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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Benazir Bhutto, *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy, and the West*** (London: Simon and Schuster, 2008), pages 328.

In this book, written after her return to Pakistan in October 2007 and before her assassination in December 2007, Benazir Bhutto lays out her vision of Islam as "an open, pluralistic and tolerant religion" that has been hijacked by extremists, and believes that Islam and the West need not be headed towards a "clash of civilizations."

She wrote her first autobiography "Daughter of Destiny," in 1989. On Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's death in December 2007 at the age of 54, she became the fourth member of her immediate family to meet a violent and sudden death. There is a strong strain of Greek tragedy that runs in the Bhutto family: her father, the then prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was hanged in 1979 on charges of alleged murder of a political opponent; her younger brother, Shahnawaz, mysteriously died of poisoning in 1985 and the other brother, Murtaza, was gunned down, outside his home in 1996.

As leader of the populist Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Benazir Bhutto was both charismatic and controversial, who symbolized the hopes and fears of millions of Pakistanis.

Bhutto was very well-educated and hailed from a wealthy landowning Sindhi family, with a tradition of family in politics. It seems that the book is part-manifesto, part-spin job, part-selective history and part term-paper analysis. It shows her in many personae: in both the West and her native Pakistan, an Oxford-educated debate champion, adept at invoking Spengler and T. S. Eliot to make her points; a savvy and self-dramatizing campaigner, adroit at charming members of the Washington power elite, as well as the disenfranchised poor in Pakistan, whom she pledged to represent; a determined heir to her father's political legacy, who found a calling in transcending "years of pain, suffering, sacrifice and separation" into "an all consuming passion."

After a privileged childhood and Western education at Radcliffe and Oxford, young Benazir returned home to Pakistan, where her father was arrested by General Mohammad Ziaul Haq in 1977. She writes: "On the day my father was arrested, I changed from a girl to a woman. He would guide me over the next two years, cautioning me to remain focused and committed and never bitter. On the day he was murdered, I understood that my life was to be Pakistan, and I accepted the mantle of leadership of my father's legacy and my father's party."

As head of the PPP, Bhutto was twice elected prime minister and twice expelled from office under charges of corruption — spending many

years in exile abroad in addition to some five years in prison and under house arrest. Her return to Pakistan in October 2007, was marked by terrible violence — an incident that that would act as setting of the violence that would snuff out her life only two months later.

Bhutto's thesis is that dictatorship breeds extremism and that democracies "do not go to war with democracies" and "do not become state sponsors of terrorism." She quotes passages from Quran in support of her argument that Islam preaches tolerance and pluralism ("You shall have your religion, and I shall have my religion"), and compares Osama bin Laden's "attempt to exploit, manipulate and militarize Islam" to terrorist acts committed by other religious fanatics: "whether Christian fundamentalists' attacks on women's reproductive clinics or Jewish fundamentalist attacks on Muslim holy sites in Palestine."

Most parts of book consist of history lessons, delivered from her own unique perspective, about conflicting interpretations of Islamic doctrine, the Shia-Sunni schism and the debilitating legacy of Western colonialism in the Middle East. She upbraids the US for its role in helping to overthrow the democratically-elected government of Iran in 1953, positing that this not only undermined democracy in that country but also "made generations of Muslims suspicious and cynical about Western motivations."

She says that if the US had not used Afghanistan as merely a "blunt instrument to trigger the implosion of the Soviet Union" and then abandoned it, history in the entire region would have taken a different course. And she deems Iraq "a quagmire for the West and a great and unfolding tragedy for the people" of that country — a "colonial war in a postcolonial era", from which America cannot extricate itself easily.

As regards Pakistani history and her role, Bhutto's account is considerably more problematic. She asserts that if her government "had continued for its full five-year term, it would have been difficult for Osama bin Laden to set up base in Afghanistan in 1997, when he established Al Qaeda to openly recruit and train young men from all over the Muslim World."

Few would dispute, however, the fact that it was during her tenure of office that the Taliban were promoted in Afghanistan and recruiting of young Islamic militants was done for Pakistan's continued struggle against India in Kashmir. Grandiosely equating herself with democracy in Pakistan, she asserts: "In 1998, two years after my overthrow, Al Qaeda declared war on America," and suggests that "the age of international terrorist war actually coincided with the suspension of democracy in Pakistan."

There are accusations against President Pervez Musharraf with whom her Party had reportedly negotiated a power-sharing arrangement with the help of the US. She blames Musharraf's government for allowing a Taliban resurgence by pulling its own military out from North Waziristan in 2006. She also blames "wide-spread rigging preparations" for the 2008 elections, which

are generally rated as fair. Moreover, she accuses Musharraf's political supporters and allies of doing little to provide adequate security for her return to Pakistan in the fall of 2007. She got a sympathy wave after her killing.

She believes that for democracy in Pakistan and reconciliation between the Muslim world and the West globalization could promote tolerance, and in which "modernization and extremism are contradictory and mutually exclusive." Unfortunately, this vision was cut short by her untimely and tragic death.

Bhutto lays out her own plan for defeat of extremism by concerted efforts that involve both Muslims and the West. Some of those ideas seem impractical, especially the suggestion that the oil-producing Gulf states "jump-start economic and intellectual development" in the rest of the Muslim world, via a Muslim Investment Fund. This, in a way, is opposed to her line of argument that nation-states act in self-interests rather than as part of a pan-national religious community. Moreover, it glosses over the poor record of many oil-producing nations in fostering intellectual growth within their own societies.

The book ends by acknowledging that her proposals "may seem daunting and even impossible. I make these recommendations because times demand something more than business as usual . . . It is a time for creativity. It is a time for bold commitment.... There has been enough pain. It is time for reconciliation."

Overall, her death adds piquancy to some of the arguments she puts forth in the book, especially when she is no more in the world. ■

Dr Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, Senior Research Fellow, IPRI.

**Ambassador Arshad Sami Khan (ret'd), *Three Presidents and An Aide***

(New Delhi: Pentagon Press 2008), pages 286.

Ambassador Arshad Sami Khan's account of his association as ADC with three presidents of Pakistan, namely Field Marshal Mhammad Ayub Khan, General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is an interesting and passionate mix of personal experiences, reflections, and episodes that hitherto might not have been publicly known. Ambassador Sami joined Ayub Khan's staff as ADC in 1966, remained with Yahya Khan in the same capacity and worked with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto till 1972. These years are the years of upheaval in the political history of Pakistan. After exercising absolute powers — first as Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) and then as President — Ayub Khan's hold on power had begun to loosen after he signed Tashkent Declaration with India terminating the 1965 War. The author attributes this decline, among other factors, to the exit of two of Ayub Khan's

most competent colleagues-General Mohammad Azam Khan and Nawab Amir Mohammad Khan of Kalabagh. General Azam Khan as Governor East Pakistan became extremely popular for his hard work and caring attitude towards the people of the province. Nawab Amir Mohammad Khan was an effective administrator and controlled the province with an iron hand. According to the author, Ayub Khan had great respect for Nawab of Kalabagh and did not want to remove him. But some of his family members prevailed upon the Field Marshal to take this action as they considered the Nawab an obstacle in their path towards fulfilling their ambitions. Unfortunately, the author says Ayub Khan had very soft corner for his children.

It was also during this period that Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's Six Points gained prominence in national politics. Ayub Khan was convinced that Shaikh Mujibur Rehman had announced the points at the behest of the Indians who had been working for the disintegration of Pakistan since long. The period also saw start of popular mass movement against Ayub Khan, his resignation and Yahya Khan's take-over, 1970 elections, the crisis in East Pakistan, 1971 War, Yahya Khan's resignation and the beginning of Bhutto era. This part of the political history of Pakistan has widely been commented upon and written about by scholars, politicians and academics. Therefore, most of what is narrated in the book is already known publicly. Ambassador Sami Khan's book does not add anything new to what is already known on these developments through a number of other accounts like Lawrence Ziring's *Ayub Era*, Altaf Gohar's *Ayub Khan, Pakistan's First Military Ruler* and GW Chaudhry's *Last Days of United Pakistan* and Quduratullah Shahab's *Shahab Nama*

What is however, valuable in the book are certain glimpses of some successful while other abortive palace intrigues involving high placed actors. For example, the author describes how Ayub Khan's family planned to install Gohar Ayub as President of Pakistan in case of his father's death, which, according to the author looked almost certain when the president suffered a massive heart attack in early 1968 (p.34).

The book also reveals that Ayub Khan had advised Yahya Khan against undoing One Unit, introducing the principle of one man-one-vote, restoring parliamentary system of government and dismantling of the system of Basic Democracies. But Yahya Khan paid little heed to Ayub Khan's advice and did every thing Ayub Khan wanted him not to do.

We also learn from the book that Yahya Khan's C-in-C General Abdul Hameed and another general did not favour handing over power to Bhutto when Yahya panicked following the fall of Dhaka leading to mounting public demands for his resignation in the country. The author also tells us about the long term personal plans of General Gul Hasan at dislodging Yahya Khan first and then Bhutto and then take over. Quoting Air Marshal Rahim Khan, the author says that Gul Hassan "had brought in Bhutto only as a

temporary measure to allow time for public wrath to cool off against the army over East Pakistan debacle and to let Bhutto discredit himself by making political mistakes. At the same time he wanted Bhutto to use his acumen to clear the messy deck with India, especially over the Prisoners of War issue and to recognize Bangladesh as a separate state.” According to the author, the Air Marshal told him that in lighter moments, even Bhutto had hinted at Gul’s dubious behaviour making him believe that Gul would dislodge him in not too distant a future. (p.207). It may be noted that Gul Hassan had refused to send the army in aid of civil administration when the police in Punjab mutinied against the newly installed PPP government. Both General Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim Khan were dismissed by Bhutto from their positions of Chief of the Army Staff and Chief of the Air Staff, respectively for what Bhutto called their “Bonapartist tendencies.”

The book corroborates much of what is already in public knowledge about the traumatic events of the period under review. For example, Yahya Khan insisted on handing over complete powers to him as CMLA from Ayub Khan, the Government of Yahya Khan gave covert support to the election campaigns of Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan and Khan Sabur Khan’s Muslim League to pre-empt Bhutto and Mujib in West Pakistan and East Pakistan respectively. The 1970 elections were allowed to be fair and free only because General Umar’s National Security Cell had predicted that elections would produce a hung parliament. The book also reveals that Mujib had agreed to accept Yahya as President provided he (Yahya) was willing to be a titular head of the state in a parliamentary form of government. The Chinese had advised Pakistan not to go to war with India in December 1971.

But the most significant contribution of the book is that it reveals a mind-set, outlook and world view of two military rulers (Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan), according to which both believed in their self-righteousness being completely oblivious to the ground realities and facts around them.■

Dr Rashid Ahmad Khan, Senior Research Fellow, IPRI.

**Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan***

(London: Yale University Press, 2007), pages 251.

The author, Yasmin Khan, a British citizen, whose parents had migrated from India, examines the Partition of the South Asian Subcontinent from a human perspective. Her work covers the period from the end of World War II in 1945 up to 1950 and mainly focuses on communal fighting, which was a cause as well as a consequence of the Partition. She assesses the circumstances and the impact of Partition, especially on minorities.

The author has implicitly brought out the fact that the main cause for communal fighting was a strong anti-Pakistan sentiment amongst the leaders of Hindu dominated Indian National Congress (INC). A prominent INC leader, Vallabhbhai Patel had declared, "If Pakistan is to be achieved, the Hindus and Muslims will have to fight. There will be a civil war" and a prominent Leaguer responded that "the Muslims are not afraid of a civil war" (p.55). By the spring of 1946, Gandhian non-violence (*ahimsa*) had become a weak currency (p.54). There was collapse of trust and consequently increase in communal fighting.

Another reason contributing to uncertainty and riots was that while accepting Pakistan Plan in June 1947, the INC Resolution cast aspersions on its permanent nature and stated, "Geography and mountains and the seas fashioned India as she is and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny. The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts." (p. 93).<sup>1</sup> Yet, another fact which created confusion about the time of independence was the late announcement of the Radcliffe Award determining the boundary between India and Pakistan. This encouraged communal fighting to drive out the other community to claim the land (p.127).

Yasmin has given a vivid and graphic description of devastation, massacres, rape and atrocities preceding Partition and immediately after Partition, especially in the Punjab as well as the plight of the refugees (pp. 129-136). Even the sister of Ghulam Muhammad, who would later become the Governor General of Pakistan, was abducted in Delhi (p.144). "Broken bodies lay along roadsides and on train platforms, while charred wood and rubble were all that remained of large quarters of Amritsar and Lahore (p.129). Without naming the princely states of Indian Punjab and Rajasthan, such as Patiala, Faridkot, Alwar, Bharatpur, etc., she writes, "the principal aggressors were paramilitaries composed of former soldiers and well-trained young men working hand in glove with the armed forces of the princely states. ... This was not haphazard, frantic killing but, at its worst, routine, timetabled and systematic ethnic cleansing." (p. 131). For instance, water taps on railway stations were closed to deny water to "thirsty" Muslim refugees going to Pakistan (p.137). The departure of trains was leaked out and even announced on All India Radio facilitating murderers to act (p.136). She cites the historian Ian Coupland who had described that in the states of Alwar and Bharatpur "ethnic cleansing killed tens of thousands while the mass killing in Jammu and Kashmir in 1947-48 ... shared far more characteristics with other Partition slaughters." (p.135). She may also have referred to Brigadier R.C.B. Bristow's *Memoirs of the British Raj, A Soldier in India* (London, 1974), who gave an eye-witness account of the killing in the Indian Punjab.

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<sup>1</sup> AICC Resolution on 3 June Plan, passed on June 14, 1947; TOP, vol. 11, 398.

At the same time, she also brings out that whereas there were people set for ethnic cleansing, yet there were noble examples of some people who were working to save people of the other community (p. 136) and carried out “unusually brave, heroic and humanitarian acts” in saving them, even at the risk of their own lives (p. 138).

The author is of the opinion that the Partition was not inevitable. Mahammad Ali Jinnah was fighting to get the best possible deal and would have settled for a federal structure, if it guaranteed a firm decentralized power for the Muslims (p.44). To substantiate her point, she refers to the Cabinet Delegation Plan of May 1946, envisaging a united India with a central government with limited powers. The plan was accepted by Jinnah, but it did not meet the approval of the INC. It was “a galling missed opportunity” and the “price of a strong central government was the division of the country”, she rightly concludes (pp. 60, 85).

An immediate reason which led to the Partition was the prospect of the formation of Muslim League ministry in the Punjab on March 3, 1947. It was so strongly resisted by the Sikhs and the INC that the Punjab was on fire (p.83). The period saw the worst Hindu Muslim clashes and the INC Working Committee Resolution of March 8, 1947 demanded the division of the Punjab and Bengal on communal lines (pp. 86-87). The author should have said that, logically, the idea of communal division of the provinces strengthened the idea of the communal division of the subcontinent.

After independence, Pakistan wished Hindus and Sikhs to stay on because “they controlled all the banking, trade and industry” and Pakistan’s position was on “economic precipice” (p.155). “Pakistan lost its bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, entrepreneurs and clerks – the wheels came off the machinery of the state. Jinnah became increasingly panicked; saying the knifing Sikhs and Hindus was equivalent to stabbing Pakistan” (pp. 156-7). She has given some statistics of flight of capital from Pakistan to India. A banking magnate had announced that “we are leaving the ‘Pakistan’ an economic desert” (p. 101).<sup>2</sup>

According to the author, the Partition was a national crisis for both India and Pakistan (p.147). It did not bring an end to the problem but marked “the beginning of new calamities” (p.80). She laments that “the Partition of India is remembered for its carnage”, which involved the death of about half a million to one million deaths (p.6), and migration of about twelve million people for permanent habitation (p. 155) and this “massive upheaval changed the entire composition of India and Pakistan” (p.156). One in ten people in Pakistan was a refugee (p.156). In the Pakistani Punjab, almost entire non-Muslim population was exchanged with Muslim population from India (p.157). Government of India wanted the Muslims of the Indian Punjab to go

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<sup>2</sup> Civil and Military Gazette, May 6, 1947.

to Pakistan and Hindus/Sikhs of the Pakistani Punjab and Sindh to come to India (p.159). To substantiate her point, she cites Penderal Moon, who had asked a blue-turbaned leader of a group of Sikhs migrating to India as to why they left their village. He replied “Hukum Hai” (It’s an order) (p.159).

Another adverse impact of Partition is a culture of high defence spending and militarization in South Asia (p.182). The Partition left deep fault lines, which ran through individual lives, families and the whole region, pitching Indians and Pakistanis into new conflicts, border clashes and wars, and paved the way for the “troubled bilateral relationship which blights South Asia to the present day.” (p.187) Although, in the beginning, it was thought that there would be soft borders between the two states, but gradually, the Partition led to estrangement of two nations (pp.194-8) and both countries have produced one-dimensional version of their history (p.203).

The subtext of the work, according to author’s own admission, is a “will for peaceful rapprochement in South Asia”. On the whole, her account of events seems trustworthy. She has tried to give a balanced version and apportion blame to both sides of the divide. Her research is based on written record and interviews from a cross section of people on both sides. The book makes an interesting reading and is useful for all those interested in the history of the subcontinent, especially the events occurring about the time of the Partition and independence of the subcontinent.■

Dr Noor ul Haq, Research Fellow, IPRI.

**Shahid Javed Burki, *Changing Perceptions, Altered Reality: Pakistan’s Economy Under Musharraf, 1999-2006***

(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), pages 373.

Pakistan has a record of producing economists for the international organizations, such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and United Nations Development Program UNDP. The country, however, has miserably failed to produce economists for the development and improvement of national economy. Shahid Javed Burki is one of those persons who has gained international fame. He worked for the World Bank for more than 25 years. He hardly lived in Pakistan but kept arguing about the economy of Pakistan from “World Bank bureaucratic perceptive”, without much seeing it from the perceptive of a poor Pakistani who lives under extreme poverty conditions. His story is no different from those of Moin Qureshi and Shaukat Aziz, two imported economic managers. Burki writes good essays for the World Bank and poor analyses for the improvement of the state of the economy of Pakistan. His recent contribution, *Changing Perceptions, Altered Reality: Pakistan’s Economy Under Musharraf, 1999-2006*, makes a selective review of the growth of the economy, during the semi-authoritarian regime of



President General Pervez Musharraf. The book is primarily based on his essays written for the newspapers from time to time in a revised manner by touching upon the broad themes of growth, poverty, inequalities, human development, trade, and agriculture. The author claims that the work contains important options for the Islamabad policy-makers to strategize country's economy in the future. He reviews all such issues not as an economist but from an international bureaucratic point of view. Most of his conclusions and findings were thus backfired – not after years but within months.

The core point of his analysis is that the military Governments in Pakistan performed better than the civilian Governments. In support of his argument, he cites growth percentage and poverty alleviation during 1958-69, 1977-88, and 1999 onward. He, however, could not understand why every civilian Government was formed after the big national tragedy had occurred. After some sort of national planning was done during the first 11 years after the independence in 1947, army stepped in support of the United States and the West to serve their Cold War interests. The second civilian Government came only after the separation of the East Pakistan in 1971 and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's socialist policies substantially reduced inequalities through education and workers' migration to the Middle East. The subsequent civilian Governments that were formed during 1988-99, inherited the Afghan, Kalashnikov, and bomb blast culture, together with the revival of the economic and military sanctions during the 1990s by the United States. The nuclear blast conducted by the popularly elected Government of Mian Nawaz Sharif on 28 May 1998, was not a minor incident that led the West, its institutions, and the United States to level economic sanctions against Pakistan. The fact remains that the civilian Governments absorbed more foreign pressures than the military Governments. Without understanding these dynamics, Burki's roller coaster ride of the economy during all these years, does not yield any useful discussion and presents biased opinion heavily tilted toward the military Governments. Burki's analysis also proves short-sighted.

He wrongly concludes in Chapter 8 that the country has reached at the second stage of take-off in 2005 after it missed out the same in the 1960s. Experiencing high growth, the author turns optimistic about the economy after 2006 but he hardly predicted as to what would be going wrong soon after that. The new political set up that came into being after the 18 February polls, inherited an extremely miserable state of the economy. Economic figures were fudged and a complete economic mess was created. The state of the economy as unfolded by the new economic managers and even the Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan presents as to how much the economy had been unsustainable and financial indiscipline and corruption was introduced by the Musharraf-Aziz led economic management. Economy built after 1999, could not sustain internal and external pressures, challenging macro-economic stability. Fiscal deficit was expanded and external borrowings were increased

to US\$ 42.5 billion after the notorious “*Keshkeol* (beggar’s bowl) was burned” alive as was claimed by Musharraf and Aziz during 1999-2007. The public debt touched new heights during the last eight years, rising to Rs. 2946 billion from 1947 to 1999, but climbed to Rs. 5695 billion by June 2008, showing an increase of Rs. 2749 billion in the last eight years, as stated by Finance Minister Ishaq Dar on 9 April 2008. So much so, food inflation rose to over 18 percent high in January 2008. Revenue collection fell short of target for the fiscal year 2007-08, creating a harmful fiscal situation. Agriculture and manufacturing sectors were ignored and the country plunged into food crisis. Growing macro-economic imbalances caused much trouble to the growth of the economy as was evident in the Quarterly Report of the State Bank of Pakistan, published in April 2008. With essential food items wiped out in the markets, rising poverty, chronic electricity shortage of over 4200 mw, and closing downing of industries, how could one call it the “Rostowian take-off”? The period from 1999-2006 is an utter failure and total collapse leading to a political change in which the Musharraf regime and its policies came to an end. The economic situation was so alarming that the new Government decided to revise and downward all macro-economic projections including GDP growth target and all other fundamentals. Burki’s analysis could not touch upon these hard realities as he had the tendency to appreciate the economic policies of the military regimes. The analysis of the book is based on day to day business, depending on a particular Government policy decision or announcement. It is not a well-rounded economic analysis depicting the larger picture of the economy to take a longer view and to help devise a long term policy for the future.

References from W.W. Rostow, Arthur Lewis, Simon Kuznets, Mahbub ul Haq, Gerald Meier, and Samuel P. Huntington etc., glorify Burki’s economic portrait at many places. However, the author heavily relied on traditional secondary sources related to Pakistan’s economy, and then cited the World Bank sources. Primary sources of information such as the Government annual economic surveys, budgets, quarterly reports of the State Bank of Pakistan, and many other national and international sources for economic analysis have not been seen anywhere in the book. More political references were cited than economic that shows the way Burki tried to move on to. As a whole, his work does not present a true picture of the economy of Pakistan during the period under investigation. Hardly any justice was done with the sub-title, i.e., 1999-2006. With the absence of a comparative analysis, the work distracts the attention of the reader as concentration cannot be laid down on any specific theme. ■

Dr Ahmad Rashid Malik, Research Fellow, IPRI.

**Bassam Tibi, *Political Islam, World Politics and Europe: Democratic Peace and Euro-Islam versus Global Jihad***

(London: Routledge, 2007), pages 328.

The Political System of Islam has always been the highly misperceived and frequently misunderstood religious perspective, despite an abundance of literature available on it. Recently, a number of Muslim/Islamic scholars and experts have written about the relationship between Islam and Europe showing as to how the Muslims living in the European countries can be integrated into the European societies. Notable among these are: Tariq Ramadan, Richard Boney, Olivier Roy and Bassam Tibi. However, one has no hesitation in saying that the research done by Dr. Tibi is perhaps the best and stands out among the literature available on the subject.

Dr. Bassam Tibi is a renowned European Muslim social scientist and Professor of International Relations at the University of Goettingen and A.D. White Professor-at-Large at the Cornell University. He has extensively written and got his works published on Islam, Arab nationalism, democracy and religion. He is also credited for developing the concept of Euro-Islam. The concept, according to him, is a modern form of Islam, compatible with secular democracy in Europe and the political Islam, at the same time.

This book is basically an extension and further elaboration of his earlier works- *The Crisis of Modern Islam, Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change* and *Islam between Culture and Politics*. In all these works, he has mentioned the fact that the problem actually does not lie with Islam or European civilization *per se* but with the politicization of Islam. He is also of the view that “a civil Islam can be put in harmony with secular democracy as the better choice for our Islamic civilization”. In the European context, this compatibility is described by Dr. Tibi as the Euro-Islam; an idea first presented by him in 1992, during a conference in Paris and has since been taken up by a number of scholars, although most of them have added their own meanings to the term. The book under review is based upon the elaboration of this very concept. In author’s own words, the study is “committed to rethinking Islam and ends with a concluding chapter on Islam and democracy as the al-hall/ the solution for Muslims in their current mihnal/crisis.”

The main theme of the book is the ongoing global struggle between jihad and the existing secular culture of democracy in Europe. It also touches upon the consequences of this struggle for both; the global politics and the Muslims living in Europe. The core issue in this conflict, according to Dr. Tibi, is the lesson, Islamic Jihadis learnt from the Afghan Jihad that after defeating USSR, they could now successfully turn to another super power, i.e., USA. This very idea that they (Al-Qaeda) can fight and win this on-going war indicates that the major problem will not be solved by capturing or killing Bin

Laden. The idea of Islamic supremacy will remain even after that happening which will continue to disturb the global order and this is what is needed to be addressed and resolved.

The author has articulated two fundamental factors: the place of Islam in world politics and the position it occupies in European world of politics and civilization. The study is organised into three parts. This interesting piece of writing starts with a comprehensive and thought-provoking introduction, in which Dr. Tibi maps out what he describes as the “politicization of Islam” and how it has influenced and impacted not only Islam but also the global politics. This whole elaboration is enshrined in the European context, which is the main theme of this study.

Part I of the book is entitled as, “The conflict within Islamic civilization between Jihadism and democracy: Its pertinence to world politics and to the Islam Diaspora in Europe: Obstacles and Solutions”. This part is further divided into two sections; first is “From classical jihad to the global Jihadism in an invention of tradition for mapping the world into “Dar al-Islam”. The second is: “Polity and Rule: The Islamic quest for civil society and for democracy against *Hakimiyyat Allah* as the Islamic system of totalitarian government”. The first section is perhaps the most important regarding current misconceived political system of Islam and the points made in this chapter echo throughout the book.

In the first part of the book, Dr. Tibi has analyzed the so-called idea of *Nizam-e-Islami* (System of Islam) and how it has evolved over the years. He also looks into the classical literature and traces out all that has been said about Jihad, then and now. He aptly relates the passage of Jihad from classical concept to the state of current interpretation as an “ism” in Jihad, as a political tool for the fundamentalists. He provides an insight to the literature which to him laid foundations for this misinterpretation of Jihad, leading to a deviation from the original concept. Bassam Tibi refers to the Egyptian Muslims Brotherhood especially the one by Sayed Qutab and other leaders of the larger Salafist movement in this regard.

Qutab’s call for an Islamic revolution to establish the *Hakimiyyat Allah* [God’s rule] is causing the Jihadism of today. This is based upon the notion that Allah’s rule will first be established in the Muslim countries and then will spread into the world. This is what is happening today. World is witnessing the Islamic militancy fighting against many of the ruling regimes of Islamic states. While pointing this out, the author has also rightly criticized the Western scholars, who fail or are not willing to see and project the true picture of Islam, due to cultural biases.

The second chapter deals with the question of compatibility of Islamic political system with the modern secular democracy and shows how both can work together. The author very correctly points out that people from different cultural and civilizational backgrounds think differently, yet in Dr. Tibi’s

word's "For this kind of study, one needs to establish epistemological grounds for an inter- and cross-cultural understanding that seeks commonalities. This goal cannot be reached through quantitative methods. In short, in studying Islam and democracy, one needs to address the question of cultural diversity without abandoning the need for commonalities."

In Part II; "Political Islam enters world politics: Global Jihadism as an Islamist internationalism in its Sunni and Shiite varieties as a challenge to safe democracy and international security", the author has claimed that the current wave of militant Islamism has replaced Communism as challenge to the global security. Chapter three in this part traces back the origins of Sunni "variant of Jihad". Dr. Tibi is of the view that it was the Muslim Brotherhood and especially its ideologue, Sayyed Qutab who introduced this in the Sunni sect, whereas Iran is the natural choice for Dr. Tibi to pinpoint as the Shia propagator of Jihad in the fourth chapter. He mentions former Iranian President Dr. Khatami's dialogue of civilization and proves how it was replaced with renewed hatred and distrust of the West during the present regime. He also criticized the West for their ignorance and not understanding the offer of the dialogue among civilizations.

Part III focuses on historical interconnectedness of Europe and Islam. Chapter Five of this part discusses the theme in historical perspective and evolution of Euro-Islamic relationship over the centuries. Dr. Tibi has pointed out both the positives and negatives of this relationship. Chapter six deals with the contemporary Europe, characterized by the large number of Muslim population, expanding conversions to Islam, and the Muslim youth getting inclined towards Islamism. The main question raised in this chapter is whether Muslims living in Europe will continue to live in alienation from the Europeans and the mainstream Europe or will they ever be able to integrate? He is of the view that it is an equal responsibility of the Europeans to integrate their Muslim immigrants in a secular democratic Europe.

Dr. Tibi makes a case that a Muslim can be European without being white race or a Christian disciple. All that is required is that the Muslims of Europe should believe in and abide by the civic and civilizational values of Europe. This leads him to ask a more controversial and critical question: Can Muslims do that without reforming and rethinking basic principles of Islam? His answer is "yes", and this is what he exactly means to elaborate when he uses the term Euro-Islam. According to Dr. Tibi, "The concept of Euro-Islam derives from observations that I had made a decade earlier in West Africa – in the 80s. In Senegal, I was able to identify an Africanisation of Islam. Having seen how Islam had been adopted in West Africa despite its Arab origins, how it had become part of the autochthonous culture, I asked whether it would not be possible to attempt to make Islam indigenous to Europe along similar lines. In Europe, the Islam of immigrants remains utterly alien because it is not

European. ...how can we make Islam European in Europe, in the way that it has become African in Senegal and South East Asian in Indonesia?"

This, however only happens when the Salafist School of Islam is rejected and principles, such as Da'awa and Hidjra are not given the due importance or in other words unless religious reforms take place in Islam.

Since 9/11, there is still a dearth of good scholarly works on the role of Islam in the world politics, this book will be a good addition on the subject. Although written in the European background and context, it has looked at the issue quite broadly and then analyzed the situation in Europe using that broad brush. It would not be easy for any researcher/scholar, working on Islam and its role in the world politics to ignore this book, whether one agrees with the views and ideas of Dr. Tibi or not.

*Political Islam* is a book which primarily and successfully makes the point that Islam is not a threat but it is the politicization, rather misinterpretation, of the Islamic classical concept of jihad by certain group of Islamists and jihadists which is a threat to Europe and the world at large. This book is a valuable addition to the literature of social sciences on the subject and will be of great interest to any one interested in Islam, Jihad, Middle East and international relations and will attract the attention of students and experts alike. The reading gives a categorical insight to the pressing contemporary issues of religion, cultural identity, civilizational conflict and democratic values. The book can lead to a new wave of Ijtihad (research) in Islam, which has been abandoned since 10<sup>th</sup> century. ■

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**Joseph E. Stiglitz and Linda J. Bilmes, *The Three Trillion Dollar War: The True Cost of the Iraq Conflict***

(New York: Allen Lane, 2008), pages 311.

The Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) is about to complete its seventh year. *Operation Enduring Freedom*, *Operation Noble Eagle*, and *Operation Iraqi Freedom* are the three components of the war. Though various academic and scholarly challenges have been made to the rationale and the success potential of these three legs of the GWOT, the *Operation Iraqi Freedom* has come under tremendous criticism since its inception in 2003. With the withdrawal-supporters at the top of the Democratic Party, it is expected that the U.S. would review its current GWOT, particularly its operations in Iraq.

The beauty of democracy is in its continuous deliberations and re-adjustment in policies, on the basis of new realisations. The United States that prides itself to be the oldest democracy in the world, has deeply ingrained in itself the virtues of liberty and free speech that enable policy challengers to make their voices heard and thereby contribute in the course of correction.

*"The Three Trillion Dollar War: The True Cost of the Iraq Conflict"* is thus far the strongest challenge to the policy of the Bush Administration, identifying what the Americans are "burning" to run the Iraq affair. Joseph E. Stiglitz, a Nobel Laureate and a Professor at Columbia University, and Linda J. Bilmes, currently a lecturer in Public Policy at the Kennedy School of Government have previously written extensively on the subject. Ms. Bilmes authored a Harvard study in 2007 on the related theme entitled, "Soldiers Returning From Iraq and Afghanistan: The Long-term Costs of Providing Veterans Medical Care and Disability Benefits." A year earlier, Stiglitz and Bilmes co-authored a paper entitled, "The Economic Costs of The Iraq War: An Appraisal Three Years After the Beginning of The Conflict."

The book under review highlights that the cost of the U.S. war on Iraq is in fact much higher than what is being projected by the Bush Administration. It raises the point that the war in Iraq is not only a futile adventure but is also at the cost of several important tasks that the U.S. could have undertaken by utilising the monetary resources that are now being wasted in Iraq. The authors point out, that had the money been utilised in education, technology or research, the growth would have been higher and the U.S. much strengthened to effectively meet the future challenges. Research on alternative energy technologies and conservation techniques, could have lessened dependence on oil; a key vulnerability of contemporary America. Had the money been spent on a Marshall Plan for the Middle East, it would have won over the hearts and minds of the population that now has become the breeding ground for terrorists.

The authors believe that the three factors causing the "ballooning cost" are: the rising cost of personnel particularly due to the growing use of contractors; the rising cost of fuel; and, the need to replace the wearing out equipment. They point out that the world oil price has surged from \$25 per barrel in 2003 when the war started to \$100 per barrel in the beginning of 2008.

The framework developed by the authors for evaluating the cost is quite comprehensive. The cost of war includes: total relevant appropriations/expenditure to date for military operations; operational expenditures and savings hidden elsewhere in the defence budget; inflation and the time value for money; future operational (direct and hidden) expenditures; current and future costs of disability and health care for war veterans, equipment "reset" cost, budgetary costs of the war to other parts of government, such as social security and disability compensation etc., interest payment on the money borrowed for waging war, costs to the economy including the lost economic contribution of family members who have to leave the workforce to care the disabled veterans, and the macroeconomic impact. Applying this framework, the authors estimate that "the total cost of war ranges from \$ 2.7 trillion in strictly budgetary cost to \$5 trillion in total

economic costs.” The book reveals the steady upward trend in operating costs of wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, which rose from \$4.4 billion per month in 2003 to an estimated \$16 billion per month in 2008.

The book discusses the future costs of war in terms of two scenarios: “best case” and the “realistic-moderate”. Besides other costs, the authors highlight that in future the cost of providing medical care to war veterans would be very high. To elaborate this point, they cite that as a consequence of the Gulf War that lasted only for a few weeks with only 147 dead and 235 wounded, 45 per cent of the war veterans filed disability compensation claim, of which 88 per cent were approved. This number of filing and approval of claims costs the U.S. \$4.3 billion annually; as a consequence of a war which is generally perceived as a “free” war for the U.S. In comparison, the number involved in the current war and the troops average deployment period point out that huge amount would be required for the veterans.

The book also exposes other global costs, and the costs of the war for Iraq and the UK. Focusing on the global consequences of the war, the authors estimate that the rise in oil prices would have a direct cost to the world economy of approximately \$1.1 trillion, if the macroeconomic repercussions are taken into account. The authors reach the conclusion that there are no chances of an American victory, and therefore, the U.S. has to think of leaving Iraq with some grace. Shedding light on the lessons of the war, the book notes that fundamental lesson is the failure of the U.S. Congress and the U.N. Authors also point out that the existing checks on the U.S. President, given in the U.S. Constitution, are ineffective.

In case of a future war, Stiglitz and Bilmes propose several reforms to make “intelligent decisions” about waging wars. These include: Emergency supplemental fundings for war should be abandoned, strategy review is a must for war funding, comprehensive set of military accounts should be created, auditable financial statements should be presented to Congress, regular estimates of costs of military engagements should be provided by the Administration, reliance on contractors should be reviewed, National Guards and Reserves should not be called upon for more than one year, and any conflict of duration of more than one year should be financed by war surtax instead of financing through loans that next generations have to repay.

The book is an excellent work on the subject and the authors have presented an impressive work of economics and budgeting. They have equally reflected a very clear political wisdom. However, while advocating “exit,” authors have missed out some critical questions: would the wounds of the Iraqis be healed merely by the American departure? Why would the new generations of Jihadis pardon America for the blunders it has committed since 2003 and why would they not chase and hit the American targets as and when possible? Would not the retreat embolden the new generations of jihadis to



plan and execute another 9/11, particularly when they have recently been grievously wronged.

At a juncture in history when the U.S.' power, particularly military power, was beyond any challenge — spending 47 per cent of the world total budget for armaments — and there was an emergent consensus that the U.S. power has become too great to be checked, a war of only a few years has exposed the limitations of U.S. power. A question comes to mind whether it is Almighty's might that has come into play to humble the mightiest super power of history? And if so, would the saner voices like those of Stiglitz and Bilmes make any plausible difference? The world would have to wait for another couple of months to get the answer, when on November 4, the American people would be choosing between the Red and the Blue.■

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**Adeeb Khalid, *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia***

(London: University of California Press, 2007), pages 241.

Karl Marx once wrote: “Religion is the sign of oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world, and the soul of the soul-less condition. It is the opium of the people” (p.69). It is well known that opium and other narcotics are dangerous as these drugs poison the people and make them crazy and stupid. Religious poison, too, poisons a person's mind, so it is necessary to struggle with religion because it poisons the people (p.70). This was the approach, adopted by the Communists in Soviet Central Asia to contain the role of religion in the lives of the natives. Islam, as a traditional force, has always been in competition with the forces of modernity and thus the Communists tried to remove the backwardness in every sphere of life and throw it into the “dustbin of history”. Narration of historical dynamics of Islam in Central Asia would remain incomplete without mentioning the seven decades of Communist rule over the Muslims of the region. The nature of the political discourse in Central Asia today rests on the historical experience of Islam. Central Asia has many potential sources of instability and Islamic militancy ranks low on the list. Some of the drawbacks are scarcity of leadership, corruption, economic disparities and ecological disasters.

Adeeb Khalid, author of the book, teaches history at Carleton College in Minnesota. He has written extensively on issues related to Islam as a religion in Central Asia. Most of his work has been translated into various languages. In addition to the book under review, Adeeb wrote another informative book, *Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (1999). The book is about the Jadidis or “New Method” which advocate, renewing Islamic culture through secular and Western educational methods and reforms in the domain

of education and learning. The writer has opened up “virtually unknown” field i.e. the study of Islam in relation to modernization in Central Asia. The writer is an expert on Russia, Central Asia, Middle East, politics of cultural reform in the Muslim world, and cultural/intellectual history. To acknowledge his scholarship in 2005, Professor Khalid was awarded five major research prizes in the history of Soviet Islam and the making of Soviet Central Asia.

The book under review contains “sophisticated insight” about the study of Islam and Soviet history exhibiting that Muslim societies have been transformed by the Soviet presence in the region. The writer distanced himself from the older scholarship on Central Asia and Islam in the region by describing the complexity of relationship that Islam had with Communism. The Soviet period led to the de-Islamisation of the public discourse and created strong ethno-national identities of profoundly secular understanding of politics. Islam became synonymous to tradition and the Soviet period crystallized the disparities and sowed the seeds for turmoil in the future. Soviet legacy endures even today and for the vast majority of the population, revival of Islam means recovery of traditions destroyed under Communism.

The book revolves around the theme that there exists no reciprocal relationship between Islam and politics in Central Asian Republic, which many of the Westerners and the non-Westerners, particularly some Muslims, used to give explanation and justification to describe the status of Islam in the region. The book, not only questions the Soviet scholarship on Central Asia, but also disapproves simplistic Western understanding of Islam in the region. The end of Cold War played significant role in the development of the scholarship regarding the region, as these schools of thoughts began to understand the region beyond the prism of Russian administration. In this respect, the book under review, offers a welcome rebuttal on the ongoing debates and is a fresh addition to the growing literature on the status of Islam in Central Asia.

The writer contributes to the current scholarship while emphasizing on the nuanced retelling of the story of Islam and Politics in Central Asia. While drawing attention to the historical and primitive views that some people have about Central Asia, the book criticizes the essentialist views about Islam both within and outside the region. This refers to the binary vision of good or bad, official or parallel, normative or local, moderate or extremist, true or untrue. The writer explains that Islam has many faces and is internally diverse. Islam is not homogenous but heterogeneous even in one country. He tries to make it clear that the assumption of Islam as a political tool is an untrue assumption.

Much is wrong with Central Asia today and given the massive problems of the society, economy and environment, the writer appears to be pessimistic about the future of Central Asia. We should expect both political turmoil and state repression in the years to come, and for the latter to be routinely justified by the existence of the Islamic threat. The situation is in a

state of flux. The writer is of the view that Kyrgyz revolution, where Islam played no role whatsoever, is most likely to be a better indicator of the future trends than the official version of events of Andijan in Uzbekistan in 2005. Regimes of the Central Asian states concealed their failed socio-economic policies by blaming Islamic resistance movements which according to the writer is an easy way to get away with the criticism. The writer says that “although Islamic militancy might pose some danger to the regimes, the danger these regimes pose to ordinary pious Muslims is far greater”.

In Central Asia, we can be sure that Muslims will invoke Islam in their struggle over the destinies of their societies. The meaning of Islam would depend upon historical and political conditions in which Central Asians find themselves rather than in the imitation of other Muslim societies or to follow the injunctions of the great Islamic books. In the end, the writer says that it all depends on the observer as to how intelligently one sifts reality from “the actual conduct of Muslims”.

The book raises many questions but is unable to answer a few of the issues that should have been given due place in the whole dissertation. One such issue is that of Muslim minorities of the Russian Federation and other former Soviet Republics and their role in the political map of Central Asia. As the relationship of Islam was more prominently discussed under the variable of Communism, in this whole discourse, one cannot ignore the prominence of the issue of Islam in the Chinese politics today. The writer mentions China only once when he dismisses its persecution of Muslims there as “shorter than the six decades of Soviet history”. He also explains the role and status of Islam in Uzbekistan and does not explain much about the rest of the republics. There should have been much emphasis on the rest of the region, so that the reader may get a better and profound insight of Islam in Central Asia.

The book reflects the new dimensions in understanding of Islam as a religion in the Central Asia’s domestic, political and economic domains. At a time when the world’s attention is focused on the region, it is significant for scholars, students and policy makers to read the book and form their own opinion. ■

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**Josef Joffe, *Überpower, The Imperial Temptation of America***  
(New York: Norton, 2006), pages 271.

Paul Kennedy, in his book, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, brings out that power can be maintained only by a prudent balance between the creation of wealth and military expenditure, and the great powers in decline, almost always hasten their demise by shifting expenditure from the former to the latter. America seems to be suffering from similar syndrome.

*Überpower: The Imperial Temptation of America* by Josef Joffe, is an outstanding account about the rise of America as a sole super power, and also about challenges that the US is facing and will be pitched against in future. The book presents a grand strategy to maintain US dominance in a changed contemporary world. The author, Josef Joffe, is a German intellectual and is the publisher and editor of *Die Zeit*, a German newspaper. Joffe is one of those non-American intellectuals who are familiar with the American culture and political scenario as he was a student at Swarthmore, Johns Hopkins, and Harvard. *Überpower* not only ponders on the point as to how United States should manage its “unavoidable decline” but also contemplates how the US should maintain her global primacy and unrivaled status in the world. Joffe has tried to establish that guarding its global primacy should be the only policy objective of America. Joffe wants that America should act as the “Great Organizer” and should accept the responsibility of managing the world affairs. He argues that the US has been operating as a positive force in the world, despite having some unwise foreign policy objectives and has exterminated many traditional rivalries through mediation between arch rivals; an example could be the France-Germany alliance under the auspices of USA.

*Überpower* contains series of chapters and most part of it is assigned to gauge the cultural, political, economic and military strength of the US in comparison with her rivals. Joffe argues that potential challengers to the US primacy are far behind in terms of their economic and military might. To support his argument, he gives a comparison between the strength of the US and its potential challengers. According to Joffe’s calculations, if Beijing’s GDP keeps on multiplying every decade, it would match only the current US GDP in thirty years. Similarly, 0.5% reduction each year in the size of the population has badly harmed the national power of Moscow. Furthermore, Joffe outrightly negates EU being a potential challenger to the US primacy in the foreseeable future because it lacks public loyalty: the case he presents to support his argument is the rejection of European Constitution by France and Netherlands. Imbalance in the demography and workforce vis-à-vis US, is also the stumbling point which rules out the EU prospects to challenge the US dominance in the world.

Joffe has given a brief history of the demise of Soviet Union in the chapter entitled, “The World Undone” and has described the emergence of US as a sole super power afterwards. He has briefly explained about the surging anti-Americanism in Europe and the Islamic World and challenges the contention as to whether the US has been culturally, socially and morally retrograde or not. He contends that there is a distinction between the criticism on the US foreign policy and baseless emotionalism against America in Europe as a sizeable portion of the Europeans deplore the American policies just because these are American. While dealing with the aforementioned question, Joffe did not address the causes of anti-Americanism in the world and

remained nearly silent about the anti-Americanism in the Muslim world as he has devoted only three pages to this subject in a 271-page book. This seems rather unfair. Surging anti-Americanism in the Muslim World impeded American policies in the Middle East and Asia quite sternly.

Joffe has tried to establish that the “unmatched power” of the USA and her foreign policy adventures will soon be inviting counterbalancing efforts from the rivals. This is amply reflected in the staunch opposition of Iraq war by France, Germany, Russia and China. While addressing the subject of counterbalance against the so far unrivaled power of US after the demise of Soviet Union, Joffe has developed a scale of these balancing efforts. He muses that an alliance of unwilling has started balancing America by denial, symbolically and by establishing institutions. In his assessment International Criminal Court, Kyoto Protocol and Landmines Convention have been established to clip the powers of the US. The writer says that success in Iraq for the US would enhance its stature in the world in terms of military might. He writes, “American triumph (in Iraq) would grant yet more power to the one and only superpower – and this on a stage where it had already reduced France and Russia, the EU and the UN, to bit players”.

Joffe is convinced that America is still the sole super power in the world and has contemptuously dubbed it as ‘Mr. Big’. He has rejected the option of “supremacy” and “isolation” for the US to maintain its global primacy and proposed to go for disaggregation – to preempt the formation of any substantial coalition against her. In Joffe’s reckoning, “Mr. Big” has to balance and bond at the same time. He believes that “the United States will have to sustain stronger ties with its rivals and allies than they might weave among themselves”. Joffe has suggested for revitalization of international institutions like NATO and the United Nations, by integrating allies and former enemies in the new world order.

*Überpower: The Imperial Temptation of America* is a thought provoking description in which Joffe has presented strength of America – *the Überpower* – and proposed a significant “Grand Strategy” to maintain its singular presence in the world. But Joffe has undermined the Chinese stature of being potential challenger to the US as China has maintained fairly good relations with every regional power of the world and notably in Latin America which has been assumed as the traditional backyard of the United States. However, the Chinese encroachment in the American backyard, i.e., Latin America, has been completely overlooked by Joffe. American policy since the demise of the Soviet Union has not settled to a consistent course and subsequent political administrations could not find any significant alternative for American policies of Cold War. The foreign policy misadventures after 9/11, like Afghanistan and Iraq will continue to hound even if ‘Mr. Big’ follows the Joffe’s model of engaging the friends and foes through balancing and bonding approach.

Surging anti-Americanism in the world, especially in the Muslim world will have its drastic impact on the newly emerging world order. ■

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**Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Brig. (retd) Muneer Mahmud and Mustansar Billah, *Pakistan and Changing Scenario: Regional and Global***

(Islamabad: Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2008), pages 166.

The volume under review is based on papers, presented at the two-day seminar on “Pakistan and Changing Scenario: Regional and Global” The seminar was held on 27-28 March 2007, at Islamabad.

In his welcome address, Professor Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema spelt out main aims of this seminar, saying that it was directed to assess the nature of impact on Pakistan, vis-à-vis the transformed nature of the international environments. Adding to this, Mr. Mohammadmian Soomro, Chairman, Senate of Pakistan, expressed the hope that the subject seminar would build understanding between the strategic thinkers in the academic centres with those directly involved in policy formulation at the national level.

Next article, included in this volume, deals with education in Pakistan and is contributed by Dr. Noor ul Haq. He opens his thesis with the observation that Quaid-i-Azam had realised the drawbacks of the colonial education policy as operative in the sub-continent and in order to streamline this system, he had conceived and outlined the vision for education in Pakistan. While doing so, he had emphasized on attaining general awareness, character building, and Islamic ideals. He had also laid stress on acquisition of female education.

Next article written by Dr. Tariq Rehman, also deals with various educational themes. As per his research, good education would mean a good, sensitive citizen at the school level, a modern, educational worker at the college level and a producer of ideas, a real mover and shaker in the world of intellect, at the university level. At first sight, this breakdown may appear unequal but certainly, it is not unjust.

In her article: Pedagogy and Public Policy in American Studies, Dr. Rukhsana Qamber, maintains that theory and fresh provocative concepts affect society more than the mundane concerns of foreign policy and public policy. She suggests that as a first step to critical inquiries, we could suggest re-thinking currently fashionable but culturally inappropriate “buzzwords” to Muslim population, such as “diaspora” and “holocaust”. These ‘buzzwords’ warrant a complete transformation.

Next, Dr. Fazal ur-Rahim Marwat’s paper examines the roots of Talibanisation in Pakistan, in the historical perspective. To him, the interaction

between internal and external variables to transform Afghan refugees into holy warriors or Mujahideen and the techniques by secret agencies of Pakistan and the USA, must be examined in depth. The author feels agitated to see that the religious seminaries which had for centuries been places of learning and institutions of higher moral training in South and Central Asia, have now been turned into training camps under the covert patronage of the national and international “intelligence agencies”. The author maintains that even some students of the regular educational secular institutions of Pakistan, had participated in the Afghan and the Kashmir War and, in the process, lost their lives. Ironically, after the withdrawal of Soviet forces, these militant bands had shifted to other places of the region and the holy war, that they had so zealously espoused, was then developed into sectarian violence.

With regard to impact of globalisation on Pakistan’s economy, Rizwan ullah Kokab, maintains that globalisation has become the all embracing catchword of our times. Almost all aspects of human life — political, social, economics, cultural and, in some cases, even religious, have developed some type of link with globalisation. Migration, refugee flows, “brain drain” from the developing world, spread of Western cultures, in the form of soap operas, music, fashion and similar trends are often considered as a national concomitant of globalisation. Therefore, there is hardly any aspect of modern life that is not positively or negatively influenced by the concept of globalisation.

In sum, globalisation has brought us on a turn of history, where we have no choice other than walking on a tight rope. Under the principle of “Survival of the Fittest” either we shall gain or lose.

With regard to Constitutional Dynamics, as envisaged for Pakistan, Professor Lal Bakhsh Jiskani, maintains that the new constitution, as based on democratic and secular character of Pakistan, is need of the hour. As a pre-requisite, it must envisage the mindset of the masses of Pakistan. Full provincial autonomy should be guaranteed and no bifurcation of the provinces should be accepted in the name of provincial autonomy. To save the country from further disintegration, the demands of smaller provinces must be fulfilled. The supremacy of the parliament should be ensured with equal representatives from provinces.

In his article on the “Human trafficking in South Asia”, Dr. Sadiq. A Gill discusses the evil effects of this heinous practice and opines that the government concerned could improve the situation by instituting short term or long term care centres as deemed appropriate for trafficking victims. Also, shelter facilities should also be provided to them.

Dr. Munir, Ahmed Baloch, in his paper on “Pakistan-Iran Relations in Changing World Scenario”, recommends that Pakistan and Iran must stand against the designs of all such external and internal elements, who are trying to

damage their relations. Pakistan and Iran's mutual approach should frustrate all such designs.

And now, Dr. Musarrat Jabeen dilates on economic stress, faced by Pakistan in the changing regional economy. She recommends that a forum or consortium should be established with India, Iran, China, USA, Pakistan and Afghanistan. This is, in fact, need of the hour as all these states are playing their stakes in the development of energy system. She also suggests that Pakistan should take this initiative and help in resolving all nagging problems through peaceful means.

Mr. Lutfur Rehman, in his paper, presents Pakistani's perspective of Durand Line. He regrets that this agreement has been widely misquoted in the past and even now, a well-organised campaign is being orchestrated in certain circles to create confusion in the minds of general public. For instance, with regard to the status of the Durand Line, Pakhtoon nationalists are of the opinion that the agreement was to stay in force for a period of one century. So, they argue that since this period has already expired in November 1993, it is incumbent on Pakistan to return NWFP to Afghanistan. Mr. Lutfur Rehman has done well to challenge this argument by his cogent reasoning.

Shaping up the global milieu, is the theme, on which Uzma Shakeel, dilates and makes her readers believe that a new trans-Atlantic bargain is required if the US-European security alliance is to meet the world's most threatening challenges collectively and effectively. Her account is both compact and forceful. ■

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