

BOOK REVIEWS

S. Akbar Zaidi, *Military, Civil Society and Democratization in Pakistan*

(Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2011), 218 pages.

The work is a collection of seven articles mostly written in 2007 and later modified by the author, S. Akbar Zaidi, himself. The author, who is a political economist, discusses the politics of democratization in Pakistan, addresses historical issues such as politics of accommodation, acceptance and reconciliation, and mainly focuses on the Musharraf period.

In his first chapter he enumerates the causes, as given by Amartya Sen, for the failure of democracy in Pakistan: (i) Unlike Nehru in India, Mr. Jinnah died early; (ii) “elites who played the most active part in creating Pakistan had migrated from Muslim minority areas”; (iii) democracy in Pakistan would have meant the domination of East Pakistan in elected legislature; (iv) low level of industrialization; and (v) the most well organized institutions were the civil and military bureaucracy who felt that they are better qualified to take Pakistan forward economically and defend its frontiers. The author has added a few more factors: (i) bureaucracy’s resolve to control power was strengthened owing to the Kashmir War of 1948; (ii) the politicians were “disunited regarding their views and visions;” (iii) the “social groups most likely to demand and struggle for democracy” already had some access to and share in state power; and (iv) the military tends to dominate the state and politics because of the failure of civil society in Pakistan (1-6, 33). He should have also brought out that after independence there were some other factors as well: (i) feudalism; (ii) absence of middle class; (iii) no civil society; (iv) no vibrant media; and (v) low level of literacy which was only 5 per cent as per the census of Pakistan in 1951.

The author however rejects the generalized argument that Pakistan is feudal, agricultural, and rural or traditional society or economy. (156) According to him a paradigm shift has taken place and, although one may not agree with him, Pakistan is an urban country with perhaps 50-55 per cent population living in settlements which cannot be called rural. (157) He seems somewhat correct in his view that Pakistan is not traditional because Islamic parties won largely in rural areas from Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (158). A middle class is there as can be seen in civil society movement of 2007. Also there is an increasing visibility of women in public spaces. (159) After 9/11 substantial change has taken place in Pakistan-India relations (Chapter 3). UAE and Gulf states are investing in Pakistan. (161)

As an economist, he gives a table of growth rates from 1950 till 2007, which is useful in ascertaining growth of the country in terms of GDP and in

the domain of agricultural, industrial and services sectors during various periods. For instance, the GDP from 1950-54 was 3.3; 1954-58: 2.9; 1958-64: 5.2; 1965-70: 7.2; 1971-77: 4.4; 1980s: 6.5; 1990s: 4.6; 1999-02: 3.2; and 2002-07: 6.8 (75). Pakistan was considered to be a model economy in the 1950s (77). General Zia's rule had the "highest economic growth record in Pakistan's history." But the democratic government (1988-1999) faced "bankruptcy, astronomical debt, and had to resort to loans from the IMF and World Bank with severe conditionality, which made matters far worse. (90) He is not incorrect when he says that during the post-Zia democratic decade of 1988-99, Pakistan was a "bankrupt, nuclear, 'rogue', 'pariah', failed state, which was known for harbouring Islamic fundamentalists and Jihadis" when General Musharraf took over in October 1999 (50-51). He claims that 9/11 saved Pakistan's economy and fortified General Musharraf's political future (58). But he also emphasizes the fact that "without political stability in Pakistan, economic development will not take place" (166).

The donor agencies demand "good governance," which should be "predictable, open and enlightened policy making", the bureaucracy is expected to have a "professional ethos", civil society is expected to play its role in public affairs, and "the rule of law" is critical (174).

As for "widespread corruption in Pakistan during the 1990s", he supports the view that it "adversely affected investment and growth" (179). He concurs that "corruption by successive governments was not only a factor in undermining the economy, and intensifying the deprivation of the poor, but also in eroding the very legitimacy of the political system which brought such governments repeatedly into power" (181).

Both Gen Zia and Gen Musharraf ousted the democratically elected governments and cited corruption and inefficiency and incompetence of politicians as the primary cause. (131, 151). He feels that under Musharraf "perhaps there was some semblance of good government without democracy" if good governance means "efficient and well managed government" (177).

Coming to the present government of Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani, the author substantially agrees with Shahid Javed Burki's critique of the 2008-09 Federal Budget announced on 11 June 2008. Zaidi criticizes government for not following Burki's recommendations. For instance, he says that it is unforgivable that revenue generation from stock market was not taxed (165). He also criticizes the ever high inflation around 28 per cent, and rise in food and oil prices (164).

As for devolution of power, he highlights the fact that all military rulers laid emphasis on devolution of power to local governments, but there has been no devolution of federal level powers, duties or responsibilities to either the provincial or district level. After restoration of civilian supremacy the local government system was invariably reversed (125).

The movement for democracy at the end of 1960 took place because the middle class was not part of the nexus of power of the state. The movement under General Zia ul Haq was sponsored by women and liberal sections of the society. Thus, according to the author, as long as the state allows multiple groups and classes' access to the nexus of power, a movement for democracy would seem impossible (41). He thus talks of collaborative politics in Pakistan (chapters one and seven), where capitalist development, emergence of new political classes, which instead of competing for power against the bureaucracy or the military, compromise, collaborate or are co-opted especially by the military (189). Such compromise in his opinion can be justified if it opens up for more political and democratic space even under military rule (191).

As for military rule, he is right when he says that they have seldom had to face opposition in coming into power (203). Talking of why military rule succeeds often without resistance, he gives two reasons. One relates to the nature of Pakistan's civil society, whose agenda seems to be "enlightened moderation" rather than participatory politics. Secondly, the political class is more interested in coming to power through any means available (194). Zia attempted to derive his legitimacy in his promise to fulfill Pakistan's destiny by making it an Islamic country and drew support from a large section of Pakistan's urban middle classes (195). Military has been able to rule with compromise rather than confrontation with willing partners to be found (203). The "political parties and actors are more concerned with access to, and preferably capturing power than with the modalities of getting there" (209). Why the military continues to dominate political choices in Pakistan and why electoral democracy, political parties and civil society have been unable to enforce their writ (192), he feels that "the democracy and good governance are not necessarily related or dependent on each other" (172). He, however, is right that each successive military ruler is weaker than his early predecessor (190). And "despite harsh military dictatorships, the processes of democratization continue to take place and often transform society radically" (xi).

As for Islam, he emphasizes that Islam is very much part of the cultural and social milieu of Pakistan and Pakistan cannot be a secularized state for a number of years to come (42). Referring to Swat situation he is of the view that "the sharia had to be enforced to stop bloodshed in the area" (173). He also talks of intellectual discourse in civil society between the "secular-liberal" and the "Islamic communal" in relation to democratic politics (193). The religious parties opposed Musharraf not for democracy but for his liberalism (212). Going with the popular trend he has criticized the military for using force against the Lal Masjid killing about 100 persons, but he fails to mention the casualties suffered by law enforcement agencies before and during the operation (185).

He concluded that “the politics of the military, the politics of jihadis, and the politics of political parties and democrats, as well as now increasingly, civil society and social movements, give contradictory trends to the balance between governance and democracy” (183). There are also “contradictions in Pakistan in terms of the preference between authoritarianism and democracy, and between a life style liberalism and religious conservatism, or the now increasing fear of the rise of fundamentalism and talibanisation” (217).

The author has relied mostly on secondary sources and has analysed events critically. In any case his work is interesting and useful for the general reader as well as those scholars and students who may be interested in political economy, issues of governance, military rule, democracy, role of politicians and transformation of Pakistani society in its historical perspective. ■

Dr. Noor ul Haq, Senior Research Fellow, IPRI.

Unaiza Niaz, *Wars, Insurgencies, and Terrorist Attacks*
(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 364 pages.

The book *Wars, Insurgencies, and Terrorist Attacks, A Psychosocial Perspective from the Muslim World* by Professor Unaiza Niaz, a psychotherapist, and guest co-authors, addresses some of the key psychological issues that Muslim societies are facing as a result of terrorist violence. The work under review examines and analyses the process of psycho-traumatic conditions of people who have been victims directly or indirectly of terrorist violence. Among them are those tens of thousands who have had to leave their homes in search of security. A majority of the victims of terrorism and what is called the global war on terrorism (GWOI) led by the United States happen to be Pakistanis.

The volume has nine chapters: Islam and terrorism, history of terrorism, etiology of terrorism, terrorism and its aftermath, wars in the Muslim World, insurgencies with focus on Pakistan, trauma in vulnerable groups, trauma treatment and the triangle of human rights violations.

The work highlights the history and causes of terrorism starting from early times to World War II and the rise of terrorism in the present times. It discusses the historical events behind the emergence of Muslim fundamentalism in recent times and the genesis of militancy in Pakistan in areas such as Swat, FATA and the terrorist acts being committed elsewhere in Pakistan.

The work is focused on presenting the psychological impact of insurgency and counter insurgency operations on the people of Swat, FATA and other affected parts of Pakistan. Ms Niaz regards the terrorist groups in Pakistan as well trained and well equipped with support from forces hostile to the country. She suggests that to end terrorism, each group of terrorists should be addressed separately to know its demands and how best these could be met.

The effects of violence on the mental health of vulnerable groups among the affected people such as women, children and old people including internally displaced persons in Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Bosnia and Kashmir have been discussed in detail. Professor Unaiza also explains the emergence on the scene of female suicide bombers in Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Chechnya, Palestine and Iraq which she says portrays the desperation, frustration and intense anger of brutalized people at the hands of foreign occupiers and their agents.

The trauma related complications and their treatment particularly with regard to mental health are discussed in detail. It is pointed out that psychological treatment alone is not sufficient as the victims need change in their depressed environment through educational and development works.

A co-author, Dr. Morad El-Shazly has also presented his views on what he calls the triangle of Human Rights Violations. Keeping in view the lessons from Guantanamo and other similar detention centers Dr. Morad believes that extreme and bizarre ideas, concepts or principles cannot be overcome by force or torture. These can only be tackled through moderation and tolerance.

The book emphasizes that Islam opposes all forms of terrorism. The religious knowledge of the extremist groups is superficial. Islam is a religion of moderation, tolerance and believes in accepting all other religions. This renders the actions of the extremist groups that they use to promote their cause as violative of Islamic principles. Actually, the misunderstanding about Islam prevalent in the West is the creation of a misinformed and ignorant media. Islam does not provide any basis for terrorism or suicide bombing. Muslim scholars regard this behaviour as abhorrent to Islam.

Unaiza Niaz has taken a humanistic approach to the issue of terrorism. She appeals to the civilized world to use peaceful means to solve the conflicts that are the root cause of the terrorist menace. The Muslim world, which is the main victim of these terrorist attacks, wars and insurgencies, must also condemn all forms of terrorism whether by individuals or groups as nothing can be gained from violence.

The book by focusing on trauma and restoration of mental health among victims of violence has made the current debate on terrorism holistic as quite often this aspect is overlooked in literature dealing with this phenomenon. ■

Col. Muhammad Hanif (ret'd), Consultant, IPRI.

Jehan Perera et al., *Conflict Transformation and the Challenge of Peace*, ed., Moonis Ahmar

(Karachi: Department of IR, University of Karachi, 2011), 244 pages.

Conflict Transformation and the Challenge of Peace edited by Moonis Ahmar is a collection of writings presented at a workshop organized by the Department of International Relations (IR), University of Karachi, in collaboration with the Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF), Islamabad. The papers assess and analyse how conflicts transform and how that process can be managed.

Dr. Moonis Ahmar in his paper examines “how the process of conflict transformation led to either aggravation or resolution...” (3) New approaches to a situation often come across rigidity owing to socio-cultural and historical baggages. He cites the examples of apartheid in South Africa and the Sindhi-Muhajir hostility in Pakistan. In the first instance where the conflict was resolved a new conflict based on “interests within the black community” arose (3). Conflicts have the tendency to transform into new conflicts which makes it necessary that the post-resolution scenario is not lost sight of. Before adopting any strategy to resolve a conflict one has to consider if the target community is ready for change through the proposed scheme.

Arshi Saleem Hashmi, in her paper “Bridging the gap in theory and practice of conflict transformation,” comes up with a new idea of “moving from conflict-habituated systems to peace systems” (5). She presents different theorists who have worked on conflict and conflict transformation. Ivan Gyozo Somlai in his chapter titled “The role of state and society in conflict transformation: A process in asymmetry” argues that “transformation...is a process of systematic change” and the “stakeholders-state and society-must be prepared to distinguish and decide about preference for abrupt or gradual change as well as preferred balance among power, participation and collaboration without undue outside pressures” (79-80). Hamidullah Atae in his paper “Conflict transformation and Afghanistan” is of the opinion that “conflict transformation, conflict management and or other means of conflict resolution [have] never taken place in Afghanistan” (92). Here, the writer is right on spot as in this troubled theatre conflict has transformed into another conflict: the Soviet occupation followed by civil war and then the present US war against terrorism in Afghanistan. Mr. Atae dwells in detail on the economic side of the Afghan conflict which is probably the most useful part of his essay since this aspect has not been generally touched upon in relevant literature. He seems to suggest that proper exploitation of Afghanistan’s natural resources can transform the Afghan conflict into Afghan peace.

Mr. Delawar Hossain in “Conflict transformation in Bangladesh: A preliminary analysis” dwells on the techniques of conflict transformation employed in the country. He says that the post-9/11 world presents manifold

conflicts of varied nature that need urgent measures to deal with. He argues that “there is [hardly] any work done on overall mapping of conflicts in Bangladesh” (122). South Asian researchers can find useful information in this study on Bangladesh. Ms. Indra Adhikari discusses the Nepali perspective on conflict transformation in the light of the country’s history.” She holds government policies responsible for internal insurgencies in Nepal and identifies the hurdles in the way of conflict transformation. Ms. Maria Saifuddin Effendi in her chapter “Conflict Transformation: A case study of Pakistan” is of the opinion that the process of conflict transformation has never taken place in Pakistan. Her paper revolves around three case studies i.e. ethnic conflict in urban Sindh between Sindhi and Muhajir (Karachi) groups, the Balochistan conflict, and Talibanisation in Swat. Her paper offers a candid discussion of our time. Dr. Jehan Perera discusses “Conflict transformation in Sri Lanka” where one of the longest conflicts of our time, between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE, caused much destruction and bloodshed in the island country. He traces the course of the conflict with facts and figures and finds that though the conflict has come to an end “the violence, suspicion, and segregation of the conflict have become deeply embedded in social and political life” (221) of the country. In the last chapter titled “Conflict transformation and the European experience: A case study of institutional (re) design in Bosnia-Herzegovina,” Dr. Kristina Roepstorff attempts to analyse “the (re) design of political institutions in societies torn by violent ethnic conflict. [Because, the] violent conflict most often causes the breakdown of political institutions, [so] the successful reconstruction of political institutions is regarded crucial for post-conflict reconstruction and sustainable peace building” (223) and in this regard the writer mentions the *Dayton Agreement* in Bosnia-Herzegovina which focused on it.

These studies suggest that conflict transformation is a prescriptive concept. Left alone, a conflict can have destructive consequences. However, the consequences can be modified or transformed in a way that may bring improvement in social structures. Conflict transformation is a relatively new idea in the toolbox of conflict prevention. It complements military strategies in containing the violence side of conflicts, and the dispute resolution approach (mediation, for example), which addresses the disputes that lie behind the conflict and lead to violent behaviour.¹

The book has a great deal of useful material on present day South Asia including Afghanistan which is facing critical traditional and non-traditional

¹ International Online Training Program on Intractable Conflict, “Conflict Transformation,” *Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, USA*, <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/contrns.htm> (accessed April 25, 2011).

security threats that spring from the interplay of conflicts in which the states of the region are embroiled. The relatively new concept of conflict transformation which is studied here from the perspective of different countries of the region provides another angle to view the issue of conflict resolution. ■

Khalid Chandio, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Muhammad Asif, *Energy Crisis in Pakistan: Origins, Challenges, and Sustainable Solutions*

(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 259 pages.

Energy Crisis in Pakistan by Muhammad Asif discusses the factors that underlie the present energy crisis in the country. It examines the role of the present energy policies in creating the crisis, failure of the government to mop up resources to fill the demand supply gap and the serious implications on economic growth. The book is not a mere criticism but presents policy guidelines and a set of practical measures to end the shortage of power in the country.

Mr. Asif says the crisis has landed the country in a modern stone age. Its economic, socio-political and strategic implications can only be overlooked at great national cost. Comprising seven chapters, the book exposes the financial and administrative irregularities which have seriously harmed the development of this strategic sector. There is great dearth of information and knowledge on the subject of energy in Pakistan. The absence of think-tanks and almost non-existent research on the subject explains the lack of understanding on the energy issue and the weakness of the resultant policies to address the problem. The seriousness of the problem demands that policies should be framed on a thorough understanding of the issues involved. The book is an effort to fulfill this need.

The writer criticizes the usual approach of buying solutions that ultimately prove unviable and make things more complex. A good example is the rental power projects. They put a heavy burden on an already fragile infrastructure. Electricity from these power projects will be of no use to households, industry, agriculture and commercial sectors if it is beyond their purchasing capacity. The situation requires evolutionary as well as revolutionary measures. The energy challenges, no matter how big they are, can be addressed with purposeful intent, right strategy and commitment to the cause.

The first two chapters discuss the contemporary status of energy in respect of available resources - fossil fuels, nuclear power, renewable energy, hydrogen and oil. As energy has attained the status of an indispensable strategic commodity, the term energy security is a new addition to the catalogue of

challenges facing the global energy demand. Many countries, particularly the industrialized economies, have placed energy security on top of their national and foreign policies. The high degree of multi-disciplinary inter-dependency amongst nations makes energy security a critical issue.

This discussion is followed by an overview of the energy base of the country as to resources and institutional infrastructure. The energy supply base of Pakistan has two major segments, commercial and non-commercial. The energy availability in the commercial network has increased by over five times in the last 30 years. The fact that currently hardly 60 per cent and 20 per cent of the total number of households are connected respectively to the national electric grid and gas pipelines implies that the non-commercial base still makes up a considerably large proportion of the total supplies in the country. It mainly comes from the wide range of biomass resources. There is no detailed data available on the non-commercial energy base to show its generation, supply, consumption and pricing trends. The discussion is focused on the commercial energy base of the country with emphasis mainly on the power sector.

Chapter four discusses the energy crisis -- how it began, what are its dimensions and implications for Pakistan, particularly in the socio-economic and geo-strategic contexts. Facts and figures are quoted to analyse the factors responsible for the present crisis. In this context the performance of the crucial stakeholders has been examined in the next chapter. It gives an account of the author's experiences and assessment of the core issues. The views of a number of prominent energy officials and experts who were interviewed for this study are also quoted. The picture that emerges from this discussion shows, institutional failure in planning for the national needs. Government record barring a couple of exceptions has been mostly disappointing in the development of this sector.

Identifying the reason behind the collapse of the energy sector, the author points to bad governance, nepotism, corruption, poor management and pursuit of vested interests by some of the high-ups in creating this crisis. While the energy crisis is badly hurting the national economy both at the micro and macro levels, the measures so far taken by the concerned authorities have not shown the ability to arrest the problem. The situation is not going to improve unless the chronic myopia of government policies is cured.

In the last two chapters Mr. Asif provides solutions to address the present energy crisis and to ensure a sustainable energy future for the country. Reflecting upon the key strengths of the energy base of Pakistan, a number of potential technologies have been discussed. So far the project-oriented approach instead of a goal-oriented one has tried ad hoc and quick-fix solutions. There has been no long-term sustainable planning. Value-engineered and cost-effective solutions are unheard of in the corridors of power. Energy projects in general require rigorous planning and huge investment. Reluctance

to develop sustainable energy projects has been the main reason behind the current energy crisis. Two fundamental requirements of a sustainable solution are the formulation of a vibrant and coherent energy policy and its stringent implementation. The need is to formulate an integrated and comprehensive energy policy that covers all major aspects including oil and gas, hydropower, coal, nuclear power, renewable energy, energy conservation and management, energy security and energy trading.

While taking into account the true nature and intensity of the challenges, the policy should also explore the range of available opportunities to deliver both short-term and medium to long-term solutions. The main point of a well-thought-out energy policy should lie in its long-term approach - it should be designed to cover at least 25 years, obviously incorporating periodic reviews that would enable decision-makers to correct any lapses. ■

Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Zafar Iqbal Cheema, *Indian Nuclear Deterrence: Its Evolution, Development and Implications for South Asian Security*
(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 609 Pages.

In the book under review, the author, Dr. Zafar Iqbal Cheema, holds that India's first prime minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was indeed the political architect of his country's nuclear programme against the common belief that the nuclear option was a post- Nehru development. He highlights the necessity to explore the evolution, development and dynamics of India's nuclear deterrence and emphasizes the element of continuity in its nuclear weapons programme.

Dr. Cheema re-evaluates the impact of India's security and foreign policies on its nuclear stance in the light of Nehru's vision and aspirations for achieving great power status for India. Dr. Homi Bhabha's contribution in the formative phase of this goal was important. He also refers to the disarmament policy of India and describes Prime Minister Nehru as a proponent of general and complete disarmament while he opposed unilateral disarmament. In his view, "India sought nuclear disarmament as a policy instrument for the realization of an equitable international order" (48).

It is explained that the Indian nuclear diplomacy provided a "protective shield" for the development of Indian nuclear weapons capability while refusing the application of full-scale safeguards. The dichotomy in the Indian approach towards arms control and disarmament has been discussed in detail. At International forums, India portrayed itself as a champion of general and complete disarmament while refusing itself to become a part of the unilateral disarmament process. India's rejection of Pakistan's bilateral initiatives for regional arms control and disarmament is cited in this regard.

Discussing post Nehru developments Dr. Cheema explains India's transformation from choosing the nuclear option to the development of weapons capability. He evaluates the impact of various determinants that increased the pace of development of nuclear weapons, particularly the debate sparked by the Chinese nuclear test in 1964. This debate developed an element of openness that was uncharacteristic of the Nehru era (121). The domestic imperatives of Indian nuclear politics and the role of political parties and intra-governmental and extra-governmental pressure groups have been highlighted in this context.

The author gives an historical account of Pakistan's nuclear policy. He explains the threat perception of Pakistan's decision making elite after the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 and identifies the Indian nuclear explosion of 1974 as the most important factor for the initiation of Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme. He recognizes Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the political architect of Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme who rejected the Indian nuclear explosion of 1974 as a "peaceful explosion" and viewed it as a "weapons test" (159). He mentions the skillful management of nuclear policy by President Zia and holds Pakistan as a significant factor in accelerating the Indian nuclear weapons programme.

Dr. Cheema evaluates the nuclear policy orientations of different Indian governments during 1977-1998 and explains the Indian concerns in the wake of regional as well as global political and strategic developments. He identifies a period of technological inaction in India's nuclear development during the first Janta government while the governments of Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi expanded the nuclear weapons capability of India with "special emphasis on nuclear military infrastructure" (219). He maintains that Pakistan's quest for nuclear weapons capability and China's advancement of nuclear capability became two important factors that provided India with justification for its own nuclear weapons programme.

The dynamics of Indian nuclear deterrence: Capability, Credibility and Communication have been analyzed in some depth. The author discusses the stockpiles of fissile material; aircraft based nuclear delivery systems, and the Indian space programme. He gives a detailed account of the Indian missile system and traces the origin of its Integrated Guided Ballistic Missiles Development (IGBMD) programme. India's space programme is described as comprising both military and civil space launch capability (263). He evaluates the impact of Indian BMD programme and Reconnaissance system on deterrent relationship between India and Pakistan.

The Indian nuclear doctrine from its formative phase has been discussed in detail. The author mentions a discussion that indicated India's preventive war thinking and preemptive doctrines formulated to destroy Pakistan's nascent capability. He analyzes India's Draft Nuclear Doctrine

(DND) and its operational parts and also mentions India's Command and Control System with reference to its structural and operational requirements.

The theoretical perspective on nuclear deterrence has been discussed in the context of the debate between deterrence optimists and deterrence pessimists. The most critical issue of strategic stability in South Asia has also been examined. In this context Dr. Cheema elaborates the concepts of deterrence stability, arms race stability, crisis stability, escalation control stability and strategic stability. He provides a historical view of India-Pakistan deterrent relationship and identifies the conventional military asymmetries between the two countries and analyzes the strategic equilibrium in the region. The "stability-instability paradox" has been discussed in the background of the distinctive South Asian strategic setting. Questioning the robustness of the deterrence stability in South Asia the author highlights the elements of dissuasion and coercion in Indian strategies.

The book gives an in-depth analysis of the Indian Nuclear Deterrence philosophy explaining the current trends and future challenges as well as discussing the nuclear debate and policies pursued by India in the past. It provides an interesting and informative reading for students, scholars and policy makers. ■

Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*
(UK: Penguin Books, 2011), 560 pages.

In these gloomy days when doubts and despair define the national scene and Pakistan-bashing is an international pastime, this timely book by Anatol Lieven will gladden many hearts. Mr. Lieven asserts that "such despair would be premature" (3). The book's title *A Hard Country* implies toughness and resilience in facing extraordinary hardships such as the devastating floods of 2010. The book is an effort to develop an understanding of the real Pakistan because its survival as a functioning state is crucial to the West, to the region and to the world. Thus, any approach towards Pakistan should be realistic taking into account the ground realities of the country's situation, its own norms and standards. In fact the author recommends an anthropological appreciation of Pakistan.

A Hard Country is not a run of the mill academic exercise as Mr. Lieven during his long sojourn in Pakistan has closely watched at first hand the unfolding of the various events and has conducted interviews with a cross section of the population. This distinguishes the work from other studies that rely more on comment and second sources. He contests many of the prevalent misperceptions about Pakistan. He debunks the notion that Pakistan is a failed or failing state and argues that Pakistan should be analyzed in the South Asian

context where insurgencies and revolts are common features more or less among all countries. If Pakistan is compared to Canada or France, it would perforce appear to be a failing state but when compared to its South Asian neighbours it won't cut such a sorry figure. Outrightly rejecting the chances of the extremists ever taking over Pakistan or an Islamic revolution transpiring, he points out to such pundits of opinion to consider the fact that less than five per cent of the population, confined to Pashtun areas only, would support such an outcome. The sharp sectarian divisions in the society would resist the domination of any single block of the faithful. Pakistan is different from Iran in that respect. It does not have that homogeneity of religious belief. Moreover, the Pakistan Army is a disciplined institution and strong enough to defeat any insurgency. Mr. Lieven points out that since 9/11, the terms "extremism" and "militancy" have often been mixed up with "fundamentalism" and "conservatism" which is intellectually not correct. He refutes the perceived threat to the lives of foreigners in Pakistan giving his own example who has had no safety concerns as to his person.

Yet his picture of Pakistan is not all too cheery. He writes "Pakistan does not always smell nice" (5). He does point out the flaws in the governance system and the socio-economic fault lines that however no society is entirely free from. There is this role that kinship plays at all levels which is a central weakness that affects all departments of the state, the executive, judiciary and the rest. Conspiracy theories are rife in Pakistan especially involving the United States, Israel and India and so many people blame the "foreign hand" in terrorist attacks. The widespread anti-Americanism and fears relating to India give rise to such anticipations. But Mr. Leiven does not entirely dismiss the possibility that some of these theories could be right as for instance he writes that India will have to stop its support for the Baloch militants if it wants the gas pipeline to be functional.

He sees no truth in the belief that Taliban enjoy widespread support in Pakistan. His findings trace such support to a limited section of the population in the Pakhtun areas where the people are driven by local and traditional factors such as "Pushtunwali" rather than any ideological cause. It also emanates from the people's frustration with the slow justice system that the Taliban promise to rectify, as they did in Swat for a while. However, attitudes generally differ towards the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban. There is sympathy for the Afghan Taliban who are fighting against foreign occupation of their land.

The author injects a sense of reality in his narrative by sketching scenes from real life such as his description of Islamia College, Peshawar: "a magnificent complex of British building in neo-Mughal style set in beautiful gardens under the shade of giant Chenars. The whole represents a successful attempt by the British to blend Oxford or Cambridge with the lost glories of Peshawar."(445)

He also corrects stereotyped impressions by comparisons with other countries. For instance he points out that “Pakistan is not very violent or crime-ridden by the standards of cities in the United States.” The atrocious picture of the police and the courts that one comes across in Pakistan holds true for the greater part of India. “The Pakistani military is a striking institution by the standards of the developing world.” “The Chen One headquarters building in Faisalabad could have been an unusually stylish office in Singapore or Frankfurt.” Charity donations in Pakistan make up for five per cent of the GDP which is one of the highest rates in the world.

His stunning assertion that would surprise many in the West is that it is the United States and India and not Islamic extremism that pose the most vital threat to Pakistan. Pakistan fears that the US may one day launch a strike on Pakistan’s nuclear weapons purportedly to save them from possible takeover by extremist groups – a scenario that is constantly repeated in Western and Indian media. This fear may ultimately lead to radicalizing the army and destabilizing the state. By itself the forces of Islamic extremism stand little chance they will ever be able to overthrowing the state, unless US policies have already split and crippled the state.

Another threat to Pakistan emanates from ecological changes as witnessed during the 2010 floods, the most devastating ever. The problem of water shortage is also grave. Sinking water tables, chronic over-use of available water resources, lack of water infrastructure, increasing monsoon rains and a rapidly growing population are serious threats that need to be addressed urgently.

Deliberating upon Pakistan’s future, Mr. Leiven states much depends on the United States and India; if they refrain from any adventurism in Pakistan, it is likely to survive as a state. The United States must review its relations with India in light of developing long-term engagement with Pakistan and address Pakistan’s legitimate concerns in Afghanistan. The United States should refrain from exerting pressure on Pakistan and its soldiers must never set foot on Pakistani soil. Pakistan is a “vital and irreplaceable ally” and can play a significant part in negotiating a deal with the Taliban in Afghanistan.

The book is a must-read for anyone who wants to know Pakistan, its society, its politics, its judiciary, its provinces etc. It has no bias or fixed notions about the country. Policy makers may gain much insight from a consideration of his observations. ■

Maria Syed, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI.

Sartaj Aziz, *Between the Dreams and Reality, Some Milestones in Pakistan's History*

(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 407 pages.

Political actors in Pakistan seldom write their memoirs to share their experiences in the corridors of power and give their account of the internal realities for the knowledge of the public. Sartaj Aziz's book in this respect is a welcome departure from the norm. The author doesn't describe his book as authoritative history or a book on politics but prefers to call it an account of his 60 years career in public service. Yet the book has enough source material for political analysts. It is about a dream, Pakistan, that became a reality in 1947 - a dream that Mr. Aziz thinks has turned sour.

The earlier part of the book describes the author's participation in the Pakistan movement as a student of the Islamia College, Lahore where he had the honour of receiving a prize from the Quaid-i-Azam himself. The students had total trust in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. This account of that exhilarating period makes one living in the present time utterly despondent.

After serving for some time in the provincial government of NWFP, Mr. Aziz moved to the military accounts service. He was selected to pursue a Masters degree at the Harvard University, returning home to join the Planning Commission of Pakistan during Ayub Khan's military regime. One learns about the work of eminent economists working in the Planning Commission at that time - Jamil Nishtar, Dr. Mahboob-ul-Haq, Dr. Moinuddin Baqai and others.

Mr Aziz calls the Indo-Pak War of 1965 a mistake as the US was not happy with the foreign policy pursued by the Ayub regime (39). Contrary to official claims he admits that the war at best was a draw. This war had long term political, economic and international impact on the country. Although as member of the Planning Commission he was one of the architects of Ayub Khan's "Decade of Development" he feels no hesitation in linking it to the disintegration of Pakistan.

The fourth chapter covers the civilian interlude between the two long periods of Martial Law. The author had joined the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (1971-1978) and served at the International Fund for Agriculture Development (1978-1984). He acknowledges Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as a brilliant politician whose controversial policies cost him the loss of his political strength that he could not sustain. Commenting on the tragic end of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto he wrote that it was the irony of our national history that "one of the most outstanding political leaders, who secured a unanimous constitution for the country, was hanged while all the military generals who created circumstances that eventually led to the breakup of the country, lived on without much accountability" (54).

As General Zia's minister of state for agriculture Mr. Aziz discusses "Zia-ul-Haq's political strategy to create a civilian façade for his continuing hold on real power" (61). He was in Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo's cabinet when the Eighth Amendment to the 1973 Constitution was passed which grants indemnity to usurpers and gives supremacy to the president in the political system. He also records the prime minister's helplessness in dealing with an all powerful president and the armed forces and in failing to strengthen the parliament because that "might jeopardize the democratic process itself" (84).

The decade of civilian rule which saw the rise and fall of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif as prime ministers is discussed in chapter 7 and 8 of the book. Mr. Aziz comments on the working style and the political mistakes they made and how a bureaucrat who had risen to the post of the President dismissed their governments. The following chapters dwell on dynamics of politics in Pakistan, the role of the presidents and prime ministers and the army chiefs in the turbulent 1990s. An interesting part of this analysis is the tussle among the different institutions and its repercussions on democratic development in Pakistan. He thinks Nawaz Sharif could not understand the complexity of civil-military relations in Pakistan with reference to the General Jahangir Karamat affair and the violation of the seniority principle in the appointment of his successor. That failure resulted in putting the democratic march back by about a decade.

Among what may be more interesting reading today concerning issues that still form part of the national debate are events like Nawaz government's bold decision to go nuclear, efforts to review Pakistan's relationship with the Taliban after Mullah Omer's refusal to withdraw support for Osama-Bin-Laden in 1998 (210-216) and Gen. Musharraf's assertions about the Kargil War which Mr. Aziz challenges as he was then the foreign minister. Commenting on the drawbacks in Pakistan's security policy making, he proposes a model based on close coordination among the military, foreign office and finance departments (242-243).

Commenting on the 1999 coup by Gen. Musharraf the author says that a person who saved the country "from a disastrous all-out war with India, was deposed and exiled from the country and the army general who overstepped his authority and caused irreparable damage to the Kashmir cause became the undisputed ruler of the country for nine long years (285)." The coup by Gen. Musharraf had brought about the end of Mr. Aziz's political career but the book does not stop there and surveys the transition from General Musharraf's dictatorship to democracy and the election of President Zardari.

This book is an informative account of Pakistani politics by a seasoned technocrat turned politician who enjoys the rare distinction of being in politics

and yet having unsoiled hands.■

Amna Mahmood, Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and International Relation, International Islamic University, Islamabad.