist militants from Afghanistan to Indian-administered Kashmir to start an insurgency there. India has repeatedly accused Pakistan, and especially the ISI, of involvement in Kashmir and in attacks elsewhere in India—including the 2008 Mumbai attacks. Ever since Pakistan's third, disastrous stint of military rule ended in 2008, under the coup-maker Pervez Musharraf, the generals have tried hard to be seen to be getting out of politics. Behind the scenes, the army still wields immense influence. But being seen bossing around civilian governments is to be avoided. So it is a sign of the army's current unease that its newish chief felt he had to publicly defend the army's 'dignity and institutional pride' on 7 April 2014. General Raheel Sharif was responding to rank-and-file concerns of 'undue criticism of the institution in recent days' (The Economist 2014). Tensions have been rising over the treatment of former president Musharraf, a former general, who unwisely returned from self-imposed exile in 2013 to relaunch his political career, only to fail and face charges of high treason. Because
even retired generals are thought to be untouchable, many Pakistanis did not believe the trial would ever get off the ground. Indeed, the army seemed to come to Musharraf’s rescue when he claimed a heart scare, was moved into an army hospital and dodged court appearances by claiming ill health. Yet, after weeks of legal wrangling, the former president was indeed indicted, on 31 March 2014. He was indicted for treason in relation to the coup that brought him to power and for the assassination of Benazir Bhutto and named as the prime suspect in a separate case for the assassination of Akbar Bugti in 2006 (Times of India 2016), which, as we have seen, reignited the civil war in Balochistan. Nothing has come of any of these cases. Musharraf was allowed to travel abroad for medical treatment in 2016 and lives in Dubai at the time of writing.

As all of these cases were launched, people assumed that the government would allow Musharraf to slip off back into exile rather than risk the repercussions of his conviction and possible death sentence. Not so, said a government minister, Khawaja Saad Rafique, who branded Musharraf a ‘traitor’ who must face justice. Such language infuriated the army establishment who were also involved in the coup and the assassinations to varying degrees. And it heightened their worry that prime minister Nawaz Sharif, whom Musharraf ousted in his coup in 1999, really did want these legal processes to run their course. The will of the military prevailed.

Adding to the army’s annoyance was the government’s effort to negotiate a peace deal with violent Islamist revolutionaries. In March 2014, negotiators met militants from the banned TTP (Pakistani Taliban). A ceasefire was agreed, but extreme violence continued. Internal TTP divisions about participating in these peace talks with the Pakistani state caused one of the many splits in the organisation that have occurred in the past decade. Many of the militant organisations under the fragmented TTP umbrella have retained strong alliances with Al-Qaeda. Hundreds of TTP fighters travelled to Syria to fight alongside Arab Al-Qaeda–affiliated militants. Later in 2014, the Pakistani army prevailed with its preference in the face of these realities for launching an operation against militant sanctuaries in North Waziristan. With the NATO drawdown in Afghanistan, the Pakistani army feared militants would much more easily melt into Afghanistan when the army attacked them. The military surges of 2014 and 2015 seemed to suppress the Pakistani Taliban for a time, resulting in the surrender of hundreds of TTP fighters, but,
by 2016 and 2017, it was launching more deadly and disruptive bombing operations than ever and was strengthening its ties to Islamic State as well as Al-Qaeda and the Afghan Taliban.

In the past, a strong public rebuke from an army chief over something as important as peace negotiations with the enemy would have sparked panic among politicians. Military defiance of peace negotiations by the civilian authority was still possible, even when their military surge to displace it did not succeed. Yet a strong judiciary and media appear to have made the threat of a coup unthinkable in recent years—hence our analysis that not everything is awry in Pakistan’s current democracy.

The mullah–military nexus has done much more than leave a space for military–political selection of extremist militant jihadists for survival in safe havens. It is not just in the madrasas from which Taliban are recruited that violent jihad imaginaries are taught. Pakistan’s political leaders repeatedly promise reform of the national curriculum to remove violent jihad and religious martyrdom from the textbooks from which most children are infused with this imaginary. Under pressure organised by mullahs and religious parties, these promises to reverse the Islamisation of the national curriculum are never realised (ICG 2014a: 10–12). Even private schools feel the pressure. In November 2013, the All Pakistan Private Schools Association banned the book written by Malala Yousafzai, a campaigner for girls’ education and a Nobel Prize recipient, from its 40,000 schools for fear of retaliation from the TTP commander-in-chief who had ordered Yousafzai’s assassination (ICG 2014a: 13).

While the mullah–military nexus is critical to understanding the dynamics of the conflict within Pakistan, the role of the international players in the country—particularly the American involvement in the war on terror—is also important in understanding the complexities of peacebuilding in Pakistan.

15 More than one report has claimed that Sheikh Abu Haseb, who took over the leadership of Islamic State in Afghanistan in 2017, but was killed 27 April 2017, was broaching collaboration rather than competition between Islamic State and the Afghan and Pakistani Talibans. While Abu Haseb was an Afghan, he used to be a commander in the Pakistani Kashmiri organisation Lashkar-e-Taiba (see e.g. Dickey and Yousafzai 2017). This is one kind of evidence for our interpretation of a cascade of violence that runs from the Kashmir conflict to the rise of the Pakistani Taliban, back into Afghanistan and to jihad in Iraq, Syria, the United Kingdom and beyond.
Cascading violence through drone strikes and dislocation

Since 2004, the United States has launched more than 420 drone strikes in FATA alone. International criticism of drone strikes argues that they are an ineffective counterterrorism measure and a ‘failed cost-free’ form of warfare. President Obama, who had personally approved the scaling up of drone assassinations, eventually seemed to reach the same conclusion, with all drone strikes in Pakistan ceasing for the final year of his administration. President Trump rejects this retreat from targeted drone killings and has resumed it with an intensity that is too early to assess. After more than a decade of drone warfare in Pakistan, the long-term repercussions are evident. Growing anti-American and anti-Western resentment among ordinary Pakistanis in areas targeted through drone strikes has long since been viewed as a strategic failure of the US military. Some argue these strikes have provided an effective recruitment tool for extremists—fuelling rather than minimising radicalisation. In our interviews, we found there were mixed views on drone strikes. Whereas in the cities and among more educated Pakistanis, drone strikes were perceived as attacks on Pakistani sovereignty and as violating basic human rights, in areas where drones are frequent features there are mixed reactions.

Activists from the Islamist parties and those who remain in Islamabad, including Pakistan’s left/progressives, have been against drone strikes. A senior JI student activist in Islamabad stated:

We think that America is making our policies, then how can we be free? And it fits Pakistani politician made the Parliament to introduce resolutions regarding drone attacks but those resolutions have never been implemented. Pakistan is an independent state. Why are the Americans here? (Interview in Islamabad, 2013, No. 061318)

16 A 2015 study on drone strikes in Pakistan between 2004 and 2013 records that, over this 10-year period, 374 drone strikes killed 2,296 people, while 7,361 terrorist attacks killed 13,829 people. While terrorist attacks are responsible for 85 per cent of the deaths within this conflict, the average drone strike kills more than six individuals, while the average terrorist attack kills just less than two (Gill 2015: 7).
On the other hand, a number of our respondents expressed their strong support for drone strikes in Taliban-dominated areas. One university professor sought to convince us that drone strikes were actually pragmatic as these were the most effective way of stopping the Taliban. His students—some of the other participants present during this focus group meeting—held unsympathetic views towards civilians whose houses were targets of drone strikes. In response to our questions about innocent civilians including children killed by drone strikes, one of them explained: ‘These people are not innocent. They harbour terrorists and they are supporters of terrorism. We have no sympathies for them.’

The peacebuilding literature provides some insights about compassion fatigue among humanitarian actors and weariness among soldiers in protracted conflicts. The above discussion shows that ordinary people also grow weary, impatient and unsympathetic at times of protracted conflict. The Pakistani military is also perceived to be part of the wider militarisation problem of which drone strikes are a part. One former Pakistani ambassador to Kabul, who was also closely associated with the UNHCR’s work in the region, provides a useful context to understanding radicalisation and its connection to Partition and imperial politics:
It is not the military’s business to formulate policy. We have third-rate political leadership in Pakistan largely because the military has a very strong role … We were administering tribal areas but we were not conscious of the problems across the border because at least we had control over other areas. Between 2007 and 2009, three things happened:

1. Gen. Musharraf deployed the army, the first monumental blunder.
2. Then the army began to spread and began to administer the area.
3. Local institutions were completely destroyed.

By aligning Pakistan with the war on terror, which was not accepted by people, an environment was created in which insurgency was bound to take root. Government policies helped the insurgency to take root eventually. The tribal area is devastated because of military operations not because of drones. The people who were displaced did not flee because of drones but because of the military. (Interview in Peshawar, 2013, No. 061306)

The fear of drone strikes has pushed some of the militant leaders to move to other parts of Pakistan. The Pashtun militant networks in Karachi facilitated these relocations. It is highly doubtful that these relocations have made Pakistan safer. The new arrivals have engaged in crime, kidnapping and land-grabbing in Karachi and some of the funds from this have then been channelled to militant groups in FATA and elsewhere. The Kurram Tribal Agency also attracted several militants to move from North Waziristan. Kurram is home to the largest Shia population in FATA and that created intercommunal tensions in this area. Anti-Shia violence in Parachinar, the capital of the Kurram Agency, reportedly left hundreds of casualties (Aslam 2014).

Begum Jan, one of the most respected educationalists from South Waziristan, provides a more nuanced understanding of targeted killings such as drone strikes as ineffective counterterrorism measures. She notes: ‘Taliban is mushrooming. Drone cannot control Taliban’ (Interview, Pakistan, 2013, No. 061301). She asserts that these attacks undermined Pakistan’s prospects of negotiating successful peace talks with tribal leaders, including Taliban leaders. Not only are these attacks used to mobilise and recruit new talibs. There are now increasing numbers of terrorist attacks against the Pakistani Government by Taliban militants who believe that the government has failed to maintain Pakistan’s sovereignty.
Drone strikes in Pakistan also complicated the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan. Infiltrators from TTP in the CIA resulted in the deaths of US personnel at an operating base in Khost province in 2009. Wrong information in other instances also resulted in high numbers of civilian casualties. In sum, US counterterrorism measures have not been perceived as a success by wide sections of Pakistan's civil society, although others support them. Further, senior journalists believed that the 2014 US troop pull-out from Afghanistan (which turned out to be only a partial withdrawal) would not bring any significant changes in Pakistan's security situation, particularly in relation to the Afghan conflict.

Ismail Khan, editor of the *Dawn* news site, reflected:

> I don't think that the US pull-out will dampen the spirit of the Pakistani Taliban … There are now so many groups involved. There are foreigners fighting as well. Where will they go? (Interview, Pakistan, 2013, No. 061304)

Indeed, they do not seem to have gone since 2014, though nor have the Americans gone from Afghanistan, with President Trump demanding increased Western troops on the ground again. About Pakistan's instability, especially in KPK, Ismail Khan observed:

> The Swati Taliban are sitting across the border and launching attacks and trying to infiltrate in Malakand Division. As they are able to regroup and reorganise there will be problems. There will be no immediate stability. We are in for a very long haul. There is no national consensus. What should be the return of engagements and preconditions? We are on the eleventh year but there is no national consensus. (Interview, Pakistan, 2013, No. 061304)

The ISI has also played a double game in the region. It took money from the CIA for the war against the Soviets and diverted some of its mujahidin to attacks on India. Ahmed Rashid (2010b: 416) concluded that president Musharraf ‘deliberately raised the profile of jihadi groups to make himself more useful to the United States [after 2001] and to enhance his country’s strategic importance in Western eyes’. Rashid’s observation goes to the relevance of our Proposition 2 in terms of the nefarious, complex way violence promotes the enrolment of different cleavages to the ambitions of ruthless politicians such as Musharraf and ruthless intelligence organisations such as the ISI.
Pakistan was quite attentive in handing over foreign jihadists who had masterminded or executed specific high-profile operations against the United States, such as Mohammed Saddiq Odeh (who was behind the attack on US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998), Ramzi Yousef (nephew of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, mastermind of the 1993 World Trade Center attack), Khalid Sheikh Mohammed himself and Aimal Kasi (Mir Qazi) (who attacked CIA operatives in Langley, Virginia, in 1993) (Zahab and Roy 2004: 56). For a long time after 2001, Pakistan managed to maintain the impression that it was doing a good job of handing over foreign (‘Al-Qaeda’) fighters who had fled Afghanistan, even if it continued to protect certain favoured Afghan Taliban. This interpretation faded after the killing of Osama bin Laden by US Navy SEALs. The ISI was continuously giving up some Afghan and Pakistani Taliban targets to the CIA, but, in retrospect, knowledgeable analysts conclude that these tended to be those whom the ISI perceived to be no longer fully under ISI control and/or a threat to Pakistan's security interests (as opposed to US interests). Those given up to the United States included Taliban leaders who sought to negotiate in peace processes that were
sponsored by Kabul or Washington without Pakistan at the table. This tactic has now succeeded in persuading many in Kabul and Washington that no peace can be negotiated with the Taliban that Pakistan does not help to shape. The most crucial Afghan Taliban leaders continue to be dependent on protection from elements of the ISI.

Propaganda war: The arts, Talibanisation and media politics

From our interviews in Pakistan, it is evident that Pakistani civil society emerged as a watchdog of the country’s politics. In this section, we discuss two specific roles of Pakistan’s media in conflict. The first is the representation of various cascades of violence in the media and the second is the cultural politics of peacebuilding.

On a cold night in January, 2008, a group of militants hammered at the door of a popular Pashto dancer, Shabana, in Mingora, a city in the Swat district of Northwestern Pakistan. (Yemen Times 2009)

It was reported that the militants dragged Shabana through the narrow alleys towards Green Square, where they planned to publicly punish her and teach local artists a lesson. Shabana’s mother pleaded with her killers, repeating that she would never sing or dance again. However, her killing was a calculated decision by the Taliban to instil fear in the region where the tradition of music had been kept alive for generations by the artists in Banr Bazar, the traditional dwelling of the Swat Valley’s female dancers and singers.

Shabana’s body was found the next morning with her throat slit, riddled with bullets and with bank notes and her music CDs thrown on top. Ghazala Javed, another popular 24-year-old Pashto singer, was killed along with her father in Peshawar, the capital of KPK on 18 June 2012. Afsana, another female dancer, was killed on 14 March 2010. Afsana’s family was displaced by the conflict and she began to earn a living by performing at various ceremonies such as weddings. While the numbers

---

17 Swami (2006: 195) contends that Pakistan’s strategy in Kashmir was also to ‘sabotage Indian efforts at securing a unilateral dialogue with terrorist groups’. Pakistan sponsored new groups in Kashmir who would assassinate jihadists who negotiated towards peace agreements with the Indian Government.
are not as high, male artists have also suffered at the hands of the Pakistani Taliban. Sardar Yousafzai and Anwar Gul were attacked on 15 December 2008, causing Gul’s death.

The Swat Valley has been a centre for Pakistani arts and literature for centuries. Since Buddhist times, local artisans, poets and singers have contributed to the emotional, spiritual and intellectual development of society in the Swat Valley. ‘Music is an integral part of our society. Pashtuns have a rich musical and literary heritage,’ Usman Ulasyar, President of the Swat Arts and Cultural Society, noted. ‘Even our religious tales are preserved in the form of poetry and our evenings are incomplete without musical gatherings’ (Yemen Times 2009). Miangul Abdul Wadud, a former ruler of Swat, followed by his son Miangul Abdul Haq Jahanzeb (1915–69), not only encouraged local arts and literature but also allocated a piece of land in the heart of the city to traditional singers and dancers. Such areas became emblematic sites for Taliban militants seeking to attack artists and send waves of fear throughout the valley.

Shaukat Sharar, a Swat Valley social scientist, says that local society began rapidly changing in September 2007, when Maulana Fazlullah, a cleric turned militant commander, vehemently discouraged music, dancing and all forms of entertainment in his broadcasts on a pirate FM radio station. Through the radio station, he had discouraged education for girls, anti-polio drops and all forms of artistic expression. ‘The Yousafzai tribes inhabiting Swat harmoniously inter-mixed Buddhist and Islamic values with their own Pashtun traditions and customs, and formed a society based on peace, love and tolerance,’ Sharar maintained:

They excelled in handicrafts, wood carving, poetry, music and performing arts, and every year attracted thousands of tourists to their lush green valley to enjoy the serenity of its environment and the diversity of their socio-cultural lives. (Yemen Times 2009)

Thirty years of political instability in Afghanistan encouraged extremist Wahhabi Islam to flourish in neighbouring Pakistani tribal areas, and different Taliban groups gradually engulfed the whole of north-western Pakistan. Neither the international community nor Pakistani authorities placed much importance on local arts and literature as a means of promoting peace and discouraging religious extremism. However, Pashtun jirgas played a historical role in peacebuilding and conflict resolution; Pashtun bujra (a traditional Pashtun sociocultural club) provided the much-needed catharsis to Pashtun tribes after a day labouring in their
fields and mountains. Pashtun romanticism was expressed in Pashto folk tales and songs, and the strength and pride of Pashtun youth were demonstrated in traditional dances called atan.

The Taliban attacked these liberal traditions, as our respondents noted. One senior cultural activist said: ‘With the windows for natural human expression closed, extremist religious thoughts took over the society.’ Shazma, a well-known actress in Peshawar, further explained to us:

At that time there was a lot of peace and love. Culture, mohabbat [love], Pakhtun bhai and bahin's stories (all Pashtuns are like brothers and sisters). And now it is only about aamaan—peace—the scripts have changed. Repression in the stories. The cultural scripts have changed. Over the last decades, covering the head, no close association of men and women. The dramas before were not only for the mouluvi and for the religious scholars, but for the society. But now drama is only for the mouluvi, and conservative people. If someone sees me they could kill me. Every drama is in dupatta. No heavy make up. ‘Vulgar’ dialogues such as—I like you, I love you—are not allowed. (Interview, Pakistan, 2013, No. 061302)

Strict censorship also affects women’s participation in cultural activities. Sensitive or contentious issues relating to women are usually not discussed on local TV and radio channels. Shazma mentions:

There are censorship committees. Producer or director on TV and radio. Stage managers are involved in censorship. You have live programs, there is censorship through ear piece. Cover your head, fix your dupatta, etc. Don’t say this, backtrack from this statement and all these. Creativity gets stifled. (Interview, Pakistan, 2013, No. 061302)

Over the past few years, the call by Islamist academics and Muslim moderates in Pakistan to replace universal human rights with local laws and punishment has opened the door to ‘culturally relevant’ justice. Some of the most important arguments about women’s rights, citizenship and public and private roles are fixed within what is religiously appropriate. One space for manoeuvring is that women can fight to interpret texts in their favour. Within this limited scope and with the Pakistani state complicit in violence against women, today the very survival of Pakistani women depends on such interpretations rather than any universal guarantee of the protection and security of life, regardless of belief or creed. The Taliban is giving other elements of political Islam a humane cover. However, the primary argument has stayed technical and within the Islamic framework—for example, whether or not the punishment
of women is according to Sharia law. What women’s struggles actually demonstrate is that it is far easier to dismiss the barbaric Taliban as the inconvenient Muslim. It has given an opportunity for some liberal politicians to actually pronounce themselves ‘secular’ by virtue of merely denouncing the Taliban.

Cleavages and alliances

Chapter 5 provided many examples, including from Pakistan, of how attempted and successful assassinations of senior political figures escalated long-term patterns of violence and cascades of militarisation across South Asia (Proposition 9). There are many more examples in subsequent chapters. The assassination of former and likely future Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto in 2007 was something of an exception to this pattern—but an important one. It happened at a time when public dissatisfaction with coup leader Pervez Musharraf was high and there was US pressure to allow Bhutto to return from exile to compete in elections. In the absence of the indictment of Musharraf for the assassination of Bhutto proceeding to trial, one cannot be certain whether the Pakistani Taliban was to blame for the assassination, as claimed by the military, or whether the military allowed or encouraged it. It would be an exaggeration to say that this assassination caused a mass people-power movement, though it certainly brought large numbers of ordinary Pakistanis on to the streets. Most importantly, however, it set off a realignment of cleavages.

The major political parties—Bhutto’s Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and its old enemy, former prime minister Nawaz Sharif’s PML-N—foresaw the likelihood of a people-power movement that could throw up alternative leaders. So the major parties, supported by the West, linked arms across their cleavages to campaign together for a return to democracy. The military could likewise see a risk that its power would sink unless it threw president Musharraf overboard. Younger officers pushed their generals to cut Musharraf adrift from military support. The generals advised Musharraf to resign and facilitate a democratic transition, which he did (Shah 2014: 1009).

Our take on these events is therefore that the military and party elites were sophisticated in their analysis of the risk of a people-power movement that might allow new sources of political power to emerge, so they collaborated across their deep divisions to remove the dictator
and return to a democracy beholden to the deep state. Read another way, the assassination of Benazir Bhutto did not produce a cascade of violence and militarisation. Nor did it lead to a cascade of nonviolent people power that fundamentally transformed Pakistan from the streets to end militarisation. Precisely because the military leadership saw a risk of that coming, it acted with party elites to reaffirm a familiar balance of elite forces. This was a balance of power the military could ‘manage’, continuing as the most enduring font of power.

Aqil Shah (2008: 18) has depicted civil–military relations in Pakistan on questions such as accommodation with the Taliban as ‘path-dependent with a vengeance’. The military was the most enduring source of power because, as the conjuncture of the assassination of Benazir Bhutto demonstrated, it was the institution that could steer through the ‘state of exception’ (Agamben 2005; Schmitt 2006, 2013). All the old cleavages of Pakistani society and politics remained once the state of exception was navigated through the removal of the president, including the cleavages between the two major political parties, between both parties and the military and between all of them and the cascade of insurgencies we have described within and across Pakistan’s borders. Violence from the Afghan and Pakistani Talibans, in particular, continued to increase, as did anti-Shia and anti-Christian violence.

This conjuncture forged an alliance that reset the democracy button in a constructive way, allowing two elections since that time. In these elections, the most popular leader was allowed to win. The high command closed the ISI’s ‘political’ wing, which many say had been involved in rigging elections and blackmailing and bribing politicians in the past (Shah 2014: 1016). Return to (militarised) democracy changed little, however, in terms of the same old cleavages that continued to cascade violence. One of the reasons for this is that alliances across one cleavage are recurrently forged to facilitate violence across another cleavage. At various points, the Pakistani military accepted resources from the United States to fight jihadist groups in the region. At other points, it accepted resources

---
18 Carl Schmitt (2006, 2013) and Giorgio Agamben (2005) are the influential theorists of the state of exception. Schmitt conceives the power of state leadership in a state of emergency to be a particularly decisive form of power. He defines sovereignty as the power to decide when a state of emergency, a state of exception, will justify dictatorial armed force freed from legal constraint. Guantanamo Bay illustrates how the state of exception can be sold as a defence of the constitution, while the reality can be that it changes the constitution, legalising detention without trial and torture under that constitution.
CASCADeS of VioLeNce

from Gulf states to pass on to these groups and to protect them in safe havens. At many other points, the ISI formed alliances with these same groups across these cleavages to destabilise some third party. The Pakistani military and the ISI have supported a succession of different groups fighting to destabilise both Soviet-supported and US-supported Afghanistan, Indian Punjab, Kashmir and some north-eastern Indian states. At times, Afghanistan has provided a safe haven to Pakistani armed groups being pursued by the Pakistani military. In this and the previous chapter, we have seen that India’s intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), has supported armed groups that destabilised West Pakistan and the old East Pakistan (Bangladesh). At times, the ISI forged a de facto alliance with Iran to destabilise Afghanistan; at other times, it fought aggressively to exclude Iran’s proxies from any influence in Afghanistan; and at other times, it coordinated military efforts with Iran to degrade Baloch insurgencies that were a threat inside both southern Iran and Pakistan. Afghanistan provided safe havens for Pakistan’s Baloch separatist fighters and allowed them to fund their insurgency by smuggling drugs and other goods across their border with Pakistan (Nadiri 2014: 135). In other words, the cleavage effects we discuss in our Proposition 3 have a shifting character that cascaded violence as alliance structures shifted.

A central conclusion of this chapter is that repeated promotion of military coups, assassinations (Proposition 9) and proxy wars by insurgents and terrorists in Pakistan drives a resilient militarisation of society, regardless of whether or not it has democratic elections (Proposition 8). Wild swings from state support for insurgents to killing and torturing them and civilians in heavy-handed military operations, then swinging back to support for insurgents, does not create conditions for deterrence effects to exceed defiance effects in violence prevention (Proposition 1). This is especially so when insurgent leaders were killed and tortured, and their families threatened, when they attempted to participate in peace talks with a third party, as we have seen with ISI punishment of Afghan Taliban attempting to make peace with the Karzai Government (Nadiri 2014: 145, 150; ICG 2014c: 4) and punishment of Kashmiri insurgents who became peacemakers with India (Chapter 5). Defiance is particularly more likely than deterrence when a state promotes violent imaginaries through its education policies (Proposition 2), as with education through extremist madrassas and the Pakistani state’s wider jihadisation of politics that started from the early decades of Indian confrontation over Kashmir. ‘Repertories of contention’ (Tarrow 2011: 106–41) fuelled defiance
through state socialisation, Saudi socialisation and religious socialisation initially supported by CIA cash, which was used to destabilise India and the Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan. A military and state-sanctioned jihad imaginary combined with inconsistent and hypocritical deterrence to fuel jihadist defiance (Propositions 1 and 2).

US drone attacks have been a form of deterrence that fostered defiance because they have so frequently involved innocent women and children being killed by the perceived imperial infidel. Evidence also mounts of cases where locals have provided false targeting information to the CIA for drone strikes to eliminate political rivals or for vendettas (Proposition 9: war cascades to crime) (ICG 2013a: 11). O’Loughlin et al.’s (2010) data showed that, in 2008 and 2009, all drone killings occurred on the Pakistani side of, and within 100 km of, the Afghan border. They also showed that for both Afghanistan and Pakistan, conflict killing of all kinds is concentrated in rural rather than urban areas, with the highest concentrations for both countries within 100 km of their shared border, although the killing pattern in Afghanistan was more dispersed across the whole country than in Pakistan (O’Loughlin et al. 2010: 448). This was mapped from over 5,000 conflict violence events for these two years. In Pakistan, more recent years have witnessed a balancing upsurge of violence in urban centres such as Karachi, while earlier decades saw huge numbers of killings across Pakistan’s borders with India in Kashmir, Punjab and East Pakistan.

Beyond being a frontier of interstate fighting, border areas also experience a concentration of killings because of the millions of Afghan refugees destabilising these areas, with the *madrasas* near the border accounting for most of the recruits for the Afghan jihad (Proposition 6). It is a remarkable fact about the Afghan war from 2002 that most of the Taliban fighters were recruited and trained not in Afghanistan, but in

---

19 The US Government regularly releases statements on the ‘extremely rare’ civilian casualties, perhaps even in the ‘single digits’ (International Human Rights and Conflict Resolution Clinic 2012: 32). But *The New York Times* showed that the Obama administration regarded ‘all military-age males [killed] in a strike zone’ to be combatants ‘unless there is explicit intelligence posthumously proving them innocent’ (Becker and Shane 2012).

20 There were occasions before and after 2008 and 2009 when significant numbers of drone strikes also occurred on the Afghan side of the border.

21 Suicide attacks took off in Pakistan in 2007 and spread from the North-West Frontier to also afflict the country’s major cities. Suicide attacks averaged four a year in Pakistan from 2002 to 2006 and 60 a year from 2007 onwards (Chandran 2012: 57), with other forms of terrorist operations also taking off from 2007.
a narrow border region of north-western Pakistan. Since 2001, all three major armed groups fighting in Afghanistan have continuously based their command and control across the Pakistan border and launched their recruits and operations from there: the Quetta Shura (consultative council) led by Taliban prime minister in exile Mullah Mohammed Omar (to whom the TTP swore allegiance when formed in 2007) (ICG 2014c: 5), until his death in 2013; Gulbuddin Hekmatyar’s Hezb-e-Islami; and the Al-Qaeda–linked Haqqani network.22 Conversely, TTP leader Maulana Fazlullah operated out of Taliban sanctuaries in Afghanistan (ICG 2014c: 6).

In this Pashtun borderland, ‘disintegration of the capacity of a single legitimate armed force to pacify a space through its domination over all competing armed groups enables the cascading of violence’ (Proposition 4). According to one interview informant: ‘A global jihadi complex exists [in Pakistan and beyond]. All of these sometimes collaborate, sometimes compete’ (Interview, Pakistan, 2013, No. 061309). The same might be said of the way this jihadi complex has cascaded to Iraq, Syria and beyond since this 2013 interview. The Pakistani military has been no more able to dominate this complex in the North-West Frontier tribal areas than could the British military in centuries past. Denys Bray (1923), foreign and political secretary to the Government of India, discussed and dismissed in the 1923 Legislative Assembly a ‘Chinese wall’ that was ‘high enough to keep the trans-border tribesmen beyond the pale’ and dismissed a policy of ‘forward defence’. Bray’s analysis affirms our Proposition 10 on how contemporary war economics counsels against ‘staying the course’ in such hotspots:

The task is infinitely more difficult today, chiefly because the tribesmen are infinitely better armed … True, if we had to fight them in the plains, this would matter little. But it is the mountains, those inaccessible mountains of theirs, that give them their strength. It is one of the striking things in modern warfare that these modern inventions of ours do not give us the advantage in savage warfare in the hills … with the improvement in

---

22 Much to the chagrin of the United States, because of its Al-Qaeda linkage, Haqqani seems in recent times to have been the ISI’s favourite: ‘Of course there are favorites. Every intelligence agency in the world has favourites’ (a senior Pakistani military leader referring to the Haqqani network, quoted in ICG 2014c: 7). Hekmatyar’s Hizb-i-Islami was the ISI’s original favourite before and immediately after the fall of the communist regime in 1992. But after Hizb failed to dominate Afghanistan militarily, Pakistan’s favour shifted to Mullah Omar’s Taliban. Without the ISI’s support, which included the ISI playing matchmaker between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, it is unlikely the Taliban could have taken over the country in 1996.
armament the advantage lies with the tribesmen rather than us. In short, in these days of acutest financial stringency, the conclusion stares one in the face that a thoroughgoing forward policy along the line is a mere counsel of perfection. (Bray 1923, quoted in Naseemullah 2014: 510) (Proposition 10)

These tribal areas have been an internal Vietnam for the Pakistani military and, indeed, an external one for the United States when it pursued bin Laden in Tora Bora in 2001. That is, the North-West Frontier tribal areas have been to Pakistan what Vietnam was to the US military and Afghanistan to the Soviet military. By this we mean that, on many occasions in history, until recent surges such as that in 2015, the Pakistani military has attempted military surges to dominate its North-West Frontier. On none of these occasions has it succeeded in establishing a state monopoly of armed force. Every time, the costs of shutting down the violence came to exceed the benefits of winning, so the economics of war dictated an accommodation with tribal militias that left the tribal frontier lands a launching pad for future cascades of violence (Proposition 10). Even the Pakistani military attacks in FATA, which were motivated by repeated attempts to assassinate president Musharraf by Taliban and Al-Qaeda-affiliated armed groups based there in the early years after 2001, were so unsuccessful that Musharraf himself ‘concluded that he had no option but to negotiate with his would-be killers’ (Gartenstein-Ross 2010: 29). Moreover, not only did the limited resolve to assert a state monopoly of force in that part of the country fuel more defiance than deterrence (Proposition 1), but also the intermittent state military surges fuelled anomie (Proposition 7). These military surges tended to be taps turned on when new fires started, but turned off when the fire got hot.

Naseemullah (2014) argues that FATA was always ruled by a form of ‘hybrid governance’ that divided coercive power between state and society. State military power was part of the mix, especially because of the way it would arrive in moments of crisis, even if it would step back before the crisis was resolved to allow a return to indirect rule. Naseemullah (2014) contends that this hybrid governance maintained political order in a restive region. It allowed, for example, a space for those who supported blossoming of the wonderful artistic traditions of the region discussed earlier. After the war on terror cascaded jihadist imaginaries more strongly than in the past, these hybrid governance arrangements were weakened and then disrupted at the hands of actors from all sides of the cleavages (Proposition 3).
During the FATA insurgency, the Taliban marginalised the state political agents of indirect rule and tribal elites who had been most pivotal in coordinating the hybrid political order. All sides in the conflict mobilised violent proxies who pushed aside structures of tribal authority.\textsuperscript{23} Foreign interests also mobilised violent proxies, as with evidence of an Afghan intelligence operation to recruit Latifullah Mehsud, TTP second-in-command, in October 2013 (Nadiri 2014: 167). Agents of the ISI’s clandestine state frequently quashed decisions of civilian authorities in the tribal areas to move against some of the most violent actors who were proxies for the ISI’s forward defence imaginary.

In a sequence of episodes of intervention in the decade after 2001, the military usurped the second critical authority: civilian political agents and agencies. As this chapter has argued, the militarisation of FATA in itself also fuelled chaos and terror. When half-baked attempts to transplant state courts in FATA (and PATA) destroyed the formerly speedy justice of the region’s hybrid judicial governance, the Taliban seized the opportunity to impose Taliban courts to restore an oppressive form of rule of law.\textsuperscript{24} One experienced military commander in FATA argued that it was folly to hope that in this remote context the political administration can ever achieve the ‘reach to get routine issues resolved speedily. We have to think seriously about provision of speedy justice; maybe through a refined form of the already existing Jirga system’ (Bajwa 2013: 152). Khadim Hussain (2013: 9) argues the Pashtunwali (traditional Pashtun ethical code) that is enforced by jirgas in hujras is a:

\begin{quote}
(dynamic code [that] has incorporated almost every step of the civilisational march of humanity in the past several decades. Poetry, art, literature, architecture, music and dance have been inseparable parts of the code that could be retraced over the last several centuries.\)
\end{quote}

Hussain (2013: 13) contrasts Pashtunwali with the ‘militant discourse’ that is ‘intricately woven around the central premise of a homogenized world view’:

\begin{quote}
23 This actually started before the war on terror in the early 1990s when the ISI director-general Javed Nasir advocated reconstitution of mujahidin militias under state sponsorship to promote instability in Indian Jammu and Kashmir (Naseemullah 2014: 515). Enrollment of the Haqqani network to the clandestine state in North Waziristan and Pakhta Province was later part of the same forward defence project, as it attacked NATO forces in Afghanistan.

24 For the same political reason, in 2007, the Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM), a TTP-affiliated group led by Sufi Muhammad, imposed Sharia law in the Swat Valley and Malakand Division, areas that were enduring non-existent to painfully slow state justice.
\end{quote}
The discourse presents a world where every object is identical with every other object. It is a world where all living species have the same brain structure, speaking the same language, thinking the same way, having similar social organization and having similar cultural fabric. Hence, it is important for them to eliminate indigenous socio-cultural fabric everywhere in the world on the one hand while on the other hand the militant discourse tries to push back history through the judicious use of the concept of Khilafat [caliphate: the rule of Mohammed’s deputies across earth]. Both indigenous wisdom and modern human civilization must be the first victim … The concept of Khilafat is nested in the concept of Jihad [struggle] and the concept of Jihad is nested in the concept of Shahadat [martyrdom]. This triangular construct coupled with ‘otherization’ to make it more lethal in waging a war against the whole world. (Hussain 2013: 13)

Hussain’s (2013) research is interesting because of the way he sees the work of organisations such as Tanzeem-e-Asatiza Pakistan (a JI-affiliated association of teachers) as important in promoting this triangular imaginary (Proposition 2). It is also instructive in the way he interprets anomie as an intentionally created normlessness that is a cornerstone of militant strategy (cf. Proposition 7). ‘Banning music, destroying social institutions and banning all types of communication both internally and externally’ are all strategies ‘to take the relevant communities towards internal and external isolation’, as is ‘eliminating the socially and politically influential to create a social vacuum’ and ‘co-opting criminal gangs of the area’ to create chaos that the Taliban can fix with Sharia law and also so the criminals can ‘give them an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of law enforcement agencies in a particular community’ that they set out to destroy (Hussain 2013: 17). After our meeting with Khadim Hussain, a senior Pashtun journalist agreed with his analysis: ‘The Taliban is under the control of the ISI and the army, but their ideology is not under their control’ (Interview in Peshawar, 2013, No. 051354).

In Part I of this book and in the work of Braithwaite and Gohar (2014), we outlined how the assassination by the Taliban of revered traditional elders (maliks) and the sidelining of traditional jirga presided over by maliks dismantled ‘state–society entente and management of conflict’ (Naseemullah 2014: 503). CIA drone ‘signature strikes’ exacerbated this disruption. ‘Signature strikes’ target groups of men based on behaviour patterns that could be associated with terrorism, rather than targeting known identities. The International Crisis Group (ICG 2013a: 11) reports that tribal elders fear convening conflict-resolution jirgas in tribal
areas lest such gatherings attract a signature strike. In this sense, there is a gap between the acclaimed precision of drone targeting and the reality of thecrudeness of the technology. It has turned out to be another blunt instrument of violence that is destructive of social capital and constitutive of anomie. In one shocking targeting of a large jirga on 17 March 2011, only four of the 40 men believed to have been killed were militants, with a large proportion of those killed being maliks (ICG 2013a: 12). While the maliks struggle to hold together traditional normative order and to plead with militants to abandon violent resistance, if they are not murdered by the Taliban, they are murdered by the Americans. All these factors have radically shifted the malik–mullah balance in favour of the mullahs (Harrison 2009). It also shifted the balance between jirga and fatwa (a ruling on Islamic law) in favour of the fatwa (Chandran 2012: 70). The indigenous and deliberative jirga decided in hujras lost ground to the theocratic edicts of the fatwa issued from mosques.

Militant Islam mobilised historically excluded local groups through its millennial imaginary. These constituencies excluded from the old hybrid governance had long traditions of anticolonial, anti-malik, anti-state and anti-tribal authority defiance. They included impoverished Wazir subclans and unemployed youth who were unimpressed with tribal elders and their traditions. Mariam Abou Zahab (2013: 52) characterises this as a ‘movement of the kashars (the young, the poor and those who belong to minor lineages or powerless tribes) against the mashars (the tribal elders) and the Political Agent’.

One police leader from KPK added a greed-based interpretation to this reading of grievance: ‘Landless people joined the Taliban to grab land’ (Interview in Abbottabad, 2013, No. 051350). Through Taliban courts, ‘the Taliban also got the ascendancy by getting victims of rip-offs by business elites their money back’ (Interview in Quetta, 2013, No. 051358). This proved easy with an insurgency that has caused most surviving maliks and middle-class people to flee FATA for cities such as Peshawar.²⁵ Not only did militant mullahs who harnessed the defiance of kashars displace malik power and state power with mullah power, but also the traditional tribal authority of elders was pushed aside by the power of the gun in the hands of marginalised young men. Some of these young men were veterans of

---
²⁵ A reverse traffic to this fleeing of the middle class from FATA involves criminals on the run from the police in cities such as Peshawar escaping to FATA beyond the jurisdiction of state police (Proposition 9).
the Kashmir jihad who, after insurgency into Indian Kashmir declined after 2003, found they ‘had no vocation other than “the Jihad” [and] drifted to FATA to join the Pakistan Taliban’ (Khan 2011: 215).

Abbas (2010: 8) therefore construes the TTP conflict at the local level as a class conflict against the historical elitism and local tyranny of maliks and agents who were collaborators with indirect rule by Islamabad. The Talibanisation imaginary right across the Pashtun belt of Afghanistan and Pakistan is for a war of liberation that is at once ‘an anti-feudal and anti-capitalist revolution’ (Hussain 2013: 65). Western-educated capitalists from the city and rural landlords, according to this imaginary, are gentry cut from the same cloth. In a place like the Swat Valley, both showed contempt for local forests and disinterest in the education of the poor and propped up a corrupt justice system that defended their own interests against those of the poor (Hussain 2013: 76, 92–3). At the same time, there were middle-class progressives among them. The majority of the TTP followers of Maulana Fazlullah in the Swat Valley were from the lower rungs of the social ladder. Fazlullah gave them recognition and respect, promised power for the powerless and communicated to them widely and regularly in their own language through his FM radio station. Many women became avid listeners of the radio station and active volunteers who worked for it.

Apart from the fact that the United States frequently sought to sabotage the dozens of attempts to forge peace agreements between the Pakistani Government and the Pakistani Taliban,26 many tribal people we interviewed argued that these attempts at peace always failed because they were processes that were not responsive to the hybrid governance of tribal areas. Across 30 peace agreements, one Pashtun newspaperman could not think of any exception to a pattern where:

tribesmen were left out of the peace agreements. They were between militants and the military. Local administrators were not even involved.
So there was no backing of the people of the area. (Interview in Peshawar, 2013, No. 051316)

26 Our notes from two interviews with a Pakistani general who led one of the major peace deals in FATA before the drone era records the following: ‘But the big obstacle came from the Americans firing mortars, shooting rockets, dropping bombs. So the Pakistan Taliban came to him and said you were not living up to your side of the bargain, which he thought was a fair comment. This American spoiling was what caused his cascades of nonviolence to unravel’ (Author notes from interview in Islamabad, 2013, No. 051301). Other interviews record US drone attacks likewise spoiling subsequent peace diplomacy and peace deals in FATA.
The lack of involvement of women was not even mentioned. ISI Brigadier Mahmood Shah, who has spent much of his life in FATA, said:

In tribal areas you must do the agreement with the tribe, and not with the militants. It’s the tribe that provides protection for the militants … You need to ask the tribal leaders to give a guarantee that the militants in their areas will not do B, C or D and in return we will guarantee X, Y and Z … Military force needs to be used and then negotiation can occur when the maliks have been restored to their proper positions of authority. The traditions in each tribal area are different so one needs to be able to understand the complexity. (Interview, 2013, No. 051308)

Responsiveness goes beyond the ‘who’ to the ‘how’ of a peace jirga. One man from Bajaur Agency in FATA said that, when you sit down with tribal Pashtuns to build a peace, you start by telling them a story:

I tell them stories, they tell me stories. In their language. Then we share food from the same plate together. They tell poems, I tell poems. Then trust is beginning to build and a peace begins as a process. (Interview, 2013, No. 051358)

Informants argued that Pakistan’s initial mistake that set it on the cascade to becoming an ‘extremely violent society’ (Karstedt 2014) was president Musharraf overly seeking to please the United States through massive military operations during the first two years when the Afghan Taliban and Al-Qaeda fled to FATA. ‘In 2002, diplomacy was needed in Afghanistan. In 2003, Pakistan made the mistake of going in militarily to FATA. As a result, the TTP grew’ and then the dozens of militant FATA groups rebranded as the TTP in 2007 (Interview with Pakistani military brigadier, Peshawar, 2013, No. 051320). However, the same informants argued that a return of middle-class IDPs to FATA required both an umbrella of military security and a peace process. A Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Sami (JUI-S) party leader argued that a peace process must be inclusive and thoughtful about the different stages needed to gradually move the different participants to a viable new hybrid governance for FATA. A first prong, he argued, is to peel off low-level fighters by taking away the grievances that cause them to join the jihad. Access to education for their children is critical, as is seeing US and other foreign fighters withdraw from their tribal lands that cross the Afghanistan–Pakistan border and an end to drone attacks: ‘We must disarm the arguments of
the foot soldier. The most important thing to say to him is that we are no longer fighting America’s war on terror’ (Interview with JUI-S leader, Peshawar, 2013, No. 051319).

His second prong is to bribe middle-level commanders (perhaps with cash for surrender of their weapons). His third prong is negotiation of a realist political solution with the top commanders. This means a process that is culturally appropriate for tribal Pashtuns and that asks the top leaders what they want politically. ‘Okay, if you want Sharia law, what are we going to do with this group who are against Sharia law?’

This JUI-S party leader’s philosophy includes a grievance-driven approach with low-level fighters who are mostly fighting a class war, a greed-driven approach for middle-level commanders who could otherwise become spoilers and morph into criminal gang leaders and a political negotiation approach for top TTP leaders. All this must be backed, he argued, by a credible and resolute military presence.

This political leader was influenced by the Northern Ireland peace process, where the ultimate principals to the political negotiations were the most extreme elements: Reverend Ian Paisley on the Loyalist side, Gerry Adams of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), who had displaced the less violent and extreme ‘old IRA’, on the Republican side and Protestant and Catholic politicians of middle-ground compromise and reform such as John Hume. Through a process of responsiveness to the needs of impoverished lower-level and middle-level combatants’ claims that are grounded in grievance or greed, the most extreme leaders can be made to fear isolation unless they negotiate a political compromise. This fear of isolation is especially likely as elements of FATA civil society and local governance return to the area. These returning elites can re-establish their traditional tribal bonds with reintegrated TTP fighters who benefit from the new peaceful social compact for a future with more social justice. That means a pact for inclusion of the formerly excluded landless and for the landlords who have been excluded from their land as IDPs.

In a preliminary negotiation, both the Taliban and the Pakistan state need to establish red lines that neither of them will cross and then find a middle way. That is, the first jirga between the two sides would draw these red lines. (Interview, Pakistan, 2013, No. 051319)

27 The Pashtun tradition is to have a ceasefire as a context for talks. If the talks collapse then you start shooting again (Interview with retired Pashtun lieutenant general from FATA, Peshawar, 2013, No. 051301).
This JUI-S version of a sequenced peace strategy that is responsive to local hybrid governance realities is one example of many in our interviews.

**Top-down negotiation, bottom-up mosaics**

One peacebuilding NGO that had resolved a peace in 37 very local conflict jirgas in south-western Waziristan envisioned a strategy in which many such peace processes in separate rural locales might connect up through wider jirgas into pieces of peace that might ultimately constitute a fabric of peace jirgas across all of North and South Waziristan; then across all FATA for a whole-of-FATA peace and then across the border into Afghanistan. In time, a whole-of-Pakistan peace could one day connect up to a whole-of-Afghanistan cascade of peace. As a Pakistani army brigadier who was born in FATA put it:

> Peace comes in a mosaic way in Afghanistan. There are 34 provinces. Afghanistan is always decentralised. Self-government is needed with an in-group morality and a loose connection to the centre. The solution lies in this mosaic, a more close-to-the-ground reality and a higher acceptability factor. (Interview with FATA brigadier, 2013, No. 051320)

There are many different visions of how to build peace in FATA. Few topics for discussion can be more important. Yet it is impossible for outsiders such as the authors of this book to know which, if any of them, might work. We can agree that military–militant deals reached by both sides wading through blood have not worked. We can also agree with the JUI-S leader quoted above, who has an analysis similar to the former British colonial diagnosis. He argued that the United States may be able to arrest the Afghan Taliban leader tomorrow on the basis of their own intelligence, just as they did with Osama bin Laden, and certainly the Pakistani state could. But both want him alive—and they wanted Mullah Omar alive before he died—because he could legitimise a peace process:

> He’s not replaceable because of his symbolic value … If they killed Mullah Omar no one on the Taliban side would believe in an apparent peace process and hundreds of thousands of willing fighters would join the fray. We need to isolate the FATA insurgency in this way because military power cannot finish them off. There are almost a million kids illiterate in FATA. There are Swat Valley people in Afghanistan today. There are 10,000-foot [3,000 m] mountains in FATA where insurgents can take shelter and never be defeated. (Interview with JUI-S leader, 2013, No. 051319)
The fact that Pakistan wanted Mullah Omah alive is supported by its keeping the lid on the fact of his death for two years after it happened. Beyond the folly of killing Mullah Omar, both US diplomatic and Pakistani commentators we interviewed agreed that the position the Pakistani military puts to the United States is a fear of all the militant groups being allied against the state of Pakistan if they tackle them all at once. ‘So a selective approach is needed’, the Pakistani military argues. We have seen in this chapter that the practice of past ISI selectivity has been to tolerate militants who threaten the United States, India and Afghanistan and to crack down on those who challenge the domination of the Pakistani military. In addition to the leadership of the Afghan Taliban’s Quetta Shura, ‘GHQ [headquarters of the Pakistani military] don’t want to give up Haqqani’ (Interview with Western diplomat, Islamabad, 2013, No. 051359).

The hypocrisy in the military’s analysis does not mean it is necessarily completely wrong. They believe that by prioritising military targeting of some insurgents who compete with others, those competitors might become more realistic peace partners. Our interviews suggested that the Pakistani military had been pressing the Quetta Shura of the Taliban and the Haqqani network to ultimately make peace talks work with the Afghan Government for powersharing in Afghanistan as part of Pakistan’s strategy for peace with the Pakistani Taliban. For their part, Obama-era Western diplomats in Islamabad hoped that democratic peacemaking reform elements in the Pakistani military and in the ISI could be cultivated and encouraged to take a path like the one taken in recent years by reform elements in the Myanmar military and in the Indonesian military in the 1990s. In few countries is it more difficult to see the paths for cascades of peace. This will make Pakistan a strategic case for helping us to think more creatively, in Part III of this book, about how to end seemingly interminable cascades of violence and militarisation.

A final, particularly important contribution of this chapter—important for the remainder of this book—is that it helps clarify what we mean by militarisation as a phenomenon that cascades. As with Kashmir in the previous chapter, so with the Swat Valley, FATA and Balochistan in this chapter: when tens of thousands of soldiers move into an area, most aspects of the local governance of that space become imbued with a military character, particularly local security (e.g. policing) and political institutions, but other kinds of institutions as well. At a national level, we see a much more pervasive militarisation of national institutions in
Pakistan than we saw for India in Chapter 5. At both the local and the national levels, we can conceive of militarisation as a continuous variable. Pakistan is a country that clearly was much further along the militarisation continuum than India during long periods when executive government was taken over in military coups. Yet, at every period of Pakistan's history, we have attempted to show that its military, more than the Indian military leadership, shapes national institutions, controlling them on issues where it is important enough to do so and limiting the degrees of freedom of elected leaders and all other branches of governance.

This is how we define militarisation in this book: control or shaping of other institutions by the military and imbuing other institutions with a military character. Extreme militarisation conduces to ‘intelisation’—as we have illustrated with the exceptional influence of Pakistan’s ISI in shaping politics across South Asia. Extreme militarisation means that a master political cleavage is always between the military and its enemies. Military hegemony over the society then arises from the fact that one path to political power becomes to pick a fight with the enemies of the military to make the military your political ally/sponsor. This was how the Pakistan prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, who stood down after corruption findings against him by the courts in August 2017, initially became an influential politician, even though his politics were a constant contest between military power and his civilian power. The next chapter considers a society deeply influenced by Pakistani militarisation, yet with a character of militarisation that is qualitatively different.