The

PAKISTAN PARADOX

INSTABILITY And resilience

Christophe Jaffrelot



The

PAKISTAN PARADOX

INSTABILITY
AND RESILIENCE
Christophe Jaffrelot

15231

Cynthia Schoch



PENGUIN BOOKS

An imprint of Penguin Random House

PENGUIN BOOKS

USA | Canada | UK | Ireland | Australia New Zealand | India | South Africa | China

Penguin Books is part of the Penguin Random House group of companies whose addresses can be found at global penguinrandomhouse.com

Published by Penguin Random House India Pvt. Ltd
7th Floor, Infinity Tower C, DLF Cyber City,
Gurgaon 122 002, Haryana, India



Penguin Random House India

First published in French as Le syndrome pakistanais, Fayard, Paris 2013

Published in Vintage by Random House India 2015

Published by Penguin Books India 2016

Copyright © Christophe Jaffrelot 2015
English translation copyright © Cynthia Schoch 2015

All rights reserved

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

The views and opinions expressed in this book are the author's own and the facts are as reported by him which have been verified to the extent possible, and the publishers are not in any way liable for the same.

ISBN 9780143426837

For sale in the Indian Subcontinent only Printed at Repro Knowledgecast Limited, India

this book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, any form of binding or cover otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in silar condition including this condition that in which it is published and without a

CONTENTS

List of Tables Preface and Acknowledgements	ix xi
Introduction	, (1
Three Wars Three Constitutions and Three Coups	2
Between India and Afghanistan: Caught in a Pincer Movement?	6
The Pakistani Paradox	8
giller i karan der eine der e	
PART ONE	
NATIONALISM WITHOUT A NATION-AND EVEN WITHOUT A PE	OPLE?
1. The Socio-Ethnic Origins of Indian Muslim Separatism: The Refo	rm
Phase (1857-1906)	25
The Crushing of the 1857 Revolt and Reaction's of the Muslim Elite	26
From the Aligarh Movement to the Muslim League	31
Muslimhood as a Communal Ideology	46
2. An Elite in Search of a State-and a Nation (1906-1947)	53
Muslim Politics beyond the North Indian Elite	54
Jinnah, the Congress and the Muslim-majority Provinces	64
Majority Muslims versus Minority Muslims	70
Jinnah's Strategy	76
	86
The 1946 Elections: What Turning Point?	
3. Islamic State or a Collection of Ethnic Groups? From One	97
Partition to the Next	
Jinnah's Nation-State: Between "The Poison of Provincialism"	98
and the Indian Threat	

CONTENTS

	Leadism and the Unresolved Ethno-linguistic Issue	
	Stillborn Federalism and the Unresolved Ethno-linguistic Issue Muhajirs and Punjabis, Founding Fathers of a Unitary	101
4		
	and Centralised State and Centralised State Bengali Separatism: Mujibur Rahman, the Two-Economy Theory Bengali Separatism: Overreaction	104
	Bengali Separatism. Transaction and the Centre's Overreaction	
	and the Centre's Over Notion: Between Support	118
	Five Ethnic Groups for One Nation: Between Support	
g.	and Alienation	127
8	n lietanisation of Sinan	128
	2 1-ch Colf-Determination Movement	135
ı., .	The Prichtune from Pashtunistan to Pakhtunkwa	152
	Marin Militancy—and Its Limitations	160
	Munajir Mittaney National Integration through Federalism and Regionalisation	
	of Politics?	181
	그 씨티 시티아이네 그는 왕이 되는 그들은 그 사이를 받고 그들이 그릇이 되었다.	
	PART TWO	
ı î	NEITHER DEMOCRACY NOR AUTOCRACY?	
5	Impossible Democracy or Impossible Democrats?	197
٥.	An Initial Democratic Design Aborted (1947-1958)	199
ŕ	Democratisation, Separatism and Authoritarianism (1969-1977)	216
	Civilians under Influence—and Prone to Lawlessness (1988-1999)	239
	A Democratic "Transition" without Transfer of Power? (2007-2013)	259
	The 2013 Elections: What "New Pakistan"?	278
	The 2014 Crisis: Imran Khan, Qadri, Nawaz Sharif and the Army	282
6.	Variable-Geometry Military Dictatorship	299
	Ayub Khan, an "Enlightened Dictator"?	300
	Zia: A Modern Tyrant	323
	Musharraf, 1 New Ayub Khan?	338
7.	The Judiciary, the Media and NGOs: In Search of Opposition	
	Forces	373
g	The Judges: From Submission to Control?	373
A	The Press: A Fifth Estate?	411
	The Opposite of Tocqueville: Democratisation without Civil Society?	427
	The Election Commission—a Work in Progress	429
	The state of the s	
	PART THREE	
	ISLAM: TERRITORIAL IDEOLOGY OR POLITICAL RELIGION?	
8.	From Jinnah's Secularism to Zia's Islamisation Policy	439
1	Lia s Islamisation Policy	

CONTENTS

What Islam, for What Policy? (1947-1969)	
Islamisation and the Politics of Legitimation (1969-1988)	440
9. Jihadism, Sectarianism and Talibanism: From Military 1	460
The Rise of Sectarianism or the Invention of a New Enemy Within	481
From One Jihad to Another: From Afghanistan to Kashmir and Back	482
The Taliban: The Price of "Friendship"	498
The 11 September 2001 Attacks: A Watershed Moment	520
Musharraf and the Islamists: A Selective Break	523
10. Toward Civil War? The State vs. (some) Islamists and the	528
Islamists vs. the Minorities	
The Islamists, a Social and Political Force	543
The State's Double Game in Pashtun Areas—and the Islamists'	544
Medsarea Response	
The Rise of Extremes	562
The Army: Accomplice and/or Out of Its Depth?	568
runjab, New Land of Conquest?	587
Minorities under Attack	609
Conclusion	616
One Syndrome, Three Contradictions	63
The Fourth Dimension: Elites Backed by External Support	632
After 16 December 2014: What "Post-Peshawar" Pakistan?	638
Post-Peshawar" Pakistan?	643
Afterword	
Glossary	649
List of acronyms	655
Bibliography	659
Index	663
	. 667