

To what extent then can the IDF top-brass incorporate Kober's ideas and criticisms into their formulation of Israel's future war-fighting strategies? Indeed, this represents part of a broader debate between policy-making (of which military action is a subset of) and academic (intellectual) thinking, which in Israel's case, the former is favoured and the latter being less regarded. Given Israel's existential threats, this is probably understandable, although as Kober writes, "the lack of intellectualism has had a detrimental effect on the IDF's performance, particularly during the First and Second Lebanon Wars and the First Intifada" (p. 142).

The need for abstract thinking (without ending up in pure philosophical musing) and higher-order sense making (while remaining rooted in reality) are essential ingredients for the military profession, not just in Israel, but among military practitioners in many Western countries. In an age where the nature of war has changed and with the ubiquitous use of technology, it is incumbent upon states to rethink the goals and objectives of the military profession, particularly if the survival of the nation-state is now dependent on other variables, including non-traditional security fields, economic trends, and cyber-security issues. Paradoxically, for the military to preserve its centrality as the final protector of state sovereignty, it would require being conversant with the increasing non-military issues of which the social life of the nation-state is comprised.

*T.E. Ben Ho*

London School of Economics and Political Science

Shah, Aqil: *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge MA, 2014), 416 pp., ill., ISBN 978-0674728936.

This book serves as an invaluable resource for scholars, analysts and policy-makers seeking to understand the precise nature of military influence in Pakistan's political development, and evaluate its prospects for deepening democratisation. The volume traces the origins, perpetuation, and consequences of military dominance in the evolution of Pakistan's national politics and institutions.

Shah illuminates that the degree of domestic political cohesion, prior to contexts of substantial external threat, can serve as a variable in explaining military subordination or supremacy in civil-military relations. In Pakistan, a perceived grave danger of attack from India, followed by later U.S. military assistance, ensured that the army institutionally developed to a level substantially

beyond that of Pakistan's democratic structures. This was a deliberate choice; while focusing resources upon national defence, Pakistan's civilian founders had articulated and enforced a concept of the state that restricted the equitable representation of major ethnic groups, such as East Pakistan's Bengalis and West Pakistan's Balochis, within national politics and institutions.

The utilisation of British colonial instruments to concentrate authority within this exclusionary view of the nation generated provincial and ethnic tensions, undermining the confidence of the institutionally superior army in the ability of civilian policymakers to manage the country. As Shah carefully documents, such a context led to the formation of early "tutelary beliefs" within Pakistan's army: that civilian leaders were ultimately incapable of sustained "independent" governance, and that military professionalism in Pakistan must incorporate a special responsibility to guide and intervene in domestic politics. This manner of "guardianship", however, would largely seek to defend and entrench this exclusionary concept of the nation established by Pakistan's early leaders, as well as the military's premier role in political life.

Shah's central argument is that the persistence of these norms continues to justify and propel military involvement in politics, with the effect of perpetuating the comparative underdevelopment of civilian democracy and political institutions. These norms are reproduced through military internal socialisation and educational courses. As evidence of this argument, the author employs an impressive range of primary sources such as interviews with senior military officers, political leaders, and civilian officials, archival documents from the National Defence University (NDU), and military strategy texts. The latter includes National Defence University curricula, which act as a powerful mechanism to impress this "politically expansive conception of military professionalism" upon future military leaders.

The author demonstrates these dynamics throughout the history of independent Pakistan. The first chapters detail the aforementioned fateful decisions regarding the comparative political and military structural development adopted by Pakistan's early civilian leaders, which encouraged military assumptions that it could better manage the state. The underlying conditions of domestic ethnic and regional underrepresentation persisted during the military governments of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, self-reinforcing the military's rationale for political involvement. The book then considers a central question in Pakistan's history: how the army was able to recover from the humiliation of the loss of East Pakistan in 1971 to resume its influential position in national politics. Shah highlights that this disaster did not erode the military's underlying self-conception as Pakistan's indispensable final political arbiter. The subsequent chapters elucidate the continuing effects of the military's politicised

self-conception until 2013, with periods of civilian rule explained by the army's specific preference for supervision and guidance, rather than permanent direct control, of the government.

The final sections of the book offer detailed proposals for the gradual removal of the military from civilian political life. Importantly, these extend to the role of external powers. However, the section outlining the potential role India can play in this process is relatively underdeveloped. A viable peace agreement regarding Kashmir, the author argues, will significantly remove a central external threat that rationalises the militarisation of Pakistan. Nevertheless, the author's views on potential near-term Indian initiatives to stabilise and reinforce civilian governance in Pakistan, while nevertheless ensuring security against continuing sub-conventional and terrorist attacks directed by its military, would be welcome at this point. Still, this constitutes a minor criticism, and this book should be required reading for academics and policy experts interested in the history of Pakistan's military and political institutional development, civil-military relations, and democratic transitions from authoritarian rule.

*Frank O'Donnell*

Plymouth University at the Britannia Royal Naval College

1789–1815

Hagemann, Karen: *Revisiting Prussia's Wars Against Napoleon. History, Culture and Memory* (New York, 2015), 483 pp., ISBN 978-0-521-19013-8.

Were they "Wars of Liberation" or "Wars of Liberty"? Each designation used for the Prussian wars against Napoleon of 1806 and 1812–15 betrays a political position: national-liberals would emphasise the social and political changes within Germany these wars brought about (or failed to, in many instances), while national-conservatives would focus on the anti-French aspect. Did the German nation rise up in arms against the usurper Napoleon, or did the subjects of the Prussian king rally around their monarch?

In a first chapter, Karen Hagemann relates the history of that period, describing those developments which changed and modernised Prussia to make it fit for a renewed struggle against French domination, after the 1806 campaign had ended in disaster. Karen Hagemann would not be Karen Hagemann if her book did not include a substantial amount of gender questions, such as the changing role of women during the war – nursing wounded soldiers or collecting money and clothes for the troops. The author can show how ladies