

## Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

Carey Schofield tells of her 5 years embedded with the Pakistan army. When India and Pakistan held nuclear tests in 1998, they restarted the clock on a competition that had begun half a century earlier. Nuclear weapons restored strategic parity, erasing the advantage of India's much larger size and conventional military superiority. Yet in the years that followed Pakistan went on to lose decisively to India. It lost any ability to stake a serious claim to Kashmir, a region it called its jugular vein. Its ability to influence events in Afghanistan diminished. While India's growing economy won it recognition as a rising world power, Pakistan became known as a failing state. Pakistan had lost to India before but the setbacks since 1998 made this defeat irreversible. Defeat is an Orphan follows the rollercoaster ride through post-nuclear India-Pakistan, from bitter conflict in the mountains to military confrontation in the plains, from the hijacking of an Indian plane to the assault on Mumbai. Nuclear weapons proved to be Pakistan's undoing. They encouraged a reckless reliance on militant proxies even as the jihadis spun out of control outside and inside Pakistan. By shielding it from retaliation, the nuclear weapons also sealed it into its own dysfunction -- so much so that the Great South Asian War, fought on-and-off

since 1947, was not so much won by India as lost by Pakistan.

A journalist with deep knowledge of the region provides “an enthralling and largely firsthand account of the war in Afghanistan” (Financial Times). Few reporters know as much about Afghanistan as Carlotta Gall. She was there in the 1990s after the Russians were driven out. She witnessed the early flourishing of radical Islam, imported from abroad, which caused so much local suffering. She was there right after 9/11, when US special forces helped the Northern Alliance drive the Taliban out of the north and then the south, fighting pitched battles and causing their enemies to flee underground and into Pakistan. Gall knows just how much this war has cost the Afghan people—and just how much damage can be traced to Pakistan and its duplicitous government and intelligence forces.

Combining searing personal accounts of battles and betrayals with moving portraits of the ordinary Afghans who were caught up in the conflict for more than a decade, *The Wrong Enemy* is a sweeping account of a war brought by American leaders against an enemy they barely understood and could not truly engage.

Pakistan's politics, governance, institutional capacities, internal and external security, and the nation-building process are at a critical juncture. The stance of the military, thus, will be a critical factor in determining the future course of

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

Pakistan. Under the prevailing scenario in the country, any elected government would need to reestablish the viability and vitality of the state. Should it fail, the army would be compelled to intervene to save the country from falling apart. For an objective and in-depth analysis as to how Pakistan has arrived at this critical juncture, it is important to delve into the personalities and processes that have shaped the destiny of the country. The future of Pakistan is dependent on the flux and interplay of the internal and external processes and compulsions. This book, therefore, traces the military underpinnings in the political, geopolitical, strategic, economic, religious, sociological, and sectarian journey that Pakistan has made over the last sixty years.

This book describes the nature of Pakistan's defense capabilities and the forces that shape them in the twenty-first century.

Winner of the 2018 National Book Critics Circle Award for Nonfiction Longlisted for the 2018 National Book Award for Nonfiction From the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Ghost Wars*, the epic and enthralling story of America's intelligence, military, and diplomatic efforts to defeat Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan since 9/11 Prior to 9/11, the United States had been carrying out small-scale covert operations in Afghanistan, ostensibly in cooperation, although often in direct opposition, with I.S.I., the Pakistani intelligence agency. While the

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

US was trying to quell extremists, a highly secretive and compartmentalized wing of I.S.I., known as "Directorate S," was covertly training, arming, and seeking to legitimize the Taliban, in order to enlarge Pakistan's sphere of influence. After 9/11, when fifty-nine countries, led by the U. S., deployed troops or provided aid to Afghanistan in an effort to flush out the Taliban and Al Qaeda, the U.S. was set on an invisible slow-motion collision course with Pakistan. Today we know that the war in Afghanistan would falter badly because of military hubris at the highest levels of the Pentagon, the drain on resources and provocation in the Muslim world caused by the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, and corruption. But more than anything, as Coll makes painfully clear, the war in Afghanistan was doomed because of the failure of the United States to apprehend the motivations and intentions of I.S.I.'s "Directorate S". This was a swirling and shadowy struggle of historic proportions, which endured over a decade and across both the Bush and Obama administrations, involving multiple secret intelligence agencies, a litany of incongruous strategies and tactics, and dozens of players, including some of the most prominent military and political figures. A sprawling American tragedy, the war was an open clash of arms but also a covert melee of ideas, secrets, and subterranean violence. Coll excavates this grand battle, which took place away from the gaze of the American public. With unsurpassed expertise, original

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

research, and attention to detail, he brings to life a narrative at once vast and intricate, local and global, propulsive and painstaking. This is the definitive explanation of how America came to be so badly ensnared in an elaborate, factional, and seemingly interminable conflict in South Asia. Nothing less than a forensic examination of the personal and political forces that shape world history, Directorate S is a complete masterpiece of both investigative and narrative journalism.

This book is an attempt to fill a critical void in our knowledge in understanding Pakistan's military which on one side began to dominate the power structure of the country and at another sought a unique strategy to apply force for ideological and political goals

This book examines the rise of religious extremism in Pakistan, particularly since 1947, and analyzes its connections to the Pakistani army's corporate interests and U.S.-Pakistan relations. It includes profiles of leading Pakistani militant groups with details of their origins, development, and capabilities. The author begins with an historical overview of the introduction of Islam to the Indian sub-continent in 712 AD, and brings the story up to the present by describing President Musharraf's handling of the war on terror. He provides a detailed account of the political developments in Pakistan since 1947 with a focus on the influence of religious and military forces. He also discusses regional politics, Pakistan's attempt to gain nuclear power status, and U.S.-Pakistan relations, and offers predictions for Pakistan's domestic and

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

regional prospects.

This book explores Pakistan from different vantage points. It examines a variety of events in contemporary Pakistan through a comprehensive analysis of identity and power politics; media landscapes; military recruitment; role of madrassahs; terrorism and militancy; civil war as well as outlines future trajectories. It studies themes such as Pakistan's relationship with India, the legacy of Jinnah, gender and fundamentalism, urbanisation, unrest that have plagued the northern areas. It further looks at the nation after the capture of Osama bin Laden and the changing nature of its relation with the US in its aftermath. Including contributions from experts in the field and policy-makers across the world, this volume will interest scholars and researchers on Pakistan studies, politics, and international relations. It will also appeal to government think tanks and the general reader.

Pakistan is a strategic ally of the US in the 'war on terror'. It is the third largest recipient of US aid in the world. Yet Pakistan is a state run by its army and intelligence service. Operating in the shadows, Pakistan's military industrial complex owns and controls swathes of the economic and political landscape of the country. Military Inc. dares to illuminate the military as an oppressive holding company possessing not just security-related businesses, but also hotels, shopping malls, insurance companies, banks, farms and even an airline. The result is a deeply undemocratic society, where money is funnelled towards the military's economic enterprises, leaving those in need of it impoverished and effectively disenfranchised. With an empirical richness, and a view to Pakistan's recent history, Ayesha Siddiqi offers a detailed and powerful case study of a global phenomenon: corruption, hollow economic growth and elitism. This new edition includes a chapter on the recent developments of the military's foray

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

into the media, and a new preface.

Pakistan is a strategic ally of the US in the 'war on terror'. It is the third largest recipient of US aid in the world. Yet Pakistan is a state run by its army and intelligence service. Ayesha Siddiqa shows how the power of the military has transformed Pakistani society, where the armed forces have become an independent class. The military is entrenched in the corporate sector. So Pakistan's companies and its main assets are in the hands of a tiny minority of senior army officials. Siddiqa examines this military economy and the consequences of merging the military and corporate sectors. Does democracy have a future? Will the generals ever withdraw to the barracks? *Military Inc.* analyses the internal and external dynamics of this gradual power-building and the impact that it is having on Pakistan's political and economic development.

This book investigates the relationship between international security governance, democratic civil-military relations and the relevance of strategy, as well as of absolute and relative gains, in norms formation in hybrid orders. Highlighting caveats of the legacy of Huntington's paradigm of military professionalism, the book applies a robust methodology and data collected in four sample regions in Pakistan. It gauges the effects of international and local actors' support in the Security Sector Reform domain and examines instances of civil-military interactions and military transition. The book also analyses determinants and strategies that can influence them to demonstrate the impact of global governance in norms diffusion, as well as of absolute and relative utility gains and incentives in normative change. The author generates a new theory pertaining to international organisations and actors as determinants of transformation processes and consequently sheds new light on the issue of global security governance,

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

especially its impact on civil-military relations and democratisation in hybrid orders. The book will be of interest to scholars and practitioners in the field of global governance, civil-military relations, grand strategy and foreign policy as well as Asian politics, South Asian studies, peace, security and strategic studies, International Relations and political science in more general.

Pointing to the horizon where the sea and sky are joined, he says, 'It is only an illusion because they can't really meet, but isn't it beautiful, this union which isn't really there.' -- SAADAT HASAN MANTO Sometime in 2016, a series of dialogues took place which set out to find a meeting ground, even if only an illusion, between A.S. Dulat and Asad Durrani. One was a former chief of RAW, India's external intelligence agency, the other of ISI, its Pakistani counterpart. As they could not meet in their home countries, the conversations, guided by journalist Aditya Sinha, took place in cities like Istanbul, Bangkok and Kathmandu. On the table were subjects that have long haunted South Asia, flashpoints that take lives regularly. It was in all ways a deep dive into the politics of the subcontinent, as seen through the eyes of two spymasters. Among the subjects: Kashmir, and a missed opportunity for peace; Hafiz Saeed and 26/11; Kulbhushan Jadhav; surgical strikes; the deal for Osama bin Laden; how the US and Russia feature in the India-Pakistan relationship; and how terror undermines the two countries' attempts at talks. When the project was first mooted, General Durrani laughed and said nobody would believe it even if it was written as fiction. At a time of fraught relations, this unlikely dialogue between two former spy chiefs from opposite sides--a project that is the first of its kind--may well provide some answers.

Taking an explicitly comparative theoretical approach, Saeed Shafqat presents a



## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

comprehensive exploration of civil-military relations in Pakistan. He begins by describing the history of military hegemony in this volatile South Asian country and then examines the breakdown of military control, assessing the rise of the Pakistan People's Party and th  
A conceptual and theoretical framework combining the notion of a post-colonial state and Harald Lasswell's concept of a garrison state is propounded to analyse the evolution of Pakistan as a fortress of Islam.

The Battle for Pakistan showcases a marriage of convenience between unequal partners. The relationship between Pakistan and the United States since the early 1950s has been nothing less than a whiplash-inducing rollercoaster ride. Today, surrounded by hostile neighbors, with Afghanistan increasingly under Indian influence, Pakistan does not wish to break ties with the United States. Nor does it want to become a vassal of China and get caught in the vice of a US-China rivalry, or in the Arab-Iran conflict. Internally, massive economic and demographic challenges as well as the existential threat of armed militancy pose huge obstacles to Pakistan's development and growth. Could its short-run political miscalculations in the Obama years prove too costly? Can the erratic Trump administration help salvage this relationship? Based on detailed interviews with key US and South Asian leaders, access to secret documents and operations, and the author's personal relationships and deep knowledge of the region, this book untangles the complex web of the US-Pakistani relationship and identifies a clear path forward, showing how the United States can build better

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

partnerships in troubled corners of the world.

Military Inc Inside Pakistan's Military Economy Pluto Press (UK)

Dying to Serve is a study of the affective relationships at the heart of war and violence. This book has been written by Maj Gen Syed Ithar Hussain Shah (R). It has 352 pages, seven chapters and 31 full colored maps. It covers Indian military threat in all manifestations against Pakistan from 1947 to 2017 and Pakistan Army's response to this threat. Just two and a half months after independence i.e. on 26 October 1947, India employed its military might in Kashmir for territorial grab to harm vital strategic interests of Pakistan. Months old Pakistan was forced to fight more than a year long war under adverse conditions. During this war, India militarily occupied the states of Junagarh, Hyderabad Deccan and also threatened to escalate the war to rest of Pakistan. By 1949 it was abundantly clear to Pakistani leadership that strong armed forces were required for it's survival against Indian belligerence. Therefore the strength of Pakistani armed forces was almost doubled by 1953, taking away meagre resources from human development. However realising that Pakistan's economy could not support strong enough armed forces, the leadership prudently decided to join American led defence alliances against communism, although the main threat was India and not communism. In 1965 Pakistan tried to initiate insurgency in IOK. India escalated it first by employing its army across CFL and the on 6 September across international border. Then in 1971 India blatantly employed its armed forces to occupy East Pakistan. It was

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

followed in 1974 by nuclearisation of the Subcontinent. In 1984 Siachin was occupied. In 1986 India concentrated its armed forces on Pakistan's borders. In 1988 India introduced strategic missiles to tilt military balance in its favour. In 1998 India tried to coerce Pakistan once again by five nuclear explosions. Pakistan as always replied in kind by six nuclear explosions. Pakistan was constantly forced to upgrade its forces to keep pace with Indian military coercive escalation. In 2002 and 2009 India concentrated its armed forces on Pakistan's borders but as always failed to coerce Pakistan.

Thereafter it has openly supported terrorism in Balochistan, erstwhile FATA and other parts of Pakistan to impose its evil will. It has failed in its nefarious designs for 72 years because of strong and committed Pakistani Armed Forces. India should realise the futility of its policy against Pakistan and opt for peace so that both the countries can divert their meager resources to alleviate rampant poverty in the two countries. Purpose of this book is to bring out that constant Indian belligerence, threats and direct and indirect aggression, shaped Pakistan Army's size, organization, weapons and doctrine from 1947 to 2017. (2017 because the book was completed in 2018) About Author Major General Syed Ithar Hussain Shah (R) was commissioned in 16 (SP) Field Regiment Artillery in 1976. He commanded 4 Medium Regiment, 62 Field Regiment, 1 Armoured Division Artillery, 115 Infantry Brigade and 2 Artillery Division. He was commandant of School of Artillery and DG Military Lands and Cantonments. He is a graduate of Canadian Forces Command and Staff College Toronto and National Defense University

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

Islamabad. He retired in 2013.

This collection of essays takes a fresh look at the contentious themes of democracy, development and security in Pakistan today. Arguing that the three are closely interlinked, the editors posit that the political and economic experience of the past 58 years shows that neither democracy nor capitalist development can survive without the other. Using a variety of Pakistani, Indian and Western sources, the distinguished contributors examine the internal and external problems of Pakistan with an eye on the challenges that democracy has encountered in the country.

This volume examines the role of the military, the most influential actor in Pakistan, and challenges conventional wisdom on the causes of political instability in this geographically important nuclear state. It rejects views that ethnic and religious cleavages and perceived economic or political mismanagement by civilian governments triggers military intervention in Pakistan. The study argues instead that the military intervenes to remove civilian governments where the latter are perceived to be undermining the military's institutional interests. Mazhar Aziz shows that the Pakistani military has become a parallel state, and given the extent of its influence, will continue to define the nature of governance within the polity. Overall, *Military Control in Pakistan* is a timely reminder and an important resource for both scholars and policy makers, clearly demonstrating the need to refocus attention on the problem of an influential military whilst drawing appropriate conclusions about issues ranging from democratic

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

norms, political representation and civilian-military relations.

The Pakistan army is poised for perpetual conflict with India which it cannot win militarily or politically. What explains Pakistan's persistent revisionism despite increasing costs and decreasing likelihood of success? This book argues that an understanding of the army's strategic culture explains its willingness to fight to the end.

India has long been motivated to modernize its military, and it now has the resources. But so far, the drive to rebuild has lacked a critical component—strategic military planning. India's approach of arming without strategic purpose remains viable, however, as it seeks great-power accommodation of its rise and does not want to appear threatening. What should we anticipate from this effort in the future, and what are the likely ramifications? Stephen Cohen and Sunil Dasgupta answer those crucial questions in a book so timely that it reached number two on the nonfiction bestseller list in India. "Two years after the publication of *Arming without Aiming*, our view is that India's strategic restraint and its consequent institutional arrangement remain in place. We do not want to predict that India's military-strategic restraint will last forever, but we do expect that the deeper problems in Indian defense policy will continue to slow down military modernization."—from the preface to the paperback edition

Among U.S. allies in the war against terrorism, Pakistan cannot be easily characterized as either friend or foe. Nuclear-armed Pakistan is an important center of radical Islamic ideas and groups. Since 9/11, the selective cooperation of president General Pervez Musharraf in sharing intelligence with the United States and apprehending al Qaeda members has led to the assumption that Pakistan might be ready to give up its longstanding ties with radical Islam. But Pakistan's status as an Islamic ideological state is closely linked with the Pakistani elite's worldview and the praetorian ambitions of its military. This book analyzes the origins of the relationships between Islamist groups and Pakistan's military, and explores the nation's quest for identity and security. Tracing how the military has sought U.S. support by making itself useful for concerns of the moment—while continuing to strengthen the mosque-military alliance within Pakistan—Haqqani offers an alternative view of political developments since the country's independence in 1947.

In sharp contrast to neighboring India, the Muslim nation of Pakistan has been ruled by its military for over three decades. The Army and Democracy identifies steps for reforming Pakistan's armed forces and reducing its interference in politics, and sees lessons for fragile democracies striving to bring the military under civilian control.

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

This book analyses the relationship between Pakistan and China in the post 9/11 period against the backdrop of Pakistan's domestic politics and proposes that the major source of continuity in the ties between the two countries is represented by the military. The evolution and continuity of Sino-Pakistani relations are explored through three timely case studies: the port of Gwadar, where Chinese investment well pre-dates the advent of the Belt and Road Initiative; the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the "flagship project" of China's global ambitions; and how the relationship between China and Pakistan has played out in Afghanistan. The book assesses the extent of military influence in Pakistan's relations with China throughout the last 20 years in several key decision-making areas, ranging from internal security to elite recruitment. By looking at the extent of military prerogatives in Pakistan's domestic politics, the book reveals how the major source of continuity in the ties between the two countries was represented by the role that the military has played overtime. While since the announcement of the BRI elected representative have gained some leverage in decision-making, the military has invariably been the main port of call even under a civilian dispensation. A novel approach to the study of Sino-Pakistani relations, this book will be of interest to academics working on South Asian Politics, Chinese Politics and International Relations, Sino-Pakistani

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

relations, civil-military ties, and China's role in Asia including the One Belt, One Road initiative.

Pakistan has emerged as a strategic ally of the United States in the "war on terror." It is the third largest recipient of U.S. aid in the world. But how stable is Pakistan? Ayesha Siddiqi shows how the military has gradually gained control of Pakistan's political, social, and economic resources. This power has transformed Pakistani society, where the armed forces have become an independent class. The military is entrenched in the corporate sector and controls the country's largest companies and large tracts of real estate. So Pakistan's companies and its main assets are in the hands of a tiny minority of senior army officials. Siddiqi examines this military economy and the consequences of merging the military and corporate sectors. Does democracy have a future in the new Pakistan? Will the generals ever withdraw to the barracks. *Military Inc.* analyzes the internal and external dynamics of this gradual power-building and the impact that it is having on Pakistan's political and economic development.

Politics in Pakistan has traditionally been understood in the context of civil-military relationship. In May 2013, for the first time in history, Pakistan saw an elected government complete a full term in office and transfer power through the ballot box to another civilian government. In view of such an important



development, this book offers critical perspectives on Pakistan's current democratic transition and its implications for national politics, security and foreign policy. It critically analyses the emerging political trends in the country, including their underlying sources, attributes, constraints, and prospects of sustainability. Drawing on history, diverse theoretical perspectives, and empirical evidence, it explains the dynamics of the democratic process, contested borders and spaces, and regionalism. Contributions are from 13 prominent scholars in the field, who provide a wide-ranging analysis of Pakistan's contemporary national and regional challenges, as well as the opportunities they entail for its viability as a democratic state. Taking the debate on Pakistan beyond the outmoded notions of praetorian politics and security, the book explores the future prospects of civilian supremacy in the country. It will be of interest to students and scholars of South Asian Politics, Political Sociology and Security Studies, as well as policy-makers, diplomats, security experts and military professionals.

The strategic imperative is held as the primary explanation for Pakistan's military buildup. This book presents a fundamental departure in presenting an analysis of the internal dynamics of defence management and decisionmaking in Pakistan - a new nuclear weapon state. This is an in-depth study of Pakistan's security link with its arms suppliers and defence industrial capacity, and the influence of Pakistan's Army on

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

conventional and non-conventional defence decisions. The analysis is backed with numerous case studies of defence decisions carried out from 1979-99.

This book focuses on the 2001-2002 crisis that brought India and Pakistan to the brink of war. Authors focus on: the political history that led to the crisis; the conventional military environment, the nuclear environment and coercive diplomacy and de-escalation during the crisis; and how South Asia can avoid similar crises in the future. In this book, Air Marshal (Retired) M. Asghar Khan presents an insider's view of Pakistan's struggle for democracy from the 1960s to the present. The book expounds on the early entry of Pakistan's armed forces into the country's politics and the author's opposition to military rule that began in 1968 with the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. This movement resulted in the ouster of President Muhammad Ayub Khan in 1969 after eleven years of military rule. The author describes his continued opposition to autocratic and dictatorial rule, especially General Yahya Khan's policy of brutal suppression through military action in East Pakistan. He also recounts his strong criticism of the General's refusal to hand over power to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and the Awami League - winners of the first-ever free and fair general elections held in Pakistan. The author recalls Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's rise to political power during the 1970s, and General Ziaul Haq's dogmatic and iron-fisted military rule during the 1980s, and elaborates on some pertinent features of Pakistan's domestic and international situation. The book concludes with the author's assessment of General Pervez

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

Musharraf's five years in power consequent upon the re-entry of the armed forces in the country's politics in 1999, after a brief and tumultuous interlude with democracy.

Based on 30 years of research and analysis, this definitive book is a profound, multi-layered, and historical analysis of the nature and role of the Pakistan army in the country's polity as well as its turbulent relationship with the United States. Shuja Nawaz examines the army and Pakistan in both peace and war. Using many hitherto unpublished materials from the archives of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the General Headquarters of the Pakistan Army, as well as interviews with key military and political figures in Pakistan and the United States, he sheds light not only on the Pakistan Army and its US connections but also on Pakistan as a key Muslim country in one of the world's toughest neighborhoods. In doing so, he lays bare key facts about Pakistan's numerous wars with India and its many rounds of political musical chairs, as well as the Kargil conflict of 1999. He then draws lessons from this history that may help Pakistan end its wars within and create a stabler political entity.

A New York Times New Book to Watch For (November 2020) The former New York Times Pakistan bureau chief paints an arresting, up-close portrait of a fractured country. Declan Walsh is one of the New York Times's most distinguished international correspondents. His electrifying portrait of Pakistan over a tumultuous decade captures the sweep of this strange, wondrous, and benighted country through the dramatic lives of nine fascinating individuals. On assignment as the country careened between crises,

## Online Library Military Inc Inside Pakistans Military Economy

Walsh traveled from the raucous port of Karachi to the salons of Lahore, and from Baluchistan to the mountains of Waziristan. He met a diverse cast of extraordinary Pakistanis—a chieftain readying for war at his desert fort, a retired spy skulking through the borderlands, and a crusading lawyer risking death for her beliefs, among others. Through these “nine lives” he describes a country on the brink—a place of creeping extremism and political chaos, but also personal bravery and dogged idealism that defy easy stereotypes. Unbeknownst to Walsh, however, an intelligence agent was tracking him. Written in the aftermath of Walsh’s abrupt deportation, *The Nine Lives of Pakistan* concludes with an astonishing encounter with that agent, and his revelations about Pakistan’s powerful security state. Intimate and complex, attuned to the centrifugal forces of history, identity, and faith, *The Nine Lives of Pakistan* offers an unflinching account of life in a precarious, vital country.

An insider's view of Pakistan's vicissitudes over the last two decades, by the former head of the country's renowned intelligence agency.

This book offers a comprehensive study of the dynamics of civil-military relations in Pakistan. It asks how and why the Pakistan military has acquired such a salience in the polity and how it continues to influence decision-making on foreign and security policies and key domestic political, social and economic issues. It also examines the changes within the military, the impact of these changes on its disposition towards the state and society, and the implications for peace and security in nuclearized South Asia.

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