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Economy of Defence

Ayesha Jalal

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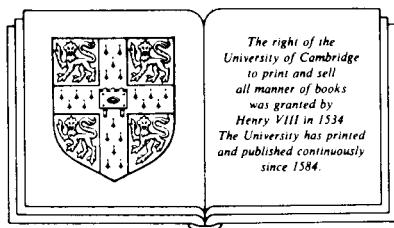
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THE STATE OF MARTIAL RULE

*The origins of Pakistan's political
economy of defence*

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Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison*



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PREFACE

Scholarly pursuits matched by the right inspiration and proper settings can be truly rewarding. I was fortunate to have had a good measure of both during the years that this work has been in preparation. It gives me special pleasure to put down these words of acknowledgement to my family, friends and colleagues who have sustained and supported the demanding process of research and writing, and to institutions that have at various stages facilitated the elaborate enterprise of producing this book.

Although this work has travelled with me across three continents my main debt is to the University of Cambridge which gave the most extended support. I began research on it while I was still a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. From 1984 to 1987 I was supported by a most generous grant from the Leverhulme Trust at the Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge. A grant from the Smuts Memorial Fund in the spring of 1986 enabled an initial foray into the National Archives of the United States of America in Washington, DC, while the enthusiastic support of the Third World Foundation made it possible for me to be based in London in order to more effectively mine the invaluable source materials in both the India Office Library and the Public Records Office. Between September 1985 and May 1986 I was a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC, where I gained much not only from the proximity of the National Archives and the Library of Congress but also from the intellectual stimulation of excellent colleagues. The Leverhulme Trust made provision for my research trip to Pakistan in the winter of 1986–7. I am very grateful to all those individuals in Pakistan who took the time to talk to me at length about the events in which they had participated. The Department of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, where I started teaching in the Fall of 1987, provided the institutional bridge for my intellectual crossing of the disciplinary frontiers separating history and political science. Its Graduate School funded a research visit to Pakistan in the winter of 1987–8 and gave salary support in the summer of 1988 for additional research and writing in London. The refinements and finishing touches were added during the fall of 1988 after my appointment as a Kucin

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Preface

scholar of the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies at Harvard University.

I would like to express my gratitude to the staff of the following archives and libraries: the National Archives of Pakistan; the India Office Library; the Public Records Office; the School of Oriental and African Studies Library; the National Archives of the United States of America; the Washington National Records Center and the Library of Congress. I am particularly appreciative of Lionel Carter, the secretary/librarian of the Centre of South Asian Studies at the University of Cambridge, for competently handling every administrative detail. While at the Woodrow Wilson Center I was aided by the tireless efforts of Diane Ansell, my research assistant, in culling masses of information from the National Archives and the Library of Congress.

A number of friends and colleagues in the scholarly community took a deep interest in my work. I would especially like to mention Chris Bayly and Gordon Johnson at the University of Cambridge and David Washbrook at Harvard University and the University of Warwick who offered consistent support and encouragement. I have also benefited from exchanges with Anthony Low at the University of Cambridge; Robert Frykenberg at the University of Wisconsin, Madison; Prosser Gifford at the Woodrow Wilson Center; Altaf Gauhar at the Third World Foundation in London and Shuja Nawaz at the International Monetary Fund in Washington, DC. I presented papers based on research for this book at the University of Cambridge, the Woodrow Wilson Center, Tufts University, the annual Middle East Studies Association conference in Boston in 1986, the University of Texas, Austin and the Massachusetts Institute for Technology. Participants at these meetings made comments which helped sharpen my arguments. My greatest intellectual debt, however, is to Sugata Bose who spurred me on with his questions and constructive criticism but balanced it with unflinching faith and encouragement.

Long years of research and writing on Pakistan would have been impossible without the understanding and support of my family, especially my mother to whom this book is dedicated. She has boldly taken up the challenge of maintaining a keen interest in my scholarly endeavours in an attempt to minimise the impact of the loss of my father. The display of concern and interest by many friends in London and Lahore – specifically Nilufer Kuyas, Aamer Hussein and, above all, Nita Nazir – boosted morale and alleviated the inevitable strains that accompany scholarship. As a friend Sugata Bose has contributed immeasurably to this book; I cannot thank him enough for his advice, support and companionship during arduous moments in my years as a scholar gypsy.

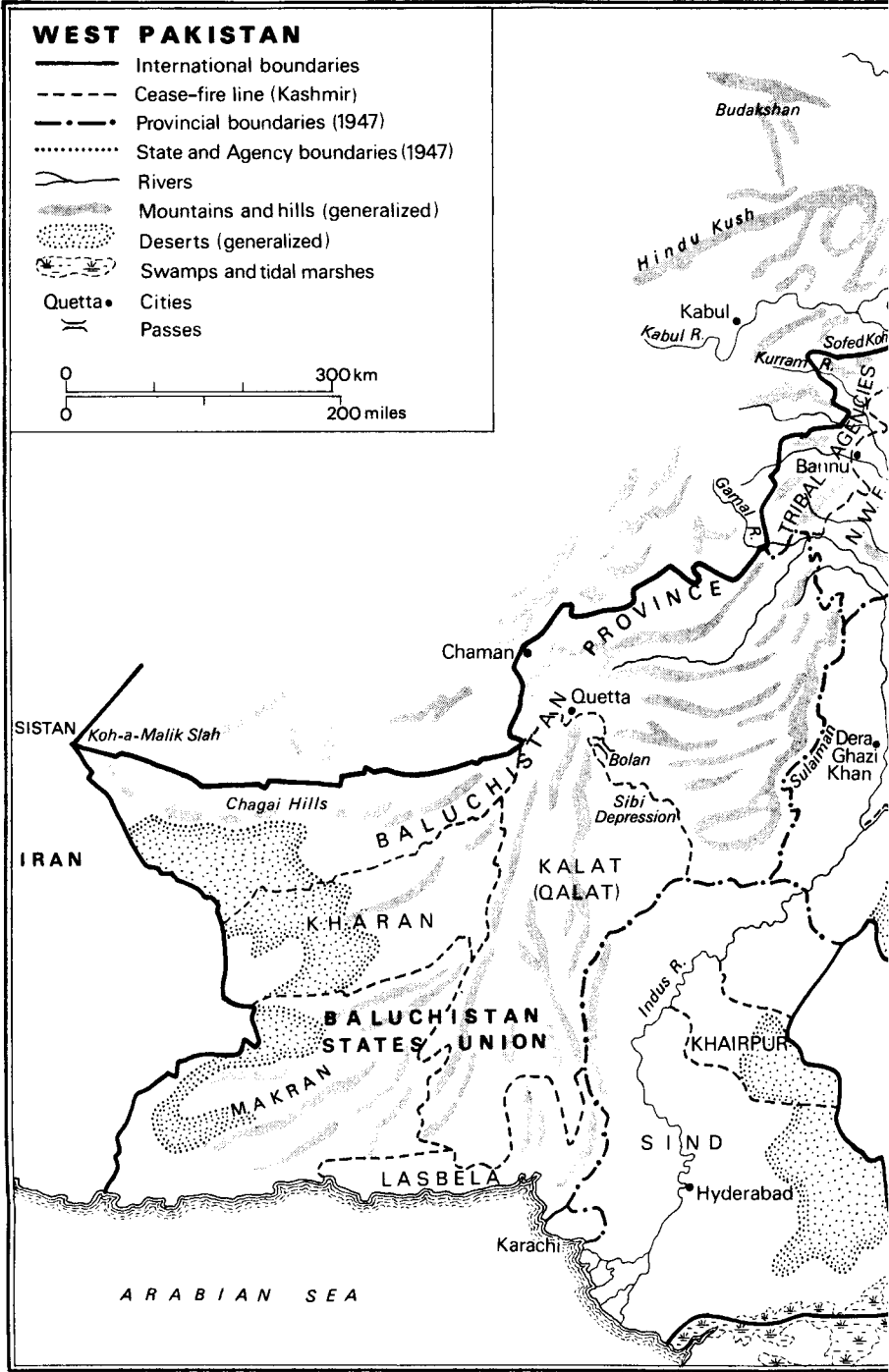
AYESHA JALAL

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIML	All-India Muslim League
BD	Basic Democracies
BPC	Basic Principles Committee
CAD	Constituent Assembly Debates
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
CSGID	Chief of Staff, General Intelligence Department
CSP	Civil Service of Pakistan
FO	Foreign Office
GHQ	Army General Headquarters
HAG	Harvard Advisory Group
ICA	International Cooperation Administration
IDA	Islamic Democratic Alliance
IOL	India Office Library (London)
JUI	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam
JUP	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan
LFO	Legal Framework Order
MAAG	Military Assistance Advisory Group
MEDO	Middle Eastern Defence Organisation
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly
NA	National Archives (Washington, DC)
NAP	National Awami Party
NEA	Office of Near Eastern Affairs
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PRO	Public Records Office (London)
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PNP	Pakistan National Party
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PRODA	Public Representatives Disqualification Order
RG	Record Group
SOA	Office of South Asian Affairs
UP	United Provinces
WNRC	Washington National Records Center



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