

## Reviews

CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT (ed.), *Pakistan. Nationalism without a Nation?* New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors/London, New York: Zed Books, 2002. 352 pages, Rs. 650. ISBN 81-7304-407-4/1-84277-116-7

South Asia is witness to a complex process of state formation and nation-building. Ever since these states came into existence in the mid-1940s, the circumstances under which they did so have formed a subject of public and scholarly debate. Later, the sceptical and critical voices of this debate seemed to be justified as various symptoms of crisis indicative of a general malaise in the national developments of the South Asian states.

The book under review discusses these questions with regard to Pakistan. A series of colloquia held by established scholars of the field between 1997 and 1999 at the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales in Paris is the basis of the book.

In his introductory contribution, Christophe Jaffrelot describes the various issues connected with the development of the Pakistani state. Following Gellner's theory, he illustrates the "objective" social and economic factors which led to the foundation of Pakistan as a state of Indian Muslims in 1947. Jaffrelot proves empirically that Pakistan's "national integration has made significant progress" (p. 31) over the last 50 years. But he does not dismiss the thesis that Pakistan remains an "unachieved nation" (p. 7) because of the "persistence of ethnic identities". Accordingly, the question, raised in 1947, of creating a positive national identity independent of India still remains on the agenda.

Other authors of the book then pick up this theme and cast light on it from different angles, showing that Pakistan's national identity has been challenged first and foremost by ethnic and religious considerations. Firstly, Ian Talbot discusses the alleged domination of Punjab province in Pakistani politics. Emphasising the need for a further qualification of this issue, he points out that some areas of the province dominate others. Thus, the province of Punjab can not be considered as a monolithic construction. According to Talbot, the splitting up of Punjab into further provinces could therefore prove advantageous for the politics of Pakistan as a whole. Yunas Samad, S.V.R. Nasr and Mariam Abou Zahab show the sensitive questions that have arisen with the emergence and the development of the ethnic identities of the Mohajirs and the Islamist parties. The conflict between Sunni and Shia parties represents a "new phase in Islamist ideology and politics" (p. 86) in that it "combines Islamist and ethnic discourses of power." What is more, the Islamisation during Zia-ul-Haq's regime laid the foundation for a further ethnicisation of Pakistan and created new and persistent

lines of conflict (p. 109). Saeed Shafqat reveals the depth of extremist Islamist tendencies in the political process of Pakistan that make nation building a "daunting task" (p. 146). Therefore, Pakistan is at the centre of several lines of conflict. Transnational Islamism is, according to Olivier Roy, Sumit Ganguly and Gilles Dorronsoro only of recent origin. Jean-Luc Racine explains that Pakistani support for armed Kashmiri rebel groups plays an important role for the maintenance and development of the country's national ideology (p. 224), so that, according to Amélie Blom, the Kashmir issue even dominates the politics of Pakistan (p. 304). Pierre Lafrance, however, propounds a different thesis. He maintains that the geography of the country is such that "ethnic and religious forces at play are, (however), centrifugal with regard to (India)" (p. 338). Yet this thesis is not a novel one, nor is Lafrance able to provide conclusive evidence for it. What is more, Lafrance is strictly speaking alone with this thesis here. Ian Talbot's assumption, therefore, that "weak political institutionalization and an underdeveloped civil society" (p. 331–2) have proven to be the biggest burden in the nation-building process of Pakistan, seem to be taken more seriously.

The book is of value for all persons interested in the development of Pakistan. It provides a good insight into various issues involved and also gives a solid outline of Pakistan studies until 2001. However, the collapse of the World Trade Towers in New York brought the country back into the centre of world politics. Since then Pakistani politics seems to be re-arranging some of its coordinates. Naturally, the editor was not able to include these aspects in this book. A new publication covering recent developments would thus be welcome, though the issue of nation-building should not be restricted to Pakistan alone. A comparative study of the South Asian region could shed new light on the process of Pakistan's nation-building and indeed provide an innovative contribution to the subject.

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ILMAS FUTEHALLY / SEMU BHATT, *Cost of Conflict Between India and Pakistan*.  
Mumbai: Strategic Foresight Group, 2004. V, 105 pages, US\$ 40,-. ISBN  
81-88262-04-8

The conflict between India and Pakistan is as old as the two states; in fact it is even older as the discussion about separate states for the followers of different religions in then British India dates back to the 1920s. At midnight on August 14, 1947 British India was partitioned. Where exactly the dividing line – drawn by the Radcliffe Award – would ultimately be, was not known until the celebrations were over, and the fact that colonial rule ended not only for British India, but also for hundreds of princely states, complicated affairs even more. Indo-Pakistan relations, thus, have been strained right from the beginning. The major bones of contention were the erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir and the