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BOOK REVIEWS

PAKISTAN: DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY ISSUES

Veena Kukreja & M.P. Singh (Edited)

(New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005)

Pages. 301, Price: Rs. 360.

The book is a collection of eleven well researched and well documented papers written by different authors on various aspects of Pakistan ranging from democratic development, social and economic issues, security, the role of army, defence expenditure, religious extremism and terrorism.

The theme of the book is explained in the Introduction, penned by M.P. Singh and Veena Kukreja, describing Pakistan as a “nation still in the making” even after the passage of more than half a century. Political instability, weak institutions, frequent breakdown of democratic political process due to military interventions, excessive defence spending, army’s role in promoting jihadi culture, terrorism and Pakistan’s role in war on terror, Pak-India relations and perspectives on regional cooperation in South Asia, are the issues, the contributors have dealt with in their respective chapters of the book under review.

The issue of political development in Pakistan is discussed by Mohammad Waseem, who is of the opinion that four factors, namely arrival of millions of refugees from India, following the partition of the sub-continent, perceived security threat from India, Islam and army have played decisive role in determining the shape of politics in Pakistan. The first led to the establishment of what he calls the Punjabi-Mohajir domination of the policy making process, the second was responsible for the ascendancy of military in the politics of the country and the third created conducive environment for the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan and the fourth that shaped the politics of Pakistan by strengthening authoritarian trends in the political system. Military’s often expressed preference for presidential system and strong centre is a reflection of its deterministic role in the politics of Pakistan.

The migrant political leadership, says the author, shaped the country’s politics along non-representative lines, drawing upon the support of large refugee population. His view is shared by Lawrence Ziring while discussing the historical background of religious extremism and terrorism in Pakistan (*Pakistan: Terrorism in Historical Perspective*). While there is much weight in the argument of the two scholars, there is no denying the fact that liberal trends in society, like female education, female employment and co-education were also due to the Mohajir community. Military, says Waseem, has been engaged in constitutional engineering, which has led to the centralization of power in the hands of federal government and the loss of parliamentary

sovereignty. But concentration of powers in the hands of federal government and subservient parliament, were the features of Pakistan's political system long before the military gained ascendancy through direct or indirect control of the civil administration in Pakistan. The Interim Constitution (1947-54) provided for a much strong centre as compared to 1956 Constitution. Although this is true that under military rule Pakistan practically ceases to be a federation and parliament loses its sovereignty, the roots of authoritarianism reflected in the scheme of strong centre and powerful executive, would have to be looked much beyond the entry of military in politics.

The future of democracy in Pakistan after the 1999 military take over by General Pervez Musharraf is a subject of much interest, discussion and speculation in the political and academic circles of Pakistan and outside. Veena Kukreja, while discussing the prospects of democracy since the 1999 military coup (Ch. II), concludes that 2002 elections have resulted in only the "puppet show of farcical democracy" and the future of democracy in the country remains uncertain. Unless, the author says, the military voluntarily decides to withdraw from politics or is forced to withdraw by a mass movement, democracy is unlikely to take roots in the country. However, there are many people both in Pakistan and outside, who would not share her view. In their opinion, a functional democracy already exists in Pakistan; and if the developments of the last four years can be taken as an indication, a transition to full democracy is possible even under the leadership of General Musharraf.

Saleem M. M. Qureshi (Chapter. III) discusses the issue whether Pakistan is a failed state from the perspective of the inability of its leadership, including prepartition leadership in resolving the contradiction between a secular state and a theocratic state. But in his opinion the country cannot be called a failed state as long as its core institution i.e. army is intact. "Pakistan," says the author, "would be a failed state if the army was to disintegrate and Pakistan was to collapse into anarchy, civil war and a state of chaos." Pakistan, therefore, cannot be called a failed state because none of these things happened. (p. 103) Ayesha Siddiq (Chaper V) discusses the issue of defence expenditure in Pakistan from a political economy perspective. In her view, Pakistan's defence, foreign and economic policies are based on its decision maker's perception of threat from India. She divides the decision making elite in Pakistan into two categories- conservative and ultra-conservatives and says both concur on the need to maintain high defence expenditure for almost similar reasons. The paper by Ayesha Siddiq contains much of the public debate that takes place when allocations for military budget are presented before the National Assembly for approval without debate at the beginning of every financial year. In her paper, the author mentions that there is a pressure on Pakistan from the donor agencies to reduce the defence expenditure. Improvement in relations between Pakistan and India, as a result of the on going peace process, has also generated the demand for a reduction of defence

expenditure. Ayesha Siddiqa claims that transparency is not a noticeable feature of Pakistan's military spending but fails to give Pakistan military's perspective on this issue whereby it is argued that there is an inbuilt system of close scrutiny, checking and auditing in the armed forces.

Veena Kukreja has contributed her paper on Pakistan's political economy and attributes the mismanagement of Pakistan's economy to the "reckless behaviour of those making and implementing economic policies." In this connection, she gives the example of squandering foreign aid on non productive sectors like defence, instead of building economic and social sectors. In her view, Pakistan's economic problems are caused by three factors, namely the existing feudal order in the country, a high defence expenditure and mismanagement. Her paper, however, does not take into account the impressive performance of Pakistan's economy by achieving high growth rate through better management and fiscal discipline during the last three years. Tariq Rehman's paper on language, power and ideology in Pakistan, discusses linkage between the language and ethnic movements in Pakistan and concludes that language has become a symbol of ideology and a medium for empowerment at individual as well as collective level.

The book contains a paper on "Pakistan: Terrorism in Historical Perspective" written by a well known expert on Pakistan, Lawrence Ziring. His paper is a highly informative and gives a detailed account of the origin, growth and impact of religious movements/ groups/parties/jehadi organizations and terrorist groups engaged in sectarian violence and terrorism in Pakistan. These organizations, the author says, present a challenge to the secular vision of the Founder of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as expressed in his speech of 11 August 1947. He surveys the history of Pakistan from the rule of Muslim League, under the successors of the Quaid to the present regime of General Pervaiz Musharraf, identifying various mile stones, like the passage of Objectives Resolution in 1949, anti-Ahmadiya riots in 1953, Ayub Khan's martial law, civil war in East Pakistan, Bhutto's appeasement of religious parties in 1974 by accepting their demand for declaring Ahmadis as non-Muslims, General Zia's politically motivated patronization of extremist and sectarian outfits in the country and his support to jehadi organizations in Afghanistan through ISI, the continuation of the same policy under the military regime of General Musharraf, especially the link between jihad in Afghanistan and freedom movement in Kashmir. In his view, these developments and policies have contributed towards the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and extremism in Pakistan. The evolution of terrorism in Pakistan, according to him, is a continuity that can only intensify in the years ahead. The main argument of Ziring is based on his perceived incompatibility between the declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic state and its conception as a modern, secular nation state. The argument can be questioned on the grounds that Islam itself is a secular religion, although its concept of secularism is

different from the one understood in the West. It is now universally agreed that terrorism cannot be equated with Islam; hence a state organized on the democratic, liberal and secular lines cannot be called a source of terrorism, simply because it is called an Islamic state.

The book also deals in separate chapters the prospects of regional cooperation in South Asia after 9/11, assessment of Pakistan as a long term security threat to India, Indian allegations of cross border terrorism and peace process between Pakistan and India.

The chapter on the prospects of regional cooperation in South Asia, is written by former Indian Foreign Secretary Mr. J. N Dixit. In his paper, Dixit mentions seven categories of problems which underpin tension in South Asia. Mr. Satish Kumar in his paper (Chapter IX) assesses Pakistan as along term security threat to India, Rajen Harshe writes on 'cross-border terrorism as claimed by India, as a road block to peace initiative and M.P. Singh and Veena Kukreja have contributed a chapter on peace process between India and Pakistan. In all these papers, the issues have been discussed and analyzed largely from the Indian perspective. Hence, at some places, especially while arriving at conclusions, they are devoid of objectivity and as such lack impartiality. For all these shortcomings, the book, however, is an updated evaluation of the current issues of Pakistan that have domestic, regional and global implications.■

Dr. Rashid Ahmad Khan

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KASHMIR IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Sten Widmalm

(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Pages 226, Price Rs. 350.

Sten Widmalm primarily bases the book on the research submitted to Department of Government, Uppsala University in 1997. The author has carried out research for the work under review between 1992 and 2004. He has attempted to explain the factor behind the rise of separatism and violence, in the state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), in the late 1980s. He has interviewed a number of important persons on both sides of the divide. He is full of praise for the 'integrity of journalists' and of the 'free press' in India and has gone through more than two thousand articles at the India Centre for World Affairs (ICWA) in New Delhi, but he admits that there is a 'recent trend among many and otherwise respected journalists and editors to jump on the nationalistic bandwagon.' Though, he is fair-minded and has tried to be objective, the Indian perspective is conspicuous in his work. For instance, there are many statements that he seems to have inadvertently bought from

the Indian version such as Pakistan's involvement in an attack on Indian Parliament in December 2001, although those found guilty by the Indian Supreme Court, were none other than Indians.

He, however, does not agree with the Indian stand that the insurgency in J&K is sponsored by Pakistan or the Pakistani perspective that it is due to Indian suppression of Kashmiris' desire to join Pakistan. He almost rejects the theory that the Kashmir conflict is the result of an attempt to merge 'incompatible identities', although he acknowledges the role of ethnicity in conflicts. Discussing the ethnic factor, he argues that the Indian central government was unable to accommodate the separatists in J&K and kept playing the blame game, which has sustained the insurgency for more than 15 years.

He analyses developments in J&K in a Marxist framework and argues that economic structure and development of societies do result in violence. He also examines the theory of relative deprivation owing to subjective factors, like overall underdevelopment and poverty of Muslims. He does not agree with the argument that socio-economic discrimination against Muslims in favour of Hindus in government employment was a cause of the recent turmoil in Kashmir on the ground that Muslims did not revolt in 1950s and 1960s. He could not realize that in those decades, the educational level and political consciousness among Kashmiri Muslims was low.

According to him, although Pakistan had supported secessionists in J&K, the root causes for the violent separatist movement lay in the circumstances of 1980s in J&K and India. He asserts that the outbreak of large-scale violent separatism in late 1980s and early 1990s was caused mainly by the actions of a political elite in J&K and in New Delhi during the crucial period from 1975 to 1989, such as Farooq Abdullah and Bakhshi Ghulam Muahmmad, competing for power that helped undermine democratic legitimacy. Similarly, the highhandedness of Indira Gandhi and Jagmohan Singh, undermined the authority of the local governments in J&K. The open 'fraud' in 1987 elections, mass arrests before elections, allegations of rigging during elections and later press censorship led Kashmiris from the valley to cross the border [Line of Control] into Pakistan and enrol for military training. He comes out with a theory that power and politics of political elite in the state led to deinstitutionalism, which led to communalism that resulted in violent separation. Factors like poverty, inequality, and ethnicity were only secondary causes. Autocratic decisions and weak institutions reinforced demands for a political unit detached from the Indian Union. He has argued that the main cause for violence lies in the restoration of democracy in 1977 and its subsequent dismantling in 1980s. This argument may be partially true, since it covers only one factor giving impetus to Kashmiri's struggle for the right of self-determination.

He fails to see the plain truth that the basis of conflict in J&K lay in the violation of the principles of partition of the subcontinent, agreed to by the British Government as well as by the Indian National Congress and All-India Muslim League that the contiguous Muslim majority areas of the subcontinent in its northeast and northwest will be separated from the rest of the subcontinent and the princely states would accede to India or Pakistan based on their geographical location and the wishes of their people. He also does not account for the fact that the people of J&K, did not accede to India out of their free will but were occupied by India forcibly. He has also not considered the fact that the literacy rate in Kashmiris has increased significantly and they have become politically conscious through increased level of education and media. They have come to realize their inherent right of self-determination that was granted to them by the UN Security Council but was not implemented. Pakistan also supported them because according to the principle of Partition, agreed to by all the parties, J&K should have joined Pakistan just as the state of Junagadh had joined India, although its ruler had formally acceded to Pakistan.

His conclusion is that 'as long as democracy performed fairly well, violent conflict in the area remained at a low level. When political intervention from the centre increased and the strength of National Conference declined, the incentive to resort to violence grew and led to a rapid escalation in violence in 1989 and a widespread conflict in 1990. However, his opinion that the violent separatism in J&K was 'not a crystal-story of "goal pursuance"' can be disputed. It is true that the Kashmiris are divided in their goal but if a plebiscite under UN auspices is held, the opinion of the majority could have become crystal clear.

In support of his thesis that violent separatism in J&K was a response to political events and not to cultural separateness, he cites the cases of Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, where population is ethnically different from the rest of the Indians. In Tamil Nadu, before independence, there was a conflict between Brahmins and Dravidians and there was a demand for separation and establishment of Dravida Nadu. After independence, the events in Tamil Nadu in 1950s were the same as the events in J&K in 1980s, but separatism and violence were avoided. These states asserted their autonomy and agreed to function within the democratic framework and allowed the political system to take its root.

Similarly, he refers to the ethnically different Bengal and its troubled history and thinks that in the light of ethnic or primordial theories, separateness was expected there long time back, but it did not happen. He states that it was through a democratic process that the state managed to have stability in the province and at the same time resisted the intervention of the central government. He concludes that democracy, which sometimes is considered as an obstacle to integration, may be regarded as 'a vital

component' of the process of integration. He considers ethnicity as important as class politics, but says these are not the causes, which may challenge democracy. He, however, fails to consider the differences between J&K and other states of India, in their geographical location, religious composition and, more importantly, in the fact that both Tamil Nadu and Bengal were integral part of the Indian Union as per the Independence Act of 1947, whereas J&K is a disputed territory and its future is to be determined by its people through a plebiscite under UN auspices. His comparison of J&K with West Bengal and Tamil Nadu is therefore not appropriate.

He is right when he says that Indo-China War (1962) was a decisive factor in shifting opinion from separatism to regional autonomy in the Indian Union for security reasons. Again, the impact of the war on J&K and other states of India was different. Whereas there was shift for union for security among Indian states, there was an impetus for separation in J&K.

He also thinks that the conflict in J&K was the unforeseen outcome of the pursuit of power politics of political elite. He warns that the leaders in Pakistan and India, in order to retain Azad Kashmir and J&K, may take isolated decision, which may lead to unexpected consequences which they would have never thought of or taken into account. He points out that distrust and lack of reliable information about the actions and intentions of the leaders may end up in a situation that they had not predicted. He quotes the former US President Clinton, who said in March 2000, that due to nuclearisation of both India and Pakistan, the Indian subcontinent is 'the most dangerous place in the world'. At the same time, he cites those who say that the nuclear arms have lowered the incentives for going to war. He rightly feels that the objective for acquiring nuclear weapons was deterrence in both countries, but he could have added that in the case of India, there is also the desire to dominate the region and acquire a great power status.

He does not come out with new facts except that he investigates into the factors that led to the breakdown of democracy and the rise of violent separatism in J&K during 1980s. As an academic, he has worked hard and provides enough background information and details to familiarize the readers with the intrigues and internal conflicts in J&K. It is a case-study research in conjunction with various theories of causes of conflicts and, as such, is of interest to students of South Asian studies.■

Dr Noor ul Haq
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UNITED STATES-PAKISTAN RELATIONS IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA: THE PRESSLER AMENDMENT AND PAKISTAN'S NATIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS**Aazar Tamana**

(Perth: The Australian Society for South Asian Studies, Curtin University of Technology, Australia, 2004)

Pages 99.

Presenting a factual perspective in the West is normally hampered by various personal prejudices of scholars of social sciences in Western institutions that have their bias against the East. Yet they are considered good institutions because of their credibility and resources compared to institutions in the developing countries which not only lack credibility and resources but also fair-play, merit, and justice. All these qualities do not necessarily require any financial support. It is only a state of mind. As a result, comparatively good findings in social sciences appear in the West, whilst the focus is on a specific situation in a developing country of a researcher conducting research in a Western institution. If a researcher also adds the ardour of his societal virtues in his research, broader consensus can be obtained out of his findings. Nevertheless, such instances are quite scanty. One of these instances is a recent study conducted by Aazar Tamana, a doctoral candidate at the Curtin University of Technology, Perth, Australia. The work is a part of author's doctoral research on global terrorism.

The book under review presents Pakistan's case on the Pressler Amendment, a Pakistan-specific US Congress Law that intended to impose military and economic sanctions against Pakistan to penalize it for its alleged nuclear programme from 1985 through to 2001. The work is an authentic account of the Pressler Amendment and its implications for Pakistan's security during the period mentioned above. Moreover, the study is an interesting account of US-Pakistan relations since the 1950s and the author spares no effort in explaining both countries' relations in the aftermath of 11 September 2001.

The author closely examines features of the complex security and political discourse of the Pressler Amendment vis-à-vis Pakistan's security concerns. He presents a fresh insight into Pakistan-US relations and alliances over the past several decades. He stipulates four types of interactions between the two countries that led to the making and breaking of alliances under peculiar circumstances.

The author portrays the Pressler Amendment as a pungent set back to US-Pakistan relations that also further dragged the latter toward the early acquisition of nuclear option instead of conventional military build up that was severely damaged by sanctions that lasted over long 17 years. The author, by quoting Henry Kissenger, a former US Secretary of State, boldly rejects the

Amendment on the ground that it has largely 'created anti-US sentiments in the Pakistani society and ethno-sectarian estrangement in Pakistan' (p. 81). The author goes on to conclude that US economic and military sanctions under the Pressler Amendment against Pakistan consequently led India toward massive military build up (p. 82) and thus the sanctions awfully disturbed the regional conventional security balance in South Asia particularly during the late 1990s.

Tamana argues that 9/11 led the United States to repeal the Amendment. He says that the 'US-Pakistan relationship showed that the alliance is formed when US national interests allow it' to do so (p. 84). Therefore, the author is of view that Pakistan's security has remained somewhat subservient to US global interests particularly in the 1950s and the 1980s to contain Communism, and while tactfully using Pakistan against Communism, United States ignored Pakistan's vital security interests altogether (p. 79). As Pakistan lost its strategic importance in the eyes of US policy-makers after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Pressler Amendment came into full swing in the later years to deal with Pakistan's quest for nuclear power status. However, the author points out, that the Clinton Administration, at one point in time, wished to rescind the Pressler Amendment to engage Pakistan rather than to isolate it to serve US interests in South Asia (p. 81). So a temporary relief was provided in the name of the Brown Amendment to certify to US Congress on annual basis that Pakistan was not involved in any proliferation activities. Congress, however, continued to support the Pressler Amendment till 22 September 2001.

The author finds the Pressler Amendment as somewhat detrimental to US global security interests as well as domestic security, regional, and political interests of Pakistan. The author relentlessly fights the case of Pakistan against the Pressler Amendment. It seems that the author 'wins' Pakistan's case as not only the Amendment was repealed on 22 September 2001, following attacks on World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon, US finds no better option than to engage Pakistan as a front-line state to combat global terror again.

Arguments have been well supported by primary sources without any bias prevailing anywhere in the work. This makes the study somewhat more focal and readable along with a consistent flow of argumentative theme. The study is the first of its kind on the Pressler Amendment. Moreover, the work is well-documented, organized, and well-knit arguments that run throughout the text. Highly convincing but simple language is the asset of the work, supervised by and discussed with author's Aussie's colleagues and scholars. Australia has fairly good reputation of publishing quality works in social sciences with regard to South Asian history, politics and security *etc.* The present work is an addition to such literature published in Australia. Further, the work is an encouraging step toward creating a better intellectual understanding between the Pakistani and Australian scholars. In short, the

work is indeed a sound analysis of the Pressler Amendment and it is worth reading particularly for scholars and researchers engaged in US-South Asia relations. Being policy relevant, the study is also useful for diplomats engaged in this area.■

Dr Ahmad Rashid Malik

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ARAB DIALOGUE WITH THE WORLD ON CURRENT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Dr Mohammad Noman Galal

(Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2006)

Pages 192, Price not given.

Dr Noman Galal is a scholar of great merit. He is at once a seasoned diplomat, a sound researcher and an accomplished political analyst. He has a number of books and research papers to his credit and is currently working as advisor for strategic international studies and dialogue of civilization, Bahrain Centre for Studies and Research.

In the volume under review, Mr. Galal has selected issues related to international politics, with particular reference to issues concerning the Arab world. He holds that notwithstanding plenty of natural resources that Nature has bestowed on the Arab world and the Gulf countries, people of the region have hardly benefited from these gifts of God. Sad part of the story is that their leaders have failed to make their presence felt; instead, they have antagonized nearly every country and every political force that matters. Hence this dilemma, concerning the Muslim world!

Dilating on the 1991 Second Gulf War, and its impact on the Middle East, the author discusses the international consequences of this war in the backdrop of the concept of the new world order and its impact on the regional and sub-regional issues. He convincingly brings out that the Second Gulf War had resulted in the change of strategic balance in the region. Obviously, America in its own long-term interests could not see domination of any hostile power over this region. America also realizes that radicalization of the region will have its consequences extending from North Africa through Central Asia to India. Viewed in this backdrop, America seems determined to meet any challenge that has the potential to endanger stability of the region. In this backdrop, he specifically takes up the case of Iraq and asserts that the UN system of sanctions and embargo imposed on Iraq, as well as arms inspection, did not prove very effective till such time, military pressure was exercised to achieve the desired results. Interestingly, disintegration of the USSR and its bloc had facilitated the Gulf War of 1991-91, thereby paving the way for American domination in the region.

Incidentally, this phenomenal success of the US military ended the prolonged period of frustration that had tormented every American for a long time since the Vietnam War. Now, this time the American military recovered from the influence of the Vietnam debacle and Americans became confident that their forces could not be taken for granted again.

With reference to the challenges faced by pro-American Governments, the author holds that while the world has entered into the era of integration and interdependence, the Arab search for unity has suffered regressive tendencies, instead of working for economic integration and cooperation. They have ended up in the loss of many Arab valuable assets. To arrest the malady, haunting the Arab world, it is author's considered view that the Arab societies are in a dire need of change in their thinking and outlook. This can be achieved only when an enlightened political elite learns to read and understand the radical challenges in the world. They should also have the courage to put forward a suitable response to the daunting challenges facing their societies.

As a first step towards achieving the required change, the Arab world must summon up courage to re-orient image of its history and of its culture. They must rid themselves of indolence and lethargy and learn to think in a rational and scientific manner. In this crucial phase of history, the West can exercise a positive role in this process, through tacit support of reformists. To achieve success, it must give up its double standards in dealing with issues related to Arab national aspirations.

Highlighting the impact of oil in the GCC societies, the author brings out that the GCC countries have used their oil revenues wisely to achieve internal stability. They have intelligently invested to improve the infrastructure, health care and welfare programmes. Financial assistance, such as loans for housing, aid and gifts as well as a member of incentives have been offered to make the people feel that they have a share in their national wealth. This would also prove that the population had an interest in maintaining and protecting the stability of their societies. Happily, people of this region have a great sense of pride and achievement in the region's development, compared to many other regions of the world. The GCC countries have also been very responsible, while formulating their policies at the international level, knowing that oil is a strategic asset for the world economy. The GCC countries have also provided aid, loans and assistance to the Third World countries. In fact, international cooperation, international dialogue and inter dependence serve as a hub of GCC policies and practices.

Further, the author draws our attention to the fact that most of the countries in the Muslim World were subjected to foreign domination for various periods of time. As a result, they had lost their independence, freedom and identity. The occupiers were Europeans and Christians. The reaction of the Muslim World to this occupation was sometimes passive and sometime

violent. On their gaining independence, the people of these Muslim lands, found that the independence had replaced the foreign oppression with a native one. There was hardly any change in the lifestyle of the common folk. They felt that they had changed their masters as very few changes had taken place as far as the people were concerned. Viewed from any angle, the people had not become their own masters.

Highlighting the concept of cooperation, the author convincingly brings out that Islam stands for moderation, for enlightenment, for development and for cooperation. It is a call for peace, for knowledge as well as for good manners. It is not a call for war or hatred or prejudice or discrimination. Interaction among people generates progress and leads to mutual enrichment. In this way, the will of Allah prevails!

We must never lose sight of the fact that Islam is in essence a revolution against ignorance and obscurantism. Change and development is the norm of life, as confirmed by the Holy Quran. And to meet the challenge of modern times, Muslim countries must see to it as a case of top priority, that research centres, with true Islamic orientation, are set up for formulating sagacious and modern responses to these challenges.

Mr. Galal concludes his arguments with the remarks that the new era of the 21st century is of interdependence rather than globalization. Dialogue and interaction among nations and civilizations can enrich human civilization rather than conflict, clashes, domination or hegemony. The focus of the new era should be on unity in diversity and diversity in unity. Each country has to take into account to the interests and concerns of others. Thus, unity of the universe could be preserved and maintained.

The learned author concludes with the remarks that Muslim countries in general and Arab countries in particular, must undergo the process of soul searching. They must change their approach to life, as they cannot live in the 21st century with the thinking and the life-style of the 6th century. Sooner they responded to the dictates of these challenging times, the better in their own interest!

Mr. Galal deserves our compliments for highlighting maladies that are eating into the vitals of the Muslim world, and suggesting remedies, necessary to bring about necessary changes in their approach and thinking! ■

Col. (Retd) Ghulam Sarwar

ASSOCIATIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY**Inayatullah** (Edited.)

(Islamabad: Council of Social Sciences, 2006)

Pages. 312, Rs. 350.

Disciplines of social sciences have never been given due importance in Pakistan. Resultantly, subjects like history, political science, philosophy, economic, sociology, psychology, international relations etc. could not be promoted properly. It generally led to an impression that these discipline are less significant for the development of a society. As a matter of fact, most of problems confronting this nation, are of social nature rather than of technical or of scientific nature.

The present book, *The Association of Social Scientists: An Analytical Study*, focuses on the six associations of the disciplines of social sciences and critically evaluates their performances since their inception. It reveals the dismal state of affairs regarding the social sciences that have remained neglected over the years.

This study was undertaken in 2003, with the association of the following six associations. They are: Pakistan Economic Association (PEA), All Pakistan Political Science Association (APPSA), Pakistan Historical Society (PHS), Pakistan Philosophical Congress (PPC), Pakistan Sociological Association (PSA) and finally, Pakistan Psychological Association (PPA).

Prominent scholars, who were assigned the task, spent several months in examining these associations. They painstakingly studied documents relating these organizations, including their publications, proceedings of the meetings and profiles of the position holders of the associations.

Council of Social Sciences (COSS), which deals with all disciplines of social sciences, arranged this study. For the selection of the associations to be included in it, COSS adopted particular criteria and included those associations which reflected working and woofs of national character.

According to the details of the study, certain factors contributed in the performance of these associations. These include the basis of its membership, how long the founders of the organizations remained at the helm of affairs, and how regularly elections were conducted. Facts reveal that none of the six associations had regular elections, which led to factionalism and weakening of their performance. Three out of six associations, had splinter groups.

The book also highlighted the source of funding of these associations. Most of the time, these associations faced severe financial crisis which hindered their performance. The associations met their resources mainly through the funds, provided by ministry of education, grants by the universities, membership fee and earning through the sale of publications. In addition to this, these associations had occasional funding from UNESCO and

Asia Foundation. The ministry of education, since 2005, has, however, stopped providing funds till such time any association gets the status of 'learned body.' This, according to the editor, is not only a difficult task but all the same it involves a long time. Financial constrains, therefore, proved a major impediment in their performance.

The book comprises two types of papers. First type presents the case studies of the organizations and the second one presents a critical evaluation of those disciplines. According to the facts, these associations were created by the teaching and the research community of that discipline.

According to the book, PEA was established in 1949, and APPSA and PHS were established in 1950. Later, PPC, PSA and PPA came into being in 1953, 1963 and 1966 respectively. Among the first three, only PHS performed better, the other two, PEA and APPSA, remained inactive for most of the time.

The associations did not perform ideally. They remained suspended and inactive at some stage. Collectively, these associations held 100 conferences which is a negligible number. The editor sums up, however, with a positive note, stating that at least these associations have achieved certain objectives. All the same, they worked under unfavourable conditions and contributed in the promotion of their disciplines.

The authors of the papers were given the assiduous job of evaluations. They critically evaluated the nature of the associations, as to how they had evolved themselves and what they had contributed in their field. The assessment of the associations was based upon the number of conferences they organized, quality of publications and how regularly they were published, fund acquisition, and finally their contribution in promoting their disciplines.

Hitherto, there was no independent study evaluating the performance of the discipline of social sciences. This study is, therefore, first of its kind and presents a critical evaluation of the achievements of these associations. This would help policy makers to address the issues confronting these associations to improve their outcome. The book is a timely addition and may help in projecting the significance of social sciences. ■

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THE EU & TURKEY: A GLITTERING PRIZE OR A MILLSTONE?

Michael Lake ((Edited)

(London: Federal Trust for Education & Research, 2005)

Pages 180.

The book under review deals with various aspects of Turkey-European Union (EU) relations in the context of Turkey's bid to join the EU. These issues,

range from historical background of Turkey, the structure and evolution of Turkish civil society, the security relations between Turkey and Europe, Turkey-Greece relations and the issue of Cyprus. The book basically deals with problems, faced by Turkey in its bid for accession to EU. Turkey has been trying to become a EU member for a couple of years but has not been successful so far. Many in the Muslim World believe that it is primarily because of the fact that Turkey is a Muslim country. However, the book contradicts this point of view and gives a new perspective. The author pinpoints several other reasons hindering Turkey's attempt for membership of EU. According to the author, the main obstacles in Turkey's way to secure the membership of EU were its adversarial relationships with Greece and the Cyprus problem. Turkey has to maintain cordial relations with EU countries and has to solve the Cyprus problem, before it can become a member of EU.

There are many disputes between Turkey and Greece. A dispute, for example, between Turkey and Greece is on delimitation of the Aegean continent itself. The Turkish challenge to Greek sovereignty in the Aegean includes territorial waters, airspace, demilitarisation of Eastern Aegean Islands, the Imia crisis and its aftermath and the Cyprus problem.

According to the author, the Cyprus issue took a serious turn with new developments, like when Cyprus was admitted into EU while the same privilege was denied to Turkey. The presence of Cyprus in the EU, as a full member was a matter of concern to Turkey as it could hinder Turkey's entry into EU. This brought an inevitable change in the Turkey's Cyprus policy, as membership of EU was a major foreign policy objective. The author says that the resolution of Cyprus dispute is vital for the improvement of Turkey's relations with EU and for the eventual membership of Turkey in the EU. The author has comprehensively explained the Cyprus problem. He says that EU and United Nations Security Council condemned Turkish intervention in 1974, when a Greek Cypriot coup overthrew President Makarios. In 1983, with the support of Turkey, the Turkish Cypriot declared independence and established Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). No single country except Turkey has recognized TRNC. International community was against the ethnic cleansing and division of the island. The issue was put before the UN, which led to its involvement in peacekeeping operations along the Green-Line and in finding a political settlement. Two high level agreements were reached between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in 1977 and 1979, which established a framework for a bi-zonal and bi-communal federation in Turkey, replacing bi-communal unitary setup of 1960. However, further progress was blocked as negotiations collapsed in 1992 as well as subsequent negotiations for CBM's, i.e. return of some territory to Greek Cypriot or reopen the Nicosia Airport to be used by both sides.

The author says that the international community has also not given high priority to this issue. The Greek government at that time had adversarial

relations with Turkey and did not want to pressurize the Greek Cypriots. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash, had a strong influence on the Turkish political scene. The Turkish government stance oscillated between search for solution through military intervention and seeking a negotiated settlement. According to the author, the situation would have continued as such if the new developments had not taken place. The application of Greek Cypriots to EU and steady progress through 1990's made it clear that Cyprus would become a member of the EU and would not favour accession of Turkey to EU without settlement of Cyprus problem. None of the EU members accepts the view of Turkey that application of Greek Cypriot was illegal in terms of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee. At the same time, membership of EU became Turkey's major foreign policy objective. According to the author, due to these developments, there is an incompatibility between Turkey's aspirations of joining EU and maintaining the status quo in Cyprus.

However, according to the author, Rauf Denktash and his principal advisor Mumtaz Soysal, do not share these aspirations for EU membership either for Turkey or for Turkish Cypriot and regard it as a threat to Denktash's long standing control over Turkey's Cyprus policy. Tension and 'policy paralysis' followed as a result. The UN negotiating process started in 1999, it was halted and again resumed in 2001 and came to a climax between November 2002 and March 2003 and according to the author, it collapsed following Dentaksh's refusal to put Kofi Annan's plan to a referendum. The Greek Cypriot leader, Glafkos Clerides has been negotiating in good faith. The author believes that there were delays and many milestones were left out. Enough pressure was thus not put on Greek Cypriots to reach a settlement. The EU showed its commitment to accommodate any settlement reached through the UN-led negotiating process. However, a number of opportunities were missed and a price is now being paid for it, as the status quo continues to operate.

The author says that the new AK government in November 2003 changed its policy towards Cyprus, however during Iraq war they faced trouble and Denktash was given a free hand; the result was breakdown of negotiations in March 2003. However, according to the author, Denktash angered a lot on Turkish Cypriot people who believed membership of EU by a reunited Cyprus is a way to prosperity and Denktash's rejectionist policy is not going to achieve it. A new government was formed in the North; Annan plan was revised and put to referendum on 24 April 2004. It was approved by nearly two thirds of voters in the North but was rejected by the South. It was a sad inconclusive outcome.

The author says that Cyprus issue should not be a justification for not opening negotiations talks with Turkey for accession to EU. Due to new developments that Turkish Cypriots has categorically accepted the plan, it can

no longer be used as a justification not to open negotiations with Turkey. On 17 December 2004, EU gave a green light to Turkey's accession negotiations starting in October 2005.

According to the author, citizens of Turkish Cypriots are citizens of Cyprus and it is not their fault if their present position is in limbo. The author believes that the Annan plan is the only viable basis for a settlement. Rejection of the Annan plan has no international support and there is no possibility that Turkish Cypriots would get international recognition. The author raises a question: How would this entire situation work out? It cannot be said for certain. However, a positive decision has been taken to start accession negotiations with Turkey and there is a hope that this policy and firmness, shown by the international community would pay dividends. The author states that "Turkey saw that the road to Europe was passing through a solution of the Cypriot problem. It was an obstacle, which has always negatively influenced its relations with Europe."

Nevertheless, Turkey insists on giving priority to Northern Cyprus in any settlement in the framework of a confederation between two independent states. The author is of the view that the Annan plan is important for the solution of the problem. Government of Cyprus is apprehensive of its weaknesses; however, it has accepted it as a basis for negotiations. The author says that entry of Cyprus in EU has triggered two types of reactions or tendencies among Turks, those who are pro-Europeans and those who are negative to European tendency. The sections with pro-European tendency do not see the new world in a conventional power politics framework, whereas the Kemalist view does not appreciate the European Union. They believe that EU is a trap and if Turkey joins EU, it would be an end of Turkish state. The author, however, believes that if this stalemate continues, it will hurt the national interests of Greece. 76 percent Greek Cypriots rejected Annan plan because it was seen as more favouring/responsive to Turkish Cypriot demands.

However, in the opinion of the author, recently there have been certain developments, which give some hope. The President of Cyprus, Tassos Papadopoulos, has stated that it is in the interest of Cyprus that Turkey joins EU. Thus, Greece did not veto the start of negotiations with Turkey though Turkey does not recognize Cyprus. During the summit of 16 and 17 December 2004, Turkey refused to recognize Cyprus. However, there were some indications of Turkey's inclination towards defacto recognition of Cyprus and normalization of relations with Greece. Europe has inherited this problem. The author says that the way the EU handles this problem, will have repercussions in cases such as Bosnia, Kosovo etc.

On the identity of Europe, the author says that there is no European culture; rather European culture has become an amalgamation of different

cultures. One reservation to Turkey's accession is that the size of the EU would become very large.

The book deals with different aspects of Turkey-EU relations. It focuses on Cyprus problem. The book is a useful and interesting study of the issue relating to the Turkish bid for EU membership, as it contains different perspectives on the issue. It deals with the subject in a comprehensive manner and is a highly useful study for those who are interested in knowing more about Turkey's bid for EU membership.

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UNDERSTANDING SECURITY: A NEW PERSPECTIVE

T.K. Oommen

(New Delhi: Macmillan, 2006)

Pages 174, Rs 320.

TK Oomen opens the debate for reconsidering and redefining the concept of security, divorced from the state centric approach of the realists, society centric approach of the liberals, and environment centric analyses. Highlighting the humanistic dimension of security, he asserts that obsession with the external enemy has so far relegated other factors to the background. The book seeks to define a holistic definition of security that would encompass ethnic and social elements too.

Constructing the other, where weak ethnic groups were labelled inferior by the powerful ethnic groups, has continued through the history and the division of the world in first, second and third world is a continuum of the same thought. Oomen rejects this stigmatization and argues that negative attributes are not exclusive to communities and societies, rather it is only biased labelling by a stronger group of a weaker group. This labelling is a source of insecurity for many Third World nations who react by creating their own brand of nationalism. Although the security environments of the two are different., he rejects the division of first and third world as artificial. Highlighting the idea of ethnification, which results in some collectivities, being defined and perceived as outsiders, he points out that ethnification is a potent source of insecurity in the First and Third world alike. Therefore, the tripartite division of the world in first, second and third world does not provide a complete framework for security analysis. In *Mapping the Security Scenario*, discusses the concept of ethnification in great detail. Citing conspicuous examples as Tutsis and Hutus in Rwanda, he discusses in detail how ethnification is a great source of insecurity in the nations, where it occurs.

Oomen Rejects third world exceptionalism in matters of security. Since most of the 97% of all civil wars between 1945 and 1989 occurred in the

Third World, however, these civil wars were often fuelled by the arms provided by the first world. Artificial divisions created as an aftermath of the colonization, and the efforts of the third world to anchor itself with the West European state model, the socio-political structures of these states have suffered greatly.

The chapter *State-making and the Problematics of Security: The case of South Asia*, focuses on the multi-ethnic polities of South Asia and presents an incisive analysis of the security concerns rising from the multiethnicism. He asserts that the elements or the ethnic groups alienated as a result of state sponsored or state seeking nationalism can become a threat to the state, 9/11 is one such example where the mightiest of the states buckled down to the domestic elements. Oomen advises to consider the problems emanating from the multi-ethnic, socio-cultural and politico-economic scenario in the proper context, instead of being viewed as simple law and order issues.

The chapter *Environment Security* presents a fresh perspective on the recent developments in the realm of environmental security. He criticizes the existing environment security theories for providing inadequate framework for analysis, presenting his own. He analyses that exclusion of environment security from low politics to elevate it to high politics has resulted in its mystification and unnecessary emphasis on the use of high technology. He deplores the fall out resulting for flawed prioritization by the policy makers, who largely defend the interest of big businesses. Urging to revisit the environment security paradigm, he advocates the use of *Appropriate* technology than *High* technology.

TK Oomen presents an informative and fresh perspective on security, a viewpoint that removes security from the realm of government to that of governance. Taking into account the global realities, he suggests that state, civil society and market converge to deliver security in our global world. Therefore the traditional state centric, society centric or environment centric approaches are insufficient. Describing security at a more humanistic and social level.

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