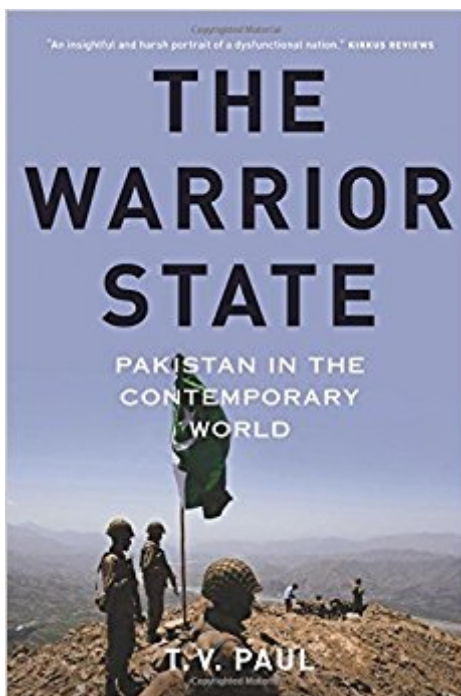


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# The Warrior State: Pakistan In The Contemporary World



## Synopsis

Seemingly from its birth, Pakistan has teetered on the brink of becoming a failed state. Today, it ranks 133rd out of 148 countries in global competitiveness. Its economy is as dysfunctional as its political system is corrupt; both rely heavily on international aid for their existence. Taliban forces occupy 30 percent of the country. It possesses over a hundred nuclear weapons that could easily fall into terrorists' hands. Why, in an era when countries across the developing world are experiencing impressive economic growth and building democratic institutions, has Pakistan been such a conspicuous failure? In *The Warrior State*, noted international relations and South Asia scholar T.V. Paul untangles this fascinating riddle. Paul argues that the "geostrategic curse"--akin to the "resource curse" that plagues oil-rich autocracies--is at the root of Pakistan's unique inability to progress. Since its founding in 1947, Pakistan has been at the center of major geopolitical struggles: the US-Soviet rivalry, the conflict with India, and most recently the post 9/11 wars. No matter how ineffective the regime is, massive foreign aid keeps pouring in from major powers and their allies with a stake in the region. The reliability of such aid defuses any pressure on political elites to launch the far-reaching domestic reforms necessary to promote sustained growth, higher standards of living, and more stable democratic institutions. Paul shows that excessive war-making efforts have drained Pakistan's limited economic resources without making the country safer or more stable. Indeed, despite the regime's emphasis on security, the country continues to be beset by widespread violence and terrorism. In an age of transnational terrorism and nuclear proliferation, understanding Pakistan's development, particularly the negative effects of foreign aid and geopolitical centrality, is more important than ever. Painstakingly researched and brilliantly argued, *The Warrior State* tackles what may be the world's most dangerous powder keg and uncovers the true causes of Pakistan's enormously consequential failure.

## Book Information

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## Customer Reviews

"In *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World*, T.V. Paul...unpack[s] the psychology behind Pakistan's relationship with militants and its other national security pathologies. Paul's most salient analysis of Pakistan's ailments is what he calls the 'geopolitical curse.'" --Shamila N. Chaudhary, New America Foundation, *Political Science Quarterly* "Grim yet thoughtful... an insightful and harsh portrait of a dysfunctional nation." --Kirkus Reviews "Paul lucidly and comprehensively explains the historical circumstances that led to 'a dearth of strong political leaders or political parties with a deep democratic sense of commitment' and created incentives for Pakistan's elite to pursue irresponsible policies... This sobering study will appeal to anyone interested in the region." --Publishers Weekly "Pakistan and its army sometimes seem to be the same entity. They are not, and no book other than *The Warrior State* better places Pakistan's army and the state in their international and comparative settings. It will be essential to scholars of the Subcontinent and of international and comparative politics, as well as all those interested in knowing why this country became the way it did." --Stephen P. Cohen, Brookings Institution and author of *Shooting for a Century: The India-Pakistan Conundrum* "In *The Warrior State*, T.V. Paul clarifies why nuclear-armed Pakistan continues to neglect all other aspects of development to maintain military parity with India. Even those who disagree with some of his conclusions will find useful his explanation of Pakistan's insecurities and the policies they have inspired. This book is a valuable addition to the literature on Pakistan's dysfunction and that dysfunction's nexus with militarism and Jihadi militancy." --Husain Haqqani, former ambassador of Pakistan to the United States and Professor of International Relations, Boston University and author of *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military* "The *Warrior State* is a provocative and insightful review of Pakistan's tortured politics filled with interesting comparisons to other Muslim and emerging states." --Bruce Riedel, Director of the Brookings Institution's Intelligence Project "T.V. Paul's book is a timely commentary on Pakistan's perennial search for stability." --Shuja Nawaz, Director, South Asia Center, Atlantic Council and author of *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars Within* "The *Warrior State* provides an unusual perspective on the links between Pakistan's army-dominated political system and the weakness of the Pakistani state, looking at the different experience of some other army-dominated

countries. A thought-provoking contribution." --Teresita Schaffer, retired U.S. Ambassador, Brookings Institution "Several books have recently tried to shed light on the role of the Pakistan army in Pakistani politics. Paul's contribution receives strong endorsement from the Washington-based think-tank gatekeepers on Pakistan: Stephen Cohen, Hussain Haqqani, Bruce Riedel, Shuja Nawaz and Teresita Schaffer. The point the author wants to make is that historically war preparation and war in Europe proved to be an engine of economic development, but in Pakistan this has not been the case." --Pacific Affairs

T.V. Paul is James McGill Professor of International Relations at McGill University, Montreal, and a leading scholar of international security, regional security, and South Asia. His 15 published books include: *South Asia's Weak States: Understanding the Regional Insecurity Predicament*; *The India-Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry*; *India in the World Order: Searching for Major Power Status*; *Globalization and the National Security State*, and *Status in World Politics*. He has also published over 55 journal articles and book chapters and has lectured at research institutions internationally. He is the editor of the book series: *South Asia in World Affairs* and was the founding director of the McGill/University of Montreal Center for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPSS). During 2013-14 Paul served as vice-president of the International Studies Association (ISA).

The resource curse is one of the most common reasons given for lack of development among countries in the global south, along with geographic isolation, a colonial legacy of legal and bureaucratic obstacles to economic and political competition and unchecked corruption of political elites. Pakistan doesn't have (or isn't cursed with) exploitable natural resources; you can look all you want and will not find vast pools of oil, endless seams of copper or forests stretching to the horizon. However in *The Warrior State* T.V. Paul finds that Pakistan has many of the characteristics of a nation whose economy is dependent on extracting and exporting non-renewable resources with little or no processing. Oil in Nigeria or copper in Zambia are examples of a single resource that overshadows the entire economy. So while not having the "resource" part of the resource curse, Pakistan suffers from what the author calls a geostrategic curse. It has made use of its pivotal position in South Asia to attract billions of dollars of aid money which it has funneled to its military and intelligence sectors, which led to continuous armed conflict, autocratic leaders with no accountability, endemic corruption, weak civil society and no real demand for the institutional

reforms necessary to challenge the dreadful status quo. No matter how ineffective the regime, massive foreign aid keeps pouring in from major powers and their allies with a stake in South Asia. From the time of the "Great Game" when Great Britain and Russia confronted each other over control of Central Asia and the gateway to India to the Cold War to the post-9/11 "War on Terror", Pakistan's strategic position insured that the United States and, more recently, the People's Republic of China will keep the payments flowing. The reliability of such aid defuses any pressure on political elites to launch the far-reaching domestic reforms necessary to promote sustained growth, higher standards of living, and more stable democratic institutions. Paul is a political scientist with knowledge both wide and deep of states with many of the same opportunities and challenges faced by Pakistan. He examines Turkey, Egypt, Indonesia, Taiwan, and South Korea and demonstrates how the presence of entrenched military and civilian elites, a divisive national narrative rooted in a narrow interpretation of Islam, and an inability to link national security to economic development, have prevented Pakistan from emulating successful developmental states as well as those that have, in recent years, managed to rein in powerful militaries. "The Warrior State" is not without some significant flaws particularly Paul's description of the economy as "semi-feudal" without defining what this means. It is inaccurate since Pakistan is thoroughly capitalist and is no longer dominated by a landlord-tenant economic relationship. Urban interests have been and continue to merge with an increasingly capitalist agrarian economy, making fundamental changes in modes of production if not in ownership of the means of production. Quibbles aside, this an important book from a brilliant analyst, one that can be read by anyone with an interest in South Asia and that should be read by policymakers for that volatile area.

I had a class about South Asia states and this book helped me to understand the complexity of Pakistan and the US politics.

TV Paul is an academic who has written extensively on a wide range of subjects in the security domain and "The Warrior State" is a masterpiece- a culmination of years of painstaking research on South Asia in general and Pakistan in particular. Paul narrates a gripping account of how the "Geostrategic Curse" has deeply affected the thinking and attitude of the Pakistani elite and has thus prevented them from seeing what is clearly visible to most of the world - its paranoid and excessive focus only on national security. What is indeed telling is how the massive amounts of aid

that continues to flow into the country has failed to reinvigorate its economy or improve the quality of life of the ordinary majority of citizens (purposes for which most aid is actually disbursed) and the fact that the excessive emphasis on security has not only not made Pakistan safe for most Pakistanis, it has also seen an exacerbation in the violence that the country faces. This being a direct result of the geostrategic policies of creating and arming groups to operate across both its Eastern and Western borders, policies that have come back to haunt itself- what with extremists gaining ground within the country. As a law enforcement practitioner for the last 22 years, i feel the book will serve the community well both in understanding the complex dynamics at work and in developing broad policy responses. It will also provide inputs for scholars who are engaged in understanding Pakistan and assisting it to come out as a strong, balanced economy and nation. "The Warrior State" is an unputdownable, thought provoking contribution to the field of International Security.

As the U.S. concludes its withdrawal from Afghanistan, Pakistan will once again assume a prominent role in the power struggles of Central and South Asia. Thus Mr. Paul's short but insightful book on Pakistan is a much needed addition to our knowledge of such crucial country and the many challenges it faces (and created). Mr. Paul argues that, like oil-rich countries facing a "natural resources curse," Pakistan faces a "Geostrategic Curse" that prevents Pakistan from focusing on democracy and economic development. Because of Pakistan's hyper-realpolitik views, it seeks some sort of military parity with its lifelong rival, India, by building nuclear weapons and aligning itself with radical Islamic groups, both of which have backfired on Pakistan. Although Mr. Paul's thoughts on Pakistan aren't necessarily new for anyone who has read *Descent into Chaos* or *Pakistan On the Brink* by Ahmed Rashid, he does do a marvelous job of examining Pakistan's challenges and weaving them into a discussion of Pakistan's history, focus on Islam as a unifying force, and all-consuming rivalry with India. The fact that his book is so insightful in such a short space (a little less than 200 pages) and such a readable way is an achievement in and of itself. The one downside to this book was chapter 7, where Mr. Paul compares Pakistan to other countries that have faced similar problems, but come out stronger. Although interesting, it felt a little bit superfluous. Still, for anyone who is interested in Central/South Asia or Pakistan specifically this is a must read.

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