Necropolitical Cultural Genocide and Exilic Bodies: A Critical Analysis of selected Fictions about Waziristan

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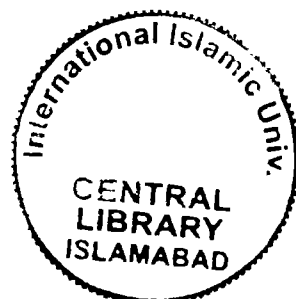Supervisor:

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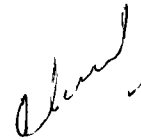
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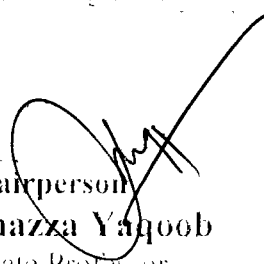Professor, Fatima Jinnah Women
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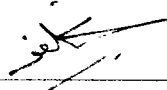Department of English , IIUI

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Necropolitical Cultural Genocide and Exilic Bodies: A Critical

Analysis of selected Fictions about Waziristan

By

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Registration No. 468/FLL/MSENG/F17

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis "Necropolitical Cultural Genocide and Exilic Bodies: A critical analysis

of the fictions about Waziristan" submitted in the partial fulfillment of MPhil degree is my own

and is carried out under the supervision of Dr. Saiyma Aslam. I certify that this work contains no

material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree at this or any other

educational institutions. To the best of my knowledge and belief, I hereby declare that this

research contains no material previously published or written by any other person except where

due references has been made in the text.

Signature

Zahida Younas

DEDICATION

Dedicated to the Victims of War

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First, I owe my gratefulness to Allah, who has bestowed me with courage and strength for the successful completion of this work. After that, my deepest and sincere gratefulness goes to my respected supervisor Dr. Saiyma Aslam. I am thankful for her guidance, instructive criticism and her enlightened views during my thesis writing.

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Thank You

Zahida Younas

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ABSTRACT

The present study is carried out to see the nature of continuous war in Waziristan and its outcome in the form of physical, ecological, cultural genocide and Pashtuns exile. The research focuses on the emerging exilic communities that cannot be referred to simply as immigrants or refugees. In this research, I study these exilic communities as mentally uprooted persons who feel exiled upon the transformation of the ancestral land and elimination of the customary ethos. For that purpose, my research probes into the fiction about Waziristan including *Cheegha: The Call from Waziristan, the Last Outpost* (2014) by Ghulam Qadir Khan Daur and *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* (2013) by Fatima Bhutto. Many researches have been carried out to explore the notion of exile in terms of forced migration. However, this research is an attempt to explore the ways whereby cultural erosion and alteration in the ancestral geography lead to exilic feelings in the tribal Pashtun community of Waziristan. To accomplish this, the present study aims at analyzing the notions of Necropolitics, Cultural Genocide, Ecocide and Exile offered by the numerous theorists on the related areas such as Achille Mbembe, Raphael Lemkin, Adam Jones, Lawrence Davidson, Elisa Novic, Alex Alvarez, Hamid Naficy, Liisa Helene Malkki and Edward Said. In forming the connection among Necropolitics, cultural genocide, ecocide and exile these phenomena, I bring to light the case of Waziristan whose inhabitants are the constant sufferers of war. For that, I give an elaborate account of how the cultural genocide of Pashtunwali and physical genocide of Pashtuns mark a grave transformation in the ancestral land of tribal people.

Table of Contents

Glossary

Badal	Revenge
Ballodukky	Thanksgiving
Benangy	The one without honor/ dishonorable man
Cheegha	The immediate call to gather the people usually done through the beat of drum.
Dum	The one who strikes drum
Gowasht	Harvesting festival
Gulluno Nandara	Festival of flowers
Hujra	A guest room
Jirga	Assembly of the elders/ leaders to make Decisions
Marakas	Parleys/ councils of elders
Mashar	Elder
Milmestia	Hospitality
Nanawatey	Giving protection
Nang	Honourable
Namus	Sexual honor
Nangialay	An honorable/ respectable man
Nikkat	Monetary share of the tribe from forefathers
Panah	Protection/ giving protection and refuge

Introduction

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

The survival of cultural, social, and ecological patterns in the context of war has become increasingly important in the present age. Continuous war not only does irreparable damage to human life, but it also disrupts the very code of civilization and the ecology of a society. In this regard, the example of the continuous war in Waziristan is worth mentioning. Waziristan is a Pashtun majority area that has witnessed decades of war bringing physical and ecological destruction and, in particular, the destruction of the code of Pashtunwali. Zubair Shafeeq mentions that "Decades of war have not only cost us thousands of lives, but it has spiritually damaged our people and left behind an unfortunate, hostile culture" (Nordland). The tragic consequences of this continuous war form the core of my research, especially the havoc and destruction it has caused to man and nature, the cultural erosion that this has unleashed, and above all the exilic feelings manifest in the inhabitants who chose to still stay in this war-torn region.

Waziristan has been the center of the conflict since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. At the time of the Soviet invasion, America sided with the Afghans to become a superpower in order to defeat the Soviet Union and used its influence over its allies in this region. After 9/11, and under the scheme of war on terror, US and NATO forces have been infiltrating the Waziristan region in search of Al-Qaeda and terrorists. Different military operations were started here which contributed to making the situation worse. However, US-backed military strikes achieved a new level of pervasiveness and a "constant geo-spatial 'overwatch' " by the institutional eye (Chamayou 38) when drones were employed to target the terrorists. Launching drone strikes has been heralded as a strategy of counterterrorism and, as such, has become an effective tool through

which the USA's Necropolitical[1] logic of targeted killing is maintained. The USA considers it necessary to wage war on enemies for its national security and global peace which was threatened by terrorists who were thought to have found a haven in Waziristan. Unfortunately, the collateral damage unleashed as a result of this drone warfare has had a tremendous effect not only in the physical and ecological destruction but also in the form of cultural genocide. This has impacted the physical and cultural topography of Waziristan to such an extent that the psychological traces are borne by the inhabitants where they feel exiled in their homelands. Considering the complex and destructive repercussions of drone surveillance and strikes, my thesis only studies the impacts of this on the region and the people. For that matter, I study how physical genocide has not only lead to the death of the civilians but also the destruction of the infrastructure too. All this has had a tremendous impact also on the environment, hence my study of the ecocide too with reference to my selected texts in my first analysis chapter titled as "Necropolitical Ecocide." The physical and ecological genocide has compounded the rush towards cultural genocide too. My discussion in chapter third titled "Cultural Genocide and Exilic Bodies" explores the cultural genocide and creation of exilic feelings in the people still residing in Waziristan.

As evident from my take above, the term genocide, which connotes "death of the race", is very relevant when explaining the effect of war in Waziristan. In his book, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, Raphael Lemkin has traced the genealogy of the term "genocide". The term "genocide" is derived from the Greek and the Latin words 'genos' or 'genus' meaning race, 'cide' meaning killing (Lemkin 79). He also highlights the social, political, economic, cultural, physical, biological, moral and religious dimensions of genocide. Lemkin defines "physical genocide" as a strategy of "mass killing" (Lemkin 88) employed against the victims. Since 2004, America has

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[1] "The exercise of sovereign power with technologies of the surveillance, auditing, and management of populations" (Allison 119).

been employing drones in the tribal belt of Waziristan to target the Al-Qaeda militants, mentioning that their actions are *effective* and *legal* (The New York Times). However, these legal and effective actions have ended up in "indiscriminate and lethal violence mostly upon civilians" (Akbar and Gilani 124). From 2004 till now, 2000 to 4000 civilians have been killed, executed and exiled (Orozobekova 11). Drone strikes have become "a weapon of choice for the US in the 21st century" (Khan 21) through which the US government has been maintaining power over the life and death of tribal communities. Achille Mbembe connects this with imperium sovereignty, calling it "the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die" (11). In his formulation, necropower operates through the "material destruction of human bodies and population" (Mbembe 14). Deployment of the drones has nonetheless become one of the manifestations of the necropower in this regard.

Continuous insurgency in Waziristan, which is seemingly concerned with killing terrorists, has resulted not just in the massive killing of civilians but has also destroyed the environment of the native land. This ecocide, or the destruction of the environment, can be witnessed in the form of a change in weather patterns and the transformation of the native land altogether. Along with the necropolitical ecocide, cultural genocide can be seen as one of the strongest impacts of this continuous war. Lemkin theorizes that cultural genocide is the "disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups" (Hon 3). A report presented for the International Campaign of Tibet has defined the similar nature of the cultural genocide as any action that aims to deprive a group of their cultural values, ethnic identities, land or territories, violating the rights of the victimized group and any racial or ethnic discrimination of the targeted group (17). George E. Thinker writes in this respect, "cultural genocide can be defined as the effective destruction of

a people by systematically or systemically destroying, eroding, or undermining the integrity of the culture and system of values that defines a people and gives them life" (Kingston 65). Continuous insurgency in Waziristan has destroyed the code of *Pashtunwali* through the destruction of the native people's culture and traditional folkways. Waziristan is a tribal area famous for its tribal ethos. However, continuous war and a series of military operations have added to the deterioration of traditional customs and folkways in the targeted region. All the codes of Pashtunwali have been negatively affected by this war. The series of US military operations meant to hunt down terrorists have also impacted basic cultural institutions like *jirga* and *hujra* which have led to the weakening of the cultural codes like hospitality, festivals of flowers, activities related to the beat of drum, and many such activities. These codes of Pashtunwali are fading from the tribal society of Waziristan due to the continuous foreign intervention and drone warfare.

I argue that physical genocide, ecocide and cultural genocide are the factors that are leading to grave transformations in the ancestral land of the tribal people of Waziristan. This metamorphosis of the ancestral land can be witnessed in the form of climatic change, killing of wildlife and the elimination of the ancestral codes. In focusing on the problem of a metamorphosis of the ancestral land, I argue that ancestral land has always been the defining feature of life for tribal people, so the destruction of the physical geography has generated feelings of alienation and homelessness among the Pashtun people making them feel exilic in their own home. To tackle this, I draw upon several theoretical insights regarding the condition of exile. Janet Abu Lughod defines an exilic as the one who "is stranger in his own country" (Abu Lughod 63). Martha Kuwee Kumsa has managed to sketch a clear boundary between exile and home (Kumsa 485). In the same way, for Hamid Naficy, exile is the condition of "in-betweenness" (9), in which people feel strangers within as well as outside the boundaries of their homeland. In the selected texts, tribal

people also feel exiled within the boundaries of their homeland and want to move beyond these boundaries.

The present research revolves around this nature of war and its outcome that emerges in the form of exile. This thesis focuses explicitly on the emerging exilic communities that cannot be referred to simply as immigrants or refugees. In this research, I focus on these exilic communities as mentally uprooted persons who feel exiled as a result of the transformation of their ancestral land and the elimination of their customary ethos which is a result of this ongoing war on terror. For this particular purpose, my research probes into the fiction about Waziristan. Many researches have been carried out to explore the notion of exile in terms of forced migration. However, this research is an attempt to explore the ways whereby cultural erosion and alteration in the ancestral geography are leading to exilic feelings in the tribal Pashtun community of Waziristan. To accomplish this, I hope to illuminate an underlying relationship between Necropolitics, cultural genocide, ecocide and exile. In forming the connection among these phenomena, I will bring to light the case of Waziristan whose inhabitants are constantly suffering the effects of war. For that, I will first give an account of how the physical genocide of the Pashtuns and cultural genocide of Pashtunwali mark a grave transformation in the ancestral land of tribal people. After that, I will examine their situation under the critical lens of exile theory.

Statement of Problem

Waziristan has been facing the deadliest war since the arrival of the Russian invaders in the form of military operations, NATO and the US forces and finally the drone warfare. These multifarious combats have multifold physical, psychological, emotional and environmental impacts on the tribal people. This thesis explores how along with necropolitical genocide, continuous war has also resulted in the alteration of the ancestral land for the tribal community.

This can be witnessed in the form of climate change, killing of wildlife and elimination of the ancestral codes due to which tribal Pashtuns feel exiled within their homeland.

I am arguing here that exile is not necessarily the result of physical banishment, forced migration, or the expulsion from one's native country. It is not always based on the lived experiences of the physical displacement; it is also rooted in the feelings of cognitive displacement. One can feel exiled over the death of his culture and the transformation of his ancestral homeland. To deal with the expense of the matter, the present study aims at analyzing the notions of Necropolitics, Cultural Genocide, Ecocide and Exile as represented in my selected texts based on working definitions and theories offered by the numerous theorists on the related areas such as Achille Mbembe, Raphael Lemkin, Adam Jones, Lawrence Davidson, Elisa Novic, Alex Alvarez, Hamid Naficy, Liisa Helene Malkki and Edward Said. While focusing on the above-mentioned elements, this study aims at analyzing the various facets of continuous war in Waziristan and its resultant impacts on the tribal communities with the support of selected texts about Waziristan that include *Cheegha: The Call from Waziristan, the Last Outpost* (2014) by Ghulam Qadir Khan Daur and *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* (2013) by Fatima Bhutto.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study are given below.

1. How has the continuous unrest in Waziristan become a tool of Necropolitical physical genocide and ecocide of the tribal land as depicted in the selected texts?

2. In what ways does the continuous war lead to the cultural genocide of 'Pashtunwali'?

3. How do the selected texts manifest the exilic condition of the tribal Pashtuns upon the transformation of their ancestral land?

Methodology

The present study is based on the qualitative form of research and employs the technique of content analysis of the selected fiction about Waziristan. The MLA edition 8th is employed in the present study. All the available literature is meticulously reviewed, and a theoretical/ critical framework has been formulated in chapter two, which is implemented later on in the selected texts. Among the selected fiction, Ghulam Qadir Khan Daur's *Cheegha: The Call from Waziristan: The Last outpost* (2014) and Fatima Bhutto's *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* (2013) are the primary sources of data collection. For theory and critique, the primary sources of information will include following the theoretical books and articles: *Genocide* (2006) by Adam Jones, *Cultural Genocide* (2012) by Lawrence Davidson, *The Concept of Cultural Genocide* (2016) by Elisa Novic, *Government, Citizen and Genocide* (2001) by Alex Alvarez, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944) by Raphael Lemkin, *Necropolitics* (2003) by Achille Mbembe, *A Century of Genocide* (2003) by Eric D. Weitz, *Cultural Genocide and Asian State Peripheries* (2006) by Barry Sautman, *Reflection on Exile and Other Essay* by Edward Said, *The Making of Exile Culture* (1933) by Hamid Naficy, *Purity and Exile* (1995) by Liisa Helene Malkki, *The Environmental Consequences of War* (2005) by Jay E. Austin and Carl E. Bruch and *Thistle and Drone* (2013) by Akbar Ahmed. Among these Lemkin's notion of genocide, Mbembe's Necropolitics and Butler's notion of Exile serve the basis of the present study. The secondary sources of data will encompass the books, research articles, theses and dissertations, reviews, interviews and numerous accessible sources of information centering on the main theme required to be investigated in this regard.

Rationale of the Study

The rationale for undertaking the present study is to unveil the physical, cultural, environmental, and psychological impacts of continuous conflict in Waziristan. This study aims to give an insight into the disastrous impacts of the on-going turmoil on the tribal communities of Pakistan to provide a critical understanding of the human cost of the war on terror and to propagate the need to solve conflicts peacefully without effecting people, culture, and environment.

Tentative Chapterization

This thesis follows the following mode of sequencing.

First part of the thesis is an Introduction. This section aims to provide a brief overview of the topic area, statement of the problem, the research questions which form the basis of the analyses, methodology used in the present study and the organization of the thesis.

Chapter 1 is a review of all the available literature. It discusses the theoretical of the thesis. It provides a detailed overview of Necropolitics, cultural genocide and exile. All these elements are later on investigated in the analyses chapters.

Chapter 2 entitled "Necropolitical Ecocide" analyses the incidents of physical destruction of human bodies and destruction of the environment from the selected fictions by critically analyzing the theories related to the field of Necropolitics and Ecocide. It analyses that constant bombardment of drones has not only ended up in massive killing, but it has also destroyed the environment.

Chapter 3 "Cultural Genocide and Exilic Bodies" deals with the phenomenon of culture erosion and its outcome due to the continuous war in Waziristan. It offers a critical insight into how the

physical transformation of the native land makes native people feel estranged in their land. Keeping this in mind, this chapter seeks to analyze the effect of transformation of the original land in projection of the exilic feelings in the people of Waziristan.

Last part of the thesis outlines the findings and conclusions of the present research. It also talks about the recommendations for further research.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

1.1 Waziristan: Through the Annals of History

Waziristan is a mountainous territory sharing its northern border with Kurrum River, southern border with Gumal River and Western border with Afghanistan. Olaf Caroe has called this region the "Pathan province" (Caroe 390) as it is a home of nearly 3.5 million Pashtuns. Wazirs and Mehsuds are the two major tribes in Waziristan. Jamil Ahmed calls them "the two predatory tribes of Waziristan" (Ahmed 85). They share the same ancestry, but they are separate tribes of Waziristan. People of the Mehsuds' tribe in Waziristan prefer to live in the central block of mountains (Caroe 392) and seem to be always engaged in warfare against their cousins Wazirs (Caroe 392). Wazirs are known as "Darwesh Khel" (Caroe 393) and belong to one of the most important tribes as the whole region is named after the Wazir tribe. Both tribes of Waziristan are "warlike and turbulent, brave, tough, liberal, patriotic and exceptionally (socially) conservative with a vicious reputation as warriors" (Khayyam 144). Due to their ferocious nature, the Mehsud tribe of Waziristan is being termed as "wolves" and the Wazirs are being called as "leopard" of Waziristan (Ahmed 86).

Negotiation with these tribes of Waziristan has always been a problem for the ruling empire. It is because tribal people believe in their defined ethical codes of Pashtunwali. Pashtunwali is the tribal code of life practised by Pashtuns all over the world. It is the name of culture and civilization of the Pashtuns, which revolves around justice, hospitality, bravery, loyalty, righteousness, steadfastness, dignity and revenge. In Afghanistan, 9 million Pashtuns constitute 42% of the population, while Pakistan contains an additional 25.6 million Pashtuns

(Ross 11). They are divided into tribes, subtribes and clans. Despite being divided into groups, they are sharing a common code of honor, Pashtunwali. Thomas Barfield defined Pashtunwali as "This is a code of conduct that stresses personal autonomy and equality of political rights in a world of equals. Thus, it is more than a system of customary laws, it is a way of life that stresses honor above all else, including the acquisition of money or property" (5).

Customary laws prevailing in Waziristan include all the major tenets of Pashtunwali. These are hospitality, forgiveness, revenge, justice, bravery, loyalty, righteousness, faith, respect, pride, protection of women and honor. In his article "Afghan Customary Law and Its Relationship to Formal Judicial Institutions", Barfield has elaborated the concept of Pashtunwali. He talks about some of the major specific institutions of Pashtunwali. Among these are *melmastia* (hospitality), *badal* (revenge), personal honor (*ghayrat*), *nanawati* (sanctuary) and defense against insults by outsiders to the honor of the group or its women (*namus*) (Barfield 5). In addition to that, he emphasizes the role of *Jirga* (institute for resolving conflicts through tribal elders) in the life of tribal Pashtuns. Jonathan Amato has also agreed with the point regarding the specific institutions of Pashtunwali in "Tribes, Pashtunwali and How They Impact Reconciliation and Reintegration Efforts in Afghanistan". He delimits it to three main pillars. For him, "The three primary pillars of Pashtunwali are *badal*, or revenge, *melamstia*, or hospitality, and *nanawatia*, or refuge" (Amato 19). All these three pillars rest on the concept of *nang*, meaning honor - honor to protect the land, woman and property.

Bernt Glatzer has added to the idea of *Nang* in Pashtunwali. He mentions that *Nang* (idea of self-respect and honor) is the central element in Pashtunwali. A man is considered as *Nangialay*, if he "brings honour and fame to his tribe" (4). If a man fails to create such an image in society then he would be considered as *Benangy* (dishonorable). The idea of *nang* has also been

emphasized by Tom Ginsburg in his article "An Economic Interpretation of the Pashtunwali". Ginsburg has categorized the central elements in Pashtunwali under the major headings of honor and equality, institutions and norms of Pashtunwali. The idea of *nang* has been classified under the concept of honor and equality (95). It is important to maintain a "positive reputation" to be recognized as an honorable person in the tribal society (Ginsburg 96). Every person must preserve the honour of each other to maintain equality. Dishonoring evokes rage and aggression in the victimized party which leads to conflict. To resolve the conflict between two parties, *jirga* is settled. Jirga is the primary institution for resolving conflicts formed by the elders of the institutions. Jirga includes the elders of both the parties and then the conflict is resolved to maintain peace. Norms include all the other fundamentals of Pashtunwali i.e. hospitality, revenge, or submission, etc.

In the research "Human Geography in the Afghanistan – Pakistan Region: Undermining the Taliban using Traditional Pashtun Social Structures", John H. Cathell has described Pashtunwali as an uncompromising social code that places great value "on a communal sense of independence, justice, hospitality, forgiveness, and tolerance" (8). Report on "Afghanistan: Blood Feuds, Traditional Law (Pashtunwali) and Traditional Conflict Resolution" compiled by *Land Info* has defined Pashtunwali as "'doing Pashtu/being Pashtu" (6). Pashto here does not only refer to the native language of the tribal people rather it represents the whole way of life, including the customs and traditional mores of Pashtuns. Dignity, honor and shame are the central mechanisms of Pashtunwali. The honorable Pashtun man is considered as the one who can maintain the balance between *Tura* (sword) and *Aqal* (reason). *Tura* and *aql* "entail knowing when one should fight and draw one's sword and when one should show restraint and demonstrate care for the family and society" (LandInfo 8).

History witnesses that this region in Pakistan had defied many empires that wanted to get a hold of it. Be it the Mughals or Britishers, "no empire of which we have any record has ever succeeded in making subjects of the tribes of Waziristan" (Caroe 390). The land of Waziristan encountered the invading Mughals for the first time in the sixteenth century. During this period, Bahadur Shah, the prominent Mughal emperor, made many attempts to capture Waziristan, but he had to face the worst defeat from the Wazirs, Dawars and other Pashtuns of that area (Khyber.ORG). People of that area united against the Mughal emperor under the influence of the Roshniya movement. The movement was led by the Sufi scholar Bayazid Ansari. It was a religious movement which later raised into the Nationalist Movement. Bayazid Ansari, commonly known as Pir Roshan (the enlightened scholar), attempted to end the division among the different tribes and gathered them all on a single platform. Under the influence of his heavy teachings, they stood successful to resist the Mughal rule. In his book *The Pashtuns: The Unresolved Key to the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan*, Abu Baker Siddique noted that "The Roshnya movement would spearhead Pashtun resistance against the Mughals for nearly a century" (27). Ali Khan Mahsood writes in the praise of this movement as the very first movement which gathered Pakhtuns on the common platform and they participated as a nation. Under this movement "Pakhtun fought continuous wars against the slavery of the Mughals. Due to these reasons the Britishers also failed to subdue the Pakhtuns" (qtd. in Yaqubi 160)

Similarly, Britishers had always been unsuccessful in capturing this area. From 1849 to 1887, Britishers were compelled to adopt the policy of "noninterference" towards the tribal area (Rahman 179). This policy of non-interference was further extended during the viceroyship of Lansdowne and Elgin (Rahman 180). The British government always wanted to control the area by using the rationale of "peaceful penetration and civilization" (Rahman 185). However, they

never succeed in achieving those objectives. Their authority in the tribal Waziristan "extended only to the main road in the agency and hundred yards on either side of it as a reflection of the policy of indirect rule. Beyond that lay the world of *riwaj*, tribal customs and traditions. Unlike settled districts, agencies had no civil and criminal codes, taxes, rents, police or judicial or revenue officials" (Ahmed 59). It was not possible for the Britishers to control the tribal areas with their political tactics and they failed to achieve any kind of military occupation and control over the tribal land of Waziristan.

After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, Quaid-e-Azam held a consultation meeting with Alam Jan Mahsud, a leading elder in Waziristan, to discuss the fate of the tribal areas. He had adopted a respectful gesture towards the tribal area and ordered to withdraw any kind of military operation from the land of Waziristan. Quaid-e-Azam vowed that the government would adopt a respectful gesture towards their tribal system, their cultural and traditional ethos would be honored and respected, and would not alter these ethos without consulting them (Ahmed 62-63). Tribal areas were free to cherish their culture and they did not pay any taxes or rents. While speaking in one of the *jirgas*, Quaid-e-Azam declared, "we want to put you on your legs as self-respecting citizens who have the opportunities of fully developing and producing what is best in you and your land" (qtd. in Ahmed 63). After the words of Jinnah, any kind of political parties were forbidden, and Waziristan was "kept outside mainstream political and cultural developments" (Ahmed 64).

The first significant change in terms of political involvement was observed at the time of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. General Muhammad Zia-u- Haq retaliated to this with the call of Jihad against the godless allies. Saudia Arabia stood by Pakistan as it was considered an attack on the Islamic system. However, America played a very strong role in its political interest. Madrassas were established and zillions of dollars were spent for the promotion of arms and

ammunition to fight the Russian Army. In the meanwhile, with the first Soviet military troop moving into Afghanistan in 1979, thousands of refugees moved to Pakistan. This created a lot of disturbance as they were from a different culture. Land of Waziristan had turned into the melting pot of three diverse cultures. There were refugees from Afghanistan, Arab scholars from Saudia Arabia, and, of course, the local inhabitants of Waziristan. Arabs scholars took the responsibility of injecting the spirit of Jihad in the young minds of students of Madrassa. They began to define Islam in a more orthodox way. The leading authority was transferred from Maliks (elders of the village) to Mullahs.

In 1980, Russians left leaving behind large-scale destruction. Afghanistan was left alone when it was in desperate need to rebuild itself. In these hours of need, a group of people had emerged from Kandahar to maintain law and order in Afghanistan. They began to be known as "Taliban" from "talib" meaning "the student of the religious school i.e. madrassa" (Ahmed 67). Seemingly, they were approved as the well-wisher among the common mass. People began to accept their teachings but slowly and gradually the Talibans imposed unjustified limitations on the women and the minority groups. This chaos became the reason for the civil war in Afghanistan between "Pukhtun-dominated Taliban and Non-Pukhtun Nothern Alliance" (Ahmed 67).

In response to the consequences of the civil war, a lot of refugees rushed to Pakistan and took shelter in the plains of Waziristan during the 1980s and 1990s. It is estimated that nearly five million Afghans crossed the border. This escalated number of Afghan refugees made Waziristan a hub for the political game. It is said that refugees brought guns with themselves and now they were seen as a danger to society. Meanwhile, General Pervez Musharraf held the office of presidency in 2001. During Musharraf's presidency, four planes hit the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001. This incident opened a whole new array of debates regarding

the Talibans and terrorism in the history of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. Afghanistan and many other Muslim countries were being labeled as terrorist safe hubs by George W. Bush ("Selected Speeches of President George W. Bush" 67). Following the same lead, Waziristan was also mentioned as the "most dangerous place" by President George Barack Obama (Ahmed 48) for being a haven for Al-Qaeda militants who have been at the forefront of America's target.

Operation OEF (Operation Enduring Freedom) was initiated by the United State of America against the Taliban regime and Al-Qaida leaders in Afghanistan from North Waziristan in 2001. Pakistan took part by permitting "overflight and landing rights for U.S. military and intelligence units, allowed access to some Pakistani bases, provided intelligence and immigration information" (Jones and Fair 41). In June 2002, President Musharraf signed an agreement with Wazir tribal jirga and pledged that the "military would allow the tribesmen the opportunity to handle the situation themselves before taking any action against the wanted man" (Ahmed 69). In reply to that, the tribal community of Waziristan made it clear that "any military operation in the tribal areas would be tantamount to the declaration of war on the Pukhtun tribes" (Ahmed 69). Musharraf agreed on the stance that there would be no interruption in the land of Waziristan without the approval of tribal chieftains. However, the agreement did not last long as Pakistan was urged by America "to capture Taliban and Al-Qaeda members crossing its border" (Ahmed 69). Under the enormous pressure of America, Musharraf broke the agreement and initiated a series of military projects in Waziristan. Operation 'Al Mizan' was initiated focusing South Waziristan to target the second top leader of Al-Qaeda after Osama Bin Laden, Aymen al-Zawahiri. Under this, 'Operation Kalusha' targeted a large number of people from the Wazir tribe including civilians and some assumed al-Qaeda members. This operation took a start in mid-2002 and ended in 2006 (Mishra and Mishra 22).

In due course, George W. Bush had ordered a series of drone strikes over Waziristan to target specific groups of terrorists. This enraged tribal leaders at their best when they witnessed the national as well as international forces taking over their land. The matter was further fueled up by General Musharraf's decision of launching the 'Operation Silence' against Lal Masjid. The students and the head of Lal Masjid declared their support in the favor of Waziristan (Ahmed 71), and this was considered a threat to the government's authority. General Musharraf retaliated to this situation by launching the military raid against Lal Masjid in July 2007 in the hope to control the situation. However, this proved highly detrimental as seventy percent of its students belonged to tribal areas and NWFP. This caused huge rage in tribal people and the group of TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan) rose as a reprisal to that move of General Musharraf in December 2007 (Ahmed 71).

With the emergence of TTP, suicide bombing had become the order of the day in Pakistan. The leading figures of the TTP, Baitullah Mehsud and Fazullah, had already issued a threat against the government (Siddique 31). This culminated in the already existing tension between Musharraf and TTP. On January 24, 2008, the government launched 'Operation Zalzala' in the areas of Spinkai and Kotkai (South Waziristan) specifically "to capture or kill key individuals in Baitullah Mehsud's network" (Jones and Fair 60). The forces loyal to Baitullah Mehsud retaliated by fighting and using social media for uploading videos against the Pak Army. To deal with the sensitivity of the situation, Pak Army withdrew in May 2008 and failed to take the charge of the territory as many of the members of TTP left that area and infiltrated the other areas of FATA and NWFP. Pakistan security forces continued their search and launched some other operations like 'Operation Rah-e-Rast', 'Rah-e-Haq' and 'Sher Dil' against the members of Tehrik-e-Taliban in other areas of FATA and NWFP.

Betwixt intensifying violence, Barack Obama assumed the office of presidency on 20 January 2009, and within three days of his presidency drone targets had multiplied (Zenko). During the escalating drone violence, members of TTP held a strong hold on South Waziristan. To deal with that, Pakistani security forces launched the last and the biggest operation in October 2009. Before initiating 'Operation Rah-e-Nijat', the Pakistani government launched a minor operation during summer 2009 (Khan 135), which created huge rage and members of TTP responded by attacking Pakistani soldiers and Pakistan Army camp. By December 2009, Pak Security forces ordered the civilians to vacate the town on urgent notice and succeeded in regaining control over South Waziristan. This operation remained successful in dissembling TTP, but it created the problems like displacement. It is said that "almost 11,080 families and 80,000 individuals were registered as internally displaced persons in the camps established in the district of Tank and Dera Ismail Khan" (Khatwani and Abbasi 11).

1.2 Necropolitics, Physical Genocide and Waziristan

The above-narrated history has shown that the Pashtun tribal community has always been subject to political conflicts for so many decades. Russian involvement and civil war in Afghanistan initiated the reign of political violence in Waziristan. Since 2004, after the arrival of US and NATO forces, it has truly become a war zoned area. The ruthless killing has become the order of the day since then. The rapid use of military technology has resulted in massive killing. The deadly use of weapons formed a structure of power that assumes "all members of that category is a threat that must be eliminated by death" (Allinson 126). This necropolitical logic has been maintained through targeted killing throughout history.

Necropolitics as a field of study is first introduced by Achille Mbembe. Mbembe has drawn upon Foucault's conception of "biopower", which deals with the apparatuses of sovereign power and

surveillance over life. Necropolitics deals with the phenomenon of power over death instead. It deals with the ways that how power can be maintained and achieved through the distribution of death. It operates through the logic of racism, where the existence of one race is taken as threatening for the other race. Thus, the elimination of one race becomes necessary for the survival of the other race. It reduces one race to the status of an object, and they are merely taken as "objects" devoid of human subjective position. The example of Waziristan is worth mentioning in this regard. The prolonged war has necessitated the use of military technology which ruthlessly kills the opponents by transforming the "enemy into an object to be destroyed" (Allinson 117). The worst face of military technology can be witnessed in the form of drones. Under the ethics of Necropolitics, enemies are being targeted and killed ruthlessly, and drones exacerbate the magnitude of "indiscriminate killing" (Khan 22). In the article "The Necropolitics of Drones," Allinson juxtaposes the idea of the US drone program with the debates of Necropolitics and he assumes that both Necropolitics and drone campaign are the apparatuses of "racial distinction" for their "objectification of an enemy, their reduction to nonlife" (Allinson 117).

Necropolitics deals with those techniques through which genocidal activities and the killing practices of certain races are being justified, lending strong support to pernicious forms of racism. This allows us to understand the premise of genocide as genocide also deals with the topographies of killing. In the field of genocide, Raphael Lemkin is the first one to introduce the working definition of genocide. According to Lemkin, genocide is not only the mass killing of people but rather it shakes the whole foundation of the communal society. It is the well-organized plan of destructive actions whose sole objective is the disintegration of the socio-political institutions of language, culture, economy, religion of any national group and to threaten the dignity, security, health, and even lives of the targeted group (Lemkin np).

Here, Lemkin talks about the general disintegration of the communal institutions of any society. Adam Jones attempted to introduce the elements of genocide. After exploring the bulk of definitions related to the field of genocide, he comes up with his stance by explaining the agents, victims, goals, scales, strategies and intents of genocide. **Agents** are the "dominant groups", **victims** are the "social minorities", **goals** of genocide are held to be the "destruction/eradication of the victim group and/or its culture", **scales** involve a range of targeting measures of the victim group either "in its totality" or "part or a whole", and **strategies** are the "coordinated plan of different actions" (Jones 19-20). Interestingly, Jones has connected the idea of area bombing with the concept of genocide (Jones 24). For him, aerial bombing has always been carried out by the dominant groups. He mentions the example of the US in this regard that has always been involved in such warfare against many countries. Jones has regarded all warfare as an example of state promoted genocide. Alex Alvarez has also called genocide as "state perpetrated crime" (Alvarez 6). Alvarez noted that "Genocide is typically a formal or informal state policy, carried out by officials and representatives of that state" (Alvarez 6). Alvarez employed the expansive theorization of genocide by making it solely the political crime against the common masses. In genocide scholarship, this crime has always been understood as a synonym for mass killings, pogroms and ethnic cleansing. This has sufficiently described the concept of genocide as it is encapsulated by the UN General Assembly in the same way. It is mentioned in Article II that genocide should be taken as the "following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing

measures intended to prevent births within the group; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group ("Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide").

The frameworks mentioned above describe the crime of mass killing in the context of war. A thorough examination of the case of Waziristan reveals the diverse arenas around the physical destruction of human bodies. In this research, the strategies of killing have been limited to theories of Necropolitics and genocide. I will be further exploring this topic in detail in chapter three of the thesis.

1.3 Ecocide and Waziristan

The ongoing political violence in Waziristan has proved to be the major cause of the metamorphosis of the ancestral land for the tribal people. This metamorphosis can be witnessed in the form of the climatic change, extinction of the wildlife and elimination of cultural codes as mentioned in the previous section of this chapter. In this section, I will be focusing on the phenomenon of ecocide.

Besides the physical destruction of life, war has always been proven as the greatest tragedy in the form of ecocide. Ecocide typically refers to "the extensive destruction of ecosystems" (Anja et.al 4). This includes the environmental damage caused by the war or any other kind of political conflict. Massacres and killings are the most obvious manifestation of war, but the climate change and environmental damage caused during the war last longer. Ecocide has been itemized as a crime under the International Law Commission 1995. It is seriously postulated in Article 26 in the Yearbook of the International Law Commission that any "willful and serious damage to the environment was a fact of life not just for the present, but for future generations [...] certain kinds of environmental damage would unquestionably threaten international peace and security, such as

the deliberate detonation of nuclear explosives or pollution of entire rivers, and should be characterized as crimes against the peace and security of mankind" ("Yearbook Of The International Law Commission" 30). It has always been vigorously presented as hazardous for living beings as it poses a serious threat to the peace and stability of the harmonious environment. For this research, the implication of the ecocide approach is twofold. It caters to two environmental issues: climatic change and destruction of the wildlife. I will be particularly measuring the detrimental impacts of war technology and political strife in the form of ecocide or environmental destruction that results in the alteration of the ancestral land of the tribal people of Waziristan.

In the book *Environmental Consequences of the War*, Jay E. Austin and Carl E. Bruch have recounted numerous incidents of war in which environmental damage caused during wartime is evident. They have made it clear that military technology used during wartime can have a detrimental effect on the environment. By mentioning the examples of the Vietnam war, Gulf war, Kosovo conflicts, and such wars, they have spotlighted many environmental damages and the impact of the hi-tech technology on the wildlife including marine life triggered by the constant bombing (Austin and Bruch 1-5). It is evident from their work that the use of modern warfare technology can leave a hazardous impact on not only the human environment, but it can affect the marine life as the fuel used in the machinery during war pollutes water. Research entitled "The Military's Impacts on the Environment" undertaken by the International Peace Bureau of Geneva is also organized around similar principles. This research highlights many military excesses that contribute to the contamination of the physical environment. These military excesses include "pollution of the air, land, and water", "effects of armed conflict", "militarization of outer space", "nuclear weapons development and production" (3). In agreement with this, Saloume Bazyan has crucially analyzed the adverse effects of using war technology on the environment in his paper

"Environmental impact of war technology and prohibition processes". He documented certain incidents to demonstrate that warfare does not only remain limited to the battleground, rather it "affects both natural and human environments" (Bazyan 3). Its widespread effects can be witnessed in the form of the environmental "damages and pollutants which affect air, water, soil and wildlife [...] defoliation of the forests [...] contamination of water system [...] shortage of cooking fuel" (Bazyan 4). His research is effective in comprehending the large-scale environmental devastations brought about by modern warfare. UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon also opined, "The environment has long been a silent casualty of war and armed conflict. From the contamination of land and the destruction of forests to the plunder of natural resources and the collapse of management systems, the environmental consequences of war are often widespread and devastating" (Mathiesen)

To analyze these stances, it is understandable that the main consequence of war is far beyond the realm of just killing the human bodies and in the environmental wreckage and extinction of wildlife. Alessandra Potenza expresses her agony in this regard by putting that "When humans kill each other in war, wildlife dies too" because "animals are killed by bombs or chemicals or hunted to feed soldiers. Wars also make it hard for governments and nonprofit organizations to implement or continue conservation programs" (Potenza). Economic unsustainability during the war eventually results in the breakdown of food and sanitary markets which affect the wildlife. This issue has been flagged up in the article, "Effects of War and Civil Strife on Wildlife and Wildlife Habitat" by Dudley et.al. They argue that war and civil strife exacerbate the threat to wildlife precisely because of the breakdown of food-marketing (326). Weapons used in war or any other political incongruity are "threats to more than just human lives and livelihoods: some diseases associated with bioweapons may present a real danger to wildlife

and floral biodiversity" (Dudley et al. 325). Political conflicts upset biodiversity hotspots as mentioned by Ed Yong in *The Atlantic* "It affects the ability, accountability, and motivation of governments to fulfill their conservation duties. It disturbs the fabric of local societies by increasing poverty and displacing people into protected areas where they may harvest wildlife. It leads to the withdrawal of NGOs. It increases problems with law enforcement, which might lead to increases in poaching" (Yong).

Escalated use of military weapons is a grave threat to the ecology and biodiversity. Extinction of the wildlife and severe climatic change are the explicit repercussions of war and political strife. This happens along with the displacement, construction of the refugee camps, and the problems like homelessness that are also some of the unfavorable outcomes of the war. A M Mannion's research "The Environmental Impact of War and Terrorism" underlines the direct and the indirect impacts of war. He categorizes "defoliation and the ecosystem destruction" (Mannion 2) under the rubric of the direct impact and the construction of the refugee camps and alike as the indirect impacts of war (2). In the same way, some other ecological scholars have also identified the problems like homelessness, displacement of people, refugee encampment and loss of families as the worst consequences of the war (Bazyan 3; The Atlantic; Dudley et. al 326). Therefore besides exploring the deadly impacts of war on ecological change, one of the primary concerns of this research is to also focus on the aftermath of this change.

1.4 Cultural Genocide and Tribalism

The study of Necropolitics necessitates the study of different techniques of genocide in the context of war, however, even this approach is insufficient to recognize the dilemma of the cultural erosion, which is particularly threatened during war or any other political conflict. I will situate my discussion within this framework with special reference to Waziristan. As mentioned before

that Waziristan has always been a fulcrum for many national and international state policies, I argue further that this has impacted the land in many ways. Waziristan that was once considered by British General Staff as the "best Umpires in the world" (Ahmed 59) because of its codes and customs has undergone the process of degeneration. The prolonged war has not only caused physical damage, but it has also deteriorated the culture of Pashtunwali practiced in Waziristan for ages. Along with massive physical genocide, the constant war has also contributed to the phenomenon of cultural genocide. Cultural genocide as a category of research was first brought to the limelight by Lemkin. In his book, Lemkin has stated different categories of genocide i.e. social, political, economic, cultural, physical, biological, moral and religious (82-89). He takes cultural genocide as the disintegration of the cultural patterns of any area. For him, cultural genocide is the prevention of the "expression of the national spirit" and control of other "cultural activities" (84). These cultural activities include all the institutions by which a culture can be promoted and hence attacking those institutions is tantamount to genocide. These institutions could be cultural sites, libraries, educational institutions and religious institutions. Report presented by ICT (International Campaign for Tibet) has also proposed a similar stance as, according to this report, cultural genocide is "destroying, or preventing the use of, libraries, museums, schools, historical monuments, places of worship or other cultural institutions and objects of the group" (p. 17). Elisa Novic's seminal work *The Concept of the Cultural Genocide: An International Law Perspective* has introduced certain neologisms for the institutional genocide, these are Linguicide (Elimination of language), Libricide (destruction of books, etc), Eliticide (killing of leadership), Indiginicide (killing indigenous people) (Novic 6-7). Novic's prolific categorization sheds light on the process of genocide. Institutions like libraries, historical places, or schools are hubs for the protection and

promotion of culture. From this perspective, attacking these institutions constitute an act of genocide.

George E. Thinker writes in this respect that "cultural genocide can be defined as the effective destruction of a people by systematically or systemically destroying, eroding, or undermining the integrity of the culture and system of values that defines a people and gives them life" (Thinker quoted in Kingston 65). Thinker's postulation offers a twofold process of the genocidal commotion. Firstly, genocide contributes to the process of the consummated destruction of any group. Secondly, it is a planned activity often commenced by a powerful military force. United Nations declared certain terms and conditions for the genocide in Article 7 about the rights of indigenous people. The draft stated that if the state would commit any of the following crimes, it would be considered as cultural genocide. These include;

a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values, or ethnic identities;

b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;

c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;

d) Any form of forced assimilations or integration;

e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them ("60 Years of Chinese Misrule/Arguing Cultural Genocide in Tibet" 16).

Following this lead, a report published under the ICT (International Campaign for Tibet) has proposed its working definition of Cultural Genocide. The report dictates the following conditions:

a. Any deliberate act committed with the intent to destroy the language, religion or culture of a national, racial or religious group on grounds of national or racial origin or religious belief such as:

b. Any action with the aim or effect of depriving the targeted group of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities, including but not limited to:

    i. Prohibiting the use of the language of the group in daily intercourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group;

    ii. Destroying, or preventing the use of, libraries, museums, schools, historical monuments, places of worship or other cultural institutions and objects of the group;

c. Any action with the aim or effect of dispossessing the targeted group of their lands, territories or resources;

d. Any form of forced population transfer with the aim or effect of violating or undermining any rights of the targeted group;

e. Any form of forced assimilation or integration;

f. Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against the targeted group ("60 Years of Chinese Misrule/Arguing Cultural Genocide in Tibet" 17).

These conditions have great relevance in understanding the concept of Ethnocide which is the combination of the prefix "ethno" meaning "nation" and suffix "cide" meaning of "killing". Ethnocide in this way can be referred to as the elimination of any ethnic race. In the thesis "The Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage as a Tool for Ethnocide: The Case of Kuwait," Brittany Neihardt has parallelized the concept of cultural genocide with ethnocide. She has taken the idea of "intentional destruction of cultural heritage" (Neihardt 3) as an instance of ethnocide and cultural genocide. She explains cultural genocide as "psychological genocide that attack(ed) the core of a group: its culture" (Neihardt 3). James W. Nickel has also brought the two terminologies cultural genocide and ethnocide on common ground. He argues in this regard that "genocide involves the physical elimination of the group, whereas ethnocide could, in principle, leave all of the members of the group alive" (Nickel 84) but destroys traditional means of the ethnic group. He illustrates that "typical ways of destroying a group's culture and way of life include prohibiting cultural and religious practices, preventing the use of the group's language and historic names, and dividing and scattering a group" (Nickel 86). Barry Sautman views this situation as one of the significant conditions for cultural genocide as for him cultural genocide includes the "erosion of the central elements of culture especially language and religion" (2).

In its current usage, it is evident that cultural genocide is the state-sponsored policy especially undertaken to attack the peripheral culture. The principal concern here is to examine the policies that become the cause of this attack. In this respect, Adam Jones has adopted the strategic approach in his book *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction* to analyze the different features that are intricately linked with genocide. He has connected it with maneuvers of imperialism, colonization and the like. For him, colonization is one of the most obvious faces of imperialism interwoven with the concept of genocide in three different dimensions; viz. settler colonialism,

neo-colonialism and internal colonialism respectively (39). Settler colonialism refers to "displacement and occupation of the land and is often linked to genocide against indigenous peoples" (Jones 40). Neo-colonialism signifies the regime in which "formal political rule (by the colonizers) is abandoned" but the hegemony of the colonizers is maintained over the colonized nation through social, cultural and political control (Jones 40). Similarly, internal colonialism refers to the exploitation and control of the peripheral regions by the core regions of the country (40). After tracing these notional distinctions, cultural genocide can formally be linked with the typical logic of "othering" predominantly discernible in the western discourse of colonialism. Benedict Anderson has offered this insight by connecting the idea of colonialism with the notion of othering. For him "genocides are distinguished by a process of "othering" in which the boundaries of an imagined community are reshaped in such a manner that a previously "included" group (albeit often included only tangentially) is ideologically recast (almost always in dehumanizing rhetoric) as being outside the community, as a threatening and dangerous "other"— whether racial, political, ethnic, religious, economic, and so on—that must be annihilated" (Hinton 6).

Annihilation of the indigenous cultural pattern and the indigenous people has continually been the pervasive mark in the field of cultural genocide. Alexander Laban Hinton thus calls genocide "political violence" (6), violence in which the "organizers and planners must have a racist or discriminatory motive, that is, a genocidal motive, taken as whole. Where this is lacking, the crime cannot be genocide" (Sautman 8). In the light of given scholarly debates, it is evident that cultural genocide is a state-directed policy under the influence of the foreign forces against the oppositional group with the intent to destroy their ways of life. Lawrence Davidson agrees with this by asserting that, if "natural localness is a starting point for group identity and cultural

solidarity" of feared out-group then powerful groups may see it "logical to attempt to destroy the foundation of localness of these enemies" (19). These multiple conditions that devise the phenomenon of genocide are very evident in Ghulam Qadir Khan's *Cheegha* and Fatima Bhutto's *Shadow of the Crescent Moon*, which is explored in chapter three by the researcher.

1.5 Transfiguration of the Indigenous Land and Exile

So far, I have discussed the phenomenon of necropolitical genocide, cultural genocide and ecocide in the context of war in Waziristan. I link this scenario up with the kinds of subjectivities that are being emerged as a result of these conflicts. Necropolitical cultural genocide in Waziristan has become the reason for the alteration of the native land. This metamorphosis of the ancestral land generates feelings of homelessness and alienation which makes the people of Waziristan exiled and displaced in their own home. While debating the concept of home here, it is necessary to mention that home for the native people is not merely a piece of land but they cherish a deep spiritual relationship with the land as mentioned by José R. Martínez Cobo in the report on *Study on the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations*: "It is essential to know and understand the deeply spiritual special relationship between indigenous peoples and their land as basic to their existence as such and to all their beliefs, customs, traditions and culture... for such people, the land is not merely a possession and a means of production... Their land is not a commodity which can be acquired, but a material element to be enjoyed freely" (np). However, this deep "sacred or spiritual" relationship with the home has got disturbed due to constant political strife in Waziristan ("Indigenous and the Tribal People Rights in Practice" 91). As a result of this, native people of Waziristan have begun to feel uprooted and displaced from their homes. Some of them have migrated from their land as refugees and others stay at home in a state of disassociation and exile. It is important to note that exile here does not signify the state of physical banishment

rather it signifies the state of disassociation from the surroundings while living within the home. In this way, it does not necessarily entail the crossing of boundaries instead it implies that how one feels exiled within the boundaries of the home upon the weakening of connection with the native land.

The centrality of this concept is embedded in the scholarship of diaspora and exile. Diaspora refers to the concept of settlement and new connections developed in the foreign land consequent to the migration while, on the other hand, exile connotes the meanings of forceful or chosen banishment. In both conditions, feelings of displacement are evident which will be my nodal point throughout the research. For this purpose, I will be using these terminologies interchangeably.

As discussed before that war has always been a vigorous force behind voluntary and involuntary displacement. By voluntary displacement, I refer to people who deliberately choose to stay away from their birthplace to escape violence during political disturbance. Kim D Butler takes it as a voluntary exile. In his article, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse," he mentions exile as one of the typos of diaspora and gives the distinction between forced and voluntary exile. Forced exile includes the exile of those people who are expelled by force and have no chance to return home whereas those who leave their home voluntarily due to any political upset lie in the category of voluntary exiled people (Butler 201). Considering this nature of exile, voluntary exile has also been called "self-imposed exile" by Mr. Datta G. Sawant. In his article "Narration of Self-imposed Exile in Bhalchandra Nemade's *The Hindu; A Prosperous Obstruction of Living*," Datta G. Sawant has mentioned self-imposed exile as a condition in which a person lives with "longings and feeling of belonging"(4) for the home and he can easily return to home whenever he chooses to return. On

the other hand, involuntary displacement involves the state of the unwilling departure from the home. It usually happens because of the forced migration during political unrest.

There is yet another category of exile, who cannot claim their authority on either land; neither on their homeland nor on the host land. They are people who can rightly be labeled as the ones who occupy the "in-between" position. In her article, "Exile and Liminality: Experience between Cultures and Identities," Eva Eglaja-Kristsone has bridged this concept of in between-ness with the concept of liminality to negotiate the idea that exilic communities are always in the situation of "being neither here [...] nor there" (146). It is a "prolonged liminal phase and inability to integrate neither into the host society nor to establish apolitical and cultural contacts with homeland" (Kristsone 155).

Exile, either voluntary or involuntary, always carries the burden of exilic desires. By exilic desires, I imply the desire to return to the original home. People who belong to this category of exile are always in an ambivalent state accompanied by some sense of loss. Taking this lead, I suggest that exile is not only the displacement but rather it could be the result of dissociation from the permanent identity markers i.e. ancestral codes, cultural ethos and traditional customs. Mutation of the ancestral land and cessation of the cultural ethos are two of the major reasons that make the native inhabitants feel alienated in the original homeland. Thus, they become nostalgic and start longing for their old ancestral land, the land without war.

It is suggested in the article "Exile at Home: Alienation in Rehman Rashid's *A Malaysian Journey*" that "exile is not only the condition of one being separated physically from their homeland, it could also occur as a state of mind that one feels when they are exiled from their "culture, language and traditions" (Lin and Yahya 10). Lin and Yahya stress the importance of the feelings of exile that how one feels in a state of perpetual exile as a result of deterioration of cultural

ethos. It is not only the physical displacement, but it refers to the feelings of mental displacement when one no longer feels connected with his or her identity markers. These feelings are being represented as "alienation" in the discourse of diaspora and exile. Alienation has been mentioned as one of the necessary conditions for internal exile. Amit Shankar Saha has pointed out the internal exile as one of "most damning of all exiles" (Saha 190). In his article "Exile Literature and the Diasporic Indian Writer," he indicates that internally exiled communities are those who "stay in their own country and yet are alienated" (Saha 190). This alienation is the result of experiencing a constant rift between their centuries-old traditions and the ancestral land.

For this research, I argue that the transformation of land is the reason that makes native people feel internally exiled. They no longer feel connected with the true spirit of the land. They want to establish their relationship with the old land through the scarps of memories. In the words of Paul Gilroy, they want to connect to the "roots" through the "routes" of nostalgic reminiscences. This nostalgia is embedded in their desires to reconnect and return to their old ancestral land. The nostalgic desire is exquisitely captured by Hamid Naficy in his book *The Making of Exile Culture* in the following words;

> Separation from the earth—that dry, cruel, and yet nurturing earth of the homeland; separation from the fragrance of spices in the bazaars and from the smell of urine on the mud walls outside mosques; separation from the native language and the control one has in using it—a control that is gradually diminishing; separation from childhood and from the places of childhood; separation from mother, the mother and the model of all separations; separation from father, brothers, and sisters— strands that become thinner and more fragile from this position of exile. (xiii)

Nostalgia plays a very important role here. The dispersed position of the exilic communities reminds them of their old ancestral land, the land without war. Romanticizing ancestral land is very evident in Robin Cohen's theorization. In his article, "Diaspora and the State: From Victims to Challengers," Cohen highlights "an idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity" (8) as one of the strongest features in the life of the diaspora/ exile communities. They tend to maintain their relationship with the country of the desire through their memories. Avatar Brah has named it as "imagery homeland"; the homeland that is created as a result of strong linkages with the old ancestral land. He observes that "home is the lived experience of the locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, or the excitement of the first snowfall, shivering winter evenings, sombre grey skies" (Brah 189). In his postulation, home is "the mythic place of desire" (Brah 188) in the imagination of the exilic and diaspora communities. They keep their desire alive by continuously connecting themselves with their ancient homeland. Considering this lead, it would be safe to argue that the notion of exile is not limited to the debate of lived experiences of migration, emigration, or forced banishment from one's original land. This could be the result of the cognitive deracination over the elimination of cultural ethos and transfiguration of the inherited land during war or any other political strives. In the article "Home and Exile", Martha Kuwee Kumsa has spotlighted this precise nature of exile by putting that "Exile is wherever home is not. Exile is where they plough the fields with guns and sow the seeds with blood. It is where they harvest widows and store orphans. Surely that was no home" (485). The discourse related to the exile, displacement, and diaspora suggests physical uprootedness, however, as my discussion shows, it can also be the result of psychological displacement as well.

In the present research, I have tried to locate all these phenomena in the selected texts in the context of the continuous political strife in Waziristan. I argue that along with the necropolitical genocide, political conflicts play a crucial role in the deterioration of the cultural patterns of any area. The impact of this physical and cultural genocide can be seen in the transformation of the native land. This transformation makes native inhabitants feel estranged in their homeland which eventually leads to the emergence of the exile subjects. For this purpose, I have selected two texts. Among these Ghulam Qadir Khan's *Cheegha; The Call* and Fatima Bhutto's *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* along with multiple relevant theoretical sources. These texts are crucial in exploring the ways whereby war and continuous conflicts result not only in the physical destruction of the human bodies but also in the destruction of the cultural patterns of tribal people of Waziristan. It is thus that they feel no longer associated with their old ancestral land; the homeland of their desires and live lives of perpetual exile upon the alteration of their inherited land.

Chapter 2

Necropolitical Ecocide

In this chapter, I intend to engage with the dynamics underpinning necropolitics operating through the pressure of foreign policies in Waziristan. Mbembe's necropolitics deals with the subject of contemporary forms of target killing in the context of war but fails to recognize the dilemma of ecocide. In this section, I will see how continuous military operations have become the cause of Necropolitical Ecocide in Waziristan.

Waziristan has always been a hotspot of foreign interests. During the Russian invasion, US and Arab forces, "both eager to foster an Afghan resistance for their own purposes" (Ahmed 66) found their way through the land of Waziristan to fight Russian warlords. After the incident of 9/11, the world has entered a new era of warfare. The US government made it necessary to wage war against terror to fight the emerging threats. This led to the initiation of Unmanned Ariel Vehicles or drone strikes to "destroy and eliminate al-Qaeda from "Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen, Africa, and other areas" (Zenko 9). This drone war was heralded by the USA as a policy of counterterrorism began under the presidency of George W. Bush. Since 2004, the USA has been targeting specific groups of people through drone strikes. As such, drones have become a tool of Necropolitics.

A sovereign state has the power to target groups of people who are seen as detrimental to save the life of others. Judith Butler has expanded on this notion in her groundbreaking work *Precarious Life; The Power of Mourning and Violence*. She criticizes America's war on terrorism as a strategy of invisible control through which America justifies its indefinite detention of suspected terrorists (63). She argues that the very decision about who to kill or not is exercised

through the rationale of racism. She points out that there is "a racial and ethnic frame through which these [...] lives are viewed and judged such that they are deemed less than human" (Butler 57). So, in Butler's theorization, the notion of racism becomes a dominant logic of killing and genocidal activities. Similarly, Mbembe's formulation also suggests that racism provides the foremost logic for permitting control over the life of people (Mbembe 17). Necropower operates through the generalized instrumentalization of human existence and the material destruction of human bodies and the population (Mbembe 14). I will situate my discussion within this framework and argue that drones could also be seen as a Necropolitical tool that maximizes the destruction of human bodies.

Continuous insurgency in Waziristan has inspired many Pakistani Anglophone writers to write about the war and its impact on their writings. Different authors have represented the effect of war in diverse ways. In this chapter, I have analysed two different texts *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* (2013) by Fatima Bhutto and *Cheegha: The Call from Waziristan, the Last Outpost* (2014) by Ghulam Qadir Khan. I explore how these writers portray the impact of the constant war on the land of Waziristan and how this has resulted in the physical and the ecocide of that region.

2.1 Material Destruction of Human Bodies.

The continuous bombardment of drones in Waziristan[2] has resulted in a great loss of precious human lives. Drone attacks are a result of the policy of counterterrorism that necessitates indiscriminate killing, which means that "these attacks do not discriminate between terrorists and innocent women, children and the elderly" (Khan 22). This thus results in a massive killing of the people residing in Waziristan as it maximizes the physical destruction through targeted killing. In

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[2] See Literature review pgs. 15-18

this section, I will situate the impact of foreign policies and especially the effect of the drone war on the land of Waziristan.

Necropolitics or the politics of death operates through the logic of racism where "inferior 'races' or 'groups' become an objectified body that is dispensable and debased, genocidal practices can occur in these environments" (Worall 3). It allows us to understand the concept of genocide in a more comprehensive way. Lemkin names this technique of killing as genocide (79). According to him, genocide is not the name of the immediate destruction of any group, but it is a gradual process that aims to annihilate any ethnic race. It is directed against any group in order to disintegrate its social, cultural, economic and political fabric of life. Many critics and historians consider genocide as, typically, a state policy and extensively performed by the officials of the state. Eric D. Weitz, on the other hand, argues against this on the ground that, "modern genocides do not happen just because a particular regime wills them into existence. They are rather the result of political decisions "embedded in complex historical processes, notably, the emergence in the modern world of race and nation as the primary categories of political and social organization" (Weitz 2). Weitz's hypothesis invites us to consider the multiple forces that determine the genocide of a race/nation. In the novel *Cheegha* (2014), Khan has talked about the politics of death in relation to the national and international policies in Waziristan. Millions of dollars were poured in and a lot of madrassas (religious schools) were built to propagate the *jihadi* zeal. In their passion to defeat Russia, America's slogan of "brotherhood" against the "Godless people" of Russia (Khan 304) and Saudi Arabia's slogan regarding "Jihad" became apparent and influential. The group of Mujahedeen was created to fight the Russian warlords with the maximum support of the United State of America's CIA, Pakistan's ISI, and the Arab State (Khan 307; Chossudovsky). These groups were initially funded and backed up continuously by the Pakistani's along with American

and Arab forces. By the time the Russians left, they had become powerful and gained a stronghold in the majority of areas of Waziristan.

The direct impact of drones includes "killing and injuries" ("Living Under the Drones" 55) which leads to the destruction of human bodies. For Lemkin genocide is accomplished by the mass killing of all the members of a nation (79). Bhutto has critiqued the idea of mass killing by drones in *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon*. She genuinely captures the picture of the physical destruction that is caused by the drones. In Bhutto's novel, killing and bombing has become an order of the day in Mir Ali. It is evident from the conversation of Colonel Tarik and Aman Erum about the attack at Atal Ali market. Mentioning causalities, Colonel Tarik mentions that "three dead, twenty-one injured" (Bhutto 83) in the drone strike today. Mohsin Hamid's portrayal of physical death and destruction as a result of drone attacks is also worth mentioning here. He pictures the reality by calling the drone a killing machine. In his short story "Terminator: Attack of the Drone", he says that "When the machines get you there ain't much left. Just gristle mixed with rocks, covered in dust" (Hamid). This new doctrine of warfare is an indispensable tool of Necropolitical genocide as it has a clearly defined goal of "targeted assassination" (Chamayou 32). Arif Shamim has also adopted a similar stance in his novel *The Ameer is Dead* :

> The drone had done it. Only a charred mass of tin remained where, seconds before, a two-story mud building, probably the tallest and the most imposing in the entire village, had been standing. Wooden girders were burning with an orange fire that sometimes turned purple with deafening cracks. (Shamim np)

This invites us to consider what Eric D. Weitz has said, "For genocide to occur, there needs to be demonstrable intent to destroy 'in whole or in part' particular population groups" (Weitz 9). In Bhutto's novel, the large scale massacres make the people of Mir Ali wonder "who is arranging

these attacks, who is paying for them, who writes the communiques" (Bhutto 84). Khan also

questions this policy by putting, "Every party is in for the kill, kill and kill. Militants kill, security

forces kill and US and NATO kills. Why kill?" (Khan 354). A lot of studies have been conducted

to estimate the number of fatalities such as Jamie Allison's *Necropolitics of Drones*, Akbar Nasir

khan's *The US Policy of Targeted Killings by Drones in Pakistan*, Mirza Shahzad Akbar and Umer

Gillani's *Fire from the Blue Sky*, *Will I be the Next-* a report by Amnesty International movement,

and *Living Under the Drones*. The studies concluded that "those killed by drone strikes in Pakistan

were children and thousands have been injured or have lost their property or means to a living"

(Akbar and Gillani 124). Similarly, according to the Bureau of Investigative Journalism based in

London, "between 2972 and 4520 people have been killed in drone attacks (as of September 2012)

of these 177 were children and an estimated 545–1001 were civilians" (Zulaika 172). In the novel

The Shadow of the Crescent Moon, Bhutto also highlights this bitter fact about the violence caused

by the drones through the incident of the young boy Zalan. Mina, a character in the novel, is

suffering due to the death of her only son, Zalan, who became prey to a drone attack. Bearing this

in mind, it is difficult to claim that drones are only targeting terrorists, rather these drone attacks

have resulted in the genocide of hundreds and thousands of innocent people. This reckless killing

is one of the techniques of construing terror to keep people subservient to the necropolicies.

People are being controlled by terrorizing them. In Khan's text, it has been mentioned time

and again that tribal people are living under constant fear. Data collected by Amnesty International

has also pointed out the same thing. Amnesty International has interviewed the victims of the drone

war. One of these victims is Zubair who shared the story of Mamana Bibi's death due to drone

strikes. Her grandchildren "now live in a constant fear" ("Amnesty International" 22). Khan

questions this policy by inquiring "why is he (enemy) terrorizing us" (Khan 312). Khan also shares

an incident of a young boy, Saifullah, who witnesses a killing in front of his eyes and now is extremely terrified of drones (Khan 315). According to Mbembe, "terror is construed as an almost necessary part of politics" (Mbembe 19). USA's instigation of the drone war is the part of the policy that terrorizes the common masses in Waziristan. Bhutto's representation is worth mentioning in this regard. In this novel, three brothers, Aman Erum, Hayat and Sikandar are extremely afraid of offering prayer in one mosque because "it is too dangerous, too risky, to place all the family together in one mosque that could easily be hit" (Bhutto 3). Mohsin Hamid's story also highlights the frightening situation caused due to the constant attacking of drones. His characters "get so scared sometimes they go pee inside" at nighttime (Hamid). The boy in the story mentions that drones have disabled all of them from working, especially his mother as "mostly she stays in" the cabin (The Guardian). This collective insecurity is the political construction of fear which is reinforced through the deployment of drones as put by Gregoire Chamayou in *A Theory of the Drone* that:

> Drones are indeed petrifying. They inflict mass terror upon entire populations. It is this— over and above the deaths, the injuries, the destruction, the anger, and the grieving—that is the effect of permanent lethal surveillance: it amounts to a psychic imprisonment within a perimeter no longer defined by bars, barriers, and walls, but by the endless circling of flying watchtowers up above (45).

This terrorizing policy of drone attack is the manifestation of the unfettered power of the US which is achieved primarily through the capacity of defining, "who matters and who does not, who is disposable and who is not" (Mbembe 27). It justifies the indiscriminate killing of the tribal people. The question then arises that on what ground are these indiscriminate killings justified? For Mbembe, necropower operates predominantly on account of the logic of racism. In the selected

texts, authors have explored how drones are affecting people, especially the Pashtun community of Waziristan. As pointed out by Akbar S. Ahmed, "the Pakhtuns (...) have been the major target of American's drone attacks" (Ahmed 3). Khan also makes it clear that tribal people "don't have enmity with anyone" (Khan 54). He wonders "why we [Pashtuns] can't be mainstreamed as Pukhtun" (Khan326). It is the very fear of the Pukhtun race and the ways of tribesmen which is threatening for the foreigners. Khan makes it clear that tribesmen are too stubborn to accept the foreign culture and foreign ways, claiming that "The tribesmen never accepted foreign ways as they were never impressed by them. They romanced the idea to be like the fathers" (Khan 45).

Throughout history, Pukhtuns have been on the target list of English people. One reason for this could be the fear that is embedded in the experience of the British invaders with the Pashtuns, especially the tribal Pashtuns, during their encounter with the Frontier part of India "ranging from the full- scale debacle of the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839– 1842) to the skirmishes in which Winston Churchill participated during the Malakand uprising of 1897– 1898" (Marsh 3). Due to the numerous failures of the British empire to establish control on the tribal Pashtuns, the tribal part of Pakistan has always been an "alien land part" (Marsh 7) for English people as none of the empires succeeded in making the tribal people subjects to their rule[3]. At present drone warfare has been launched against the tribal Pashtuns of Waziristan, mostly the areas occupied by Mehsuds. The Mehsuds of Waziristan have been mentioned as "throne-like" by Akbar S. Ahmed (70) as they had always stood successful in their encounter against the British. It has been noted that Shabi Khel who killed Lieutenant colonel Richard Harman in 1905 belonged to the Mehsud tribe of Waziristan. Mullah Powindah who became a source of distress for Lord Curzon, Lord Kitchener, and then for the Indian Army, also belonged to the tribal Mehsuds (Ahmed 70). The

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[3] See Literature Review page. 12 and 13

current animosity for the Pashtuns by yet another imperial power indeed derives its life from the historical encounter that the Europeans have already had in this region.

Mbembe argues that killing becomes evident when the perception of the other's (race) existence is being taken as a threat to the survival of one's own (Mbembe 18). This is evident from the words of Barak Obama when he was delivering a speech on the drone war. He justifies the war by referring to Waziristan as the safe abode for Al-Qaeda "so, obviously, a lot of these strikes have been in the FATA, and going after al-Qaeda suspects who are up in very tough terrain along the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan" (The Telegraph). The killing of the native people of Waziristan has been condoned in the name of the larger interests/ threats. Obama accepts his fear that he is targeting the specific groups "who are on a list of active terrorists, who are trying to go in and harm Americans, hit American facilities, American bases, and so on" (The Telegraph). Thus, he rationalizes his objective of killing by labeling the natives as a threat to the survival of the Americans. In the article "The Necropolitics of Drones", Jamie Allison has also confirmed this by adding that "drones […] operate within an algorithm of racial distinction" (114).

Hence, the logic of racism is used to regulate the distribution of death. As Mbembe argues, "racism is […] a technology aimed at permitting the exercise of biopower" (Mbembe 17). The fear of the 'Other' is also the outcome of this racism where "sovereignty consists of the will and the capacity to kill in order to live" (Mbembe 18). It is done by classifying the oppositional group as terrorists. Terrorism serves a powerful logic that legitimizes the political project of drones. In such circumstances, "killing becomes precisely targeted" (Mbembe 29). As Khan mentions it, "That's how the militants operate. Anyone who can mobilize a handful of people is a target" (Khan37). Looking at this perspective, it can be claimed that terrorism is a powerful logic maintained by the USA to legalize drones. However, in this realm, this indiscriminate killing becomes obvious. It is

argued that "only 4% of drone victims have been named and reportedly identified as members of Al Qaeda by available records" (Akbar and Gilani 125). A lot of causalities recorded are in fact civilians. Gregoire Chamayou states, "The drone has become one of the emblems of Barack Obama's presidency, the instrument of his official antiterrorist doctrine, 'kill rather than capture' replace torture and Guantanamo with targeted assassination and the Predator drone" (Chamayou 14). As such, the US Drone strategy should, in fact, be taken as the Necropolitical tool through which the genocidal activities are justified by using the logic of racism.

2.2 Ecocide

This section deals with the phenomenon of the alteration of land due to the continuous war in Waziristan. Changes in the weather patterns and the transformation of the native land is an obvious outcome of any war-torn scenario. In "What's the Environmental Impact of Modern War?" Karl Mathiesen mentions that "The environment has long been a silent casualty of war and armed conflict. From the contamination of land and the destruction of forests to the plunder of natural resources and the collapse of management systems, the environmental consequences of war are often widespread and devastating" (Mathiesen). In the selected works, writers have talked about numerous details that show how continuous war has wrought havoc in the life of the common masses. Their land has transformed under the influence of constant war. This metamorphosis of the ancestral land can be witnessed in the form of climate change, the killing of wildlife and the elimination of the ancestral codes

In *Cheegha: The Call from Waziristan*, Ghulam Qadir Khan expands on this stance by focusing on the adverse effect of the continuous war on Waziristan. To underscore how Waziristan was before the warfare, he uses the metaphor of paradise (159) to convey the grandeur of its charm and beauty. A paradise that is "so fulfilling, so satisfying", that consists of "long rows of fields

[…] full of crops and shady trees laden with fruits" (161). One can imagine "every kind of birds and insects and every kind of flora and fauna" (Khan 162) in the village of Waziristan. Bhutto's *Shadow of the Crescent Moon* eulogizes Waziristan due to its "pine forests" and "rocky terrain" (117). Khan's description of spring in Waziristan is amazingly beautiful. In the spring season "everything dead seems to come to life" (Khan 170). The "fresh air of spring" seems to be enriched with the "sweet fragrance" of wildflowers (Khan 170). Wildlife in Waziristan had its own charm. One can find a variety of animals playing in the green fields of Waziristan like birds, squirrels, jackals, mongoose and shepherds (Khan 173; Bhutto 117). Khan has captured a scenario that is extremely appealing to the senses. He has talked about the "captivating sounds" of the birds and the hooting of the jackals (173) that create an auditory imagery in the mind of the readers. His description of the "sweet fragrances of wild rose and jasmine" (170) pertains to the olfactory imagery central to the sense of smell. Moreover, the whole description of paradise creates visual imagery in the mind of the readers.

However, this paradise has been destroyed due to the extreme political unrest that Waziristan has been facing since the time of the Russian invasion till now. Continuous military projects have played the largest role in the ecocide in Waziristan. Ecocide includes all the practices that can contribute to the destruction of the environment. Khan, in his novel, mourns over this fact by stating "Our lands will never be the same. Our peaceful motherland became an international playground for the notorious Great Game" (Khan 303). The foremost effect of war can be observed in the form of climate change. Due to the ongoing war "weather patterns have changed" (Khan 331) altogether. The evergreen weather of Waziristan has been replaced with rainless harsh weather with no sign of spring. While explaining the adverse effects of war on the environment, Austin and Bruch have mentioned the use of military technology as one of the factors responsible

for disintegrating environmental harmony (1-2). In the same way, the ongoing war in Waziristan showcases the deadly environmental effect in the form of land alteration. The use of lethal weapons and drones has become the reason for the environmental degradation due to which "spring never comes" and "snowfalls and spring rains are missing altogether" (Khan 331-332). This climate change leads to the emergence of certain other environmental crises. Lack of rain is one of the crises that directly affects the land system of Waziristan. Due to the harsh weather, "the green fields lay brown, barren, and thirsty [...] there is no smell of fresh grasses or wildflowers" (Khan 333). International Peace Bureau has published a briefing paper on "The Military Impacts of Environment", in which the issue of the growing environmental hazards due to the continuous war has been analyzed. It considers pollution as one of the military stresses that directly affects the environment (3). While capturing the picture of the drone attacks in the short story "Terminator: Attack of the Drone", Mohsin Hamid has also brought to fore the environmental destruction caused by drones. He points out that "When the machines get you there ain't much left. Just gristle mixed with rocks, covered in dust" (The Guardian).

Wildlife also gets affected by such a climate crisis. Wildlife in Waziristan which used to be the symbol of happy times has drastically declined after the war, to the point of extinction even. The chirping of birds can no longer be heard. In fact, Khan states in his novel that "migrating birds don't come" (Khan 333), "bulbul has stopped singing" (Khan 334), and "no jackle hoot" (335) ever since the war started. He is missing the singing of the birds, which has now vanished. He goes on by saying that, "all the turkeys, chukar, francolins, waterfowls have vanished; even crows and vultures have disappeared" (Khan 334). Alessandra Potenza also holds a similar perspective adding that "War's main effect is killing people, sure — but it also kills wildlife" (Potenza). Considering the case of Waziristan here, wildlife in Waziristan is badly affected due to the rapid

climate change caused by constant war. Marc Lallanilla has used the term "scorched earth" for environmentally transformed war zones where the animals cannot exist. In the same way, Waziristan has turned into that scorched earth for the wildlife where the "wildlife has been guzzled by the Gog and Magogs, by the bombs and missiles, by the hate and violence, merciless and ruthless tempers" (Khan 334).

One of the many reasons that becomes the cause of the culling of wildlife is the absence of food. In war zone areas, not only human beings but the animals too suffer from hunger. In *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon*, Bhutto has also shown concern over the issue of wildlife damage in the conflict zone. Due to a bomb explosion, "scrawny cats prowl the hospitals corridors, sneaking in through the holes in the damaged wall to scour food" (92). This issue has been flagged up by Dudley et.al. They argue that war and civil strife exacerbate the threat to wildlife precisely because of the breakdown of food-marketing (326). Considering the case of Waziristan here, the continuous war and deadly bomb explosions have made the wildlife highly vulnerable. They die from hunger and the "carcasses of the dead animals lay stinking and rotting for weeks" (Khan 335).

This deep connection between man, environment and culture is very relevant to the field of Ecophilosophy. Ecophilosophy is the study of examining the relationship between human beings, earth and the human culture. For ecophilosophy, "natural and environmental preservation includes the preservation of both nature and culture" (Arntzen 34). Ecophilosophers express their deep concerns that how the western civilization and western dominant policies are detrimental to the local culture (Arntzen 35). Cultural landscapes are valuable for representing the indigenous life patterns. Threatening and transforming the local land automatically affects the local culture too, which also makes the native inhabitants feel uprooted in their original land (Arntzen 35-36).

Similarly, in the case of Waziristan, we see that besides climate change and extinction of wildlife, the third most important factor that becomes the cause for a metamorphosis of ancestral land is the elimination of ancestral codes. It is important to consider that native people always share deep bonding with their native land because they take it as a home where their communities flourish and their cultural values are promoted and passed on to the next generation. Possessing the ancestral land has a great importance in the life of tribal people as they share "physical, cultural and spiritual vitality" with their native land ("Indigenous and Tribal People' Rights over their Ancestral Lands and Natural resources" 1). They "do not see themselves as outside the realm of nature, but as part of nature, and they have their own specific attachment to their land and territory and their own specific modes of production based on a unique knowledge of their environment" ("State of the World's Indigenous' People" 52). However, this relationship has become disturbed due to the continuous war in Waziristan.

For the native inhabitants of Waziristan, war has become a major threat to their culture. The culture that their ancestors used to practice is no longer flourishing; an issue that is going to be explored in chapter three of this research. As the land no longer remains the same original ancestral land so the experience of the tribal people of Waziristan can be perceived as of a dialectics of loss entailing intense anomie at its core. They feel alienated and uprooted. This crisis leads to the emergence of certain exilic bodies which I will be exploring in the next chapter.

Chapter 03

Cultural genocide and Exilic Bodies

This chapter will be exploring the effect of continuous war in the form of cultural destruction with reference to Waziristan. I argue that the continuous war does not only cause physical and environmental destruction but has in fact lead to the destruction of the whole cultural pattern of the victimized region, in this case Waziristan. This physical transformation of the native land makes native people feel estranged in their land. Keeping this in mind, this chapter seeks to analyze the effect of transformation of the original land in the projection of exilic feelings in the people of Waziristan.

In the previous chapter, I have explored the effect of continuous war in the form of physical destruction and environmental destruction. In this chapter I will be exploring the effect of the transformation of the native land on the tribal communities of Waziristan. For the tribal people, Land is not only the place of belonging rather "land is where their ancestors are buried and where sacred places are visited and revered" ("State of the World's Indigenous' People" 53). Attachment to the land is a marker for their cultural identity that has been disrupted by the war. Waziristan is no longer the old ancestral land that its native inhabitants knew and as a result the native people feel exiled in their homeland.

3.1 Destruction of Cultural Ethos

Waziristan has become a war-torn land "due to post 9/11 events beginning with the invasion of Afghanistan by the United State in October 2001 and following deployment and military operations by Pakistan's security forces since 2002-2003" (Bajwa xi). Continuous series of military operations have not just resulted in massive killings but also ended up deteriorating

traditional customs and folkways of the targeted region. The Northwestern Part of Pakistan, commonly known as Waziristan, is a tribal area famous for its tribal ethos. Its foundation is set by the elders in *Jirga* - an institution common to central Asian tribes that consists of a public meeting of the notables of the community (Ginsburg 97) and is expressed through Pashtunwali. This practice of holding public consultation meetings in the form of *Jirga* is negatively affected during drone surveillance because people are too afraid to gather at one place as one of the interviewees has mentioned in his interview with the author of the report "Living Under Drones" that, "they're always surveying us, they're always over us, and you never know when they're going to strike and attack" (81). Another interviewee has also come up with a similar idea by putting that, "[e]veryone is scared all the time. When we're sitting together to have a meeting, we're scared there might be a strike. When you can hear the drone circling in the sky, you think it might strike you. We're always scared. We always have this fear in our head" (81). *Jirga* and *Hujra* are considered the first learning institutions for the young Pashtuns, where they learn all the tribal ethos including hospitality, respectability for the elders. Targeting *hujra* and *Jirga* means targeting the tribal society's sanctuaries which has also led to the cultural genocide of Pashtunwali.

Pashtunwali is the tribal code of life practised by Pashtuns all over the world. It is the name of a particular culture and civilization of Pashtuns which revolves around justice, hospitality, bravery, loyalty, righteousness, steadfastness, dignity and revenge (Barfield 5; Glatzer 4; Amato 19). Although Pashtuns are primarily clustered in Afghanistan with 9 million Pashtuns constituting 42% of its population and Pakistan where an additional 25.6 million Pashtuns live (Ross 11) and that in each country they express complex divisions of tribes, subtribes and clans, they all share a common code of honor, Pashtunwali.

The traditional Pashtunwali has been seriously disrupted by continuous foreign intervention in the land of Pashtuns. Khan protests this in his text *Cheegha*, "beside the destruction of the physical infrastructure and the cost of lost opportunities, the Pukhtun nation is undergoing an irreparable damage, losing the ways of the fathers" (Khan 316). Continuous war costs not only irreparable damage to the human lives of any society but it also disrupts the very code of civilization of that society. This seeks to prompt serious discussion regarding the strategy of counterterrorism and its contribution to the policy of the cultural genocide of tribal people of Waziristan.

Genocide, which means "death of the race", is very relevant while explaining the effect of the drone war in Waziristan. Elisa Novic has introduced and defined certain elements of cultural genocide, these are Linguicide (Elimination of language), Libricide (destruction of books, etc), Eliticide (killing of leadership), Indiginicide (killing indigenous people) (Novic 6-7). These multiple conditions that define the phenomenon of cultural genocide are very evident in the selected fiction about Waziristan. In foregrounding these, I put forward an argument that all social institutions and cultural practices that are the markers of tribal people's identity are becoming moribund due to the constant war in Waziristan.

Linguicide meaning "elimination of one or several languages" (Novic 7) is one of the most important features of genocide or cultural death. Barry Sautman takes linguicide and religious decline as the central element of cultural genocide (2). The US-led war in Waziristan has adversely affected the language of that area, which is Pashto. Language occupies a significant space in the lives of Pashtuns. Pashto language is not only a vehicle of communication, but it is also used as a tool for the promotion of culture. In the novel *Cheegha*, Khan has invited us to consider the ways language is being appropriated as one of the devastating effects of war on terror. The Foreign

security forces who have been there since the time of the Russian invasion are influential powers. These security forces have been there for their interest as summed up by Khan,

> Every nation involved has its own interest. The Americans want to stay here; probably they don't want China to use Pakistan as a trading route or to keep a watch on Iran. The Russians want to bleed the Americans, Iran wants to entangle America, India wants to destabilize Pakistan, our leadership wants strategic depth in Afghanistan and the Arabs want their fighters to stay committed here. So, it's in the interest of all countries, including ours that this war keeps on dragging. (313).

Due to the presence of these nations, the native inhabitants have witnessed the creolizing effect on Pashto language. They noticed a change in the original Pashto dialect due to frequent contact with the foreigners. They did this consciously to camouflage their Pukhtun identity and be confused with the Arab forces who were funded by America in war against Russia as they "don't have any national or international entity to fund or support (them)" (Khan 318). In general terms, it is described as glottophobia, which is linguistic discrimination or prejudice against one's native language. In *Cheegha* Gul Dodi is mentioned as a victim of foreign influences and his glottophobia is evident from the "Arabicized Pashto" that he speaks (Khan 317). Khan mourns this situation by putting that "their (Pashtuns') pride in Pukhto gone and forgotten" (Khan 320). Sautman envisages this situation as a necessary condition for Ethnocide. He points out that ethnocide is "not necessarily tied to the killing" but in the ultimate destruction of the ways of life and the denial of the culture and language of the indigenous people" (Sautman 10). Language always carries the burden of one's identity. The enfeebling of language leads to the weakening of one's cultural and individual identity. This concern is highlighted by the researchers of FRC (FATA Research Center) in their study named "Impact of War on Terror on Pashto Language". They observe that

the ongoing war has changed the pattern of the Pashto language because of the impact on it by foreign languages. It has become "more corrupted since common people got involved in the ongoing conflict" (8). New words like "terror, violence, insecurity, uncertainty, drone attacks and suicide bombings have been added to Pashto language due to hard realities of war on terror" ("Impact of War on Terror on Pashto Language" 2). It seems that the phenomenon of linguicide is especially acute while exposing the impacts of war on terror. While advocating the importance of native languages, Ghanni Khan Khattak noted that "Language provides and determines the foundation of identity among people" ("Impact of War on Terror on Pashto Language" 3). Bearing this in mind, it could be claimed that linguicide is a direct attack on the cultural and individual identity of the tribal people.

Religion is considered an important feature of harmony and unity in tribal culture. It remained "intact in its true spirit in the tribal society because of its isolation from external influences and strong support of Pukhtunwali" (Khan 81). Tribal people always take religion as an extension of their code of Pashtunwali. Elements such as helping each other, hospitality, serving the community and promoting friendships are not only considered as Islamic injunctions, but they are also taken as sacred codes of living for tribal people. Therefore the "tribal society is nearest to the Islamic way of life" (Khan 81). During the Soviet invasion, Madrassas were established, and zillions of dollars were spent for the promotion of arms and ammunitions. Mujahideen were trained to fight the communist Russian army and millions of dollars were spent on the construction of splendid madrassas in the tribal areas of Waziristan "to produce zillions of Jihadis" (Khan 304).

The preaching of these Jihadis created a lifetime problem for the tribal people as their new generation is unable to comprehend the difference between the religion of their forefathers and the one introduced by foreign forces that had infiltrated the region in the name of *Jihad*. Students at

madrassas were provided with the textbooks replete with the images of Kalashnikovs (Riaz 20) and posed the usual mathematics sums such as "The speed of a Kalashnikov bullet is 800 meters per second. If a Russian is at a distance of 3200 meters from a mujahid, and that mujahid aims at the Russian's head, calculate how many seconds it will take for the bullet to strike the Russian in the forehead?" (Riaz 21). These children were misguided and indoctrinated with the politics of hatred. Khan complained that children were "trained in death and destruction, total annihilation without any remorse giving them a hundred justifications for their acts against anyone and everyone" (Khan 305). The religion of peace, which was previously in practice in Waziristan, has undergone the worst possible change. Khan, in his novel, raised this point that "new jihadi religion was propagated in the training camps different from the religion we knew" (Khan 306). The lifestyle of the madrassa students is replaced with repetitive rituals that have no connection with the true spirit of their religion. Furthermore, the true spirit of Jihad was never advocated to them as "madrassas were the recruiting agency for militancy" (Khan 304). With the domination of the Arab lifestyle, tribal people begin to celebrate their Eid and Ramadan with Saudia Arabia. Sautman's cultural genocide not only includes the erosion of language and religion but it also involves the technique of repression and subordination of indigenous culture (2). As said before the indigenous culture of tribal people manifests the true spirit of Islam. Religion practiced by tribal Pashtuns is always "strengthened by Pukhtunwali" (Khan 81). Subordination of these indigenous values has been ensured through the introduction of new interpretations of faith which are "alien" to the culture of Pashtunwali and the fine blend of religion, and as such Pukhtunwali has been disturbed (Khan 310). This creeping of new culture results in the weakening of the local culture. Davidson's lead in cultural genocide is significant to consider in this regard. For him, cultural genocide is a purposeful weakening of the feared out-group. It is the ultimate destruction

of the local culture and group identity (Davidson 18-19). This shows that local culture and group identity are always under threat of extinction with the introduction of new rituals.

Besides language and religion, that are the most important structural elements of the tribal society, the role of leaders equally plays its role in maintaining unity in a society. Leaders in the tribal areas are known as *"Mashar"* (elders). *Mashar* is the one who "maintains an overall discipline, advises the young on all affairs, keeps the family together and ensures everyone in the family is treated fair and given equal opportunity" (Khan 92). They have immense responsibility of maintaining group identity and promoting cultural ethos. US engineered killing practices have contributed to the policy of Eliticide that emphasized "the killing of the leadership, the educated, and the clergy of a group" (Novic 6). This point has been flagged up in the report generated by researchers of Amnesty International. They have reported that the US drones program has a direct impact on the people by highlighting certain incidents that involve the killing of the elder members of society in Waziristan. One of those incidents is the killing of Mamana Bibi who used to gather vegetables for her grandchildren ("Amnesty International" 7). They also documented "a series of drone strikes on 17 March 2011 that killed between 26 and 42 people in Datta Khel, North Waziristan, during a Jirga, or tribal council" ("Amnesty International 14). Besides killing young children and women, drone strikes choose elder members of indigenous communities as their major target. Iftikhar Firdous states in his article "Drone attack orphaned whole village" that "My father was at a Jirga to settle a dispute of a chromite mine. The problem was almost resolved, but during this time there was a drone attack and he was killed. Our whole village was orphaned because all the elders were killed" (Firdous). Firdous' dilemma is important both in exposing the policy of Eliticide and cultural genocide. He is mourning over the loss of elders along with the loss of culture.

Ways of Father or the Cultural Ethos of Waziristan include important elements of Pashtunwali which are particularly threatened in war. Among these elements, *Hujra* and *Jirga* that are considered the first training schools of the tribal youth are affected in the first place. As a result of this, *Melmestia* (hospitality) which is the defining feature of Pashtunwali is also affected. *Hujra* is the place where all the programs, feasts, festivals, and ceremonies are held and is considered as the "first training school of the tribal youth" (Khan 61, 62). All the important affairs including "learning [...] how to greet people", offering "hospitality" (Khan 62-63) and many more are part of daily life at *Hujra*. *Hujra* is not just a "community place" but rather it is a place of "guidance" and learning" in tribal society. *Jirga* is also an important part of *hujra* where all the problems are discussed and resolved. *Melmastia* or hospitality, which is the important element of Pashtunwali is also the most prominent feature of *Hujra*. Children are taught to serve the guests from a very tender age. It is made imperative "to show hospitality and sincere respect to all the visitors irrespective of tribe, religion or the social status" (Khan 98). He has pointed out that "Hujra is the first training school of the tribal youth" (Khan 62) that no longer remains as a part of our daily affairs.

There are a lot of other activities that play a role in the unity and integrity of tribal life. These cultural activities are meant to bring harmony and peace into the tribal society. People gather on such activities to socialize with their neighbors. Activities central to the beat of *dhole* (drum) are "integral and the vital part of Pukhtun life" (Khan 74), these are "as important to them as religion" (Khan 74). Ceremonies related to childbirth, marriage, death and even revenge are initiated on the beat of the drum. The role of *dum* (the one who strikes drum) is important in this regard. His role is "central to the tribal life" (Khan 75). *Dum* is the one who makes announcements both at the time of "happiness" and "sorrow" (Khan 75). Besides this, festivals including

Bulloducky (Thanks giving)[4], *Gulluno nandara* (Festival of flowers) and *Gowasht* (Harvest

festivals) are also defining features of the common life of the tribal people in Waziristan. Tribal

people believe in practicing their instruments of administration to maintain peace and harmony in

their community. Some of these are *Nikkat*, *Nanawaty* (unconditional surrender), *Badal* (revenge)

and *Panah* (giving protection). *Nikkat* is a "share of the tribe or family, in profit and loss in the

affairs of the tribes" (Khan 89). *Nanawaty* (unconditional surrender) is yet another defining feature

of Pashtunwali that takes place when a person causes a minor harm to somebody and as reparation

elder of the family slaughters sheep or any other animal in the *hujra* of the aggrieved party.

Slaughtering sheep is parallel to offering feast basically and, in this way, it is considered a sign of

surrendering on behalf of the group who is guilty. However major crimes like intentional killing,

rape, or kidnapping are not covered by *Nanawaty* (Khan 112). To deal with these crimes, there is

a law naming *Badal* (Revenge) in practice. *Badal* (revenge) is essential in maintaining peace and

is considered as debt that should not be left unpaid. Same as in the law of *Qisas* in Islamic culture;

in Badal, a penalty is prescribed for the family who is guilty of a major crime like killing. *Panah*

is the instrument in which protection is given to anybody who asks for it, even when the applicant

is from the oppositional group. *Panah* cannot be refused at any cost. If a family is giving *Panah*,

it means that they are protecting the aspirants from any kind of harm and danger. These are certain

elements, which are considered as the most important ways of administration in Waziristan.

These codes of Pashtunwali have no longer remained a part of the tribal society of

Waziristan due to the continuous foreign intervention and the drone warfare. All the festivals have

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[4] Bullodukky is the ceremony of the thanks giving and praise on any happy occasion i.e; child birth, marriage, arrival of somebody after ages and so forth. It is different from the thanksgiving ceremony celebrated in European countries as it is not limited to the harvesting period. Thanksgiving ceremony celebrated in European countries is usually at the end of the harvesting period.

ceased to exist in present Waziristan. Davidson asserts, if "natural localness is a starting point for group identity and cultural solidarity" of feared out-group then powerful groups may see it "logical to attempt to destroy the foundation of localness of these enemies" (19). Here, natural localness is reflective of those cultural elements that are necessary to keep the legacy of forefathers alive. It is a form of the "group orientation" and the "paradigm that flows from the customs and traditions of local and the regional venues" (Davidson 5). This very natural localness embedded in the cultural ethos of Waziristan is badly affected during drone war.

In *Cheegha*, Khan is mourning over the fact that "the prolong war of the last decade has played havoc with our lives" (Khan 331). He has used the metaphor of "paradise destroyed" (Khan 331) for the Waziristan ravaged by drone strikes. Festivals like "Bullodukky" (Thanks Giving), "Gulluno Nandara"(Festivals of flowers) and "Dum and Dhole" have ceased altogether . Khan's narrative captures this destroyed paradise by highlighting the details of eradication of cultural ethos, "there is no bulloducky" (Khan 347), "gulluno nandara is prohibited" (Khan 346), "there is no festival of flowers any more" (Khan 346) "dhole and dance are gone" (Khan 346). As said before, these festivals were the focal point of the tribal people's socialization.

With the continuous bombardment of drones, these cultural festivals are no longer in practice. It has already been mentioned that the prime purpose of these festivals is maintaining harmony in the local tribal environment. Targeting these festivals means targeting the natural localness of the people of Waziristan that "takes place in the cultural context" (Davidson 4). Similarly, the administrative system through which "tribesmen manage their affairs and achieve their objectives" (Khan 87) is constantly under the threat. Khan mentions that "jirgas and marakas are banned" (Khan 351), "nikkat has been proscribed" (Khan 352), and "there is no panah" (Khan 352). Khan has also mentioned that "Pukhtunwali without panah is not Pukhtunwali" (Khan 352).

Milmestia (hospitality) and Panah (giving protection) are considered the cornerstones of Pashtunwali that have been lost because they had been misused by the local people when they mistakenly provided protection and support to the foreigners involved in criminal activities under the pillar of Pashtunwali (Bajwa 44; Khan 42; Ahmed 67; Amato 29). Lemkin poses a significant definition of cultural genocide in this regard. For him, cultural genocide signifies a "rigid control on all the cultural activities" (84). He outlines this by using the example of the German occupants who strictly controlled every cultural institution of the Jews. While previously, wars were waged against monarchies and states, Hitler's war was waged against people. That is the reason that Lemkin terms this a cultural genocide based on the destruction of the cultural pattern of some groups (81). Complete destruction includes the policy of shutting down all the possibilities that help define the racial identity of a group. Considering the notion of cultural genocide in that way opens the possibility that some groups are targeted for systematic destruction. In the case of Waziristan, this thing is obvious as all the institutions of their culture are being targeted simultaneously. They have been deprived of both cultural and artistic endeavor just as the Jews were deprived in the past. In the days of Hitler's rule, German teachers took charge of all the Luxemburg schools and discouraged the use of the French language. In Waziristan, the Arabic language dominates over the Pashto language. In the case of Jews, all forms of their ethnic expressions, that is, music, art, literature, libraries, national monuments were targeted by the Germans. In the case of Waziristan, the same has been happening as a result of the US' policy of drone strikes.

Libricide is yet another element of cultural genocide meaning the "destruction of books and libraries" (Novic 7). Libricide includes all those strategies through which the learning products and the learning institutions of a targeted group is destroyed. In the era of drone warfare, tribal

people face hurdles in the way of learning as the learning institutions are mostly under target by the members of the TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan) and many of the schools have been taken over by Pak security forces for use of barracks and camps ("Dreams Turned into Nightmares"). Schools, training centers and different educational institutions are being attacked to forbid the tribal people from receiving education as mentioned by Khan in his novel: "there are no schools, they have mostly been blown off" (Khan 336). One such incident is noted by Chris Woods in this regard. He mentions that "It is one of the worst incidents of the entire drones campaign, yet one of the least reported. A CIA strike on a madrassa or religious school in 2006 killed up to 69 children, among 80 civilians" (Woods). Michele Langevine Leiby and Saleem Mehsud have also expressed their concern over the disintegration of educational institutions. In the article "Conflict makes education difficult in Pakistan", they mention that the Pakistani Taliban, as well as other insurgents, have bombed many schools, ("The Washington Post"). Targeting books or educational institutions is another form of cultural genocide because books are rich sources of information about any society and educational institutions help transmit cultural values to the next generation. In the words of Rebecca Knuth, "books and libraries are the living tissue of culture; the burning of books . . . thus violates ideals of truth, beauty, and progress—and civilization itself" (1).

Tribal people in Waziristan believe in hujra and schools as the two main sources of learning from where the tribal youth can receive education. Unfortunately, during drone warfare, both these institutions have been under attack which undermines the tribal people's sense of civilization. People and schools are being bombed because these "schools are identified as dangerous" (Bhutto 61). Targeting learning institutions is directly linked to the targeting of national identity as schools are also the cultural domain that helps children recognize their national identity. In her novel *Shadow of the Crescent Moon*, Bhutto attempts to provide an insight into the scenario of the war-

torn societies and the large-scale violence done to educational institutions of Mir Ali (a small village in Waziristan). After attending one of the children's funeral, Mina mentions to Sikandar on the way home, "He was a child. They bombed the road his school van was on" (Bhutto 76). Likewise, Khan has also emphasized a similar fact in his novel. He also complaints against the cruel nature of the war as its major focus is on the destruction of the culture and cultural heritage. He expresses his agony by mentioning that "there are no school-going children ... because there are no schools, they have mostly been blown off" (Khan 336).

Khan believes that the cultural genocide of Pashtunwali would prove threatening for tribal people's existence. He puts it, "We are not scared of war; the world knows that, war brings the best out of us. It's the destruction of our culture, customs and traditions, which took thousands of years to evolve that we are concerned about. Our way of life is under attack. Our very existence is threatened" (Khan 323). Khan seems to be worried about the destruction of natural localness and the cultural ethos. He adds, "it is not only the instruments of Pukhtunwali that are lost, the language, respect and honor have all been lost. Pakhto, a complete code of life is lost altogether" (Khan 353).

The case of Waziristan invites us to consider the ways through which the different political strives in Waziristan have become the tool of cultural genocide. Similarly, drone war which is deployed in the name of killing the terrorists has destroyed the local cultural patterns of the tribal society. In this section, I have explored the ways through which the political war in Waziristan has become an apparatus of cultural genocide, which is concerned not only with the job of "material destruction of human bodies" (Mbembe 14) but also the destruction of the traditional customs and folkways of the tribal region of Waziristan. In the next section of this chapter, I will be exploring the impact of cultural genocide. I will explore in detail how this phenomenon leads to the transformation of

original land which in result makes tribal communities feel exiled and displaced in their hometowns.

3.2 Emergence of Exilic Bodies

Exiled identities refer to a group of people who are facing displacement and homelessness. Since the time of the Russian invasion, Waziristan has been facing hard times and bearing the loss of countless unregistered casualties. The condition has gone from bad to worse after 9/11 with the arrival of the American drones. It is important to note that the native people's relationship with their land is not limited to owning the plots; for them this relationship is, in fact, "closely linked to their oral expressions and traditions, their customs and languages, their arts and rituals, their knowledge and practices in connection with nature, culinary art, customary law, dress, philosophy, and values" (Guerrero et al. 1). Constant military operations have destroyed the ancestral land of tribal people. This metamorphosis of the ancestral land generates feelings of homelessness and alienation among the people which makes them feel exiled and displaced in their own home.

In focusing on the problem of exile, I am suggesting that the tribal people of Waziristan should not be seen simply as a scattered community or immigrants. My concern here is to instead highlight how these people have become exiled entities within their own homes due to the erosion of their cultural institutions. Khan, in his novel, describes them as "displaced persons, homeless in their own country" (Khan 322). This displacement is due to the diminution of their cultural practices which characterized their code of honor, Pashtunwali.

I argue that the trauma of both cultural genocide and the loss of their original land defines the experience of the tribal people of Waziristan. Dominick LaCapra has traced the relationship between traumatic events and the sense of loss. In his postulation, trauma is produced as a result

of genocidal events like the holocaust which ultimately generates a sense of loss (LaCapra 49). It is important to note herein that loss entails the loss of both "the lives and the culture of the affected group" (LaCapra 49). In the case of the tribal people of Waziristan, it is the transmutation of the cultural patterns that make them feel diasporic and exiled in their homeland.

While Diaspora in a general sense refers to the concept of dispersion, dislocation and the movement from the original homeland (Butler 189; Ashcroft et al. 61; Brah 178), the connotations attached to the concept of exile range from the meanings of the self-imposed separation to that of forced expulsion. In both conditions, feelings of displacement are evident. Resa Mohabbat-Kar has drawn an analogy between exile and diaspora. He argues that "One concept central to both categories is that of displacement- of being uprooted from one's home" (Mohabbat-Kar 9). Bearing this in mind, I will be using both terms interchangeably for this research. While considering the phenomenon of exile, I will especially focus on the feelings of exiled and diasporic communities. I argue that exile is not necessarily the physical migration or banishment from one's country, rather one can feel exiled within the borders of one's own homeland because of the transformation of the native ancestral land. Considering the case of Waziristan here, transformation occurs due to the continuous political strife that results not only in physical destruction but in cultural genocide as well. This transformation makes the native inhabitants feel exiled as their ancestral land appears foreign to them, considering that it has drastically changed from its pure indigenous form. Their relationship with their land is disturbed and they long for their old happy Waziristan. Avatar Brah's remarks are significant to mention here. For him, "dispersion occurred as a result of conflict and war" (179). Kim D.Butler has also proposed the condition of exile as one category of diaspora which he termed as "forced and voluntary exile" (201). Forced exile includes the exile of those people who are expelled by force and have a chance

to return home whereas the people, who have left their home voluntarily due to any political upset lie in the category of voluntary exiled people. (Butler 201). Political conflicts in Waziristan should also be taken as one of the causes that has dispersed the people of Waziristan and made them homeless within their home. As a result, certain subjectivities are being emerged. First, a group that comprises of those who willingly leave their land to escape unpleasant circumstances; I refer to them here as self-imposed exiled. The second group is of those people who are internally displaced and are trying to escape the violence by moving to the outskirts of Waziristan, I term them as refugees. There is yet another category of exiles, who are not physically exiled and stay in Waziristan, but they feel mentally and emotionally uprooted as a result of the deterioration of their cultural patterns.

Bhutto's *The Shadow of the Crescent Moon* offers some insight in this regard. Her characters are facing the dilemma of exile. She narrates that due to the constant war, "it seemed that everyone was fighting to leave Mir Ali" (26). She talks about the people who can rightly be termed as "refugees" who escaped the violence in their homes and got shelter at the margins of Waziristan. Another group consists of those people who do not want to return and have entirely "cut off their ties with Mir Ali" (148). Bhutto provides us an insight into such exilic bodies through the character of Aman Erum in the novel. Aman Erum, eldest of the three brothers, is obsessed with the desire to earn a foreign degree; perhaps it being his only chance to get rid of his native land. His character is the true embodiment of Bhabha's Mimic man since "he abandoned his accent right after the immigration and dropped his country like a weight off his back" (Bhutto 120). He chooses to stay away from his country as he tries every strategy to look like an American to "fit in" (Bhutto37). He chooses to live the life of a self-imposed exile. His strong desire for gaining a higher degree abroad makes him cut-off ties with his homeland. Datta G. Sawant has taken up the

issue of exile with reference to a character Khanderao in the novel *Nemade's the Hindu*. Khanderao decides to leave his native land for higher education in order to settle in the host country but he could not get rid of the burden of social realities and the memories of his native land. Anum Erum's situation is no different from Khanderao's. Despite being outside the border of his land, he can never escape from the social realities of his homeland.

This trauma of voluntarily exile has also been explored by Khan, in his novel, when he talks about leaving the village. It is important to note here that the relationship of the voluntarily exiled group with home is conditioned by circumstances. Any "changes in conditions at home will affect subsequent relationships with the diasporan group" (Butler 201). Eman Irum's association with a place that is considered a hotspot of terrorism has made his acceptance in the host land highly difficult. Khan was also forced to choose voluntary exile due to the circumstances. He forced his family to move to Peshawar till the time circumstances get better. He seems to be exiled voluntarily. On the other hand, his father fears that once they leave, they would never be able to return. He says, "once we leave the village, we will never be able to return to our own land, I have seen many leave before us" (Khan 365). Butler calls this situation the situation of "voluntary exile" (201). Voluntary exile is the situation in which a person chooses to leave his home due to any political or social reason. Due to the continuous political strife that keeps happening in Waziristan in the form of the drone war and military operations, the people have been compelled to leave their land, "abandoning their homes and possessions" (Bhutto 23).

The second types of people are the refugees who belong "nowhere" (Bhutto 148). To escape the violence, they prefer to leave in the "outskirts of Mir Ali" (Bhutto 139). They "had nothing of their own" (Bhutto 148). They migrate from one region to another region of Waziristan. These are the people who occupy the in-between space as they have to leave their homes and are

usually not welcomed by the local inhabitants of the region they migrate to. Esma'il Kho'i has called this deterritorialized position as "People In Between" and refers to them as:

> The refugee is and will remain Homeless in this sense. For him or her, everything is, and is to remain, unsettled. This is his/her predicament. The time is always the time being, and Home a dreamland in the far far away. Un-wanting to be in the host society and un-able to go back home. Un-welcome here, and unwanted there—except, of course, for imprisonment and/or torturing and/or shooting. An outsider here, an outcast there. Physically here, mentally there. Not a split personality, but a split person. The refugee is, and is to remain, the typical example of what I call "People In Between." (Naficy 11)

John McLeod uses the terminology "in-between" for those identities, who are "feeling neither here nor there, unable to indulge in the sentiments of belonging to either place" (McLeod 214). Similarly, these refugees live on the "margins" of Waziristan and "the throwaways, the stowaways, the forgotten refugees" (Bhutto 117) cannot claim their ownership on either place.

Another category is of those people about whom Inayat Khan, a character in Fatima Bhutto's novel, claims "Mir Ali will not be abandoned by her sons" (Bhutto 24). They are not physically exiled but they face exile within the borders of their homeland upon the alteration of the ancestral homeland and extinction of their cultural mores. Their longing for the original land fuels their traumatic memories and they become nostalgic about their ancestral land. This third type of exile is reflected through the state of mind of the tribal people. A nearly similar notion is adopted by Edward Said in his essay, "Reflections on Exile" as he describes the state of exile as the "unhealable rift forced between human being and a native place" (137). While considering this, my focus is primarily on the transformation of the original land, which is "ancestral land" for the tribal people. I argue that it is the transformation of the original land that is the source of the

traumatic memories, they become nostalgic and look back to the land of their desire. Two things are evident here, nostalgia that breeds the traumatic memories of the past and the idealization of the ancestral land. This undying dilemma categorizes them into the exilic community.

In the chapter "Paradise Destroyed", Khan is reviving the past days and narrating the trauma of lost land. He constructs, in his novel, a fractured and discontinuous relationship with the memories. For him, the green fields of Waziristan "lay brown, barren and thirsty" (Khan 333). The environment which was once surrounded by green plants and the green fields full of different varieties of fruits now offer nothing but dust (Khan 333). All the "beautiful sights, the sweet smells and soothing sounds are taken over by dust and dirt; there is a deep silence, a silence experienced before a storm" (Khan 333). These reminiscences breed the trauma which makes the tribal people feel nostalgic about the old ancestral land. Here the trauma is symptomatic of "problematic engagement with the past" (Legg 103), the inability of the tribal people to deal effectively with the past incidents. On this spot, the traumatic memories involve the remembrance of the old good days- the days before the war.

These traumatic memories nostalgically resurrect a pre-war Waziristan in the minds of the tribal people. Their dispersed position reminds them of their old ancestral home. They long to connect with the land of their origin via the reminiscences of the past. Barbara Cassin's *When Are we Ever At Home* probes into the question of nostalgia. She defines nostalgia as the space of "all-foundings" and "re-founding" (Cassin 30). Similarly, Khan is telling us that he "missed the crazy driving, saluting people enroute, playing music at full blast" (342). He mentioned that spring, which used to be the most beautiful time in Waziristan, is no more to be witnessed. His constant flashbacks are irredeemably marked by his reflective nostalgia. He is trying to re-find and revive his ancestral space through repetitive nostalgic flashbacks. To borrow some terms from Paul

Gilroy's "Black Atlantic", the people of Waziristan are creating "routes" through their sensate experience in order to connect themselves with their "roots", that is, with their forefathers' land. These experiences include predominantly the sense of sight, sense of vision and sense of hearing. For instance, tribal people's witnessing of "barren and quiet" land is reminds them of "lush green fields" (Khan 338) which is central to the experience of sight. Their encounter with the "smelled" (Khan 40) stricken environment revives the memory of the smell of "fresh grasses or wildflowers" (Khan 333). Similarly, the sound of the "bomb blasts" (Khan 335) brings back the memory of the singing of birds.

In connection to how varying experiences are central to the diasporic imagination, Avatar Brah observes that "home is the lived experience of the locality. Its sounds and smells, its heat and dust, balmy summer evenings, or the excitement of the first snowfall, shivering winter evenings, sombre grey skies" (189). Similarly, Khan's retrospective power is the "performative of past" (30) that constructs his narrative in the present.

This situation can further be seen under the lens of William Safran's theorization about the diasporic desires. For Safran, diaspora "retains a [...] memory, vision or myth about their original homeland, its physical location, history and achievement" (83). In the same way, we see that the displaced tribal people are also retaining the collective memory of their past homeland. This collective memory and vision of the original land is also very obvious when Khan talks about the forest of Waziristan. He is worried that now he would "never get a chance to see the oak and chalghoza (pine) forests as they all are gone, right up to the Shawal valley, all forests are gone" (Khan 332). Similarly, this sense of collective memory and vision is also very evident in Bhutto's *Shadow of the Crescent Moon*, as she put it;

But the roads beyond Mir Ali are wild. They open up to the northern frontier with miles of pine forest and the rocky terrain. Mir Ali had once moved with the tremors of its time, swaying almost but not quite to the rhythm of forest reeds. It had nestled shepherds and woodmen and had been the home of mendicant princes and holy sages. Its people had been ordinary men who lived amongst saints and sovereigns. Mir Ali had been like this once. (117)

It will not be wrong to mention here a comment by Salman Rushdie who says, "exiles or emigrants or expatriates, are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back" (10) to the original land from where they were uprooted. These tribal people, who have been made to undergo the trauma of existence, are also haunted by the sense of loss, the loss of the past land. Their nostalgia, time and again, brings them back to the glorious past. Rushdie's notion of "imaginary homeland" (10) is extremely relevant here. To him, home becomes, primarily, a mental construct built from the incomplete odds and ends of memories that survive from the past. It exists in a fractured, discontinuous relationship with the present (McLeod 211). In the light of this statement, it would be safe to argue that selected narratives center upon this question of "imaginary homeland" which now exists in the memories of Waziristan's tribal people only.

Along with nostalgia, another fiber of exile is what Cohen called "idealization of the supposed ancestral land" (Cohen 185). Khan highlights another pivotal moment in the life of victims of war. When people encounter their land after the war, they feel "uninvited" (342). They feel excluded from their ancestral land. They face constant difficulty in thinking of this changed Waziristan in terms of home. They keep on wondering about family, relatives and children. This strong idealization reminds them of those "days [that] started with the sweet melodies of birds and ended with flocks of crows crowing on treetops announcing nightfalls" (Khan 334). Cohen

explains this idealization as "highly romantic fantasies" (185) of the old land. This highly romantic vision of the old land is knitted in the words of Khan. Khan, in his novel, claims that they are "proud" of the ways of his father. It is something they "romanced" about in their entire life (345). In Khan's account, the tribal people can also be seen as an emerging exilic community as their old land has also been transformed into a new land which is entirely strange to them. Khan narrates with grief-stricken notes,

> The Bulbul has stopped singing, for it sings when there is peace and quiet, serenity and contentment. Today there is no peace and no quiet, no serenity or contentment; they are replaced by bomb blasts and bullet bursts, by pain and panic, so, what options are there for the poor Bulbul. It has to sing for that's what a Bulbul does and if it can't sing it will perish. Alas, it couldn't sing and perish, it did. (334-335)

Said calls this condition the state of exile. The essence of his argument is expanded by Bill Ashcroft as, "Exile is not necessarily the total separation from a place of origin but is rather a life in an interstitial space, where one never abandons the old but neither completely accepts the new" (182-183). Brah maintains, "Home is the mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination. In this sense it is a place of no return, even if it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is seen as the place of origin" (188). Taking this lead into the consideration, I argue that the home of the tribal people which has been lost during the drone war has now become a place of "no return" (Brah 188) and thus, it is only exists in the memory of tribal people and that there is "no return" (Brah 188) to the previous state of existence.

Conclusion

The present research follows the qualitative mode of inquiry conducted through a close textual analysis of the primary texts including Ghulam Qadir Khan's *Cheegha; The Call* and Fatima Bhutto's *The Shadow of the Crescent* Moon. It sums up the discussion by exhibiting the physical, cultural, environmental and psychological impacts of continuous war on the tribal land and the tribal people of Waziristan. Moreover, this chapter also offers recommendations for further research.

The study undertaken has four research knots; firstly, it argues how the war in Waziristan and the resulting killing have been justified through a set of certain constructed necropolitical truths. Secondly, it argues that Necropolitics, as a field of inquiry, is inadequate in catering to the overall effects of war as it is only concerned with physical genocide. However, the most damning effect of the war can also be witnessed in the form of cultural genocide. Along with the physical destruction, war has always been a strong reason behind the destruction of the cultural ethos. Thirdly, this research maintains that physical genocide and cultural genocide are two of the leading factors that mark grave transformations in the original land of Waziristan. Lastly, it spotlights the kind of exilic subjectivities and exilic communities that have emerged as a result of all these experiences.

The first section of the analysis explores the dynamics underpinning Necropolitics and Ecocide operating through the power of certain national and international policies. It discloses the necropolitical face of the war by uncovering the massive killing and widespread destruction of the human bodies during war. Waziristan has been facing the deadliest war since the arrival of the Russian invaders. During the Soviet invasion, the US and Arab forces found their ways through the land of Waziristan to fight the Russians. Then after 9/11, Waziristan entered a new era of drone

warfare. All these multifarious combats have played an active role in maximizing the destruction of human bodies in Waziristan. In this thesis, I have used the notion of Necropolitics to contextualize the physical damage caused by the constant war in Waziristan. I have argued that necro power is conducted predominantly through physical genocide. However, the impact of the continuous political strife in Waziristan is not limited only to physical genocide but, instead, the worst consequences of the war manifest in the form of ecocide. By quoting certain examples from the selected texts, I have illustrated that the prevalent effects of the war are not only limited to the physical or necropolitical genocide rather it is an almost total collapse of the whole ecosystem.

The second chapter of the analysis exposes the terrible impacts of the war in the form of the metamorphosis of the war zone. This chapter argues that along with the physical and environmental destruction, the amount of cultural deterioration inflicted upon the native people by warlords cannot be overlooked. To deal with the sensitivity of this issue, I have used multiple contentions related to the field of cultural genocide. By using the theoretical stances of Raphael Lemkin, Alex Alvarez, Adam Jones, Elisa Novic and many others along with notable instances[5] from selected fictional works about Waziristan, I have argued that along with massive killing, one of the most damning effects of the war can be witnessed in the form of cultural genocide. Bearing this context in mind, the second chapter of the analysis of this dissertation inquires the ways whereby the continuous military operations have become the cause of the Necropolitical Cultural Genocide in Waziristan. Waziristan is the tribal area famous for its tribal communal codes of Pashtunwali which revolve around justice, hospitality, bravery, loyalty, righteousness, steadfastness, dignity and revenge (Barfield 5; Glatzer 4; Amato 19). Continuous war has not only

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[5] See chapter 3 pgs. 49-62

done irreparable damage to the human lives of the tribal society but it also has disrupted the very code of civilization of the tribal community.

This chapter argues that all these three 'cides' _physical genocide, cultural genocide and ecocide have contributed to the transformation of the original native land of Waziristan. This metamorphosis of the ancestral land generates feelings of homelessness and alienation among the people which makes them feel exiled and displaced in their own home. As mentioned by Ghulam Qadir Khan, the tribal people of Waziristan have become "displaced persons, homeless in their own country" (Khan 322).

My research investigates the multifold effects of war with special reference to the constant war in Waziristan. It significantly explores the physical, psychological, emotional and environmental consequences of the war. I have argued that exile is not necessarily the result of physical banishment, forced migration, or the expulsion from one's native country. The notion of exile has always been explored as the state of voluntary or involuntary expulsion (Butler 201), voluntary and self-chosen displacement (Sawant 3), a state of in-betweenness (Kristsone146), and the state of homelessness (Kumsa 485). This research has appropriated a concept of exile to also include the category of those people who have become mentally exiled due to the experience of cultural genocide and transformation of the ancestral land especially with reference to the drone war in Waziristan. Exile is not always based on the lived experiences of physical displacement; it is also rooted in the feelings of cognitive displacement. One can feel exiled over the death of his culture and the transformation of his ancestral homeland without even undergoing the pangs of migration.

Recommendations:

This research has contributed to exploring the adverse effects of war as it also deals with the multitudinous detrimental effects of war as represented in the chosen texts. While this research is limited to the area of Waziristan only, research of this kind can be undertaken to examine the escalating effect of the war from a global perspective.

Similar research can be carried out to address the issues related to the Arab Spring and its impact on the Arab world. I believe that such a critical analysis of war-torn societies can play a vital role in today's world.

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