

individual identity and gives them a new institutional identity'. The new identity posits the institution as the saviour of the state and its ideology. More than any other institution in Pakistan the armed forces do the job of actively manipulating the socialization process of its men. The Army is an '...agent of assimilation and socialization. They can develop norms, they can align individual preferences with institutional priorities and minimize scope for internal division.'

The military's power serves as one of the key attractions for its personnel who have the confidence that the generals will never let 'incompetent civilians' rule the country for long or intervene in military affairs. Thus we see that the Defence Minister Ahmed Mukhtar during the PPP Government had no role to play during the Abbotabad operation in which the American forces sneaked into Pakistan and killed Osama bin Laden.

In this book, which is the latest addition to existing literature on Pakistan's military, the author narrates the historical evolution of the power of the armed forces. Like American-Pakistani historian, Ayesha Jalal, he considers American aid to the military during the early periods of the country's history as playing a critical role in creating the institutional imbalance. However, unlike Jalal, Shah also holds the founding father, Mohammad Ali Jinnah responsible for these conditions. The fact that Jinnah could not hold his generals accountable for insubordination during the 1947/48 war set an example that was followed by others. Successive generals made it their forte to elevate themselves above political governments. The Army Chief, General Gull Hassan Khan refused to brief civilian power in the early 1970s, or General Asif Nawaz Junjua who decided upon sacking Benazir Bhutto's first government in a corps commander's conference. The behaviour and power imbalance is firmly institutionalized and gets echoed in papers written by officers during their stay at the military's National Defense University.

Aqil Shah has also asked the critical question about how the Pakistan military became different from the Indian military, both inheritors of the British colonial institutional tradition. However, this is a question that Shah does not seem to answer with confidence as he totally ignores times in Indian political history when the army was politicized. Perhaps, an answer to how the Army pulled back from the political abyss might explain the difference between the two forces better.

The book makes a clear case for how political power is an institutional habit for Pakistan's military. It considers itself as guardian of the state and responsible for both its physical and ideological security. The habit is so ingrained that the military would do it not as a rational choice, which means due to its political and economic interests, but because it is trained to do so. The issue with such an argument, however, is that it then leaves little room for further introspection or a way out of this morass. Since power is a norm and an ingrained habit, there is nothing that can convince the military to change its perspective. This argument certainly satisfies the Pakistan observers in the South Asian region, who believe that animus with India is as much part of the military's habit as power. Also, this means that there is no way to attract the military towards considering a new paradigm such as trade for peace. The other gap in the book pertains to assessment of other comparable institutions such as civil bureaucracy and its inability to challenge its brethren in the military bureaucracy.

Although a definitive explanation of Pakistan's military is yet to be written. Aqil Shah's book brings us closer to finding some answers.

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## Islam and Democracy in Pakistan

Jayant Prasad

### THE STRUGGLE FOR PAKISTAN: A MUSLIM HOMELAND AND GLOBAL POLITICS

By Ayesha Jalal

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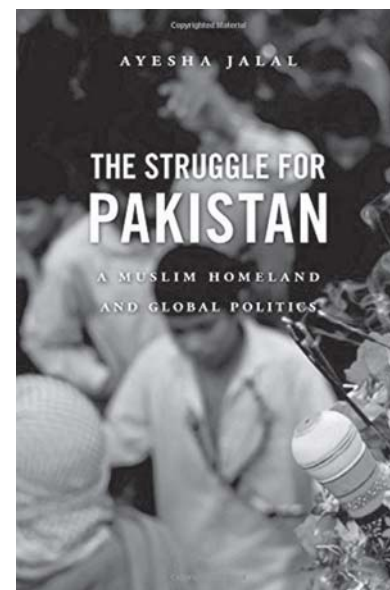
Ayesha Jalal's latest work is a reflective account of Pakistan's contemporary history and the nascent effort by its citizens to reimagine Pakistan, free from military dominance and as a 'more resilient federal union'. Much of Jalal's account of Pakistan covers the skewed civilian-military balance within its state structure. Lord Mountbatten likened Pakistan's creation to putting up a tent, not a permanent building nor a Nissen hut. 'The proverbial tent', writes Jalal, 'has been metaphorically transformed into a sprawling military barrack.'

The Army's dominance of Pakistan's polity has been such that since the first coup in 1958, military dictatorships have ruled Pakistan for three-fifths of the next 56 years. During the remaining period, elected leaders have increasingly worked within margins determined by the Pakistan Army, especially in respect of Afghanistan, China, India, the United States, and the management of Pakistan's strategic assets, which include favoured terrorist groups used as sub-conventional instruments to redress its perceived military weaknesses. The Pakistan Army is indeed responsible for much that is wrong with the country today, including its reputation for double-dealing, making Pakistan simultaneously 'a victim and a springboard of the terror networks,' according to Dr. Jalal. It is an army that manufactures its own enemies.

The Army's dominance over civilian institutions, adds Jalal, was facilitated by 'an insecurity complex based on fears of Indian hegemony.' It is difficult to dispute her symptomatic description of modern day Pakistan, such as its 'state sponsored Islamization,' or as its reputation as 'the epicenter of Muslim terrorism.'

Where Jalal falters is in suggesting that these flow from 'the relentless collateral damage of the US-led wars against the Soviet Army and Al Qaeda,' and that it was American funding of Islamist groups that gave the Afghan 'jihad' a global character, as if Pakistan made no contribution to it. She also attributes Pakistan's 'difficult postcolonial transition,' to 'an international system shaped by Cold War rivalries.'

On the contrary, Pakistan joined the U.S.-led military alliances in response to its own overtures and in its perceived interest. It was a willing partner and beneficiary of the Cold War alliances. A Pakistani military delegation conveyed to American counterparts in Washington in 1951 the country's willingness to defend the Middle East, opening the doors to the sale of U.S. military equipment to Pakistan. A few years later, when Ayub Khan could not convince Eisenhower



of India's aggressive intent against Pakistan, Khan suggested that the United States must provision its military because the country to Pakistan's West—Afghanistan—was not Muslim enough and could not be expected to stand up to the Sino-Soviet communist menace. Pakistan took sovereign decisions to enlist in SEATO and the Baghdad Pact and, post-2001, in Operation Enduring Freedom as a major non-NATO U.S. ally.

'Pakistan is a visibly perturbed and divided nation,' writes Jalal with anguish, with its people struggling with choices 'ranging from an orthodox, religious state to a modern, enlightened one.' According to her, it got entangled in 'a fundamental conundrum' concerning its Islamic identity soon after Independence.

By dissociating this, however, from the origins of Muslim nationalism in India, she skirts the causal connections for Pakistan's predicament and its inability to define itself in any way other than as the Boolean opposite of India. Zia-ul-Haq's contention that Islam was the sole reason for Pakistan's creation might be simplistic. Equally so is Jalal's view, insisting that Mohammed Ali Jinnah was seeking a united India, in which Muslims could live with equity, honour and dignity. 'The demand for Pakistan' she contends, 'was intended to get an equitable, if not equal, share of power for Indian Muslims in an independent India.' By way of evidence, she cites the 'conspicuous omission' of any reference to either Partition or Pakistan in Jinnah's Presidential address at the Lahore Session of the Muslim League on 22nd March 1940, when the resolution for the establishment of a separate homeland for the Muslims of British India was passed. She then quotes Jinnah as publicly stating that it was the Hindu press that 'fathered the word Pakistan upon us.'

To suggest that Jinnah was not wedded to the two-nation theory well before the creation of Pakistan is disingenuous. When Gandhi sought to encourage Jinnah to bring all non-Congress political currents under his leadership, hoping thereby that Jinnah's inveterate opposition to the Congress might be re-based on a national rather than a religious platform, Jinnah rejected the idea. 'Your premises are wrong,' he wrote to Gandhi on 21st January 1940, 'as you start with the theory of an Indian nation that does not exist.' Again, on 6th March 1940, in an address to students at the Aligarh Muslim University, he rejected majoritarian democracy. 'So far as I have understood Islam' he said, 'it does not advocate a democracy which would allow the majority of non-Muslims to decide the fate of the Muslims.'

In his 1940 Lahore speech Jinnah underlined, in effect, that Hindus and Muslims were not destined to ever live together. 'The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature,' he said: 'They neither intermarry, nor interdine together and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions....' He then further asserted: 'Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their State.' Later the same year, in a public meeting in Karachi, he insisted that Pakistan and the Lahore resolution were not two different ideas. Neither was the resolution a bargaining counter, he told a London newspaper. It was, said Jinnah, 'a deliberated and determined demand on behalf of Muslim India.' There is little evidence that these statements were acts of dissimulation and must therefore be taken at face value.

Jalal rightly recognizes that Pakistan's 'self-proclaimed Islamic identity is yet to be reconciled with the imperatives of a modern nation state.' The blame for the Islamization of Pakistan, in her account, lies by implication either with the Americans or with the Army.

Actually, Islamism in Pakistan was first nourished by the de-

partment of its political elites. It is only much later that Zia-ul-Haq took full advantage of it. The passage of the Objectives Resolution in 1950 cast Pakistan in an Islamic mould. It enjoined establishment of a framework wherein 'the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and Sunnah.' This was embedded in the Preamble of Pakistan's first Constitution in 1956 and has featured as a basic part of every Constitution thereafter. Part IX of its present Constitution states, 'All existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the Injunctions of Islam, and no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such Injunctions.'

It was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who persuaded Parliament to declare Qadiyanis as non-Muslims and had the Constitution so amended. Zia's declaration of *Nizam-e-Mustafa* or the Islamic system of law naturally followed, as did the application of the Islamic laws of Apostasy and Blasphemy, and the systematic targeting in Pakistan of Shia professionals and community leaders.

Blaming the Army for all the ills of Pakistan extends also to Jalal's account of the liberation of Bangladesh. The 'historical evidence' for the debacle, she writes, 'must go decisively against Yahya Khan and his senior military associates in the NSC,' thereby whitewashing Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's culpability. Finding himself in a minority in the National Assembly, Bhutto threatened to 'break the legs' of any People's Party legislator attending the Assembly session scheduled on 3rd March 1971. He rejected the idea that Bengali legislators could determine the future of Pakistan and encouraged the genocidal military repression of the citizens of East Pakistan that began on 25th March. On returning to Karachi from Dhaka the next day, he declared: 'By the grace of Almighty God, Pakistan has at last been saved.'

Trained in the western liberal tradition, Jalal reposes faith in the resilience of the people of Pakistan. Its civil society has gained strength by its courage and sacrifices. Almost 100 journalists have been assassinated in Pakistan in the past dozen years. In 2013, for the very first time since independence, Pakistan had a post-election democratic transition. Jalal believes the Pakistan Army has been compelled to 'accommodate' rather than 'control' the political process and there might be 'a potential turning point' in Pakistan's 'entanglement with terrorism.'

Pakistan's well-wishers share Jalal's hopes that democratic revival can alleviate its 'extreme distress'. It is perhaps a fair assessment in her eminently readable, even if in parts flawed account, that 'the battle for the soul of Pakistan does not yet have a clear winner.' Pakistan's potential transformation can help redefine both its identity and place in the world.

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*India's Rise As An Asian Power: Nation, Neighbourhood, and Religion* by Sandy Gordon highlights India's domestic and regional challenges like terrorism, insurgency, border disputes, water shortages and conflicts, and argues that India needs to improve its governance and security before it can don the mantle of a genuine Asian or World power.

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