

ISSN: 2219-0562

Vol. V, Issue I, 2013



ISSRA PAPERS

(The journal of Governance and Public Policy)



**NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN**

www.ndu.edu.pk

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا كَمْ يَعْلَمُ

TAUGHT MAN THAT WHICH HE KNEW NOT

ISSRA PAPERS

Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis (ISSRA)
National Defence University, Islamabad

Patrons

Lieutenant General Javed Iqbal, HI (M)
Major General Noel I. Khokhar, HI (M)

Patron-in-Chief
Patron

Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Saif ur Rehman
Lieutenant Colonel Manzoor Ahmed Abbasi
Mr. Muhammad Usman Asghar

Editor-in-Chief
Editor
Assistant Editor

Advisory Board

Maj General Musarrat Nawaz Malik	Chief Instructor, NS College (A Division), NDU, Islamabad
Dr. Lubna Abid Ali	School of Politics and International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
Dr. Noman Omar Sattar	Acting Director, Area Study Centre for Africa, North & South America, Quaid-i- Azam University, Islamabad
Dr. Huang Qixuan	Assistant Professor, School of International and Public Affairs, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Shanghai, China
Dr. Shanthie Mariet D'Souza	Research Fellow, Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS), National University of Singapore
Dr. Daanish Mustafa	Department of Geography, King's College, London

ISSRA Papers is sponsored by the Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis, National Defence University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Manuscripts and editorial communications may be directed to the editor.

**Statements, facts and opinions mentioned in ISSRA Papers are
solely of the authors and do not imply the official policy of the
Institution, Editors and Publisher.**

Telephone: 051-9260651-52 (Extension: 5272/5285)

Fax: 051-9260663

Email: ddpubnres@ndu.edu.pk

Website: <http://www.ndu.edu.pk>



**NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN**

www.ndu.edu.pk

ISSRA PAPERS VOL-V, ISSUE-I, 2013

CONTENTS

	Page
• The Modern Decalogue: Mashriqi's Concept of a Dynamic Community <i>Dr Sarfraz Hussain Ansari</i>	1
• Emerging Middle East: Interplay of the New Power Centers <i>Mr. Muhammad Shabbir</i>	25
• An Appraisal of Health Sector in the Backdrop of 18 th Amendment <i>Ms Asma Sana</i>	45
• The Social, Political and Economic Effects of the War on Terror: Pakistan 2009 to 2011 <i>Mr. Tariq Khan</i>	65
• Environmental Issues of Indus River Basin: An Analysis <i>Abdul Rauf Iqbal</i>	91
• Governance Issues in Pakistan: Suggested Action Strategy <i>Muhammad Usman Asghar</i>	113
• US Asia Pivot Strategy: Implications for the Regional States <i>Ms. Beenish Sultan</i>	135
• Priority Areas in the Parliamentary Legislation (2008-2013): An Appraisal <i>Ms. Mahroona Hussain Syed</i>	151
• IMF-The Economic Tool to Advance American National Interest <i>Faqir Hamim Masoom</i>	177

Editor's Note

The salient feature of ISSRA Papers First Half 2013 is that its focus has been shifted more towards the analysis of governance and policy issues. It was very encouraging for the editorial board that highly experienced and serious researchers are now approaching, to get their papers published. The readers will find a marked difference in the quality of papers in the days to come. The current issue contains important papers, dealing with a variety of policy issue.

The first article, written by Dr Sarfraz Hussain Ansari, dilates upon the philosophical discourse of Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi (1888 – 1963), who was trained as a scientist, but during his studies at Cambridge, he took up diverse subjects. He experienced the functioning of the British Raj from close quarters and also watched the fall of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey. He became interested in the study and reform of conditions, in which Muslims found themselves at that juncture. The paper contains invaluable insight, as to how a balanced world-view can be promoted.

The next article 'Emerging Middle East: Interplay of the New Power Centres', written by a passionate researcher of NDU, Mr. Muhammad Shabbir, is a pertinent survey of existing situation in Middle East. A power transition amongst the regional players is now under way, from which new power centers are emerging. In this regard, this study attempts to assess the geo-political effects of the 'Arab Spring' on the region; to delineate the impact of rise of Islamists on the regional policies of Egypt, Turkey and Iran; and to evaluate the consequences of a possible Israel-Iranian war on the regional balance of power and geo-strategic developments.

The next paper, written by Ms Asma Sana, a faculty member of NDU, deals with equally important subject of public policy i.e. Health Sector of Pakistan, an area which rarely attracts the attention of researchers. The health sector has become a provincial matter and, resultantly, the Federal Ministry of Health has been dissolved. This paper is an attempt to investigate the impact of 18th Amendment on the health sector and it also suggests measures for improvement in our health policies as well as in their implementation mechanisms.

In his paper ‘The Social, Political and Economic Effects of War on Terror’, Pakistan, Mr. Tariq Khan has provided very useful empirical analysis of War on Terror in the context of Pakistan. The paper attempts to study the social, political, and economic effects of the war on terror on Pakistan from 2001 to 2009.

This issue also contains a paper on ‘Environmental Issues of Indus River Basin’, written by Mr. Abdul Rauf, a Research Associate at NDU. The central argument of his paper is that continuing population growth is significantly reducing per capita water availability and increasing industrialization and urbanization are bringing important shifts in water use. Climate change is exerting additional, chronic strains on water resources, potentially shifting the seasonal timing or shuffling the geographical distribution of available supplies. He pleads for a rapid planning for both the conservation and preservation of water resources in Pakistan.

Another NDU researcher, Mr. Usman Asghar, has taken up the issue of governance in Pakistan. He argues that Pakistan needs to review and revise its policies to achieve effective and efficient governance practices. Law and order, energy, economy, political stability and national harmony are the key governance issues in Pakistan, which need comprehensive policy response.

The paper ‘US Asia Pivot Strategy: Implications for the Regional States’, written by Ms Beenish Sultan, a Research Associate at NDU, analyses the U.S. foreign policy focuses in the Asia, particularly in the Indian Ocean. The paper argues that it is now one of the vital US interests to secure its economic outreach, so as to provide a ladder to its defence planning. In order to tackle the economic dominance of China and deal with its own declining economy, the U.S. made public its ‘Asia Pivot’ strategy. This envisaged a policy of confronting some, while cooperating with others, as the prime objective.

The second last paper, titled ‘Priority Areas in the Parliamentary Legislation (2008-2013): An Appraisal’, written by Ms Mahroona Hussain Syed, Research Associate at ISSRA, contains an analysis of existing practices in the parliamentary legislation in Pakistan. The paper argues that the most important policy issues, which impact on the lives of the people, somehow, do not find place in the priority list of legislation and how important it is to conduct research not only on policy-formulation practices but also on the promotion of policy advocacy.

The last paper of this issue ‘The Economic Dependency of Countries on International Monetary Fund (IMF)’, written by Intern Faqir Hamim of NDU, looks at the IMF as a policy tool for the US, to advance its national interests. Citing a number of cases, as to how, when and where USA has been using IMF to pursue its national interest, detrimental to other states that are recipients of the IMF loans, the writer argues that the countries like Pakistan should be vigilant about IMF machinations. The paper offers fresh perspectives and alternative lens on contemporary issues.

The Modern Decalogue: Mashriqi's Concept of a Dynamic Community

Dr Sarfraz Hussain Ansari¹

Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi (1888 – 1963) was trained as a scientist, but during his studies at Cambridge, he took up diverse subjects; including one Tripos in Oriental Languages. Back in the then British India, he became Vice Principal of a celebrated college, namely, Islamia College Peshawar. He experienced the functioning of the British Raj from close quarters and also watched the fall of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey. He became interested in the study and reform of conditions, in which Muslims found themselves at that juncture.

In studying the Muslim decline, Mashriqi generalized the problem; as he did not look simply at the fall of Muslim power. He took into account all nations of the world and theorized about the rise and fall of any nation. Indeed, he went further and thought in terms of welfare of humanity as a whole. Mashriqi's concern for the mankind was justified in view of the First World War's toll, which shocked all thinking people in the world. To Mashriqi, annihilation of the human kind seemed to be a distinct possibility. In seeking to answer the problem so formulated, Mashriqi made use of his religio-scientific training. He elaborated a view based on synthesis of religion and science.

¹ Dr. Sarfraz Ansari holds Ph.D in Pakistan Studies. He is currently serving as Assistant Professor at Department of Government and Public Policy, National Defence University, Islamabad.

This paper will attempt to answer three questions:-

- How Mashriqi attempted synthesis of religion and science?
- What did Mashriqi understand by a dynamic nation?
- What were the elements of his 'Modern Decalogue' that could facilitate the creation of a dynamic nation?

Mashriqi's Synthesis of Religion and Science

Religion, according to Mashriqi, was "the greatest of all that is believed and practiced in the world".¹ Rituals, sacrifices, offerings, alms, pilgrimages, prayers, donations etc, were continuing mysteries of religious practices and customs; they were taken for granted by followers of various religions prevalent in the world. Overwhelming majority of people felt no need to understand the mystery of the ongoing religious practices. Not only the common man, but the learned and wise also participated in rituals, without much analysis. One and all considered rituals as a 'vital purpose of their life'. Mashriqi says,

"In the entire history of man's presumption and belief, in fact, in much of what constitutes an account of his struggle and action, Religion alone is that persuasive and quiet catalyst the amazing influence of which is visible almost on every individual. And, religion, too, is such an undebatable, unarguable, and unceasing heritage of man that everybody considers that his inherent right to keep it in unquestioned custody²".

The problem, of course, was that such universality of religious devotions and rituals was equally matched by universal disagreement on the nature of religion. It had not been possible, moaned Mashriqi, "to find an irrefutable and unanimous agreement even about the Being of God and His real Will".³ Indeed, there was no sign of

decrease in mutual difference among Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Muslims, "every man considering his own Faith true and the rest a mere falsity".⁴ There was the universal conflict, negating the claim of all religions to possess any truth. The universality of religion with its 'murderous mutual conflicts' presented a great problem.⁵ "Much of the bloodshed in the world, its horrifying wars, its great conflicts and massacres were attributed to differences in faith. Often a people did massacre another, because it had a different religion, and because it professed a different faith, worshiped another god, believed in a different prophet".⁶ To Mashriqi, such a state of affairs was not in the interest of mankind. He thought it was of universal importance to seek solution to the problem.

By the time Mashriqi was pondering over the problem, science had come to assume the status of a powerful social force. Utilitarian applications of scientific knowledge led to the production of such magnificent results in practical life as thousands of miles of railway track, millions of yards of cloth, unlimited steam power, iron and steel machinery, devices for instant communication, and multiplication of innumerable conveniences for the benefit of mankind. They all struck the imagination so forcibly as to make any question of the scientific assumption look like superstitious folly. Mashriqi was convinced that with the development of scientific knowledge mankind came to draw firm conclusion and was led to "new openings to power".⁷ It was on the theoretical front that science was even more relevant to his purposes: science had begun to win consensus of ever increasing number of people on many contested issues. Science could create unanimity as to its findings, its 'truths'. Mashriqi noted, "Human beings were unanimous on the facts of mathematics".⁸ Knowledge of scientific laws, e.g., the law of gravitation acted to end many quarrels

among people. This was so because, said Mashriqi, "all have seen the reality with their own eyes; because everybody experiences them every moment and in every state".⁹ In every domain of research and inquiry effect of science was a powerful corrector of human actions and opinions, acting everywhere "to integrate, to narrow down the dividing gulf and, by evolving a common basis, to enforce a universal agreement".¹⁰

If the characterization of science was correct, and it was largely believed to be so, in what precise manner could science help? It is important to ask this question because in Mashriqi's own estimation some of the conclusions reached by scientific study were partial, or at least, misleading in their application. This was particularly true of the concept of evolution. According to Mashriqi, Darwin's theory of evolution contained some positive points. But it also exerted negative influence, leading the Western nations to "believe that 'fitness' signifies only strength and material force... oblivious of the spiritual potential of individuals and the sky shattering power of the culture of their mind".¹¹ In Mashriqi's view, Germany's 'militarism' and 'Britain's piratical lust for land'¹² were manifestations of Darwin's theory of 'natural selection' and survival of the fittest'. The Western scientists, in Mashriqi's view, seemed to be fully satisfied that Darwin had given the decisive verdict regarding survival and prosperity of communities: that "only that community is ensured survival which was 'Fit'.¹³ Mashriqi disagreed and said that in defining 'fitness' in materialistic terms, the Western thinkers had come to accept natural inclinations of "inferior species as a correct clue to the science of human conduct".¹⁴ According to Mashriqi, where force was deemed necessary for social stability, "utmost purification of mind would also be important to sustain such force".¹⁵

With such controversial results and developments in the scientific realm, science could still help, and this was because of the scientific method. The essence of science, as a factor in society, consisted of in the use of scientific procedures. According to Mashriqi, science accords status of knowledge to anything, which is evidenced by the ear, the eye and the human mind, which, when satisfied, would put at ease a man's inquisitiveness. Science is based on observation as well as use of reason.¹⁶

Given the universal importance of and equally universal quarrels in the realm of religion, the problem for Mashriqi was to establish the 'religious truth' the 'common reality', on which mankind could agree. In his attempt to find an answer, Mashriqi undertook to study religions on the model of science. That is, he adopted the scientific method as the criterion for judging the truth or otherwise of claims of different religions. In the process, he redefines religion as universal message of God, preached by prophets to be the way which could produce and maintain a durable and prosperous society. Guidance on matters pertaining to man's welfare and happiness on earth was considered desirable and was to be provided by the Creator. The sacred books carry a promise to man that instruction about his proper conduct on earth would be forthcoming in that the prophets, raised from amongst them, would present a model of proper human conduct. Men could emulate such model for their own good and welfare. Prophets would be human, not superhuman beings and would deliver the Creator's message to mankind as to how it could flourish. Mashriqi was "convinced that the various Prophets, wherever they came from, brought the same message, messages for the good of man himself".¹⁷ The religion was concerned with:

“How the children of Adam should live in the world; what this ignorant and unwise creation should do in contrast to other animal species; how should it conduct itself; what is it that will, in this perpetual struggle for existence, grant PEACE to the human race, ensure its security and evolution, survival and stability”.¹⁸

Religion consisted of principles concerned with 'rise and fall of nations'. It was one and the same message brought by the prophets. Mashriqi was convinced that unanimity among mankind could be re-created by showing that Religion was knowledge, was truth, indeed one truth. Right thinking person could see for themselves, that "a stream of UNITY of message runs through all the existing scriptures even in their mutilated forms".¹⁹ All implied the same objective and goal and the same directive, though forms and practices differed in many cases. Mashriqi was convinced that if there had arisen any difference in the application of the divine Directive, "it is merely a difference of view point of the shade of the picture; it is certainly not the difference of mind's vision".²⁰

All prophets had the knowledge of the same directive, the same law. "Their attention was focused on that law, that fundamental truth, that Religion of Nature, which everywhere ensures Peace-the peace of communities and tribes, of homes and individuals".²¹ This means that mankind's religion is one, and consists of man's correct course of conduct in the world. For Mashriqi, it was man's "bounden duty to comprehend the Immutable Law which governs the rise and fall of nations. The knowledge of this alone constitutes Science of Religions; it is this course, which is every body's urgent need. The sense of good and bad, true and false, right and wrong, is developed in man only

through revelation. The collective virtues and 'fitness' of action, are derived from these teachings of prophets;" and Mashriqi continues: "The principles of survival and stability which today are assiduously pursued by all progressive nations are the remnants of this supreme science".²²

According to Mashriqi, Prophets have exerted amazing influence on the mankind and it is still being felt with all its intensity. A thinking person must recognize the truth and depth of knowledge and action connected with prophetic teachings with an open heart. The knowledge imparted by them must be entertained as the certain basis for knowledge about human society. True, religious differences did rend humanity apart, but that is the result of men's own rebellion among themselves and self-conceit and obstinacy. "Prophets came to make their nations victorious and dominant. Prophet brought knowledge, science; they brought the science of rule. With knowledge and rule, they brought the big news of a good and durable life on earth".²³

Dynamic Nation

Mashriqi believes that all Prophets, without any exception, came to establish peace among the people, which they were sent to lead. They brought knowledge on the basis of which durable rule could be established. In the vocabulary of the Quran, they brought the 'Big Tidings'²⁴, knowledge on which everlasting rule could be built. Prophets brought the tidings of unbroken enjoyment of peace, if people acted on principles preached by them. They proclaimed that prolonged enjoyment of earthly paradise depended on action, the sure knowledge of which they had brought. Such action would ensure everlasting enjoyment of 'heavenly' existence on earth. Communities so established were, for Mashriqi, dynamic communities: "ever since

man's creation, the aim of every dynamic community has been to be in authority and ensure continued security".²⁵ In the Tazkirah, Mashriqi is mainly concerned with conditions under which a group can establish and enjoy self-rule, independent of, and without any interference from, other groups. He terms such a group 'a living people', 'a dynamic people', 'a living nation', 'a dynamic nation'.²⁶ It may be said to be equivalent to what Etzioni has characterized as 'the active society'.²⁷ Independence would mean absence of both physical occupation as well as alien intellectual control. The self-ruling nation will establish its own institutions to give expression to its indigenous moral standards. Urge for freedom among a group is related to solidarity, fraternity, mutual understanding and association on equal terms. It makes for union, closer understanding, and integration of interests. In short, it is a desire for a life of common dependence and common sacrifice. Men who fight for freedom, usually fight for the right to be governed by themselves or their own representatives. They aspire to participate, or, at least, to believe that they are participating in the legislative and administrative processes of their collective lives. People get recognition and sense of being someone from the members of the society to which, historically, morally, economically, and perhaps ethnically, they feel that they belong. And the society which gives one identity is the society which is independent and self-ruling.

A dynamic community does not conceive of suffering destruction which would involve destruction of its supremacy, its self-government, its self-rule.²⁸ Destruction may involve loss of life, loss of produce and destruction of buildings and other physical marks, but it may or may not involve destruction of individual men and women belonging to a nation. Destruction of a nation would certainly involve destruction of a nation's supremacy over a portion of earth, its self-

rule. Sometime such nation may be pushed away from the country, over which it had established itself, turned into a refugee group wandering hither and thither without a place, on which to live in peace under their own rule and government. Self-government and external peace are fundamental characteristics of a dynamic nation. This is why the main thesis of the famous Quranic verse²⁹ about inheritance of the earth (i.e. establishment of rule) is intimately related to the theme of fear of enemy and replacing/transforming such fear into security and peace by building a dynamic nation. According to the verse, security and peace would come to a nation when it establishes its own 'rule on earth'.

Mashriqi equates domination by others with 'hellish' conditions, in that control by others is termed enslavement and 'lake of fire and brimstone'.³⁰ Mashriqi holds that the Quran seems to warn people to avoid becoming enslaved or ruled by aliens, for the master nation snatches away the means of livelihood from the enslaved ones, who may never get an opportunity to re-gain self-rule and prosperity.³¹ A wise nation would always shun coming under imperialist domination. The imperialist masters will not only lay their hand on the more visible resources, but, on the strength of their technology, would unearth and capture mineral wealth hidden from normal view. This will impoverish the victim nation still more, leaving no chance for their improvement in future.

Bases of Dynamic Nation: Elements of Decalogue

Mashriqi posits a Decalogue, as basis for the creation of a dynamic polity/nation. The ten elements include: (1) Belief in Unity of God; (2) Unity among people; (3) Obedience to the persons in authority; (4) Readiness to sacrifice belongings; (5) Readiness to sacrifice life; (6) Ready to migrate if and when needed; (7) Endeavour and activeness

with complete confidence; (8) Belief in the Day of Judgment; (9) Good manners, and (10) Study/conquest of nature.³²

Mashriqi's ten principles are reminiscent of the Biblical Ten Commandments, the Decalogue, in which God commanded the Jewish people: (1) not to have other Gods; (2) not to make graven images nor to bow before them; (3) not to take the name of the Lord God in vain; (4) to remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy; (5) honour their parents. (6) not to kill; (7) not to commit adultery; (8) not to steal; (9) not to bear false witness and (10) not to covet their neighbour's wife. Over time, in European history, the Biblical Decalogue came to be replaced by other views regarding founding of durable and prosperous societies. Social Darwinist ideas on fitness to rule may be considered as the most important ones.

Such views of the rise of Europe centered mainly upon Darwinian ideas formulated to explain the origin of species in terms of natural selection: the well adapted species, they propounded, possessed characteristics conducive to their survival and passed on the same to their progeny. Herbert Spencer, who reached his Darwinist conclusions before Darwin's *Origin of the Species* was published, held that "stern discipline of nature" eliminated the "unfit".³³ While this formulation had some intellectual content, many others saw in British economic and imperial power the proof of being the 'fittest'. Among those basing their ideas on such British 'facts', one could name Walter Bagehot's *Physic and Politics, or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of 'Natural Selection' and Inheritance to Political Society*.³⁴ In this book, the author's law of human progress seems to be that the strongest nations always prevail, and in certain marked peculiarities the strongest tend to be the best.³⁵

Mashriqi defended Darwin's theory of evolution but gave completely different meanings to it.³⁶ Natural selection, it was claimed, was part of the laws of God. Functions of nature were being carried on by laws set by Him. It is He who created man, as an evolved being. As the Creator, both of universe and man, it is He who knows fully the nature of man. In His providence, He has revealed His will, His guidance to man through His prophets raised from among peoples themselves. Such prophets taught people how to build durable and prosperous societies. The revealed guidance was in addition to the God-given apparatus; eyes, ears and reasoning mind—the use of such apparatus was also envisaged to lead man to derive knowledge of nature and establish stable and prosperous society.

Keeping the Quranic teachings in view, Mashriqi emphasized that the rise of a nation meant durability, which was bound up with 'righteous' actions, and decline was connected with 'unfitness' for survival and prosperity. Mashriqi was, thus, able to say that there were 'natural' laws working with regard to the fate of nations³⁷; a nation whose members were given to undesirable practices (non-righteous actions) would not flourish and would, inevitably, suffer decline, even extinction. According to Mashriqi, it is significant that the Quran has used the word 'Istikhlaf', to make it clear that even before Islam such 'natural' instinct existed in the various peoples. God's promise with Muslims is the same promise of inheritance, as had been made with the predecessor nations, and in the same way, has He repeatedly described it as 'inheritance in the earth'.³⁸

The Quran lays down a rule with regard to granting durable power to any people,

“And, indeed, after having exhorted [man], We laid it down in all the books of divine wisdom that My righteous servants shall

inherit the earth: herein, behold, there is a message for people who [truly] worship God".³⁹

Principles of the Decalogue can be broadly divided into two categories.⁴⁰ The first nine principles involve verbal utterances/mental contemplation and may be seen as revealed word of God. They seem to involve initial preaching and attentive listening and obedient behaviour towards them. The tenth principle is action. To begin with, it involves investigation into the processes of nature, which reveal themselves to the scientist in a piecemeal manner. It leads to discovery of laws of nature and consequent control and capture of forces of nature. We deal with first nine principles first.

Belief in Tauheed: The unity of God, means action in that you are to conduct yourself in ways that reflect that Oneness of God is a reality for you. Belief in God is productive of certain type of conduct. We take the example of the notion of equality. Faith in Oneness of God should issue in the moral/spiritual equality of all human beings in the conduct of a Muslim. A Muslim cannot but believe in the moral equality of all human beings irrespective of caste or creed. If such belief does not exist, faith in 'Tauheed' is not complete. For some, Islamic modes of worship are intended to achieve individual redemption. For others, like Mashriqi, such modes are contributive to, and creative of, a social order, a good society.⁴¹

An important aspect of Faith in the unity of God is a person's relative detachment from his primordial distractions - such distractions seen as great impediments to the creation of a society wherein nepotism and corruption cannot take root, or flourish. Faith leads to the creation of universalistic as opposed to particularistic norms. When Mashriqi published Tazkirah in 1924, Muslims in India seemed to have a lot of verbal faith in the unity of God; it was not

reflected in their socio-political relations. Mashriqi, through his Khaksar Movement started in 1931, tried to devise strategies whereby he could convert the verbal faith into an active, living faith, in God and, thereby, revolutionize social relations among Muslims in India.⁴²

Unity Among the People: The unity among inhabitants is, according to Mashriqi, so much important that the Quran provides mechanisms to minimize/eliminate possible ill-will between husband and wife, even when they are on the way to being divorced.⁴³ It is thought that even such ill-will, which has private origin, can be productive of disunity among families and, thereby, among Muslims as a society. Unity in a policy is to be built upon smaller unities among individuals and families. Most religions have established certain procedures/manners, the observance of which is envisaged to produce unity. Religions help create a culture of unity.

Mashriqi begins with the building blocks of a united society in that he recognizes the existence of groups at various levels and tries to show ways and means whereby people can be united both horizontally as well as vertically. Mashriqi attaches great importance to good personal relations as building blocks of unity. Even exchange of greetings is taken to play a positive role in promoting unity among people. Active mutual help is considered as a firm basis for promoting unity. If a nation exhibits the qualities of a united nation, having no sectarian differences, then such a nation would be enjoying, without fail, rule over others, or independence for herself.⁴⁴

In Mashriqi's perspective, socio-economic and political disorders are the most important indicators of 'hellish' life, which can devour groups and individuals in those groups. In terms of perspectives which over-emphasize the 'Hereafter' as the place of punishment can overlook indicators which in Mashriqi's view constitute punishment.

For Mashriqi, there is probably no greater punishment than the one which is generated by deadly conflicts among parties, be such groups within one country or different countries at war with one another.⁴⁵

Emphasis on obedience to Ameer (commander, ruler) is indicative of concern about discipline, certainty in the chain of command. Mashriqi sees deliverance of a nation in her organization, almost on military lines. This is so because organized activity is productive of forceful, concentrated effort and is, eventually, fruitful. Mashriqi upheld the authority of the ruler but his emphasis has been misunderstood. What Mashriqi wanted was respect for authority because Mashriqi wanted to see peace in society. He was so sincere in this that when the central government ordered Khaksars, in 1942, to remove their military-like symbols, Mashriqi obliged.⁴⁶

Problem of location of authority in a single head, a few persons, or democratic masses has been debated throughout history. Mashriqi's answer is leadership of single person, who will seek full consultation, but will take his own decision, i.e. be responsible for the decision. Such a leader would be expected to act morally within the cultural norms of his society. Apparently, Mashriqi's emphasis on 'obedience to the ruler' does not seem to take into account conditions of such obedience, particularly those either expressly mentioned or otherwise emphasized in the Quran regarding rule over others, namely, consultation, and accountability. But Mashriqi's decalogue is meant to create conditions wherein behaviour of rulers will not be unwarranted. At the same time, lowering one's head in obedience to the leader of the group will overcome 'the monster of self-conceitedness' and haughtiness.⁴⁷

Of the ten principles of durability of a polity, the most relevant for defense against external intrusion, is complete readiness among the

populace to fight out its battles with some proper weapons, even at the cost of life. It means giving up idols of self-love and engages in actual fight in the way of God. It means sacrifice of one's body, when so needed, in obedience to God's directives.⁴⁸

Financial sacrifice on the part of members of a community to defend the community against attack from enemy, in Mashriqi's view, results in conquering one's self-indulgence, doing something for the have-nots, and renunciation of one's love for money.⁴⁹ Indeed, it means sacrificing one's own wishes so that wishes of others may be fulfilled. It is a constant financial sacrifice, resulting in the strengthening of a people as a whole. It is for the welfare of the nation, meant for some important national purpose. Mashriqi did not regard such sacrifice to be something charitable; he regarded it as the main basis on which national treasury and finance were to be organized, which will then be used for the fulfillment of set national purposes. Spending in organized manner is a manifestation of well evolved society and, at the same time, adds to further collective strength and development.

Hijrat, migration, is one's travel in obedience to God's direction, sacrificing one's love for children, and leaving behind one's home and hearth, belongings, gardens, indeed, all luxuries. Members of a nation, who come to be sincere believers in the unity of God and who are ready to abandon objects of love to the exclusion of the service of the true God, would be ever ready to migrate from their homeland, if required for the good of their nation. Indeed, leaving behind their children, their near ones, home and hearth would be something very insignificant in their eyes. They would be so much intoxicated with love of the Creator and love of their fellow people that they would not have second thoughts, if migration was to be undertaken for a noble

cause. The momentary inconvenience incurred as a result of migration could be a precursor to a long lasting peace on earth, which could usher in an era of durable rule.⁵⁰

Endeavour and action with complete confidence in one's destiny means exertion, leaving aside all lethargy and indolence. The striving servant of God keeps in view the objective of inheritance of the earth and devotes himself, limbs and body, to the achievement of that objective⁵¹. Muslims are to believe in their successes in the future; they should continue their efforts, believing that they would meet a happy ending, that their future is bright. They should have faith to face their future courageously.

Good manners and mutual help, justice and benevolence, keeping of promise and promotion of brotherhood, kindness and love become the true faith and true Islam for everyone⁵². All verses about *Husn-e-Ikhlaq* (good manners), when acted upon, must promote a peaceful society - a social order in which most of the people will be living a harmonious life. This peace can be both physical as well as mental. Acting upon such verses is likely to create a congenial atmosphere, in which people will feel at rest - mentally and physically. Take the small example of saluting each other, when two people pass by; the repetition of salutation will lead to friendship and brotherhood, mutual understanding and confidence.

Belief in the Day of Judgment. Real service to God comes to be rendered when, owing to belief in the Day of Judgment, and reward and punishment, God's servant sacrifices his body, his soul, his wealth and all for earning God's approval.⁵³

The tenth principle of the decalogue is 'ilm', knowledge of work of God, scientific study of nature, which would confer power on man. Real service to God begins, when people begin to investigate and

acquire knowledge about God's Works-things which God has made, the universe/nature which He created.⁵⁴ The Quran also draws attention to the study of archeological remains to learn about downfall of earlier nations.⁵⁵ This has now taken the shape of science, but it was emphasized by the Quran many centuries ago. Seen in this perspective, durability and prosperity of a nation is the function of knowledge of nature.⁵⁶ This proposition is true for all times and all places⁵⁷. In matters of reward, the Quran uses a terminology which seems to speak of the world to come, notion of 'salvation' and 'success' are usually taken to mean conditions which will obtain in the hereafter, after death. Mashriqi recognizes such meanings but only as additional to the primary meanings, which he attaches to such concepts. He emphasizes that the Quran is for the guidance of mankind. Naturally, it is to guide people when they are alive. This means that the Quran must be presumed, primarily, to address problems concerned with living people. It would offer code of conduct to people in their life, public as well as private. Mashriqi is critical of many Muslim religious scholars, mystics and intellectuals who claim to know the secrets of human progress, on the ground that they do not pay sufficient attention to the crucial role of knowledge of nature urged upon as a precious thing by the Quran itself. In Mashriqi's view, they indulge in 'non-sensical exaggerations', without possessing real understanding of the Quran.⁵⁸ Nature is the truth from God.⁵⁹ Man has been urged to acquire knowledge of Nature, whose forces are susceptible to human understanding and control. In Mashriqi's view, those who regard nature as useless, are likely to suffer; people with knowledge of nature will succeed in this life and in the life to come. Man has been enjoined upon to make use of his powers of listening and seeing and the intellect given to him, to learn the secrets of

Nature. Those who do it, will earn rewards, 'salvation'; those who neglect the study of nature will be punished, thrown into 'hell'. Elaborating on this Mashriqi cites a Quranic verse⁶⁰, and comments that the nations who acquire knowledge of nature are the ones that have risen in the scale of civilization. Those who have neglected the study and conquest of nature are already groaning under the 'hell' of slavery, i.e. are under imperialistic control. Mashriqi cites several verses from the Quran to show that, in the eyes of God, only those nations would be saved from the 'fire of hell', which would acquire the knowledge of nature and bring natural forces under their control to enhance their defensive and offensive potential. An important verse is,

“And most certainly have We destined for hell many of the invisible beings and men who have hearts, which fail to grasp the truth and eyes which fail to see, and ears which fail to hear. They are like cattle - nay, they are even less conscious of the right way: it is they, who are [truly] heedless! for God has created the heavens and the earth in accordance with [an inner] truth, and [has therefore willed] that every human being shall be recompensed for what he has earned and none shall be wronged.⁶¹

Many nations, including the Muslim one, consider nature to be a purposeless creation; but they pay little attention to the knowledge and messages (directions) which active nation derives from the study of nature. In Mashriqi's view, nations seeing no purpose in nature were then convulsing under alien rule and suffering impoverishment. As a rule, such dependent nations/people cannot engage in fruitful activity; their loss of self-confidence becomes, for them, a great infirmity and disability. All those who do not see any purpose in the

nature; that see it only in terms of 'transitory abode' are, according to Mashriqi, sluggards, liable to be thrown into 'jahannam', hell.⁶²

Servants of God are those who take the nature seriously, investigate it, acquire knowledge of the principles inherent in it and use such knowledge in further enhancing the 'beauty' of the world and their own powers to gain further progress. Mashriqi lists numerous Quranic Verses, which seem to have an amazing unity of meanings, and show that the objective of the religion of Islam is progress in this world.⁶³ Most of such verses emphasize that kingdoms of prophets had been based on knowledge of nature, and were strengthened and made durable on that basis. Mention of such durable kingdom in the Quran means that God Himself is witnessing the knowledge-based foundation of the prophetic rule and is declaring that it was right. Abundance of worldly comforts is especially mentioned and commended as a part of durable rule. Nations which forget that durable self-rule is dependent upon knowledge of nature (whose highest form is prophet hood), suffer decline, and have to undergo 'hellish torture'. All their magnificence and punctiliousness vanish, and they are turned into groups of 'mimicking monkeys'. This is because disappearance of their self-rule and imposition of alien domination lead to worsening of their worldly affairs and their manners of living. It also leads to loss of their physical energies, self-respect and courage. The dominated people fall from the level of ordinary humanity, and behave like monkeys, mimicking habits of the rulers and showing no sign of human dignity.⁶⁴ The Quran elaborates on the theme that with loss of furor for knowledge of nature, even one-time strong kingdoms suffered decline, and some eighteen of such nations have been named.⁶⁵

It is not simply that the ancient prophet-governed nations were the ones which, according to the Quran, were based on the knowledge of natural laws/principles. According to Mashriqi the proposition is true in the modern times as well. The nations ruling over the big portions of the earth were those which had excelled in acquiring the knowledge of nature. Every day they were adding to the store of their scientific knowledge; their insight and understanding into the affairs of the world was ever increasing.

For Mashriqi, search for knowledge of nature was a righteous action, as it was undertaken to derive knowledge from the book of nature with reward in worldly prosperity. Those who take the book of nature to be something purposeless are in the loss. They will suffer pains of torture in this world.⁶⁶

Traditionally, righteous actions are seen to be mainly contained in what are called five pillars' of Islam: Testimony, Prayers five times a day; Zakat, Fasts in the month of Ramzan and Pilgrimage to Makah and Madina. The Decalogue is not different indeed; the decalogue contains the pillars and, in turn, is contained in them. The Principles of Decalogue are dynamic aspects, behavioral aspects of the pillars. As such the principles are measures of pillars.

According to the Quran, the `al-salat' (prayer) can give birth to the same purposeful obedience, the same discipline, the same ability to act, the same fraternity and mutual relationship, the same cooperation and sense of security as were intended in the messages brought both by the prophet of Islam and by all other prophets as well.⁶⁷ Fasting is seen as a political weapon to generate strength, in the sense that a victorious force is always one that has the ability to endure hunger and thirst for a considerable period of time.⁶⁸ Fasting was method whereby people could be habituated to such endurance.

For Mashriqi, fasting was also self-sacrifice. The Muslim month of fasting trained people for self control, which would be lost during the whole year; it was means of self-strengthening by acquiring power over self-indulgence. It afforded a great opportunity to learn patience and perseverance. Looked at from the point of common feeling of fearing God, fasting helps in promoting unity among people.⁶⁹

In the investigation of nature, complete patience has to be exhibited. According to Mashriqi, such characteristics are found among the dynamic nations of the world i.e.; in the early 20th century, the Western nations. And they were receiving their rewards in the way the Quran had indicated. On the contrary, Muslim divines interpret righteous actions in terms of whispering God's name on rosaries, but denying the 'clear signs' of nature. This had resulted in the indignities huddled upon Muslims everywhere in the world. This, said Mashriqi, was 'easy' Islam, Islam of rituals. In his view, Deen (Religion) of Islam had been, thus, rendered into a religion of immobilism and decline.⁷⁰

Spending in an organized manner is a manifestation of a well evolved society and at the same time; it further adds to the collective development of the society.⁷¹

Hajj, pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina was a great means for achievement of unity of Ummah, unity of the Muslim people. The tremendous capacity of Hajj to create a centre for Muslims was unsurpassed; the pilgrimage is conceived to be a unique gathering, the most effective way of bringing Muslims together at one centre before a common Master, with a common feeling of awe and veneration, all these creating a sense of long lasting and unbreakable unity and cohesiveness.⁷² Of course, Mashriqi is not emphasizing Hajj, pilgrimage to Mecca, for all mankind. According to him, the notion of

centralizing place is very important. Indeed, according to him, all nations have some or the other centralizing place. This promotes a nation's solidarity and invincible unity. Mashriqi noted in this context that Muslims had failed to retain the power and solidarity for which pilgrimage had been instituted. Mecca had to become a centre of peace and amity for the world at large. Such honour was being given to London and Paris now that Muslims had failed to achieve results which were meant to be achieved from the institutions of Pilgrimage and general gathering of Muslims at one centre.⁷³

Thus, the ten principles are not different from what are usually called 'pillar of Islam'.⁷⁴ These principles, indeed, branch off from the single root, Unity demonstrated in actions. All basics of Islam emerge from belief in Unity of God, such unity not stated in words only but demonstrated in actions. It is this unity which then leads the practicing people to dominance, peace, stability and expansion on earth.

ENDNOTES

1. Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, Trans.& Ed. Syed Shabbir Hussain, Rawalpindi: Akhuwwat Publications, 1980,p.26.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid; p. 27.
4. Ibid.,.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid: p.29.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid; p.53.
12. Ibid.
13. ibid; p.38.
14. Ibid; p.52.
15. Ibid.
16. Mashriqi, Hadith-ul-Quran[Rawalpindi:n.p.,n.d.] p.82.
17. Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, op.cit., p.28.

18. Ibid., p.30.
19. Ibid., p.58.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., p.59.
22. Ibid., p.32.
23. Mashriqi, Tazkirah, Vol-,1 1924rpt.Rawalpindi: Faroghe-Islam Foundation,n.d.(hereinafter cited as `PREFACE') op.cit., p.66.
24. Ibid.
25. Mashriqi, Quran and Evolution; selected writings of Inayat Ullah Khan Al-Mashriqi. Islamabad: Al-Mashriqi Foundation,1987. p. 45.
26. Mashriqi, Hadith-up-Quran, op.cit., p. 135.
27. Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society: A Theory of Social and Political Processes (New York: The Free Press, 1968).
28. Mashriqi, Tazkira, Vol-1, op.cit `PROLEGOMENA,' . pp.7-10.
29. The Quran, Chapter 24, Verse 55.
30. Mashriqi, `PREFACE,' op.cit., p. 104.
31. Mashriqi, Hadith-ul-Quran, op.cit., pp.36-37.
32. Mashriqi, Tazkirah, Vol. 2, Lahore: daftar al-Islah,1964, p. 30-35.
33. Sidney Pollard, The Idea of Progress: History and Society (Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1968), p. 144.
34. The Great Political Theories from Burke, Rousseau and Kant to Modern Times, ed. & intro. Michael Curtis (New York: Avon, 1967), pp. 221-2.
35. Pollard, op.cit.
36. Mashriqi, Quran and Evolution, op.cit., p. 75.
37. Ibid., p. 44.
38. Ibid., p.45.
39. The Quran, Chapter 21, Verses, 105-106.
40. Mashriqi does not make this division. This is made by the author on the basis of Mashriqi's views that study of nature could yield principles for the conduct of man. Such views occur at several places in his Hadit-ul-Quran, op. cit. See pp. 22-40.
41. Mashriqi, Tazkirah, Vol. 2, Lahore: daftar al-Islah,1964, p. 30-31.
42. Ghulam Jilani Barq, "Allama Mashriqi", Noqoosh "Shakh-siyat-Number", (1956), pp. 1202-1213.
43. The Quran, Chapter 4, Verse 35.
44. Mashriqi, `PROLEGOMENA,' op.cit., p. 193.
45. The Quran, Chapter 10, Verses 7-8.
46. Syed Shabbir Hussain. Al-Mashriqi: The Disowned Genius. Lahore: Jang publishers, 1991. p. 176.
47. Mashriqi, `PREFACE,' op.cit., p. 91.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., pp. 125-26.
51. Ibid., p. 91.
52. Ibid., p. 92.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 91-92.
55. Mashriqi, Hadith-ul-Quran, op.cit., pp. 126-129.

56. Mashriqi, Dah-Al-Bab, Lahore: Daftar al-Islah, n.d. p.221.
57. Mashriqi Hadith ul Quran, op, cit., pp.81-83.
58. Ibid., pp.20-21.
59. Ibid., pp.15-19.
60. The Quran, Chapter 7, Verse 179.
61. Ibid.
62. Mashriqi, Hadith-ul-Quran, op.cit., p.91.
63. Ibid., pp. 68-69.
64. Ibid., p. 82.
65. Mashriqi, Dah al-Bab, op.cit., p. 222.
66. The Quran, Chapter 29, Verse 25.
67. Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, op.cit., p. 59.
68. Mashriqi, Tazkirah, Vol. 2, op.cit., pp. 6-7.
69. Mashriqi `PREFACE,' op.cit., p.97.
70. Mashriqi, Hadith-ul-Quran, op.cit., p. 170.
71. Mashriqi, `PREFACE,' op.cit., p. 96.
72. Ibid., p.97.
73. Ibid., p. 127.
74. Mashriqi, Tazkirah, Vol. 2, op.cit., pp.9-10.

Emerging Middle East: Interplay of the New Power Centers

Muhammad Shabbir¹

Abstract

Relations among the regional powers in the Middle East continue to dominate global concerns about security. A power transition amongst the regional players is now under way from which new power centers are emerging. These emerging powers are testing regional geo-political realities to assert themselves in the region. In this regard, this study attempts to assess the geopolitical effects of the "Arab Spring" upheavals on the region; to delineate the impact of rise of Islamists on the regional policies of Egypt, Turkey and Iran; and to evaluate the consequences of a possible Israel-Iranian war on the regional balance of power and geo-strategic developments. The study, while applying the power transition theory, qualitatively analyzes the interplay of four major Middle Eastern powers namely: Iran, Turkey, Egypt and Israel. Considering the significance of religious, strategic, political and economic ties of Pakistan and Middle East, the study also discusses the impacts of power transition in Middle East on Pakistan.

¹ Mr. Muhammad Shabbir holds M.Phil Degree in International Relations. He is currently serving as Research Associate at Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA), National Defence University, Islamabad.

Introduction

After the recent convulsion at social and political level, the “Middle East”¹ once again has found itself at the cusp of present uncertainties and future possibilities. The nomenclature “Middle East” has been a political expression rather than geographical one; however, discussion in this study relates to the region from Indus to Nile that is significant for its conflict-prone and energy-rich characteristics.² While it is still premature to completely assess the outcomes and impacts of the so called ‘Arab Spring’ uprisings and upheavals on the emerging geo-strategic outlook in the Middle Eastern arena. Nevertheless, after the two and a half year since the upsurge started, it is useful to tentatively delineate and scrutinize the unfolding maturations in the region. Only by studying the upheavals and their possible repercussions on the geo-strategic environment, future developments can be forecasted. Considering the significance of religious, strategic, political and economic ties of Pakistan and Middle East the study also discusses the impacts of power transition in Middle East on Pakistan.

Given the rapid changes, demands for popular participation and success of Islamist movements sweeping the Middle Eastern political realm, this study applies the power transition theory on the interplay of four countries of Middle East namely; Iran, Turkey, Egypt and Israel. It also addresses the pressing questions that relate to the interplay of these countries. For example, will Israel be more isolated than before in the region, and if so, why? How strong is the Iran’s influence in the region, and have Iranian ideological, political and economic tools been dwindled? Will the containing and balancing efforts of US and its allies in the region going to keep Iran lonely? How does Turkey and Egypt both non-Arab states, factor in

to this equation? And, how the interplay of these players affects the region?

The main argument of this study is that the interplay between Iran, Turkey, Israel and Egypt is transforming the region. All of these Middle Eastern players carry important strategic assets in the interplay: Iran, an energy rich Gulf power has nuclear card in hand; Turkey is a rising Euro-Asian power with NATO membership and has booming economy; Egypt is considered a trend setter and leader in Arab World, plus its demographic and geographic disposition makes it significant; Israel is militarily strong, is the only nuclear power of the region and European and American interests also converge in the country.

Power Transition and Middle East

In the paradigm of realism, there are many approaches to assess the shift in the realm of international relations. However, this paper applies “power Transition” theory to study the interplay of power centers in the Middle East. Power transition theory is a structural and dynamic approach to world politics³. According to A.F.K. Organski, “international systems are frequently dominated by a single powerful state that uses its strength to create a set of political and economic structures and norms of behavior that enhance both the security of the lead state and the stability of the system as a whole.”⁴ The maintenance of the status quo is determinant on satisfaction. A state that is satisfied by the status quo they ally with the dominant state and get economic and security aid but other states that happened to be dissatisfied are usually too weak to alter the status quo. But, if a state grows in power, which is determined by rate of industrialization, and is dissatisfied with the status quo then that state will initiate a war to turn over the status quo. In the

book, *Causes of War*, Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson argue that “The rising challenger begins a war to hasten the transition and bring benefits from the international system into line with the challenger’s rising military power”.⁵

The change from a bipolar world to a single dominant power is not the only reason why the world is so different. Theories that thrived on viewing the world through the clash of two super-powers no longer apply now and this has been a critical policy failure for lawmakers. Tammen attempts to rectify this failure in two ways: first, by providing “a composite picture of Power Transition theory by integrating the various extensions and amplifications into a coherent whole,” and by translating power transition theory into policy relevant terms.⁶

In power transition theory, war occurs because of three conditions: “power shifts, approximate equality of power, and dissatisfaction with the status quo”.⁷ Unlike balance of power theory, which comes into opposition to power transition theory, and solely focuses on the power of military, power transition theory defines power as “The cumulus of population, economic productivity, and the political capacity of the state to mobilize resources to support international policies”.⁸ In other words, the increasing industrialization of state increases its power. But as Levy and Thompson argue, the growth of a state “follows an S-shaped growth curve.”⁹ The power of state grows the more it industrializes but eventually levels off as the state continues to sustain itself. That is why a possible challenger can catch up to the dominant state. Because the dominant state has modest growth, a potential challenger rapidly industrializes and, then can, challenge the

dominant state, but once again the challenger must be dissatisfied with the status quo.

Considering the volatile state of peace in Middle East and center of two most dangerous conflicts, understanding the interaction of the structural and dynamic components of power transition theory provides a probabilistic tool, by which to measure the changes in the region and to forecast likely events in future rounds of change. While based on empirically tested propositions backed by large data sets, the theory has an intuitive feel that maximizes its utility for interpreting the interplay of the four emerging powers in the region. Before discussing the reasons for the emergence of new power centers, the study gives an overview of three major players that have been dominating the regional politics.

An Overview of Old Power Centers in the Region

For decades Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iraq have been exercising an important influence in Middle East. Beginning with Syrian, Egyptian and Saudi Arabian bandwagoning in 1973 against Israel to recover the territories occupied in 1967; their collaboration on the 1989 Taif agreement that brought an end to the civil war in Lebanon; through their assistance to the US war to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation; and the accord that underlie the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative, Cairo, Riyadh and Damascus have been able, at times, to effect major change in the Middle Eastern realm. But with the start of twenty-first century, the regional dynamics have started changing and the old order is withering away.

Syria has been turned from being an influential player to being a playing field amongst regional and international players. Assad's regime has proven too strong to be brought down quickly and too illegitimate to continue holding power in the country. Hence, Syria

in all probability is entering a “lost decade”, in which the collapse of Assad regime will be followed by an uneasy transition. It will, therefore, take years to rebuild and regain political, security, and economic order in the country. Iraq due to internal and external factors for almost two decades has been absent from regional influence. “The American invasion of Iraq led up to the eclipse of secular Al-Baathists and abolition of the largest standing Arab army, ostensibly assuring greater security for Israel. However, this in effect, implied end of the ‘Sunni dominated’ Iraq, which was perceived “strong and motivated enough to balance the radical Shiite Iran.”¹⁰ Although, a new Shi’a-led state order is struggling to assert itself in Baghdad, however, it will not be easy for war-prone and terrorism infected country to re-emerge as regional power. Saudi Arabia faces the medium-term challenge of adapting its political institutions to changing political expectations. That challenge is set to have important ramifications for Saudi Arabia’s future regional position. Here, it seems necessary to discuss the elements that are instrumental in the emergence of new power centers.

Emergence of New Power Centers in Middle East: The Instigating Elements

The drivers of change in the Middle East may be viewed with a six-fold focus: 9-11 and US invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan; rise of non-state actors; Arab Spring and fall of authoritarian rules; rise of Islamists against nationalist; declining U.S. and Western influence in the region; weakening of erstwhile powers and resulted vacuum in the region.

Firstly, after 9-11 attacks on US, President George W. Bush announced that “fighting terrorism and preventing future attacks

would be his administration's top priority".¹¹ Governments were given ultimatum to decide whether they stood with the United States in war against terrorism or would face US wrath. In this regard, two operations first in Afghanistan and then in Iraq were launched and Taliban and Saddam governments were overthrown. Attacks in US and resulted operations, perhaps, triggered the chain of causes that would impact the whole region. The major benefactor of the two operations ironically has been Iran, whose wings US wanted to clip.

Second, the non-state actors have been strengthened in the region, owing to the successive failures of states in the Arab-Israeli conflict, 9-11 attacks and lack of adequate participation in the decision-making process. According to Arif Kamal, "They have, in cases, come up with enlarged roles compared with role of a state. For example, Hezbollah's resistance to Israeli invasion of Lebanon (July 2006) brought them to a legendary status as this non-state actor was seen doing what all Arab regular armies had previously failed to do. Similarly, the rise of Hamas and its sustainability in the impoverished Gaza, in spite of its eclipse from power is a point in case."¹² These actors such as Al-Qaidah in Iraq have added another complexity in the region's tense situation, further supporting the transformation of power.

Third, the 'Arab Spring' can be defined as a crisis in central authority, in which old orders in a sizable minority of states have proven untenable even as new and freer orders are struggling to emerge.¹³ In Tunisia and Egypt in 2011, internal mass protests forced the leadership to resign within weeks. Inspired by these successes and rooted in the issues of governance, economic disparities, youth bulge and full play of social media, popular

movements throughout the Middle East were bolstered. They demanded substantial political reform and, in some cases, regime change. After decades of authoritarian rule and political stagnation, popular movements were finally able to destabilize or overthrow a number of authoritarian regimes in the Arab world. This phenomenon has transformed the political set up of the Middle Eastern countries, governed by decades old dynastic rules.

Fourth, experts of Arab and Islamic affairs who have studied the 2011 Arab revolutions' effects on both the Islamic and nationalist agendas have "noticed that "the mood of the Arab populace everywhere seems to be dominated by Islamic rather than Arab sentiment".¹⁴ Some might claim that Islam is connected to Arab identity, and that Arabism is rather an ingredient of the Islamic community's make-up. Nevertheless, a careful review of Islamic political theory reveals that "in his writings Imam Hassan al-Banna the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood and its first spiritual leader - believed in the presence of harmony and symmetry between the Islamic and Arab viewpoints."¹⁵ The results of so called 'Arab Spring' also seemed to prove the 'Islamic revival' in the region, how well Islamists are doing in Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco are however, debatable issues.

Fifth, the declining US influence in the Middle East is a long-term, secular process, probably on going many years. It has had two major accelerators. One, the Iraq War, that discredited the US and weakened militarily and morally its posture in the Arab world. Two, the Arab Spring also is the contributor in diminishing US erstwhile leverage. The US has less familiarity with the new actors in the region and an even less powerful position from which to influence those actors on the ground.

Sixth, internal clashes and external invasion have weakened the Syria and Iraq creating a power vacuum in the region. This vacuum was filled by strategically and economically strong Iran and Turkey. Egypt, although passed through transformation, but it retained its erstwhile position of a leader in Arab World.

The New Power-Centers in Middle East

Iran is a regional power, thanks to three decades of social, economic, diplomatic, and military advancements. Iran has the world's second largest gas and third largest oil reservoirs. One of Iran's greatest successes is the dramatic expansion of its middle class. Despite declines in oil exports and tightened international sanctions, Iran ranked 18th worldwide by GDP (purchasing power parity adjusted) in 2012. Iran is also a formidable regional military power. However, for the last decade, its nuclear program has been a “game of hide and seek, and claims and disclaims”.

The Turk Government, what has come to be called as a moderately Islamic government, has been in power for the last 10 years. Ideological reinterpretation of secular and traditional thoughts, successful shift of power from military to civilian elite, geo-strategic location and economic boom have contributed in the confident posture of Turkey in its dealings with US and the West. Turkey has a booming economy, growing at 9-10 percent. Its average growth for the last 10 years has been around 7 percent. Its income per capita has tripled and GDP has doubled. So it's not just a political success story; it's also an economic success story scripted and strengthened by capitalism, entrepreneurship and internal political stability. In some ways, before the Arab Spring Turkey even was a winner. Based on America's failure in Iraq and the absence of Arab leadership on the Palestinian issue a vacuum in the Middle

East was created. Turkey was successfully able to fill that vacuum with its strategic depth; Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu called this "zero problems with neighbors."

Egypt's demography and geographic disposition makes it significant in the region and the world as well. It is the largest populated country in Middle East and Africa with almost eighty-five million populations. Egypt also has the largest army in Africa and Middle East, with 450,000 personnel. Under Egyptian control, the Suez Canal and Sumed pipeline are the most important ways of transportation from the Indian Sea to the Mediterranean. Historically Egypt was also politically strong.¹⁶ As Nasser saw it, with considerable justice, "Egypt was potentially at the center of three circles: the African, the Arab, and the Islamic".¹⁷ This geopolitical importance made it the object of interest to the great powers. Egypt's new standing has already breathed new life into the Arab League and allowed it success in mediating long-stalled intra-Palestinian negotiations. Even at this time, when Egypt is passing through another crisis in authority, its historic regional role, geographic disposition and military strength afford it a considerable clout in regional affairs.

Israel has the strongest military and is the only nuclear power to the west of Nile. Plus, Israel is significant for American interests and foreign policy in the region. Also, Israel from a strategic standpoint is imperative for western interests; because it impedes what the scholar Fouad Ajami calls the "Dream Palace of the Arabs." In essence, it impedes both pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism espoused by Nasser, Arafat, Saddam Hussein, and Bin-Laden and the likeminded individuals. "Israel is a literal and figurative bulwark against a cross continental Arab-Muslim empire. It inhibits pan-

totalitarianism in the forms of Arab nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism."¹⁸ Israel was among the biggest losers, as a result of Arab Spring, losing its last friend in the region with the fall of Mubarak regime in Egypt. And without Mubarak, King Abdullah of Jordan can no longer be counted on as a friend.

Interplay of Power Centers and Way Forward

As the biggest Arab country, with internal strife and political instability, Egypt's domestic policies and especially its foreign orientations may crucially impact the newly emerging geo-strategic posture of the Middle East. Morsi had apparently attempted to create a new strategic balance between the Suni-Muslim states, Shi' i Iran, and Israel as well as among the USA, Russia, and China. According to Morsi, "international relations between all states are open and the basis for all relation is balance. We are not against anyone, but we are for achieving our interests."¹⁹ Now, when Morsi is no more and Brotherhood in Egypt is losing influence in power-corridors of the country, the future of Egypt remains dependent on armies capability to hold an election and Muslim Brotherhood's potential to make a place in the new government for themselves.

Nevertheless, a compelling partnership for a strategic coalition in favour of Egypt is not Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Emirates but primarily Turkey, since both Turkey and Egypt are regional powers with Sunni Islamic democratic systems. According to Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahmet Davutoglu, "a partnership between Turkey and Egypt could create a new democratic axis of power."²⁰ To be sure, both Ankara and Cairo are not hostile to Iran as are Saudi Arabia and most of the Gulf Emirates.

The Turkish and Egyptian governments will also endeavor not to antagonize Iran, unless their interests are in jeopardy. For

example, one contentious issue between Turkey and Iran is Turkey's dependence on Iran's gas supply and its leverage over the PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party) through Iranian (and Syrian) Kurds. Nevertheless, Turkey and Egypt have a common interest and will probably coordinate their efforts to contain Tehran's attempts to create a "Shi' i Crescent" and control oil resources in the Gulf region. This strategy would certainly obtain full cooperation from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Emirates as well as the USA. Yet, both democratic Turkey and Egypt would be careful not to fully identify with the autocratic-monarchic-conservative Sunni-Muslim regimes, such as in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. They may even act as mediators between these Sunni regimes and Tehran.

The most important and challenging is the crucial Israeli-Palestinian problem, namely Israel's stubborn refusal to allow Palestinian self-determination in the West Bank in a form of a state and its continued siege over the Gaza Strip. Due to Israel's stubbornness, anti-Israeli manifestations, which had been largely curtailed by Mubarak's regime, erupted in Egypt, once his regime collapsed and full freedom of expression has been granted. Obviously, these pro-Palestinian and anti Israeli sentiments have reflected the deeply rooted ideology of the Muslim Brothers and of their leaders, who were elected to govern Egypt. In this regard, Muhammad Morsi, the detained President of Egypt, appealed to president Obama in late September 2012, asking him to help in settling the Palestinian issue in the form of an independent state. He argued that if Israel expects Egypt to respect its peace treaty with it, Israel should also implement its commitments regarding the Palestinians within this peace treaty. Aside from hinting that this treaty could be revised, Morsi had not cut diplomatic relations with

Israel and even appointed a new Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv in early September 2012. Simultaneously, Egypt's new defense minister, Abd Ali Abd al- Ali Fath al-Sisi, coordinated with his Israeli counterpart, Ehud Barak, the dispatch of Egyptian armored and commando units to Sinai to fight Salafi and Jihadist elements.

The military led a takeover this July, following last year's revolution, has unfolded wide cleavages in the contemporary Egyptian society. After the clashes for and against Morsi's regime that started on 28 June, on third July, the army ousted democratically elected President Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood. The military has appointed Adly Mansour as interim President and declared a rather speedy timetable to amend the Constitution by deleting the offensive provisions and submit it to a referendum, as well as hold presidential and parliamentary elections in six months. Despite the new government's promises, the fight for and against military's actions continues on the street. Those opposing Brotherhood rule and calling for President Morsi's ousting (or for early elections) claim to lead a second revolution. On the other side, those supporting the president and the Brotherhood are accusing his detractors of crying foul and mounting a counter-revolution.

The West, worried about the sovereignty and security of the state of Israel has extended support for the military intervention that overthrew the Muslim Brotherhood's government, widely viewed as conservative and anti-Israel. At The survival of America's most important ally in the region, Israel is at stake and the United States is going to exhort all their support in favor of the Egyptian military, which is the major recipient of \$1.5 billion per annum support from America. Saudi Arabia, a strong ally of the United

States, is seen to be falling in line with the American policy in supporting the military regime and possibly a religious democratic government in Egypt would be viewed as a direct threat to Saudi's monarchical order.

Apart from continuing its previous demands that Israel signs the NPT, Egypt will probably exercise intense political diplomatic pressure on Israel to permit the creation of independent Palestinian state along the pre 1967 lines, with East Jerusalem as its capital. On this issue, Egypt will certainly be backed or supported by most of Arab Muslim states, as well as obtaining close cooperation with Turkey. Indeed within the newly emerging regional strategic axis between Ankara and Cairo, the Israeli-Palestinian issue will gain priority, alongside the Syrian crisis and the Iranian threat. Although both Turkey and Egypt maintain cold diplomatic relations with Israel, they can help broker a political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, including Hamas, owing to their close relations with both Palestinian factions.

Over the years, Iran has secured a strong footing for itself in the region. Because, for political, economic, cultural, religious and military reasons, Iran is too important to be treated lightly by any state in Middle East or Asia. In complex domestic power structure of Iran, the broader governing polity shares Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's robust conviction that Iran is the linchpin of a wide region and can maintain firm independent positions. Ironically, US invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan has supported the Iranian ambitions and furthered its agenda in the region. The Sunni Arab states of Jordan, Egypt and the Gulf are wary of Iran yet feel compelled by its strength to maintain largely cordial relations.

The relationship between Iran and Turkey pivots between friendship and rivalry, but Turkey favours good relations and the avoidance of further regional instability. Russia is a significant economic partner to Iran, is heavily involved in its nuclear programme, and tends to take the role of mediator at the international level. There is certainly a lot more amiability between Iran and Saudi Arabia, despite disagreements on Iranian nuclear program, Iranian apprehension on Saudi support to Taliban in Afghanistan and Saudi concern about Iran, trying to create discord amongst the Saudi Shia community.

Pakistan and Iran have a number of areas of mutual interests, as fighting drug trade and defeating tribal insurgency along their common borders, as well as prospects for trade and energy. Iran and India have notably improved ties, mostly on the basis of Indian energy needs. Energy security and economic ties also dominate Iran's dealings with China and Japan.

Syria and Iran maintain close relationship, as seen clearly in their alliance against the US and Israel, and support for Hezbollah. But due to the civil war in Syria, Iran's fate in the country is linked with the survival of Assad regime. Iran's relationship with Lebanon is long and complicated. The clash between Israel and Hezbollah in 2006 may partly be seen in the backdrop of the broader conflict between Iran and US/Israel. Israel considers Iran as the greatest threat to its security and the tensions between the two have increased. Now Israel seeks US assistance to attack Iran, claiming it to be a threat. While US also consider Iran a threat, however, it seems unlikely that Obama will support Israel in attacking Iran. Additionally, the revelation that Iranian-born close friend of president Obama, Valerie Jarrett has been taking the lead in 'the

undercover talks' with Iran proves that US favours talks rather than confrontation with Iran. Adding to this is the complex results of Arab Spring.

The Arab Spring today, in some ways has become an amalgamation of two phenomena. One is an absolute political re-bargaining of the social contract in virtually every Arab country, affecting the domestic political balance of power. In addition to that there has been a total re-negotiation of the strategic balance of power in the region because of happenings in Egypt, Syria, and Bahrain and so on. The two evidently interact. Changes at the domestic level in Egypt, Syria and other countries are affecting the balance of power strategically in the region because of the changes in regimes and outlooks that change entails. On the other hand, the struggle in the regional arena is affecting how countries are positioning themselves in the domestic competition for power. For example, in Syria, Iran and Hezbollah are supporting to the regime, while the West and Turkey are favoring the opposition. In current Egyptian crisis, Turkey favoring the Morsi and Brotherhood government and the West provide hidden support to military and opposition's agenda. It is the interplay of the regional strategic and domestic political calculus that makes it all the more challenging and complex for foreign countries to react to without ambivalence. These complexities and challenges carry implications for Pakistan that are discussed in the following section.

Implications for Pakistan

Pakistan has not only religious, political and economic ties with the Middle East region, but the region can also be 'called the strategic depth of Pakistan'.²¹ Looking at the regional calculations of

emerging Middle East, following five points are noteworthy with regard to its implications on Pakistan:

- The continued repression in and occupation of Palestine by Israel still seems to be continued for the foreseeable future. This, due to close Indian and Israeli collaboration, also impacts the Indian occupation of Kashmir, an issue very close to heart for Pakistan.
- The crisis in Iraq due to US invasion has spiraled towards sectarian strife and civil war in the country. In addition to that, a foreign intervention in Syria could further increase the sectarian crisis that may spill over to Pakistan.
- The US policies and intervention in both Iraq and Afghanistan have not only disturbed the respective countries, but Pakistan has also directly and indirectly suffered both in terms of blood and treasure in the so-called War on Terror.
- There is also the looming crisis in Iran on its nuclear program that threatens to escalate into a military confrontation in Pakistan's neighborhood. This conflict carries the potential for the escalation of sectarian conflict within Pakistan.
- More than three million Pakistanis are living in the Middle Eastern countries. These countries are providing jobs to millions of Pakistani citizens. A large number of Pakistan's remittances come from the Middle East. Therefore, for Pakistan's stability and prosperity, the Middle Eastern region must remain stable.

In the present geo-strategic environment in the region although Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with Iran, Turkey and Egypt;

however, Iran's relations with the US, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries are quite tense due to their perception about its nuclear programme and its perceived role in the ongoing situation in Syria. The situation has been further compounded by the US and EU countries sanctions against Iran due to its nuclear programme. This has also brought the project of laying gas pipeline from Iran to Pakistan under strain. In any case Pakistan has to walk very pragmatically since it cannot lose friendship of Saudi Arabia and GCC countries for Iran and vice versa. At the same time Pakistan cannot afford hostile relationship with the US, it being the sole superpower. The prevailing tensions between Iran, GCC countries and the US are likely to remain for quite some time in the future. Hence in next some years it will be very challenging for Pakistan to further advance its relations with Iran, while also keeping good relations with Saudi Arabia, other GCC countries and the US unless some dramatic favourable development occurs.

Conclusion

To conclude, Middle East once again is in a period of uncertainty. Given Iran's significant weight and influence in the broader Middle East, developments in that country will cast a shadow over everything else. However, for a long term peace in the region, the Palestine Issue needs to be resolved. Unfortunately, US, Iran and Israel continue to display a bunker mentality, in which zero-sum-game calculations prevail on the issues of Palestine and Iranian nuclear program. It is striking that in the Middle East today, hopes for peace are still held hostage to a regional order, characterized by the rivalries of postcolonial states, as opposed to postmodern ones. As long as regional politics remain the monopoly of these states, whose behaviors are defined by the "otherness" of

their neighbors, contentious rivalries will remain the modus operandi of the Middle East, to the detriment of everyone. A silver lining however can be seen with emergence of Turkey and Egypt as regional players in the region. But again, it will depend that all the players adopt the policy of cooperation or confrontation. By the end of the day, the choices of regional players will save or doom the region.

Endnotes

¹ For a detailed discussion of the British role in the making of the Middle East, see Roger Adelson, *London and the Invention of the Middle East*. For the Middle East as a security concept, see Bilgin, "Inventing Middle Easts," 10-37. For a geopolitical analysis of the Middle East, see Davuto lu, *Stratejik Derinlik*, 129-43, 323-455.

² Arif Kamal, "Dynamics Of Peace and Stability In the Middle East Arena: Identifying the Contemporary Challenges and Options For Response", (Margalla Papers, 2009), 94-105. Explains the term that, "The nomenclature 'Middle East' has been a colonial (and later, a neo-colonial) convenience rather than a geographic expression. The connotation of this nomenclature has also been shifting like the 'shifting sands' of the region. For example, expression 'broader Middle East', now used by the US and G-8, is in fact synonymous with bulk of the muslim world."

³ A. F. K. Organski, *World Politics*. 2nd ed., New York: Knopf, 1968, 3.

⁴ Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, *Causes of War* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell 2010), 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Ronald L. Tammen, *Power Transitions: Strategies for the 21st century*, (New York: Chatham House Publishers, 2000), 5.

⁷ Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, 2010, 44.

⁸ T. V. Paul, James J. Wirtz, Michel Fortmann, *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*, Stanford University Press, 2004, 57.

⁹ Levy and Thompson, *Causes of War*, 2010, 44.⁹

¹⁰ Arif Kamal, "Dynamics Of Peace and Stability In the Middle East Arena: Identifying the Contemporary Challenges and Options For Response", (Margalla Papers, 2009), 96.

¹¹ Danz Balz and Bob Woodward, "Bush Awaits History's Judgement; President's Scorecard Shows Much Left to Do: [Final Edition]", *The Washington Post*, [Washington D.C.], 03 Feb 2002, A01.

¹² Arif Kamal, "Dynamics Of Peace and Stability In the Middle East Arena: Identifying the Contemporary Challenges and Options For Response", (Margalla Papers, 2009), 98.

¹³ William Mark Habeeb, *The Middle East in Turmoil: Conflict, Revolution, and Change*, ABC-CLIO, 2012, 209.

¹⁴ Michael J. Totten, "Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?", *World Affairs Journal*, January/February 2012. accessed on 06 April 2013 from, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/arab-spring-or-islamist-winter>

¹⁵ Mustafa Al-Faqi [Translated from Al-Hayat (Pan Arab),] "Despite Historical Interplay, Islamist Movements Dominate Arabist Perspectives in the Arab Spring", *Al-Monitor: The Pulse of the Middle East*, March 2013. accessed on 05 May 2013 from: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/ar/contents/articles/politics/2012/02/did-the-nationalist-project-retr.html>

¹⁶ Egypt - Foreign Policy, accessed on 08 May 2013, from: <http://countrystudies.us/egypt/123.htm>

¹⁷ Egypt - Foreign Policy, accessed on 08 May 2013, from: <http://countrystudies.us/egypt/123.htm>

¹⁸ Bret Stephens, "Is Israel Important? A briefing", *Middle East Forum*, January 19 2005. accessed on 30 April 2013, from: <http://www.meforum.org/692/is-israel-important>

¹⁹ *Daily News (Egypt)*, August 29, 2012.

²⁰ Quoted by Hasan Kosebalaban, "Turkey and the New Middle East: Between Liberalism and Realism," *Perceptions*, Autumn 2011, p. 109; *The New York Times*, September 19, 2011.

²¹ Arlene B. Tickner, Ole Wæver, Eds. *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, Routledge, 2009, 135.

An Appraisal of Health Sector in the Backdrop of 18th Amendment

Ms Asma Sana¹

Abstract

National security hinges on human security and the health remains as one of the important pillars that ensure 'Human Security'. Regrettably, since independence, the governance issues in Pakistan along with lack of political ownership have retarded progress in the health sector, which resulted in poor contribution by the people towards social and economic development of the country. A long awaited change in the health sector in the form of 18th Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan has brought more confusion than clarity. The health sector has become a provincial matter and resultantly, the Ministry of Health has been dissolved. Probably, Pakistan is the only country in the world which does not have a Health Minister at the national level, an appointment which is responsible to coordinate the health related issues both nationally and internationally. Therefore, unless the ambiguities are removed and clear demarcation of responsibilities is drawn between the centre and the provinces, the health sector is likely to suffer more in coming days and month. Nevertheless, the 18th Amendment has also created opportunities, which can be realized by removing anomalies and introducing appropriate measures, both at the national as well as provincial levels. This paper is an attempt to investigate the impact of 18th Amendment on the health sector and it suggests measures for an effective implementation of the 18th Amendment in the Constitution.

¹ Ms. Asma Sana holds M.Phil Degree in International Relations. She is currently serving as Lecturer at Department of International Relations, National Defence University, Islamabad.

Introduction

Security is not just limited to the fields of military, economy, and politics. Human security has a much broader scope and the health sector remains one of the important pillars of a healthy nation that plays significant role in determining human capital. With due health care at the highest level, the productivity and efficiency of the labor force can be improved, which contributes positively towards economic growth and leads to human welfare.¹

Health sector in Pakistan had been under the Ministry of Health since independence. However, in 2011, after the 18th Amendment, Health Ministry was abolished and Provincial Health Departments were made responsible to implement health care programs. Through this arrangement, it was assumed that responsible district bodies would emerge, which would focus on the specific health issues of their area. However, due to lack of capacity as well as experience, the health sector has suffered badly that retarded the progress and influenced the common people negatively. None of the provinces could deliver satisfactorily because of the lack of experience, interest and financial capacity.

Increasing costs of medicine, diagnostic tests, and medical equipment have made health sector extremely expensive for a common man. Public spending is very low in this sector, thus, private sector is contributing much more in this regard, which also includes Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Weak governance, population explosion and natural calamities and epidemic diseases like 'dingy virus' have also affected all dimensions of health and human development. In such like environment, a central body at the federal level is important to coordinate at the global level so that requisite support is mustered to coup up with

such like challenges. However, the role played by the central government in meeting the problem that the Punjab government had faced two years ago was well short of desired level and the provincial government had to struggle singlehandedly. The 18th Amendment left many policy areas unattended, which need to be addressed. Therefore, there is a need to prioritize this important pillar of human security, so as to make universal and equitable health access across the country.

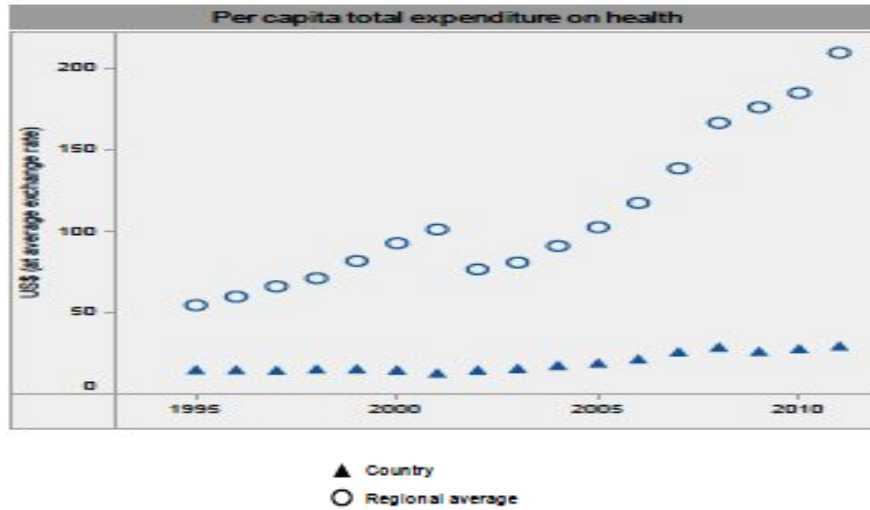
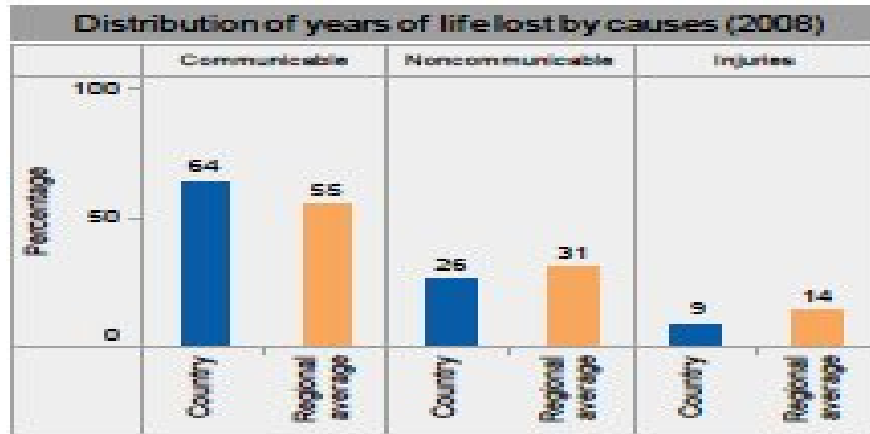
Above in view, this paper is an attempt to critically evaluate the health sector in Pakistan and highlight the grey areas. Through this study, an attempt has also been made to recommend the viable reforms for the sector to be considered, both at the federal and provincial levels, which may help in developing comprehensive guidelines for those who are to implement the new health policy in the backdrop of the 18th Amendment in the Constitution.

An Appraisal of Health Care in Pakistan

Pakistan is among those countries, which are at high risk of infectious diseases. According to an estimate, “8-9 million people are infected with hepatitis-C virus, 620,000 people have tuberculosis and every year 410,000 people are infected, while 59,000 die from this disease. Around 500,000 cases of malaria are detected annually and 5,000 people die of rabies every year. Poliomyelitis remains endemic despite an intense global focus on eradicating the disease.”²

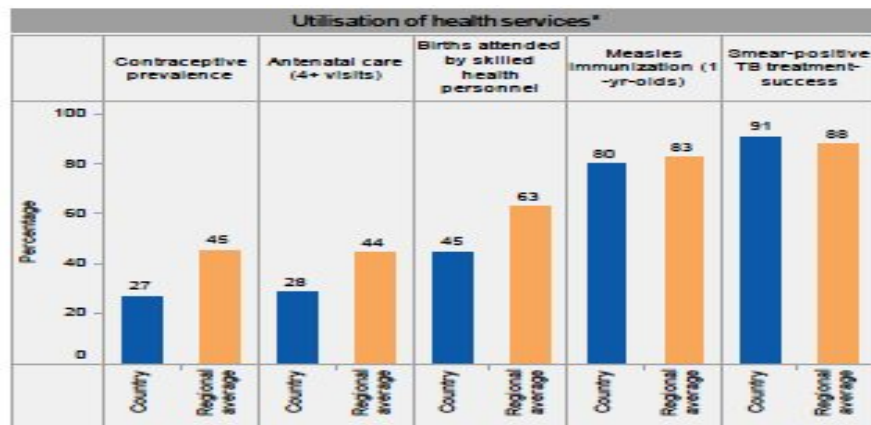
The public spending in Pakistan on health is about \$9.3 per person, which is much less than internationally recommended \$60 per person per annum. Almost 78 per cent of the population pays for medical treatment from their pockets. “Presently, 121,374 doctors are registered in Pakistan, while the doctor to population

ratio is 1: 1127 which is far less than the World Health Organization’s (WHO’s) recommended 1:1000”.³ Health indicators provide a depressing account, as it lags behind in achieving set targets. “Maternal Mortality Rate and Infant Mortality Rate are high, almost 260 per 100,000 deaths and 61.27 per 1,000 live births, respectively. About 19 per cent of the whole population and 30 per cent of children less than five years are mal-nourished.”⁴



Source: WHO Statistics

There is an absence of programs for non-communicable diseases at provincial and federal levels. The regulatory arrangements for medicines are unsatisfactory. There is a lack of proper health diagnostic facilities, medical education and particularly absence of health information-related institutions. The creation of a national public health network of institutions and professionals is necessary for effective planning in health reforms. There is no value for life in Pakistan. The community is not well protected against internal strife, including ethnic and political tensions. More than 30,000 people have died in the country as a result of acts of terrorism, including at least 85 doctors and sixteen community health workers involved in the poliomyelitis eradication campaign.⁵ Good governance leading to peace and tranquillity is crucial for human security and efficient functionality of the health system in the country.



* Data refer to latest year available from 2005. For specific years and references, visit the Global Health Observatory at www.who.int/gho.

Health Sector: State's Obligations

Provision of better health facilitates is the sole responsibility of the states. According to international law, Universal Declaration of

Human Rights (UDHR) is considered as part of customary law of states, in which Article 25 addresses health care as one of the fundamental right of human beings.⁶ Though, it is not a binding document but the two latter convents, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), legally bound the ratifying states to oblige the treaty terms. Pakistan has signed and ratified both; in addition, the ICESCR's Article-12 obliged states with regard to health, mentioning that each person has the right of enjoying the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.⁷ States have to take steps to achieve the standard and specified goals. The human rights Charter of Islamic Countries, Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam in Article-17 also guaranteed the right of medical care.⁸

In Pakistan, the Constitution of Pakistan also puts an emphasis on human security in Article-9 of the Constitution, as the health is been recognized as one of seven determinants of human security. Article-38 of the Constitution deliberates the promotion of the social and economic well being of the people, and its subsection (d) declares that the state shall "provide basic necessities of life, such as food, clothing, housing, education, and medical relief, for all such citizens."⁹ Therefore, domestic and international law imposes legal obligation on the Government of Pakistan to provide better health facilities to the citizens. However, health is not specifically mentioned as a legislative subject. Reference was made to several subjects related to health in the Constitution's Legislative Lists.

Prior to 18th Amendment, there were two legislative lists: Federal Legislative List (FLL) and the Concurrent Legislative List

(CLL). Any matter which is not listed in the two falls under the jurisdiction of the provincial assemblies.

Legislative List	Legislative Authority	
Federal Legislative List	Parliament	Part 1: Federation
		Part 2: Council of Common Interests (CCI) chaired by Prime Minister, and other members include Chief Ministers of other provinces and three member of federal government nominated by the PM. Its role is to regulate and formulate policies.
Concurrent Legislative List	Parliament and Provincial Assemblies	

According to the 1973 Rules of Business of the Government of Pakistan, the Concurrent Legislative List (CLL) and Federal Legislative List (FLL), Ministry of Health was mandated to formulate national health policy planning and coordination.¹⁰ It also maintained liaison with international health and donor organizations. Its functions also include human resource development, medical / allied education, standardization of manufacture of drugs and biological/ legislation/ licensing of drugs and medicines, prevention of infectious/ contagious diseases and to collect vital health statistics.¹¹

It was also made responsible to operate national healthcare programs such as “National Program of Primary Health Care and Family Planning (LHWs Program); Expanded Program on

Immunization; National TB Control Program; National Rollback Malaria Program; National Nutrition Program; National Hepatitis Control Program; National Blindness Control Program; Maternal Neonatal and Child Health Programme; National Health Information Resource Centre; National Health Policy Unit; Tobacco Control Program; National Program for Control of Avian Influenza.” Ministry of Health also had an administrative control over number of departments attached and subordinate institutions and oversight of autonomous bodies.

The problems in the Ministry of Health were as follows

- It lacked capacity to function according to the mandate given, as it was overwhelmed by the administrative and logistic tasks and micro-management of the programs.
- Its oversight function of autonomous institutions put an extra burden on the ministry of health.
- It failed to develop disease surveillance functions.
- It had limited capacity to collect and analyze information for health policy.
- There was a lack of capacity in maintaining norms and standards.
- Corruption and external interference in decisions, particularly in relation to recruitments, transfers and disciplinary actions.

Health Sector after 18th Amendment

The 18th Constitutional Amendment was an attempt to remove anomalies introduced in the Constitution under military rule. It repealed the 17th Constitutional Amendment, re-constitutes the Council of Common Interests, a supra-cabinet and abolished the Concurrent Legislative List (CLL), which altered power sharing

between the federal and provincial governments in Pakistan's federal system."¹² After the abolition of Concurrent Legislative List; the Federal Legislative List outlined the federal prerogatives, which were considerably reduced. All mandates, including health, became subject of provincial mandate. Thus, the Ministry of Health became redundant, as health became a matter of provincial jurisdiction, thus, the federal government dissolved the Ministry of Health. Therefore, there is no authority left at federal level to regulate or monitor the health sector.

The Concurrent Legislative List (CLL) was deleted from the Constitution. However, there are certain areas which required federal oversight. In such areas, federal mandate can be retained through other mechanisms. On the other hand, there are certain advantages, as previously two ministries, health and population, existed which created problems due to marginalization of family planning and reproductive health, as core health issues.¹³ There are three changes, which have been made in the Federal Legislative List (FLL). These are as under:-

- “Legal, medical and other professions” have been shifted from the Concurrent Legislative List (CLL) to Part II of the Federal Legislative List (FLL).
- A new Entry has been inserted in Part I of the Federal Legislative List (FLL): “International treaties, conventions and agreements and international arbitration.”
- “National planning and economic coordination, including planning and coordination of scientific and technological research” has been shifted from Part I to Part II of the Federal Legislative List (FLL).

Therefore, the federal government has constitutional and legal space for maintaining many important functions in the health sector.

Challenge after 18th Amendments

- **No Federal Institution:** There is a need for an institution at federal level to perform number of functions, such as formulation of national health policy, health regulation, international commitments and health information and research. Almost all federating countries have divisions at federal level to perform such functions. There is a need to clarify the distortions and institutional weakness in the sector so as to build capacity. This will require detailed re-organization and reform of existing institutions that are responsible for regulation and over-sight. This cannot be made possible unless there is an astute analytical and normative capacity within the system to oversee and guide the process of reform and ensure policy consistency.¹⁴
- **National Health Policy:** After 18th amendment, the policy-making role has been shifted to the provinces. However, when it comes to a ‘National Health Policy’ that is the official policy by the highest level of the government, which is formulated by the Cabinet. Since 1997, Pakistan has had two official policies one of 1997 and the second of 2001.¹⁵ After 18th amendment, health is no more federal subject and now provinces do not concur with the unified health vision and want to exercise their prerogative to pronounce their own health policy.
- **Regulation:** In most of the countries, regulation is a central government’s responsibility. It is relevant to quality,

price or numbers in the domain of health services delivery, technologies, human resource, medical education and medicine. Article-151 of the Constitution of Pakistan states “... trade, commerce ... throughout Pakistan shall be free” and Federal Legislative List (FLL) gives federal government mandate to develop a federal regulatory authority. The ambiguity arises, when the subject for which the federal regulatory agency is created, is devolved. Thus, this is one of the unattended areas left by 18th Amendment.

- **Health Financing:** In Federal Legislative List (FLL) the only entry related to health financing is “the law of insurance, except as respects insurance undertaken by a province and the regulation of the conduct of the insurance business, government insurance, except so far as undertaken by a province by virtue of any matter within the legislative competence of the Provincial Assembly.”¹⁶ This provides a basis for federally led health insurance or a social insurance scheme. The choice of individual health financing strategies is largely a provincial prerogative. Provinces have up to 40% per cent more funds, but due to lack of accountability and governance issues, process of reforms is quite weak. Another hurdle is slow transfer of funds, which creates problem in vertical health programs. There is no performance parameters and poor resource tracking. Compilation of provincial health account is a key challenge for the provinces.
- **Service Delivery:** Health service delivery is considered as a provincial subject but federal link has been strong over the years. There is still a need for strong administrative

infrastructure, technical expertise and managerial capacity at institutional level. There is a need for the balance of authority, accountability and separation between federal and provincial functions. Quality assurance, evaluation and community oversight roles still need to establish, as provinces are now dependent upon districts for delivering services.

- **Human Resource for Health:** The FLL contains many entries related to human resource, which also apply for health. It enables the federal government to assume any human resource regulatory function. The exercise of executive authority is subject to provincial concurrence and policy oversight at the forum of CCI. The devolution of Human resource service structure is more problematic. There is lack of trained staff and well-equipped health facilities.
- **Health Information:** There is lack of integrated disease surveillance system at national level. Inter-provincial information sharing mechanisms lacks and only irregular reporting exists. Moreover, there is constrained utilization of information and evidences for assessment of health services, surveillance in case of health security and planning in national programs. Therefore, this resulted in constrained and flawed decision-making.
- **Planning Process:** The planning is highly centralized, which only focused on increasing the number of health facilities, laboratories or infrastructure, without increasing the capacity of health professionals. Either the machinery is not available or if it is available, then the trained

professionals are absent. Thus, result is loss of resources. Another dilemma that Pakistan faces is that it possesses conservative society. Healthcare or family planning programs cannot be borrowed from abroad. Such programs badly failed in the past, as they were considered contradictory to social norms. Indigenous programs, compatible with our cultural norms, need to be worked out.

- **Management at District Level:** The administrative and managerial flaws are not just at the top level. At district level, Basic Health Units (BHUs) are not functional due to absenteeism, political interferences, and unavailability of medicines and lack of resources. There is also lack of coordination among the BHU staff, Health programs and the communities.

Reforms in Health Sector

- **Federal Health Authority:** It is an imperative to retain a federal structure for health to fulfill national health functions. Constitutionally, there is a need to establish 'Health Division'. This division can be placed under any 'Ministry'. "Federal health organizations need to undergo reconfiguration, as relevant, and develop appropriate reporting relationships with the Health Division in a 'recast' arrangement so that national health functions are better served."¹⁷
- **Political Ownership:** The persistent low fiscal support to health sector is evident to show that health is never been considered as a political priority in Pakistan. There is no much public debate about the health issues and possible solutions. Various projects and efforts for reforms have been

hampered due to change in government and policy vacillation. Therefore, there is a need to provide political support to the health sector.

- **Allocation of Health Budget:** Although, in the current budget, the provinces have shown positive trends towards this important sector, but still their efforts are well short of the desired level. There is a need to increase the public sector spending on health. At federal and provincial level, public spending should increase at least to 5 per cent of GDP by 2025. In the existing environment with all financial constraints, health sector can be improved, if the resources are managed judiciously. Health is one of the most corrupt sectors in Pakistan; hence, the eradication of corruption could also bring improvement. Under National Finance Commission (NFC), provinces are having a mandate to spend money but that money should be allocated equitably. After 18th Amendment, the federal government has the role of monitoring the development in the federating units.
- **Access to Health Care:** Universal access to health care should be considered as an indicator of domestic policy by the provinces. For this at first stage, services that can enable targeted access can be employed fairly to address financial barriers. The poorest class should be particularly targeted with special programs related to nutrition and maternal, newborn, and child health (MNCH) and innovation in social protection.
- **Public-Private Partnership:** The liaison between public-private sectors will also help in improving access to health care facilities such as emergency transport system, which is

largely operated by private organizations. Before undertaking any project, the provincial governments have to enhance their capacities and outreach through engaging private sector. Essential service packages and policies for private sector regulation are also necessary, because Pakistan is one of the countries, where consultation of private health providers is quite high, which needs to be addressed. In 2010, 4.83% of total expenditure on health came from external resources, which included international donors and international organizations.¹⁸

- **Federal and Provincial Coordination:** After the abolition of Pakistan's Ministry of Health, there is no institution actually working at the federal level for monitoring and evaluating health sector. There is a dire need of federal institutional system to support provincial departments of health. "The focus at the federal level should be on coordination, technical support, and discharging of responsibility for federal roles rather than exercising bureaucratic and financial controls over provinces, which was the case before the 18th Amendment."¹⁹ Along with it, health-related laws need to be re-visited for providing better health opportunities.
- **National Policy on Health:** There is a need of a national policy on Health for unified national vision, as per the federal government's inter-provincial equity promoting role. All provinces need to build capacity and consider health as a 'nation building agenda'.
- **Separation of Responsibilities:** Previously, it has been noted that the responsibilities of Ministry of Health and

Population overlapped, which created bureaucratic hurdles in implementation of programs. This duplication should be avoided and policy-making should be separated from regulation, oversight and analysis.

- **Primary Health Care and Basic Health Units (BHUs):** The 66% health of rural population of Pakistan is dependent upon the Basic Health Units or Community Health Workers. The outreach and quality of Community Health Workers should be improved by increasing their role. They need to be integrated in health sector, as they share the most of the burden in providing healthcare to the people. According to the statistic of World Bank, the number of community health workers per 1,000 people in Pakistan is 0.06, which is quite low.²⁰ “Community Health Workers include various types of community health aides, such as Community Health Officers, community health-education workers, family health workers, lady health visitors and health extension package workers.”²¹ The most important aspect of it is that these primary care facilities only provide delivery of curative services, completely ignoring the preventive side.

Conclusion

Extreme poverty, population explosion, low literacy rate along with low budgetary expenditure on health care, lack of skilled professional in the health field, and insufficient health care facilities, have further weakened the state. While 18th Constitutional Amendment has created opportunities as well challenges, but the possible way forward to improve health sector is improving the

governance system. The health system is in process of regeneration, with provincial empowerment in the country's federal system.

In the on-going system, which is in process of maturation, one must not negate the role of federal government. There is a need of unified 'National Health Policy' for all provinces of the country, and the central government has to perform this task. The federal and provincial governments have to own health as a priority sector for development. However, the responsibilities at federal and provincial level should be clearly defined. Moreover, there is a dire need to increase the public sector spending on the health budget in all provinces. Along with it, elimination of corruption and ensuring transparency within the provinces is also important for achieving set targets.

Finally, it is recommended that the health should be included in 'nation building agenda'. This agenda may include futuristic vision of universal health access and narrowing of inequality between rural and urban populace. To bridge the gap between haves and have nots, the government should facilitate the NGOs working in rural and far flung underdeveloped areas. Investment in health sector and human development must be considered as a key for true national security and prosperity.

End Notes

¹ Muhammad Akram and Faheem Jehangir Khan, "Health Care Services and Government Spending in Pakistan", *PIDE Working Paper* (2007), accessed 28 May, 2013, <http://www.pide.org.pk/pdf/Working%20Paper/WorkingPaper-32.pdf>

² Sehrish Wasif, “Unhealthy Revelations: Pakistan Plagued by Dismal Healthcare System”, May 18, 2013, accessed 28 May, 2013, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/550876/unhealthy-revelations-pakistan-plagued-by-dismal-healthcare-system/>

³ Wasif, “Unhealthy Revelations”.

⁴ CIA The World Fact Book, “Pakistan: A Country Profile”, accessed May 28, 2013, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pk.html>

⁵ Sania Nishtar et al., “*Health Reform in Pakistan: A Call to Action*” (Philadelphia: The Lancet, May 17, 2013), accessed May 28, 2013, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(13\)60813-2](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(13)60813-2)

⁶ United Nations, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>

⁷ United Nations Treaty Collection, “International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights”, accessed May 28, 2013, http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?mtdsg_no=IV-4&chapter=4&lang=en; United Nations Treaty Collection, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, accessed May 28, 2013, http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?mtdsg_no=IV-3&chapter=4&lang=en

⁸ Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, “The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam”, accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.oic-oci.org/english/article/human.htm>

⁹ Government of Pakistan, “The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan”, Article 38 (d), accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/>

¹⁰ Andrew Green et al., “Health Planning in Pakistan: A Case Study”, *International Journal of Health Planning and Management* 12 (1997); 187-25

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Sania Nishtar et al., *Pakistan’s Health System: Performance and Prospects after the 18th Constitutional Amendment* (Philadelphia: The Lancet, May 17, 2013), accessed May 28, 2013, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(13\)60019-7](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(13)60019-7)

¹³ Sania Nishtar et al., “Synergizing Health and Population in Pakistan”, *Journal of Pakistan Medical Association* (2009): 3-20.

¹⁴ Sania Nishtar, “The Vanishing Ministry”, *The News*, December 25, 2010, accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-22011-The-vanishing-ministry>

¹⁵ Joshua P. Reading, “Who’s Responsible for This? The Globalization of Healthcare in Developing Countries”, *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2010), accessed May 28, 2013, DOI: 10.2979/GLS.2010.17.2.367

¹⁶ “National Assembly of Pakistan, Procedural Manual”, accessed May 28, 2013, http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1308928052_477.pdf

¹⁷ Sania Nishtar et al., *Health Reform in Pakistan: A Call to Action* (Philadelphia: The Lancet, May 17, 2013), accessed May 28, 2013, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(13\)60813-2](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(13)60813-2)

¹⁸ Iram Ejaz et al., “NGOs and Government Partnership for Health Systems Strengthening: A Qualitative Study Presenting Viewpoints of Government, NGOs and Donor in Pakistan”, *BMC Health Services Research* (2011),

accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1472-6963/11/122>

¹⁹ Senior Management Wing, *Strategic Appraisal of 18th Amendment: Federal/Provincial Roles and Impact on Service Delivery* (National School of Public Policy, February 2012), accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.nspp.gov.pk/guideline/strategic-appraisal-of-18th-amendment.pdf>

²⁰ “World Bank Indicators-Pakistan-Health Sector”, accessed May 28, 2013, <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/pakistan/community-health-workers-per-1-000-people-wb-data.html>

²¹ Malik Wasim, “Budgetary Allocation for Health Sector in Pakistan”, Save the Children, March 15, 2013, accessed May 28, 2013, <http://everyone.savethechildren.net/>