

VOLUME 30, ISSUES 3 & 4, JULY - DECEMBER, 2023

ISSN 0972-5563

Journal of Peace Studies

ISSN 0972-5563

Journal of Peace Studies

VOLUME 30, ISSUES 3 & 4, JULY - DECEMBER, 2023



PUBLISHED BY INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR PEACE STUDIES

Journal of Peace Studies

C O N T E N T S

From the Editors' Desk		1
ARTICLES		
India - France Synergies in the Vanilla Islands	<i>Kshipra Vasudeo</i>	3
Campaign Against Violent Extremism Since 9/11: The Case of the Gulf States	<i>Adil Rasheed</i>	29
ESSAY		
Regional Aspirations in Europe and Post Colonial States: Case Studies from India and the United Kingdom	<i>Kanchan Pandey</i>	55
OPINION		
Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Eurasia: A Perspective from Russia	<i>Fedor Igorevich Arzhaev</i>	65
Politics of 'Sacred' in Barelvism: The Case of Tehreek-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP)	<i>Mohammed Shoaib Raza</i>	74
Pakistan's Eviction of Afghan Refugees as 'Illegal Foreigners': Causing A Humanitarian Crisis	<i>Zaheena Naqvi & Mohammad Waseem Malla</i>	81
The Withdrawal of Wheat-Subsidy Opens a Pandora's Box in Gilgit Baltistan	<i>Zainab Akhter</i>	88
The Tentacles of Violence: The Baloch Militancy and its Dire Consequences for Pakistan	<i>Josh Bowes</i>	93
Lashkar-e-Taiba's Fedayeen Missions: Need to Understand the Terror Dynamic	<i>Naveen Khan</i>	99
BOOK REVIEW		
Jihadism in Pakistan: Al-Qa'ida, Islamic State and the Local Militant by Antonio Giustozzi Reviewed by	<i>Syed Eesar Mehdi</i>	104
SATIRE		
Will the Political Circus in Pakistan lead to a Positive End state?	<i>Mohammad Shehzad</i>	107

Journal of Peace Studies

**FOUNDING EDITOR**

LATE PROF. RIYAZ PUNJABI

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

T. K. OOMMEN
SALEEM KIDWAI
RENÉ WADLOW

EDITORIAL BOARD

G BALACHANDRAN
NOOR A. BABA
AJAY DARSHAN BEHERA
ADIL RASHEED

EDITOR (HONY)

ASHOK BEHURIA

CONSULTING EDITOR (HONY)

SMRUTI S. PATTANAİK

ASST. EDITOR

PRATEEK JOSHI

DESIGN

BRINDA DATTA

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

SHEIKH KHALID JEHANGIR

International Centre for Peace Studies
Office Address:
157/9, Block 4, Second Floor, Kishangarh,
Vasant Kunj, New Delhi-1110070
Regd. Address:
C-11 Jangpura Extension
New Delhi - 110 014
Tel: (91-11) 49989230, +91-9810317972
<http://www.icpsnet.org>
Emails: cpsndjps@gmail.com;
jps@icpsnet.org

Printed at:

A.M. Offsetters
Kotla Mubarakpur, New Delhi
PIN- 110 003, TEL: 2463 2395

OVERSEAS OFFICES**UNITED KINGDOM**

196 CHURCH ROAD
NORTHOLT, MIDDX
UB5 5AE U.K.
PHONE: 0181-845, 8828

SUBSCRIPTION**In India**

Single Copy:	Rs. 150.00
Annual (Individual)	Rs. 600.00
(Institutional)	Rs. 1200.00

Overseas (Air Mail)

Single Copy:	US\$ 7.50 UK£4.50
Annual:	US\$ 45.00

SATIRE

Will the Political Circus in Pakistan lead to a Positive End State?

Nawaz's Return, Khan's misadventures, and the Army's Grand Illusion

Mohammad Shehzad*



Nawaz Sharif has made a comeback. In the judicial washing machine, he plans to twirl with new laws tailor-made for him, hoping they will cleanse away all the dirt he had gathered during his years in politics, and turn into an innocent babe with a clean slate, untainted by anything. Like him, many of our rulers (also known as establishment) have flaunted their resistance to common sense, akin to Rasputin's imperviousness to cyanide! The lessons of History, especially those engraved in our collective memories from our ignominious past, seem to elude them. They stand unyielding, refusing enlightenment for the future.

The 'Nawaz' Recipe

Our so-called 'genius' cook, the establishment, has been stuck with the Nawaz-recipe since the 1980s. Surprisingly, even with a single cook in the kitchen, the broth has managed to turn sour.

Back in the 1980s, the establishment was on the hunt for the perfect, obedient offspring of the land of the pure. Nawaz was the man of the moment, the accidental politician! He came across as a promising young businessman, running a steel factory He was drafted in. Little did he realize he was being chosen as a puppet of the army, who was expected to hang around with the army bosses like an

**Mohammad Shehzad is a student of Sociology and a freelance author/
English poet based in Islamabad. The views expressed are his own.
He can be reached at yamankalyan@gmail.com*

inanimate backpack, as long as he danced to the puppeteer's tune. It's like he traded his steel for strings, thinking he was the puppet master, but the army had a puppeteer-sized sense of humour.

Oh, the army, for sure, had a knack for playing hooky and using some creative crooks to bring Nawaz into the spotlight three times! Nawaz, in his own little world, thought he was the country's indispensable superhero, the Messiah himself. Naturally, even if he kept falling into and out of favour, the army kept reinstalling him as prime minister, like a character recurring in a TV show, who would just not quit.

With each reinstallation, Nawaz's ego grew bigger than a hot air balloon, and his fangs got so venomous you would think he was auditioning for the role of a villain in a superhero movie. He even had the audacity to bite the hands that fed him, and boy, his masters did give him a good old-fashioned beatdown.

Nawaz too much in hurry to relearn his lessons?

But guess what? Humiliation seems to be Nawaz's favourite flavour, because he is once again eagerly signing up for round four. Maybe he is hoping that his fourth

innings will be the most rewarding and he would employ all his experiences to make it an epic one. A lot will depend on, however, on how he marshals his ego and fashions his relationship with the m 'miltabishment'.

Ah, Nawaz, the eternal optimist! This time, he's strutting around with the confidence of a cat who has got the cream, convinced that the current army chief, Asim Munir, owes him a big time. Who wouldn't want to be in Nawaz's debt for now?

General Bajwa practically did the limbo dance for an extension, bending over backward like he was auditioning for Cirque du Soleil. But did Nawaz budge? Not a chance. It's like he's got a spine made of 'adamantium'. Could he have forgotten the ignominy he suffered under Bajwa's watch when the army under him was madly in love with Imran?

And now, there is Asim, who Nawaz thinks, will be his loyal steed. It is a bit like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto betting on Ziaul Haq's loyalty – we all know how that turned out, right? But Nawaz is the eternal romantic; he had the same rose-tinted glasses on, when he appointed Musharraf, thinking, "Ah, he's junior and a Mohajir; nothing could ever go

wrong." Well, we all know how that blockbuster drama ended – exile, courtesy, his very own appointee. There is always a twist in the tale as they say, especially when Pakistani army is the script writer!

Nawaz is in such a hurry that he cannot perhaps wait to learn a lesson or two from either the Imran episode or his brush with the *khakis* over the years. He must remember, General Bajwa was his pick, who together with General Faiz Hameed engineered massively to dislodge and disqualify him and install Imran Khan as prime minister, hoping the latter would behave and also do something to improve the economy, so that the army can have a bigger pie. Generals Bajwa and Faiz Hameed orchestrated a political symphony, orchestrating Khan's rise to the throne with the hope that he'd at least try to fix the economic mess. Little did they know they were unleashing a maestro of self-destruction.

The Khan Saga

Khan's approach was suicidal. He antagonized China, Saudi Arabia and the US. To be fair to Imran, he did nothing and that is why is not guilty, on the face of it. In fact, he happily subtlet his prime ministership to his *ruhani* (spiritual) guide-cum-wife,

Pinki Peerni alias Bushra Biwi, who did much of backseat driving, ultimately landing him up in a soup. As it is coming out now, she decided everything about him: what he would wear; who all he would meet and when; who he should pick for his cabinet and as chief ministers...etc. The list is endless. She even took full advantage of her control over Khan and engaged in trading gifts given to Khan as head of government, for a fortune, disregarding the laws. The tales of corruption Pinky Peerni and her friend Farah Gogi indulged in could any day provide material for a blockbuster in Holly-Bollywood.

The result of it all was there for all to see. The country's economy nosedived. General Bajwa tried to salvage the situation by initiating trade with India, but Khan's 'fool', Shah Mahmood Qureshi (his foreign minister) sabotaged the initiative giving a public statement– the same old mantra– no trade without Kashmir resolution! Ironically, the same Bajwa wanted to dislodge Nawaz for advocating trade and commercial engagement with India, despite non-resolution of the Kashmir issue.

Khan's strategy? Let's just say it's akin to a game of Russian (political) roulette. He managed to tick off the bigwigs— China, Saudi Arabia, and

the US— leaving the country’s fate dangling by a thread. With Pinki Peerni holding sway Khan was unafraid of anyone. A royal household drama was very much on.

Khan earned the monicker Taliban Khan when he was nominated by Therik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) as mediator in their talks with the government. He stood up to the reputation when the US forces withdrew from Afghanistan. He declared it as Taliban victory and opened the borders for Taliban militants to come and go from Pakistan whenever they wished. This badly tarnished Pakistan’s image. His daily activities as prime minister was to meet his massive social media team and applaud their reports, which mostly ridiculed his opponents.

Forget about high-level meetings or running the country; Khan’s main gig was applauding his social media team’s daily reports. You know, the ones expertly crafted to roast his opponents. Because who needs governance when you’ve got a meme war to win? All hail the social media strategy, the true ruler behind the scenes! He did not want to explore any possibility of any dialogue with any opposition leader and branded them all as ‘chors’ (thieves). That his own wife was also engaged in

thievery of the worse kind escaped his attention, or as some would claim he ignored it as acceptable, because his spiritual guide ‘Pinky Peerni’ could do no wrong. Nor could he.

Khan’s social media stardom soared to the heights of his own delusions. Convinced he was the supreme leader, he decided to play disobedient with the army chief. When both so-called ‘friends’ and ‘masters’ were thoroughly ticked off, the army hit the panic button and booted Khan out. Turns out, the castle Khan was building was made of sand, and a single, well-aimed kick from a long boot sent it crumbling.

In a fit of frustration, Khan commanded his minions to attack state institutions. They took a swing at GHQ and even decided to redecorate the corps commander Lahore’s residence. That, my friends, was the straw that they thought would break the army’s back.

Infallible Khan and his Fallible Team

His loyal followers— Allah bless their misguided hearts— got themselves arrested. And what did the selfish Khan do for them? Absolutely nothing. They were left to fend for themselves in legal limbo, while Khan continued his

grandstanding. Who the hell knew that blindly following a sandcastle architect would land you behind bars? Blinded by Khan's charisma, carefully curated by the deep state for over a decade, now they know, they were following an erring human rather than an infallible God. Some of his followers had deeply believed in him (and continue to do so) as the alternative to self-serving politicians they had seen during the last 70 years. Most of them (read opportunists) however saw in him an easy ladder to success. These are the ones—many of these opportunists, the so-called 'electables' (euphemistically speaking)—have been amenable to pressure from the 'invisible political engineers' to desert Khan. They have gone in all directions: quit politics, joined other parties and vilified Khan and Bushra Biwi in orchestrated media shows, which also does not show the media in good light.

Oh, Khan, the misunderstood angel of the jailhouse! Following his short romance with the 'boys' and his addiction to 'power', he is practically living his dream behind bars! Forget orange jumpsuits and iron beds—this guy gets organic chicken feasts, a widescreen TV that could make your living room jealous, and a chamber so cosy it would make Hitler's last days in the bunker look like roughing it up in the wilderness.

Is the Khan episode over?

Why is Khan being feted in jail? Well, because the army, in all its wisdom, knows that his popularity has not tanked despite (controlled) revelations after revelations about misuse of power by Khan and his coterie. Frankenstein now knows the monster has gone out his control and Khan would, even if he is not allowed to run for elections, remain a major political force with greater nuisance potential (remember 9 May!) than any other political leaders in Pakistan today.

They are also not quite sure when they will grow tired of Nawaz. And when that day comes, Khan, the nation's reluctant saviour, will rise from his centrally heated chamber, ready to rescue us all. Nawaz got a whopping four chances; but Khan is just warming up—three more to go! It is almost like a game of musical chairs: Will Khan get the golden ticket to lead again? Stay tuned, folks!

Courtesy, the army's unofficial mouthpieces—the writers, journalists, anchors, and drawing-room intellectuals—the nation has been served a crystal-clear message: elections will happen like clockwork; and brace yourselves—Nawaz Sharif is gearing up for round four as prime minister. All the legal hurdles

will be taken care of. No genius, labeled an absconder, would trade luxury at Avon Fields in London for a 'delightful' stay in Pakistani jails. That would be too illogical, wouldn't it?

The question is, if the Nawaz is the prime minister for sure, why to spend a fortune on a dummy election? Let it be selection. It will save us— the taxpayers— some money that we can use to buy bread. Here's a thought-provoker: If we're absolutely certain that Nawaz has the prime minister's seat on speed dial, why bother with this extravagant charade they call an election? Let's just cut to the chase and call it what it is – selection. Think about the savings, folks! We, the taxpayers, could use that extra cash to, you know, buy actual necessities like bread. What a revolutionary concept!

Hybrid or no hybrid, it's the Army Stupid!

Whether Khan, Nawaz or anyone from the Bhutto's party win the elections and form the government, the country is ruled by the army. The problem, however, is that the army is looking for a cover. It wants a democratic charade. This is necessary to legitimize its unconstitutional sins. It knows that politicians are politicians. They have to woo their

voters. When they find themselves in office, they start dreaming about the 'functional' and 'real' democracy in which the army is subservient to the politicians. They assert themselves (perhaps in good faith). Like Nawaz who tried to open trade and travel between India and Pakistan and the army rewarded him with Kargil in 1999 and later in 2014, when he travelled to Delhi to attend Modi's swearing in, and the army teamed up with Imran Khan and the judiciary to dislodge him from power! Look at Imran's overreach. He too forgot that he had to operate within the limits set on him by the army. He messed it up big time. See, where he is today?

The politicians, those seasoned actors in the drama of governance, charm the voters and promise them the moon. Once they are voted to power, they feel they are there to deepen the roots of democracy and in the classical sense, seek to enforce civilian control over the army. Pakistani society has thrown up a different model of democracy perhaps, where a 'hybridity' is the norm. It may change its form but shared control between the entrenched deep state and the seasonally elected political leadership is the stuff of which Pakistani democracy is made.

What do the people want?

Common people of Pakistan are not concerned whether country is under the Raj of a military dictator or democracy. The situation has become so bad that their first priority is food, shelter and basic facilities like electricity, fuel, etc. Education comes much later. People are committing suicide out of poverty. On the other hand, the Taliban, both the Afghans and Pakistani are emerging as a force that can challenge the army. In fact, the army has become used to luxury and comfort. Fighting can disturb their luxurious life. Trust me they can multiply their luxuries by clearing the mess they have created. The first step is, open trade and travel between India. Stop creating a fake enemy like India which never attacked us. It had become a nuclear power years before us. If it wanted to annihilate us, it would have done so soon after acquiring nuclear weapons. We started the first Jihad in 1948, then the war of 1965 as well as Kargil. The 71 war was our own folly that broke the country apart.

The common folk of Pakistan wouldn't care less if they're under a military dictator's thumb or wrapped up in the illusion of democracy. Their primary concerns? Food, shelter, and, basic necessities

like electricity and fuel. Education? Well, that's more like a distant dream.

Meanwhile, people are bidding farewell to 'life' itself. They are victims of endemic poverty which has become their best buddy. Education and healthcare systems are in disarray. Inflation is at an all-time high. Economy is tottering on its last legs. And what is happening on the Taliban (both Afghan and Pakistani) front? They are fast evolving into a force that could give the army a run for its luxurious lifestyle. Let's face it, the army has developed a taste for the high life, and heaven forbid anything disrupt that comfort. But can they rein the Taliban in? Or have they (the Taliban) too run out of their control like Khan?

What could the Invisibles do?

Here's a tip for those running the army: if they want to upgrade their lifestyle, they might want to start by ending the mess they've created. Step one? Open up trade and travel with India. Don't stuff the head of docile Pakistanis with imaginary enemies; India's been a nuclear power for ages. We joined the suicidal race; look where we are today? We are literally eating grass


SATIRE: WILL THE POLITICAL CIRCUS IN PAKISTAN
LEAD TO A POSITIVE END STATE?

while possessing the bomb. We are wasting more resources trying our hand on miniaturized bombs. Who shall we use it on? If Pakistan is flaunting itself as a country to safeguard the interests of Muslims, aren't there as many Muslims in India as there are in Pakistan? Moreover, has it deterred India from conducting its surgical strikes and Op Balakote? Perhaps, if it would have wanted us gone, it could have happened ages ago. Remember the good old Jihads and wars? We have initiated four wars and multiple low intensity wars with India for last 77 years and gotten nothing. We lost East Pakistan which became Bangladesh and its per capita income has superseded ours. We created our army of believers who now consider our army *munafiqeen* (apostates), hence *wajibul qatal* (fit to be eliminated). Our consistent attempt to hurt India has recoiled on us. It is time to let Nawaz or whosoever wants to bury the hatchet with India attempt peace and reconciliation with India.

We have to 'live' to fight with India on all the parameters that it has excelled in, which has forced the world to woo India today. Our unstated policy to fight for the so-called rights of the Kashmiris to the last Kashmiri has to be halted. Poor Kashmiris are suffering because of

the clash between the two countries. If we stop our jihadis, the clash would stop; the Kashmiris can breathe easy, if we really care for them. Any solution that can soften up the 'line' controlled by the armies on both sides (call it by any name) and use Kashmir as a bridge rather than as a divide, is welcome. Musharraf, the failed General of Kargil, had finally attempted it. Both the governments of India and Pakistan must grant ideal self-rule to people in the territories under their control and underwrite peace and tranquility to them. This will be a boon for Pakistan and the region.

Come elections, we should expect high decibel promises to save Pakistan from the impending economic doom. The less we hear about politicians taking it out full-throated on each other the better. The people know they are all cut from the same cloth. Those manning the army and the judiciary are mortals too, prone to commit errors. They will have to find a way of coming together to rescue Pakistan from the abyss it is already in. Only one of them cannot do it. As a fellow Pakistani, one can only dream about that 'end-state'. All Pakistanis should have a reality check on themselves and vote in a manner that can make it happen.



Note for readers and subscribers

We are happy to inform you that from January 2009 we have introduced the system of peer review of articles to ensure quality of publications and improve the scholarly value of our journal. We have a renowned group of scholars and academicians associated with our Centre and they are helping us in this process. We are grateful to them for their kind support and cooperation.

We would request our readers and subscribers to take note of these changes and we would, as ever, encourage them to send in research articles for publication to us. The manuscripts of research papers submitted for publication should be neatly typed in double space and the length of the papers should be ideally between 3,000-5000 words including the footnotes. They should contain an abstract and a short introduction of the author. The authors should use Harvard style for their references. The articles can be sent to us in an electronic format, (Ms Word 2003 or above format) also. For detailed guidelines they may send their queries to us in the following address.

Journal of Peace Studies Research Section

Emails: cpsndjps@gmail.com, jps@icpsnet.org

Registered with the Registrar of Newspapers
RNI No. 57199/93



INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR PEACE STUDIES

C-11, Jangpura Extension,
New Delhi – 110 014, INDIA

Tel: (91-11) 49989230

Websites: <http://www.icpsnet.org> (Main),
www.icpsorg.com (Kashmir chapter)

Emails: cpsndjps@gmail.com, jps@icpsnet.org