

Book Reviews

The Future of Pakistan

Author: Stephen P. Cohen and others

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Pages: 333

Price: \$ 29.95

Stephen P. Cohen is an established expert on politics of Pakistan. Presently, he is rendering his services as a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings Institute Washington DC. He is currently a member of the National Academy of Science's Committee on International Security and Arms Control. In his long career of an academician, Stephen P. Cohen has also taught at universities in India, Japan and Singapore. Dr. Cohen has more than eleven books to his credit as author, co-author and editor. Major emphasis of his scholarly work is South Asian Security and Strategic Studies.

Dr. Cohen's recent book *The Future of Pakistan* is preceded by another exclusive work on Pakistan i.e. *Idea of Pakistan*. Cohen has got a rare intellectual skill to break down complex political phenomena of Pakistani political culture into comprehensible analysis; to which the present book is not an exception. The book has already earned applause among the scholars of politics of Pakistan, both at home and abroad. This is a timely read on future of a state that since last decade has become an ever more significant player in international politics. Dr. Cohen and his colleagues have addressed most significant responsibility of the scholars of international politics i.e. logical prediction of future scenario considering present, emerging situation. The authors in the reviewed book have presented and evaluated multiple scenarios of how and why Pakistan's future may/will develop in the coming five to seven years (2012-2017). Their views are sweepingly tilted towards pessimism about the future of the most dynamic nation of the world.

This book a captivating read because it not only has coherent and lucid style of writing but also discusses the probable geopolitical implications of each future scenario. The specific factors such as impact of foreign and domestic Islamist and other radical groups on internal and international security; influence of the Pakistani Armed Forces, civil government, and key regions; nuclear weapons; and relationships with India, China, and the U.S. are also examined.

The book carries eighteen essays inclusive of afterword, and is the result of a workshop at the Rockefeller Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy held in May, 2010. This book takes its uniqueness from three factors: 1) its

authors come from America, Europe, India, and Pakistan itself, giving it an international and comparative perspective, 2) the comprehensive comparative analysis is based on consideration of all internal and external factors related to the future of Pakistan, 3) the argument of the book is in logical sequence though this is contributed by seventeen people from three continents. The authors were asked to briefly set forth important variables or factors that might shape Pakistan's future and to speculate on the likely outcomes. Every author was given same pattern i.e. a brief summary of recent developments, examination of a number of involved factors, analysis of a number of alternative futures, exploration of the methodological problems inherent in this exercise and discussion of policy options especially for the United States, Atlantic Countries, China, Japan, and India.

The book begins with Cohen's overview of Pakistan that gives vent to all concerns about Pakistan's future, ranging from female literacy to international politics, placing it within the context of current-day geopolitics and international economics. Cohen's essay is followed by a number of more focused essays addressing more specific issues of Pakistan. They address critical factors such as 'Radicalization, Political Violence, and Militancy', 'The China Factor', 'Security', 'Soldiers and the State', 'Regime and System Change', 'Population Growth', 'Urbanization', 'Female Literacy', and 'Youth and the Future'. The book also breaks down relations with other international powers such as China and the United States. The all-important military and internal security apparatus come under scrutiny, as do rapidly morphing social and gender issues. Political and party developments are examined along with the often amorphous division of power between Islamabad and the nation's regions and local powers. The book emphasizes that uncertainty about Pakistan's trajectory exists.

The futuristic picture drawn is not exactly perilous but re-establishes concerns about the fate of this habitat of more than 180 million people. *The Future of Pakistan* facilitates understanding of not only the current circumstances, the relevant actors and their motivation, the critical issues at hand, but also the different outcomes they might produce, and above all what this all means for Pakistanis, Arabs, Indians, Americans, Europeans, Chinese, Russians and the entire world. This book has successfully established a thought that future of this region lies where future of Pakistan does.

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Great Ancestors – Women Asserting Rights in Muslim Contexts

Author: Farida Shaheed and Aisha Lee Shaheed

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Pages: 350

Price: \$22

Women in the Muslim world, while fighting against all odds, have contributed in the social and political development of these societies. They asserted their rights, highlighted the constraints and continued their struggle which was as indigenous as anywhere else, refuting the myth that “women rights” as an idea is alien to Muslim culture. *Great Ancestors* introduces us to women who defended the rights of women from Africa, Asia and the Middle East between the eighteenth century and the 1950s. As Fareeda Shaheed, the author of the book, states, “The strong and determined women... emerging from the pages of history here effectively refutes the myth of the silenced, cloistered and acquiescent women of popular imagination.” Perhaps it is the time when women of today learn something from the women of the past.

The book is a response to the apprehensions that have been expressed in many circles underestimating the role of women in the Muslim world. Questions for instance, about feminism being alien to Muslim contexts, the defense of women’s rights actually a modern invention which was introduced by thinkers in the West etc., have been part of discourse in Muslim societies.

The book highlights the lives and deeds of women from diverse Muslim countries and communities who have, in the past, engaged in the struggle for gender equality. It provides examples of women struggling for their rights from the 8th century to the 20th century, in the Arab world, Egypt, Muslim Spain, India, Pakistan, Algeria, Iran, Turkey, Central Asia, Nigeria and Indonesia.

Shaheed informs us that the research allows connecting the contemporary struggle for women’s rights with their historical past, engendering a sense of linkage with - and ownership of - both women’s assertions in the past and the contemporary movement.

Great Ancestors is a great effort to unfold indigenous feminist methods for present day generation of women rights’ activists by sharing the best methods used by our ancestors. The book opens an international dimension to the existing discourse.

The book helps us understand the women assertiveness in three different phases, at times interconnected, at times developing independently from one another: 1) The first phase, as the author states,

consist of women asserting control over their personal lives, especially in terms of bodily integrity, including sexuality, and rights within the family, 2) The second, much less documented phase is women's solidarity actions, that is, initiatives by women to support other women and 3) The third is women's efforts to look beyond their lives and improve their societies.

Great Ancestors is a good combination of both physical and intellectual activism. Some women worked towards ensuring access to education and thrived on intellectual achievements or the knowledge of scriptures. Others fought to secure rights within marriage or refused the marriage institution altogether. Yet others engaged in collective solidarity projects, including anti-colonial struggles or early forms of transnational feminist networking. The combination of chronological and thematic, within the narratives, makes the various chapters easy to navigate.

Great Ancestors gives credit to some male voices as well, appreciating the men who encouraged and supported gender equality and advocated for women's rights. Shaheed emphasizes: "The notion that all men in Muslim societies are misogynistic is as much a myth as the notion that women are only silent victims."

It is clear that the challenges women faced (and continue to face) are influenced by historical, social and political circumstances and that the strategies they designed (individually or collectively) are accordingly varied. Yet, *Great Ancestors* sets to demonstrate that the efforts undertaken by women towards achieving gender equality in Muslim contexts have been ongoing for centuries.

The book is more than just a compilation of women who have struggled for their rights in different Muslim countries and communities. It is a work that helps in removing the myth about women's rights being imported from colonizing countries to the colonies. It's this myth that delegitimizes feminist as "Westernized" women who betray their culture or religion by opting for a "non-indigenous" strategy. The book takes us inside the Muslim societies where the women activists/scholars own the notion of women's rights as an indigenous value that is part of their own heritage and not an alien idea.

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Words of Conflict, Words of War: How the Language We Use in Political Processes Sparks Fighting

Author: Fathali Moghaddam and Rom Harre (Eds.),

ISBN: 978-0313376764

Publisher: Praeger Press: California, 2010.

Pages: 220

Price: \$44.95

Fathali Moghaddam and Rom Harre are professors at Psychology Department, Georgetown University, Washington. Some other publications, by the same authors, are *Global Conflict Resolution through Positioning Analysis* (2008), *The Self and Others: Positioning Individuals and Groups in personal, Political and Cultural Contexts of International Action* (2003) and *Positioning Theory: Moral Contexts of International Action* (1999). These works contributed significantly in interpreting the gravity of positioning analysis at both individual and international levels.

In the book reviewed, the significance of positioning theory in different spheres of social strata is highlighted while analyzing the dialectical impact of words and languages on individuals and collective processes. The Positioning theory, according to this book, provides a method of analyzing the cognitive process that occurs within "local moral domains of people's beliefs" (p.49). Positioning is a correlating relationship in which one is positioned as having right while the other is counter-positioned to oblige. In this way, the book explores the interactions of social, religious and political domains and the operationalization of positioning theory in these contexts.

This work points out the usage of different languages and multifarious words in the game of positioning and counter-positioning. According to social psychological perspective, positioning act reveals the nature of different compound words which spark conflict in social and political realms. The book comprises of twelve chapters which show not only the mutual incompatible behavior of diverse individuals, groups, associations and entities but also the consequent deflating position of one against the other, that acts as the real cause of conflict in the contemporary world.

Primarily, diverging interests and goals, which are based on observations and perceptions, shape the psychological positions of individuals. The major chunk of this scholarly publication focuses on the script of international conflicts and resultant emerging positions in order to draw conclusions based on our understanding of the impact of language and words on domestic and international systems. An inquiry into the interactive influence of psychological positions on drawing the scripts of

international conflicts, can broaden the conceptualization of international security, which leads us towards better comprehension of existential threats and the respective positions taken on securitizing them.

In this book, the debate regarding the words of conflicts and their impact on the words of war has been laid down in three major dimensions i.e. Political, Social and Religious. Speeches of President Bush at the time of 9/11 (Chapter 3), behavior of Ian Paisley, the leader of Democratic Party of Northern Ireland (Chapter 6) and the dialect used in electoral campaign of Obama (chapter 7), present the practical evidences of positioning and counter-positioning. Diverging perceptions on the debate of rights and duties were being employed by Senator Barak Obama and Senator Hillary Clinton during their election campaign. Other contestants; including Governor of Alaska, Sarah Palin and Senator John McCain, used media for strengthening their prepositioning in public.

This book also serves to explain the social attributes of lingual positioning by highlighting the behavior of the patients of Alzheimer's disease (Chapter 5) and the dealing of care management in Sweden (Chapter 4). The religious attributes and their impacts on positioning have been explained by the case-study of war-torn Mindanao, the southern island of Philippines where Muslims, Christians and Lumads (indigenous people), all claim that the land exclusively belongs to them (Chapter 11). The findings of the social and religious attributes of languages and words suggest that we need to focus on the impact of jargon of words and languages on the skirmish nature of humans, acting at both local and international arenas, while playing different roles.

This book also provides an interesting insight from the college life of President Obama when he was studying in Occidental College, Los Angeles (Chapter 6). The data in the aforementioned context has been acquired from Obama's autobiography, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*.

Obama's dialogues with Regina (his classmate), concerning his pessimism on his political activities and Regina's retrospective optimism on his performance at the collegiate level, reflect conflicting perspectives of individuals on a similar issue, which highlights the importance of positioning theory analysis.

This book also provides an insight into the strategies of state leaders. In Chapter 10, the speeches of the former American President George W. Bush and the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad are referred to as demonstrations of aggressive positioning of two world leaders against each other. The anarchical political rhetoric was being employed by both leaders to emphasize the external threat posed by each other. Such an approach might inculcate internal cohesion at the domestic level.

The categorical language of "us" against "them" pushed both leaders into the phase of mutual radicalization. At the end, the book

provides positioning analyses of conflict management between “Aboriginal people” (indigenous Canadian people) and “mainstream” Canadians (Chapter 12). The Canadian government announced an official apology to demonstrate remorse and guilt on pursuing enforced assimilation of Aboriginal people. The government took this initiative to create a more racially equal and harmonious nation.

Positioning theory acts as an effective tool to understand the roots of the conflict. This theory traces the storyline conceptions endeavored by individuals and the techniques utilized for individual positioning.

The theory best explains the interests of people who are interacting in different fields of life. The positioning theorists provide variety of routes to conduct positioning analysis. This book is helpful in understanding conflicting social phenomena, political conflicts and moral orders of daily life. It is difficult to separate positioning from the languages which the leaders use in discussion, debates, clarifications and presentations.

Positioning theory, in view of positions and counter-positions, emerging as a result of the dialectical clash of languages and words, provides an interdisciplinary platform. It helps us to realize the fact that need of the hour is to broaden the conceptualization of individual and group actions at both local and international arenas, keeping in view the impression of language and words on security. This book will act as a resourceful guide for the researches of international relations in cautiously penning down their academic views, while taking on any position in securitizing any particular issue.

This book will also escort the students of sociology to adjudicate the dialectical impact of words and languages on individual’s actions and how such actions condition society and vice versa. Besides that, this publication may serve as an insight source for the students of Linguistics to make them aware of not only the ‘words of war’, but also of the ‘war of words’. It can help students know the nature and the degree of the impact, using words in a discourse carries.

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Electoral Malpractices during the 2008 Elections in Pakistan

Author: Iffat Humayun Khan

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Pages: 217

Price: RS 795

The author, Iffat Humayun Khan, is working as Research Associate in the International Islamic University, Islamabad, and is conducting research on elections from a global perspective. The book is first by the author but has won recognition among academic circles of Pakistan Studies. This is a useful, enriching read for the observers of electoral system in Pakistan, its historical development and impact on domestic politics of the country.

The author has tilted her book in a judgmental way i.e. "Electoral Malpractices" not "Practices" that pre-sets the mind of the reader. She sets off with the comment that due to different electoral system prevailing in the world, it's not possible to agree on one definition as to what constitutes the electoral malpractices; all the illegal ways that different parties use to influence the outcome of the elections can be termed as electoral malpractices. This book identifies two important variables: 1) Quest for Power and 2) Electoral Malpractices. The author has tried to develop the cause and effect relation between the two. Quest for power is considered an independent variable while electoral malpractices are dependent variable. The book has used systematic and theoretical approach to examine existential electoral practices in Pakistan. Iffat Hamayun has aptly explained; what is happening? The way it is happening and why it is happening? The underlying hypothesis of this book is based on deductive logic.

The author has defined the objectives well, by analyzing the electoral malpractices in the history of Pakistan in general and especially in the 2008 elections in particular. The objective of the book is to ascertain the impact of the malpractices in elections on the Pakistani society, the judiciary, the parliament and process of democratization. Its main aim is to create awareness among the electorates about the sanctity and power of their vote, to sensitize political elite to popular issues, to help the Election Commission to form new rules and make foolproof arrangements for conducting free and fair elections.

The writer elaborates her point of view with the help of historical analysis. She writes that after winning the freedom for the Muslims of subcontinent, the founding father of the country had two parallel tasks to do: 1) the nation building and 2) the state building. The weak democratic

traditions were inherited from the colonial masters and were evident right in the first decade of the history of the country. The never-ending political crisis in Pakistan is the product of electoral corruption so malpractices and the military takeovers are interrelated phenomena. The military takeover of October 7, 1958, known as the October Revolution, was the direct result of not conducting elections. The military regimes are transitional in nature; the military dictators seize power on the promise of holding free and fair elections and transfer the power to the democratically elected representatives of the people. But once in power, they start legitimizing their rule by holding elections and establishing their own King's Parties. Ayub Khan did the same by installing his version of democracy in the form of Basic Democracy (B.D) system.

The author has also related elections and democracy as interdependent variables. She is of the opinion that elections are primary source of securing democratic government. The key actors which have interests in manipulating the election results are identified as the politicians, landlords, industrialists and bureaucrats. The marriage of convenience between the military and bureaucracy has further consolidated the position of bureaucrats from policy executors to policy makers. The doctrine of necessity, used to legitimize the military rule has politicized the bureaucracy and judiciary. In the first twenty three years of this country, no free and fair elections were held.

Pervaiz Musharraf dismissed the democratically elected government after the occurrence of the Plane Conspiracy on October 12, 1999. After seizing the power, he issued provisional Constitutional Order No. 1 stating that any of the presidential orders cannot be challenged in the court of law. Then he followed the same path of his military predecessors and went for the local government elections. The Presidential Referendum of 2002 was a stark example of how a dictator used all the government machinery and money to get his power further consolidated. The Legal Framework Order, that contained 29 constitutional amendments, was aimed at increasing the power of the President. Methods like constitution tampering, judicial maneuverings, changing elections laws to get the king's party elected were used by Musharraf in 2008 elections. The removal of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on 9th March, 2007, was a move to clear the hurdles in getting elected as President for the third time which was not allowed under the constitution is also an example of electoral malpractices. The issuance of National Reconciliation Ordinance on 5th October, 2007, was allegedly the result of a deal brokered between Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto by the USA. It depicted that to some extent the external factors also play a strong role in the elections of the country.

The caretaker setup was clearly not a neutral one. The caretaker Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Soomro and the acting president Chaudhry Amir Hussain were both from the King's party, PML-Q. Large

scale bureaucratic reshuffle was done to accommodate the desired candidates. The state resources were misused for advertising campaigns of the ruling party. There was clear involvement of the caretaker government in the development projects to support the PML-Q. The state media was used to run a propaganda campaign for the party.

The 2008 elections were marred by Election day irregularities, ghost polling stations, snatching of ballot papers, and delays in polling, vote purchasing, fake identity cards, bogus multiple votes. The violent acts like kidnapping, harassment and killing of candidates and voters went unchecked. Women were barred from voting. Many election observers were not allowed to monitor the elections. The only factor that played its role in barring PML-Q from getting the seats which it was expecting was the aloofness of the military from the elections. It seriously limited the power of the then President Musharraf to influence the outcome of elections as was planned.

In pursuit of civilian control over army and bureaucracy, and establishing a fully functional and representative democracy, the author has made recommendations of an independent judiciary, independent election commission and free media. Certain suggestions made by the author about the election procedure and polling rules are also very important, if we are to improve and instill the legitimacy in our electoral process and make a way forward for the attainment of a vibrant and a truly representative democracy. Iffat Hamayun has truly related the process of democratization in Pakistan with the nature of electoral practices.

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In Search of School Effectiveness: A Research Study Oriented Book

Author: Dr. Syed Qaim Mehdi Zaidi,

ISBN: 9781458791665

Publisher: Read How You Want, USA, 2010.

Pages: 106

Price: \$24.29

A well-known Educationist and Psychologist, Dr. Zaidi has contributed in researches of various educational organizations. His dedication has led him to achieve Quaid-e-Azam Gold medal. He was also member of the team of Psychologist who developed psychological tests to judge mental ability in diversified field. The Author is presently heading the Examination department at National Defence University, Islamabad. This book is written as a source to improve schools and making them effective.

The objective of this book is to guide the researchers for establishing an effective and ideal institution for the coming generations. The purpose is to highlight the missing link of moral and human resource development in the educational system of the societies of the Asian subcontinent. Educational institutions are mainly based on intellectual and moral development of children but these are less cared-for, in countries of the Asian subcontinent. The success of any educational institution is dependent upon effective faculty and teaching techniques.

The first chapter deals with the importance of Secondary Education which plays a vital role in an education system and its significance in bridging primary and the higher level of education. It enables youth to enter the labour market and also helps them in making a smooth transition from adolescence to adult life.

Chapter 2 deals with the global review of the related literature which addresses the issue of school effectiveness during the last four decades. The literature is reviewed under 5 headings for convenience i.e. school effectiveness defined studies, programs, research paradigms and the findings.

The 3rd chapter is about the general critique on the related research. Specific criticism of particular studies reflects intuitive logic to the result of research. Few schools are known to be effective and the rest maintain a status quo. The history of education reform demonstrates that, no matter how well planned and systematic interventions in school are not always successful either in form or outline.

The 4th chapter is the concluding remarks by the author. An academically effective school is distinguished by its culture and climate of values and norms that channel staff and students in direction of successful

teaching and learning. The logic of this cultural model is that it points to increase the organizational effectiveness of school. Schools effectiveness in one area tended to be effective in other area. There are many possible approaches to turning an academically inferior school into more successful one.

Chapter 5 and 6 give the statistical data about the research and is completely illustrated with the help of hypothesis and its findings.

Chapter 7 and 8, present the final conclusion and recommendations by the Author. A careful analysis of the findings reveals that some of the findings spring no surprises while others are rather surprising. The results that schools with most experienced teachers are found significantly superior to the schools with less experienced teachers in their degree of effectiveness stands to reason, because experience does make a difference. The recommendations are based on ground realities and are achievable if strived with dedication.

This book emphasizes on the importance of moral and intellectual development of children with help of state of the art teaching techniques and teaching facilities. Faculty plays an important role in the development process and is a vital asset for an institution. The book has blend of all these factors with logical reasoning and a useful source for schools to improve and make the institution more efficient and effective. The book has been written in a very systematical way with intensive research which further enhances the quality.

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